Gender and Migration in Historical Perspective

Institutions, Labour and Social Networks, 16th to 20th Centuries

Edited by
Beatrice Zucca Micheletto

palgrave
macmillan

Palgrave Studies in Economic History

Series Editor
Kent Deng, London School of Economics, London, UK

Palgrave Studies in Economic History is designed to illuminate and enrich our understanding of economies and economic phenomena of the past. The series covers a vast range of topics including financial history, labour history, development economics, commercialisation, urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation, globalisation, and changes in world economic orders.

Beatrice Zucca Micheletto
Editor

Gender and Migration in Historical Perspective

Institutions, Labour and Social Networks, 16th to 20th Centuries

palgrave
macmillan

Editor
Beatrice Zucca Micheletto
Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche
Geografiche e dell'Antichità
DiSSGeA
University of Padua
Padua, Italy

Cover illustration: Whitemay/Getty Images

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Baccini Elisa holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Padua. Her studies focus on the linguistic and cultural policies and practices of the Napoleonic era in Italy, French migration in Italy and issues concerning the relationship between language and identity between the eighteenth century and the Italian Risorgimento. Her doctoral thesis has been supported by a scholarship from the *Fondation Napoléon* of Paris and was awarded the Premio Spadolini-Nuova Antologia medal by the Senate of the Repubblica Italiana.

Bardanis Michalis A. was born in Athens, Greece in 1973. He studied Conservation of Antiquities and Art at the Technological Educational Institution of Athens, where he developed a special interest in building materials. During the academic year 1997–1998, he achieved an MA in Conservation Studies/Historic Building at the University of York, UK. That year he became acquainted with the subject of brick use and brick making in Greece. Since 2012 he has been a Ph.D. student at the University of Ioannina, Department of History and Archaeology, with a thesis on "Bricks in Athenian architecture, during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, and the brickmaking sector in Athens, Piraeus, Chalkida and Poros" (supervisor Prof. Leda Papastefanaki). He has published "Family Business in the Brick and Tile Industry in Athens, 1900–1940", *The Historical Review/La revue Historique* 15 (2018).

Bernardi Teresa holds a Ph.D. in Early Modern History. She is a graduate of Ca' Foscari University of Venice and obtained her Ph.D. from the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa. During her Ph.D. (2015–2020) she was a visiting student at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris and at the University of Cambridge, where she was involved in the study and research activities of CAMPOP (The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure). Her research interests span various fields of social, cultural and legal history. Her current research deals with the practices of registration and identification of foreigners in Early Modern Venice, with a particular focus on women's mobility and gender relations.

Birt Sarah is a Ph.D. candidate at Birkbeck, University of London working under the supervision of Dr Brodie Waddell. Her research was funded by the Mercers' Company Studentship for Doctoral Research on the History of London (2016–2019), and an RHS Thornley Junior Fellowship (2019–2020) at the Institute of Historical Research. Her thesis, entitled "A Fashionable Business: Seamstresses, Mantua-makers and Milliners in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-century London", explores the agency of women in business in London. She holds an MA in the History of Britain from Birkbeck and a joint honours undergraduate degree in History and History of Art from the University of Birmingham.

Čapská Veronika is an associate professor at the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, in Prague. She is a research fellow at the Department of Comenius Studies and Early Modern Intellectual History at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences (Prague) and she serves as the leader of the working group "Memory and Identity" in the COST Action Women on the Move (CA 19112). She held Visiting Fellowships at Trinity Hall, University of Cambridge, and at the European University Institute in Florence. She has published broadly on early modern cultural history of Central Europe. Her current research interests include early modern transcultural history (history of mobilities, gift exchange, translation history, correspondence networks, etc.) and memory studies. She has also published on early modern print culture, religious history, visual culture and personal writings (including the critical editions of eighteenth-century German letters by Anna Katharina countess Swéerts-Sporck and the German diary by Gabrielle von Spens-Booden, née countess Sobek).

Carbonell-Esteller Montserrat is *profesora titular* in the Department of Economic History at the University of Barcelona. Her research interests cover poverty, poor relief, credit and gender. Her recent publications include: "Poverty, family economies and survival strategies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A gender approach" in D. Simonton (ed.), *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience* (2017); (with Julie Marfany) "Gender, life cycle and family 'strategies' among the poor: Barcelona, 1762–1803", *Economic History Review*, 70 (2017); "Women, Small Credit, and Community: Barcelona in the Eighteenth Century" in E. M. Dermineur, (ed.), *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018).

Gissi Alessandra is an associate professor in Contemporary History, Department of Human and Social Sciences, University of Naples "L'Orientale". After studies at the Universities of Rome (La Sapienza) and Amsterdam, she obtained a Ph.D. in Women's and Gender History from the University of Naples "l'Orientale". She is in the editorial board of the Journal «Italia Contemporanea». Her areas of specialization include contemporary Italian and European history (history of bodies, reproduction and abortion; history of midwifery; history of feminisms; history of migrations).

Jover-Avellà Gabriel is a senior lecturer in Economics in the Department of Economics at the University of Girona. He is also a member of the Rural History Research Centre at the same University. He obtained his Ph.D. in History at the University of Barcelona (1997), with a dissertation on *Rural Society and Economic Development in Mallorca: Feudalism, latifundio and peasantry, 1500–1800*. More recently, he has focused his research on two areas: the development of labour markets and the environmental history in early modern period in the Mallorca, Catalunya and also England. He has published in journals like *Revista de Historia Económica, Journal of Agrarian Change, Sustainability, Historia Agraria, Climate Change* or *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*.

Maddox Tyesha is an assistant professor at Fordham University in the Department of African and African American Studies. She received her Ph.D. in History from New York University in 2016. She received a BA in History and Africana Studies and a MPS in Africana Studies both from Cornell University. She is currently the 2019–2020 Race

xii   NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

and Gender Post-Doctoral Associate at Rutgers University. Her current manuscript, "From Invisible to Immigrants: Political Activism and the Construction of Caribbean American Identity, 1890–1940", examines the significance of early twentieth-century Anglophone Caribbean immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations in New York. Before joining the faculty at Fordham University, she was the 2015–2016 African and African Diaspora Studies Dissertation Fellow at Boston College and a 2015–2016 Kate B. & Hall J. Peterson Fellow at the American Antiquarian Society. In 2018, she was a Scholar in Residence at the Schomburg Research Library in NYC as a Ford Foundation/Mellon Foundation Fellow. Her research and teaching interests include the African Diaspora, Caribbean, Black Atlantic, Women and Gender, African American History, Race, Transnational Communities, Migrational Movements, Immigration, Black Identity Formation, Social and Cultural History.

Marfany Julie is an associate professor of Economic and Social History at Durham University. She works on poverty and charity, the family and the transition to capitalism in southern Europe. Her publications include: *Land, proto-industry and population in Catalonia, c.1680–1829. An alternative transition to capitalism?* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Family and welfare in early modern Europe: a north-south comparison in C. Briggs, S. Thompson and P. Kitson (eds.), *Population, welfare and economic change in Britain, c.1270–1834: historical studies*. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014); (with Montserrat Carbonell-Esteller), "Gender, life cycle and family 'strategies' among the poor: Barcelona, 1762–1803", *Economic History Review*, 70 (2017).

Martini Manuela is a professor of modern history at the Université Lumière Lyon 2 and president of the French Economic History Association (AFHE). She belongs to numerous scientific committees and advisory boards and is a member of the editorial collective of *Gender & History*. She has published extensively in French, Italian, Spanish, German and English and authored or edited 23 books or journals' special issues on European economic history, gender history and labour international migrations. Her more recent authored book is *Bâtiment en famille. Migrations et petite entreprise en banlieue parisienne au XXe siècle*, CNRS Éditions, 2016. Her publications on gender and labor issues include "When Unpaid Workers Need a Legal Status: Family Workers and Reforms to Labour Rights in Twentieth-Century France", *International*

Review of Social History, no. 2–59 (2014): 247–278, the special issue of *The History of the Family*, on *Households, Family Workshops and Unpaid Market Work in Europe from the 16th Century to the Present*, no. 3–19 (2014), edited with Anna Bellavitis; and the book *What is work? Gender and the Crossroads of Home, Family and Business*, edited with Raffaella Sarti and Anna Bellavitis. For further details see http://larhra.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/membre/506.

Mateescu Bogdan is a researcher at "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History. His Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Demografia familiei şi a gospodăriei în spaţiul extracarpatic. 1780–1860. O abordare micro-statisică [Family and Household Demography in the Outer-Carpathian Territories. 1780–1860. A Statistical Micro-Analysis]*, defended in February 2017, is still unpublished. Some of his latest publications are: "The structure of rural households in 19th century Moldavia and Wallachia: approaching old censuses, revisiting paradigms". *N.E.C. Ştefan Odobleja Program Yearbook* 2018–2019, pp. 167–196; *Recensământul şi administraţia publică în Ţara Românească. Studiu de caz şi documente de arhivă despre recensământul general al Ţării Româneşti iniţiat în 1837 [Census and Public Administration in Wallachia. Case Study and Archival Documents on the General Census of Wallachia of 1837].* Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română—Centrul de Studii Transilvane.

Ojala-Fulwood Maija is specialized in the urban history of the Baltic Sea region during the late medieval and early modern periods. My special interests are long-term developments, changes and continuities. My main research clusters include urban craft trade production, migration and mobility including colonialization, as well as gender history. I am also interested in the cultural history of water, exploration and cartography. My academic roots are in Finland at Tampere University where I completed my Ph.D. thesis in 2014 about craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region 1350–1620 with a special focus on the possibilities of widows to continue their trade. Currently I am working at the University of Turku at the Centre of Medieval and early Modern Studies (TUCEMES). My ongoing research project Managing mobility in early modern northern Europe is funded by the Academy of Finland.

Pujadas-Mora Joana Maria is researcher and co-head of the Historical Demography area at the Center for Demographic Studies—Autonomous University of Barcelona, and an associate professor at the Department of

Economic History of the University of Barcelona. Her research interests include public health and the decline of mortality, migration over the long term, intergenerational transmission of social outcomes and economic inequality. Her recent publications include: (with Gabriel Brea-Martínez) "Estimating long-term socioeconomic inequality in southern Europe: The Barcelona area, 1481–1880". *European Review of Economic History* (2018 online); (with Pere Salas-Vives) "Cordons Sanitaires and the Rationalisation Process in Southern Europe (Nineteenth-Century Majorca)" *Medical History*, 62 (3), (2018); (with Gabriel Brea-Martínez, Joan Pau Jordà and Anna Cabré), "The apple never falls far from the tree: siblings and intergenerational transmission among farmers and artisans in the Barcelona area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" *The History of the Family*, 24 (2018).

Roman Nicoleta, Ph.D. is researcher at "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History–Romanian Academy and scientific assistant for the LuxFaSS project hosted by New Europe College-Institute for Advanced Study, both in Bucharest. Starting from her Ph.D. thesis on women in nineteenth-century Wallachia, she developed an interest on two related subjects, childhood history and welfare systems in Romania and Southeast Europe. Her major publications include: *"Deznădăjduită muiere n-au fost ca mine". Femei, onoare și păcat în Valahia secolului al XIX-lea/Women, honour and sin in 19th century Wallachia*, Humanitas, 2016 (based on her Ph.D. thesis); (editor), *Orphans and Abandoned Children in European History. Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, Routledge, 2017; (editor), Copilăria Românească între familie și societate (secolele XVII–XX)/Romanian Childhood between Family and Society (17th–20th centuries), Nemira, 2015. She published in international academic journals such as *The History of the Family*, *Popolazione e Storia*, *Annales de Demographie Historique* and others.

Dr. Wyżga Mateusz, Ph.D. works at the Institute of History and Archival Studies at the Pedagogical University of Cracow. His research areas are the history of mobility and migrations, the socio-economic history of the fifteenth-nineteenth centuries, and historical demography. He is also interested in social archival studies and regional historiography.

Zucca Micheletto Beatrice, Ph.D. is a researcher at the University of Padua (Italy). She has been Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the University of Cambridge. She is a research affiliate at The Cambridge

Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (University of Cambridge) and at the Groupe de Recherche d'Histoire (University of Rouen-Normandy). She serves as co-vice-chair and co-leader of the working group "Labour, belongings and economy" in the COST Action *Women on the Move* (CA 19112). Her research focuses on women and gender history, history of the family, labour history and history of migration in early modern Italy and France. She authored the book *Travail et propriété des femmes en temps de crise (Turin, XVIIIe siècle)*, 2104, several articles in international reviews and three collective works. Among her recent publications "The domestic space as a space of paid and unpaid work" (2020) and "Working in and for the charity institutions: patterns of employment and actors in the early modern Savoy-Piedmont state (seventeenth–nineteenth centuries)" (2020). At present she is working on migration, citizenship and welfare system in pre-unification Italy. https:// unipd.academia.edu/BeatriceZuccaMicheletto.

List of Figures

List of Tables

Gender and Migration: A Historical and Inclusive Perspective

Beatrice Zucca Micheletto

This book focuses on migrant women (and their families) with the aim to study their migration patterns in a historical and gendered perspective during the period spanning early modernity to contemporary times. The articles cover different geographical areas across Europe, criss-crossing the continent in all the cardinal directions. An article on contemporary international migration to Italy and another chapter on female migrants from Caribbean Isles to America further extend the geographical scope of this collection. Engaging with recent literature on gender and migration, the book adopts a "gender sensitive approach" (Timmerman et al. 2018) either by focusing only on female migrants or by presenting evidence on women and men. In this book migrants are studied through three

B. Zucca Micheletto (✉)
Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità DiSSGeA,
University of Padua, Padua, Italy
e-mail: beatrice.zucca@unipd.it

different, but interconnected and partially overlapping, standpoints that have been identified as crucial for studying migration through the lens of gender: (1) institutions and law (2) labour and the household economy (3) social networks.

The first section of the book shows how institutions and authorities could shape gendered migratory patterns of women (and men) following specific ideologies; and, in turn, how migrants were able to carve for themselves a modicum of leeway by taking advantage of inconsistencies in regulations or legal *vacua*. In the second section, the questions at the core of the articles revolve around the access to the labour market and on how the household economy can explain migration and settlement dynamics. Finally, the third section highlights the role of social networks, and especially kinship and community ties, in shaping migration patterns. Therefore, each section emphasizes a specific set of resources employed— and even manipulated—by migrants. However, as it will be clear later, in the concrete and situated practices, these set of resources intermingle and overlap.

The choice to present a (great) variety of case studies is intentional and tailored to suit the primary objectives of the book. Aside from different geographical and chronological frameworks, the studies also tackle various types of migration: from domestic and temporary movements to long-distance and international migration, from temporary/seasonal mobility to displacements aimed at finding a permanent settlement. Furthermore, this book aims to develop a gendered approach to migration in a *historical perspective*, bringing together studies on the contemporary age with a relevant number of chapters on early modern and modern societies. As such, the book promotes the potential of an *inclusive approach to migration* and argues that different migration phenomena should be observed and understood by posing common questions that can be addressed to different contexts (and that constitute the backbone of this volume). How did women migrate? How and where did they enter the labour market? What was the role of education/training? How did migrant women interact with law and institutions? And in turn, how did institutions receive (or reject/limit) female migrants? What kind of social networks were migrants able to mobilize or build up in their new context? As it will be clear in the next section, in this book I argue that the *gender and historical perspective*, together with the *bottom-up* and *inclusive approach* provide a fruitful framework for observing and understanding the role of women in migration phenomena, while avoiding one major

risk of women's studies, i.e. reducing women to an essential category. In the four sections that follow I will go through scholarly literature on migration and gender in order to illustrate the original approach of this book. In the second part of this introduction, I will consider in more detail the three sections of the book.

Migration and Gender: Achievements and New Perspectives

Natalie Zemon Davis' and Joan Scott's pioneering studies have shown that gender is a useful category of analysis for historical and social phenomena as it unsettles the classical and stereotyped social construction of both men and women. Gender as a category of analysis can raise awareness on how expected behaviours of men and women have been historically constructed and realized. These expectations have been forged in compliance with a predominant patriarchal ideology that has determined the relation of power between women and men and that is at the basis of the gender inequalities, having repercussions on every aspect of life. In the last forty years, the methodological implications of the notion of gender have influenced also migration studies. Migrations are gendered phenomena: women and men experience migration differently both because they are expected to act according to a specific ideology of masculinity and femininity, and because their reasons for migrating are different, linked to their social position and expectations of their natal community. Intimately connected to a gendered perspective is the intersectional approach: gender, together with race and social class are variables that can better explain migration patterns. In other words, a gendered approach enables to study how migrations call into question or perpetuate and strengthen the social, economic and cultural behavior of women and men based on specific ideologies of femininity and masculinity (Green 2012).

In a seminal article Hondagneu-Sotelo traces a genealogy of research on immigration inspired by feminism and identifies three stages. According to the scholar in the first phase, which spans the 1970s to the early 1980s research "sought to remedy the exclusion of women from immigration research" (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000, 113). At this point, studies either focused exclusively on migrant women or "migrant women were added to the research as a variable (…) and then simply compared with migrant men's employment patterns" (114). During the second

phase, which, according to the scholar, began at the end of the 1980s and lasted up to the early 1990s, historians adopted an intersectional approach, considering race, class and gender so that research "focused on the gendering of migration patterns and on the way migration reconfigures systems of gender inequality" (115). One of the most significant outcomes was to "counter the image of a unitary household undivided by gender and generational hierarchies of power, authority and resources" (115). Other studies have questioned whether migration could pave the way for emancipation and independence for women, thus highlighting their agency and empowerment. Nowadays "research is beginning to look at the extent to which gender permeates a variety of practices, identities, and institutions" (117). As "gender is incorporated in a myriad of daily operations and institutional political and economic structures" (117). Therefore, currently scholarship is trying to analyse transnational ties, community ties as well as organizations and associations by adopting a gendered perspective. In addition, migration studies have established a fruitful dialogue with studies on sexuality.

Following in the footsteps of the historiographical developments described by Hondagneu-Sotelo, this book engages directly with the literature on migration and gender: it draws on, and develops questions, topics and methodological tools which are typically at the core of this scholarship. The articles therefore focus on migrant women (and their families, peers, and fellow countrymen) by analysing the larger social and professional context in which migration is decided and takes place. They examine migrants' social networks, job opportunities and professional paths; the role played by the institutions and the legal framework of the receiving countries in shaping their migration patterns; the role of community and/or kinship ties in influencing mobility and settlement decisions. In doing so, these articles cast light on possible differences (and inequalities) between women and men or between women and women generated by the same migration dynamics. The aim of this book, and its added value, is that the "gendered approach"—often limited to contemporary societies and international migration—is here applied to early modern and modern societies, as well as to different kinds of migration in a range of geographical and chronological contexts. In other words, this book explicitly employs a *gendered perspective* for studying migration phenomena of past societies, at the same time covering an array of "different" migrations (national/international, temporary/seasonal/permanent, etc.., i.e. an *inclusive approach*) and observes how individuals act in

concrete contexts (*bottom-up approach*). This triple perspective has only rarely been adopted in historical studies (Sharpe 2001a; Martini and Mukherjee 2019). Of course, the fact that the gendered approach is here given priority does not entail dismissing the relevance of other factors that interplay with gender, such as ethnicity and social class (as argued by the intersectional approach), age, marital status, education/training, all variables—discussed in the chapters—that in turn interact with the structure of the labour market and with institutions and migration policies.

Migration in Historical Perspective: What Place for Women and Gender?

In order to better appreciate the originality this book's approach, it is useful to go through the literature on the history of migration and to consider whether previous studies have paid (or not) specific attention to the differences between migration of women and men and with which conclusions.

In the last thirty years historians have gained awareness of the fact that migrations and mobility were a structural feature (also) of past societies (for methodological remarks on the encounter between migration and history see: Brettell and Hollifield (2008) and Corti (2015). In a seminal work published in 1992 (and revised and republished in 2003) Leslie Page Moch concludes that "there have always existed seasonal, temporary, rural-rural, rural–urban, and urban-urban migration, alongside emigration from, and immigration to Europe. Migration are not a signal of the modern age but rather 'continuous phenomena which are embedded in the social and economic framework of human organization' and as a consequence they are part and parcel of the history of Europe" (Page Moch 1992, 6).

In the first edition of her book, Page Moch regretted that studies have seldom paid attention to migration from a gendered perspective: "Of all individual characteristics that influence the migration experience, gender is perhaps the most fundamental but least systematically explored. Studies of female migrants appeared in the 1980s and are especially well established along studies of today's migrants to North America and Europe. However, gender has rarely been seriously analyzed among historical migrants" (Page Moch 1992, 13–14). Of course, since the early 1990s, the gap denounced by Page Moch has been covered by scholars, but significantly one of the most important and cutting-edge books on

the topic *Migration, Migration History, History*, edited by Jan and Leo Lucassen in 1999, failed to contemplate or even cite gender as a possible approach for the study of historical migration. It is only from the early 2000s that research has started to explicitly employ gender as a category of analysis for migration.

Since the 1960s and until the end of the 1980s the interest of historical demography towards the massive phenomena of urbanization that took place from the nineteenth century onwards has acknowledged the crucial role of male and female migration. Both French scholarship—through monographs devoted to urban history and seasonal rural migrations (for example Chatelain 1969; Garden 1970; Poitrineau 1983; Sewell 1985)— and Anglophone historiography, thanks to the research carried out by Cambridge group (for example Wrigley 1967), were able to show the importance of rural–rural and rural–urban mobilities of women and men. Migration was explicitly linked to the industrialization and the consequent urbanization.[1] Moreover, in these studies, migrants remained mere "numbers", anonymous actors, deemed useful to explain the demographic and economic growth of cities. In such cultural context, historical demography did not afford attention to migrants as active and individual actors, to their trajectories and biographies, to their professional and family contexts, nor did they acknowledge differences between migration patterns and the resulting possibilities for women and men. Moreover, these studies failed to address social networks and to explain how institutions and regulations could mirror expectations about femininity and masculinity, and therefore shape and foster mobilities. These studies referred more or less explicitly to the so-called "laws of migration", elaborated by the geographer Ravenstein at the end of the nineteenth century in his study of the population of England and Wales during the most important phases of urbanization and industrialization. Among other conclusions, Ravenstein (1885, 1889) maintained that women were more mobile than men, especially over short distances. Successive research however argued that these laws are the result of an "optical illusion" that can be avoided by paying further attention to the *sex ratio* of migrants. (Alexander and Steidl 2012; on the importance of *sex ration* see also Van de Pol 1994; Green 2012; Erickson and Schmidt, forthcoming).

A crucial contribution towards the acknowledgement of the importance of migrant women in past societies has come from the studies on international migration and transatlantic migration. Following the

seminal work by Morokvasic (1984), during the 1990s, scholars "discovered" that since the end of the nineteenth century women accounted up to 30–40% of all migrants in long-distance and transatlantic migration, especially towards North America (Gabaccia 1996; Donato et al. 2006; Donato and Gabaccia 2015). These flows became even more copious during the twentieth century, to such a point that in the 1930s women were the largest number of legal migrants entering the United States and today "women account for approximately half of all global migrants" (Sharpe 2001b, 1). This "discovery" marked a turning point in migration history. First, it called into question "the role of men in undertaking long-distance and high-risk moves" (Alexander and Steidl 2012, 224). Second, it encouraged scholars to extend the geographical focus and pay attention to the circulation of women on a global scale. In the last decades, for example, scholars have studied female migration in the European colonial empires (Hammerton 2004; Harper and Constantine 2010); and, for what concerns contemporary societies, scholars have focused on migration of female labour force from poor or semi-poor regions to wealthier countries of the world.

The emphasis on women, and their families, in long-distance and international migration has been supported also by the introduction of the transnational approach (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Catarino and Morokvasic 2005; Arrizabalaga et al. 2011; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Green and Waldinger 2016). This notion was adopted firstly by anthropologists for describing specific features of contemporary male labour migration. It has been employed also for women as soon as it became clear that these represented—and still represent—a significant share of migrants in long-distance and transatlantic migration. In a collection of articles, Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (2002) have shown that since the end of the nineteenth century Italian women and men who moved to the United States, Latin America and other European destinations, did not abandon family and social ties as well as economic resources in their community of birth. On the contrary, they fostered them by sending gifts and sought to maintain relationships and ensure regular visits. They showed that kinship, family and friendship ties continued to unite people who moved and people who stayed, despite distances. In addition, whenever scholars have adopted a transnational approach when considering female migrants, studies have focused primarily on how long-distance migration shaped their family life and their relationships with family members who remained at home (husband, children, etc.) and

on the impact of migration on their representation or self-representation of motherhood (Parreñas 2005). Here again, we should note that the majority of these studies concerns contemporary societies, while women in early modern and modern societies still remain in the shadow (for exceptions: Sogner 2011; Pellettier-Pech 2011; Canepari 2014).

During the 1990s an important strand of scholarship has emphasized the dichotomy between seasonal/temporary male migrants and women who stayed at home. While for men migration has been depicted as a civilizing experience, leading to a new and "modern" ideal of masculinity, the non-mobility of women has led to the assumption that they were consigned to backwardness (Corti 1990; Merzario 1996). These conclusions have been mitigated by studies that have shown that during the absence of men in specific contexts (especially among maritime and merchant groups) women left at home were required to manage businesses alone, take decisions and act in their full capacity, and in some cases their absent husbands even entrusted them with powers of attorney (Brettell 1986; Grenier and Ferland 2013). Other studies, focusing on women and men moving together have described settlement patterns that can be summarized as the "dichotomy between tradition, that is, female follower relegated to the home; and modernity, that is, extra domestic male factory worker" (Martini 2017, 72). Here again, migration is described as a positive experience for men, resulting into some degree of assimilation in the new context, since factory work allowed to meet other men and create new social ties. On the contrary, women were socially and spatially segregated at home and were expected to take up the role of keepers of traditional and ethnic values.

Since the 2000s historians have started to look at migration through the lens of gender, although this notion has been employed with multiple meanings and nuances. In the words of Page Moch, "just as most other activities in historical Europe (…) women's movements were different from men's. At the same time, men's and women's mobility is inextricably linked" (1992, 13–14). Hondagneu-Sotelo (1999) has argued that scholars should shift away from studies that only focus on female migration because these "ghettoize the study of gender and suggest that gender is only pertinent to the experiences of women". However, in a seminal article, Nancy Green (2012) argued that "gender studies are not and should not be seen in competition with women's history" since the study of female migration calls into question categories and notions that have

been—and still are—considered normative and universal but that de facto reflect patriarchy and male domination.

Moreover, beyond this debate, renewed awareness of historians of migrations towards the gender perspective has encouraged scholars to better examine the role of social networks and family strategies, the structure of the labour markets, the activities of institutions and migration policies, thus understanding how gender permeated these structures, how specific ideologies of femininity and masculinity influenced migration dynamics and, in turn, how migration experiences affected gendered roles and sexuality (Gabaccia 1994; Sharpe 2001a; Gabaccia and Iacovetta 2002; Arru and Ramella 2003; Arru et al. 2008; Martini and Rygiel 2009, 2010; Schrover and Yeo 2010; Baldassar and Gabaccia 2011; Guerry 2013. For overviews see: Sinke 2006; Green 2012; Martini 2017). Among the most recent achievements, is the special issue of *Gender and History* edited by Manuela Martini and Sumita Mukherjee (2019) that, together with more consolidated topics, opened up to explore new perspectives, such as the intimate lives of migrants, welfare institutions and travel cultures. Other possible developments concern the culture of transportation and the role of intermediaries (Martini 2017).

Thanks to these studies, migrant women have been put into perspective: they are no longer described as followers of male migrants, nor they are treated as an isolated and impermeable category (thus avoiding to reproduce some misrepresentations that already existed in studies dedicated exclusively to male migrants). Among the prospects of this volume, one of the most fruitful approaches is the renewed attention to the role of family and more generally of social ties in driving and influencing migration and settlement. In a recent article Manuela Martini has pointed out that until now "little attention has been given to a history of migrant men and women acting in the same home and economic contexts (…). When migrant women have attracted historiographical attention, they are studied separately from their male partners or road companions" (Martini 2017, 71–72). For this reason, therefore, the scholar suggests the importance of "simultaneously studying the male and female migrant experiences and their mutual interactions", which implies accepting the fact that migration reflects not just individual motivations but also family strategies.

Studying domestic migration of women and men from the Cantabric region to Madrid (Spain), and their respective occupation opportunities as wet nurses and dockers, Carmen Sarasúa (2001) argued that "the

conditions and relations under which temporary migration took place"
are crucial "since peasant women and men who undertook temporary
migrations (temporary work for wages) did so as members of families, as
head of the households or wives, that is, a component of an established
relationship in which duties and rights were defined in terms of both
consumption and production. They did not go as individuals choosing
to undertake certain activities during a specific moment in their lives.
The position of the migrant within the family conditioned his or her
access to wage labour" (Sarasúa 2001, 30).[2] My research on Turin and
Savoy-Piedmont has shown that the migration of artisan families was
possible (also) thanks to the mobilization of specific female patrimonial
assets (especially the dowry). In the implementation of their migration
projects, couples made recourse to the procedure of dowry alienation
which allowed them to invest this fund, or to use it to take over or
supply a business. This business, be it a workshop, a retail shop or a
tavern/inn, was at the core of the couple's strategies for settling in the
new community, and the possibility to use the dotal fund was an indis-
pensable step for this achievement (Zucca Micheletto 2014). Similarly, the
migration of foreign artisans bringing new products and technologies in
Piedmont, also involved highly skilled women (wives and daughters) who
were capable of performing essential work in family businesses (Zucca
Micheletto, forthcoming).

Following the same approach, even if several articles in this collection
focus especially on migrant women, these are not studied as an essentialist
category, but as proactive actors, embedded in more or less extended
family/kinship/friendship networks, community or peer networks that
they contribute to build. The ensuing chapters indeed show that migrant
women—even when they are described as independent migrants—were
able to engage in relationships with other women and men and/or able
to commit to family migration strategies. In this book, therefore, female
and male migrants are studied as part of relational and situated contexts.

Another important issue of the literature on migration is to under-
stand whether migration allowed women to achieve some kind of agency,
leading to their "emancipation" or "empowerment" (or at least to social
and economic upward mobility), or, on the contrary, whether migration
perpetuated or even strengthened "gender inequalities" (between migrant
women and men or between native and non-native women) in the new
context. The optimistic idea that migration is a vehicle for female upward
mobility has been recently contested: feminist scholars have pointed out

that an approach that *only* emphasizes female agency and empowerment is neither reliable nor realistic, since it leads to the erroneous conclusion that the communities of birth, or the country of origin of migrants are *loci* of backwardness and inequality, as opposed to the alleged "modernity" of the receiving context. Scholars have pointed out that gender intersects social position, race, age, marital status and education, further underscoring how settlement and working patterns of migrant women cover a range of situations and do not always and necessarily lead to an improvement of the social and/or economic conditions of female migrants (Green 2012, 792). Especially Parreñas (2001) has argued that a gendered approach should be understood as the study of "gender inequalities" and focus on how, where and why migration dynamics perpetuate or challenge gender inequalities for newcomers. According to the scholar, therefore, it is necessary to compare not only female with male migration but also *different forms of female migration*, stressing how migrant women can suffer gender inequalities in their community of birth as well as in the new context of immigration.[3] Findings on the domestic service in past and in contemporary societies, for example, have encouraged these contradictory conclusions (Lutz 2008; Sarti 2019). On the one hand, several studies argued that domestic service allowed and still allows some kind of upward social mobility. On the other hand, Parreñas (2001), focusing on Filipino women working as domestic servants in Europe and America, has shown how these migrants endure a double discrimination since, because of their working conditions, they suffer spatial, professional and relational segregation, in both their birth community and in the receiving country, with little or no possibility of gaining even a modicum of emancipation or independence. The issues raised by this historiographical problem are not examined specifically for the societies under scrutiny in this volume. However, it is undeniable that in the majority of the articles collected here, migrant women appear as proactive actors, working hard in creating, maintaining and mobilizing material and relational resources.

Short- and Long-Distance Migration, International and Domestic Migration: An Inclusive Approach

In a seminal book published in 1999, Jan and Leo Lucassen noted that "the migration landscape is full of canyons and fast running rivers. The deepest canyon separates social scientists from historians, and swift rivers divide scholars within disciplines" (Lucassen and Lucassen 1999a, 10). With this metaphor the two scholars meant that "the widespread breakdown into myriad sub-specialties, both between and within disciplines" have incited scholars of migration studies to devise a system of classification that quickly became "fixed dichotomies" and to work on more restricted political, temporal and geographical frameworks (Lucassen and Lucassen 1999a, 10).

Taking inspiration from these observations, one of the most important achievements of this book is the adoption of an *inclusive approach*. Without neglecting or dismissing the importance of distinctive features of each social, political, economic and cultural context, an all-encompassing perspective that brings together studies on different kinds of migrations (short and long-distance, domestic and international, rural–rural, rural–urban and urban–urban migration, etc.), covers different geographical and chronological frameworks (with a specific attention to early modern and modern societies), and most important, adopts a gendered approach, addressing similar historiographical questions for different contexts, allows to better identify similarities and analogies or irreducible differences among different kinds of migration.

Even a cursory look at the literature reveals that the dichotomy of long-distance/intercontinental versus short-distance migration has had (and still has) a great impact on the study of female migrations. Indeed, the great emphasis on long-distance migration of women and men and their transnational lives has contributed to create an ideological and unjustified rift between this and short-distance and/or domestic migration. While the long-distance migration is presented, more or less explicitly, as an expression of "modernity", short-distance and domestic migration, for example, the circulation of young people before marriage or mobility during periods of urbanization and industrialization, has been depicted as a "commonplace" (Sharpe 2001b, 5). This means that "the intercontinental mass migration in the nineteenth century is implicitly considered more fundamental than individual moves from one village to another or

from one region to another" (Lucassen and Lucassen 1999a, 28). The historical and inclusive perspective of this book challenges these hierarchies by showing similarities and analogies between very different kinds of migration. In doing so, it calls into question rigid and stereotyped dichotomies.

This challenges also the concept of transnationalism as a source of ambiguities because of its explicit reference to the "nation"—a notion that actually appeared only during the nineteenth century. The historical and long-term approach of the book reminds us of the presence, until the mid-nineteenth century, of small states and city states (later unified, such as in the Italian peninsula) and the existence, until World War I, of multi-ethnic and multi-confessional entities, such as the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Against this backdrop, the institutional framework overseeing the regulation/control of migrants, could change through time and across different political contexts. It follows that, the "national perspective" is not always the most pertinent way for observing migration dynamics.

Over the last two decades, some studies have adopted an inclusive approach, and explicitly highlighted analogies between local and regional migration in the pre-industrial period, and international and intercontinental migration (see for example articles in Lucassen and Lucassen [1999b] and Catarino and Morokvasic [2005]). In addition, comprehensive studies by Dirk Hoerder (1999, 2002) has shown the uninterrupted presence of different kinds of mobility/migration in the history of the humanity. The recent special issue of *Gender and History* edited by Martini and Mukherjee has clearly incorporated the "gender turn" in this inclusive approach: "migration, to us, is not just about movement across borders and continents, but it also includes small-scale migration, whether characterized by rural–urban migration or short distances between villages, towns and regions" (Martini and Mukherjee 2019, 533). From this point of view, the present collection aims to emphasize similarities and analogies between the range of migration typologies under scrutiny through the lens of gender. Articles therefore show the importance of social ties in migration and settlement patterns, the centrality of family strategies in guiding the decision to move and the migrants' paths, the role of institutions in opening (or barring) mobility for women and men, the importance of the structure of the labour market, and other economic institutions, in shaping different professional opportunities, and this beyond the specificities of each social, cultural, economic

and political context. Applying a common set of questions to different contexts is a fruitful methodological framework for bridging the gap between an excessive fragmentation and isolation of migration studies. Ultimately, this approach enables to emphasize a notion of migration that encompasses, for past societies as well, a variety of forms of mobility: daily movements of working/trading people and more or less authorized movements of serfs (see the article by Wyżga in this collection), artists and people visiting their families or friends (Mateescu), seasonal migration, long-distance and long-term migration, vagrants and beggars (Esteller-Carbonell, Marfany and Pujadas-Mora), and "different migratory flows in terms of destination, occupation and distance" from the same hamlets (Martini).

DESCRIBING AND ACCOUNTING FOR FEMALE MIGRANTS: THE PROBLEM OF THE SOURCES

A second challenge that applies to all the chapters gathered here is the problem of the sources: what kind of sources can help researchers, and especially historians, to grasp the gendered nature of migration flows? How can scholars give the appropriate relevance to women? In what way can researchers go beyond already-known statistics elaborated by the institutions in charge with the control of migration flows? And especially, how is it possible to scrutinize the paths of migrant women in pre-national and pre-censuses societies?

The studies in this collection embrace the challenge of looking at new sources for studying female migration patterns, clearly expressed by Carmen Sarasúa (2000, 206): "as already happens for all other aspects of the past concerning the female condition, a stretch of the imagination is required to look at new sources that will allow us to reconstruct what today we can only foresee".

This is why, the chapters in this volume explore a large range of sources, including fresh and alternative sources, until now hardly ever exploited by migration studies. In some chapters, the systematic use of quantitative sources allows scholars to account and quantify the migration phenomena, for women and men, while others, based on the intensive use of qualitative documentation, concentrate on the reconstruction of life and mobility trajectories. Nicoleta Roman, for example, exploits the documentation traditionally used for the history of medicine in order to focus on mobility and professional patterns of midwives

in nineteenth-century Wallachia. The chapter by Gabriel Jover-Avellà and Joana Pujadas-Mora studies female seasonal/rural migration in early modern Mallorca by looking at sources traditionally used for economic history's questions: farm account books, cadasters and tithes registers. The chapter by Montserrat Carbonell-Esteller, Julie Mafany and Joana Pujadas-Mora relies on institutional documentation of the Barcelona workhouse during the eighteenth century—allowing "a systematic and quantitative analysis of migration patterns over time". In addition, the three scholars employ the inquiry carried out in 1789 by Francisco de Zamora, a government official, with the aim (never achieved) of writing a history and geography of Catalonia. The chapters by Elisa Baccini and by Alessandra Gissi use information and data gathered from newspapers and magazines to study female migration in Italy during Napoleonic rule and in the 1970s, respectively. Bodgan Mateescu's chapter exploits the registers of travellers compiled by border officers in Wallachia during the 1830s. Thyesha Maddox's chapter studies migration from Caribbean Isles in New York and, in addition to traditional archival sources such as passenger arrivals and naturalization records, and passport applications, it gathers photographs, interviews and the records of numerous mutual aid and benevolent associations operating during the early twentieth century. Michalis Bardanis's chapter is also based on a set of interviews to migrant men and women from the island of Kythnos who settled down in Athens and specialized in brickmaking during the first half of the twentieth century. A few of the chapters tackle court records: the aim is not to study the repression or criminal behaviors of migrants but rather to document female migrants' jobs and social networks. Maija Ojala-Fulwood's work is based on the information retrieved from town court records of the cities of Stockholm and Turku during the early modern age, documents that "provide us with snapshots of migrant life". Some of the authors have chosen to combine different sources. Teresa Bernardi's work brings together registers listing foreigners and the regulations established by the administration in order to monitor foreigners arriving in early modern Venice, ecclesiastical records and inquisitorial trials. Mateusz Wyżga's research on female labour migration in Poland couples classical demographic sources (birth and marriage registers) with less exploited ones, such as municipal and church courts' registers, nobles courts' registers as well as lists of vendors, municipal book accounts and inventories of landed estates.

In other cases, scholars have chosen to follow female migrants and their families along their routes, a methodology that leads to the reconstruction of biographies. Veronika Čapská's chapter uses the writings and the intellectual work of three migrant women in order to explain their life trajectories and mobility experiences in early seventeenth-century Prague. Sarah Birt's work on female apprentices moving to London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries exploits the records of six of London's livery companies, including apprentice books, account books for the Royal Exchange and lists of taxpayers and wills which allow her to reconstruct the migration patterns of female artisans in detail. Manuela Martini's chapter brings together a range of nominative sources of local administration, parish registers and population censuses compiled the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries either in the homeland (several hamlets in the Apennines) or in the destinations (mainly the Paris region and South Wales). This methodology allows Martini to "reconstitute individual paths in parallel with an overall analysis of the family structures" and to follow the trajectories of some of the family members in the place of origin and of arrival.

Much as it has been already observed for more traditional and largely exploited sources, new and alternative sources are not free of missing information and silences on female migrants, on the motivation and the nature of their movements, on their working positions. Simone Wegge has noted that registers and other archival sources "described many married women merely as wives and attribute occupation and property to male heads of the household even in the case of family enterprise such as farm" and has concluded that "migration data (…) underrepresent women's economic contribution in the same way as many types of historical labor statistics do, given that most historic societies defined women in terms of their husbands or fathers" (Wegge 2001, 163). Such an underestimation springs from specific cultural and ideological models of femininity and masculinity.

According to these accepted models, the main actor of migration was the head of the household—the husband or father—and therefore for officers it was sufficient to register the work of males. On the contrary, women, and especially wives, daughters or sisters, have been described as "followers" of their husbands, fathers and brothers. As a consequence, their economic and social roles, including their position in the labour market have not been considered relevant for the migration experience. Of course, women and men were expected to work to maintain their

family, but only male work received social acknowledgement. Married women's work made sense only insofar as it allowed them to be good mothers and wives, while widows' and unmarried women's work attracted the attention of the officers as it allowed to check that these women made an honest living and had an irreproachable sexual conduct. These ideologies were so deeply rooted that recent research has clearly shown that women's paid work is underestimated in official sources, such as censuses, that have been considered by researchers and, in some cases, have the pretense, to provide a comprehensive picture of a given city (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012). Several articles of this book point out that tracking and describing the mobility of female workers—especially artisans, traders and any worker/professional, other than domestic servants—on the basis of archival sources remains challenging. Maija Ojala Fulwood explains that the Swedish court records "frequently mention female artisans, certainly, albeit it is often unclear whether they were of foreign origin. Female labour migrants attested in the sources were mostly registered as maid-servants". Bodgan Mateescu clearly shows that border officers recording travellers tended to hide the identity and the professional profile of women moving with men (especially with husbands). As a consequence, it is unclear whether the jobs registered for travelling women refer to their own work or to their husband's work (thus revealing the collaboration of women in the family business). Furthermore, Sarah's Birt points out that young girls and women that were placed in apprenticeship or admitted freely in the livery companies were linked to a tight network of sisters and friends who were able to work in the City "in partnership and as part of wider female-led enterprises, even though this work was not always acknowledged in surviving records". As Birt explains, "this shows that apprentice binding books cannot reveal the full extent of the women engaged in skill work connected to the members of livery companies". These wider kinship networks can only be revealed through research and biographical reconstruction. Teresa Bernardi, on the other hand, suggests that women are underrepresented in foreigner lists less because they did not move than because when moving with their families or when they enjoyed good reputation, they were not required to register. Finally, the study by Manuela Martini underscores how male migration is much better documented and recorded in detail, than female mobility, even when taking place in the same social and geographical context. As the scholar points out, "deficiencies in recording migratory destinations and occupations are more evident and systematic for women".

Institutions, Law and Identity

The first section of the book gathers studies that focus on the role of law and the institutions. "We may ask – Nancy Green has written – not only how men and women have experienced immigration with different expectations and strategies, but also how *lawmakers*, *border officials* and *employers* have imagined and defined a normative immigrant worker at gates": in this respect even migration regulations and policies can be explicitly or implicitly gendered (Green 2012, 785, italic mine). Recent research—especially on modern and contemporary societies—has shown the relevance of this approach, which, often goes hand in hand with a national perspective, in the sense that migration policies are observed and analysed from a state/national viewpoint (Schrover and Yeo 2010; Guerry 2013).

Conversely, the growing literature on migration in early modern societies has shown that institutions and authorities, at any level, from state to city, set up specific policies in order to attract and welcome migrants (especially rich merchants and skilled artisans) while hindering unwanted migrants (such as vagrants, beggars, etc.) (De Munck and Winter 2012; Greef and Winter 2019). Along this line of thought, an analysis that takes into account the extent to which these migration policies were gendered and influenced by specific models of femininity and masculinity is still lacking (for an exception see: Parisi 1999). My research on the Duchy of Savoy-Piedmont has shown that the specific laws enacted by the sovereigns in order to encourage the arrival of foreign artisans and entrepreneurs willing to introduce new manufactures, products or techniques were based on, and promoted a specific idea of who could be described as "welcome foreigners". These were individuals who were willing to settle down in the state with their families and possibly a team of skilled workers. The "welcome foreigner" was the head of the household who ruled over and protected the subordinate members of the family: his wife, children and the apprentices and journeymen, all living under the same roof. Undoubtedly, the legal prescriptions replicated and reflected a specific cultural, juridical and ideological model of masculinity, i.e. the male head of the household, who was responsible for the moral conduct and economic wellbeing of his family. Yet at the same time, it acknowledged the crucial role of other family members as well as the other workers moving with him (Zucca Micheletto, forthcoming).

The three chapters in this section pursue and develop the historiographical questions raised by adopting a gendered approach to legal prescriptions regulating migration. Teresa Bernardi's analysis adopts an intersectional approach to establish how migrants and foreigners "were registered individually and identified within the Venetian urban spaces" during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the one hand she argues that "that mobility did not always raise the same concerns" since the criteria authorities used for registration often changed and likewise, the reasons for monitoring mobility were subject to adjustment. On the other hand, through specific case studies, Bernardi shows how women involved in some kind of mobility were able to justify their movements when questioned by the authorities, representing and defining themselves in different ways according to the situation and the authorities they had to deal with. In Nicoleta Roman's study, the specific medical policies enacted by Wallachian authorities since the end of the eighteenth century with the aim to modernize the medical service, encouraged the arrival of foreign midwives and went hand in hand with the creation of national schools for indigenous midwives. This double-sided policy inevitably led to friction between foreign midwives who tried to settle in the state and to be appointed as public officers and the newly trained local midwives. The article by Alessandra Gissi focuses on migrant women arriving in Italy since the 1970s from the ex-colonies and employed almost exclusively as domestic servants. Gissi underscores the inability of the Italian institutions to monitor migration flows which results in the impossibility of realistically quantifying the presence of foreigners in the peninsula at the time. Gissi also explains how the description and evaluation of migration flows to Italy were left to the press, which in turn, created and fostered stereotyped and essentialist images of these migrant women. In this perspective, Gissi has followed Nancy Green's appeal to study also "the ways in which immigrants have been perceived, regardless of the numbers" (Green 2012, 788), since these perceptions can influence migration policies.

New Perspectives on Labour

The second section of the book revolves around labour with the aim to reassess the importance of women as economic migrants and their crucial presence in well-known but little-studied sectors of the labour market. The first objective of this section is therefore to expand the viewpoint on

migrant women by providing new evidence on their role in a range of occupations and jobs that have not yet received appropriate attention by scholars.

Reflecting on the contemporary age, Marlou Schrover (2019) has affirmed that the real difficulties experienced by women migrants, as well as the policies implemented by states and public opinion on immigration have led migrant women to be perceived as victims. To a certain extent, this observation applies to studies focusing on early modern and modern societies. Indeed, scholars have tended to describe female migrants as poor or impoverished women, at times trying to escape their community of birth in order to hide an unwanted pregnancy and the social blame that followed, or lacking social and economic resources and therefore prone to turn to prostitution to get by, or to lead a dissolute life. The worry about the sexual honor of mobile women is testified by the attention they received from authorities who promoted specific policies in order to monitor, restrict and eventually repress prostitution and any other reprehensible behaviour. While one cannot deny that women on the move were likely to experience severe difficulties—the dangers of displacement, discrimination or exploitation, hard conditions and sexual abuses they could suffer in the new context—this approach has shrouded the role of migrant women as genuine economic actors. The history of women's work has largely contributed to dismantle these preconceptions by unveiling a more complex and multidimensional role of women in migration dynamics and by calling into question the economic and social preeminence of the male experience (Green 2019).

An important strand of studies focuses on women in domestic work, care and service. Since the classical studies by Peter Laslett and the Cambridge Group, a significant number of works has shown that during the preindustrial age short-distance mobility of young people in both rural and urban environments was fulfilled through the life-cycle of domestic service performed in farms and urban households (Laslett 1977; Kussmaul 1981). In this way, boys and girls accessed the labour market, learned skills and saved money in order to start a family. These workers typically ended their service in their late twenties, upon marriage, delayed precisely because of their jobs. While confirming mobility as a widespread experience in the life of individuals during early modern times, recent studies have added complexity to this model (Mansell 2018). Clearly domestic service was an easy way to enter the labour market, with the additional advantage, for those who lived under their

master's roof, of getting free food and lodging. While this pattern was common for both boys and girls until the end of the eighteenth century, the service sector started to be largely dominated by women, especially newcomers from the countryside, in the century that followed (Hill 1994; Sarti 1997; Zucca Micheletto 2017). Scholars have described this phenomenon as the "feminization" of domestic service. The importance of domestic service and of the care sector in shaping the professional paths of migrant women is still evident in contemporary migration flows, when long-distance and global migrations are common. A rich strand of studies has developed on the participation of the female labour force in these sectors in the long perspective (Arat-Koc 1997; Andall 2000; Parreñas 2001; Fauve-Chamoux 2004; Lutz 2008; Hoerder et al. 2015; Page Moch 2015; Sarti 2006, 2016, 2019). In particular, scholars have pointed out the growing demand for these kind of jobs in the wealthier areas of the world, and how the labour force is made up of migrant women arriving from the poorer areas of the world. This has led Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russel Hochshild (2002), to introduce the notion of "global chain care" in a seminal collective volume edited by them.

Certainly, one cannot deny that migrant women were, and still are, largely employed in care jobs and domestic service. At the same time, however, they cannot be associated with just this occupation. Recent research focusing on contemporary migrations has started to pay attention to skilled and highly skilled women. Studies by Eleanor Kofman and others have highlighted the important presence of migrant women from mid-to-high classes employed in highly skilled jobs and professions. (Kofman 2000; Zulauf 2001; Iredale 2001; Kofman and Raghuram 2006). Other studies have identified and analysed the presence of migrant women in entrepreneurial activities (for example Zalc 2005; De Luca 2018). This issue has been seldom considered for early modern and modern societies, where the predominance of moving women employed in domestic service has overshadowed the fact that they had employing opportunities also in other care activities (as wet nurses, teachers, midwives), as well as in other economic sectors such as in retail, in the trade sector, and in the craft and manufacturing sector. By focusing especially on early modern and modern societies, and by expanding the geographical contexts under observation, the chapters in this section aim to provide new evidence on the role of migrant women in these activities.

Nancy Green (2019) has argued that the "discovery" of "women's work" and the "discovery" of women in migration flows encouraged

scholars to turn their attention to neglected economic sectors of the labour market, such as the "light industry"—especially in the production of textile, garments and clothes—and retail, where migrant women often found employment. Studies, almost all dealing with the period spanning the second half of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, and covering a few countries (France, England and the United States) have analysed female migration patterns towards textile factories or districts since the first stages of industrialization (Green 1997; Gordon 2002; Corti 2002). For what concerns early modern societies, in the last twenty years, studies have shown the importance of women in the crafts, textile manufacturing and trade, although scholars have not yet considered the variable of mobility appropriately (for an exception see: Steidl 2016). Several factors explain this shortcoming: the silence/blindness of the sources, the hostility of institutions (including guilds), and authorities towards female mobility and female apprenticeship and more generally, the reluctance to acknowledge skills to women, and scholars' tendency to consider migrant women only as followers. My research on foreign artisans arriving in Piedmont during the eighteenth century has evidenced that female migrants were often invisible because they travelled and worked in the family business. They were therefore overshadowed by their husband/father, who was acknowledged as the head of the household. Despite this, their "double contribution" in terms of work and money was crucial for the success of the family business, and in order to circulate inventions, new technologies and products (Zucca Micheletto, forthcoming).

A major objective of this section is to expand on the range of jobs and economic activities in which migrant women were able to engage or perform work. Sarah Birt's chapter focuses on female apprentices arriving in London during the sixteenth century and bound apprentices in six of London's livery companies. Basing their study on the Barcelona workhouse register, Carbonell-Esteller, Marfany and Pujadas-Mora have managed "to flag up the presence of women in migration flows other than as domestic servants". The development of the textile sector in the city encouraged the arrival of skilled and highly skilled artisans. Their presence in the registers of the urban charity institution, therefore, provides evidence on this specific migration pattern and on the difficulties encountered by artisans on the move. Maija Ojala-Fulwood's chapter examines female artisan mobility in the Baltic Sea region during the early modern period. As in many other European countries, urban guilds were officially

closed to women who were able to access craft only as daughters of artisans or through marriage, as wives and widows. Veronika Čapská's study illustrates the experience of three intellectual migrant women through their works. These women, belonging to different social and cultural background, moved to Prague at the turn of the seventeenth century and were able to gain their lives by pursuing intellectual activities (teaching and writing). Elisa Baccini considers French women arriving in Italy in the aftermath of the Napoleonic domination, who, as skilled educators were able to open and supervise French schools for girls belonging to the middle and high classes. She shows the obstacles women had to overcome in order to establish and supervise these schools: apart from economic distress which could lead to the closing down of these institutions, they could also experience social hostility in the receiving community, especially when they were accused of leading a lifestyle that was inappropriate for a woman.

Other studies in the section provide evidence on migrant women in a range of trade and retail activities. Mateusz Wyżga's chapter focuses on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a region in which serfdom was predominant. According to the scholar, this system did not imply immobility in the rural world. Indeed, "in connection with their economic needs, peasants of both sexes could legally travel outside their village": for example, they could leave their village to become apprentices in the towns, to take up a seasonal job or to get married. In addition, Wyżga documents daily or seasonal business trips of both women and men—to visit city markets, sell merchandize or deliver letters and goods—and that "were required as part of their work for the manor farm". The chapter by Bogdan Mateescu investigates women and men travelling through the check points at the borders between Wallachia and Moldavia in the 1830s. His analysis of their social profile shows that women participated in different kinds of mobility, and that, apart from domestic service, they were also employed in the crafts, in trade and in artistic activities.

A second important point examined in this section revolves around the social ties (family and kinfolk/peers/compatriots). They play a crucial role in explaining how migrants moved and accessed the labour market. They are also a key to understanding their ability to interact with the new context, and to create and get new or improved professional opportunities. Social ties are at the core of the so-called *meso* level analysis. "This meso level, situated between the macro level of structural economic and

social change and the micro level of individual and household characteristics, refers to the social fabric, networks and information channels that provide the social support and information guiding people in their migration decisions" (Greefs and Winter 2016, 62), and therefore includes chain migration, family or friendship ties, and "less personal information channels such as recruitment offices, firms, transport companies, printed words and rumor" (Greefs and Winter 2016, 63). Studying migration patterns of women and men arriving in the city of Antwerp during the nineteenth century, Hilde Greefs and Anne Winter have concluded that "single female newcomers appear to have had access to a less diverse range of migration channels than their male compatriots (…) While men could rely on selective, established migration channels by virtue of their socioeconomic background or occupation, women were first to sever the connection between migration distance and specialization", taking therefore advantage from the increase in transport facilities, recruitment agencies and advertisements in newspapers (Greefs and Winter 2016, 74).

Several chapters in this section provide evidence on the composition, extension and mechanisms of social networks and channels of information. Of course, the role of family, fellow nationals and friends is crucial (see Birt, Baccini, and in the section that follows, Bardanis and Maddox) even though these are not the only elements to be considered. The chapter by Gabriel Jover-Avellà and Joana Pujadas-Mora scrutinizes the factors that explain women's participation in the labour market in the island of Mallorca during the seventeenth century. They focus on olive harvesting, a seasonal job that involved women and children. Going beyond traditional push–pull factors, and traditional explanations of migration (unequal access to land and the specificities of the agricultural system), the two scholars show that the recruitment of olives pickers was possible (and influenced by) a network of workers (carters, shepherds and muleteers) who ensured the exchange and circulation of information among different farms in Mallorca. In addition, servants of landlords were sent in the villages to look for female olive pickers and to negotiate their conditions (wages, number of women to be hired).

At the beginning of the 2000s, taking inspiration from network analysis developed in the field of anthropology and sociology, the Italian historian Franco Ramella (2003) has argued that labour was not only a quintessential economic resource for migrants (and of course the main reason for their mobility), but that it was also the *locus* where social ties were built and/or strengthened, opening new professional and life opportunities for

migrants. In this perspective, Wyżga's chapter shows that regular mobility and travels of Polish peasants allowed them to gain an extensive "territorial knowledge", to make new acquaintances and to expand their social network, making it easier for them "to undertake migration, even without the landlord's consent". The emphasis put on social relationships, and especially on the ability of migrants to build and foster new ties in the social fabric allows research to overcome the risk of reifying cultures, when explaining the behavior of migrant women and men (Arru et al. 2001). At the same time, it acknowledges their proactive role in migration and settlement dynamics.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY TIES: WELLBEING AND MUTUAL AID

The third section examines how kinship and community ties operated, more or less formally, in order to provide help or support for migrants during migration and settlement. Scholarly literature on mutual aid societies and associations established and managed by migrants have flourished in the last decades (see for example *Immigrant Organisations* 2005). Some studies have addressed specific attention to gender issues, by investigating female associations set up and managed by migrant women (Prontera 2014) or by focusing on how religious/philanthropic/public associations organized the migration of women and helped them to find a job and a safe environment in the new context (Machen 2011; Ruiz 2017). In accordance with the idea of a gendered approach, in this section the chapters consider female and male migration experiences acting in the same context. Scholars emphasize the need to adopt a "double perspective", which takes into account the social and economic dynamics in both the community of arrival and in the one of origin. In addition, contrary to studies which tend separate informal help and support structures (such as family and kinship ties) and formal associations, the chapters in this section make it clear that these should be considered as part of a broader interactive model.

Manuela Martini's chapter focuses on migration patterns of women and men from several hamlets in the Apennines between the end of the nineteenth and early twenty centuries, a region characterized by diverse forms of migration, which played out differently for women and men, in terms of both duration (seasonal/temporary/long-/short-distance)

and professional outcomes. The scholar develops a multisituated analysis, studying the relevance of human and material resources both in the birth community and in various destinations. Martini considers the household strategies, and the life and professional trajectories of individuals of the same age group as well as across different generations. In contrast to studies that have emphasized the "asymmetrical hierarchies between those who leave and those who stay", Martini explains that families that did not embark on migration transformed into "structures ensuring the care and custody of the youngest or the elderly and sick family members", which were able "to manage, smooth and enhance the mobility of their members". For this reason, she stresses the pertinence of the notion of "transnational care" which includes "all forms of care, of people and goods left in the places of origin".

The multiple links established and fostered by migrants, either in the new context or in the communities of birth, are at the core of Michalis Bardanis's chapter. Bardanis focuses on the migration of brickmakers and tile-makers from the Greek island of Kythnos to Athens during the first half of the twentieth century. As opposed to studies that tend to emphasize the insertion of migrants in social networks made up by fellow nationals, Bardanis's interviews reveal that those who settled down in Athens were able to keep contact with their natal community *simultaneously* creating and fostering new social ties with Athenians or other migrants, which in several cases led them to improve their condition and to experience social and professional upward mobility.

The chapter by Tyesha Maddox examines the role of Caribbean women who arrived in New York at the beginning of the last century highlighting the double role of these women either as "pioneers" of wider chains of immigration or as leaders and founders of mutual aid and benevolent associations. What is important to stress here is that in both cases these women were able to influence the male migration experience: on the one hand, families, children and men were left behind and only later followed the women who left for New York. On the other hand, the numerous activities carried out through the associations and societies established in the metropolis were finalized to offer support to both women and men.

during my Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellowship at the Faculty of History, University of Cambridge. I would like to thank the speakers (Elisa Baccini, Michalis Bardanis, Nimisha Barton, Teresa Bernardi, Montserrat Carbonell-Esteller, Husseina Dinani, Alessandra Gissi, Ulla Ijäs, Gabriel Jover-Avellà, Kersti Lust, Tyesha Maddox, Julie Marfany, Joyce Milambiling, Alex Olkovsky, Joana Maria Pujades-Mora, Nicoleta Roman, Marie Ruiz, Yukari Takai, Joanne Wallace, Mateusz Wyżga, Cheng Yang), the chairs (Annette Cremer, Amy Erickson and Janine Maegraith) as well as the participants for their stimulating questions and comments. I wish to warmly thank Denise Bezzina for her help with the English translations. I am also very grateful to Naveen Dass, Lavanya Devgun, Ellie Duncan, Srishti Gupta, Manikandan Murthy and Ruth Noble for their support and patience during these months, throughout the Covid pandemic.

Notes

1. This approach inspired also other scholars such as (De Vries 1984).
2. The approach to migration of women and men based on the notion of 'family strategy' has been also adopted in other studies in the same collection (Nagata 2001; Hunter 2001; Schrover 2001).
3. R. S. Parreñas, 'Inserting feminism in transnational migration studies', on line: http://lastradainternational.org/lsidocs/RParrenas_InsertingFeminisminTransnationalMigrationStudies.pdf.

References

Alexander, Trent J., and Annemarie Steidl. 2012. "Gender and the 'Laws of Migration': A Reconsideration of Nineteenth-Century Patterns." *Social Science History* 2: 223–41.

Andall, Jacqueline. 2000. *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service: The Politics of Black Women in Italy*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Arat-Koc, Sedef. 1997. "From 'Mothers of the Nation' to Migrant Domestic Workers." In *Not One of the Family: Foreign Domestic Workers in Canada*, edited by Abigail B. Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis, 53–79. Toronto, Buffalo and London: Toronto University Press.

Arrizabalaga, Marie-Pierre, Diana Burgos-Vigna, and Mercedes Yusta, eds. 2011. *Femmes sans frontières. Stratégies transnationales féminines face à la mondialisation, XVIIIe-XXIe siècles* [Women Without Borders. Transnational Female Strategies in Front of the Globalization, Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries]. Berne: Peter Lang.

Arru, Angiolina, Daniela Luigia Caglioti, and Franco Ramella. 2008. *Donne e uomini migranti. Storie e geografia tra breve e lunga distanza* [Migrant Women and Men. Stories and Geography between Short and Long Distance]. Roma: Donzelli.

Arru, Angiolina, and Franco Ramella. 2003. *L'Italia delle migrazioni interne. Donne, uomini, mobilità in età moderna e contemporanea* [Italian Domestic Migrations: Women, Men, Mobility in Early Modern and Contemporary Age]. Roma: Donzelli.

Arru, Angiolina, Joseph Ehmer, and Franco Ramella. 2001. "Premessa" [Introduction]. *Quaderni Storici* 106: 3–23.

Baldassar, Loretta, and Donna Gabaccia. 2011. *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Brettell, Caroline B. 1986. *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brettell, Caroline B., and James F. Hollifield, eds. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. New York: Routledge.

Canepari, Eleonora. 2014. "«In my town I have». Migrant women and multi-local ties (Rome, 17th-18th centuries)." *Genesis. Rivista della Società Italiana delle Storiche* XIII (1): 11–30.

Catarino, Christine, and Mirjana Morokvasic. 2005. "Femmes, Genre, Migration et Mobilités" [Women, Gender, Migration and Mobilities]. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 21 (1): 7–27.

Chatelain, Abel. 1969. "Migration et domesticité féminine urbaines en France (XVIIIe siècle-XXe siècle)" [Migration and Female Service in the Cities of France (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Century)]. Revue d'histoire économique et sociale, vol. 47, no. 4: 506–28.

Corti, Paola, ed. 1990. "Società rurale e ruoli femminili in Italia fra Ottocento e Novecento" [Rural Society and Female Roles in Italy in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries]. *Annali dell'Istituto Alcide Cervi* 12.

Corti, Paola. 2002. "Women Were Labour Migrants Too: Tracing Late-Nineteenth-Century Female Migration from Northern Italy to France." In *Women, Gender and Transnational Lives. Italian Workers of the World*, edited by Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, 133–59. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press.

Corti, Paola. 2015. "Migration as a Historical Issue." In *The History of Migration in Europe. Prospectives from Economics, Politics and Sociology*, edited by Francesca Fauri, 39–50. London and New York, Routledge.

De Luca, Deborah. 2018. *Donne immigrate e lavoro. Un rapporto non sempre facile* [Migrant women and work. A relationship not always easy]. Milano: Franco Angeli.

De Munck, Bert, and Anne Winter. 2012. *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*. Farnham: Ashgate.

De Vries, Jan. 1984. *European Urbanization 1500–1800*. London: Metheun & Co.

Donato, Katharine, and Donna Gabaccia. 2015. *Gender and International Migrations: From the Slavery Era to the Global Age*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.

Donato, Katharine M., Donna Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansan, and Patricia P. Pessar. 2006. "A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies." *International Migration Review* "Gender and Migration Revisited" vol. 40, no. 1, Spring 2006: 3–26.

Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Arlie Russel Hochshild. 2002. *Global Women: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the new economy*. New York: Metropolitan Book.

Erickson, Amy Louise, and Ariadne Schmidt. "Migration." In *The Whole Economy: Gender and Work in Early modern Europe*, forthcoming.

Fauve-Chamoux, Antoinette, ed. 2004. *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity. Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, Sixteenth to Twenty First Centuries*. Bern and Berlin: Peter Lang.

Gabaccia, Donna. 1994. *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S. 1820–1990*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gabaccia, Donna. 1996. "Women of the Mass Migrations: From Minority to Majority, 1820–1930." In *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*, edited by Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch, 90–111. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Gabaccia, Donna, and Franca Iacovetta, eds. 2002. *Women, Gender and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Garden, Maurice. 1970. *Lyon et les Lyonnais au XVIIIe siècle* [Lyon and its inhabitants in the eighteenth century]. Paris: Flammarion.

Glick Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. 1992. "Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, January 1992: 1–24.

Gordon, Wendy. 2002. *Mill Girls and Strangers. Single Women's Independent Migration in England, Scotland, and the United States 1850–1881*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Greefs, Hilde, and Anne Winter. 2016. "Alone and Far from Home: Gender and Migration Trajectories of Single Foreigner Newcomers to Antwerp, 1850–1880." *Journal of Urban History* 42 (1): 61–80.

Greefs, Hilde, and Anne Winter. 2019. *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities. Papers and Gates, 1500–1930s*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge.

Green, Nancy. 1997. *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Green, Nancy. 2012. "Changing Paradigms in Migration Studies: From Men to Women to Gender." *Gender & History* 24 (3): 782–98.

Green, Nancy. 2019. "Femmes, genre, migrations. Historiographies en mouvement" [Women, Gender, Migratons. Historiographies in Motion]. In *Vingt-cinq ans après. Les femmes au rendez-vous de l'histoire* [Twenty-Five Years After. Women at the Rendez-Vous with History], edited by Enrica Asquer, Anna Bellavitis, Giulia Calvi, Isabelle Chabot, Cristina La Rocca, and Manuela Martini, 215–26. Rome: École Française de Rome.

Green, Nancy, and Roger Waldinger, eds. 2016. *A Century of Transnationalism: Immigrants and Their Homeland Connections*. Urbana-Illinois.

Grenier, Benoît, and Catherine Ferland. 2013. "«Quelque longue que soit l'absence». Procurations et pouvoir féminin à Québec au XVIIIe siècle" [Proxies and Female Power in Québec in Eighteenth Century]. *CLIO. Histoire, Femmes et Société* nᵒ 37 printemps 2013: 197–225.

Guerry, Linda. 2013. *Le genre de l'immigration et de la naturalisation* [The Gender of Immigration and Naturalisation]. Lyon: ENS Éditions.

Hammerton, A. James. 2004. "Gender and Migration." In *Gender and Empire*, edited by Philippa Levine, 156–80. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harper, Marjory, and Stephen Constantine. 2010. *Migration and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, Brigitte. 1994. "Rural-Urban Migration of Women and Their Employment in Towns." *Rural History*, 52 (2): 185–94.

Hoerder, Dirk. 1999. "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Process." In *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, edited by Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 73–84. Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York, Paris and Wien: Peter Lang.

Hoerder, Dirk. 2002. *Cultures in Contact. World Migrations in the Second Millennium*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Hoerder, Dirk, Elise van Nederveen Meerker, and Silke Neunsinger, eds. 2015. *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiver Workers*. Leiden: Brill.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1999. "Introduction: Gender and U. S. Immigration." *American Behavioral Scientist* 42 (4): 565–76.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 2000. "Feminism and Migration." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 571, September 2000: 107–20.

Humphries, Jane, and Carmen Sarasúa. 2012. "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past." *Feminist Economics* 18 (4): 39–67.

Hunter. 2001. "Female Migration and the Farm Family Economy in Interwar Japan." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 244–58. London and New York: Routledge.

"Immigrant Organisations". 2005. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (5).

Iredale, Robyn. 2001. "The Migration of Professionals: Theories and Typologies." *International Migration* 39 (5): 7–26.

Kofman, Eleonore. 2000. "The Invisibility of Skilled Female Migrants and Gender Relations in Studies of Skilled Migration in Europe." *International Journal of Population Geography* 6: 45–59.

Kofman, Eleonore, and Parvati Raghuram. 2006. "Gender and Global Labour Migrations: Incorporating Skilled Workers." *Antipode* 38 (2): 282–303.

Kussmaul, Ann. 1981. *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laslett, Peter. 1977. "Characteristics of the Western Family Considered over Time." In *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*, edited by Peter Laslett, 12–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lucassen, Jan, and Leo Lucassen. 1999a. "Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives." In *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, edited by Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 9–38. Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York, Paris and Wien: Peter Lang.

Lucassen, Jan, and Leo Lucassen, eds. 1999b. *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York, Paris and Wien: Peter Lang.

Lutz, Helma, ed. 2008. *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Machen, Emily. 2011. "Traveling with Faith. The Creation of Women's Immigrant Aid Associations in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century France." *Journal of Women's History* 23 (3): 89–112.

Mansell, Charmian. 2018. "The Variety of Women's Experiences as Servants in England (1548–1649): Evidence from Church Court Depositions." *Continuity and Change* 33: 315–38.

Martini, Manuela. 2017. "Gendered Experiences of Work and Migration in Western Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience*, edited by Deborah Simonton, 71–83. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Martini, Manuela, and Philippe Rygiel, eds. 2009. Genre et travail migrant: mondes atlantiques, XIXe–XXe siècles [Gender and Migrant Work: Atlantic Worlds 19th–20th Centuries] Paris: Publibook.

Martini, Manuela, and Philippe Rygiel, eds. 2010. "Genre, filières migratoires et marché du travail: acteurs et institutions de la société civile en Europe au XX siècle" [Gender, Migration Networks and Labour Market: Actors and Institutions in the European Society in the 20th Century]. Migrations société 22 (127): 45–155.

Martini, Manuela, and Sumita Mukherjee. 2019. Migration, Institutions and Intimate Lives: Towards a New Agenda." *Gender & History* 31 (3): 531–44.

Merzario, Raoul. 1996. "Donne sole nelle valli e nelle montagne" [Women alone in Valleys and Mountains]. In *Il lavoro delle donne* [Women's Work], edited by Angela Groppi, 229–46. Roma and Bari: Laterza.

Morokvasic, Mirjana. 1984. "Birds of Passage Are also Women…" *International Migration Review* 18 (4): 886–907.

Nagata, Marie Louise. 2001. "Labour Migration, Family and Community in Early Modern Japan." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe 60–84. London and New York: Routledge.

Page Moch, Leslie. 1992. *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Page Moch, Leslie. 2015. "Domestic Service, Migration and Ethnic Stereotyping. Bécassine and the Bretons in Paris." *Journal of Migration History* 1: 32–53.

Parisi, Emanuela. 1999. "'Povere femmine che vanno altrove'. Vincoli all'emigrazione e libertà personale fra Sette e Ottocento" ['Poor Women Who Go Elsewhere'. Migration Constraints and Personal Freedom between Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century]. In *Altrove. Viaggi di donne dall'antichità al Novecento* [Elsewhere. Women Travels from the Antiquity to the Twentieth Century], edited by Corsi Dinora, 63–78. Roma: Viella.

Parreñas, Rachel Salazar. 2001. *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, Rachel Salazar. 2005. *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, Rachel Salazar. "Inserting Feminism in Transnational Migration Studies." on line: http://lastradainternational.org/lsidocs/RParrenas_InsertingFeminisminTransnationalMigrationStudies.pdf.

Pellettier-Pech, Sarah. 2011. "Femmes migrantes et réseaux de solidarité transnationaux au sein de la domesticité madrilène à l'aube du XVIIIe siècle" [Migrant Women and Solidarity Networks Among Servants in Madrid at the Beginning of the Eighteenth-Century]. In *Femmes sans frontières. Stratégies transnationales féminines face à la mondialisation, XVIIIe–XXIe siècles* [Women without borders. Transnational Female Strategies in Front of the Globalization, Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries], edited by Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga, Diana Burgos-Vigna, and Mercedes Yusta, 49–65. Berne: Peter Lang.

Pessar, Patricia, and Sarah Mahler. 2003. "Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender In." *International Migration Review* 37: 812–46.

Poitrineau, Abel. 1983. *Remues d'hommes. Les migrations montagnardes en France 17ᵉ-18ᵉ siècle*. [Moving men. Mountain migration in France Seventeenth-Eighteenth-Century]. Paris: Aubier Montaigne.

Prontera, Maria Grazia. 2014. "Percorsi femminili nell'associazionismo italiano di Monaco di Baviera dagli anni '70 ad oggi" [Female Paths in the Italian Associationism in Munich from the 1970's to Today]. *Genesis. Rivista della Società Italiana delle Storiche* XIII (1): 139–55.

Ramella, Franco. 2003. In "Immigrazione e traiettorie sociali in città: Salvatore e gli altri negli anni sessanta" [Immigration and Social Paths in the City: Salvatore and the Others During the 1960's]. In *L'Italia delle migrazioni interne. Donne, uomini, mobilità in età moderna e contemporanea* [Italian Domestic Migrations. Women, Men, Mobility in Early Modern and Contemporary Age], edited by Angiolina Arru and Franco Ramella, 339–86. Roma: Donzelli.

Ravenstein, Ernst G. 1885. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Statistical Society* 48 (2): 167–235.

Ravenstein, Ernst G. 1889. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Statistical Society* 52 (2): 241–305.

Ruiz, Marie. 2017. *British Female Emigration Societies and the New World, 1860–1914*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Sarasúa, Carmen. 2000. "Migrazioni femminili nella Spagna del XVIII e XIX secolo: serve, balie e altre lavoratrici" [Female Migrations in Spain in Eigtheenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Servants, Wet Nurses and Other Female Workers]. In *La montagna mediterranea: una fabbrica d'uomini?: mobilità e migrazione in una prospettiva comparata (sec. 15–20)* [Mediterranean Mountain: A Factory of Men?: Mobility and Migration in a Comparative Perspective (15th–20th Century)], edited by Dionigi Albera, Paola Corti, 193–209. Cavallermaggiore: Gribaudo.

Sarasúa, Carmen. 2001. "Leaving Home to Help the Family? Male and Female Temporary Migrants in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Spain." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 29–59. London and New York: Routledge.

Sarti, Raffaella. 1997. "Notes on the Feminization of Domestic Service. Bologne as a Case Study (18th–19th Centuries)." In *Le phénomène de la domesticité en Europe, XVIᵉ–XXᵉ siècles* [Domesticity in Europe, Sixteenth-Twentieth Centuries], *Acta Demographica*, edited by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and L. Fialova, vol. XIII, 125–63. Prague: Ceská Demografická Sociologicka.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2006. "Domestic Service: Past and Present in Southern and Northern Europe." *Gender & History* 18 (2): 222–45.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2016. "Open Houses Versus Closed Borders: Migrant Domestic Workers in Italy A Gendered Perspective (1950s-2010s)." In *Gender and Migration in Italy: A Multilayered Perspective*, edited by Elisa Olivito, 39–59. Burlington: Aldershot and Ashgate.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2019. "From Household to Household. The Circulation of Servants and Domestic Workers, as a Crucial Issue from Local to Global Level." In *Vingt-cinq ans après. Les femmes au rendez-vous de l'histoire* [Twenty-Five Years After. Women at the Rendez-Vous with History], edited by Enrica Asquer, Anna Bellavitis, Giulia Calvi, Isabelle Chabot, Cristina La Rocca, and Manuela Martini, 187–214. Rome: École Française de Rome.

Schrover, Marlou. 2001. "Women and Long-Distance Trade Migration in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 85–107. London and New York: Routledge.

Schrover, Marlou. 2019. "Gender and Social Exclusion in European Migration Crises: A Sociohistorical Perspective." In *The Handbook of Migration Crises*, edited by Cecilia Menjivar, Marie Ruiz, Immanuel Ness, 659–75. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Schrover, Marlou, and Eileen Janes Yeo, eds. 2010. *Gender, Migration and the Public Sphere, 1850–2005*. New York and Oxon: Routledge.

Sewell, William. 1985. *Structure and Mobility. The Men and Women of Marseille 1820–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sharpe, Pamela, ed. 2001a. *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sharpe, Pamela. 2001b "Introduction. Gender and the Experience of Migration." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 1–14. London and New York: Routledge.

Sinke, Suzanne M. 2006. "Gender and Migration: Historical Perspectives." *International Migration Review* "Gender and Migration Revisited" vol. 40 no. 1, Spring 2006: 82–103.

Sogner, Sølvi. 2011. "Scandinavian Women to Amsterdam in the Dutch Golden Age: Migratory Strategies." In *Femmes sans frontières. Stratégies transnationales féminines face à la mondialisation, XVIIIe–XXIe siècles* [Women Without Borders. Transnational Female Strategies in Front of the Globalization, Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries], edited by Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga, Diana Burgos-Vigna and Mercedes Yusta, 31–48. Berne: Peter Lang.

Steidl, Annemarie. 2016. "Between Home and Workshop. Regional and Social Mobility of Apprentices in 18th and 19th Centuries Vienna." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* [En ligne], 128 (1, March): 1–16. http://mefrim.revues.org/2491.

Timmerman, Christiane, Maria Lucinda Fonseca, Lore Van Praag, and Sónia Pereira, eds. 2018. *Gender and Migration. A gender-Sensitive Approach to Migration Dynamics*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Van de Pol, Lotte. 1994. "The Lure of the Big City. Female Migration to Amsterdam." In *Women of the Golden Age*, edited by Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman, 73–81. Hilversum: Verloren.

Wegge, Simone. 2001. "A Historical Perspective of Female Migrants. Motivations and Strategies of Nineteenth-Century Hessian." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 163–89. London and New York: Routledge.

Wrigley, Anthony. 1967. "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy." *Past and Present* 37: 44–70.

Zalc, Claire. 2005. "Femmes, entreprises et dépendances. Les entrepreneuses étrangères à Paris dans l'entre-deux-guerres" [Women, Firms and Dependencies. Foreigner Entrepreneurs in Paris between the World-Wars]. *Travail, genre et société* 13 (1): 51–74.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2014. "Progetti migratori. Lavoro e proprietà delle donne nelle migrazioni familiari (Torino, XVIII secolo)" [Migratory Projects. Work and Properties of Women in Family Migrations (Turin 18th Century)]. *Genesis. Rivista della Società Italiana delle Storiche* XIII (1): 31–48.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2017. "Immigration féminine et domesticité à Turin. Relations sociales et parcours individuel (XVIII–XIX siècle)" [Female Migration and Domesticity in Turin. Social Relationships and Individual Trajectories (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)]. In *Inmigration, trabajo y servicio doméstico en la Europa urbana siglos XVII–XX* [Migration, Work and Domestic Service in Urban Europe, Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries], edited by Isidro Dubert and Vicent Gourdon, 177–96. Madrid: Collection de la Casa Velázquez.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice (forthcoming). "A Difficult Matching. Female Artisans, Technical Knowledge and Inventions in Early Modern Savoy-Piedmont." In *The Republic of Skill*, edited by David Garrioch. Leiden: Brill.

Zulauf, Monika. 2001. *Migrant Women Professionals in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Institutions, Law and Identity

Tracing Migrations Within Urban Spaces: Women's Mobility and Identification Practices in Venice (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)

Teresa Bernardi

Introduction: From Identity to Identification

This Zuanna of whom I have spoken is somewhat shorter than average, her face is round and wide, of reddish complexion. I don't recall her eyebrows but I think they were thick. I can't remember the colour, but I think they were black. I think her nose was somewhat flat, with wide nostrils [...]. At first, she dressed like a Turk and then, while living at the *Casa dei Catecumeni*, she dressed like an Italian, but I can't remember how. Rather, I remember her coming to my house and seeing her around Venice wearing black clothes and headdress.[1]

T. Bernardi (✉)
University of Padua, Padua, Italy
e-mail: teresa.bernardi@unipd.it

When I found this very detailed description in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, my research was focused on how women of foreign origin presented themselves before the Venetian Inquisition (Bernardi 2017) since one of the first questions the Inquisitor would ask, concerned the defendants' personal details. Migrant women—be they from Northern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, the Venetian domains, or various cities of the Italian Peninsula—usually had to declare their name, age, place of origin, who their parents were, how they arrived in Venice and their religion. At first, my aim was to understand in which ways these women defined their identity in a highly coercive context, such as a religious tribunal (Homza 2000, 5–6; Dyer and Kagan 2004; Ginzburg 2006).[2] Then, a closer look at these same narratives, revealed the importance of exploring how women were identified more generally, and on which occasions their mobility was documented. This is the main object of this paper.[3]

The description above refers to Aisè, or Caia or Zuanna, a woman who traveled across the Mediterranean and lived in different cities of the Italian Peninsula. In 1684 her story drew the attention of the Roman Holy Office since she allegedly converted from Islam to Catholicism several times. Due to her short- and long-distance mobility, the Inquisition had to collect information from distant localities and within different jurisdictions. At the same time, the woman defined her identity in multiple ways on the basis of legal, cultural and personal circumstances.[4] As we will see, the story of Aisè per se cannot be considered a case of microhistory in the narrow sense. However, I tried to follow the micro-historical approach in two particular aspects, i.e. the specific attention paid to individual experiences, and the fruitful shift between 'close-ups and long-shots' (Ginzburg 1994, 56–8; Pomata 1998; Trivellato 2001).

Indeed, more general questions arise from the analysis of this particular story. When and how did individuals identify themselves? Which institutions were involved, and what was the relationship between registration and geographical mobility? Did mobility make identification more difficult, or even necessary? Why was it so important for some categories of foreigners to define their social conditions and religious beliefs when they moved? This article seeks to go beyond an attempt at understanding identity, in an effort to examine practices of registration and classification (Rappaport 2014, 4–5).

In fact, in the last 15 years the attention of scholars has progressively shifted from identity, which has been long debated, to the procedures for

identification. This interest has probably grown as a reaction to a rather monolithic and static conception of identity. As an alternative, scholars have taken a more dynamic approach to practices of recognition, categorization and identification of individuals. Nonetheless, the risk in using this new paradigm is to consider identification as a unilateral operation controlled by institutions with the aim to contain and discipline people (Buono 2014a, b, 2015).

Early studies about identification have focused mainly on the idea that establishing the identity of individuals was a crucial aim in the process of modern state-building (Torpey 2000; Caplan and Torpey 2001; Noiriel 2007). Consequently, they have emphasized the correlation between identification and coercion or identification and governability (Scott 1998; Foucault 2004). Another element that characterized early scholarship on identification is the relevance of bureaucratization as a medium of social control and state formation in early modern society (Goody 1986). For instance, scholars who underscored the shift from oral to written culture have overestimated the reliability and credibility of written documents. Furthermore, they have undervalued the central role of reputation as a form of legitimation. In fact, social networks and local communities were important means of identification used by both institutions and social actors (Groebner 2001, 15–27; 2007, 15; Breckenridge and Szreter 2012; About et al. 2013).[5]

Recent studies though, such as those by Tamar Herzog, Simona Cerutti and Alessandro Buono, are turning the tide. Herzog has highlighted that written documents did not replace the relevance of 'an oral knowledge that either opposed or converged with them'. Cerutti and Buono have demonstrated that recording identity was also a means to assign membership, providing access to urban resources (both material and immaterial) (Herzog 2003; 2012, 11; Cerutti 2012; Buono 2014a, 107–20; 2015, 231–66).

In light of these recent considerations, my paper will contribute to question some historiographical assumptions about identification: namely the monopoly of government in recording and classifying people, and the replacement of orality (reputation and social networks) by written documents. In this respect, I have chosen a specific and, only partially, peculiar context: the cosmopolitan city of Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition, the use of different types of documentation—legal sources, ecclesiastical records and inquisitorial trials—and the analysis

of different identification practices have allowed me to re-discuss the category of identity itself.

The city of Venice can be an appropriate context for questioning the historiographical assumptions that I have so far discussed. Like in other early modern cities, accommodation and assimilation of migrants was a precondition for the Republic's cultural and economic growth (Moch 1992; Canny 1994; Lucassen and Lucassen 1997; Lucassen et al. 2010). Indeed, even though Venice was often affected by high infant mortality and destructive bouts of epidemic, at the turn of the seventeenth century it was still one of the most populous urban centers in Europe with a population of about 150,000 inhabitants (Beltrami 1954, 32, 71; Zannini 1993b).

This analysis focuses on different ways in which foreigners were registered individually and identified within the Venetian urban spaces. I will start by providing a legal definition of 'foreigner', without necessarily considering this category in opposition to that of 'citizen' (Zannini 1993a; Bellavitis 1995, 2001; Mueller 2010). To do so, I will not focus on specific foreign communities, or groups of migrants defined according to ethnicity, religion and profession, as past scholarly literature has already broadly done (Calabi and Christensen 2007; De Munck and Winter 2012, 11–22).[6] I rather decided to examine the legislation concerning foreigners in general, and then gauge if Venetian public authorities acted in different ways depending on the different categories of people and specific historical circumstances (Cavallo 2001; Cerutti 2012; Canepari 2012).

The intersectional approach has hitherto been adopted in relation to contemporary history, but, with due hermeneutical caution, it has turned out to be particularly functional to the analysis of past societies as well (Marchetti 2013; Hancock 2016). Above all, I will consider the links between social condition, origin, religious belonging and gender. The focus on women's mobility together with the role of gender in the classification process is crucial in re-discussing the way in which mobility was generally documented and controlled in the early modern period (Scott 1986; Sharpe 2001; Donato, et al. 2006; Green 2012). More specifically, it is suggested that the registration of foreigners was not only a means to manage migration and mobility. On the contrary, the need to define and register identities seemed to grow in multiple ways and in different contexts, and through the interference of several actors.

As we shall see, this was true not only in relation to migration but also in reference to inter-urban mobility. Personal identification could be demanded within diverse jurisdictions and urban communities, such as charity institutions, guilds, 'national' communities, parishes, and so on. As a matter of fact, Venice was not surrounded by walls but there were many material and immaterial borders even inside the city itself. For this reason, inter-urban mobility could also imply a redefinition of social ties and, sometimes, a new registration of identity. It therefore seems appropriate—if not useful—to abandon a 'rigid' conception of urban areas and to pay more attention also to the crossing of internal boundaries.[7]

To briefly summarize the content of this paper, the first part focuses on the legislation concerning the registration of foreigners and their residence, questioning the presence or absence of women in this type of documentation, as well as the potential specificity of female mobility. The second part analyzes a case study, focusing mainly on the role of social actors, especially on the way they used institutions and identification to obtain privileges or to claim local membership. The third, and last part, concerns a practice of registration that was specifically addressed to migrant women. Although women were often absent from administrative records, when their identification was demanded, they also appeared as actors able to claim social and economic resources, even over long distances (Sharpe 2001; Zucca Micheletto 2014). Finally, the micro-analytic approach and the joint study of legal and administrative records help to highlight the very relationship between institutions, urban communities and individuals, but also the central role played by some intermediaries.

Registration of Foreigners and Women's Mobility

The Legislation

In 1642 the *Esecutori contro la Bestemmia* established that Jewish women had to register themselves 'in the same way as Jewish men were required to do', under the same laws and penalties. The magistracy also mentioned several scandals that occurred in the Ghetto due to these women:

> Considering the scandalous occurrences which have happened in the Ghetto because of foreign Jewish women, who have been in this city in different times, and some of whom have caused pernicious scandals due

to their dissolute lives. Since their Excellencies want to remedy, with the present they declare that the day after their arrival, [women] like all foreign Jews, must declare their names, surnames, provenance, where they lodge and the reasons why they have travelled to the city; the same duties and penalties established by law shall be applied to the above-mentioned Jewish women.[8]

I decided to quote this provision almost in its entirety because this is the only reference to foreign women within the whole legislation concerning the registration of foreigners. Although this could be considered only an isolated example, this also raises several questions: was women's migration documented in early modern Venice? How was female mobility controlled, and why? What was the difference among women belonging to different religious minorities? Before attempting to provide any answer, we need to explore the legislation concerning the activity of the *Esecutori*, a Venetian magistracy responsible for morality and public order, and, since the end of the sixteenth century, also in charge of registering newcomers and controlling their residences (Derosas 1980; Cozzi 1991).

In 1583 the Council of Ten, one of the most important government bodies, established that all the foreigners arriving in Venice from outside the Venetian domains had to register themselves. In particular, they had to report their name, surname, place of origin, the reason for being in the city, and their future domicile to the *Esecutori*. The magistracy handed out a sort of 'residence permit' that was called *bollettino*. In order to uncover potential infractions, an officer was in charge of walking around the city and control the accuracy of the information that was given at the moment of the registration.[9] This document, therefore, was valid for limited periods only and foreigners were supposed to renew it whenever they decided to change their profession or their residence.[10]

A first important element is that the registration of foreigners took place not at the city's borders but within various urban spaces: in taverns, inns and lodging houses. The same applied to most European cities at the time (Moatti and Kaiser 2007, 1–25; Greefs and Winter 2018). Innkeepers who rented rooms to foreigners were required to apply for a specific license and declare the arrival and departure of their guests.[11] They were veritable intermediaries between public authorities and newcomers. On the one hand, they had to denounce their foreign guests in order to be able to carry on their business activity and

avoid punishment; on the other, they served as an important channel of communication, since they also informed foreigners about the measures adopted by the magistracies.

This practice of registration has been almost ignored by scholars so far.[12] Indeed, one can wonder if this administrative procedure was effectively put into practice and whether the quantity of documents produced was sufficiently representative of the number of migrants who arrived and left the city on a daily basis. An extensive search suggests that the *bollettini* have gone lost. This should not be surprising, especially when considering that these documents had to be carried around by foreigners.[13] In fact, the *bollettini* consisted of receipts granted after a successful registration, already inscribed in the magistracy's books (Bamji 2019, 443).

Despite the physical absence of these documents, it has been still possible to conduct a quantitative analysis of the magistracy's administrative documentation. Since the *Esecutori* recorded the number of *bollettini* that had been commissioned from the official printer in order to pay him, we can count them in relation to limited periods of time. For example, in 1624, 12,000 licenses had been printed over the span of about ten months (between 13 April 1624 and 21 February 1625). From May 1628 to November 1631, instead, around 10,500 were printed, probably because of the decline in the population due to the plague.[14] Furthermore, it seems that during the following century, these documents became increasingly specific in their appearance, both to prevent falsification and to facilitate administrative procedures. Every color denoted a specific group: black for Italians, red for those coming from 'beyond the mountains', yellow for those coming from 'overseas' and green for Jews (Bernardi and Pompermaier 2019; Bernardi 2020).[15]

From the end of the seventeenth century, therefore, we can detect a more specific legal definition of 'foreigner', based on a more clearcut distinction between Venetian subjects and migrants from outside the Venetian domains. However, the analysis of the legislation over the long term suggests that, despite the emphasis on jurisdiction, public authorities did not refer to foreigners as a collective group. Furthermore, the same legislation appeared flexible and changed over time. Some groups of foreigners were excluded from registration and could circulate without a residence permit. Instead, others were mentioned only later, due to particular economic and political contingencies.[16]

Even the focus on those categories of people excluded from registration is important to understand the actual function of this administrative

practice, and its relevance for the identification of individuals. At first, the ordinances specifically exempted mariners, who were by definition mobile since they used to stay in Venice only temporarily, and those people who came with letters of recommendation (*lettere di credenza*) written by foreign sovereigns or dignitaries.[17] They were generally merchants, ambassadors, or other travelers equipped with special travel documents that legitimated their presence in the city, even if differently. Moreover, migrants who arrived in Venice to work for a master (*maestro*), such as foreign artisans, were not required to register and could lodge wherever they wanted. This was thanks to the relationship with their employer, who had to vouch for them and testify about the foreign workers' place of residence and their departure.[18]

An exception was also made for those groups of foreigners, such as Turks, who had already negotiated their permanence within the city. The reason might be that they had to comply with even more stringent rules than the rest of the population. In 1621 the Venetian government established that Turkish merchants and travelers living in Venice had to stay only in one building, the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, on the Grand Canal. From that moment onwards their residence was put under the surveillance of a Venetian magistracy, the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* (Venetian Board of Trade). Moreover, the regulations established that every day a custodian had to register the 'names, surnames, origin, and goods of the people who arrive and leave the city', so that Turkish merchants were forced to pay the rent and tax for the storage of their goods. This may mean that there was no need for an additional form of registration (Concina 1997, 219–46; Pedani 2010, 219–20).[19]

It is also interesting to note that legislation could also change over time in response to specific political or economic contingencies. The Jews' charters (*condotte*) have been analyzed by scholars as major pieces of evidence for the regulation of Jewish residents in Venice. However, from 1612, the Jews were also required to register and obtain a license to lodge in the Ghetto, whether they were subjects of the Republic or foreigners from outside the domains. In fact, the Council of Ten instructed the Jewish Community (*Università degli Ebrei*) to provide the names, surnames and places of origin of foreigners hosted in the Ghetto. All this information had to be collected by the hosts.[20] From that moment, therefore, the same measures were adopted for a space already separated and regulated by the government.

One must of course consider that these decisions were taken in a particular historical period: at the turn of the seventeenth century, controversies arose about the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula and the suspects of crypto-Judaism. In 1589, the renewal of the charter legitimated their presence within the city, ensuring new economic opportunities for both the Republic and the Jewish merchants. Nevertheless, their presence was still perceived as a threat to Christian society (Ruspio 2007, 11–22). In those same years, doge Leonardo Donà, who was the ambassador of the Republic in Spain, commented on the difficulties in controlling those who inhabited the Ghetto (since many Jews from Spain arrived in Venice thanks to privileges and safe-conducts, which prevented potential inquiries on their past), but also in enforcing control on their current residence within the city.[21]

Finally, the same foreigners from outside the domains could be exempted from registration after ten years of continuous residence in the Venetian territories. In this way, they had the possibility to live in the city, circulate freely and return without renewing their residence permits. To prove their stability, foreign inhabitants needed the previous registrations together with oral testimonies of witnesses able to confirm their general details, profession and their permanence in the city.[22]

We can assume that exemption from registration represented the final step of an assimilation process that, in fact, had already occurred. Indeed, a series of other elements could enhance their request: for instance, membership to a guild, military service, payment of economic duties and presence in the city of other family members. These activities, therefore, provided a series of rights and obligations that would define and strengthen local networks, and also gave the possibility to legally attest their own social status. It is particularly significant that it was precisely the very condition of 'settledness' and the strength of social networks to ensure foreign inhabitants' freedom of movement (Herzog 2003, 108; Cerutti 2007, 256; Cavallar and Kirshner 2011; Barbot 2013).[23]

The Un-Registration of Women

As a matter of fact, legislation makes almost no reference to foreign women. The status of foreign inhabitant, therefore, was a legal definition seemingly assigned exclusively to male migrants. To better understand how the registration procedure worked and in which circumstances women's mobility was documented and controlled, however, we should

question the absence of women in this type of source, rather than focusing only on their presence.

Even if the law did not explicitly exclude women from registration, it is clear that newly arrived women did not have to register their identity, nor were they expected to notify where they resided. In the period examined, public authorities often specified if a norm concerned both men and women. In Venice, for example, the *Esecutori* ordered both male and female lodging-house keepers (*albergatori* and *albergatrici*) to declare their economic activity. In a similar way, the Venetian Senate specified that this applied to 'people of any status, condition, quality, gender', in order to underline the general character of its ordinances.[24] Otherwise, authorities would refer specifically to women, when necessary: the *Esecutori*, for instance, appealed in particular to female subjects (*suddite*), forbidding them to manage lodging-houses on behalf of their foreign husbands. Indeed, those who came from outside the Venetian territories were not allowed to provide lodging to other foreigners; they could only do so if they had been permanent residents in Venice for at least 20 years.[25]

Women are almost absent also when we consider legal practice. Even though legal proceedings of the *Esecutori* from the period prior to the 1690s have not survived, it is still possible to consult the annotations of the sentences for the entire span of the seventeenth century. While a significant number of females (especially foreigners) appeared as landladies and lodging-house keepers, there is no reference to female lodgers who were punished for not providing the required documents.[26] This is reflected in a list of names of foreigners recorded by the magistracy in 1607 and 1608, in which female names are totally absent.[27] Exemptions from registration follow this general pattern: none of the almost 200 seventeenth-century exemptions from the need for *bollettini* examined for this study relates to women.[28]

Although the presence of foreign women in Venice was not documented in the same way as male migrants, gender relations still played a crucial role when someone needed to prove a stable presence in the city. As already mentioned, to be excused from registering it was necessary to attest continuous residency in the Venetian territories. In this regard, marriage represented an important means of legitimation: the fact a foreigner had a Venetian wife or that he had settled in Venice with his family was considered as evidence, not only of stability, but also of an intention to remain permanently in the city (Bellavitis 1995, 2001).[29]

Specific models of femininity and masculinity likely influenced the way in which public authorities controlled migration and mobility within the urban fabric. Taking into account that migrant women were mostly un-registered, the analysis of the documentation from a gender perspective allows to reflect on the very reason for their absence. First of all, what should be considered is the peculiar family structure of the time as well as its internal power relations. In fact, it was probably the male house-hold head (*pater familiae*) who was required to register on behalf of his entire family, regularly indicating where he lived in return for the residence permit (Costa 2001, 36–48).

Moreover, the authorities' concerns about foreigners differed on the basis of gender. In general, foreigners were considered a potential threat for public order mostly because they were unknown to the local commu-nity. This is especially clear when focusing on those categories of people that were more susceptible to receive punishment: the *Esecutori* were supposed to condemn primarily anyone who lied about their name or origin. Beyond that, they could banish vagrants and 'bad people', as well as foreign beggars.[30] To the *Esecutori*, therefore, registration was a means to facilitate the administration of justice and, indirectly, the distribution of economic resources. From the authorities' perspective, foreigners could commit crimes inside the Venetian domains and then freely move in other jurisdictions without being prosecuted. Conversely, criminals might also reside in the Republic's territories, easily hiding their past actions.[31]

On the other hand, if we consider once again the provision against foreign Jewish women of 1642, it seems clear that when women were required to register, it was mainly for questions of morality and sexual honor. This hypothesis is confirmed by the same language of the legis-lation on the matter. The magistracy attributed 'damaging scandals' (*scandali perniciosi*) and a 'disgraceful life' (*vita rilasciata*) to Jewish foreign women.[32] Indeed, it is certainly not a mere coincidence that just one year before the charter that reformed residence conditions of Jews in Venice established a clearer separation of roles of the *Esecutori* from those of the other lay magistracy in charge of regulating their presence, the *Uffi-ciali al Cattaver*. The latter would control the contacts between Jewish men and Christian women, while the former was in charge of overseeing those between Jewish women and Christians (Pullan 1983, 79–80).[33]

The moral question alone, however, does not fully explain the need to register. In my view, it is the intersection between different social categories that made Jewish foreign women more susceptible to the

authorities' direct control. It is not clear whether the magistracy was actually referring to prostitutes in the norm (suffice to note that the 'scandals' negatively connoted Jewish women and their reputation). Furthermore, due to their 'foreignness' Jewish women were less traceable at a local level, because of the lack of both social networks and a proper administrative history. Finally, their belonging to a religious minority certainly demanded closer attention for what concerned their relations with Christians (Nirenberg 2002; Galasso 2002, 109; Caffiero 2013).

At this point, however, it seems necessary to specify that the concerns on the sexual honor of mobile women, also depended on the type of sources under scrutiny. The *Esecutori* registered foreigners for reasons mainly related to morality, religion and public order. On the contrary, other Venetian magistracies were in charge of controlling mobility for different purposes, according to their jurisdiction (Costa 1969; Cerutti 2003; Hespanha 2013). It is beyond the scope of the present study to provide full details here, but it is significant that mobility did not always raise the same concerns. This implies that the authorities did not use the same criteria for registration. The *Giustizia Nuova*, the magistracy responsible for the supervision of inns and taverns and for taxing the hospitality industry, paid attention mainly to economic issues and registered foreigners without distinguishing between those coming from outside the Venetian domains and subjects. The same can be said of the *Provveditori sopra la Sanità*, the magistracy in charge of public health. In order to prevent the spread of contagion, they controlled the migrants' trajectories irrespective of their origin or gender.[34]

Beyond the legal definition of 'foreigner', what emerges from the Venetian sources is the central role of local knowledge, both in terms of written documents and social networks. Authorities were definitely not concerned with migration or mobility per se—these were structural phenomena of past societies—but with permanence. Although the registration of foreigners consisted of a relevant administrative practice, it was not always necessary or demanded. The invisibility of women in this type of documentation, therefore, suggests that mobility could be controlled also outside the institutions. In fact, local communities and women's reputation represented an important means of identification and recognition. It was mostly where local control (family, neighbors and so on) failed or could potentially fail, that authorities had to intervene by requiring official registration.

Between Migration and Inter-Urban Mobility: The Itinerary of Caia *Alias* Zuanna *Alias* Aisè

A Christian Woman in the Fondaco of the Turks

The story of a woman named Aisè, which I reconstructed by intersecting different types of sources, discloses the social actors' attempts at negotiation and manipulation of the institution. It further questions the need for identification in cases in which mobility was not exclusively geographical, but also religious, and, by implication, social and cultural as well. Ironically, attributing different names to the same woman implied an identification process on my part. The difficulty in defining who a person was in a period when photographs, fingerprinting or retina scans did not exist, inevitably also affects the way in which historians attempt to trace the mobility of individuals. For this purpose, the inquisitorial trial has proved to be a good starting point, since most of the existing records about Aisè were included in copy within the legal proceedings. Furthermore, the sources I have identified among different archival collections contain sufficient cross references to establish connections.[35]

As anticipated, Aisè was a woman from Livorno who allegedly lived as a Muslim in Constantinople for twenty years. While traveling across the Mediterranean, from Constantinople to Corfu, from Corfu to Venice, and from Venice to Rome, she supposedly changed religion, name and social status several times. We know about her story because in 1682 she was tried by the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* and a few years later she was also brought before the Inquisition. In fact, Aisè tried to be baptized twice: first at the *Casa dei Catecumeni* (Holy House of Catechumens) in Venice and then at the same institution in Rome (Caffiero 2004; Rothman 2006; Ioly Zorattini 2008; Mazur 2016).[36]

After having explored the way in which public authorities requested for individual identity to be defined, I will demonstrate how identification was not just a top-down process. On the contrary, single individuals also played a central role. This woman, for example, represented and defined herself in different ways with respect to the changing contexts and authorities which she had to deal with. This was possible not only in long-distance migration but also through short-distance urban mobility. As a matter of fact, her identity was demanded or needed to be defined

on multiple occasions, especially when she crossed a geographical, institutional or even a cultural border across the Mediterranean, and even inside the city itself.

In July 1682, a woman in her forties stood before the *Cinque Savi*. She had been denounced by some Christian custodians of the *Fondaco dei Turchi* as they had seen her holding a rosary near the building. She stated that her name was Caia and that she was a Muslim. She then asked for a license to embark for Split before going to Constantinople.[37] The woman had been living for some time in the *Fondaco dei Turchi* on the Grand Canal, a place which housed Turkish merchants and travelers. The *fondaci* were part of the urban plan which guaranteed the presence and safety in the city of foreign communities with which the Republic traded. At the same time, it ensured the Venetian authorities' control over them and their separation from Christian society (Concina 1997, 219–49; Preto 2013, 132–33; Pedani 2010, 211–29; Orlando 2014, 11–24).[38]

Since the documentation specifies that Aisè had been living for a period of time in the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, it is apt to further explore the people who actually used to attend this place. Historiography has hitherto claimed that women were forbidden from accessing the building. Ennio Concina, for instance, mentions some ordinances that made the *Fondaco* inaccessible to young people, women, and 'bad' people (Concina 1997, 233).The discovery of a list of both people and goods arriving and departing from the *Fondaco*, dating from 1720, strengthens this claim. Indeed, the list contains just male names and it seems to refer only to those men who were lodged there or used the *Fondaco*'s warehouses to store their goods.[39]

Once again, it is worth questioning whether the lack of women in the surviving registers was due to their actual absence in the specific context, or if it depends on the fact that they were not required to register, as men did. In other words: how much does the nature of the registration and its purpose affect the gender ratio in this kind of record and, consequently, the historians' perception of the presence or absence of women in specific urban spaces? In this case, the request to register one's lodging address was functional to verifying the payment of rent and taxes on the goods stored. It is possible to surmise, therefore, that the records do not represent all the individuals who took advantage of the *Fondaco* for other reasons.

Further evidence supports the hypothesis that the *Fondaco* of the Turks was not a place reserved for male merchants only and that women as well

could have access to the *Fondaco*'s benefits, even though they did not necessarily live there. By analyzing the building's fundamental rules and the behavior of its inhabitants, it is possible to ascertain that access was not forbidden to women in general, as other scholars have argued so far. On the contrary, legislation refers in particular to women and children who were also Christian.[40] Furthermore, the social and political status of Turks in Venice should be also considered. Contrary to other communities of strangers living in the city, such as the Jews or Greeks, Turkish merchants had neither a well-defined internal organization, nor 'national' charitable institutions. Their residence within the urban space was closely dependent on the agreements between the Venetian government and the Ottoman authorities, which fluctuated in an ever-changing scenario (Pedani 2010, 27).

In light of this, the *Fondaco* likely represented an important point of reference especially for Turkish women: it was a sort of 'border territory', where they could, for example, obtain authorization to enter or leave the city; but also a means of converting to Catholicism or Islam, according to the authority (Muslim or Christian) to whom individuals addressed their request. In addition to Aisè's experience of the *Fondaco*, the story of a young Turkish woman, who converted to Catholicism at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is relevant to the argument: in 1622, the woman in question found protection inside the building asking an Ottoman official the permission to leave Venice and go back to her own faith (Vanzan 1996, 330–31; Minchella 2014, 23).

Standing before the Venetian magistracy, and with the help of an interpreter, Aisè stated in Turkish that she had been born in Livorno to Christian parents before falling into Ottoman hands at the age of six, when she was boarded on a corsair ship along with her father and brother. She was then taken to Constantinople by a general of the Turkish imperial army and she lived as a Muslim for over twenty years. According to Aisè, after the death of the Ottoman functionary, she was sold to an Armenian who took her to Cephalonia, where he abandoned her.[41] The magistracy was interested in knowing how she arrived in Venice and what religion she professed, so the woman continued the story of her many travels by sea monitored by a series of intermediaries and mobility permits. From Cephalonia, she reached Corfu thanks to a license of the general commissioner Grimani. There she spent 'fifteen days of contumacy' before being able to set sail for Venice.[42]

However, Aisè's statement did not tally with the information that an inhabitant of Zakynthos had given to the magistrates in the meantime. The woman had completely left out a stage of her journey: according to the witness, Aisè had lived on Zakynthos for two years as an Orthodox Christian and worked for Venetians as a servant. He also stated that she had a son, whom she bore to the Christian Armenian who had sent her there, and who had died in infancy. The magistrate decided to arrest her and after some time sent her to the *Casa dei Catecumeni*, where she was baptized *sub conditione*, taking the name Maria.[43]

Casa dei Catecumeni: Defining Religious Affiliation

According to historiography, this practice was pretty common in the Italian peninsula in the early modern period, especially when people declared to be born in places considered as 'mostly Christian'. Generally, religious authorities opted for a conditional baptism when they doubted that a person had already been baptized, or when they were unsure whether the sacrament had been celebrated in conformity with the requirements of the Catholic Church. These issues arose in particular during the Counter-Reformation, when the Roman Church reaffirmed the unbreakable and uniform nature of the sacraments (Prosperi 2006, 1–65, 56; Broggio et al. 2009; Boccadamo 2010, 216–17).

Conditional baptism should be considered through the lens of the doctrinal and theological debates of the time, but the formula *sub conditione* could also be a significant legal tool in the administration of justice. For example, it could have been a solution in the absence of a baptism certificate or a distinct social network. In my opinion, it could also have been a way to avoid further investigations, in particular when a more accurate examination did not fit with contingencies or with the institution's main goals. Our sources give the impression that the priority of the *Casa dei Catecumeni* was to offer protection to lone women without 'roots' within the urban fabric, thus providing them with a more defined social role (not only within Catholic society, but, more broadly, in the city of Venice). Considering the above, it is interesting to note that the transition of the woman to the religious institution occurred at the request of a lay magistracy, and not with the Inquisition's mediation, as it generally happened in other Italian cities (Caffiero 2010, 312).

The acceptance by the *Casa dei Catecumeni* and the subsequent conversion, implied the registration of Aisè's identity along which went

hand in hand with a process of acquisition of rights and duties. Sacraments, therefore, were actually collective rituals and crucial social practices, which sanctioned membership to the local community. In fact, the *Casa dei Catecumeni* in Venice was the result of the collaboration between the Venetian ecclesiastical authorities, lay patricians, colony administrators and the Jesuits, which is why we can say that this institution used conversion also as a means of state-building and as a tool for implementing migration policies (Ortega 2008, 334; Rothman 2006). People from Ottoman lands, converts—and women in particular—were included in new kinship networks. Many converted women were employed as domestic servants in families that were linked to this institution, and often, thanks to donations from benefactors, the *Casa dei Catecumeni* guaranteed a dowry to some of the unmarried women. It was not a mere coincidence, thus, that several young Turkish women were sent to the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni*, even if they had been already converted in the domains (Vanzan 1996, 331).

This institution shaped a new 'official' identity for Aisè, ensuring that, in case she had not been baptized incorrectly or not baptized at all, she was now clearly and unequivocally a Catholic. Though, the ritual was followed by some measures of local acceptance and integration: it was clearly marked by dressing in specific clothing, alternative social networks, a profession and a Christian name. As recent studies have asserted, therefore, conversion was not motivated just by religious concerns, rather it was influenced by social relations, family tensions and economic and political contexts as well. When the available documentation allows to inter-weave different types of sources, the connection between all these factors becomes more visible (Foa and Scaraffia 1996; Allegra 1996; Fabre 1999; García-Arenal 2001; Mills and Grafton 2003; Poutrin 2012; Ditchfield and Smith 2017).[44]

Following those scholars who analyze more 'how' people converted in the early modern period than the choices of single converts, the story of Aisè allows to consider the phenomenon of religious conversion also as a practice for personal identification and for the control of female mobility. As stated before, when women were required to register it was usually because of matters related to morality. However, it was actually solitude along with a lack of networks, which was considered dangerous for social order. On the one hand, the registration of Aisè's identity was required by the institution; on the other, the subsequent identification of the woman

allowed her to access local membership and enjoy the city's economic and social resources (Caglioti 2008; Bellavitis, et al. 2009; Fosi 2011).

After some time Aisè moved to Rome, where she applied to be baptized again at the Roman *Casa dei Catecumeni*. This time she presented herself with the name Aisè, declaring that she was a Muslim, probably to take advantage of the institution's benefits once more. However, in 1683 she was recognized in Piazza Navona by Giovanni de Luca, an Armenian merchant from Venice who had a shop in St Mark's Square where she used to go. We do not know exactly how events unfolded but what emerges from the documentation is that the merchant was called to testify at the *Casa dei Catecumeni* in Rome. He stated that he knew the woman by a different name and affirmed that she had already been baptized in Venice, where he had seen her attend the church and using the rosary. The *Casa dei Catecumeni*'s notary denounced Aisè to the Inquisition, but he forgot to ask the Armenian for a detailed physical description of the woman, which would have allowed the inquisitors to identify her.[45]

From the analysis of the documentation, it is not possible to establish why Aisè moved to Rome, and much less the circumstances of that encounter. Inquisitorial records are replete with cases in which people crossed paths, often meeting in the most frequented Mediterranean cities. However, it was more likely that the episode in Piazza Navona was not just an accident.

Holy Office: The Physical Description as a Proof of Identity

One significant fact is particularly relevant to the analysis: the very omission of Aisè's physical description in the Armenian's testimony legally precluded the conclusion of the trial. We know this from a letter of the Sacred Congregation sent to the doge in February 1684 and by a precise instruction for the Venetian Inquisitor:

> 19 February 1684
> Due to the notary's carelessness, the Armenian not having visually recognized or even provided a description of the woman in order to ascertain her identity, the trial is flawed and the sentence remains equally impeded.[46]

Although the word 'identity' is widely used by historians, it is seldom found in seventeenth-century documents. At this point we could ask

ourselves what contemporaries really meant by 'identity'. In this specific context, the expression does not fit the modern concept of the term, namely 'to be a specific person and not another'. Instead, it seems to be more similar in significance to 'identification', intended in the sense of the act of recognizing someone as part of a socially produced network. In the context of the inquisitorial trial, therefore, the woman's physical aspect had to match the descriptions provided by the witnesses, a process that would locate her within a defined social network.[47]

The Roman Inquisition thus requested an immediate search for the Armenian merchant and his fellow countrymen, who in the meantime had returned to the lagoon city, to obtain a detailed description of the woman. In March 1684, the Venetian Inquisition thus instructed the informative trial and gathered the documentation and testimonies requested by Rome, including a copy of Aisè's statement taken by the *Cinque Savi* and the certificate of her baptism.[48]

This situation is significant not because it illustrates the difficulty in identifying individuals, but for the centrality of the physical aspect—even more than language, clothing and ritual practices—in the process of identification. I suggest that it was commonly accepted that clothes, language and even names could be easily changed in the early modern Mediterranean. The same was not equally true for the body. Physical characteristics, in some occasions, could become a binding instrument in identifying a specific person. On the other side, language and manners decoded and formalized an affiliation, to some extent. We can thus notice that the alleged 'opacity' and the 'untrustworthiness' of the information about a person's physical appearance can be questioned (Groebner 2001, 15–27), as the testimonies in Aisè's trial clearly demonstrated, like the statement by Abbot Zeno, cited at the beginning of this article.

In light of this, we can question how common this practice was as part of the inquisitorial procedure. Observing carefully the Abbot's words, it is possible to note that his declarations were clearly formulated on the basis of a pre-existing model. Indeed, the Roman Congregation had sent to the Venetian Inquisition a detailed description of the woman, in order to compare it with the witnesses' oral statements. Moreover, the Congregation instructed the local tribunal to act in the 'usual way' (*in forma solita*), so referring to specific and already fixed criteria. According to a famous inquisitorial manual of the seventeenth century, the *Sacro Arsenale* by Eliseo Masini, the inquisitor had to examine the complainant about the personal details of the accused, such as 'name, surname, father, country,

profession, domicile, age', also reporting an accurate physical description: 'height, face, beard and so on'.[49]

Of course, it was not always possible or necessary to identify a person, especially if they moved from one place to another (Kosto 2016, 290). Yet I believe that the identification process did not necessarily depend on distance, but rather on the mobility between one urban community and another. Social networks, thus, were a key feature in constructing the identification process. These networks, in fact, often went beyond geographical borders and thus widened the possibility of recognizing an individual 'trans-locally'. Aisè moved between distanced places as well as within different jurisdictional spaces and, in the end, it was possible to identify her because someone could describe her physical appearance in both Rome and Venice.[50] Furthermore, the woman had tried to use similar points of reference in both cities (the *Casa dei Catecumeni* and then probably the relationship with the Armenian merchant who denounced her).

The testimony of Orsetta di Ponte, the prioress of the *Catecumeni*, who was heard on March 24, provides another version of the events and leads us to the origin of the story. According to her, Aisè actually showed up twice at the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni*. The first time she was sent there by the Archbishop of Corfu. On that occasion she was dressed 'alla schiavona' with her face partially covered by a linen veil.[51] Pretending not to speak Italian but only Turkish, Aisè stated that she was the daughter of a great pasha, that she had seven corsair brothers, and that she wanted to convert to Christianity. Once again, Aisè had given an account of her past which did not match the one that she had provided on other occasions. Furthermore, according to the prioress, she gave herself away by speaking in Italian while conversing with the interpreter. On that occasion she said that if they refused to baptize her in Venice, she would try to get it done elsewhere. These words lead back to the concrete possibility that individuals had to move and identify themselves in different ways according to contingent needs and objectives.[52]

Sent away from the *Casa dei Catecumeni* in Venice, Aisè went to live at the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, where she was seen with the rosary and denounced to the *Cinque Savi*, to whom she presented herself saying that she was a Muslim and asked the permission to sail to Constantinople.[53] In Venice the Inquisitorial trial ended with the informative phase and for now we do not know what happened in Rome. Yet, this is a suitable case study for assessing the negotiations that took place between institutions

and social actors. Moreover, it allows to reflect on the relevant role of a series of intermediaries: especially in relation to women, they intervened to control and facilitate their mobility as well as to provide authorities with crucial information. This enables us to move to the next analysis.

Between Written Documents and Oral Testimonies: The Registration of Greek Orthodox Women

Identification and Urban Resources

Shifting the attention from administrative records to judicial proceedings has made it possible to explore a series of identification practices that had previously been ignored by scholars. Above all, the focus on migrant women—especially those who belonged to a religious minority—has been crucial in distinguishing between the circumstances in which mobility was formally registered and those in which it was controlled from below. In this regard, the identification process related to the inheritance of a Greek benefactor has turned out to be particularly representative. The procedure to obtain the legacies of Tommaso Flangini, in fact, represents one of those rare occasions in which women had to register.[54]

Contrary to what concerns other registration procedures, in this case women's mobility was not documented for reasons regarding morality or sexual honor. Instead, the registration was aimed at assigning—or eventually denying—rights and obligations of membership. As we have already observed thanks to Aisè's story, migrant women, like men, could mobilize economic resources and build up multiple social ties at different stages of their migration (Sharpe 2001; Green 2012). This case study helps to explore the very concept of distance (both in terms of time and space) on the basis of personal identification. In other words, could geographical mobility and temporary distance weigh on the possibility of individuals to demand certain rights, or otherwise effect the institution's ability to verify the legitimacy of their claims?

Tommaso Flangini (1558–1648) was a prominent member of the Greek Community in Venice—one of the largest foreign communities in the city, mainly for its political and financial relevance.[55] A native of Corfu, he was the scion of a very rich family, a lawyer and also a merchant. Upon his death, part of his inheritance was donated to several charitable initiatives. Among others, he created a fund to provide Greek maidens with adequate dowries. Every year eligible girls had to register, and 10

names were selected by lot among the applicants. Those who were chosen would obtain a concession of 100 ducats each (Korrè 2016).

Tommaso's will established that the women wishing to benefit from such gift had to go through a process of registration and identification. First of all, the eligible beneficiaries were supposed to be poor young women of Greek parentage, who lived in Venice or in the Venetian domains. Moreover, they had to marry a Greek man or enter a convent. The Greek origin, however, was not enough, since the applicants also had to demonstrate to follow the principles of Greek Orthodoxy. The selection procedure and subsequent verification were regulated thanks to the cooperation between Greek religious authorities and a lay magistracy, the *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali e luoghi pii*. The first authenticated the documents and the second verified the conditions of the applications, eventually proceeding to investigate transgressions.[56]

The applications were verified in two phases: first, a registration took place at the Greek Orthodox Church in Venice. On that occasion, candidates had to attest their origin and religious confession, showing a certificate of baptism. In addition to this, they also had to prove their poverty and good conduct, which instead were attested by the Archbishop of Philadelphia and the Greek chaplains of Saint George's Church.[57] They received a receipt (*bollettino*) that would allow them to claim the benefit at the appropriate time. Secondly, the *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali* had to verify their marital status through a marriage certificate, authenticated by the Greek Orthodox authorities. The petitioners could collect the money promised only after they had married or entered a convent.[58]

However, regulations allowed for certain exceptions and not all maidens were required to register their identity. For example, the daughters of Greek sailors who died while at the service of the Republic could obtain the economic benefit even without meeting all the requirements. That was the case of Isabetta, the daughter of a Greek from Chania and a Catholic. She obtained the endowment even if her parents were not both Orthodox Greeks and she got married under the rite of the Roman Church. This treatment was probably due to the relationship of trust between Isabetta's family and the Republic of Venice, which was already consolidated and also publicly demonstrated.[59]

Moreover, the Venetian magistracy would consider the different geographical and political contexts in which the Greek women were asked to collect the required documents. In fact, in the mid-seventeenth century, the jurisdictional status of the Orthodox Greeks differed between

the city of Venice and its domains. Within the lagoon, indeed, Greeks could enjoy a certain independence, since they disposed of a place of worship where sacraments were administered according to the Orthodox rite. In the 1694 Barbara, the daughter of a Greek captain, pleaded with the *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali*, asking to be admitted to the extraction even though she was baptized as a Catholic. Barbara justified this fact by arguing that when she lived in Bergamo with her parents there was no Orthodox Church in the city.[60]

Intermediaries of Identification

This two-stage process entailed the need to verify that the person who was promised the dowry was indeed the same who got married. The Greek women could lay claims on the money even long after the gift was assigned. At the same time, despite the registration took place in Venice, most of the applicants lived in the Venetian domains or migrated there after obtaining the necessary economic support to get married. As the documentation shows, the women who registered were of very diverse origin, they came from Corfu, Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Sibenik, Pula, Kotor and so on. Some of them left Venice only after registration, while others were living in the city but had been baptized elsewhere.[61]

We have already considered that long-distance mobility could make personal identification necessary. Nonetheless, migration usually complicated this very process. The Venetian magistracy had to deal with many different types of transgressions: for example, sometimes very rich and noble families tried to obtain the gift even if their daughters obviously did not need any economic help. This was possible because local ecclesiastical authorities, which were entitled to grant the certificates, would not dare to contradict such powerful families. In other cases, individuals used a different name, pretending to be the same person to whom the gift had been granted. It could also happen that the certificates contained false information about marital status and date of birth, so that also widows and married women were able to claim the economic benefit.[62]

We can assume that the falsification of these documents was mostly due to the lack of local authorities' knowledge about mobile actors. Indeed, the Venetian magistracy needed to collect information directly from the localities of the domains where the petitioners resided. This was possible through the transfer of documents between the city of Venice and the Greek territories, as well as their authentication by local institutions,

which were not neutral entities. Orthodox authorities, for example, can be considered as part of the local community, since they were deeply involved in its social hierarchies and power relations. For these reasons, the cooperation of multiple intermediaries was crucial to identify the Greek women and validate their documentation.[63]

In this context, intermediaries would be in charge of mediating between the economic interests of Greek families and the attempts of the public authorities to verify the identity of single beneficiaries. An example of this consists in the role played by the procurator (*procuratore*). Greek women who wished to receive the 100 ducats but lived far from Venice could nominate a procurator, namely a person in charge of collecting the gift on their behalf. In order to obtain the money to be delivered to the grantee, the procurator had to present the necessary documentation to the *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali*. Very often, this person was the same that physically transferred the certificates from the place where the Greek women lived, or got married, to the city of Venice. He had to be an inhabitant of Venice, or someone who was present in the city at the moment of the request.[64]

Even an in-depth analysis of the documentation does not always show the kind of relationship between the procurator and their clients. Sometimes they seemed to be chosen on the basis of defined criteria, for example high-profile personalities (such as Greek nobles or the religious authorities of the Greek Community of Venice) were appointed. Other times, the reason for the choice is unclear: procurators could also be relatives, friends or business partners of these women's fathers and husbands. On the one hand, their role was functional to the distribution of economic resources, on the other they were nominated by Greek families as their own representatives. Moreover, there is no evidence that their services were considered as a real profession which entailed remuneration.

The role of procurators, therefore, could be in some ways associated to the liminal position of the (better-studied) chief inhabitants of the parish (called the *capi contrada*). These figures have been described by recent studies not only as the authorities' informers or envoys, but also as proper mediators between public institutions and micro-urban communities, which were typical subunits of the corporate societies of the early modern period (Swartz 1968; Kent 1981; Buono 2018; Antonielli 2018). Nevertheless, what differentiated the Greek women's prosecutors from chief inhabitants, parish priests or constables, was their very ability to move, even physically, from one jurisdiction to another. In fact, they

also acted as intermediaries between lay magistracies and Greek Orthodox authorities. This was possible because Greek women could benefit from extended social networks. The Greek Orthodox Community, to which they belonged, included the Greeks of Venice together with Greeks from other Venetian territories.

At this point, a question arises: could the documentation carried by procurators from one locality to another—even within the same jurisdiction—be considered automatically valid? The procedure to obtain Flangini's endowment provides insights on the presence of a shared administrative practice, which was accepted trans-locally in the Mediterranean. The exchange of certain documents, such as the certificates of baptism and marital status, would allow the process of identification even in the absence of the persons themselves. Nevertheless, these same documents had to be recognized and then validated by various authorities and intermediaries.

Personal vs Collective Gift

Here too, documents could be helpful, but not decisive: one could suspect that the attestations were false or inaccurate, but the need to attest the identity of petitioners was particularly complex, especially since many families treated this gift not as the property of the recipient, but as collective property that could be transferred.

A legal proceeding, dating to the beginning of the eighteenth century, gives us a sense of how the institutions in charge of regulating the concession of dowry conceived the gift differently from the social actors who applied for it. In March 1716, as every year, the *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali* gathered together with the Greek religious authorities in the Orthodox Church of Venice. On that occasion, among the Greek girls who were entitled to receive Flangini's endowment, the name of Zoia Raftopulo was drawn out. Zoia was the daughter of two Greeks from Zakynthos. Almost ten years later, in 1728, a certain Zan Battista Sordina addressed the magistracy to collect the money on behalf of the woman.[65]

In compliance with the regulations, the procurator showed some documents before receiving the gift. The marriage certificate had to prove the celebration of the union between Zoia and the Greek Cristoforo Costopulo. It dated from 1726 and attested that the marriage was officiated on the Island of Corfu. Moreover, Sordina presented a copy of the power of attorney (*procura*) which authorized him to collect the money

on Zoia's behalf. This document had been subscribed by the spouses and then validated by a notary in the presence of two witnesses. The marriage certificate, instead, was written by an Orthodox priest and validated in the ecclesiastical chancery. Moreover, the *Bailo* of Corfu was provided to ensure the accuracy of the required documents to the Venetian authorities.[66] Even if Zoia had lost the receipt of the concession (*bollettino*), the magistracy could still verify the legitimacy of the privilege since her name was present into the official registers. In view of the above, 100 ducats were delivered to the procurator Sordina.[67]

A few months later, someone else decided to address the *Procuratori sopra gli Ospedali* on behalf of the same woman. In 1729, Michiel Salamon was provided with the required documents, even if the information they contained did not match those supplied by the other procurator. For example, the marriage certificate attested that Zoia married a certain Michiel Livatino and their union was allegedly celebrated the same year on the island of Zakynthos, and not in Corfu as the other certificate stated. Furthermore, Salamon also presented a *procura*, which was allegedly subscribed by both Zoia and her husband. It was not until the magistracy verified the presence of Zoia in its registers, that it realized that the money had already been assigned.[68]

It is highly probable, therefore, that the Venetian authorities would have not encountered any irregularity if Zoia had not lost the receipt of her concession. Apparently, the verification of the documents and the personal identification of the applicants were not always demanded. However, these practices became necessary in particular legal proceedings. The *Procuratori sopra gli Ospedali* considered the two procurators entitled to collect the gift because they both presented the required documents with the adequate subscriptions. The same goes for what concerned the Greek Orthodox Community. The chaplains of Saint George's Church oversaw the certificate delivered from Zakynthos and attested that Zoia married Michiel Livatino in September 1729, and the union was celebrated according to the Greek Orthodox rite. However, less than one year before they also had validated the certificate of the marriage between Zoia and Cristoforo Costopulo.[69]

It was only after consulting the registers that the magistracy discovered a possible case of falsification: 'either in the first, or in the second case, documents have been fabricated which contain false information on the time, persons involved and place'.[70] At this point, one option remained: to mobilize the local courts in the Venetian domains and the

social networks of the people involved. Even if Zoia asked for economic aid in Venice, she lived and got married in different Greek Islands. Therefore, she had to register her identity in different Mediterranean localities, and through different institutions. At the same time, Zoia had gradually built and maintained a composite social network that spanned from Venice, to Corfu, to Zakynthos.

Oral testimonies were an essential source of information able to override the lack of local knowledge about mobile actors. At the same time, these represented a crucial instrument in order to ascertain the accuracy of written documentation. (Herzog 2012; Buono 2015). The *Provveditori sopra agli Ospedali* sent all the certificates owned by the two presumed procurators to the Venetian Islands. In this way, local authorities could establish their validity by comparing them with parish registers and notarial deeds, but also by questioning those who had produced the documentation, so that they could recognize their own handwriting.[71]

Moreover, in both Corfu and Zakynthos, the investigation also aimed to identify the petitioner. Was the woman the same person to whom the endowment had been entitled? It was from the statements of the very protagonists of this inquiry that the crucial element for the comprehension of the whole matter emerged: the woman asking for the endowment was not called Zoia but Dimitrulla, and the grantee was not Dimitrulla but her younger sister, Zoia. The latter was supposed to get married with Cristoforo Costopulo, her dowry being the 100 ducats from Flangini's fund, since her parents could not afford to give her such a sum. However, before the wedding was celebrated, she became very ill. Thus, her older sister Dimitrulla, who was still a maiden at the time, got married to Cristoforo on her behalf, and then claimed the endowment.[72] Cristoforo seemed to have no qualms in declaring that:

> Since the legacy was granted to Zogia, my wife's sister, we have used her name, since the same Zogia, who was still living, had agreed to give her sister the legacy to get married.[73]

In my view, these declarations, which resulted in Cristoforo's imprisonment, are symptomatic of how institutions and social actors conceived, and consequently made use of the gift, differently. From the Greek families' perspective this endowment represented a resource to be shared within the kin group, and thus to them it was naturally possible to transmit it from a family member to another. To the institutions, however,

this gift represented—at least in theory—an inalienable credit to be collected and administered exclusively by the grantee. That explains the necessity to identify the legitimate holder of the privilege.[74]

The investigations that were conducted in Zakynthos found Cristoforo Costopulo guilty of claiming the endowment in place of its legal titular. Consequently, the *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali* established the illegitimacy of that concession and ordered its refund.[75] At the same time, the other alleged husband, Michiel Livatino, was accused of falsifying the documents, since local authorities confirmed the marriage certificate was not accurate: according to the witnesses, Zoia (the younger sister) had already died by the date written in the document. Furthermore, the two sisters did not belong to the same parish that was notified in the certificate. Finally, the priest declared that he had never celebrated that union.[76]

Once again, we can notice a discrepancy between the people who were supposed to register their identity and those who could actually benefit from the registration. In this case, migrant women had to register and document their mobility in first person, although their husbands represented the actual beneficiary of the gift. Despite Zoia appeared in the magistracy's administrative records and Dimitrulla officially nominated a procurator, all the witnesses, and subsequently the Venetian magistracy, identified their husbands as those responsible for the operations to collect the endowment and for the fabrication of the documents.

To summarize and conclude, this chapter enhances the need to shift the focus of historical research from identity to identification practices. In my view, historians cannot use their sources to question 'who a person was', using modern categories of analysis, such as those of 'authenticity' or 'interiority'. Instead, scholars should inquire on 'how' identities were claimed, imposed, negotiated, and (sometimes) registered. As Joanne Rappaport has recently argued, 'the use of the word identity forces to perceive a solidity and permanence where there is flux'. On the contrary, the process of identification would assume a relationship among institutions, urban communities, and social actors. This aspect could emerge particularly through judicial records and by focusing on urban spaces, where one can observe better how classificatory categories were also made and re-made 'from below' (Rappaport 2014).

At first, I considered a practice of registration of foreigners that since the end of the seventeenth century became particularly relevant and complex. The analysis of this type of documentation and the attempt to

quantify the residence permits, has allowed to disclose a legal definition of foreigner, based on a clear-cut distinction between Venetian subjects and migrants from outside the Venetian domains. Then by considering gender, origin, profession, religion inter-sectionally, it was possible to note a certain flexibility in the legislation. Some categories of foreigners have turned out to be more susceptible to the provisions, while others were completely excluded.

Generally, public authorities enforced registration especially for people with whom they were less familiar, those who had less local social ties, in order to be able to recognize them when necessary. I believe that the need for registration was driven less by the intention to control foreigners than by the level of local knowledge. As mentioned before, what concerned authorities was not mobility, or 'foreigness' per se, but rather 'permanence' (Sahlins 2004). They wished to define and register foreigners' identity knowing where they live and what they were doing. The ultimate goal was to make them known and, thus, assimilated.

A gendered approach has led to question the historiographical assumptions about mobility and identification mentioned in the introduction. Despite this field of research has so far been focused mainly on police surveillance and border controls, this analysis helps to consider identification as a process that was neither just demanded from above, nor as something that occurred merely through registration (Rosental 2012). Although women's mobility was not always documented, the Venetian sources clearly show that social, moral and political control of mobility were exercised by both institutions and society at large, within a plurality of centers of power (Herzog 2004). In Aisè's case, for instance, it was possible to establish when registration of identity was required and other occasions when it was demanded by individuals. Practices for identification, therefore, also represented a means for assimilation of both male and female migrants, who could then access to the city's social and economic resources, as attested, for example, by the documentation relative to Flangini's legacy.

The last point that I would like to stress is the coexistence of written documents and orality, especially for what concerned the identification of women. Judicial sources, in particular, have allowed to reconstruct a reality in which written culture did not replace the crucial role of reputation and social networks. By exploring the attempts to identify migrant women and trace their mobility, it has been possible to note

that written licenses and registrations were not always demanded. Documents mattered, certainly, but at times the oral testimonies of witnesses were even more important. As I have already pointed out, the intersection between written and oral culture was necessary not only in relation to urban mobility but also, to a certain extent, in relation to long-distance migration.

Notes

1. Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Sant'Uffizio (*SU*), b. 123, 9 May 1684 (my translation).
2. More in general, on fictional narratives and their construction, see Zemon Davis (1983, 1987).
3. The article presents some of the main arguments of my dissertation: Bernardi (2020); it also resumes and expands what I have already asserted in: Bernardi and Pompermaier (2019).
4. There are many examples of migrants who presented themselves in different ways according to the social and cultural *milieux* in which they lived, especially in scholarship on religious conversions in the early modern Mediterranean. Among the works that have most influenced this research, see García-Arenal and Wiegers (2003), Zemon Davis (2006), Colley (2007), Subrahmanyam (2011). With regard to the Venetian context and in particular to female mobility, see Siebenhüner (2008), Dursteler (2011).
5. For a reflection about the importance of distinguishing the actual debate from past juridical and symbolic systems, see in particular, Ginzburg (2012).
6. With respect to Venice, see in particular: Braunstein (1977), Ravid (1987), Chambers and Pullan (1992), Molà (1994), Imhaus (1997), Concina (1997), Chauvard (1998), Ruspio (2007), Zannini (2009), van Gelder (2009), Orlando (2014), Grenet (2016).
7. Some studies have recently nuanced the perception of a gap between long and short distance mobility, in particular with regard to women's mobility paths: Fontaine (1996), Eve (2001), Arru and Ramella (2003), Moatti and Kaiser (2009), Canepari (2009), Herzig and Hoerder (2009), Green (2012, 783–84).
8. ASV, Esecutori contro la Bestemmia (*Esecutori*), b. 58, reg. 2, 28 May 1642, c. 5v (translation).
9. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 54, c. 61r, 29 December 1583; ivi, cc. 61v-62r, 13 January 1583 *more veneto* (m.v.); ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 57, reg. 1, c. 57v, 30 December 1586.
10. ASV, *CL*, prima serie, b. 87, v. *Bestemmia*, cc. 211r-212v, 29 April 1637.

11. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 54, c. 61r, 29 December 1583; ASV, *CL*, b. 210, v. *forestieri*, cc. 791v-792r, 8 November 1612; ASV, *CL*, b. 12, v. *albergarie*, c. 419v, 24 September 1666; ASV, *Miscellanea stampe della Serenissima Repubblica* (*Miscellanea stampe*), b. 50, cc. not numbered, 22 April 1794.

12. Rosa Salzberg mentions this procedure in recent works, although with different purposes and without providing a quantitative or a long-term analysis. See for example: Salzberg (2018, 2019); see also Bertrand (2017).

13. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 59, reg. 1, cc. 42r-42v, 17 March 1657.

14. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 58, reg. 1, c. 130r; ivi, c. 163r, 15 May 1630; ivi, c. 174v, 26 November 1631. In those years the census counted between 141,000 and 142,000 inhabitants.

15. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 58, reg. 2, c. 126r, 2 December 1651. In reality, the division by colour appeared in the documentation since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

16. For a critique of a single definition of 'foreigner' in the early modern period, see in particular: Herzog (2003), Sahlins (2004), Cerutti (2012), Prak (2018).

17. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 54, c. 62v, 13 January 1583 m.v.

18. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 76, fasc. "Alcune Parti, Proclami, Leggi a stampa", 1589.

19. ASV, *Cinque Savi*, seconda serie, b. 187, fasc. 1, 29 March 1621.

20. ASV, *Esecutori*, c. 68v, 18 July 1612; ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 58, Terminazioni, c. 85v, 28 May 1621; see also Malkiel (1991).

21. The accusation of crypto-Judaism usually implied an investigation about the past and the identity of the accused. In my opinion, the registration of their names could represent an important means of investigation. This hypothesis is confirmed by the use of the *bollettini* in some inquisitorial trials. Further insights are provided in my Ph.D. thesis.

22. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 57, reg. 1, c. 287v, 24 September 1597.

23. Citizenship had similar eligibility criteria in early modern Europe. Additionally, 10 years is a canonical figure of speech in Roman law to denote a change of status, see in particular Costa (2001).

24. ASV, *Sanità*, b. 3, c. 114r, 26 July 1624.

25. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 54, c. 63v, 14 May 1588.

26. For example, ASV, *CL*, prima serie, b. 210, v. *forestieri*, cc. 791r-791v, 8 November 1612; ASV, *Esecutori*, bb. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

27. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 75.

28. ASV, *Esecutori*, bb. 57, 58, 59.

29. Once again, the same thing can be noticed for what concern the citizenship. See Bellavitis (2001).

30. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 54, c. 62v, 13 January 1583 m.v. On the relationship between mobility and marginality, see for example: Leroy (1998), Cerutti (2003, 63).

31. *Ibidem.*
32. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 58, reg. 2, 28 May 1642, c. 5v.
33. ASV, *Esecutori*, b. 54, c. 91r, 11 August 1641.
34. This argument has been extensively presented in my Ph.D. thesis, where the activities of the single magistracies are analyzed in depth.
35. The sources that I used are the following: the inquisitorial trial for 'Mohammedanism' initiated by the Holy Office of Venice in 1684, a copy of Aisè's statement taken by the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* in 1682, and included in the inquisitorial file; the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni*'s registers. ASV, SU, b. 123; Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia (ASPV), *Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Sezione Antica*, Catecumeni, Neofiti, reg. I; ASPV, *Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Sezione Antica*, Catecumeni, Registri dei Battesimi (1676–1687). The same case is tackled from a different perspective in Vanzan (1996, 329), Ortega (2008, 337), Minchella (2014, 89–93).
36. The *Casa dei Catecumeni* was an institution founded during the Counter-Reformation with the aim of promoting the conversion of infidels. On the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni*, see in particular Rothman (2006), Ioly Zorattini (2008). In relation to other geographical and political contexts, also see: Caffiero (2004), Al Kalak and Pavan (2013), Mazur (2016), Marconcini (2016).
37. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 29 July 1682; the document mentions a license that was granted by the dragoman Zorzi. However, we do not know if this was a generic authorization or a written license to embark as a passenger for specific localities. Generally, to leave the *Fondaco* it was necessary to have a license (called *bollettino*) proving the payment of rent and storage of goods. ASV, *Cinque Savi*, seconda serie, b. 187, fasc. 2, c. not numbered, 28 April 1627. The family of a woman, named Lucia, asked the *Cinque Savi* for a license in order to embark for Bosnia, after she had escaped from her hometown and converted to Christianity, in a similar way to Aisè.
38. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 29 July 1682. For a comparison with another cosmopolitan urban reality of the Italian peninsula, see in particular Santus (2019).
39. ASV, *Cinque Savi*, seconda serie, b. 187, fasc. 9, c. not numbered, 23 March 1720.
40. Ivi, fasc. 1, c. not numbered, 29 March 1621.
41. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 29 July 1682.
42. Ivi, testimony of Cristoforo de Medeci from Zakynthos.
43. ASPV, *Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Sezione Antica*, Catecumeni, Neofiti, reg. I; ASPV, *Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Sezione Antica*, Catecumeni, Registri dei Battesimi (1676–1687); ASV, *SU*, b. 123, September 1682.

44. To further explore this issue with a particular focus on the conversion narratives, see also: Malena and Calvi (2008), Keane (1997), Baer (2004), Solfaroli Camillocci and Pitassi (2010), Krstić (2011); Rothman (2012); Mazur and Shinn (2013); Perry (2005).
45. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 7 March 1684, testimony of Giovanni de Luca.
46. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 19 February 1684, letter of the Sacred Congregation to the Doge (my translation).
47. For an etymological and linguistic analysis of the terms 'identity' and 'identification' see Buono (2014a, b, 36–7).
48. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 19 February 1684, letter of the Sacred Congregation to the Doge.
49. *Ibidem*; Masini (1665, 34–5).
50. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, testimonies by: the Armenian Giovanni de Luca, 7 March 1684; the Abbot Andrea Zeno, 9 March 1684; Battista Bramazza, the prior of the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni*, 9 March 1684; the Turk captain Antonio Rodosto, 14 March 1684; the Armenian Busato Caffa, 14 March 1684; Orsetta da Ponte, the prioress of the *Casa dei Catecumeni* in Venice, 24 May 1684; the catechumen Paolina Cornara, 24 May 1684.
51. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 24 March 1684, testimony of Orsetta da Ponte. The adjective 'schiavona' refers to people from the region known in English as Dalmatia and other territories along the eastern Adriatic coast.
52. *Ibidem*.
53. ASV, *SU*, b. 123, 29 July 1682.
54. ASV, Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali e luoghi pii (*Ospedali*), b. 151, reg. "Estrazioni di grazie a Donzelle 1665–1783".
55. On the Greek Community in Venice see in particular: Fedalto (1967), Tiepolo and Tonetti (2002), Orlando (2014, 89–98), Burke (2016) and Grenet (2016).
56. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 151, fasc. "Catalogo donzelle graziate", c. not numbered, "Punto del testamento Flangini a carte 26 passo c."; ivi, c. not numbered, 24 April 1665. To study the "Commissaria Flangini" (1643–1797), I fully consulted the boxes (*buste*) 151, 152, 153. The *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali e luoghi pii* (1561–1797) was a magistracy in charge of administering and controlling the Venetian charitable institutions. In the 1586, the *Provveditori sopra gli Ospedali* were appointed to provide for the redemption of those subjects who had been enslaved by the Turks. Moreover, the magistracy was responsible for monitoring the endowments addressed to charitable institutions. Da Mosto (1937, 205).
57. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 151, fasc. "Catalogo donzelle graziate", c. not numbered, "Punto del testamento Flangini a carte 26 passo c."; ivi, 24 aprile 1665. In the 1578, the Venetian government authorized the installation of the first Greek Archbishop of Philadelphia in Venice, Gabriel

Seviros. He was the spiritual head of the Greeks in Venice and the representative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

58. Ivi, c. not numbered, 24 April 1665.
59. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 153, c. not numbered, 24 February 1675; ivi, 17 March 1676; ivi, 6 September 1676.
60. Ivi, c. not numbered, 26 September 1694.
61. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 151, reg. "Estrazioni di grazie a donzelle 1665–1783".
62. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 151, fasc. "Grazie a donzelle", c. not numbered.
63. *Ibidem*.
64. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 153, c. not numbered, 26 March 1679.
65. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 152, fasc. "Processi per la graziata Zoia Raftopulo", c. 2r, 21 March 1716; ivi, cc. 1r-1v, 16 October 1729.
66. The *Bailo* of Corfu was the leader of the Venetian delegation to the island of Corfu under the Venetian domination. He was the governor of the Island and the representative of the Venetian economic and political interests. See O'Connell (2009).
67. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 152, fasc. "Processi per la graziata Zoia Raftopulo", c. 6r, 28 April 1729.
68. Ivi, c. 9r, 30 August 1729.
69. Ivi, c. 10r, 14 June 1729.
70. Ivi, c. 1v, 16 October 1729 (translation).
71. *Ibidem*.
72. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 152, fasc. "Processi per la graziata Zoia Raftopulo", c. 16v, 26 October 1729, testimony of Cristoforo Costopulo (translation); ivi, cc. 19v-20r, 26 October 1729, testimony of Dimitrulla.
73. Ivi, cc. 19v-20r, 26 October, testimony of Cristoforo Costopulo.
74. Ivi, c. 22r, 27 October 1729.
75. Ivi, cc. 34v-36v, 26 February 1729 m.v.
76. ASV, *Ospedali*, b. 152, fasc. "Processi per la graziata Zoia Raftopulo", cc. 25r-25v, 30 October, testimony of the Papà Antonio Notarà.

References

About, Ilsen, James R. Brown, and Gayle Lonergan, eds. 2013. *Identification and Registration Practice in Transnational Perspective: People, Papers and Practices*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Al Kalak, Matteo, and Ilaria Pavan. 2013. *Un'altra fede. Le Case dei catecumeni nei territori estensi (1583–1938)*. Firenze: Olschki.

Allegra, Luciano. 1996. *Identità in bilico. Il ghetto ebraico di Torino nel Settecento*. Torino: Einaudi.

Antonielli, Livio, ed. 2018. *Dagli esecutori alla polizia giudiziaria: un lungo percorso*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.

Arru, Angiolina, and Franco Ramella, eds. 2003. *L'Italia delle migrazioni interne. Donne, uomini, mobilità in età moderna e contemporanea*. Roma: Donzelli Editore.

Baer, Marc. 2004. Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul. *Gender & History* 16 (2): 425–458.

Bamji, Alexandra. 2019. Health Passes, Print and Public Health in Early Modern Europe. *Social History of Medicine* 32 (3): 441–464.

Barbot, Michela. 2013. La résidence comme appartenance. Les catégories spatiales et juridiques de l'inclusion sociale dans les villes italiennes sous l'Ancien Régime. *Histoire Urbaine* 36 (1): 29–47.

Bellavitis, Anna. 1995. Per cittadini metterete…La stratificazione della società veneziana cinquecentesca tra norma giuridica e riconoscimento sociale. *Quaderni Storici* 89: 359–383.

Bellavitis, Anna. 2001. *Identité, marriage, mobilité sociale. Citoyennes et citoyens á Venise au XVIe siècle*. Roma: École française de Rome.

Bellavitis, Anna, Laurence Croq, and Monica Martinat, eds. 2009. *Mobilités et transmission dans les sociétés de l'Europe moderne*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Beltrami, Daniele. 1954. *Storia della popolazione di Venezia dalla fine del secolo XVI alla caduta della Repubblica*. Padova: Cedam.

Bernardi, Teresa. 2017. Mobilità e appartenenze multiple a Venezia: Il caso di Tarsia *alias* Laura Malipiero (1630–1660). *Genesis* 16 (2): 37–59.

Bernardi, Teresa. 2020. *Mobilità femminile e pratiche di identificazione a Venezia in età moderna*. PhD diss., Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.

Bernardi, Teresa, and Matteo Pompermaier. 2019. Hospitality and Registration of Foreigners in Early Modern Venice: The Role of Women Within Inns and Lodging Houses. *Gender & History* 31 (3): 624–645.

Bertrand, Gilles. 2017. L'administration vénitienne et l'évolution des techniques d'enregistrement des étrangers dans le contexte de la Révolution française (1789–1797). *Diasporas* 29: 105–129.

Boccadamo, Giuliana. 2010. *Napoli e l'Islam: Storie di musulmani, schiavi e rinnegati in età moderna*. Napoli: D'Auria.

Braunstein, Philippe. 1977. Remarques sur la population allemande de Venise à la fin du Moyen Age. In *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV–XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, vol. I, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos I. Manoussacas and Agostino Pertusi, 233–243. Firenze: Olschki.

Breckenridge, Keith, and Simon Szreter, eds. 2012. *Registration and Recognition: Documenting the Person in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Broggio, Paolo, Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, and Giovanni Pizzorusso, eds. 2009. Administrer les sacrements en Europe et au Nouveau Monde: la Curie

romaine et les dubia circa sacramenta. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 121(1).

Buono, Alessandro. 2014a. Identificazione e registrazione dell'identità. Una proposta metodologica. *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche* 30: 107−120.

Buono, Alessandro. 2014b. Le procedure di identificazione come procedure di contestualizzazione. Persone e cose nelle cause per eredità vacanti (Stato di Milano, secc. XVI–XVIII). In *Procedure, metodi, strumenti per l'identificazione delle persone e per il controllo del territorio*, ed. Livio Antonielli, 35–65. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.

Buono, Alessandro. 2015. La manutenzione dell'identità. L'identificazione degli eredi legittimi nello Stato di Milano e nella Repubblica di Venezia (secoli XVII–XVIII). *Quaderni Storici* 148 (1): 231–266.

Buono, Alessandro. 2018. Anziani globali. Anziano, calpixqui, shaykh, nanushi. Note per una storia globale dei 'ruoli inter-gerarchici' e del vicinato. In *Una storia di rigore e di passione: Saggi per Livio Antonielli*, ed. Stefano Levati and Simona Mori, 168–190. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Burke, Ersie. 2016. *The Greeks of Venice, 1498−1600: Immigration, Settlement, and Integration*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Caffiero, Marina. 2004. *Battesimi forzati. Storie di ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei papi*. Roma: Viella.

Caffiero, Marina. 2010. Battesimo. In *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. 1, ed. Adriano Prosperi, 312. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.

Caffiero, Marina. 2013. *Legami pericolosi. Ebrei e cristiani tra eresia, libri proibiti e stregoneria*. Torino: Einaudi.

Caglioti, Daniela Luigia. 2008. Elite Migrations in Modern Italy: Patterns of Settlement, Integration and Identity Negotiation. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 13 (2): 141–151.

Calabi, Donatella, and Paola Lanaro, eds. 1998. *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri: XIV–XVIII*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Calabi, Donatella, and Stephen Turk Christensen, eds. 2007. *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calabi, Donatella, Ennio Concina, and Ugo Camerino, eds. 1991. *La città degli ebrei. Il ghetto di Venezia: architettura e urbanistica*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Canepari, Eleonora. 2009. Immigrati, spazi urbani e reti sociali nell'Italia d'antico regime." In *Storia d'Italia. Annali 24. Migrazioni*, ed. Paola Corti and Matteo Sanfilippo, 78–107. Torino: Einaudi.

Canepari, Eleonora. 2012. Who is not Welcome? Reception and Rejection of Migrants in Early Modern Italian Cities. In *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*, ed. Bert De Munck and Anne Winter, 101–115. Farnham: Ashgate.

Canny, Nicholas P. 1994. *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Caplan, Joan, and John Torpey, eds. 2001. *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practice in the Modern World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cavallar, Osvaldo, and Julius Kirshner. 2011. Jews as Citizens in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: The Case of Isacco da Pisa. *Jewish History* 25: 269–318.

Cavallo, Sandra. 2001. La leggerezza delle origini: rotture e stabilità nelle storie dei chirurghi torinesi tra Sei e Settecento. *Quaderni Storici* 106: 59–90.

Cerutti, Simona. 2003. *Giustizia sommaria. Pratica e ideali di giustizia in una società di Ancien Régime (Torino XVIII secolo)*. Milano: Feltrinelli.

Cerutti, Simona. 2007. La cittadinanza in età moderna: Istituzioni e costruzione della fiducia. In *La fiducia secondo i linguaggi del potere*, ed. Paolo Prodi, 255–274. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Cerutti, Simona. 2012. *Étrangers. Étude d'une condition d'incertitude dans une société d'Ancien Régime*. Montrouge: Bayard.

Chambers, David, and Brian Pullan, eds. 1992. *Venice: A Documentary History 1450–1630*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chauvard, Jean-François. 1998. Scale di osservazione e inserimento degli stranieri nello spazio veneziano tra XVII e XVIII secolo. In *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri: XIV–XVIII*, ed. Donatella Calabi and Paola Lanaro, 85–107. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Colley, Linda. 2007. *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History*. New York: Pantheon.

Concina, Ennio. 1997. *Fondaci. Architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Costa, Pietro. 1969. *Iurisdictio. Semantica del potere politico nella pubblicistica medievale (1100–1433)*. Milano: Giuffrè Editore.

Costa Pietro. 2001. *Civitas. Storia della cittadinanza in Europa*, vol. 3, Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Cozzi, Gaetano. 1991. Religione, moralità e giustizia a Venezia. Vicende degli Esecutori contro la Bestemmia (secoli XVI–XVII). *Ateneo Veneto* 178–179 (29): 7–95.

Da Mosto, Andrea. 1937. *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, vol. 1. Roma: Biblioteca d'arte editrice.

De Munck, Bert, and Anne Winter, eds. 2012. *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Derosas, Renzo. 1980. Moralità e giustizia a Venezia nel '500 e '600. Gli Esecutori contro la Bestemmia. In *Stato, società e giustizia nella Repubblica veneta (sec. XV–XVIII)*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi, 431–528. Roma: Jouvence.

Ditchfield, Simon, and Helen Smith, eds. 2017. *Conversions: Gender and Religious Change in Early Modern Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Donato, Katharine M., Donna R. Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, I.V. Martin Manalansan, and Patricia R. Pessar. 2006. A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies. *International Migration Review* 40: 3–36.

Dursteler, Eric. 2011. *Renegate Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dyer, Abigail, and Richard L. Kagan, eds. 2004. *Inquisitorial Inquieries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Eve, Michael. 2001. Una sociologia degli altri e un'altra sociologia. Tradizione di studio sull'immigrazione. *Quaderni Storici* 106: 233–259.

Fabre, Pierre-Antoine, ed. 1999. Conversions religieuses. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 54 (4).

Fedalto, Giorgio. 1967. *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei greci a Venezia nei secoli XV–XVI*. Firenze: Olschki.

Foa, Anna, and Lucetta Scaraffia, eds. 1996. Introduzione. Le conversioni fra costruzione dell'identità e intrecci di culture. *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 2: 7–14.

Fontaine, Laurence. 1996. Gli studi sulla mobilità in Europa nell'età moderna, Problemi e prospettive di ricerca. *Quaderni Storici* 31 (3): 739–756.

Fosi, Irene. 2011. *Covertire lo straniero. Forestieri e inquisizione a Roma in età moderna*. Roma: Viella.

Foucault, Michel. 2004. *Sécurité, territoire, population, Cours au Collège de France (1977–78)*. Paris: Gallimard/Seuil.

Galasso, Cristina. 2002. *Alle origini di una comunità: ebree ed ebrei a Livorno nel '600*. Firenze: Olschki.

García-Arenal, Mercedes, ed. 2001. *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Lorose.

García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Gerard Wiegers. 2003. *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*. Translated by Martin Beagles. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 1994. Microstoria: Due o tre cose che so di lei. *Quaderni Storici* 86 (2): 511–539.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 2006. L'inquisitore come antropologo. In *Il filo e le tracce. Vero, falso, finto*, ed. Carlo Ginzburg, 270–280. Milano: Feltrinelli.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 2012. Our Words, and Theirs: A reflection on the Historian's Craft, Today. In *Historical Knowledge: In Quest of Theory, Method and Evidence*, ed. Susanna Fellman and Marjetta Rahikainen, 97–119. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Goody, Jack. 1986. *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Green, Nancy L. 2012. Changing Paradigms in Migration Studies: From Men to Women to Gender. *Gender & History* 24 (3): 782–798.

Greefs, Hilde, and Anne Winter, eds. 2018. *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities: Papers and Gates, 1500–1930s*. London-New York: Routledge.

Grenet, Mathieu. 2016. *La fabrique communautaire: Les Grecs à Venise, Livourne et Marseille, v.1770-v.1830*. Roma: École française de Rome-École française d'Athènes.

Groebner, Valentin. 2001. Describing the Person, Reading the Signs in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe: Identity Papers, Vested Figures, and the Limits of Identification, 1400–1600. In *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practice in the Modern World*, ed. Joan Caplan and John Torpey, 15–27. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Groebner, Valentin. 2007. *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*. Translated by Mark Kyzburz and John Peck. New York: Zone Books.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2016. *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Herzig, Christiane, and Dirk Hoerder. 2009. *What is Migration History?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herzog, Tamar. 2003. *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press.

Herzog, Tamar. 2004. *Upholding Justice: Society, State, and the Penal System in Quito (1650–1750)*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Herzog, Tamar. 2012. Naming, Identifying and Authorizing Movement in Spain and Spanish America (17–18th centuries). In *Registration and Recognition: Documenting the Person in World History*, ed. Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter, 191–209. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hespanha, Antonio Manuel. 2013. *La cultura giuridica europea*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Homza, Lu Ann. 2000. *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Imhaus, Brunehilde. 1997. *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia, 1305–1510*. Roma: Il Veltro.

Ioly Zorattini, Pietro. 2008. *I nomi degli altri. Conversioni a Venezia e nel Friuli Veneto in età moderna*. Firenze: Olschki.

Keane, Webb. 1997. From Feticism to Sincerity: Agency, the Speaking Subject, and their Historicity in the Context of Religious Conversion. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39: 674–693.

Kent, Joan R. 1981. The English Village Constable, 1580–1642: The Nature and Dilemmas of the Office. *Journal of British Studies* 20: 26–49.

Korrè, Katerina B. 2016. Per una biografia di Tommaso Flangini. In *Collegio Flangini 350 anni − Κολλέγιο Φλαγγίνη 350 χρόνια*, 287–340. Athens-Venezia: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia.

Kosto, Adam. 2016. Ignorance about the Traveler: Documenting Safe Conduct in the European Middle Ages. In *Histories of Ignorance, 1400 to 1800*, ed. Cornel Zwierlein, 267–295. Leiden: Brill.

Krstić, Tijana. 2011. *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Standford: Standford University Press.

Leroy, Jean, ed. 1998. Emigrés, vagabonds, passeports. *Genese* 30.

Lucassen, Jan, and Leo Lucassen, eds. 1997. *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Lucassen, Jan, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning, eds. 2010. *Migration History in World History: Multidisciplinary Approaches*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Lupprian, Karl-Ernst. 1978. *Il Fondaco dei Tedeschi e la sua funzione di controllo del commercio tedesco a Venezia*. Venezia: Centro tedesco di studi veneziani.

Malena, Adelisa, and Giulia Calvi, eds. 2008. Conversioni. *Genesis* 6 (2).

Malkiel, David Joshua. 1991. *A Separate Republic: The Mechanics and Dynamics of Venetian Jewish Self-Government, 1607–1624*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Marchetti, Sabrina. 2013. Intersezionalità. Pensare la differenza. In *Etiche della diversità culturale*, ed. Caterina Botti, 133–148. Firenze: Le Lettere.

Marconcini, Samuela. 2016. *Per amore del cielo. Farsi cristiani a Firenze tra Seicento e Settecento*. Firenze: Firenze University Press.

Masini, Eliseo. 1665. *Sacro Arsenale overo prattica dell'officio della Santa Inquisitione. Nuovamente corretto, e ampliato*, Bologna: Baglioni (first ed. 1621).

Mazur, Peter A. 2016. *Conversion to Catholicism in Early Modern Italy*. New York-London: Routledge.

Mazur, Peter A., and Abigail Shinn, eds. 2013. Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World. *Journal of Early Modern History* 17.

Mills, Kenneth, and Anthony Grafton, eds. 2003. *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*. Rochester-New York: University of Rochester Press.

Minchella, Giuseppina. 2014. *Frontiere aperte. Musulmani, ebrei e cristiani nella Repubblica di Venezia (XVII secolo)*. Roma: Viella.

Moatti, Claudia, and Wolfang Kaiser, eds. 2007. *Gens de passage en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne. Procédures de contróle et d'identification*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

Moatti, Claudia and Wolfang Kaiser. 2009. Mobilità umana e circolazione culturale nel Mediterraneo dall'età classica all'età moderna. In *Storia d'Italia. Annali 24. Migrazioni*, ed. Paola Corti and Matteo Sanfilippo, 5–20. Torino: Einaudi.

Moch, Leslie P. 1992. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Molà, Luca. 1994. *La comunità dei lucchesi a Venezia. Immigrazione e industria della seta nel tardo medioevo*. Venezia: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti.

Morokvasic, Marjana, Umut Erel, and Kyoto Shinozaki, eds. 2003. *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries*, vol. 1: *Gender on the Move*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Mueller, Reinhold C. 2010. *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale*. Roma: Viella.

Nirenberg, David. 2002. Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain. *American Historical Review* 107 (4): 1065–1093.

Noiriel, Gérard, ed. 2007. *L'identification. Genèse d'un travail d'État*. Paris: Belin.

O'Connell, Monique. 2009. *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Orlando, Ermanno. 2014. *Migrazioni mediterranee. Migranti, minoranze e matrimoni a Venezia nel Basso Medioevo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Ortega, Stephen. 2008. 'Pleading for Help': Gender Relations and Cross-Cultural Logic in the Early Modern Mediterranean. *Gender & History* 2 (2): 332–348.

Pedani, Maria Pia. 2010. *Venezia porta d'Oriente*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Perry, Mary Elizabeth. 2005. Between Muslim and Christian Worlds: Moriscas and Identity in Early Modern Spain. *The Muslim World* 95 (2): 177–198.

Pomata, Gianna. 1998. Close-ups and Long Shots: Combining Particular and General in Writing the Histories of Women and Men. In *Geschlechtergeschichte und Allgemeine Geschichte: Harausforderungen und Perspektiven*, ed. Hans Medick and Anne-Charlott Trepp, 99–124. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.

Poutrin, Isabelle. 2012. *Convertir les musulmans. Espagne, 1491–1609*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Prak, Maarten. 2018. *Citizens Without Nations: Urban Citizenship in Europe and the World, c. 1000–1789*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Preto, Paolo. 2013. *Venezia e i turchi*. Roma: Viella (first ed. 1975).

Prosperi, Adriano. 2006. Battesimo e identità cristiana nella prima età moderna. In *Salvezza delle anime, disciplina dei corpi. Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo*, ed. Adriano Propseri, 1–65. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.

Pullan, Brian. 1983. *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550–1670*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rappaport, Joanne. 2014. *The Disappearing Mestizo: Configuring Difference in the Colonial Kingdom of Granada*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Rosental, Paul-André. 2012. Civil Status and Identification in Nineteenth-Century France: A Matter of State Control? In *Registration and Recognition:*

Documenting the Person in World History, ed. Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter, 137–165. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ravid, Benjamin C. I. 1987. The Religious, Economic and Social Background of the Context of the Establishment of the Ghetti of Venice. In *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, secoli XIV-XVIII*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi, 211–260. Milano: Edizioni di Comunità.

Rothman, Natalie E. 2006. Becoming Venetian: Conversion and Transformation in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 21 (1): 39–75.

Rothman, Natalie E. 2012. Narrating Conversion and Subjecthood in the Venetian-Ottoman Borderlands. In *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, ed. Lieke Stelling, Harald Hendrix and Todd M. Richardson, 116–126. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Ruspio, Federica. 2007. *La nazione portoghese. Ebrei ponentini e nuovi cristiani a Venezia*. Torino: Zamorani.

Sahlins, Peter. 2004. *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press.

Salzberg, Rosa M. 2018. Controlling and Documenting Migration via Urban 'Spaces of Arrival' in Early Modern Venice. In *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities: Papers and Gates, 1500–1930s*, ed. Hilde Greefs and Anne Winter, 27–45. London-New York: Routledge.

Salzberg, Rosa M. 2019. Mobility, Cohabitation and Cultural Exchange in the Lodging Houses of Early Modern Venice. *Urban History* 46 (3): 398–418.

Santus, Cesare. 2019. *Il «turco» a Livorno. Incontri con l'Islam nella Toscana del Seicento*. Milano: Officina Libraria.

Scott, James C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press.

Scott, Joan W. 1986. Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. *American Historical Review* 91: 1053–1075.

Sharpe, Pamela. 2001. *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London-New York: Routledge.

Siebenhüner, Kim. 2008. Conversion, Mobility and the Roman Inquisition in Italy Around 1600. *Past & Present* 200 (1): 5–35.

Solfaroli Camillocci, Daniela, and Maria Cristina Pitassi, eds. 2010. *Les modes de la conversion confessionelle à l'époque moderne: autobiographie altérité et construction des identités religiouses*. Firenze: Olschki.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2011. *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World*. Waltham: Brandeis University Press.

Swartz, Marc J. 1968. *Local-Level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives*. Chicago: Aldine.

Tiepolo, Maria Francesca, and Eurigio Tonetti, eds. 2002. *I greci a Venezia*. Venezia: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti.

Torpey, John. 2000. *The Invention of the Passport. Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trivellato, Francesca. 2001. Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History? *California Italian Studies* 2 (1). https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq.

Van Gelder, Maartje. 2009. *Trading Places: The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Vanzan, Anna. 1996. In Search of Another Identity: Female Muslim-Christian Conversions in the Mediterranean World. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7 (3): 327–333.

Zannini, Andrea. 1993a. *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: i cittadini originari (secc. XVI–XVIII)*. Venezia: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti.

Zannini, Andrea. 1993b. Flussi d'immigrazione e strutture sociali urbane. Il caso dei bergamaschi a Venezia. *Bollettino di demografia Storica* 19: 207–215.

Zannini, Andrea. 2009. *Venezia città aperta. Gli stranieri e la Serenissima XIV–XVIII sec*. Venezia: Marcianum Press.

Zamon Davis, Natalie. 1983. *The Return of Martin Guerre*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Zemon Davis, Natalie. 1987. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Standford: Standford University Press.

Zemon Davies, Natalie. 2006. *Trickster Travels*: *A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2014. Progetti migratori. Lavoro e proprietà delle donne nelle migrazioni familiari (Torino, XVIII secolo). *Genesis* 13 (1): 31−48.

Filling the Gap, Making a Profession: Midwives, State Control and Medical Care in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Wallachia

Nicoleta Roman

The first half of the nineteenth century marks a period of transition for Wallachia, on both cultural and legal levels (the latter because of the Principality's international political status). At the time Wallachia was an autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire, with a mainly Orthodox population, bordering the Habsburg and Russian Empires,

N. Roman (✉)
"Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History–Romanian Academy & New Europe College-Institute for Advanced Study, București, Romania
e-mail: nicoleta.roman.st@gmail.com

due to its proximity to the principality of Moldova. During the eighteenth century, aiming to tighten their political and economic control over Wallachia, the Ottomans replaced local rulers with Greek princes from Istanbul's Fanar neighbourhood (*Phanariots*); these foreign princes subsequently implemented a series of social and cultural reforms, bringing Wallachia into line with the Enlightenment's latest developments. The Phanariots were the first intermediaries of Western culture, their presence ending with the 1821 Revolution, as a consequence of Romanian forces joining the *Eteria*. After the Peace of Adrianople (1829), which ended the Russian-Turkish War, the above-mentioned Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia), although still under the Porte's suzerainty, came under the protection of Russia. A Russian governor was appointed, Pavel Kiselyov, and the first constitution was issued (1831), which became the basis for all reforms enacted until 1856, when this protection ended. The Russians are the second channel through which Western influence spread in the Romanian Principalities, although it is believed that they were more interested in the possibility of annexing the territory in the future. The Peace of Adrianople marked increasing openness towards the West, encouraging significantly the mobility of people and goods. As early as the eighteenth century, the European powers followed Russia (1781) and sent diplomatic missions to the capital, Bucharest, demonstrating their interest for this border area: Austria (1783), France (1797), and England (1803). Thus, different social and professional groups felt encouraged to settle and practice their trade (artists, professors, doctors) under the protection of one of these powers. The Union of the two Principalities under one Romanian ruler was achieved in 1859 mainly through the support of France's Napoleon III, an acclaimed champion of nationhood, and with the recognition of the Ottoman Empire (1861), which held suzerainty until independence (1877). The political context in Wallachia facilitated this on-going social and cultural process of diffusion; at the time, Wallachia was still under the influence, though weakening, of the Ottomans as well as that of Greek dynastic families and afterwards, of the Russians, as political patrons. Ultimately, it was the French who took over this role. Nevertheless, the country became a melting pot of socio-cultural change reflecting the complex political context. Underpinning these changes were actors and socio-professional groups whose mobility had a significant impact on how midwifery as a profession was structured and perceived by the society (Map 3.1).

Map 3.1 Map of the Ottoman Empire, the Black Sea and the frontiers of Russia and Persia, by James Wyld, 1853 (*Source* Gallica, free use https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55011197k/f2.item.zoom)

Premises of Mobility: Geographical Context, Knowledge Context

Since the early modern age, the countries of Southeastern Europe borrowed models and experts in a range of areas of knowledge from Western Europe, which resulted in the co-existence of several competing cultural forms (French, German, English) (Trencsényi et al. 2016, 26). This is true also for Wallachia, a territory whose cultural reference points changed over time. In the history of medicine, this phenomenon is observable as early as the Enlightenment, an age during which for the first time the exchange of ideas occurred at a global level. This flow of ideas and cultural models preceded, created, and strengthened the context for the mobility of a range of socio-professional groups such as doctors, scientists, and midwives.

It is a well-recognized fact that until 1914 Europe had undergone *a local, circular, chain and career movement* (Moch 2003, 17) as well as an increase of female mobility to a certain extent fostered by male migration. During early modern times this mobility can be observed in the case of doctors, who could choose to travel through both the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. As of the mid-eighteenth century, in the Habsburg Empire systematic efforts were deployed towards creating

a network of licensed imperial doctors who, from 1785 onwards, were also supposed to have knowledge of obstetrics (Krász 2013, 285–86), and towards adapting official policies to the local needs of the provinces. The institutionalization of medicine gave doctors a higher authority than they previously held (Sechel 2008, 108) while, simultaneously, the official discourse fought empirical practice and promoted a medical hierarchy within which the midwife was in a subordinate position. Some of those who studied in German and Austrian universities migrated to neighbouring territories and brought with them ideas about the midwife's professional profile and the conditions under which midwifery could be practiced. In early modern Romania there was a marked presence of foreign-born doctors, a phenomenon that peaked with the appointment, towards the mid-nineteenth century, of a French doctor, Carol Davila, at the helm of the Ministry of Health (Bologa 1932). At the same time, the influence of these new ideas and the authorities' policies which aimed at supporting midwives who had officially graduated in a school, encouraged the arrival in Wallachia of foreign 'qualified' midwives from the Habsburg Empire, who entered in competition with the local ones.

In the present study I aim to connect three significant aspects concerning the role of midwives in Romanian society during the first half of the nineteenth century: (1) medical discourse and the role of doctors; (2) the bureaucratization and laicization of the state; (3) and the transformation of midwifery into a profession. This whole process will be analysed through the lens of mobility, which helps contextualize the migration of female workers in its proper social, political, and economic background.

In this study I use Doreen Evenden's definition of the midwife as *a timeless symbol of the past, present, and future, and as a bridge between the long-time resident and the newcomer who shared the universal experience of childbirth* (Evenden 2006, 1) which emphasizes the uninterrupted history of this profession, the inter-generational exchange of knowledge between different practitioners and career mobility. Such intercultural knowledge and transfer of experience as well as the accompanying social and professional exchange were not without their share of obstacles. The analysis focuses on midwives in urban areas who entered the public system, a move meant, most likely, to transform them into public servants, with a stable position and a fix salary. Their mobility and profession were regulated in compliance with the needs of the population; in other words, they were considered public health officials. This distinction is significant, as there were cultural differences between the midwives in the

rural and urban areas. The latter was a member of her community, who embraced a certain corpus of native beliefs, and whose training was carried out through apprenticeship and must be therefore considered as an empirical midwife. Not only her knowledge derived from practice (sometimes enriched through inter-generational learning), but in this case literacy was not even mandatory. We can instead refer to the former as 'diploma midwives': these urban-based midwives acquired their knowledge from doctors and public institutions, and of course in this case a modicum of literacy was mandatory. In the Ottoman Empire, teaching was imparted through a composite method which included writing and reading; memorizing, listening, and repetition; and visual aids. Otherwise known as *integrative literacy* to underscore the combined usage of these three methods, this teaching pattern was of course adopted for the educational training of midwives (Shefer-Mossensohn 2015, 88–89) and, more in general, in a traditional society such as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wallachia.

The 'graduate' midwives were appreciated by both elite and urban population, and the number of those migrating, due to the changes in the political and economic climate, from the Habsburg Empire—where schools had been established as early as the eighteenth century (Sibiu, Cluj)—towards the Principalities, was growing. 'Graduate' and 'empirical' midwives co-existed and assisted doctors. During this period, western Enlightenment reached Wallachia, via Vienna, with repercussions on medical discourse. Still, I argue that the imposition of *the man-midwife* model (Wilson, new edition 2019), advocated by the English case, did not have the expected impact. The *man-midwife* (*mamoş*) did exist in Romanian society, but he was less a competitor in the field than a sort of a communicator of theoretical knowledge and a supervisor. In any case, the doctor was to attend difficult births in order to ensure that the midwives were properly qualified, he fostered the fight against quackery, and oversaw the scientific teaching of midwives in a special school. In a principality where highly skilled specialists were being 'imported', the need to train local personnel and delegate capabilities had also been acknowledged. Schools were being created for midwives, for surgeons, and for veterinarians: the medical college was established only as a final measure. A single person's knowledge was no longer able to cover, encyclopaedically, the entire field. Given this different context, I will analyse the instrumentalization of foreign midwives as a human resource, as a pressure factor and, at the same time, the ways in which they became integrated in Romanian society.

Sources and Methodology

The present research draws on a range of different sources. Recent research has shown the limits of considering a single source, even if seemingly complete, such censuses, in order to study women's work (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012, 40). Therefore, methodologically, I have opted to cross reference my source material in order to unravel the mobility of women, their professional evolution, to gather more details on the social networks they were part of and to what extent they, as migrants, were integrated in a specific sector of activity. First, this research exploits the official propagandistic discourse promoted by medical texts. As Roy Porter claimed based on his analysis of the situation in England, perfect hierarchy, in perfect agreement between doctors and the state, *was a rhetoric which, however serviceable to some, corresponds only tangentially with reality* (Porter 2001, 171). Therefore, in order to avoid falling into the pitfall of interpreting medical discourse as a mirror of reality, I have also taken into account other sources including legislation and archival documentation (petitions, statistics, and the correspondence between various central and local institutions).

The medical literature, written by doctors schooled in Western capitals, evolved from presenting the stereotypical image of the 'ignorant' midwives in Wallachia who should have been removed from public arena to gradually recognizing the presence of foreign midwives and the need to replace them with autochthonous licensed ones. This literature encapsulates the doctors' personal aims and experiences, and reflects the extent to which they were ingrained in the State medical apparatus. Practitioners working for a private clientele and who were not State officials published to advertise their practice. Those who worked primarily as health officials, on the other hand, published manuals and served as teachers, they put the needs of the State first. These professionals were already specialized in obstetrics, had a permanent job, and, unlike private practitioners, did not feel a threat in midwives per se. By the mid-nineteenth century, this source mirrors the professional transition of these doctors, i.e. from mere practitioners to agents of State in the field of medical care. As health officials, they were aware of the dangers of lack of skill and competence. In this sense, they intended to control, supervise, and direct a transfer of scientific knowledge towards women. Putting this literature in context helps us to determine the connection between doctors, State, and women. The other sources—correspondence among different (medical) institutions,

legislation, and statistical documentation—fill the gaps left by literature penned by doctors. Crucial information, for example, is provided by the documentation from the Midwifery School, attached to the Institute for Childbirth, both founded in Bucharest in 1839, as well as from the correspondence between these institutions and the Ministry of Health and of the Home Office. We know the name of midwives who graduated there, the year of their diploma and the procedures for appointing county midwives. In such sources we find details on the expansion of a medical network on a national scale, how the local and central authorities projected it, and what conditions women had to fulfil in order to be integrated in the system. Such data is certainly significant as it shows the dispersion of women on the territory. Moreover, additional information can be retrieved from a survey carried out in 1860 aimed at registering active foreign midwives who possessed an authorization to practice by the State in Wallachia. This source provides precious information: the midwives' names, where they studied, the year of the diploma, and the year of arrival in the principality.

In this research I also exploit published and unpublished data from the 1838 population census. This type of administrative source has been critically discussed (Mateescu 2013, 2015), and while the capital, 15 cities and 11 towns of Wallachia had such a census made that year (Mateescu 2015, 266), only the information on 4 of them is currently published and available (Brăila, Muscel, Piteşti, Ploieşti). As a State-created source it offers (in theory) details about the number of midwives: status, nationality, age, wealth, and the composition of their families. Since this information is still largely unpublished, the total number of these women (Romanians and foreigners) remains unknown. In addition, several reasons rise the problem of the accuracy of this source for the Wallachian area and although classical scholarly literature argues that 25% of the population was left unregistered (Donat and Retegan 1965, 937–38), the problem continues to be debated (Mateescu 2013, 16–17). This is in line with the results of a recent study regarding the pertinence of censuses of women's work, which is quite underestimated (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012, 43–44). In my research I had access to the census registers of the towns of Pitesti, Craiova, Focsani, and Calarasi, but I was not able to find midwives registered there. In Craiova, the second largest city after the capital there were 5 doctors (1 Hungarian, 1 German, 1 Greek, 1 from Bavaria, 1 Serbian; 3 of them under the protection of Austria, 1 under Prussia and the Serb was under no such protection). In Focsani,

the border city between the Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia only a doctor under the protection of Austria is registered; and in Calarasi, a town close to Danube, a Greek doctor has been found. Each town has its own particularity (large city, border town, close to Danube) and the possibility to be on the route of midwives. For this reason it is hard to believe that there was no such woman practicing. Professional files—when midwives asked to be named in an official post and present a resume of their activity, come with official documents and testimonies from patients—argue for a contrary picture. For instance, Joita Cremen (mentioned later in the text) travelled from Transylvania (Austrian Empire) to Bucharest in 1828; she then leaves for Craiova in 1833 and practiced there until 1840. This is what she declared, as is testified by official papers and testimonies from her patients in Craiova and the neighbouring area. However, there is no trace of her in the 1838 census of Craiova. Is this a voluntary omission? If she wanted an official post why she should not be included in the census? No answer is possible at this point of my research. However, we should note that if midwives can be found in other sources (professional files for instance), but not in the 1838 census maybe their presence was a 'negotiated' fact. Either themselves avoided to be registered, or as they had a 'mobile' occupation (i.e. clients from that city and from surrounding area) they were not found by the officers where they stayed (if not residents, the head of the household was someone else and they could rent a room) to take their identification information. What emerges from other sources is that these women came with someone and were part of informal networks before being formally employed/put in a post. And move to the capital or a larger locality. It is likely that this informal network kept them 'invisible' until they decide to declare themselves as such.

A second set of sources that can be found in the institutional correspondence is intimately connected with midwives themselves and consists of their professional files. These reveal their vicissitudes and can be used to understand patterns of migration of foreign midwives and their role in Wallachia. The professional files contain petitions (*jalbe*) by which foreign midwives pursued their interests, looked for mediation, and expressed their agency. These archival documents show the 'channels of power' (Würgler 2001, 31–32) foreign women would turn to in order to enter the labour market. Petitions are the tools of the powerless (Blaine 2001, 62, 63), who, thanks to the mediation of a scribe, express their grievances in a formalized language in order to appeal a superior

authority and improve their life. As in any labour market, 'the demand matters' (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012, 60), and these foreign women were attracted by the new opportunities in the principality. Their clients were mostly boyars[1] and townsfolk; these foreign midwives were the real rivals of the doctors in the first half of the nineteenth century. As the State tried to regulating this profession by establishing a midwifery school and by making local licensing mandatory, foreign midwives' monopoly on this particular labour market was shattered. They became aware that the local diploma created a hierarchy (Whaley 2011, 27) based on gender, skill, education and, in the end, nationality. Mandatory licensing is aimed at empowering local midwives and at excluding the empirical ones.

A cross-reference approach towards sources on women's labour and mobility provides a balanced image of all the actors involved and sheds light on formal and informal networks of social assistance and professionalization. It lets us glean on women as labouring foreign migrants, especially thanks to their petitions which encapsulate fragments of their life paths, and that can be put into dialogue with medical literature, statistical sources, and respond to legislative changes.

The Midwives in Medical Discourse

In the Romanian Principalities, writings dedicated to the medical field began to appear during the nineteenth century which displayed similar attitudes towards midwives. To begin with, these works lay bare a marked difference between town and village, just as there were among various social groups. The village midwives were members of their communities, and their practice included beliefs and gestures with certain magical connotations. Those from the urban areas were employed on recommendation and were mostly foreigners. Early nineteenth-century Romanian medical discourse was heavily influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, but also by local knowledge available to contemporary doctors. Their biographies show how they internalized the period's scientific ideas and how they adapted to life in the Principalities, since most of them were Greeks, Aromanians, or German language speakers (Trăuşan-Matu 2011, 83–84; Livadă-Cadeschi 2013, 74–75; Grigoruţă 2017, 154). The Aromanian Constantin Caracaş, born to a family of doctors, who studied in Vienna (1800), and eventually became doctor in-chief of Bucharest, the capital, initiating a series of philanthropic activities, considered midwives *ignorant old women*, who through their unsafe activities and lack of

knowledge could cause harm and even endanger the lives of babies and their mothers (*Topografia* 1937, 90). In his opinion, childbirth was supposed to be managed and supervised by doctors, and he recommended to elite mothers to forgo wetnurses and practice breast-feeding. Written in 1817 but published in 1830, and in Greek, his work advocated for the harmonization with Western changes and, at the same time, for wide-range medical professional corps (*Topografia* 1937, 131). According to him, the majority of doctors in the Principalities were Greeks taught in German universities (*Topografia* 1937, 138–39), and although the boyars were founders and patrons of private philanthropic institutions, it was the state which had to manage institutions of public interest and compensate for existent shortcomings. In a nutshell, his advice was to work for the benefit of the people and the nation. In one of the first books about childbirth (Mărășoiu 2012, 83–90) published in Romanian by the Greek doctor Nicolae Chiriacopol, *Twelve Useful Teachings for Those Pregnant Women* (1827), the danger posed by midwives who lacked medical training is underscored. His observations cover a broader geographical area which he knew very well due to his own travels:

> ...because the midwives from Moldova, Wallachia, and Bessarabia are completely untaught (...) I advise the entirety of the female public not to let themselves be deceived by their midwifery and not to follow their advice which is unreasonable and lacks a scientific basis, because they pretend to be knowledgeable without having natural knowledge, they boast and say they know a lot, but do not know anything. A great cruelty resides in some of them, especially those from the countryside and small boroughs, and cause suffering to those pregnant women and those in childbed who fall into the hands of those midwives. (Chiriacopol 1827, 46)

Chiriacopol mentions the midwives' ill practices while at the same time warning mothers not to use cures (*roots, weeds, drops, greases*) concocted by them, adding that they should avoid *putting fried cheese on their belly-button and many other useless remedies* (Chiriacopol 1827, 56). He also condemns the tendency to call a priest at such times when a doctor would be more useful, and reprimands those prudish women who could not overcome the reticence of having a man *seeing their most hidden parts* (Chiriacopol 1827, 78–79). Three aspects emerge from this discourse that revolves around the figure of the midwife: the competitiveness that

doctors felt from the healers or empirical practitioners; the close relationship between the community and the representatives of the Church and, last but not least, the exclusion of men from a process marked by the female presence (birth). This competitiveness between doctors and alternative healers was considered another form of 'medical imperialism' (Spary 2012, 685–66) that aimed to enforce state control on medical care. Bans on the sale of certain substances by pharmacists and court cases addressing bodily harm, infanticide or abortion show both the extent to which alternative medicine was widespread and the migration of beliefs and practices from the rural setting of village folklore to the quackery of city life (for Wallachia Roman 2016, 269–326). The priest was a constant presence, while the small number of doctors in the cities explains why he was in great demand; even more so in the villages, where doctors were almost non-existent. Besides, the fact that the doctor was a foreigner led to a certain resistance which in turn further intensified the gender barrier. Such writings can be configured as remnants of late Enlightenment and are similar to Anglo-Saxon, French, and German medical literature in their negative depictions of midwives. Western literature not only reflects the intervention of the state and the increasing competition between midwives and obstetricians, but it also expresses favour towards replacing midwives with man-midwives. The image of the 'ignorant' midwife became a leitmotif (Harley 1981; Porter 1990, 67; Evenden 2006, 1–5; Pardo-Tomas and Martinez-Vidal 2007, 49–62), but the work and activism of midwives such as Madame du Coudray, Custine Siegemenund, Elizabeth Nihell, Teresa Ployant, or Anne Horenburg—who with their extensive experience and knowledge gave voice to this socio-professional group—sheds light on the role these women had in society. Thus, the apparent gradual decline of the midwife in Western Europe is linked to the development of obstetrics as a science and to the elite's choice of consulting a trained physician rather than a midwife. For the majority of practitioners, the question refers rather to regularization and professionalization (Marland 1993a, 193–94, 207; Somel 2007, 308; Hunt 2014, 101; Sage Pranchère 2017) than to anything else. State and obstetricians aimed at properly regulating the midwives' activity and eliminating the empirical ones, in order to transform this practice into a profession and integrate it in the medical apparatus. Nonetheless, the model of man-midwife was not replicated in the same manner in all countries: local variations and differences can be detected (Lindemann 1993, 177; Marland 1993b, 2; Filippini 2017, 208–9).

In Bucharest, the Institute of Childbirth (Maternity) was established in 1839 and operated within the Pantelimon Hospital, with both institutions being financially supported by donations from the princely Ghica family. In the preface of *The Craft of Midwifery for the Teaching of Midwives*, a textbook used in this institution, doctor Iosef Sporer acknowledged he wrote it because there were no *trained midwives in Wallachia*; only the urban elite *made use of midwives from the Austrian region, who were not always the best trained ones* (Sporer 1839, 6). The institute was founded as a consequence, at least in part, of the recently adopted Organic Regulation (1831), the first constitution, made under the supervision and with the involvement of Russia through its representative in the two territories, General Pavel Kiselyov. This law introduced the mandatory existence of quarantine midwives, of county and neighbourhood midwives, as well as of midwives working in the newly established institutions dedicated to orphans and abandoned children. Specializing in surgery in Vienna, Sporer was specially appointed to instruct midwives, defined in his handbook as women *who have the necessary knowledge* to practice (Sporer 1839, 9). Almost twenty years later, in the neighbouring principality of Moldova, doctor Anastase Fătul, as a professor at a midwifery school affiliated with an institute for abandoned children, would also publish a textbook for local midwives. Here too the local branch of the Ghica family founded both institutions (the midwifery school and the institute for abandoned children). To Anastase Fătul, midwives must:

> learn from the man-midwives' knowledge enough so they can differentiate between ordinary and extraordinary cases: enough to know when to call for the help of a man-midwife ahead of time and to be able to help patients whenever necessary. (Fătul 1852, III)

In addition to medical instructions, he also mentioned the liability of a criminal record (in case of abortion/infanticide) (Fătul 1852, 185–88) and drew an idealized portrait of the midwife. According to his understanding, she must demonstrate two sets of attributes: physical traits (clean, healthy, trial-averse, swift in movements, *with a small and quick hand*) and character traits (clever, sharp, optimistic, viceless, quiet, and patient *especially during difficult and exhausting births*).[2] (Fătul 1852, I–II). This portrayal is not significantly different than those described for Transylvania and Austria at the time (Sechel 2008, 109, note 59).

Moving forward in time, in 1866, doctor Ştefan Capşa argued in his new textbook for the female students of the Bucharest Childbirth Institute/Maternity that, in the almost thirty years since its founding, the institution accomplished its mission and its graduates were working: 'all over the country, both as public and private midwives, and were directly and equally competing with midwives graduating from various foreign institutes' (Capşa 1866, 1).

He replicated Anastase Fătul's idealized portrait of the midwives, but in his view they need to demonstrate three sets of traits (physical, intellectual, and moral). A midwife needed to be healthy and resilient *so that she could endure adversities and long tiring hours*, with clean hands and preferably long fingers. With regard to her knowledge: she must possess good memory coupled with an ability to act *in cold blood but with lot of heart*. Keeping with the tradition typical of the pre-modern period, from a moral standpoint, the midwife must have a conscience and always *be ready to help poor and rich equally* (Capşa 1866, 5). In just half a century, midwives came a long way in both real life and medical discourse: from being considered *ignorant* and almost excluded and replaced in attending births by obstetrician doctors, the so-called man-midwives, to their regular involvement in the day-to-day practice of childbirth. Moreover, they could take theoretical and practical courses at newly founded schools in the capital cities of the two Principalities of Wallachia (Bucharest) and Moldova (Iaşi). The expertise of the man-midwife was mostly sought during difficult births, which asked for the use of new techniques or medicines. The underdeveloped local medical system allowed for the delegation of professional tasks, while the elite became involved in creating and supporting national medical institutions. In fact, the state ended up relying on groups of specialists who until then acted autonomously and who, through this recognition, were given permission to form their own working hierarchy (Taithe 1999, 130–31). With regard to public health, the Minister of Home Affairs of Wallachia, Mihail Ghica, founder of several establishments, including the Institute of Childbirth in Bucharest, instructed local officials to use Western models and best practices in the absence of local resources and indigenous working models. Nicolae Kretzulescu, a doctor, himself hailing from a boyar family, is a good example of this process. For instance, in 1842, at Ghica's request, Kretzulescu translated the textbook written by the French hygienist François-Emmanuel Fodéré,[3] in which he kept the words in the following stanza (in French in the text):

> To rescue the misfortune, to protect the innocence
> To guarantee the people with whom we are living with
> [That we will protect them] from the pain of the body and the errors of judgement
> This means to serve both one's heart and science. (*Manualul* 1842, 164)

These lines were to serve as a motto for caregivers and nurses, but the audience for both textbook and French language was mainly the local elite; in this respect, *especially for family mothers*, the text directly targeted the upper class. As a matter of fact, from the very beginning of the century, in his *Teachings*, dedicated to the boyar Anica Roset, even Chiriacopol had been subtly nodding towards the elite classes. However, the main focus of these textbooks and the real problem to be fixed had been the lack of professionally trained local midwives. The Midwifery School's first mission was to fill this gap.

Craft, Knowledge, and Social Status

In a country where the press makes its appearance only in the 1830s and most of the population was illiterate (Drace-Francis 2006), one question can certainly be raised: how did the midwives learn their trade? Historiographical research on this topic has already proven the importance of apprenticeship (Wiesner 1986, 98; Harley 1993, 28; Ortiz 1993, 97), a fact that applies to all Romanian Principalities. In the rural areas it was customary to keep the trade within the family and pass it from one generation to the next, and for the midwife to be called 'family midwife' (*moaşa de neam*, 'the midwife for all (our) family) (Lorinţ 1969, 99–112). The 'family midwife' was very close to the peasant community and she would use practices such as chantings and traditional remedies (Filippini 1993, 155). Gradually, this oral culture became insufficient, and even questionable, although it was restricted to rural areas, while the urban elites, as shown by contemporary medical writings, preferred to employ the 'learned' midwives.

In the Romanian territories during the nineteenth century, professionalization through a diploma became mandatory for a midwife to gain a decent income and to survive in her trade. The midwives who could only count on their experience and apprenticeship, remained in the village or were employed by those at the lower echelons of society, whereas the diploma owners and the foreigners brought over and recommended by

doctors and boyars practiced in urban areas. The latter were called upon by the elites and the emergent bourgeoisie. The two types co-existed; competition between the two only began when the state, through its newly implemented health system, created public official posts for which the midwives were requested to have a diploma.

In the context of an oral culture in which literacy was, for the majority of women, reduced,[4] it was a practice which ultimately made the difference. The midwifery schools in Bucharest and Iași were created as affiliates to the Institutes taking care of orphans, which had special places designated for assisting poor pregnant women. In school, teaching was conducted by an experienced doctor surgeon, who used plates, named *table*, as teaching material. Classes were supplemented by practical knowledge, with midwives taking part in childbirth at the childcare Institutes mentioned above. This experience helped students understand the difference between a regular and a complicated birth (Evenden 1993, 18; Marland 1993a, 197), such as the one of twins (Picture 3.1).

A good memory, also mentioned by doctor Capşa, could turn out useful in these situations (Capşa 1866, 5–6). If in the pre-modern period the birthing chair was used (Capşa 1866, 124), this was now replaced with other utensils. A midwife with a diploma was expected to have a small chest which should have contained: a clyster for the mother, a child and womb (*mitra*); a catheter; a pair of scissors with rounded edges; shoelaces, lint, and sponges. In addition, the chest would also include medicine in tightly sealed bottles (cinnamon tincture, salmiac spirit, aromatic vinegar, Hoffman drops) and boxes with chamomile and mint teas (Capşa 1866, 122). Everything was supposed to be kept neatly and cleanly. These requirements ensured that the midwife, through her collaboration with, and supply from apothecaries and doctors, was well integrated into the health network of urban communities. Moreover, the midwives were also identified by means of the sign put on the house in which they lived. Their number in the cities and towns of Wallachia was rather small: it depended on the level of development of such communities. According to the 1838 census, in a small town like Piteşti, there was only one doctor and no midwife, while in the cosmopolitan Danube seaport of Brăila the situation was quite different. In this large, cosmopolitan port city in the eastern part of Wallachia there were three midwives of Romanian, Greek, and Serbian origin. They were respectively 40, 54, and 70 years old. Two of them lived on their own, and the third lived with her son-in-law, a tavern-keeper (Oraşul Piteşti
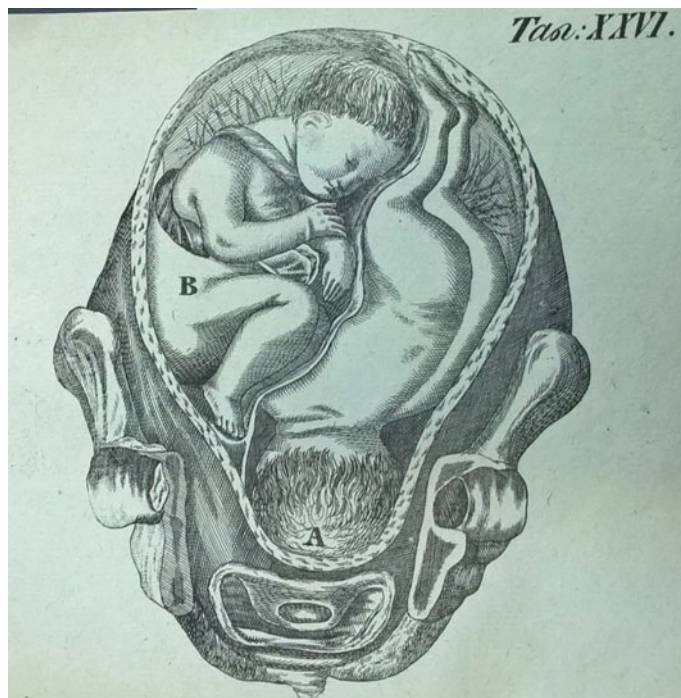
Picture 3.1   Table XXVI. [Twins] A. The first child comes out naturally during birth. B. The second one, who follows, comes out unnaturally (*Source* Iosif Sporer, *Meşteşugul moşării pentru învăţătura moaşelor la Institutul Maternităţii din Bucureşti* [1839])

2011, 29–31; Oraşul Piteşti 2012, 84, 186, 187). In Bucharest, one could find as many as two midwives in each neighbourhood. They usually matched the general profile: elderly women, widow, from a commerce or crafts' background, living either alone or with the family as well as with acquaintances. Practicing midwifery meant providing financial support for the family and gradually moving away from the old paradigm that men were the sole income providers (Sharpe 1996, 9). There were wage differences between private and State-employed midwives (Filippini 1993, 157; Balsoy 2015, 41–42), that reflected their knowledge (if they had a diploma or not), experience, and personal abilities.

The foundation of the Midwifery School led to fierce competition for public positions. One could find out more about their earnings: the income of private midwives largely depended on their clients' status and the position, while public midwives had a fixed income and they occasionally sought private employment. Once they placed their professional tag above their door, they were paid wages of about 80 *lei*, a sum later on raised to 100 *lei*, which was still insufficient. When advanced age would not allow them to seek additional employment and they were the sole breadwinners of their own families or if they had to remain longer with a family, they could request a raise of 20 *lei* to cover other expenses. In the beginning, appointed midwives to county capital cities were also responsible for the patients in neighbouring villages. If they had to travel to the farthest corners of the county, they had to take a leave of absence for no longer than five days from the head doctors and from the medical board, in which case the family seeking their help would cover their travel expenses. At the end of each intervention or stay, each midwife would receive a signed evaluation from her patient or from the patient's family describing the care she provided. Put together, all these references would constitute the basis of records thanks to which patients would recommend a midwife for further employment or file petitions for her replacement. Labelled 'The town's midwife' in medical paperwork, such a figure was placed in a rank above other practitioners.

Once hired in an official post, a midwife could be removed for three reasons: (1) old age, on account that she would no longer be able to perform her duties and answer all demands promptly; (2) malpractice or professional negligence, i.e. if she was responsible for hurting or killing patients (3) replacement by a midwife with better credentials or a more prestigious diploma. As soon as a midwife lost her post, this would weigh not only on her income but also on her reputation; in this case she would typically ask her neighbours, other members of the community, and former patients to vouch for her professional experience with the hope to be reinstated.

FROM ONE EMPIRE TO ANOTHER

Although the situation of midwives during the second half of the nineteenth century has already been examined by scholars for what concerns Transylvania (Dumănescu and Eppel 2019; Sabău 2017) and to a lesser

extent for mid-nineteenth-century Wallachia (Trăușan-Matu 2011, 94–99), their mobility from the latter to the former territory and their contribution to the process of professionalization in the Romanian Principalities constitute a new approach (Roman 2016, 191–211). It appears as relevant to understand the reasons for their migration from the Habsburg Empire to Wallachia, an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire under Russian protection. Besides a growth in population, during the nineteenth century the Habsburg Empire experienced a shift that favoured migration from the center towards provinces (Hahn 2002, 109). Arguably, during that time, in Bucharest, the *working conditions were more favourable than in the neigbouring provinces* (Capșa 1866, 1). Why? The answer to this question needs some historical background. Research on the Habsburg Empire shows that during the eighteenth century, obstetrics had become an appreciated field of study at the University of Vienna, a bastion of science influenced by the West. Johann Raphaele Steidele wrote the first handbooks for midwives (1774, 1775), in which he used plates as a complementary teaching method (Sechel 2013, 309). Although his handbooks were meant for all midwives, Steidele's work was an appeal in favour of the man-midwife, following in this case the English model. The books were quickly translated into vernacular languages, with the governor of the Transylvanian province requesting in 1778 that all districts obtain and use this material (Sechel 2013, 309). Completely different was the situation in the other province of the Habsburg Empire with a population which was predominantly Romanian, Bukovina, where in 1781 the authorities ordered the translation of Simon Zeller's book. The latter, although shorter and written in a less scientific language, argued for the use of surgery only in the most difficult cases (Sechel 2013, 311), allowing for both the midwife and the doctor in this practice. These books did not circulate in their Romanian versions mostly because the number of Romanian doctors in these regions was significantly lower, and Romanian was not a recognized language—but they did represent a point of reference in the schooling of midwives in Transylvania and Bukovina. For a doctor like Ștefan Capșa (Trăușan-Matu 2017, 27–46),[5] who had studied in Vienna, the difference between the provinces of the two Empires, despite their geographical proximity, was obvious. Such may have been the reason, although the various aspects related to the midwives' movement from one territory into another and their chances of socio-professional integration still need to be clarified. The stories of some of these women may provide us with useful information in this regard.

Large cities, with commercial ties and a high number of wealthy people were the target areas for these women. The former offered an opportunity that was not to be missed: an income source and a potential monopoly over the local market, given the lack of indigenous specialists. The capital appeared to attract most of these women, while also representing a diffusion channel towards other centers. The midwives came, like the doctors, under the patronage of boyars, merchants, and the network of consulates which was then being created; their professional files are also, even at a cursory glance, useful sources of information on the women's mobility; data from these files was put together through various documents: official complaints, contestations, and court trials, when the women tried to get official recognition for and an improvement of their situation. If we take for example the city of Craiova, the second largest after the capital and, at the same time, the seat of many indigenous boyars from Oltenia. Here, in 1806, Lizeta Gribman (Gridebaum) arrived, brought over from the Habsburg Empire (Sibiu) to Wallachia by the great boyar Grigore Brâncoveanu. He travelled with her and introduced her to other boyar families. Moreover, although in an informal manner, he helped her to an official post in the city. She worked for some time in Bucharest, and then in Craiova, where she continued to practice for 30 years thus earning, finally, the title of 'midwife of Craiova'. Her level was above that of other private practitioners. Before the Organic Regulation (1831), Lizeta Gribman did not have a salary, her remuneration was negotiated ad hoc and case by case; however, after the law was adopted, she received a fixed income of 100 *lei* per month, though this stipend was not paid regularly. In 1836, Lizeta requested that this income be doubled as a merit-based salary, but the city's magistrate denied her demand on account of a reduced budget. After that, she continued searching for financial help in order to restore her fragile health:

> And because I sacrificed my youth and my life here, in this country, in the county of Dolj, and for the past two years, because of heavy winters and having walked on foot from one place to another in order to help with births, my feet have frozen and due to this problem I was forced to ask for permission and money to spend to the honourable governor so that he would give me [the money] in order to go to the baths in Austria to take care of my health.[6]

Her request was granted, but it was also established that there must be a replacement for her position. Lizeta however wanted more: a pension and to go back to Bucharest, to be appointed at the newly created Midwifery School, which seemed to her as a more stable institution.

At that same time, in Lizeta's hometown, a younger midwife wanted her post. Joița Cremen had also come from Transylvania; we do not know who had acted as a mediator for her to arrive, but the recommendation she insisted on was a letter from the police officer in Brașov police. From this document, we find that she had obtained her diploma in Cluj (1823), from where she had then left for Brașov, the border city between the Habsburg Empire (Transylvania) and the Ottoman Empire (Wallachia). There she lived for a while in Șcheilor Street and, according to the local police, helped the poor and practiced her profession for free.[7] In 1828, Joița arrived in Bucharest, where she stayed for five years, becoming acquainted with the new place and gaining experience. Afterwards, she left for Craiova (1833), where she continued to practice in private until 1840 when, because midwife Gribman's requests had made it clear that the official post would soon become vacant, she submitted she applied for that position. In order to convince the authorities Joița used two arguments: she explained that she was a foreigner in a difficult economic situation and that she was physically able, but poor and with a large family. As a stranger to the place, she looked for social assistance and mediation with the locals and subordinated her professional experience to what the society expected from her as a woman who financially supported her family (Zucca Micheletto 2013, 246). She compared herself to Gribman, but her situation, she claimed, was even more difficult:

> …and to help me earn my bread and living, being an impoverished foreigner and, although with a profession which could pay for my food, without help and support. And her (n.n. Gribman), currently a midwife, like one who has made her career for so many years, being paid and not having a large family like me, she will be able to save enough from the means she has in order to live.[8]

Lizeta's old age was an argument to consider, because Lizeta herself was a foreigner who had gone through the same process as Joița. Nevertheless, in demanding one's rights what really counted was the family context and the way in which she could contribute to its financial support. This argument was of course supported with recommendations that touched upon

several relevant aspects in the context of upward professional mobility: the capacity to answer quickly and efficiently requests coming from multiple social strata and, last but not least, the existence of a collaborative relationship with the city's doctor. Joița had visited together with doctor Coler, an Austrian, in the rural area close to Craiova, thus answering requests from local communities which had previously relied on fellow villagers for birth assistance[9]; she had also gone to city neighbourhoods,[10] as well as to the private homes of local boyars.[11] One can witness in this way the building of a collective type of patronage, an informal network which represented the social support necessary for the midwife to be accepted in society and gain the public position of midwife. Joița had managed to diversify her social capital in order to achieve this generalized type of acceptance. This kind of social backing was meant to facilitate and ensure the transition from work carried out privately and for little money, to an official post which was remunerated with a fixed monthly salary. In the beginning, in order to enter the profession, midwives would rely on recommendations of either boyars (such as in Gribman's case, that of the great boyar Brâncoveanu), the local public authorities in neighbouring countries (in the case of Cremen, the Brașov city local police), or from embassies and foreign consulates. However, in order to 'move up' in a position which was similar to that of a public servant, one needed much more. By that time, even private practice, including that of foreigners, had to be approved by the public authorities, this being one of the ways in which empirical practice and charlatanism were fought. Ana Ventiur (Vanture) had barely arrived in Bucharest in November 1841, when she immediately set out to visit the French consulate, from where she obtained a document of introduction to the local Health Committee which, Ana was sure, would grant her the right to practice her profession on account of her foreign diplomas:

> Since it has been several days since my arrival in this capital in order to exercise the profession of a midwife, I dare to appeal to your high and kind protection, which you so generously give to all my countrymen, so that I can finally be able to obtain from the [Romanian] government the permission to settle in Bucharest and make use of my craft.

> Having all the diplomas awarded by the Faculty of Medicine in Montpellier and the certificate of practice done in Paris, I dare to hope, Mr. General Consul, that through your high protection, the government of the country will accept to provide me the authorization that I ask for.[12]

Although Ana had approached the Committee *through the channel of the honoured General Consul of France* and she had recently obtained her diploma (1839) from Montpellier, she was still denied the right *to carry out here in Bucharest the craft of midwifery* because she had not included the certificate of practice in her request. The State was trying in this way to send out the message that it would not accept midwives without a diploma and the right to practice, obtained either abroad, or at the Bucharest Midwifery School. Without a proper dossier, recommendations were useless; old practices had to disappear and medicine was to become a profession in which work was carried out in a scientific manner. A woman migrant is *a global player in multidirectional and multilayered migration processes* (Harzig 2002, 22) and the foreign midwife in Wallachia was in a continuous struggle: she had to negotiate her presence, role, and agency within the community. After 1839, the year when the Midwifery School was established, a part of this professional and identity struggle was transferred to her Romanian counterpart, who now could boast a diploma as well.

In Wallachian Cities: The Graduates of the Bucharest Midwifery School

The Midwifery School in Bucharest opened after the one in Cairo (1831/1832), and before the one in Istanbul (1842), these last two operating with Western female teachers (Abugideiri 2010, 125–26; Balsoy 2015, 34–35). In Wallachia, Iosif Sporer, professor, obstetrician, and director of the Midwifery School together with his successors, hoped for an increased number of 'educated' midwifes, who would first work in urban centers and afterwards in rural areas, a very ambitious plan for those early days. His Moldovan counterpart in the neighbouring province, Anastasie Fătu, raised the problem of a large number of foreign-trained midwives in the Romanian territories as compared to the native ones. Sporer, a foreigner himself, never raised this issue in his works. Unlike him, Fătu designed his textbook to be used primarily by less-educated students, who did not need to prove their knowledge with a diploma from a foreign school:

> the art of midwifery (…) is firstly called to educate local midwives, therefore I not only had to focus on instructing the masses but I also had to present the material in a simpler way. (Fătul 1852, vii)

In 1840, 16 'students' graduated from the Midwifery School, in front of a commission chaired by Iosef Sporer who handed them the much needed diplomas giving them license to practice (Table 3.1). A report of the Medical Commission from 1840, praising the expertise of the new graduates, compares the Romanian health system to similar ones in the West and emphasizes the modernizing trend also encouraged by the influx of foreign medical professionals:

> And the commission, considering the students worthy to receive their diplomas and capable to practice midwifery, has the honor to recommend them to the respectable [interior] department, alongside those who studied in the schools of Enlightened Europe. And, therefore, we hope a new regulation will shortly be passed to only allow midwifery to be practiced by licensed midwives and we request licensed midwives be given priority to public posts.[13]

These young professionals were a threat to both midwives with a foreign diploma and the empirical ones (Filippini 1993, 164). After finishing their studies at the newly founded midwifery school, the women had to pass an exam with questions and 'interpretations' as well as take an oath of good practice. They had the right to baptize a weak or dying infant (art. 6), but they did not have the right to administer any type of medication without the consent of the doctor (art. 2), a prohibition which would sometimes create trouble. Midwives practicing throughout a county found it difficult to help patients when the doctors who could prescribe much needed medication were away and getting their consent would take too long. The oath required future midwives to prevent the killing, abandonment, or hiding of an infant. They were already known as possible witnesses or accomplices to such acts (Roman 2015, 113–16). They were also prohibited from exchanging babies (art. 4), a newly introduced interdiction.

Table 3.1 Graduates of the Bucharest Midwifery School

1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848
16	21	15	7	10	7	18	19	10

Source ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Diviziunea rural-comunală*, 1/1840, vol. 1

The year 1840 saw the appointment of a number of midwives throughout the counties of Wallachia which had previously lacked such personnel, but only five of them were Romanian, one remains unknown, and a county (Argeş) had no such person doing community service; the rest were women of different nationalities (Table 3.2).

For the remaining counties, like in the previously shown case of Gribman vs. Cremen for Dolj, there were already appointed midwives; here too some of them were from abroad. The competition for this position between local and foreign personnel continued. In Bucharest, Anastasia Tarsiţa from the Pitar Moşi slum argued that, despite the fact that she had served the state for thirteen years—in other words she was a well-established a midwife—in 1839 she found herself replaced because 'almost all committees had received midwives of foreign religions'. Unlike some other of her colleagues, she did not use an anti-foreigner discourse, blaming outsiders of destabilizing a so-called local group, but merely pointed out their lack of knowledge. She put doubts on their professionalism arguing that, after having contacted foreign women, many parents turned to her so that they could be healed of 'different diseases that not all midwives know'.[14] In a nutshell, the very belonging to a different culture could become a barrier for good practice. Despite being the daughter of a Greek woman who taught her the trade, Anastasia became naturalized and considered herself Romanian. In the 1838 census of Bucharest, her mother, Tarsiţa, was listed in the Sf. Vineri neighbourhood as a 60-year-old widow, head of household, midwife. Anastasia, (35 years) and two other daughters, Frusina (16 years), and Sevastiţa (14 years) lived with

Table 3.2 Midwives named in post in the counties (1840)

Nr. crt	Midwives' names	County seat	County
1	Despina Engiurloaica	Brăila	Brăila
2	Eleonora Hofer	Focşani	Râmnicul Sărat
3	Elenca Costea	Ploieşti	Prahova
4	Marioara Olovineasca	Târgovişte	Dâmboviţa
5	(name not mentioned)	Piteşti	Argeş
6	Anica Piationi	Câmpulung	Câmpulung
7	Zamfira Polcovniceasa	Giurgiu	Vlaşca
8	Uţa Doculeasa	Slatina	Olt
9	Ioana lui Vasile	Râmnic	Vâlcea

Source ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Diviziunea rural-comunală*, 1/1840, vol. 1, f. 18

her. Anastasia was also registered as a midwife. What Anastasia wanted to convey to the authorities almost ten years after, in 1849, is the idea that a piece of paper—however official—cannot replace a lifetime of experience and one's cultural connection with a patient. Romanian women knew every fear parents and relatives may have had, they knew each custom that accompanied birth, but most importantly they knew how to communicate easily with the family, ensuring a balance between science and tradition. Romanian midwives learned quickly the importance of having their experience certified and, even though they were well-known practitioners, they chose to attend the School, subsequently obtaining the diploma needed to apply for, and be officially appointed as midwives. Therefore, license to practice was an official recognition of skill and knowledge, which was more important than the place of birth, irrespective of one's origin.

From Cities to Countryside

Over time, one can see how the struggle to establish a profession at a local level resulted in a competition among those trained by the school as every graduate was aiming for an appointment. The unlucky ones were left out, waiting for a new competition and a new opportunity. For example, in Brăila, in 1850, apart from the official midwife, there were several others who possessed a diploma, and were just as good practitioners. The so-called unqualified midwives, continued to offer their services, despite their diminishing credibility. But the fact that they worked for a good price most likely made them just as sought after among people with a low income. This is why, on 24 March 1850, the Health Ministry issued a decree asking all unlicensed women to be barred from practicing and, if they continued, they would be fined after the first warning, since they were trading 'with people's lives without any qualms of conscience'. In this way control was imposed only at the diploma-holding level; when it came to job appointment, everything was left under the control of the city magistrate and the doctor.

On the other hand, because the capital had the greatest number of licensed and unlicensed practicing midwives over time the market reached a saturation point and it soon became clear that some of them had been sent away to different counties; this happened a century earlier for France as well (Gèlis 1988, 61–64). It was only then, during the 1850s, that the tasks of the county midwife emerged:

    to help all impoverished women deliver without any sort of payment

    to check weekly all women employed by the State

    to care for all those taken in by the hospital for venereal diseases and, finally,

    to go, without delay, where she was called to help, according to the knowledge she possesses.[15]

Given that at the time Romanian authorities were attempting to set up a network of hospitals for venereal diseases, but they lacked sufficient personnel and funds, the government decided to extend the competences of these women from pregnancy checks and acting as substitutes for doctors in certain cases, to the care and supervision of prostitutes taken in by these new institutions. In the capital, the quarter midwife was supposed to supervise the wetnurses hired by the Pauper Institute, an institution dedicated to abandoned and orphaned children. This position also required them to assist private midwives any time they found themselves in difficult situations with a patient, while at the same time competing against each other for good references from their patients.

    County midwives carried out their activities mainly in the county's capital and less in the rural area, while empirical midwives continued to help with childbirth. In spite of this situation, county midwives were called to work in the villages as well, but their trips were not sanctioned by the authorities unless the midwives have the doctor's approval. After more than a decade since the first measures had been taken to create an urban network of official midwives, with diploma, in all counties, a new challenge appeared. The challenge was to penetrate into the rural areas and to increase the medical knowledge transfer to these villages as well. One such proposal was put forward by the governor of one of these counties, a boyar, military officer, and former Member of Parliament in the Citizens' Assembly,[16] therefore a well-read man and an influential person in the central government. In 1853, the last year of his life, he submitted a project to the Home Office (*Departamentul Dinlăuntru*) in which he outlined the method he wanted to implement in his county and the reasons behind his choice:

    I found it opportune, after agreement with the doctor, to bring from each village, one after the other, from *plasa*[17] to the county seat, the local midwives or, in their absence, a skilled and handy village woman; to whom the doctor and the city midwife were to teach not only midwifery with some theoretical knowledge and practice. These women would learn while

assisting them, but also how to heal wounds, to use leeches for blood-letting, to stop the flowing of blood, and other such small-scale surgical practices.[18]

A rural midwife was supposed to be trained also to administer a vaccine. In his vision, the midwives' knowledge had to be as comprehensive as possible, in particular with regard to children. Bringing a stranger to the village could be disrupting for the community and it was something that had been tried unsuccessfully before. This proposal was bypassing the problem by having the most gifted midwives brought to the county capital where, at the local administration's expenses, the health personnel would teach them some basic medical skills. The author also budgeted the money for two months of apprenticeship and payment for the midwives, a payment correlated with the number of children that would be given vaccine.[19] The project was well received by the Ministry because, it was stated, spreading the art of midwifery (as a science) was *absolutely needed and all the more so given the love of humankind*, but because the budget was low, the proposal had to be tested in that county first. If successful, then the model would be extended to the whole country. Because a county consisted of at least 5 *plăși*, with a varying number of communes and villages, the Ministry was of the opinion that it would be better for two, not one, midwives to come to the city; midwives who *would be known to have a good disposition and handiness for this profession*.[20] The result of this experiment is unknown, but its approval and implementation show the ways in which the knowledge transfer was carried out in this period, with foreign midwives—still quite numerous and with official posts in the urban areas—having an influence which reached beyond the city borders.

In 1860, immediately after the Union of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldova, but before its recognition by the suzerain power, the Ottoman Empire (1861), the Chief Inspector of the Health System, Frenchman Carol Davila, commissioned a statistical survey of the number of doctors and foreign midwives who were still active in Wallachia, who had received state authorization and had settled in the country before that particular historical moment. The aim of the survey was to observe the ratio between foreign and autochthonous practitioners and to see how to use the information in the forthcoming reform of medical system. Some years later, in 1869, Davila was appointed Minister and established a Faculty of Medicine. A school for doctors and pharmacists was in force

since 1857 but it was not at the same level. The number of doctors and foreign midwives registered according to the survey is displayed in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. I believe however that the number of those who were active was much higher, a fact that Davila himself acknowledged during his service, which spanned the government of three rulers. In the same year in which this statistical data was gathered, he stated that although he had taken measures to ban midwives who worked privately without prior authorization, this situation could be controlled only partially, even in the cities. Davila admitted that he was unable to find a solution for the problem of those who worked on the black market, because these women *could only be proven guilty if caught in the act*.[21] At the same time, a statistical survey was also carried out on the midwives who had graduated from the Institute for Childbirth in Bucharest and who, in 1860, were employed in Wallachia (Table 3.5). A comparison of the number of female graduates (Table 3.1) shows that not all those who had received a diploma found a position or kept the job. A closer look at the names of these graduates reveals their ethnic diversity (Romanians, Jewish, Greeks, Austrians) and suggests the realistic possibility, that among these

Table 3.3 The number and the country of origin for the doctors from Wallachia in 1860

Profession (medicine)	Country	Number
Doctors in medicine	France	15
	Germany	20
	Austria	28
	Italy	18
	Greece	3
	Russia	2
	England	1
	Turkey	1
	Belgium	1
	Switzerland	1
Surgeons	Austria	10
	France	1
Patrons in surgery	Austria	18
Veterinarians	Austria	7
Dentists	Austria	5
Total		131

Source Monitorulu: jurnalu oficialu alu Principatele Unite, 3/15 februarie 1862, pp. 141–42

Table 3.4 Foreign midwives active and authorized by the State in Wallachia (1860)

Nr. crt	Foreign midwives authorized by the state (in 1860)			
	Name of the midwife	Place of study	Year of receiving the diploma	Year of arrival in the principality
1	Iohanna Rot(h)	Austria (Clausenburg)	1830	1830
2	Ana Ioanovici Tis	Austria (Vienna)	1840	1840
3	Iuliana Sotel	Austria (Pesta)	1842	(not mentioned)
4	Alecsandrina Șortan	Austria (Vienna)	1843	1843
5	Apolonia Carlson	Austria (Vienna)	1850	1850
6	Tereza Ardeleanu	Austria (Pesta)	1846	1852
7	Ana Ferne	Austria (Clausenburg)	1853	(not mentioned)
8	Ecaterina Leonard	Austria (Hermannstadt)	1853	1853
9	Rosa Daici	Austria (Pesta)	1855	(not mentioned)
10	Maria Progelhof	Austria (Vienna)	1855	1856
11	Maria Fraindsefer	Austria (Vienna)	1856	1858
12	Frederica Tail	Austria (Hermannstadt)	1859	1859
13	Ludovica Knal	Austria (Pesta)	1851	1860

Source: *Monitorulu: jurnalu oficialu alu Principatele Unite*, 3/15 februarie 1862, p. 142. To these 13 midwives should be added 1 that graduated in Iași, the neighbouring principality of Moldavia

graduates there were also foreigners who became aware of the need to acquire a diploma—which could be issued locally—in order to practice their profession. Thus, the school for midwives became a medium of professionalization and not of exclusion based on nationality; the transition towards the promotion of the Romanian midwife to the detriment of the foreign one may be foreshadowed here, but it became a distinct feature only in the second half of the century.

Table 3.5 Number of women graduates from the Institute for Childbirth in Bucharest who were employed in 1860

Nr. crt	Midwives who graduated from the Institute for Childbirth in Bucharest and were employed	
	Name	Year of receiving the certificate
1	Andrea Piatoni	1840
2	Marghioala Olovineanca	
3	Zamfira *Polcovniceasa*[a]	
4	Elena Costea	
5	Catinca Savu	
6	Anastasia Mavrusi	
7	Sofia Grigoreasca	1841
8	Eftimița Dancovici	
9	Catinca *Postelniceasa*[b]	
10	Maria Sanda	
11	Catinca Maziloaica	1842
12	Catinca *Hagi*[c] Ivanca	
13	Uța Vasileasca	
14	Anica Dobrițina	
15	Zamfira Popescu	
16	Elenca Constandineasca	
17	Elisa Maer	1843
18	Rosina Ținerman	
19	Etin Livenstain	
20	Dumitrana Coadă	1844
21	Smaranda *Postelniceasa*	
22	Elena Angeleasca	
23	Bălașa Ionescu	1845
24	Anica Costandineasca	

Midwives who graduated from the Institute for Childbirth in Bucharest and were employed

Nr. crt	Name	Year of receiving the certificate
25	Haea Rom	
26	Şeina Caim	
27	Bălaşea Mungeasca	1846
28	Ester Isdrail	
29	Maria Dumitreasca	
30	Haea Herş	
31	Basa Iosef	
32	Şita Petreasca	1847
33	Tecla Babel	
34	Anica Covaci	
35	Catinca Urziceanca	
36	Susana Meţ	
37	Ţipra Aiştain	
38	Angelina Simioneasca	not mentioned
39	Anica Smoloneski	1848
40	Carolina Poc	1849
41	Raluţa lui Radu *cojocaru*[d]	1850
42	Efrosina Anagnosti	1853
43	Sultana *pantofăreasa*[e]	
44	Lea Maer	
45	Hae Maer	
46	Uţa Cepresăreasa	
47	Zelda Feber	1856
48	Agica Kaliţa	
49	Elenca Miu	
50	Catinca Titmaer	1857
51	Lucsandra Marinescu	

Table 3.5 (continued)

Midwives who graduated from the Institute for Childbirth in Bucharest and were employed

Nr. crt	Name	Year of receiving the certificate
52	Catinca Floarea	1858
53	Sura Lebel	
54	Lizi Elias	
55	Lucsița Petrescu	1859
56	Risi Natan	
57	Tecla Kluis	
58	Zisli Moses	
59	Țipra Salman	
60	Anica Danil	
61	Netti Kral	

[a]From *polcovnic* = rank similar to the one of colonel (Russian *polkovnik*)
[b]From *Postelnic* = honorary title for the lower rank boyars with administrative role
[c]From *Hagi*(u) = Christian/Muslim who went to a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (Turkish *hadji*)
[d]From *Cojocar* = the skinner
[e]From *Pantofar* = the shoemakert
Source Monitorulu: jurnalu oficialu alu Principatele Unite, 3/15 februarie 1862, p. 142

Conclusions

The present incursion in the history of midwife professionalization in Wallachia during the first half of the nineteenth century has revealed several important pieces of information allowing for a comparison with the European situation. Here one can detect a sort of semi-circular mobility from the Habsburg Empire, which paralleled that of doctors. Although during the eighteenth century the latter were mostly Greeks, this tendency diminished in the next century, making way for German language speakers; despite their different origins, these doctors held a diploma awarded in a German-speaking territory. The midwives' mobility was related to their careers, and rarely they returned to the country of origin. Until their old age, the foreign-born midwives followed a trajectory aimed at increasing their chances of success and obtaining an income: from the capital to the provincial cities. There multiple introductory networks existed: institutional, or those of boyars and doctors, with a single 'strong' recommendation being sufficient for gaining entrance. Against the historical background of the creation of the public health system and the transformation of the county midwife as a public post, advancement from the private to the public sector required more than a recommendation. This transition necessitated a diploma and a form of collective patronage which could demonstrate that the candidate was endowed with a double competence: scientific and practical. In a first stage, foreign midwives who fulfilled these criteria were integrated into the system, entering into competition with, and putting pressure on the local ones, who had received their education at the school for midwives. This institution did not exclude foreign midwives, they were welcome to apply, but it threatened the monopoly which they had traditionally held. The state pushed even further its plan to control the health of its population, drafting incipient projects which would connect the urban and rural areas; and, through which, the urban midwife—whether or not foreign-born—would become the medium of this transfer of knowledge.

Notes

1. A privileged social class analogous to the aristocracies of Western and Central Europe. An official register, the *Arhondologie*, ranked them in nine categories.
2. Here, *quiet* means *calm*.

3. The original French title is *Manuel du garde-malade, des gardes des femmes en couche et des enfants au berceau*, Strasbourg, Levrault, 1815.

4. The fingerprint close to the name, after the document's reading, or signing. In the case of women belonging to the boyar class or to the emergent bourgeoisie, the presence of teachers and governesses ensured the opposite situation.

5. What is significant is that Capşa came from a family of Macedonians who originally lived in in Braşov, a border town between Wallachia and Transylvania. Thus, his knowledge of the situation of midwives in both territories became broader through the remaining family connections.

6. ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Diviziunea rural-comunală*, 1/1840, vol. 1, f. 69.

7. Ibidem, vol. 1, f. 12.

8. Ibidem, vol. 1, f. 81.

9. This is the village of Albeşti when, on October 13, 1834, both the doctor and the midwife were called for a difficult birth by a wealthy villager, not by the family. The two managed to save the woman, but not the child. The investigation started when the woman died from flu contracted during the Holidays. Similarly, while attending another birth in the village of Moflea, she was accused of asking too much for her payment.

10. For example, in his testimony from 15 June 1835, Gheorghe states that *had she not come, I could have lost my wife*.

11. Specifically, she worked for Grigore Bengescu who recommended her services but who also mistakenly called her Crelu instead of Cremen. With regards to other midwives, city folk petitioned on their behalf.

12. ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Divizia Rural-Comunală*, 1/1840, vol. 1, f. 60. In French in the original document.

13. ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Diviziunea rural-comunală*, 1/1840, vol. 1, f. 4.

14. ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Serviciul Sanitar*, 16/1849, f. 11.

15. ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Diviziunea rural-comunală*, 8/1855, f. 9.

16. Nicolae Lahovary (1812–1853), Member of Parliament in the Citizens' Assembly (1841–1846), deputy of Vlaşca.

17. Plasă (pl. plăşi) = administrative and territorial unit subordinate to a county, whose numbers varied in this period from 5 to 7 per county.

18. ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Diviziunea Rural-Comunală*, 48/1853, f. 1-1v. The project dates from 16 January 1853.

19. Ibidem, f. 1-1v. He suggested that the costs for maintaing midwives during their period of schooling could be covered by the so-called villages' box, *1 Leu* per day. Vaccination was supposed to take place under the supervision of the surgeon responsible for the vaccine, i.e. 'felcer altoitor'. The project provides as well that each midwife should receive *1 Leu* for each vaccinated child.

20. Ibidem, f. 3–3v.
21. ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne. Diviziunea rural-comunală*, 12/1860, f. 22.

Archives

Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale [National Archives. Main Headquarters] (ANIC).

Fond *Ministerul de Interne. Divizia Rural Comunală* [Ministry of Interior. Rural Division].

Fond *Ministerul de Interne. Serviciul Sanitar* [Ministry of Interior. Sanitary Department].

Published Sources

Capșa, Ștefan. 1866. *Arta moșitului. Manual pentru învățătura moașelor, compus după manualul moșitului al lui F.C. Naegele* de [The Art of Midwifery. Handbook for the Teaching of Midwives, Written after F. C. Naegle's Midwifery Handbook by]. București: Imprimeria Statului.

Chiriacopol, Nicolae. 1827. *Douăsprezece învățături folositoare pentru familiile acelea îngrecate, pentru ceasul nașterii, pentru lehusie, pentru chipul a se hrăni copiii acei mici și pentru boalele lor* [Twelve Useful Teachings for Those Pregnant Women, for the Time of Birth, for Childbed Mothers, for the Ways of Feeding Babies and for Their Ailments]. Iași: Tipografia Mitropoliei Moldovei.

Fătul, Anastasie. 1852. *Manual pentru învățătura moașelor compus de banul Anastasie Fătul, doctor de medicină și de legi, profesor și administrator la școala de moșit și la Institutul de Născare și de prunci părăsiți, membru actual al Colegiului Medical și al mai multor societăți literare* [Handbook for Teaching Midwives Written by Ban Anastasie Fatul, Medicine Doctor and Lawyer, Professor and Administrator at the Midwifery School and the Institute of Births and Abandoned Children, Current Member of the Medical College and of Several Literary Societies]. Iași: Tipografia Buciumului Român.

Manual pentru îngrijitorii și îngrijitoarele de bolnavi, pentru îngrijitoarele de femei lehuze, pentru moașe și pentru mume de familie în de obște. De F.E. Fodéré, profesor de medicină legală în Facultatea de Medicină din Strasburg, tradus în românește și tipărit cu cheltuiala din economiile casei spitalului Sf. Pantelimon, mai cu seamă pentru întrebuințarea școlarelor din școala de moșit [Textbook for Caregivers and Nurses, for Nurses of Women in Childbed, for Midwives and Especially for Family Mothers by F.E. Fodere, Professor of Legal Medicine at the Strasburg Medical Faculty, translated to Romanian and printed with the Expenses Paid from the Savings from the Treasure of the Sf.

Pantelimon Hospital, Specifically for the Use of the Students of the Midwifery School], 1842. Bucureşti: În Tipografia lui Eliade.

Oraşul Brăila în catagrafia din anul 1838 [The City of Brăila in the 1838 Census] 2012, editor Spiridon Cristocea. Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei-Editura Istros.

Oraşul Piteşti în catagrafia din 1838 [The City of Piteşti in the 1838 Census] 2011, editor Spiridon Cristocea. Piteşti: Ordessos.

Sporer, Iosef. 1839. *Meşteşugul moşării pentru învăţătura moaşelor la Institutul Maternităţii din Bucureşti* [The Craft of Midwifery for the Teaching of Midwives at the Births Institute in Bucharest]. Bucureşti: Tipografia lui August Ruof.

Topografia Ţării Româneşti, o veche monografie sanitară a Munteniei de Constantin Caracaş [The Topography of Wallachia, an Old Health Monograph of Wallachia by Constantin Caracaş], editor Pompei Samarian, 1937. Bucureşti: Institutul de Arte Grafice Bucovina.

<h2>REFERENCES</h2>

Abugideiri, Hibba. 2010. *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in Colonial Egypt*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Balsoy, Gülhan. 2015. *The Politics of Reproduction in Ottoman Society, 1838–1900*. London: Routledge.

Bellavitis, Anna. 2018. *Women's Work and Rights in Early Modern Urban Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blaine Schmidt, Marcia. 2001. "The Power of Petitions: Women and the New Hampshire Provincial Government, 1695–1770." *International Review of Social History* 46, supplement 9: 57–77.

Bologa, Valeriu Lucian, 1932. "Les influences occidentales dans la formation de la médicine scientifique roumaine" [The Western Influences in the Formation of the Romanian Scientific Medicine]. *Revue Médicale Roumaine* 2: 1–7.

Canny, Nicholas. 1994. *Europeans on the Move. Studies in European Migration, 1500–1800*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Donat, Ion, and G. Retegan. 1965. "La Valachie en 1838" [Wallachia in 1838]. *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* IV, no. 5: 925–41.

Drace-Francis, Alex. 2006. *The Making of Modern Romanian Culture: Literacy and the Development of National Identity*. London-New York: Tauris Academic Studies.

Dumănescu, Luminiţa, and Marius Eppel. 2019. "The Politics of Birth in Composite States: Midwives in Transylvania (19th–20th Century)." *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* 1: 7–28.

Evenden, Doreen. 1993. "Mothers and Their Midwives in Seventeenth-Century London." In *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, edited by Hilary Marland, 9–26. London-New York: Routledge.

Evenden, Doreen. 2006. *The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Filippini, Nadia Maria. 1993. 'The Church, the State and Childbirth: the Midwife in Italy during the Eighteenth Century." In *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, edited by Hilary Marland, 153–75. London-New York: Routledge.

Filippini, Nadia Maria, 2017. *Generare, partorire, nascere. Una storia dall'antichita alla provetta* [Conceiving, Giving Birth. A History from Antiquity to the Test Tube]. Roma: Viella.

Gèlis, Jacques. 1988. *La sage-femme ou le médecin: une nouvelle conception de la vie* [The Midwife or the Doctor: A New Perspective on Life]. Paris: Fayard.

Grigoruță, Sorin. 2017. *Boli, epidemii și asistență medicală în Moldova (1700–1830)* [Diseases, Epidemics and Medical Assistance in Moldova (1700–1830)]. Iași: Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza.

Harley, David. 1981. "Ignorant Midwives—A Persistent Stereotype." *The Society for the History of Medicine Bulletin* 28 (June): 6–9.

Harley, David. 1993. "Provincial Midwives in England: Lancashire and Cheshire, 1660–1760." In *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, edited by Hilary Marland, 27–48. London-New York: Routledge.

Hahn, Sylvia. 2002. "Nowhere at Home? Female Migrants in the Nineteenth-Century Habsburg Empire." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and global perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 108–26. London-New York: Routledge.

Harzig, Christiane. 2002. "Women Migrants as Global and Local Agents. New Research Strategies on Gender and Migration." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 15–28. London-New York: Routledge.

Humphries, Jane, and Carmen Sarasúa. 2012. "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past." *Feminist Economics* 18 (4) (October): 39–67.

Hunt, Margaret. 2014. *Women in Eighteenth Century Europe*. London: Routledge.

Krász, L. 2013. "The Circulation of Medical Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century Hungary." *East Central Europe* 40 (3): 268–95.

Lindemann, Mary. 1993. "Professionals? Sisters? Rivals? Midwives in Braunschweig, 1750–1800." In *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, edited by Hilary Marland, 178–92. London-New York: Routledge.

Livadă-Cadeschi, Ligia. 2013. *Discursul medico-social al igieniștilor români. Abordarea specificităților locale din perspectiva experiențelor occidental europene, secolele XIX-XX* [The Socio-Medical Discourse of the Romanian Hygienists. Local Specificities from the Western European perspective, 19th–20th Centuries]. București: Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române.

Lorinţ, Florica. 1969. "Tradiţia «moaşei de neam» în judeţul Gorj" [The 'family' Midwife in Gorj County]. *Revista de etnografie şi folclor* XIV, nr. 2: 99–112.

Mărăşoiu, Alexandra. 2012. "Prima lucrare despre obstetrică scrisă în ţările române" [The First Book on Obstetrics Written in Romanian Principalities]. *Muzeul Naţional* XXIV: 83–90.

Marland, Hilary. 1993a. "The 'burgerlijke' Midwife: the stadsvroedvrouw of Eighteenth-Century Holland." In *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, edited by Hilary Marland, 193–213. London-New York: Routledge.

Marland, Hilary. 1993b. "Introduction." In *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, edited by Hilary Marland, 1–7. London-New York: Routledge.

Martinez-Vidal, Alvar, and Jose Pardo-Tomas. 2007. "The Ignorance of Midwives: The Role of Clergymen in Spanish Enlightenment Debates on Birth Care." In *Medicine and Religion in Enlightenment Europe*, edited by Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham, 49–62. London-New York: Routledge.

Mateescu, Bogdan. 2013. "Census like Material Preserved in the Romanian Archives, for the Former Principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia and for Romania before 1914." Mosaic Working Paper WP2013-001.

Mateescu, Bogdan. 2015. *Recensământul şi administraţia publică în Ţara Românească: studiu de caz şi documente de arhivă despre recensământul Ţării Româneşti iniţiat în 1837* [The Census and the Public Administration in Wallachia: Study Case and Archival Documents on the Wallachian Census Initiated in 1837]. Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane.

Moch, Leslie Page. 2003. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 2nd edition. Indiana University Press.

Ortiz, Teresa. 1993. "From Hegemony to Subordination: Midwives in Early Modern Spain." In *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, edited by Hilary Marland, 95–114. London-New York: Routledge.

Porter, Roy. 1990. *The Enlightenment*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Porter, Roy. 2001. *Disease, Death and Doctors in Britain, 1650–1900*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Roman, Nicoleta. 2015. "L'infanticide en Valachie: lois, discours et reponse sociale (1831–1860)" [Infanticide in Wallachia: Law, Discourse and Social Response (1831–1860)]. *Annales de démographie historique* 2 (130): 103–31.

Roman, Nicoleta. 2016. *'Deznădăjduită muiere n'au fost ca mine'. Femei, onoare şi păcat în Valahia secolului al XIX-lea* ['There has never been a more wretched woman like me'. Women, Honor, and Sin in Nineteenth-Century Wallachia]. Bucureşti: Humanitas.

Sage Pranchère, Natalie. 2011. "Bébés sans diplôme. Les matrones, le droit et les légitimités locales en France (1780–1900)" [New-Born Babies without

a Diploma. Senior Nurses, Law and Local Legitimity in France (1780–1900)]. In *Medicine, Hygiene and Society from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Constantin Bărbulescu, Alin Ciupală, 25–54. Cluj-Napoca: Mega.

Sage Pranchère, Natalie. 2017. *L'école des sages-femmes. Naissance d'une corp professionnel, 1786–1917* [The School of Midwives. The Birth of a Professional Personnel, 1786–1917]. Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais de Tours.

Sabău, Claudia Septimia. 2017. "Moaşa diplomată sau moaşa pricepută ? Despre moaşe şi moşit între legislaţie şi tradiţie în districtul Năsăud (1861–1876)" ['Certified' or 'skilled' midwife? About Midwives and Midwifery between Legislation and Tradition in the Năsăud district (1861–1876)]. *Revista Istorică* t. XXVIII (5–6): 519–34.

Sechel, Teodora Daniela. 2008. "The Emergence of the Medical Profession in Transylvania (1770–1848)." In *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation in Transylvania (1770–1950)*, edited by Victor Karady, Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, 95–114. Cluj-Napoca: EDRC Foundation.

Sechel, Teodora Daniela. 2013. "The Politics of Medical Translations and Its Impact upon Medical Knowledge in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1770–1830." *East Central Europe* 40: 296–318.

Sharpe, Pamela. 1996. *Adapting to Capitalism. Working Women in the English Economy, 1700–1850*. Basingstoke: MacMillan.

Shefer-Mossensohn, Miri. 2015. *Science among the Ottomans. The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Spary, Emma C. 2012. "Introduction: Centre and Periphery in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg 'medical empire.'" *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Science* 43: 684–90.

Somel, Selçuk Akşin. 2007. "Ottoman Empire." In *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures*, vol. 4, edited by Joseph Suad. Leiden: Brill.

Štefanová, Dana. 2014. "Cultural Transfer, Regional History and Historical Comparison as Research Concepts. Comparing Research between Western and Eastern Europe." In *Processes of Cultural Exchange in Central Europe, 1200–1800*, edited by Veronika Čapská, in collaboration with Robert Antonin and Martin Capsky, 11–32. Prague: European Social Fund.

Taithe, Betrand. 1999. *Defeated Flesh: Welfare, Warfare and the Making of Modern France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Trăuşan-Matu, Lidia. 2011. "The Doctor and the Midwife. A Study of Two Medical Professions in teh Romanian Society of the 19th Century (1831–1874)." In *Medicine, Hygiene and Society from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Constantin Bărbulescu, Alin Ciupală, 81–100. Cluj-Napoca: Mega.

Trăuşan-Matu, Lidia. 2017. "De veghe în sistemul sanitar al României moderne: doctorul Ştefan Capşa (1822–1885)." [On the Watch in the Sanitary System of Modern Romania: Doctor Ştefan Capşa (1822–1885)]. *Bucureşti. Materiale de Istorie şi Muzeografie* XXXI: 27–46.

Trencsényi, Balázs, Maciej Janowski, Monika Baar, Maria Falina, and Michal Kopecek. 2016. *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe*, vol. I. New York: Oxford University Press.

Whaley, Leigh. 2011. *Women and the Practice of Medical Care in Early Modern Europe, 1400–1800.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wiesner E. Merry. 1986. "Early Modern Midwifery: A Case Study." In *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt, 94–113. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wilson, Adrian. 2019. *The Making of Man-Midwifery: Childbirth in England, 1660–1770.* London-New York: Routledge.

Würgler, Andreas. 2001. "Voices from Among the Silent Masses: Humble Petitions and Social Conflicts in Early Modern Central Europe". *International Review of Social History* 46 (supplement 9): 11–34.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2013. "Épouses, mères et propriétaires: artisans à Turin à l'époque moderne" [Wives, Mothers and Owners: Artisans of Turin in the Early Modern Period]. *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 38: 241–52.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2019. "Documents and Local Networks. Monitoring Migrants and Workers in Eighteenth-Century Turin." In *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities: Papers and Gates, 1500–1930*, edited by Hilde Greefs, Anne Winter, 87–110. New York and London: Routledge.

Foreign Nannies and Maids: A Historical Perspective on Female Immigration and Domestic Work in Italy (1960–1970)

Alessandra Gissi

'Who are the immigrant women? They are women whose names are no longer known. Back home, they were identified by their belonging to a group. Here, they are nothing more than an ethnic group ('my Portuguese maid', the Moroccan cleaner, etc.). They are women from nowhere who have no history. The past has remained in their country. Come what may, they must start a new existence: theirs is a life in transit. The present does not count. How can the ways acquired in the environment of origin be of benefit to any of them? And here, does the city have a history into which they can fit? These are women who no longer know

A. Gissi (✉)
Department of Human and Social Sciences, University
of Naples "L'Orientale", Naples, Italy
e-mail: agissi@unior.it

how to communicate' (Padrun 1979). This is an excerpt from a contribution of the group 'European Women Speak Out on Europe' signed by Ruth Padrun and published in one of the most insightful magazines of Italian feminism, *Effe*, at the end of the 1970s.[1] These few lines are useful to frame how, even in a competent and feminist context, the issue of female migration is often placed within a victimizing discourse, in which migrants' agency is so confined to the background as to become unreadable, and the possibility that migrant women could act jointly, only vaguely hinted at.

If it is true that in recent years migrations have been the focus of a vast literature that has duly crossed the boundaries of academic disciplines, women's migrations have long represented an area much less explored by historiography. Female migration is, as a matter of fact, a non-partisan perspective that still leaves broad margins for rethinking and deepening general issues.[2]

It is a well-established fact that placing women in historical context is in itself an alteration of dominant reconstructions leading to the identification of new paradigms and a reorientation of the results.[3] A good example, pertinent to the case that is being considered here, is the question of periodization. Migration is a constitutive part of Italian history in its global dimension. Identifying a more appropriate and updated periodization, therefore, is crucial for defining new interpretative approaches and connecting the development of foreign immigration with the most crucial junctures of the history of Republican Italy. The analysis of female immigration is decisive to reconsider the consolidated periodization that places the beginning of migration flows towards Italy from the 1980s onwards, since already during the 1960s and 1970s—in hitherto unseen ways—there were significant traces of immigration worthy of proper investigation (Colucci 2018, 2016). Even recent research demonstrates that it is difficult to escape the habit of placing the beginning of migration flows towards Italy in those particular decades. Heather Merrill (2006, 2018), for example, identifies the transformation of Italy into a country of immigration (particularly from Africa) at the end of the 1970s and links this transition to the growing awareness of the colonial past and its history. Donald Martin Carter, in an earlier study on the Senegalese in Italy, writes that at the beginning of the 1990s, when he decided to begin his research, immigration was a 'new phenomenon' (Carter 1997, IX). This common interpretation, also depends on the frantic search for a transition, a 'transformation', a clearly identifiable turning point that

remodelled Italy—a country of emigration—into a destination of immigration. This has entailed that often scholars miss the opportunity to consider incoming and outgoing flows, circular migrations and internal mobility as interdependent phenomena, to be looked at as a whole. The specific issue of the periodization of female immigration, a relevant topic that is closely linked to domestic work, deserves further investigation.

A New Periodization

The initial and decisive phase can be placed ahead of two pivotal moments: 1963, the year in which the Ministry of Labour and Social Security issued Circular No. 51 with the aim of establishing, for the first time, a few guidelines on the recruitment of foreign workers, and 1979, when the Centro studi investimenti sociali (Censis) published the *Rapporto sui lavoratori stranieri in Italia* (*Report on Foreign Workers in Italy*) upon request by the government, in the context of what can be considered as the 'first widespread public debate on the subject' (Colucci 2016, 948).[4] The Censis survey estimated that there were between 70,000 and 100,000 foreign domestic workers in Italy. According to an estimate by API/Colf (Associazione professionale italiana Collaboratori familiari),[5] there were at least 100,000 'foreigners' of whom, at the end of 1979, only 20% had a valid residence permit.[6] According to an elaboration of data for the INPS (National Social Security Institute), on the other hand, in 1978 there were 17,750 domestic workers in Italy and 20,015 in 1979, while according to data from the Ministry of the Interior they numbered 12,104 in 1978 and 14,415 in 1979.[7] Although totally inconsistent, the data attest to two relevant issues: the inadequate knowledge of the phenomenon and the unquestionable presence of immigrant women, almost all employed in one sector.

As already noted by Asher Colombo and Giuseppe Sciortino (2004), even identifying the origin of public discourse on immigration is problematic. Most studies that lack historiographical awareness, tend to locate it at the end of the 1980s and, before that date, to consider the public perception of immigration merely as latent, characterized, at most, by occasional appearances of unconnected pieces of news. The two sociologists opine that multiple narratives and themes aimed at 'giving meaning' to the presence of immigrants and the immigrants themselves, were already well-established at least 15 years before and had triggered the creation of a system of codes and terminologies. Colombo's and Sciortino's is

a wide-ranging research on the general phenomenon of 'foreigners' in Italy which gives crucial indications but also testifies to the need for more in-depth studies on the preceding fifteen-year period mentioned above.

Within a research that is still in its initial stages, this contribution aims to investigate (some aspects) of foreign female immigration and its reception in the public discourse in Italy between the end of the 1960s and the 1970s, and particularly in relation to the main occupational sector concerned, namely domestic work. The analysis is based on the first surveys carried out by different channels and on the daily and periodical press, including feminist magazines: such as *Panorama*, *Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*, *Stampa Sera*, *l'Unità*, *Effe*.

FEMALE MIGRATION AND DOMESTIC WORK: A LONG-LASTING RELATIONSHIP

As Lucy Delap (2011, 1) opines, domestic service is 'extraordinarily prominent, as a socio-cultural and policy problem, as a widely experienced institution, and as a symbolic resource for social criticism and nostalgia. It formed a uniquely significant site in which individuals of different classes, generations, and migrant origin encountered each other and negotiated their social boundaries and identities'.

The main aspects that link domestic work and female migration bring out crucial issues such as the policies that regulate immigration, the welfare model, the redefinition of the concepts of 'natural' and 'traditional', the relations between class and gender, the dynamics of the definition of 'otherness', the positioning of public and private (Colombo 2003). Due to these pressing themes, the link between domestic work and female migration has been widely recognized by historiography also from a long-term perspective (Sarti 2008, 2010a, 2014, 2016). On the history of domestic work in Italy see also Andall (2000) and Arru (1995). On the more recent phases, among many titles: Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2004) and Hoerder et al. (2015). However, when it comes to the period under consideration here, the turning point when domestic work in Italy became one of the sectors that gave employment to foreign female migrants to such a point of becoming hegemonized by their presence, remains little investigated.

In European history, domestic service has often represented a bridging occupation connected to forms of geographical and/or social (not necessarily upward) mobility. While in the ancient world slaves were often

foreigners, in later periods servants and maids were often migrants (over more or less extended distances) or strangers to the context in which they worked. Today's high proportion of foreigners among domestic and care workers is not unprecedented. The low frequency of 'citizenship' among domestic staff is a defining characteristic of the sector. It is more than clear that during the 1970s, when Italian women began to enjoy greater rights,[8] domestic and care work was progressively left to people who, as foreigners, had relatively few rights. However, domestic and care work appears to have a dual nature. Because of its negative aspects, it is usually performed by workers who are in a weak position in the labour market. Yet, it offers important advantages to migrants because it ensures an income, food, accommodation and sometimes the possibility of exploiting the relationship network of the employers' family. The personal relationships of those who decide to emigrate often influence their destination and, even more often, constitute a crucial capital for the gradual inclusion in a labour market that for the newcomers is inevitably 'completely impenetrable at the beginning' (Ramella 2003, 353).[9] Otherwise, those same relationships can become a way to enter a country legally or to legalize one's position there. As Lucy Delap (2011, 80) has noted, 'migrant workers have undertaken domestic employment as a means of obtaining visas or facilitating the shift into a new labour market'.[10] From this point of view, it is not surprising that the experience of going into service has not been experienced only as a form of exploitation or uprooting but also as an opportunity to leave behind poverty or a restricted and oppressive world, with the aim of obtaining freedom and dignity, even if one's path would be marked by material and symbolic subordination.

BITTER WORK: FEMALE FOREIGNERS IN ITALY

When considering these new migratory movements towards Italy during the 1960s, some main migration flows emerge. A major one was the result of the new post-colonial structures and, during the phase which is being considered here, was made up of Eritrean, Somali and Ethiopian women who, due to their colonial past, looked towards Italy as an almost natural landing place.[11] Eritrean migration reached its peak around the mid-1970s, when clashes with Ethiopia became increasingly bitter and the economic crisis started to hit harder. It involved mainly young, well-educated men who later chose to leave Italy, which offered only

temporary work permits and underpaid jobs inadequate to their quali-fications. However, this migratory flow also included women with a mid to low education level who arrived in Italy as domestic servants in the retinue of Italian families and officials already after the cession of Eritrea to the British Protectorate in 1941—a specific flow of female domestic workers that progressively increased.[12]

Post-colonial dynamics do not exhaust the reasons underlying migra-tion flows, which are much more complex and uneven. The years of the economic boom saw a surge in these flows, so much so that the so-called 'second wave' of immigration is identified precisely in that of the 'for-eign domestic workers'—a migratory wave which has been defined as 'the vanguard of the transformation of the Italian labour market and of the growing segmentation between more qualified jobs and those less sought after by Italians' (Einaudi 2007, 85). According to an inves-tigative report in 1972, there were 'more than two thousand Slavs and over four hundred Portuguese women from the Cape Verde islands' in Rome. In 'Gallarate, about fifty women from El Salvador have started to work'. The story reports an extremely simplified description of the arrival channels. According to the author of the investigation, it was only 'reli-gious institutions or diplomatic representations' that acted as mediators. Franco Nardeschi, secretary-general of Adlad (Association of Employers of Domestic Workers), states that in 1966 the association entered into 'an agreement with the Spanish consulate and at the request of indi-vidual employers, twenty women arrived. When we asked to renew the agreement, they refused' (m. tos. 1972). An article from the same year refers to a series of investigations carried out 'by the foreigners' office, the morality section and the Rome mobile squad on 198 black men and women who resided in Rome'. The *questura*'s investigations aimed 'to clarify the economic status of each one of them and to ascertain whether their entry into Italy was legal' as well as the position of 'some girls who had come to Rome as domestic help and had been caught by the agents working as prostitutes'. The report also refers of a parallel investigation on a man, originally from Sardinia, who allegedly led 'the clandestine transfer of black workers to France' because of possible connections between the man and the staff of the Farfa refugee camp where 'the Minister of the Interior has sent an inspector general of public security' (F. S. 1972). It is worth remembering that Farfa was still a Centre for the Collection of Foreign Refugees, active since the immediate aftermath of World War II,

which though in theory mixed, in fact harboured a predominantly female population (Sanfilippo 2016, 55).

Basically, as early as in 1972 it became clear that it was extremely difficult to control entrances and that irregular border crossings remained frequent. According to a survey by Father Erminio Crippa entitled *Lavoro amaro: le estere in Italia* (*Bitter work: female foreigners in Italy*), which API/Colf presented at its national congress in 1976, there were about 50,000 foreign women workers in the sector (Crippa 1979, 26–27). According to Crippa, the main segment comprised Asturians, Catalans and Navarrese women, linked to diplomats and their families and concentrated in Rome and Milan and, although in smaller numbers, in Venice. According to the Api/Colf research, there were still just about 11,000/12,000 Ethiopians, mostly from Eritrea. About half of them did not have a regular residence permit, and there were also arrivals from the other former Italian colony—Somalia, from Catholic countries such as the Philippines and Cape Verde and also from the Indian subcontinent (Sri Lanka, Ceylon, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan). In 1976 there were about 12,000 Ethiopians, 7000 Filipinas and 6200 Cape Verdeans and Mauritians.

Although usually explained from an economic perspective (that crush other interpretations), the reasons that triggered this 'wave' are much more complex. Many of these women declared that they moved to Italy to enable marriages that had not been accepted by their families, or to avoid imposed ones, because of the civil war in their homeland (in the case of Eritrea and Nicaragua), or because of the stigma caused by illegitimate children, who could be more easily sustained by working in Italy. A crucial part of the survey investigates migratory networks or chains that activated mobility. Friendship chains or networks were decisive (47%), followed by agencies (33.3%), Catholic missions (13.7%), direct contact with the employer (1.9%) and embassies (1.9%). Strangely enough, the eight Patronages that were authorized by Law no. 339 of 2 April 1958, with a regular Ministerial Decree, to carry out job placement activities are not mentioned as channels for migration in this survey (Crippa 1979, 17). The agencies referred to often operated on an international scale with fairly sophisticated procedures and legal offices in countries, such as Scotland, whose legislation was more liberal (while Italian law prohibited mediation in employment contracts).[13] Often they used a residence permit for tourism or else they resorted to illegal mediators. Particularly during the 1970s, this last modality hegemonized narratives and

newspaper reports on migration. Such a passive image of the migrants, sometimes justified by observing that their qualifications did not emancipate them, further humiliated these women. The public and media discourse underestimated the agency and multifariousness of migrant women's relationships,[14] as well as their ability and willingness to find opportunities, even unexpected ones. An example is the case of the migration flow from the Cape Verde Islands, which was peculiar since it comprised only female migrants.[15] The mobility of Cape Verdean women towards Italy in the early 1960s is still attributed exclusively to the mediation of the Capuchin mission, while those girls—who left an archipelago of ten islands that achieved independence from Portugal only in 1975—exploited different opportunities to set into motion their migratory project: an example is the mediation of pilots of the national airline *Alitalia* who were the first to bring two local girls to Italy to work as maids.[16] In 1975 six thousand arrivals from the Cape Verde islands were registered 'just in Rome' (n.a. 1975b).

Amnesty and Illegality

Although the phase spanning 1961 to 1989 has been generically referred to as 'immigration without policy' (Einaudi 2007, 85–87), the institutions began to consider with increasing attention the need to regulate recruitment and placement in a sector as difficult to control as domestic work. A series of circulars were issued, establishing in Italy a condition of permanent amnesty triggered by the intention of 'sanctioning' domestic work, that is to say, the sector towards which subsequent circulars were directed (Colombo and Sciortino 2004, 53; Colucci 2016, 951–52; Einaudi 2007, 107; Sarti 2010b, 79–84).[17]

These provisions did not limit the influx of migrants, let alone illegality.[18] For example, at the end of the 1970s, the Palermo Police Headquarters claimed to have granted 300 residence permits, but the actual number of immigrants could be more than 1500. In statistics according to countries of origin, some groups are clearly identifiable because they are particularly numerous, while others could not be easily taken into account. These groups were mainly concentrated in Milan, Rome, Varese, Brescia and Venice. According to the same sources, there were also about 7000 Filipinas, scattered among Rome, Ancona, Milan, Naples, Turin, Lecce, Bari, Rieti, etc., of whom only half were in possession of regular residence visas. About 6000 domestic helpers came from

the Cape Verde Islands and a few thousand from smaller countries such as Mauritius, Sri Lanka, El Salvador, Seychelles, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Guatemala.

Migration studies have solidly established that migrants coming from the same country tend to concentrate in the same areas. The *colf* (domestic workers) from El Salvador, for example, were concentrated in the area of Milan and Varese. There was no shortage of domestic helpers from European countries (Salvini 1980, 401). The national collective labour contract for domestic helpers was as valid for immigrant as it was for Italian women, provided they possessed a regular work permit. Therefore, they were all submitted to the same rules as concerns minimum wages, increases established by the Joint Commission, overtime, working hours and rest, holidays and severance payments. In 1974 the national collective labour agreement for family helpers, which for the first time guaranteed domestic helpers mandatory minimum standards and wage, was established. At the end of the 1970s, the minimum wage was 185,000 lire per month (thirteen salaries per year) plus board and lodging for the highest of the three categories, but in the larger cities it is very easy to obtain higher wages, generally around 300,000 (and even 400,000) lire, plus board and lodging, even though social security contributions were only paid on the basis of the minimum wage, when they were paid at all (Salvini 1980, 404). In order to assert their rights, some of them resorted to self-layoffs, 'which in the presence of great demand became a veritable right to strike. In fact, among certain social classes the demand for domestic help seems to be resisting every economic crisis, the continuous salary and social security contribution increases, and the decrease in non-domestic work for many women, who have been driven back home by the economic crisis' (Salvini 1980, 404). Immigrant women could not exert this kind of pressure, because losing work and housing would entail finding themselves in enormous difficulty or in a situation of illegality. One must also consider that legislation was a tangle of sometimes contradictory rules, but more importantly, a female migrant in Italy normally received a residence permit only if employed in domestic service. Although some migrants found 'other employment, or as service staff in institutions (rather than families)', the Italian authorities refused to grant them the necessary authorization to be hired, 'because these are jobs that Italian citizens are still willing to do and the trade unions themselves are opposed to the loss of jobs in which fellow countrymen could be employed' (Salvini 1980, 406). Up to that point clandestine status did not

prevent (but certainly made it more difficult for the persons concerned) migrants from obtaining legal protection, also by means of a contract, but they were continuously exposed to the risk of expulsion. Women who entered Italy as tourists were generally illegal immigrants and then remained there thanks to undeclared work, i.e., without social security coverage, guarantees and protection provided by law (Betti 1979).

In December 1979 the Italian Government issued a new circular which sought to remedy the existing situation and establish rules for the future so as to regulate this complex matter. However, in the first months of its implementation, there were a number of cases of housemaids whose passports were not stamped and who were therefore unable to prove that they entered Italy before the date of the circular. Moreover, the provisions relating to the amnesty were not entirely clear and were applied by the various Police Headquarters in a nonuniform manner. Doubts remained widespread as to whether the official channels could function efficiently while 'agencies' continued to operate, circumventing the prohibitions with constant subterfuge. In the first months after the circular, in fact, the arrival of new illegal immigrants did not seem to stop. Before the government's intervention, there had been numerous, but often fragmentary initiatives by trade unions, private individuals, and religious bodies in relation to this category.

The autonomous trade union Federcolf was committed to putting foreign domestic helpers on an equal footing with Italian domestic helpers, 'providing legal assistance or advice if necessary' and 'cataloguing the case law on the effectiveness of the collective agreement, which has been successfully applied to both legal and illegal foreign domestic helpers' (Salvini 1980, 407). The Catholic presence did not take long to make its voice heard.[19] In Genoa there were the Associazioni di Santa Zita, which dealt with domestic helpers, while elsewhere it was the Acli (Italian Workers'Associations)—which traditionally assisted Italian women emigrants, especially after World War II (De Clementi 2010)—that were active in this sector. Some religious congregations, such as the Figlie di Maria Immacolata, whose *raison d'être* was to spread the apostolate among domestic servants, and whose members had experienced displacement even though they were Italian, ended up 'dealing almost exclusively with foreigners in the large cities where they are present' (Salvini 1986, 40). The apostolate consisted primarily in creating meeting places where training could also be delivered, which become reference points above

all for foreign maids, who were often involved in a structured and autonomous social life that deserves to be further investigated (on the topic see Andall 1998).

'Somali or Eritrean Domestic Helpers': Visibility, Invisibility, Otherness

'Caterina, Lauretta, Emanuela, Maria, Marcella (are these their names?) come out of school smiling also, because the sun is shining over the square and it already feels like Saturday. There is a swarm of teachers from L. Franchetti state primary school with its adjoining nursery school in Piazza G. L. Bernini 26, in San Saba, and all around them, the schoolchildren are full of questions and "whys", heedless of their mothers, fathers, uncles, cousins, doormen, Somalian or Eritrean maids, the chaperones who have come to pick them up…'. This is how, in the Autumn of 1980, Domenico Pertica (1980) introduced an article published in *l'Unità*, the Italian Communist Party's daily newspaper, dedicated to the Roman district of San Saba.[20] In the conclusions to an expanded edition of the book *Roma Moderna*, Italo Insolera claimed that the 'new immigration' began in the capital in the mid-1980s (2011, 369). And yet, in the capital, residence permits for work reasons increased from 8443 in 1969 to 21,315 in 1980 (Bortot 1981, 17). It was only in the mid-1980s that foreign immigration began to be the subject of specific analyses by the Roman municipal administration. One of the earliest studies, perhaps the first comprehensive one, was promoted by Mayor Ugo Vetere and carried out by the Office for Economic Study and Planning of the Mayor's cabinet, with the scientific advice of Franco Ferrarotti and the collaboration of the Italian Society for the Analysis of Economic and Sociological Research (Siares).[21]

In Pertica's article of 1980, the Somali or Eritrean *colf* was already an integral part of the landscape as well as of the social and relationship network of a neighbourhood inhabited mainly by the small and middle classes of Rome. A survey carried out in Rome by the Ente Confederale Addestramento Professionale (ECAP) in collaboration with the Centro Studi Emigrazione Immigrazione (EMIM) on a sample of 431 interviews collected between December 1979 and December 1980—the detailed report of which was published in two instalments on *L'Unità*—likewise attests to the marked presence of women.[22] The 'Eritrean, Tigrinyan, Ethiopian, Filipino, Somali and Cape Verdean' nationalities, i.e., those with almost exclusively female immigrant communities, accounted for

61.5% of the total presence. Moreover, the very method of the survey, which identified 'meeting places' in order to distribute the questionnaires through a 'chain' procedure, signals not only their presence but also their inclusion in relationship and sociability networks. However, when more general enquiries and surveys on immigration began, 'foreign' immigrants only rarely became the focus of specific studies, while their presence in homes and even in newspapers of different political colour has been a daily occurrence since. The political debate on the subject, which was always the result of extraordinary and unplanned measures, was meagre, insufficient and inattentive to specificities.

It was only between the 1980s and the 1990s that their crucial presence was finally intercepted by anthropologists and sociologists who grasped the peculiarities of these migrants. Yet, the preceding fifteen-year period during which these migrants were already present, has remained little investigated so that these women still remain almost invisible to the eyes of historians.[23] The same studies on Italian migrations towards France and England or towards Germany and Belgium after World War II have, for a long time, considered almost only male migrations, or at most family migrations, linked to the industrial or mining sectors, neglecting the multifarious make-up and the many particularities of these migration flows. Moreover, as Mirjana Morokvasic points out in an important overview on the subject, until the mid-1970s migrant workers were represented as a homogeneous category of asexual units; at other times, the results of research carried out on samples of male migrants were considered valid for the phenomenon in general. Morokvasic also identifies a number of stereotypes constructed by this literature and that impinged heavily on how female migration was construed. Although this stereotyped image damaged migrants in general, 'the migrant woman' in particular became an *ideal typus*, envisioned as a representative exponent of a particularly homogeneous category[24] even during a period such as the one which is being considered here, when the presence of immigrants was already widespread, visible and extremely composite. Female migrants were educated, schooled, or semi-illiterate, coming from urban or deeply rural contexts.

Migratory flows originated from South America, Yugoslavia, the Philippines or 'Greece, Spain and Portugal, as a result of the dictatorial regimes in these three countries until the mid-1970s, but the common perception of immigration is that it mainly originates from Africa' (Curcio 2012, 156). Father Erminio Crippa wrote in his enquiry on foreign domestic

helpers—one of the few on the subject in the 1970s—that 'women from the Third World, moreover, come directly from a civilization that is still rural, where relations are of a primary nature', making a broad generalization (Salvini 1980, 405). In an article published in 1975 in *La Difesa del Popolo*, the weekly newspaper of the diocese of Padua, dedicated to Milan, where there seemed to be 'a mania for coloured waitresses', a source at the Milan Police Headquarters stated: 'we try to be as careful as possible but it is not always easy to understand whether a negress comes to Italy to work illegally or for tourism'.[25] A 'negress' is a part that represents the whole. This generalization was aggravated by the fact that they were almost entirely employed in one especially peculiar sector, such as domestic work. At the same time, the term 'immigrant' was eventually employed to indicate less an extensive (or relatively extensive) experience of mobility, the possible bureaucratic crossing of a border or the subjectivity determined by the implementation of a migration project, than an authentic and homogeneous 'cultural distance'.[26] With respect to the 'foreign' maids who settled in the homes, the symbolic place of intimacy, during the years examined here this 'otherness' determined an extremely complex dialectic that oscillated between two mutually supporting extremes. On the one hand, in the 1960s, the reassuring black maid seen in the advertisements for a well-known olive oil, who spoke in a perfect Venetian accent, swaddled in a *Mammy* attire and thus assimilated to the traditional model of the servant (Perilli 2020); on the other, the stranger.[27] The prolonged absence of an analytical consideration of the initial phase, of the complex composition of the first flows, of the migratory dynamics that started the networks, of the initial working conditions,[28] from both politics (i.e., during the decision-making phase) and research, has progressively determined the structuring of a rationalized image, which then became simplified, homogeneous and, finally, sclerotized. An exoticizing and 'orientalist' approach to migrants fills the absence of an awareness, depicting an 'otherness' that, instead of dissolving in the public discourse, consolidates this image by virtue of the unappealable, lasting subalternity that characterizes domestic work.

Subalternity and Rights
Between Public and Private

Immigrant women are therefore visible, but both narratives and assessments on migration simplify their presence to the extreme, and in spite of complex dynamics, it is generally looked at through dichotomies (public/private, visibility/invisibility, subalternity/rights). Jacqueline Andall has already focussed on the ways in which Italian women during this period progressively 'transferred' domestic and care responsibilities to immigrant women in exchange for a more or less fair wage (Andall 2000). This dynamic, which involved the crucial articulation of competences considered inherently gendered, implies much more than a mere economic exchange, which often weighed on the 'wife's' income and not on the overall family budget. This exchange entailed the reaffirmation of the idea that immigrants had to fulfil a biological destiny. It is worth remembering that Article 37 of the Italian Constitution guarantees 'working women the equal rights and, for the same work, the equal wages as male workers' and specifies that 'working conditions' must allow women 'to fulfil their essential family function'. The adjective 'essential' suggests both a need and a destiny. This formulation is the result of a compromise between Catholic forces and left-wing and secular conservative parties, but it reflects an ambivalence within the labour movement itself: both the desire and the difficulty to establish whether or not to reconfirm the rigid dichotomy according to which the productive dimension of work resides in the public sphere, while the reproductive dimension resides in the private sphere are very evident. Social reproduction is not considered 'work'; it is seen solely as care, as an affective/emotional dedication and as a biological destiny. The epistemological, legal and political difficulties also stem from the fact that this dichotomy is the result of a complex, often contradictory and far from 'natural' process. The history of reproductive labour, in fact, obviously relates to the main political and economic transformations, but it equally concerns cultural norms and their construction.

During the phase outlined here, Italian feminists were committed to deconstructing the so-called domestic 'vocation' of women and the idea that it is 'essential', and to unhinging the separation between the public and private spheres. This led to a bitter discussion on domestic wages, on the relationship between production and reproduction, on the reorganization of care work in emotional and economic relations.[29] It was a crucial

turning point that affected society much more than previously thought and it was also a lacerating factor in the political debate of the movements. The itinerary suggested to women passed through the construction of an identity that was increasingly independent from housework and an unpaid reproductive function. It was brought back into the overall system of production and moved from a 'private' dimension to the social and economic spheres (Dalla Costa 1988).

The political commitment to deconstructing 'domesticity' as an inevitable duty took place in the precise moment when the transfer of these tasks to other women gained ground, and yet this shift was not discussed.[30] Even in the political practice of the groups connected to *Lotta Femminista per il salario domestico*—those most influenced by the intense relations with British and American black feminism—[31] the ways and times, the reasons why 'other' women arrived and started living in homes to carry out work there were only rarely considered. This lack of thematization relegated immigrant women to a silent substitution that escaped the political dimension and the demands of rights. The issue is interesting because it calls into question certain aspects—extraneity from the public sphere and politics—which were no longer common to all women but only to some, and especially foreign maids, even when the domestic sphere was just a tile in a complex migratory project and entailed paid work relationships which involved both economic and non-economic aspects (Miranda 2004). Residential units, which had become a political issue, were considered 'private' loci when it concerned the life and work of foreign maids. Even though these women often possessed qualifications, they were relegated to the historically devalued and subordinate sector of domestic work. For a long time, the widespread presence of immigrant women in the sector that was being 'increasingly deserted by Italians' was narrated in an extremely simplified way, as a mere 'cog' in a machine. It was simply thought of as a progressive, mechanical substitution, eventually destined to end. This view unquestionably contributed to the sweeping view that all immigration is subordinate, unqualified and merely 'substitutive' in humiliating or excessively tiring, dangerous and unrewarding jobs.

Notes

1. Ruth Padrun, holds a degree in economy and sociology of development from the University of Geneva. In 1980 she founded and directed IRFED-EUROPE (Institut International de Recherche et de Formation, Éducation Cultures Développement), an association that helps female migrants in Europe.
2. Convinced that migrations are an 'all-encompassing social fact» because they impact 'all the constitutive dimensions of a given society, or better, of multiple societies—from the point of 'departure' to the point of 'arrival' passing through 'transnational' practices that migrants put in relation' (Mezzadra and Ricciardi 2013, 7). See also Castles and Miller (1998).
3. Among many studies on female migration see Sharpe (2001), Phizacklea (1998), Ferrari (2013), Willis and Yeoh (2000). For a historical perspective on female migrations see Schrover (2013).
4. During this phase political interventions and coverage in newspapers and magazines increased. For example: N.a. (1978); Amendola (1979, 14). See also the interview to F. Foschi, president of the Committee for emigration (Foschi 1980, 44 et seq.).
5. API-Colf, whose *raison d'être* is to provide welfare and training, was founded in 1971 on the initiative of the Italian Bishops' Conference, which approved its statute. It also takes care of immigrant domestic helpers, organizes schools and professional courses, residential or summer training meetings, produces its own publications, proposes legislative initiatives, takes care of cultural activities and social and religious training, provides legal assistance and recreational activities. In particular, it aims to create leaders capable of guiding their coworkers and, once their stay in Italy is over, of providing training to their fellow citizens who intend to find work as domestic workers in Italy or in their homeland. See, *Statuto dell'Associazione Professionale Italiana Collaboratrici Familiari*, with a brief presentation, ed. API-Colf, Rome, n.d.
6. Api/Colf – memoria (duplicate) cit. in Salvini (1980, 401). The same estimate is also given by Rampini (1980, 16). For the Milan area see for example the statistical data of the Centro Missionario Diocesano (Ufficio colf estere), which for the early 1980 gives an estimate of 5.450 units.
7. *Tavola 10: La consistenza della popolazione straniera secondo diverse fonti ufficiali* in Natale (1983, 285). The monographic issue is dedicated to the proceedings of the Giornata di studio su l'immigrazione straniera in Italia indetta dal Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione (CISP) and the Institute of Demography of the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' (March 22, 1983). It is worth pointing out that in this attempt to organize the data provided by the Inps and the Ministry of the Interior, only the data on domestic workers is classified separately

from the overall information on the 'foreign population'. The regions with the highest numbers are, in descending order, Lazio, Lombardy, Tuscany, Friuli Venezia Giulia and Piedmont.

8. The Seventies was a decade of important reforms: introduction of divorce, comprehensive reform of family law, partial decriminalization of abortion.

9. See also Granovetter (1995).

10. On this issue also, Sarti (2005).

11. On this topic see Arena (1983), Taravella (1984), Campani (1989), Andall (1992, 2005), Marchetti (2014), Marchetti and Sgueglia (2008), Morone (2015).

12. See Capalbo (1982), Anselmi (1987), Scalzo (1984). Bronzo et al. (1984), Vinco (1982).

13. Salvini (1980, 403). On the racialization dynamics of mediating agencies see Bakan and Stasiulis (1995).

14. Among the published articles see, Gagliano (1975), F. C. (1977). The article stresses how the 'trafficking of maids is practiced in Puglia under the pretense of legality' and that 'most of the women have a degree or else they have graduated high school'; Licata (1978). The article is an inquiry on about 200 migrants from the Philippines who were employed in Milanese households, 180 of which were women (n.a. 1979a, b).

15. Lonni (2003 114–15).

16. See the documentary *Mariscica fu la prima* by Annamaria Gallone, 90' minutes, Kenzi Productions, Italia/CapeVerde 2011. The documentary presents a series of interviews to women from Cape Verde who returned to their homeland. The conversation is led by Maria de Lourdes Jesus who had gone through the same experience. Generally female migrants from Cape Verde returned to their homeland thanks to their savings and the pension accrued after spending decades in Italy.

17. See also Catanzaro and Colombo (2009). In 1980 there were approximately one million Italian domestic helpers registered with INPS, but the numbers were 'decreasing constantly' and these were mainly paid by the hour, while Italian women were increasingly avoiding hiring 'fixed' domestic helpers', according to many commentators, who noted that 'even the regions that traditionally provided domestic helpers - Sardinia, Sicily, the mountainous regions of the North and the hilly regions of Emilia— now seem to have exhausted their function', while 'the signing of the first national employment contracts coincided with the arrival of the first foreigners' in Salvini (1980, 400).

18. Ministero del Lavoro e della Previdenza Sociale, *circolare* 27 June 1966, n. 100/6/V e *circolare 30 dicembre 1972*, n. *37*/106/III, Nuova procedura per la concessione della autorizzazione al lavoro in favore dei lavoratori stranieri addetti ai servizi domestici.

19. The proceedings of the Giornata nazionale delle migrazioni, organized by the UCEI (Ufficio Centrale per l'Emigrazione Italiana) on *Stranieri o fratelli* (19 September 1978), published in 'Servizio migranti' n, September 1978 (monographic issue) cit. in Salvini (1980, 409).

20. Domenico Pertica was a journalist, poet, painter and actor for Federico Fellini.

21. The research was then published by the Municipality of Rome in 1988 in a volume entitled *Roma: Immigrazione dai paesi del terzo mondo.* Franco Ferrarotti has defined it as 'perhaps the first specifically sociological research on coloured migrants in Rome' (1988, 8). A previous inquiry in Caritas Diocesana di Roma (1984)**.**

22. The inquiry is in Ecap Cgil/Enim, *L'immigrazione straniera nel Lazio: quadro di riferimento e condizioni*, in 'Lazio Regione', supplement to n. 12–13-14, 1981. For the articles published in *l'Unità*: Lenzi (1981a, b).

23. Luca Einaudi (2007, 86), for example, has supported the hypothesis that female migrants were not 'a conspicuous social phenomenon because they did not gather in the streets like men'. On the delay, also in Italy, see Picciolini (1992) and Lodigiani (1994).

24. Morokvasic cit. in Sorgoni (2000, 79). See also Morokvasic (1984).

25. *30.000 africani venduti sulla strada della speranza. Si allarga il fenomeno delle immigrazioni clandestine* cit. in Mont d'Arpizio (2009, 11).

26. According to Yasemin Soysal (1996, 3–4) 'the term 'immigrant' mostly refers to the people of 'distant' lands and cultures 'not like ours''.

27. On the issue see n.a. (1975a) and again Mannocchia (1975). In this second article the journalist affirms that, after lighting candles in all the house where she lived and worked, Claudette Numa chose to burn alive during a 'woodoo rite'. Suicide is a recurring theme, see Lugli (1980), n.a. (1981).

28. According to Jacqueline Andall (2000, 2): 'the characteristics of this female migration *were noteworthy* for several reasons. Firstly, female migrants to Italy in the 1970s were autonomous primary migrants. Furthermore, their migration was essentially a single-sex migration. This was not simply a newly phenomenon for Italy but additionally marked a new phase in the nature of post-war migration to Europe'.

29. See Gissi (2018), Brah (1991), Pasquinelli (2000).

30. On this topic see also Perilli (2006), Tronto (2002).

31. See the material available in the Archivio di Lotta Femminista per il salario al lavoro domestico - Donazione Mariarosa Dalla Costa - Biblioteca Civica di Padova. For example, the booklet 'Support Household Workers Right to Organize', busta 19b, unità 196.

References

Amendola, G. 1979. "Interrogativi sul 'caso' Fiat." *Rinascita*, 9 November 1979.

Andall, Jacqueline. 1992. "Women Migrant Workers in Italy." *Women's Studies International Forum* 15 (1): 41–8.

Andall, Jacqueline. 1998. "Catholic and State Constructions of Domestic Workers: The Case of Cape Verdean Women in Rome in the 1970s." In *The New Migration in Europe: Social Constructions and Social Realities*, edited by Khalid Koser and Helma Lutz, 124–42. London–New York: MacMillan.

Andall, Jacqueline. 2000. *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service. The Politics of Black Women in Italy*. Burlington: Aldershot-Ashgate.

Andall, Jacqueline. 2005. "Immigration and the Legacy of Colonialism: The Eritrean Diaspora in Italy." In *Italian Colonialism: Legacy and Memory*, edited by Jacqueline Andall and Derek Duncan, 191–216. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Anselmi, A. 1987. "La *comunità eritrea.*" *Dossier Europa Emigrazione* XII: 14–16.

Arena, G. 1983. "Lavoro femminile ed immigrazione: dai Paesi afro-asiatici a Roma." *Studi Emigrazione* 70: 177–89.

Arru, Angiolina. 1995. *Il servo. Storia di una carriera nel Settecento*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Bakan, A. B., and D. K. Stasiulis. 1995. "Making the Match: Domestic Placement Agencies and the Racialization of Women's Household Work." *Signs* 20: 303–35.

Betti, P. 1979. "*Dall'Africa a Milano: anche 16 ore di lavoro* e *la paura* di *perderlo.*" l'Unità, 9 February 1979.

Bortot, N., ed. 1981. *L'immigrazione straniera nel Lazio: quadro di riferimento e condizioni*. Rome: Regione Lazio (Assessorato problemi del lavoro della Regione Lazio/Giunta regionale).

Brah, A. 1991. "Questions of Difference and International Feminism." In *Out of the Margins: Women's Studies in the Nineties,* edited by J. Aaron and S. Walby, 195–214. London: The Falmer Press.

Bronzo, N., Casale, O., Giovannini, F., and F. Rasetta (in collaboration with the Trasversale cooperative). 1984. *Le donne ombra: Eritree, Somale, Capoverdiane, Filippine: lavoratrici straniere a Roma. Università di Roma "La Sapienza", iniziative didattico-culturali degli studenti*. Rome: Rees.

Campani, G. 1989. "Du Tiers-Monde à l'Italie: Une nouvelle immigration féminine." *Revue européenne de migrations internationales* 5: 29–49.

Capalbo, G. 1982. "Indagine sui lavoratori eritrei a Roma." *Affari sociali internazionali* 10: 61–71.

Caritas Diocesana di Roma. 1984. *Stranieri a Roma: immagine degli immigrati dall'Africa e dall'Asia attraverso le schede di rilevamento della Caritas diocesana*. Rome: Siares.

Carter, Donald Martin. 1997. *States of Grace: Senegalese in Italy and the New European Immigration.* Minneapolis–London: University of Minnesota Press.

Castles, Stephen, and Mark J. Miller. 1998. *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, New York: Springer.

Catanzaro, R., and A. Colombo, eds. 2009. *Badanti & Co. Il lavoro domestico straniero in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Colombo, Asher. 2003. "Razza, genere, classe. Le tre dimensioni del lavoro domestico in Italia." *Polis* 2: 317–42.

Colombo, Asher, and Giuseppe Sciortino. 2004. "The Flows and the Flood: the Public Discourse on Immigration in Italy, 1969–2001." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9: 94–113.

Colucci, Michele. 2016. "L'immigrazione straniera nell'Italia repubblicana: le fasi iniziali e le linee di sviluppo, 1963–1979." *Studi Storici* 4: 947–77.

Colucci, Michele. 2018. *Storia dell'immigrazione straniera in Italia. Dal 1945 ai giorni nostri*. Rome: Carocci.

Crippa, Erminio. 1979. *Lavoro amaro: le estere in Italia*. Rome: Api-Colf.

Curcio, F. 2012. "*Roma scopre l'immigrazione straniera: le pubblicazioni del Comune sul tema*." In *Osservatorio romano sulle migrazioni: nono rapporto*, 156–160. Rome: Edizioni Idos (Caritas di Roma in collaborazione con Provincia e Camera di commercio Roma).

Dalla Costa, M. R. 1988. "Domestic Labour and the Feminist Movement in Italy since the 1970s." *International Sociology* 3 (1): 23–34.

De Clementi, Andreina. 2010. *Il prezzo della ricostruzione. L'emigrazione italiana nel secondo dopoguerra*. Rome–Bari: Laterza.

Delap, Lucy. 2011. *Knowing Their Place: Domestic Service in Twentieth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Einaudi, Luca. 2007. *Le politiche dell'immigrazione in Italia dall'unità a oggi*. Rome-Bari: Laterza.

Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Arlie Russell Hochschild. 2004. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan/Owl Books.

F. C. 1977. "'Filippina referenze offresi centomila'. Denunciati a Taranto cinque mediatori." *Il Corriere della Sera*, 13 March 1977.

F. S. 1972. "Inchiesta su domestiche negre forse sfruttate da un 'racket'." *Stampa Sera*, 24 July 1972.

Ferrari, Roberta. 2013. "Donne, migrazioni, confini." In *Movimenti indisciplinati. Migrazioni, migranti e discipline scientifiche*, edited by Sandro Mezzadra and Maurizio Ricciardi, 29–49. Verona: Ombre Corte.

Ferrarotti, F. 1988. *Oltre il razzismo. Verso la società multirazziale e multiculturale*. Rome: Armando.

Foschi, F. 1980. "Poi ci sono i 600.000 stranieri in Italia." *Famiglia cristiana*, 2 March 1980.

Gagliano, E. 1975. "C'è la tratta delle straniere. Come avvengono le contrattazioni." *La Stampa*, 17 October 1975.

Gissi, A. 2018. "The Home as a Factory, Rethinking the Debate on Housewives' Wages in Italy, 1929–1980." In *What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, edited by R. Sarti, M. Martini, and A. Bellavitis, 139–60. Oxford–New York: Berghahn.

Granovetter, Marc. 1995. *Getting a Job. A Study of Contacts and Careers*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hoerder, Dirk, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, Elise, and Silke Neunsinger, eds. 2015. *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Insolera, I. 2011. *Roma moderna. Da Napoleone I al XXI secolo*. Turin: Einaudi.

Lenzi, S. 1981a. "Molto istruito, supersfruttato, senza un domicilio, precario, emarginato: questo il profilo del lavoratore straniero. Immigrazione: tante cifre contro i pregiudizi." *l'Unità*, 27 June 1981.

Lenzi, S. 1981b. "Tanti, sottopagati, precari e senza casa." *l'Unità*, 28 June 1981.

Licata, G. 1978. "Nelle Filippine i diplomati pagano per fare i domestici a Milano." *Il Corriere della Sera*, 30 October 1978.

Lodigiani, Rosangela. 1994. "Donne migranti e reti informali." *Studi Emigrazione* 115: 494–505.

Lonni, A. 2003. *Immigrati*. Milan: Bruno Mondandori.

Lugli, R. 1980. "La 'colf' che arriva dall'Asia." *La Stampa*, 3 April 1980.

m. tos. 1972. "A Roma duemila slave." *La Stampa*, 14 June 1972.

Mannocchia, F. 1975. "Dietro la magia che uccide." *Corriere della Sera*, 28 June 1975.

Marchetti, S. 2014. *Black Girls: Migrant Domestic Workers and Colonial Legacies*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Marchetti, S., and L. Sgueglia. 2008. "Eritrei romani." In *Osservatorio romano sulle migrazioni. Quarto rapporto*, edited by G. de Maio, 298–306. Rome: Idos.

Merrill, Heather. 2006. *Alliance of Women: Immigration and the Politics of Race*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Merrill, Heather. 2018. *Black Spaces: African Diaspora in Italy*. Routledge: New York.

Mezzadra, Sandro, and Maurizio Ricciardi, eds. 2013. *Movimenti indisciplinati. Migrazioni, migranti e discipline scientifiche*. Verona: Ombre Corte.

Miranda, Adelina. 2004. "Une frontière dans l'intimité. La confrontation culturelle entre femmes étrangères et femmes autochtones dans l'espace domestique." *Les Cahiers du CEDRE, Genre, travail et migrations en Europe* 12: 115–35.

Mont d'Arpizio, D. 2009. *Il colore dei fratelli. Quarant'anni di immigrazione nelle pagine della Difesa del popolo*. Padua: Euganea Editoriale.

Morokvasic, M. 1984. "Birds of Passage Are also Women." *International Migration Review* 4: 886–907.

Morone, A. M. 2015. "L'Italianità degli altri. Le migrazioni degli ex sudditi coloniali dall'Africa all'Italia." *Altreitalie* 50: 71–86.

Natale, M. 1983. "Fonti e metodi di rilevazione della popolazione straniera in Italia." *Studi Emigrazione* 71: 265–296.

N.A. 1975a. "Originaria delle Isole Mauritius lavorava a Roma. Una domestica muore bruciata mentre compie un rito magico." *Corriere della Sera*, 9 June 1975a.

N.A. 1975b. "Quello che la 'colf' pensa del suo lavoro." *La Stampa*, 18 October 1975b.

N.A. 1978. "C'era una volta l'emigrazione." *Panorama*, November 1978.

N.A. 1979a. "In carcere i due proprietari di un'agenzia: per 500 mila lire offrivano lavoro nero." *l'Unità*, 14 April 1979.

N.A. 1979b. "Tre storie di un viaggio dalla miseria alla miseria. Le indagini della polizia sull'agenzia che collocava 'colf' filippine in nero." *l'Unità*, 15 April 1979.

N.A. 1981. "Miseria e la paura del rimpatrio dietro la tragedia di Ladispoli." *l'Unità*, 4 August 1981.

Padrun, Ruth. 1979. "Donne immigrate nostre sorelle." *Effe*, May 1979.

Pasquinelli, C. 2000. "Il corpo delle altre: donne africane in Italia" *Afriche e Orienti* 3–4: 41–8.

Perilli, Vincenza. 2006. "'Sexe' et 'race' dans les féminismes italiens. Jalons d'une généalogie." *Les Cahiers du CEDREF* 14: 105–43.

Perilli, Vincenza. 2020. "'La donna.' Una lettura intersezionale delle rappresentazioni visuali del lavoro domestico in Italia dal secondo dopoguerra alla fine degli anni Settanta." In *Separate in casa. Lavoratrici domestiche, femministe e sindacaliste: una mancata alleanza*, edited by Beatrice Busi, 101–31. Rome: Ediesse.

Pertica, Domenico. 1980. "San Saba? Un grande monastero con Romolo, Remo e case popolari." *l'Unità*, 29 October 1980.

Phizacklea, Annie. 1998. "Migration and Globalization: A Feminist Perspective." In *The new Migration in Europe: Social Constructions and Social Realities*, edited by Khalid Koser and Helma Lutz, 21–38. London–New York: MacMillan.

Picciolini, Anna. 1992. "La donna migrante." In *L'immigrazione straniera in Italia. Il tempo dell'integrazione*, edited by Nino Sergi and Francesco Carchedi, 79–93. Rome: Ed. Lavoro.

Ramella, Franco. 2003. "Immigrazione e traiettorie sociali in città: Salvatore e gli altri negli anni sessanta." In *L'Italia delle migrazioni interne. Donne,*

uomini, mobilità in età moderna e contemporanea, edited by Angiolina Arru and Franco Ramella, 339–86. Rome: Donzelli.

Rampini, F. 1980. "Immigrati in Italia." *Rinascita*, 8 February 1980.

Salvini, Giampaolo. 1980. "Le colf estere in Italia." *Aggiornamenti sociali* 5: 399–410.

Salvini, Giampaolo. 1986. "Gli stranieri in Italia." *La Civiltà Cattolica* 137: 29–42.

Sanfilippo, Matteo. 2016. "I campi in Italia nel secondo dopoguerra." *Meridiana* 56: 41–56.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2005. "Domestic Service as a 'bridging occupation'. Past and Present." In *Proceedings of the Servant Project*, edited by S. Pasleau and I. Schopp, with Raffaella Sarti, 163–85. Liège: Éditions De L'Université De Liège, Vol. IV.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2008. "The Globalisation of Domestic Service, an Historical Perspective." In *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*, edited by Helma Lutz, 77–98. Burlington: Aldershot-Ashgate.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2010a. "Fighting for Masculinity: Male Domestic Workers, Gender, and Migration in Italy from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present." *Men and Masculinities* 13: 16–43.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2010b. "Lavoro domestico e di cura: quali diritti?" In *Lavoro domestico e di cura: quali diritti*?, edited by Raffaella Sarti, 79–84. Rome: Ediesse.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2014. "Historians, Social Scientists, Servants, and Domestic Workers: Fifty Years of Research on Domestic and Care Work." *International Review of Social History* 59 (2): 279–314.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2016. "*Open Houses versus Closed Borders:* Migrant Domestic Workers in Italy a Gendered Perspective (1950s-2010s)." In *Gender and Migration in Italy: A Multilayered Perspective*, edited by Elisa Olivito, 39–59. Burlington: Aldershot-Ashgate.

Scalzo, F. 1984. "Stranieri in Italia. La *comunità eritrea* e marocchina nell'area romana attraverso racconti biografici." *Dossier Europa Emigrazione* IX: 3–5.

Schrover, Marlou. 2013. *Feminization and Problematization of Migration: Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Sharpe, Pam, ed. 2001. *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspective*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sorgoni, B. 2000. "Migrazione femminile e lavoro domestico: un terreno da esplorare." *La critica sociologica* 134: 78–88.

Soysal, Yasemin N. 1996. "Boundaries and Identity: Immigrants in Europe." *EUI Working Paper* 96 (3): 3–4.

Taravella, L. 1984. *Les femmes migrantes: bibliographie analytique internationale, 1965–1983*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Tronto, J. C. 2002. "The 'Nanny' Question in Feminism." *Hypatia* 17: 34–51.

Vinco, P. T. 1982. "Capoverdiane a Roma." *Dossier Europa Emigrazione* VII: 8–11.

Willis, Katie, and Brenda Yeoh. 2000. *Gender and Migration, the International Library of Studies on Migration*. Northampton: Cheltenham.

Labour and Household Economy

Skills, Training, and Kinship Networks: Women as Economic Migrants in London's Livery Companies, c. 1600–1800

Sarah Birt

Abbreviations

GL	Guildhall Library, City of London
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, City of London
ROLLCO	Records of London's Livery Companies Online
TNA	The National Archives, London

In 1697, Elizabeth Dewell, the daughter of a gentleman, migrated from Bewdley in Worcestershire to the City of London to commence a seven-year apprenticeship through the Drapers' Company.[1] She was the eldest of eight sisters, and one of five young women from the Dewell family

S. Birt (✉)
Birkbeck, University of London, London, UK
e-mail: sbirt02@mail.bbk.ac.uk

to undertake formal apprenticeships in London's livery companies. Elizabeth Dewell later opened a milliners' shop on the Royal Exchange, which she ran in partnership with a married woman named Ann Rogers *née* Antrobus. Her story reveals that some young women were drawn to the capital by the prospect of occupational training, and that formal apprenticeships offered opportunities to establish fashionable businesses in prestigious urban locations.

This chapter explores the role of kinship and friendship networks in encouraging the migration of women to London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Socio-economic networks are notoriously difficult to trace (Brodsky Elliott 1979, 209). Yet, biographical research using a variety of sources can illuminate the numerous interconnections between individuals and families, delineating the social and economic resources utilised by female migrants to establish themselves in trade. A micro-historical case study of the Dewell family provides new evidence of the complex socio-economic networks built and maintained by early modern women, indicating that women working as milliners in the City were able to successfully transfer skills through successive generations of female apprentices, running businesses over several decades. My research shows that these women migrants demonstrated considerable agency, undertaking greater varieties of work than is often acknowledged, including skilled work in clothing and textile production and retailing.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section surveys the historiography of early modern women's economic migration, and of the migration of London's livery company apprentices more widely in order to show the value of apprenticeships as a means of setting up in business. The second section considers what livery company records can tell us about the geographic origins of female apprentices in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London, and the potential limitations of using such sources. Though a significant proportion of female apprentices were drawn from the City itself or the surrounding Home Counties, young women travelled from as far afield as Scotland, Ireland, Wales and even Jamaica, Rotterdam, and 'Bombay'. This suggests that livery company apprenticeships were deemed suitable vocational training for the daughters of gentlemen, merchants, artisans, and retailers, challenging the view that women were often restricted to short distance migration. Finally, the third section presents a micro-historical case study of the Dewell sisters. By tracing the life-cycle employment experienced by these women, we can chart the skills, business partnerships, and wider socio-economic

networks that they forged through formal livery company apprenticeships. Overall, this chapter adds to the growing field exploring women's labour migration in early modern England by showing that unmarried female economic migrants from middling backgrounds were able to engage in formal training and to establish businesses in London, albeit in smaller numbers than their male counterparts.

Women's Economic Migration in Early Modern England—A Review of the Literature

Much of the literature on women's economic migration focuses on the life-cycle undertaking of domestic service in urban centres by young, unmarried women, as acknowledged by Beatrice Zucca Micheletto in the introduction to this book. Yet, recent scholarship has shown that whilst service was often a 'life-cycle' event, this was not the only model for women's experiences of this form of work. Service could also offer 'contingency and flexibility', as 'an institution that offered a solution to economic and social adversity and did not simply facilitate the socialisation of the young' (Mansell 2018, 328). Domestic service also potentially afforded young women opportunities to gain artisanal skills in craft households in a manner akin to apprenticeship, showing that the experiences of young women engaged in life-cycle service and apprenticeships were not always divergent, particularly in relation to the acquisition of skills (McIntosh 2005, 47). This indicates that a study of the migration of female apprentices embarking on skilled trades in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London can provide a new perspective on early modern women's economic agency and work.

Though women's work has previously been characterised by Judith Bennett as low-status, low-skilled, and low-paid, there were frequent exceptions to this rule (Bennett 1988, 278). Indeed, Amy Erickson has shown that trades such as millinery, which involved the retailing—and wholesaling—of fancy wares such as lace, fans, masks, and ribbons, could afford women more elevated occupational status in a potentially lucrative, skilled, and increasingly female-dominated profession. Erickson's study of female apprentices in early eighteenth-century London cited the example of the milliner Eleanor Mosley—a migrant from York—who was bound apprentice in 1718 and admitted free of the Clockmakers' Company in London eight years later. Mosley thereafter established herself as the mistress of other female apprentices, indicating her success in trade

(Erickson 2011, 147–49). Erickson remarked that female apprentice-migrants like Mosley probably used kinship and business connections to arrange formal training in the capital but further observations about Mosley's specific case were unfortunately prevented by the nature of the available sources (Erickson 2011, 160–61). Nevertheless, this indicates that London was a draw to young people—women and men—seeking skills and expanded economic opportunities.

Pioneering, early twentieth-century studies of women's work by Alice Clark and Ivy Pinchbeck have influenced later generations of historians, though Jane Whittle has recognised that 'these studies remained poorly integrated into mainstream economic history' (Whittle 2019, 38; Clark 1919; Pinchbeck 1930). Many broader studies of apprenticeship and migration in England do not consider the position of women in detail, though Michael Walker noted that the number of female apprentices began to increase in the Shipwrights' Company in London in the late seventeenth century (Walker 1985, 207). Consequently, Peter Clark and David Souden identified 'the apprenticeship of boys into a trade or craft' as the 'classic' example of 'career' migration, and Christiane Harzig observed that male apprentices are the quintessential subject of what she termed 'malestream' accounts of migration (Clark and Souden 1987, 16; Harzig 2001, 15). Nevertheless, Clark and Souden identified the late seventeenth century as a key point at which women travelled to urban centres to engage in domestic service or work in retailing, food, and drink provision, or to embark on apprenticeships, and acknowledged that female migrants were 'well established as a distinctive force in urban migration by 1700' (Clark and Souden 1987, 35).

Comparative accounts relating to the typical distances travelled by migrants have discerned key differences between the migration of women and men. In the 1880s, E. G. Ravenstein established his highly influential 'laws of migration', which included the assertion that 'females are more migratory over shorter distances, males over longer' (quoted in Clark and Souden 1987, 19). This can impact the ways in which historians discuss the agency of women, perhaps even leading to examples of women travelling greater distances in search of work being minimised or overlooked because they do not fit this overarching pattern. Many studies use court depositions to identify female migrants and their origins. For example, using information derived from the statements of more than 7000 witnesses in the diocesan courts of Canterbury, Norwich, Oxford, Salisbury, Gloucester, Coventry and Lichfield, Peter Clark found

that women 'tended to be more mobile than men, though they moved shorter distances' in the period 1660–1730 (Clark 1987, 229). Peter Earle observed that almost 69.4% of his sample of women in church court records between 1665 and 1725 were migrants to London, compared to a similar figure of 72.2% of freemen in 1690 in a study by D. V. Glass. Yet, around half of the female deponents in Earle's sample were drawn from London and the surrounding counties in this period (Earle 1998, 126–27; Glass 1969, 373–89). Vivien Brodsky Elliott also concluded that female migrants usually travelled shorter distances than (male) apprentices. She found that 70% of the women migrants in her sample originated from within 'a hundred mile radius of London', compared to 63% of migrant-apprentices, though these figures are relatively similar (Brodsky Elliott 1979, 232). Brodsky Elliott asserted that there were no female apprentices bound between 1574 and 1644, overlooking the presence and experience of female apprentices entirely, though this was due to the nature of her samples and was not representative of every livery company in London (Brodsky Elliott 1979, 224). These studies reinforce the impression that women *were* engaged in migration, though they were less likely to travel long distances in search of work.

More recently, economic historians have observed broader changes over the early modern period relating to the migration of livery company apprentices to London. For example, Tim Leunig, Chris Minns, and Patrick Wallis noted that 'the size of London's recruitment field shrank dramatically' between 1600 and 1749. They found that in the early seventeenth century, youths migrated greater distances in order to take up apprenticeships in London. Yet, by the later eighteenth century, a larger proportion of apprentices were drawn from London, Middlesex, and Surrey (Leunig et al. 2011, 420). However, these studies of apprenticeship in England acknowledged that they did not consider the experience of female apprentices in London because the majority of the apprentices were male (Leunig et al. 2011, 417; Wallis 2008, 834; Klemp et al. 2013, 218). This presents an opportunity to compare and contrast the experience of women with the male majority. This chapter therefore contributes to the literature by offering new findings relating to the geographic origins (where specified) of female livery company apprentices, based on a sample of 1457 women drawn from six livery companies between 1600 and 1799.[2]

Livery company apprentices (including women) migrated to London from counties across England and regional studies reveal distinct patterns

in migration. In a study of the Clothworkers' Company, Jessica Collins explored the geographic origins of the company's female apprentices, finding that the women bound in the early seventeenth century traversed 'considerable distances'. However, she demonstrated that 'this pattern was reversed' after 1650, as two-thirds of female apprentices were drawn from London and the Home Counties. Collins therefore concluded that 'the demand for recruits could easily be satisfied locally from an early date' (Collins 2013, 74–76). Jacob F. Field considered the migration of livery company apprentices from the counties of Northumberland and Durham to London in the seventeenth century. He found that 70.5% of apprentices from the north-east in his sample from 12 livery companies were bound in the period 1601 to 1640, reflecting the findings of Leunig, Minns, and Wallis that more apprentices travelled greater distances to London before 1700 (Field 2010, 3). Yet, Field noted that 'apprenticeship records do not illuminate female migration much' because only seven of the 689 apprentices in his sample were girls (Field 2010, 3, footnote 10). This is largely due to the narrower focus of enquiry, indicating that women can be easily overlooked in livery company sources. Nevertheless, my sample includes 56 women originating from Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Durham between 1600 and 1799, and 43 (76.8%) of these apprentices were bound between 1650 and 1699, showing that different patterns emerge when female apprentices are considered separately. It is also worth acknowledging that in the City of York, the Merchant Tailors' Company did not admit female apprentices until the 1690s, though the proportion of women steadily increased from 1710 onwards (Smith 2005, 115). This suggests that female apprentice-migrants from the north-east may have travelled to London in search of training and membership through guilds, which was less readily available in their place of origin.

The connection between population growth and economic migration has also been acknowledged and the influx of migrants from the provinces to the capital sustained London's early modern expansion given high urban mortality rates (Field 2010, 2). Indeed, Vivien Brodsky Elliott observed that by focusing on London, she was in fact studying 'the characteristics of provincial England' because she particularly covered the early seventeenth century, when London was experiencing a rapid expansion in terms of its population 'from migration, not from a process of natural increase' (Brodsky Elliott 1979, 1–2). This suggests that the story of economic migrants in London reflects the wider picture of economic opportunities in England regionally. Certainly, it would be reasonable

to assert that London offered greater opportunities for more affluent individuals, particularly those with the capital required to establish new businesses and engage in formal apprenticeships. The role of kinship in the decision to migrate is often difficult to discern. Yet, Brodsky Elliott noted that at least 37% of the female migrants in her study had kin in London though only 22% of these women lived in the same household as their kin. She inferred that 'the protection and security kinship afforded in the London context may have been the privilege of the highest status occupational groups - wealthy tradesmen, merchants and gentry' (Brodsky Elliott 1979, 230). Given the often-elevated social status of female livery company apprentices, this suggests that these women had access to wider familial connections in order to establish themselves in London.

The experiences and aims of female migrants were evidently diverse. New research presented by Ariadne Schmidt concerning her forthcoming survey on early modern migration co-authored by Amy Erickson for the 'Producing Change: Gender and Work in Early Modern Europe Network' shows that there is still considerable scope for exploring women's migration in early modern Europe. Schmidt considered the numerous categories of migration including local, circular, chain, career, coerced, colonising, and collective migration, where women are generally represented as short distance migrants, travelling to urban centres in order to engage in work as domestic servants or as followers of men.[3] Evidently there is still much we can learn about female migrants. By exploring the women interacting with livery companies in London as career migrants, this chapter contributes to this field by showing that some early modern women demonstrated considerable agency, travelling to London in order to seek new skills and opportunities to engage in trade.

The Geographic Origins of Female Livery Company Apprentices in London

The records of six of London's livery companies offer myriad opportunities to glean insights into the women bound apprentice and admitted free of the companies in early modern London. This study focuses on the Mercers', Drapers', Merchant Taylors', Haberdashers', Clothworkers', and Painter-Stainers' companies. Members of these corporate institutions often had historic ties to key retailing centres in the City, including the Royal Exchange, where many women ran shops selling a variety of

wares including clothing, textiles, and accessories. Apprentice binding books include information on the geographic origins of female apprentices, which can be used to conduct a quantitative survey of the migration of these unmarried women to the capital. Other livery company records, including court minutes and freedom registers, which recorded the names of apprentices admitted free of their respective company, offer further opportunities to chart individual women through their working lives. Gaining the freedom of a livery company was a key means of obtaining civic freedom, which was a requirement for engaging independently in trade (Erickson 2011, 152; Wallis 2008, 838). Further sources contextualise the information derived from livery companies. Wills in particular offer an indication of the wealth of women at death. Parish records also show whether individuals remained in London or relocated elsewhere, and apprenticeship indentures sometimes included information on the trade that female apprentices were bound to learn. This section will predominately focus on the apprentice binding books for six livery companies in order to explore chronological patterns in the geographic origins of female apprentices.

The apprentice binding books of London's livery companies often provide quite detailed information regarding the origins of female apprentices. Technically, the location recorded in the binding books was the *father's* geographic origin but this has been taken as the origin of the apprentice for the purposes of this study. Information relating to the geographic origins of apprentices and their families allows us to investigate whether young women were more likely to seek formal apprenticeships as economic migrants, or as existing residents of London. This section considers the observable patterns for female apprentices in six livery companies in order to compare and contrast their experience with the majority of formal apprentices.

Table 5.1 shows the overall figures for female apprentices, denoting their geographic origins across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to the data, many female apprentices were drawn from the City itself or from the surrounding Home Counties, accounting for a cumulative 54.7% of apprentices. For individual companies, the Painter-Stainers' (34.5%), Clothworkers' (32%), and Drapers' (29.6%) companies had the highest proportions of apprentices drawn from London, whereas the Mercers' (29.7%) and Merchant Taylors' (29.3%) companies drew greater numbers of apprentices from the Home Counties.

Table 5.1 Geographic origins of female apprentices, c. 1600–1799

	Mercers	Drapers	Merchant Taylors	Haberdashers	Clothworkers	Painter-Stainers	Total	Percentage
London	10	42	130	151	47	29	409	28.1
Home Counties	11	36	150	132	39	19	387	26.6
East	3	3	49	36	10	7	108	7.4
North East	0	2	26	19	7	2	56	3.8
Midlands	3	24	59	85	19	6	196	13.5
North West	1	4	14	11	2	4	36	2.5
South West	7	10	30	44	7	10	108	7.4
South East	1	12	37	41	16	6	113	7.8
Wales	0	4	3	8	0	0	15	1.0
Scotland	0	2	6	0	0	0	8	0.5
Ireland	0	1	2	3	0	0	6	0.4
Abroad	0	0	4	2	0	0	6	0.4
Unknown	1	2	2	3	0	1	9	0.6
Total	37	142	512	535	147	84	1457	100.0

Home Counties: Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Surrey, Kent, Essex; East: Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Huntingdonshire; North East: Yorkshire, Northumberland, Durham; Midlands: Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire; North West: Cheshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire; South West: Gloucestershire, Bristol, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall; South East: Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Oxfordshire
Notes Date ranges are as follows: Mercers' Company 1600–1799; Drapers' Company 1600–1799; Merchant Taylors' Company 1600–1799; Haberdashers' Company 1602–1799; Clothworkers' Company 1606–1799; Painter-Stainers' Company 1666–1795

When the numbers are observed by decade for the period 1650–1749 in Fig. 5.1, it is clear that the percentage of apprentices from London and the Home Counties was collectively around 50% in the late seventeenth century but that this proportion increased to between 60 and 70% by the early eighteenth century. This broadly confirms Jessica Collins' assertion that female livery company apprentices in the Clothworkers' Company were often drawn from the City itself or nearby counties, suggesting that this was likely a more widespread trend for female apprentices across the livery companies (Collins 2013, 76). However, the pattern is also consistent with the findings of Leunig, Minns and Wallis, and Laurie Lindey, who observed that apprentice-migrants were less likely to travel larger distances to London in the eighteenth century when compared with the seventeenth century (Leunig et al. 2011, 420–21; Lindey 2016, 126–32). The highest proportion of women originating from London who were bound as apprentices was 41.7% in the 1720s, and just under one-third of female apprentices originated from London on average across the whole
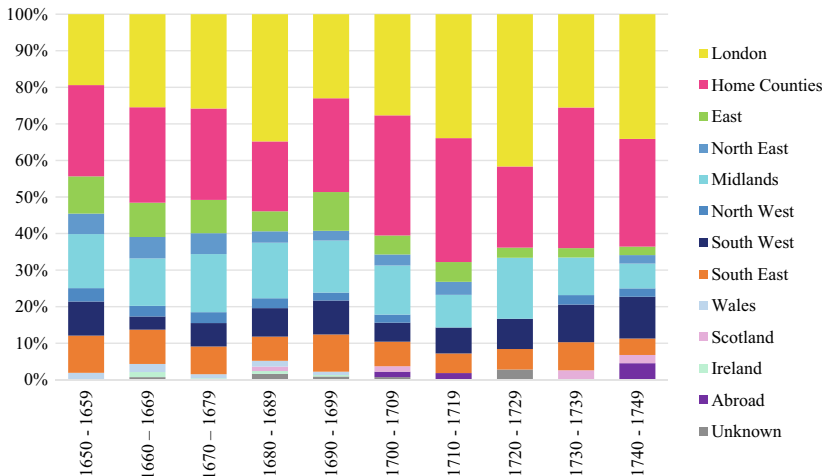

Fig. 5.1 Female apprentices by geographic origin in six companies, 1650–1749 (*Sources* Mercers', Drapers' and Clothworkers' companies data from Records of London's Livery Companies Online [ROLLCO]: https://www.londonroll.org. Merchant Taylors' Company GL MS 34,038/15–MS 34,038/20; Haberdashers' Company GL MS 15,8600/6–MS 15,8600/9; Painter-Stainers' Company [1666–1749] GL MS 5669/1)

one hundred year period, echoing the figures calculated by Peter Earle of female deponents in three church courts as outlined above. This suggests that these women had existing ties to members of the livery companies as part of their wider social networks. Though female apprentices were rarely bound formally to their mother or father, they were probably able to make use of their parent's socio-economic connections to facilitate suitable training opportunities.

Nevertheless, some women travelled great distances to undertake formal apprenticeships in London, even in the eighteenth century. These six companies recorded economic migrants from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and from even further afield including 'Bombay, East Indies', Rotterdam, and Norway. Three female apprentices were described as from Jamaica, including Rebecca Hudson, the daughter of a 'merchant', who was bound to John Garlick via the Merchant Taylors' Company for a premium of £40 in 1710.[4] By tracing her father's will, we can better understand the reasons for her migration and subsequent commencement of a formal apprenticeship. Thomas Hudson died in 1706, leaving equal shares of his estate to his three sons and two daughters, and naming two London-based merchants Justus and Abraham Otgher (presumably his business contacts) as the children's guardians. He explicitly requested that his sons be 'putt out to Apprentice' before they reached the age of 16 years old and instructed the Otgher brothers to provide £250 'to the Master and Mistress of said son unto whom they shall be placed out in Apprenticeship'. This figure lies in stark contrast to the £40 premium paid for Rebecca's apprenticeship, though this was still a sizeable fee. Hudson clearly did not expect his daughters to enter into apprenticeships. Instead, he stipulated that they should receive their portions at the age of 21 or 'their respective daies of Marriage'.[5] However, Rebecca's apprenticeship was seemingly arranged as a means of providing her with a trade and supervision before she reached that age, as John Garlick was described as a milliner on Paternoster Row in the Merchant Taylors' Company records.[6] This example demonstrates the global networks founded in London that could facilitate women's economic migration, whilst elucidating the differing expectations relating to the training of girls and boys in middling families.

A significant proportion of female apprentices were also drawn from the Midlands, though several young women travelled from northern counties, the south-west, and south-east. This suggests that formal apprenticeships in the City were viewed as a means for some young women to learn new skills whilst maintaining the future potential to

establish themselves in trade through the livery companies by obtaining the freedom of their company. When the number of female apprentices reached their peak in the later seventeenth century, roughly three-quarters of the young women bound were economic migrants to London.[7] This indicates the importance of training opportunities to these individuals, their families and guardians, offering further insights into the small but dynamic role of formal apprenticeships as part of their education. Moreover, though this sample reflects the experience of a small group of women from the middling sort, the example of Rebecca Hudson shows that orphans could secure apprenticeships in London households through their wider social networks.

Kinship Ties and Forging Socio-Economic Networks Through London Apprenticeships

Quantitative studies of the geographic origins of female apprentices reveal chronological patterns regarding the women entering formal apprenticeships in London. However, a more qualitative, micro-historical approach illustrates how economic migrants used apprenticeships as a means of establishing socio-economic networks in London. This section first explores the ways in which apprenticeships could be arranged by those arriving from outside the City. It will then survey the dynamics of chain migration within the Dewell family.

Finding suitable mistresses and masters might be difficult—though not impossible—for young migrants without close family networks in the City. Peter Earle noted that the families of youths based outside of London could solicit the help of 'a professional intermediary, such as a scrivener', suggesting that direct kinship ties were not always necessary to arrange formal apprenticeships (Earle 1989, 91). Likewise, the clerk or beadle of individual companies could intercede to place new apprentices with a mistress or master, based on their knowledge of company members.[8] For many apprentices, a 'liking' period took place, and this was undoubtedly an important means for both parties to ensure a good working relationship. Furthermore, by the eighteenth century, trade guides provided useful information on specific crafts or trades for young people hoping to embark upon occupational training (Campbell 1747; Collyer 1761). These examples show that though apprenticeship opportunities and advice might be sought by parents or guardians via kinship

networks, this was not the only means of securing training with citizens in the City.

Key retailing locations such as the Royal Exchange, the New Exchange, and the Exeter Exchange—termed 'shopping galleries' by Claire Walsh—might also provide a draw for young women hoping to secure training at a prestigious venue, thereafter encouraging chain migration within families (Walsh 2003, 58). Vivien Brodsky Elliott observed that 'chain migration was an important mechanism for the transfer of rural youths to apprenticeships within the one company', suggesting that once a business was established, siblings and other relatives would also be encouraged to migrate. Indeed, Brodsky Elliott stated that chain migration 'usually rests upon kinship and friendship networks', though she acknowledged that these connections are extremely difficult to trace in livery company records (Brodsky Elliott 1979, 209). This places the case study of the Dewell sisters in context, highlighting that young women did not necessarily choose apprenticeship opportunities based on a specific livery company but on the location, reputation, and nature of the business of their mistress or master, and even on friendships cultivated by shared experiences and occupational identities.

The Royal Exchange certainly had historic ties to businesses run by women, and to the livery companies under investigation. According to Ann Saunders, the second Royal Exchange, which was rebuilt after the Great Fire of London in 1666, had 'four arcades, their upper storeys lined once again with small shops', and 'the central courtyard for trading', which offered distinctive areas for brokers, merchants, and retailers to conduct their business (Saunders 1997b, 133). The upper floor or pawn of the Royal Exchange was where many of the shops were situated, around 140 at full capacity, though figures vary and shop occupancy rates changed over time. Shops measured around 'Seaven foote in the front and five foote fower ynches deepe', though dimensions also varied, depending on the requirements of the tenant.[9] The terms 'shop', 'stall', and 'standing' were used interchangeably and each of the shops had a distinctive sign, depicting animals, mythical beasts, and birds (Saunders 1997a, 89). Female apprentices working on the Royal Exchange were drawn from London, the wider metropolis, and further afield, and it was evidently a pre-eminent site for training in the City. Indeed, the established use of the term 'exchange-woman' to describe women engaged in retailing on the Royal Exchange indicates that this title encompassed a social, as well as an occupational identity.

A case study of the Dewell sisters from Bewdley in Worcestershire reveals many interconnections among female apprentices across multiple livery companies, confirming that kinship *and* location were important factors in encouraging their chain migration to London. Between 1681 and 1708, Hannah Dewell *née* Haddersich (d. 1720) and her husband Thomas Dewell (1653–1720) had nine daughters and three sons.[10] Eight children (all girls) survived into adulthood, and remarkably, five of these daughters, Elizabeth (1681–1734), Ann (c. 1683–1755), Gratiana (1692–1756), Julia (1695–1743?), and Rebecca (1708–1778) were formally apprenticed through the livery companies in London, where they all served their apprenticeships on the Royal Exchange.[11] This family may have been exceptional in some ways because there were no surviving sons. However, the engagement of so many daughters in apprenticeships suggests that this was considered a suitable means for these female migrants to establish themselves in trade in London.

On 10 August 1697, the eldest daughter Elizabeth was bound at the age of 16 to Thomas Jones of the Drapers' Company. She became free of the company in her early thirties, on 8 October 1712. Just two weeks later, she formally enrolled her first apprentice, her 20-year-old younger sister Gratiana (Grace) Dewell, suggesting that the ability to bind her sister apprentice was one motive for her seeking the freedom of her company. Elizabeth Dewell bound two further female apprentices. Mary Gibson, whose father was a Citizen and Cooper from London, was bound for a premium of £60 on 18 September 1717. Susan Barnes, the daughter of a pharmacist from Oundle in Northamptonshire, was bound apprentice on 26 July 1723, also for a premium of £60. All three young women's apprenticeships potentially overlapped if their seven-year terms were completed in full.[12] This indicates that Elizabeth Dewell had established herself in a trade that was large enough to require the labour of multiple apprentices and command high premiums.

Elizabeth Dewell's name was included in a list of taxpayers at the 'exchange above' from 1703/4, suggesting that she had completed her apprenticeship by that point and was trading independently.[13] Account books for the Royal Exchange show that Dewell worked in partnership with Ann Rogers *née* Antrobus from at least 1713, and that they were the tenants of eight feet of shop room.[14] Ann Antrobus—the daughter of a Scrivener from London—had also been bound apprentice through the livery companies on 22 September 1690, and her master, Thomas Marshall was a member of the Painter-Stainers' Company.[15] She married

an attorney named Jonathan Rogers in July 1710, though he was unfree of the City, so all apprentices were bound in Elizabeth Dewell's name due to her status as a freemen.[16] The two women were described as milliners when they insured their joint goods and merchandise up to a value of £500 through the Sun Fire Office insurance company on 4 January 1716.[17] Though none of their apprentices obtained the freedom of the Drapers' Company, Ann Rogers and Elizabeth Dewell were joint tenants of their shop until 1725/6, and their apprentices likely assisted in these shops, making and retailing millinery wares.[18]

Elizabeth Dewell's business appears to have been a success. According to her will dated 1732, Elizabeth bequeathed her sister Ann Dewell her share in the land that she had inherited from their paternal grandfather, plus £100 and all of her goods. She also bequeathed £50 to her niece and god-daughter Elizabeth King 'to be Improved for her as She thinks fit or to Put her out Apprentice', thereby explicitly providing for her education and maintenance. She left £100 each to her sisters Diana, Gratiana, Hannah and Rebecca, two freehold tenements in Reading to Sabrina, and £150 in trust for Julia, 'Exclusive of this or any other after taken husband', a common stipulation, which sidestepped the rules of coverture quite neatly. Reflecting her close friendship with the Antrobus family, Elizabeth bequeathed her business partner Ann Antrobus-Rogers £100, her 'Silver plate and Silver Lamp', 'Finest Chintz Carpet and Chintz Gown and Coate And the ring I made in memory of her Brother Antrobus', with 'Five Guineas apiece' for Ann's sisters Jane, and fellow milliners Mary and Dorothy, plus 'a ring of a Guinea' to Dorothy's son, the poet Thomas Gray. Further connections in friendship through apprenticeship are discernible by the fact that Carolina Banson—one of Ann Dewell's apprentices—and Henry Marshall, the son of Ann Antrobus-Roger's master Thomas Marshall, witnessed the will.[19]

The second eldest sister Ann Dewell was apprenticed to Thomas Marshall through the Painter-Stainers' Company on 22 July 1699, two years after Elizabeth Dewell had migrated to London to commence her apprenticeship in the Drapers' Company.[20] Ann gained her freedom of the Painter-Stainers' Company a few weeks *before* her elder sister in 1712, suggesting a measure of coordination between the two sisters.[21] Like Elizabeth, Ann Dewell was already trading independently, as account books note that in 1709, Ann Dewell and her business partner Mary Dix were joint tenants of eight feet of shop room in the south outward pawn of the Royal Exchange.[22] Mary Dix—a migrant from Liverpool—was another of

Thomas Marshall's apprentices, and Dewell and Dix's shop was located near to their former master, indicating that they maintained close links with the Marshall family. However, Mary Dix did not become free of the Painter-Stainers' Company and is not mentioned in tax assessments for the 'exchange above', indicating how easily businesswomen might be overlooked by their absence from official records.

In her will, written in 1718, Mary Dix confirmed her continued partnership with Ann Dewell, indicating that partnerships were often formed through friendship, not kinship, though the Dewell sisters retained close ties as part of a wider network of exchange-women. Dix's will also delineates their working practices, as she noted 'my partner Mrs Anne Dewell and myself had Sundry Debts one and owing from several persons to us at Christmas' in 1717, 'amounting in the whole' to £1017 'as by the accompt of our Debts then taken appears', revealing that they had acquired skills in financial literacy whilst serving their apprenticeships, and subsequently had a substantial turnover in trade. Mary Dix continued that 'a good part' of their debts 'are yet standing out', and that 'other fresh Debts have become due to us and fresh credit must be given soe long as we carry on our joint Trade'. Dix even conditioned her legacies to her siblings upon the basis that the debts 'shall prove good'.[23] This suggests not only that Dewell and Dix kept accounts, with running totals to calculate debts, but it also exposes the anxieties and fiscal obligations incurred by tradespeople operating in a credit-based system of trade. Tawny Paul observed that even affluent people could find themselves in debtors' prison if their wealth was not invested in a way that could be 'easily mobilised when debts were called in', and Mary Dix therefore used her will to ensure that Ann Dewell was not financially encumbered by her death (Paul 2019, 67).

After Mary Dix's death, Ann Dewell continued in trade as the named tenant of multiple shops on the Royal Exchange, suggesting that she had a matriarchal role, directing the labour of other apprentices. Between 1724 and 1743, she bound three apprentices, including her youngest sister Rebecca, another example of chain migration, and particularly notable because Rebecca was charged a premium of £40. The other two female apprentices were both from London. Carolina Banson was bound in 1729 for a premium of £49 10 shillings, and Oriana Michell was bound in 1734 for £50. Banson and Michell were both admitted free of the Painter-Stainers' Company in August 1742 and Carolina Banson bound two further female apprentices, Sarah Stevens from Southampton,

and Mary Pettit from London in 1743 for £73 10 shillings and £80, respectively.[24] Rebecca Dewell married Richard Sunderland, a colourman from Budge Row in 1745, and the couple had a child named Elizabeth (baptised 15 December 1747), though Richard died on 16 June 1747.[25] Diana Dewell's kinsman William Caldwall was later described as a colourman from Budge Row, suggesting that Sunderland's trade remained in the extended family.[26] This indicates that the Dewell sisters in London maintained their links to family members in the Midlands and that their continued presence and apparent success in London may have inspired further migration by successive generations of the family.

Ann Dewell relocated her business in the late 1720s after 30 years of serving her apprenticeship, and working as an independent businesswoman on the Royal Exchange. Three newspaper advertisements in the *Daily Advertiser* from July 1744 place her in a shop at street-level at the 'Anchor and Crown in Lombard-Street'.[27] The first advertisement dated 6 July reads:

> DROPT Yesterday about Six o'Clock, going from the Anchor and Crown in Lombard-Street, down Abchurch-Lane, through Cannon-Street, to Castle-Court in Budge-Row, two Pieces of loop'd Mechlin Lace, one joined in a Corner for a Handkerchief, the other a Border of a Ruffle. Whoever brings them to Mrs. Dewell, at the Anchor and Crown as above shall have a Guinea Reward.[28]

A second advertisement was placed on 11 July, reiterating the description of the lost merchandise, and the reward was increased to three guineas 'no Questions askd'.[29] By 19 July, a stipulation was made that the lace should be brought 'on or before Friday next', and that 'No greater Reward will be given, nor any more advertised'.[30] This specific deadline suggests that the lace handkerchief and ruffle had been part of a commission for a customer. Mechlin lace was an extremely fine, imported bobbin lace, originating from Mechelen, in the Low Countries. Losing imported, handmade lace from one half of a pair of sleeve ruffles could therefore have proved difficult to replace. The detailed description of the journey taken between the shop on Lombard Street and the address at Budge Row (a location associated with Rebecca Dewell) suggests that the lace was part of a bundle being transported to a dwelling house in order to continue sewing work. The description of the lace as 'joined in a Corner

for a Handkerchief' offers an insight into the making process, confirming the Dewell sisters' continued work as milliners.

A fifth sister named Julia Dewell was apprenticed to Martha Pott of the Grocers' Company for £35 on 15 December 1713. Elizabeth and Ann Dewell's shops in the Royal Exchange were in close proximity to a shop run by Martha Pott in the south section of the pawn. This indicates that the Royal Exchange represented a unique community of female apprentices and freemen, able to forge strong social and business networks and even locate suitable apprenticeship opportunities for siblings. Moreover, Julia Dewell's apprenticeship indenture was signed by her mistress, thus confirming Martha Pott's literacy.[31]

Julia Dewell was also engaged in independent trade, though she only bound one apprentice named Catherine Sarrizin before her marriage to Thomas King in 1725.[32] Nevertheless, her name was included in the account books for the Royal Exchange between 1724 and 1726 as the tenant of six foot of shop room, when her shop was situated next to Elizabeth Moland in the 'East Inner Pawne'.[33] Julia did not charge Catherine Sarrizin a premium, and Sarrizin's indenture included the explanation that a fee was not required 'in Consideracon of the Love and Affec[ti]on wch she behold towards her said Apprentice', suggesting pre-existing ties to this family.[34] Catherine Sarrizin was the daughter of a merchant from Threadneedle Street. Julia Dewell could therefore have waived a premium in lieu of a long-standing and mutually beneficial trading relationship with Sarrizin's parents. Catherine Sarrizin's first apprentice was her sister Jane, repeating the pattern evident with Elizabeth and Ann Dewell, as both women bound their sisters first after becoming free of their respective companies (Webb 2008). Catherine Sarrizin was later the tenant of a shop (presumably in partnership with her sister) on Cornhill next to St Michael's Alley, which was 'Burnt Out' in a fire in 1748.[35]

Further research has revealed more insights into the Dewell sisters' wider socio-economic networks. Mary Dix's will mentions three unmarried sisters named Elizabeth, Sarah, and Frances. Frances Dix was a member of the Fishmongers' Company, bound to John Marsh in 1709. She was also the mistress of Elizabeth LeGay—a migrant from Southampton—and received a £63 premium to instruct LeGay in the 'Art of a Milliner' from 2 November 1739. The indenture was signed by Elizabeth LeGay and was 'sealed and delivered in the presence of'—and signed by—Ann Rose, another apprentice to Frances Dix, indicating that Ann

Rose was still working with her mistress eight years after the commencement of her apprenticeship, and that administrative duties were sometimes part of the role played by women serving formal apprenticeships.[36] The will of Frances Dix, dated 1741, confirms yet more connections to Dix's trade as a milliner *and* to the Dewell family because Frances Dix stated that Hannah Dewell and Elizabeth Moland were her business partners.[37] Elizabeth Moland was the tenant of 10 feet of shop room in the 'East Inner Pawne' of the Royal Exchange from 1723 until 1727, suggesting that this shop—which was situated next to Julia Dewell's shop—was shared by Hannah Dewell and Frances Dix, though they were not acknowledged by name.[38] Bonds of partnership and friendship were still evident in the 1760s as Hannah Dewell was residing in Lewisham, ostensibly with Elizabeth Moland-Blackwell at 'Lewisham House' at the time of her death.[39] These multiple interconnections across several livery companies show that wide networks of kinship *and* friendship contributed to the longevity of businesses and the training of future generations of milliners.

The Dewell sisters thus provide an excellent opportunity to chart chain migration and the subsequent, complex networks of kinship and friendship that could be forged through apprenticeships via the livery companies in London. The fact that five of the Dewell sisters were formally apprenticed across three different livery companies suggests that family ties to particular companies were less important than the skills that could be gained from apprenticeship under particular mistresses or masters based at the Royal Exchange. No diaries or correspondence appear to have survived relating to the Dewell sisters' lives or trade. However, by piecing together information from wills, parish records, apprenticeship bindings, freedom registers, indentures, account books, tax assessments, and newspaper advertisements, a broader understanding of the lives of these migrant women can be achieved. Moreover, we can chart changes to their marital status and the approximate age at which they became apprentices and freemen, a useful guide to the experience of other women working in London. The fortunate survival of the wills of four of the sisters and two of their business partners particularly illustrate the socio-economic networks gained through serving apprenticeships and reinforced through fashionable businesses.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter shows that the women bound as apprentices in six livery companies in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London were engaged in skilled work as part of much wider kinship and friendship networks, which included women originally from London and from diverse provincial communities. Studies of apprenticeship rarely consider the experiences of female livery company apprentices, indicating that this study provides a new perspective on the role of career migration in the establishment of the businesses of women migrants in the City of London. The geographic origins of female apprentices have not been considered across multiple companies before and the findings suggest that women did travel large distances to London, seeking skills and occupational training, particularly from middling social backgrounds, though women were bound apprentice in far fewer numbers when compared to their male counterparts. The case study of the Dewell sisters shows that only some of the women within particular families and wider socio-economic networks—whether they were from London originally or from elsewhere—were bound apprentice or admitted free of the livery companies. Yet, their sisters and friends were still able to work in the City in partnerships and as part of wider female-led enterprises, even though this work was not always acknowledged in surviving records. This shows that apprentice binding books do not reveal all of the women engaged in skilled work connected to the members of livery companies, though investigation of the women that were recorded can reveal some of these much wider kinship networks. Overall, the chapter offers a quantitative and qualitative insight into the experiences of female career migrants to the City of London and the wider kinship and friendship networks that they forged whilst establishing themselves in trade.

Notes

1. LMA COL/CHD/FR/02/0298/154 Apprenticeship Indenture of Elizabeth Dewell, 1712.
2. Geographic origins were specified for 1448 female apprentices, with only nine geographic origins left unknown.
3. A. Schmidt, 'Early modern migration and work in a comparative gendered perspective', presented at Working women in pre-industrial Europe. Perspectives on the gendering of urban labour markets (Unpublished paper, KU Leuven, 15 November 2019).

4. GL MS 34038/18 Merchant Taylors' Company Apprentice Binding Book, 1696–1718, fol. 262.
5. Thomas Hudson referred to enslaved Africans in his will, as well as numerous 'Ships Sloopes Vessels Boats', showing involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. Hudson was certainly based in Jamaica at the time of his death, as recorded in his will. His wife was not mentioned suggesting that she had died. TNA PROB 11/491/113 Will of Thomas Hudson, Merchant of Kingston Jamaica, West Indies, 13 November 1706.
6. John Garlick left his estate to his wife Hannah, suggesting that she was also a milliner. TNA PROB 11/592/362 Will of John Garlick, Merchant Tailor of London, 19 August 1723.
7. Between 1650 and 1699, there were 968 female livery company apprentices in these six companies and 255 were originally from the city of London, equating to 26%.
8. Leonard Cotes, the beadle for the Painter-Stainers' Company bound at least 170 apprentices as master between 1669 and 1700 including five female apprentices. These apprentices were surely turned over to a suitable master or mistress, though this process was not documented in the records. GL MS 5669/1 Painter-Stainers' Company Apprentice Binding Books, 1666–1795.
9. Mercers' Company Archives Gresham Repertories, 3 September 1669, fol. 79.
10. Elizabeth Dewell baptised 14 March 1681, Ann Dewell bap. 22 May 1685, Diana Dewell bap. 24 September 1687, Timothy Dewell bap. 21 February 1689, John Dewell bap. 8 August 1691, Gratiana Dewell bap. 21 August 1692, James Dewell bap. 26 December 1693, Julia Dewell bap. 17 October 1695, Sabrina Dewell bap. 13 August 1698, Hannah Dewell bap. 5 August 1700, Martha Dewell bap. 4 June 1703, Rebecca Dewell bap. 12 January 1708.
11. Details of the working lives of Diana and Sabrina Dewell are not forthcoming at this time, though the wills of Elizabeth, Ann, Gratiana, and Hannah Dewell indicate that their married names were Diana Caldwall and Sabrina Hassall. See TNA PROB 11/664/124 Will of Elizabeth Dewell, Spinster of Saint Peter Le Poer, City of London, 9 March 1734; PROB 11/818/476 Will of Ann Dewell of Croydon, Surrey, 28 November 1755; PROB 11/822/446 Will of Gratiana Dewell, Spinster of Croydon, Surrey, 25 May 1756; PROB 11/881/158 Will of Hannah Dewell, Spinster of Lewisham, Kent, 10 November 1762.
12. 'Elizabeth Dewell, Drapers' Company' on ROLLCO: https://www.londonroll.org/search/?vb=lr&vw=ps&st=0&rf=company%3Adrp%7Cforename%3Aelizabeth%7Csurname%3Ad%2Awell%7Cyear_start%3A1400%7Cyear_finish%3A1900, accessed 2 December 2019.

13. LMA CLC/525/MS11316/013 Assessment Book, Candlewick—Farringdon Within, 1703, fol. 77r.
14. LMA CLA/062/01/043 Gresham Trust Account Books, 1696–1713.
15. GL MS 5669/1, fol. 74r.
16. LMA P69/MRY4/A/001/MS04546 Parish Registers Saint Mary at Hill, 9 July 1710; TNA PROB 11/841/45 Will of Ann Rogers, Widow of Stoke Poges, 6 October 1758; TNA PROB 11/722/111 Will of Jonathan Rogers, Gentleman of Stoke Poges, 15 November 1742. Jonathan Rogers was marked unfree in Anon. 1711. *A True and Impartial Account of the Poll of the Inhabitants of the Ward of Broad Street* London: 10.
17. LMA CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/006 Sun Fire Office Policy Register 1716–1717, fol. 116.
18. LMA CLA/062/01/044 Gresham Trust Account Books, 1714–1730. Their shop was taken over by a woman named Ann Willey in 1726.
19. TNA PROB 11/664/124 Will of Elizabeth Dewell.
20. GL MS 5669/1, fol. 89v.
21. GL MS 5667/2 Part 1 Painter-Stainers' Company Court Minutes 1649–1793, fol. 396.
22. LMA CLA/062/01/043.
23. TNA PROB 11/565/319 Mary Dix, Spinster of London, 6 October 1718.
24. GL MS 5669/1, fols 131r, 137r, 144r, 154v, 155v. GL MS 5667/2 Part 1, fol. 524.
25. TNA PROB 11/756/73 Will of Richard Sunderland, Colourman of Saint John the Baptist, City of London, 5 August 1747. Elizabeth Sunderland married Joseph Pickford (d. 1819) on 16 November 1765. His first wife, Katherine Percival, was heir to Royton Hall. Rebecca Sunderland was buried at Royton on 3 November 1778, indicating that she moved away from London and lived with her daughter towards the end of her life. Joseph Pickford was later made a baronet, and changed his name to Sir Joseph Radcliffe. Elizabeth Sunderland-Pickford died at the age of 48 and was buried at Royton on 1 April 1796. Ancestry.com. Manchester, England, Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1541–1812 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013.
26. Lancashire Archives DDHP 40/19, 28 February 1770.
27. F. G. Hilton Price noted that the sign of the 'Anchor and Crown' was occupied by 'Mrs. Derrell' in 1746, according to contemporary deeds, though this is almost certainly a transcription error as land tax records place Ann Dewell in this location in 1745 (Hilton Price 1902, 75). LMA CLC/525/MS11316/143 Assessment Book Farringdon Without—Walbrook, fol. 8.
28. *Daily Advertiser* Issue 4203, 6 July 1744.

29. *Daily Advertiser* Issue 4207, 11 July 1744.
30. *Daily Advertiser* Issue 4214, 19 July 1744.
31. LMA COL/CHD/FR/02/0410/118 Apprenticeship Indenture of Julia Dewell, 1713.
32. LMA P69/CLE/A/001/MS04783 Parish Registers Saint Clement, Eastcheap, 6 February 1725.
33. LMA CLA/062/01/044.
34. LMA COL/CHD/FR/02/0506/021 Apprenticeship Indenture of Catherine Sarrizin, 1722.
35. LMA CLC/525/MS11316/148 Assessment Book Candlewick—Farringdon Within, 1748/9, fol. 6.
36. LMA COL/CHD/FR/02/0750/016 Apprenticeship Indenture of Elizabeth LeGay. Ann Rose was later the business partner of Elizabeth Ravenhill and Elizabeth LeGay: TNA PROB 11/785/81 Will of Elizabeth Ravenhill, Spinster of Saint Christopher le Stock, City of London, 8 January 1751. Frances Dix also bound Elizabeth LeGay's sister Lucy LeGay by apprenticeship indenture on 13 October 1741: LMA COL/CHD/FR/02/0750/015.
37. TNA PROB 11/713/351 Will of Frances Dix, Spinster of Saint Christopher Le Stock, City of London, 12 November 1741.
38. LMA CLA/062/01/044.
39. Elizabeth Moland married Ebenezer Blackwell at St Paul's Cathedral on 12 January 1744/5 (Clay 1899, 148). Hannah Dewell bequeathed her '^very dear and worthy Friend Elizabeth Blackwell' £100, a 'blew and Gold Snuff Box', a mourning ring with five diamonds and a £50 per annum legacy. Hannah Dewell asked her sister Rebecca to offer a range of household goods including silver candlesticks and spoons 'now in use at Lewisham House' to Elizabeth Moland-Blackwell, and also bequeathed £20 to 'Eliza Patt *our* Servant' [emphasis added], suggesting that she was living in the same household: TNA PROB 11/881/158 Will of Hannah Dewell. Lewisham House was owned by the Huguenot Sir John Lethuillier from 1680 and was sold by the Lethuillier family in 1776, so the house must have been sub-let. Confirmed by correspondence with Robert Jones, Local Studies Librarian at the Local History and Archives Centre, London Borough of Lewisham, 19 September 2017.

References

Bennett, Judith. 1988. "'History That Stands Still': Women's Work in the European Past." *Feminist Studies* 14 (2) (January): 269–83.
Brodsky Elliott, Vivien. 1979. "Mobility and Marriage in Pre-Industrial England: A Demographic and Social Structural Analysis of Geographic and Social

Mobility and Aspects of Marriage, 1570-1690, with Particular Reference to Middlesex, Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire." PhD diss., University of Cambridge.

Campbell, R. 1747. *The London Tradesman*. London: T. Gardner.

Clark, Alice. 1919. *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*. London: G. Routledge & Sons.

Clark, Peter. 1987. "Migration in England During the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." In *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, edited by Peter Clark and David Souden, 213–52. London: Hutchinson.

Clark, Peter, and David Souden. 1987. *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* London: Hutchinson.

Clay, John W. 1899. *The Registers of St. Paul's Cathedral*. London: Mitchell & Hughes.

Collins, Jane. 2013. "Jane Holt, Milliner, and Other Women in Business: Apprentices, Freewomen and Mistresses in The Clothworkers' Company, 1606–1800." *Textile History* 44 (1) (May): 72–94.

Collyer, Joseph. 1761. *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide, in the Choice of a Profession or Trade*. London: R. Griffiths.

Earle, Peter. 1989. *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730*. London: Methuen London.

Earle, Peter. 1998. "The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." In *Women's Work: The English Experience 1650-1914*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 121–49. London: Arnold.

Erickson, Amy Louise. 2011. "Eleanor Mosley and Other Milliners in the City of London Companies 1700–1750." *History Workshop Journal* 71 (1) (Spring): 147–72.

Field, Jacob F. 2010. "Apprenticeship Migration to London from the North-East of England in the Seventeenth Century." *The London Journal* 35 (1) (March): 1–21.

Glass, David Victor. 1969. "Socio-Economic Status and Occupations in the City of London at the End of the Seventeenth Century." In *Studies in London History*, edited by A. E. J. Hollaender and William Kellaway, 373–89. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Harzig, Christiane. 2001. "Women Migrants as Global and Local Agents: New Research Strategies on Gender and Migration." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 15–28. London: Routledge.

Hilton Price, F. G. 1887–1902. *The Signs of Old Lombard Street*. London: Leadenhall Press.

Klemp, Mark, Chris Minns, Patrick Wallis, and Jacob Weisdorf. 2013. "Picking Winners? The Effect of Birth Order and Migration on Parental Human

Capital Investments in Pre-Modern England." *European Review of Economic History* 17 (2) (May): 210–32.

Leunig, Tim, Chris Minns, and Patrick Wallis. 2011. "Networks in the Premodern Economy: The Market for London Apprenticeships, 1600–1749." *The Journal of Economic History* 71 (2) (June): 413–43.

Lindey, Laurie A. 2016. "The London Furniture Trade, 1640-1720." PhD diss., Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

Mansell, Charmian. 2018. "The Variety of Women's Experiences as Servants in England (1548–1649): Evidence from Church Court Depositions." *Continuity and Change* 33 (3) (December): 315–38.

McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston. 2005. *Working Women in English Society 1300-1620.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Paul, Tawny. 2019. *The Poverty of Disaster: Debt and Insecurity in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pinchbeck, Ivy. 1930. *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850.* New York: F. S. Crofts and Company.

Saunders, Ann. 1997a. "The Organisation of the Exchange." In *The Royal Exchange*, edited by Ann Saunders, 85–98. London: London Topographical Society.

Saunders, Ann. 1997b. "The Second Exchange." In *The Royal Exchange*, edited by Ann Saunders, 121–35. London: London Topographical Society.

Smith, S. D. 2005. "Women's Admission to Guilds in Early-Modern England: The Case of the York Merchant Tailors' Company, 1693–1776." *Gender & History* 17 (1) (July): 99–126.

Wallis, Patrick. 2008. "Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England." *The Journal of Economic History* 68 (3) (September): 832–61.

Walker, Michael John. 1985. "The Extent of Guild Control of Trades in England, c. 1660-1820: A Study Based on a Sample of Provincial Towns and London Companies." PhD diss., University of Cambridge.

Walsh, Claire. 2003. "Social Meaning and Social Space in the Shopping Galleries of Early Modern London." In *A Nation of Shopkeepers: Five Centuries of British Retailing*, edited by John Benson and Laura Ugolini, 52–79. London: I. B. Tauris.

Webb, Cliff. 2008. *City of London Apprenticeship Registers - Vol 48 Grocers' Company 1629–1800.* London: Society of Genealogists Enterprises Ltd.

Whittle, Jane. 2019. "A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy." *Past and Present* 243 (1) (May): 35–70.

Women's Labour Migration and Serfdom in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

Mateusz Wyżga

This article studies women's labour migration in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The Commonwealth was a typically agrarian country in East and Central Europe, where about 90% of the population was involved in farming. The overall population rate was very low and the urbanization of the country was characterized by the quantitative domination of rather small towns. The state's economy during that period was based on the contribution of corvée labour by peasants. The peasant population was to a large extent bound by serfdom, but the related restrictions on mobility were not total. My agenda is primarily to demonstrate the significance of female migration in Poland and the potential for this type of research involving the use

M. Wyżga (✉)
Pedagogical University of Krakow, Kraków, Poland
e-mail: mateusz.wyzga@up.krakow.pl

of diversified available sources. These come from the Małopolska region in the southern part of today's Poland. Its central city of Cracow was the capital of the realm and, until the early seventeenth century, the seat of the Polish kings. My research has yielded four principal findings. I consider the range of migration and mobility, also daily mobility for work with respect to women and men: this is a new perspective for studying migration, going beyond an excessively rigid notion of this phenomenon. Furthermore, it makes it demonstrable that women moved for a variety of professional reasons (trading, selling, etc.) and not only in order to become servants. Moreover, female mobility was also different from male mobility because women moved around with less resources (e.g.: transports). What is very important, serfdom did not hinder the mobility of people (women and men). And finally, I consider the importance of social networks and family networks for women and men in shaping migration patterns (justified also by the quite short distance of people's movements). It is worthwhile to highlight the unknown aspects of the labour migration of women in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, especially in the context of the serfdom of peasants, which would have theoretically blocked population flows. My focus is on women of peasant and burgher background, perceived as the mainstay of the labour market.

Literature

Research on women's history in Poland has been steadily developing even though the gender-based approach is not yet permanently rooted and unanimously welcome (Kałwa 2014, 7–14). The sociologists have been devoting more attention to it than researchers in other fields (Slany 2008, 7–28). The growing significance of this direction in historiography is exemplified by the panel discussion 'Polish History from Women's Perspective' held during the 20th Universal Congress of Polish Historians (http://xxpzhp.umcs.lublin.pl/; accessed 10 January 2020). Until recently, little has been written about women's economic mobility in Polish historiography, mostly in the form of mentions in discussions of other issues. This gap refers primarily to the time of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, as the periods closer to ours have been quite well researched and covered (*StudiaMigracyjne—Przegląd Polonijny*; http://www.ejournals.eu/Studia-Migracyjne/; accessed 20 January 2020; Zyblikiewicz 1999, 74–80). Notable examples here include a collection of studies on women in migration processes, even if focussing

on movements in the upper strata of society and the political background
of migrations (Sierakowska and Szudarek 2010).

The older historiography tended to ignore women's role in historical
process (Łosowski 2015, 71–75). One of the researchers who contributed
considerably to the change of approach was Maria Bogucka, the author
of the still current synthetic work on Polish women in the sixteenth
to eighteenth centuries (Bogucka 1998, 2016; see also: Bogucka 1990;
1996, 5–19). Bogucka demonstrated that information about the life of
women was indeed available in the context of Polish archival sources, but
needed to be drawn from diverse material. With reference to the labour
market, she showed that Poland's economic backwardness had a paradox-
ically positive influence on women's economic opportunities. In rural and
urban areas alike, women's work was performed primarily at the house-
hold level, within the traditional production system. Factors contributing
to the wide range of possibilities for women's employment included an
underdeveloped market economy and the considerable role of unpaid
labour in the serfdom system. That enabled women to undertake weaving
jobs in the home work system of production and participate in the
trade turnover, particularly in the commercial distribution of foodstuffs.
Bogucka demonstrates that the development of the gender relations in the
agrarian society was not based on a very strong hierarchical structure, but
its nature was rather partner-like instead (Bogucka 1998, 66–85). In the
world of nobility, where men were involved in politics, careers as state offi-
cials, or warfare, their wives busied themselves with running their landed
estates, often quite successfully. This was corroborated by their husbands
in their letters and wills. That is how women transcended the traditional
gender roles and strengthened their own position, in a completely legal
way (Bogucka 1998, 66–85; Malinowska 2008, 282). The developments
in burgher and peasant households were not drastically different in this
respect. Women took matters in their own hands when their spouses
were away, either providing transport services (an occupation that was
very popular among wealthy peasants residing in the vicinity of towns)
or being involved in long-distance trade or seasonal labour. Bogucka's
assessment is that Polish women developed their own form of economic
activity in the preindustrial period. Their access to education improved as
well. Little space, however, is devoted to women's migrations (Bogucka
1998, 224–25).

The most advanced research is available on outstanding women of
magnate and lesser noble background. Examples include works by Bożena

Popiołek, who argues that the eighteenth century saw a change in the austere Polish mores under the influence of courtly ceremonial, French fashion and literature (France was also the destination of Polish noblewomen's educational trips). The circulation of magazines was on the rise, along with education and flow of information among women (Popiołek 1998, 91, 94, 96–97). Bożena Popiołek is also a co-editor of a large volume of studies on gender in the Polish lands from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century, which, however, does not go into a detailed analysis of women's labour market and migrations (Popiołek et al. 2015; see also Popiołek et al. 2019). Monika Malinowska, in turn, compares the situation of women in Poland and France, indicating that the subjugation of the woman to the man (father, brother, husband or legal guardian), which is dominant in theory, was in practise of little significance. Resourceful women utilized legal gaps to improve their own position in their families and communities. While a more pronounced discourse on the subject of women was underway in France, a less harsh criticism of them was voiced in seventeenth-century Poland (Malinowska 2008, 282–83).

Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, who specializes in the history of women and children, has indicated that Catholics were more prone than adherents to other religions to confine their women to the home (Żołądź-Strzelczyk 1998, 53–63). Historians have pointed out that some sixteenth-century Polish thinkers followed the ideas of Erasmus of Rotterdam by appreciating women and voicing support for equal rights for both sexes. For example, the Catholic priest and medic Andrzej Glaber argued that the inferior position of women was to be blamed on men's fear of competition (Żołądź-Strzelczyk 1998, 56, 58–60). Moralists among the clergy (e.g. Jesuits) criticized women's curiosity which compelled them to travel, in the belief that a woman's sojourn outside her household might have an impact on her relations with her spouse and lead to infidelity. The ideal of a woman that they disseminated was one who stayed busy working in the household and taking care of the children. The religious wanted to see women's mobility reduced to devotional church attendance. These proposals 'from the pulpit' can, however, be perceived as a distorting mirror of reality. The priests admitted themselves that women were unwilling to be put in a box (Bilewicz 1998, 82–85). More pronounced manifestations of women's emancipation came in the first half of the eighteenth century, when noblewomen began to venture ever longer trips, not only on family business but also political, devotional or touristic in nature (Kowalczyk 2019, 166–80, 399–403).

In Polish historiography, just like peasants, women can be considered a group discriminated against by omission in research. To follow this line of reasoning, the situation of peasant women appears especially bad as they have been doubly isolated by historians (as a category of serf population and as women). A significant role in this respect was played by the historiographical construct, strengthened in the communist period (1945–1990), which considered the peasants a subordinated group, incapable of migration or any major economic activity. According to researchers, it was the consequence of the manorial farm system based on serf labour. Historians believed that, in order to keep labour force in their landed estates, the nobles used a solution verging on slavery, in which peasants were bound to land. New research on economic and social history has been slowly changing this opinion. A good foundation for research on the history of migrations is provided by advanced work on family demographics, studies on economy, settlement and cartography, and also regional historiography (Szołtysek 2015, vol. 1, 319–401; Guzowski 2011, 312–27; Malinowski 2019, 862–96).

While research on peasantry was primarily concerned with their toil on manor farms, it nonetheless produced a number of important works founded on a solid source base. Initiated in the early decades of the twentieth century by Franciszek Bujak and Jan Rutkowski's studies on the Polish countryside in the preindustrial era (Bujak 1905; Rutkowski 1921), in-depth research in economic history continued to be developed towards historical demography, akin to the Annales School. Here, the most noteworthy is the Historical Demography Section at the Polish Academy of Sciences, active since the 1960s and publishing the journal *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* (*Poland's Demographic Past*). Often based on registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, preserved in large quantities in the Polish lands, as well as state and church censuses, the demographic works spread emphasis in their research relatively evenly between the sexes due to the sheer biological composition of families (Gieysztorowa 1976; Kuklo 2009). As a result, we know more and more about the early modern labour market (Poniat 2014; Szołtysek et al. 2017, 228–62).

An important aspect of peasant women's role in that market has been shown by research on the mobility of house servants in towns, conducted by Radosław Poniat. His study was based (among other sources) on minutes of interrogations in three big Polish cities (Warsaw, Cracow and Poznań) from the late eighteenth century. According to the author, a

low level of spatial mobility used to be presupposed in older historiography and associated with the urban centres being stuck in an economic slump. The author reminds us that the Commonwealth had a large (if hard to quantify) stock of poor and highly mobile people who lived outside the established structures of estate society (which is why they were called *ludzie luźni*, or 'unattached people'). They were the recruiting base for unskilled labour force for hire. The Marxist historians used to associate their presence with runaway peasants and described it as a pathology of 'the feudal system'. In Poniat's opinion, house servants (mostly women) moved along shorter distances than other occupational groups (e.g. craftsmen, merchants or farmers), which may have been occasioned by the need to sustain durable and living ties with their original communities, especially in periods of the migrant's unemployment or illness. The author has less to say about the provenance of the women under study (Poniat 2014, 166–74, 287–90; 2015, 145–62).

The earliest mass censuses in the Commonwealth, conducted in 1790–1791, have been used by Cezary Kuklo in his research on the functioning of single women in urban society. In a big city like Cracow or Warsaw, the feminization ratio was 109. After 50 years of age, every second or third woman headed a household in an urban area, usually somewhat smaller than those headed by men, two to three members at the most. Every fourth female household head in Warsaw had no permanent means of sustenance and took up odd jobs, mostly in services. The author, however, found it difficult to determine the scale of their migration as such information was not included in the censuses of the period (Kuklo 1998, 219–21; 2006, 185–88).

Censuses have also been used in the research conducted by Michał Kopczyński on the demography of the peasant family. The author has demonstrated differences between the sexes in residential and occupational status in rural context. Men were recorded more often as servants while women tended to be lodgers in someone else's households. The larger number of either sex could be decided by the amount of required corvée labour (larger farms needed more men due to the wide range of works involved in growing grain crops). At the same time, the author associates the shortages of women observed in the demographic structure of the rural areas with migrations. With reference to gender, in a social sense old age began around 50 for women and even 10 years later for men. This may have forced women to migrate earlier (e.g. when widowed) (Kopczyński 1998, 51–53, 72, 76, 86, 132–33, 151–67).

Recently, the earliest censuses have been used on a massive scale by Mikołaj Szołtysek in his analysis of co-residences and family systems in the Commonwealth's rural areas (Szołtysek 2015). Konrad Rzemieniecki has used a selected parish as an example to demonstrate that about 60% of servants changed their place of employment every year (Rzemieniecki 2010, 53–55).

Andrzej Wyczański's research indicates that peasant women were able to run farming households for prolonged periods of time while noble-women handled quite well the management of large manor farms. Among peasant farmstead heads in villages owned directly by the Crown, the ratio of women to men in the sixteenth century was 42 to 1390 (2.9%). They were mostly wealthy farmers, and also tavern keepers or millers, usually widows. The size of their farms did not differ from those run by men. Those peasant women proved capable of meeting the burdens levied on them by the manor. While the source used in the research proved short of providing information required to reconstruct the social networks and the provenance of such female farmstead heads, the high level of their mobility can be demonstrated by the ability to find additional sources of income, such as letting farm buildings, arable land, meadows and lakes. This was done by 61.9% of women and 72.6% of men (Wyczański 1977, 183–91; Izydorczyk and Wyczański 1990, 275–82).

Andrzej Karpiński has conducted a detailed study of the women's labour market in major Polish cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and demonstrated considerable occupational mobility among women. While pointing to problems in reconstructing the migration background of a specific group, the author proves, based on diversified materials, that women were active in every sector of urban economy (craft production and product sales, trade, credit and usury, services, hired labour, letting of dwellings, lease of urban monopolies and businesses and dealing in real property). There were cases of married couples where women replaced their less entrepreneurial husbands in business. Moreover, women tried to obtain independence within the household by generating their own income and acquire skills and qualifications that would come in handy later, when they became widows (Karpiński 1995, 1990, 283–92).

In trade, both men and women travelled to market fairs in nearby towns, to make contracts and purchase goods for resale. In retail and wholesale alike, women specialized by type of goods and were often described by relevant designations (such goods were mostly butter, groats,

fish, hay, flowers and wreaths, poultry, threads, hot meals, oats, flour and alcoholic beverages). According to Karpiński, the feminization of occupation descriptions pertaining to these wares points to the significant role of women in urban retail trade. In such cities as Poznań, Lwów or Cracow, women accounted for as much as 75% of retailers, and in the case of the grocery or clothing industries, they even exceeded 90%.

In the crafts, with the guild elders' permission, a widow could run the workshop longer than the statutory 58 weeks after her husband's death as long as she was capable of meeting all the requirements. Hired female workers, who, according to Karpiński, were recruited primarily from urban and rural paupers, occasionally included deceased master craftsmen's widows or daughters who were able to utilize their knowledge and experience gained in the family workshops. However, the dominant position of women employed in urban areas was as a house servant (up to 20% of the town's population). The servants' high mobility and frequent changes of employment resulted from a search for better terms and conditions, conflicts with employers or marriage. Maidservants did not have any support institutions. Female servants made extra money by renting market stalls, petty usury, theft or prostitution. Other than employment as house servants, there were other hired work opportunities in towns (e.g. weaving, sewing or washing). Women played an important role in medicine; they monopolized midwifery, provided care to the sick and worked as wet nurses and nannies. Employment that they shared with men included cleaning the streets or working as couriers. Wealthy patrician women, especially widows, managed and leased landed estates. For those less affluent, income sources outside the law included fortune-telling, magic spells, thievery and prostitution. Begging could also be an effective way to generate income (Karpiński 1995, 47–50–69, 73, 82–95, 128–30, 139–40; Bogucka 1998, 66–86; Głowacka-Penczyńska 2010, 82–102).

More attention to women's mobility in the peasant milieu is paid by Małgorzata Kołacz-Chmiel. Her pioneering research is based on fifteenth-century church court books and village court books. The most common reason for a woman to change residence permanently was marriage (the Polish equivalent for 'getting married' in reference to a woman is *pójście za mąż*, lit., 'going behind the husband'). The author notes that matrilocal marriages were more frequent in the case of rural craftsmen who intended to resettle to a town in this way. The researcher cites such reasons for female peasants' migrations as marital conflict ending

in the woman's escape from her spouse (and sometimes starting a new family), 'vagrancy' and disputes with employers. In her fundamental 2018 work, the author shows how women functioned in the peasant family in the Małopolska region. The observation has been based on women's life cycles and changes of marital status. With reference to the labour market and migration, the research has revealed that less affluent single young women migrated in search of employment to accumulate dowry, which would improve their chances on the matrimonial market. Elderly women of peasant background would seek support in urban almshouses or hospitals more often than men. It is, however, possible, that such proportions were occasioned by women's higher life expectancy and thus chance of reaching old age. The sources used by the author did not allow a more in-depth insight into the operation of the migration networks (Kołacz-Chmiel 2016, 304–5, 309–12; 2018, 271–315).

Another noteworthy development is the approach spanning historical anthropology and microhistory. Tomasz Wiślicz studies the intimate life of peasant populations based on the surviving village court books, mostly in the Małopolska region. In his research, among other issues, the author addresses migration as a way of leaving a spouse and starting a new life (Wiślicz 2012, 2018).

Next, because of the low density of population in the Common-wealth, it would appear that the demand for women's work in some way prevented massive witch hunts and trials in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, compared with other countries. To a migration historian, the witchcraft trials that resurface now and then in the court books are helpful in reconstructing social networks (e.g. those based on kinship bonds between mothers, daughters and grandmothers) and women's territorial mobility. It provides opportunities for observing how women coped during periods of impoverishment, in situations where they found themselves single and burdened with offspring, and thus forced to resort to prostitution, theft and other activities outside the law (Kowalska-Cichy 2019, 108–10; Wijaczka 2007, 106–12, 182–84). Let us add here that our knowledge is still insufficient with respect to the movements of women co-residing with clergymen, including the latter's mothers and other relatives, or concubines (Dudała 2015, 183–89).

In my previous research on peasants' mobility and migrations to date I have not paid enough attention to the issue of women's migrations. My primary aim was to demonstrate that, contrary to older historiography's claims, serfdom was not a factor blocking completely the migration

flows of peasant population in the Commonwealth (see similar situation in Bohemia and France: Grulich 2018, 194–207; Hayhoe 2016, 160–63). To this end, I used mixed quantitative and qualitative analyses, cross-referencing various available sources (Sharpe 2002, 3–4). An important role was played by the micro-mobility relating to the local trade and labour markets. This is an increasingly appreciated social phenomenon, which remains at the foundation of social change (Deschacht and Winter 2019, 1–30; Pooley 2017, 28–36; Lucassen and Lucassen 2017, 445–46). This change in turn generates other types of internal migrations, especially rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban movements. The present article puts my research in a new light (Wyżga 2018, 5–20; 2019a, b, 47–65; see: Green 2012, 783–83). As I have demonstrated above, the subject of migration and micro-mobility in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth has not been the object of any major body of research. This produces a difficult situation for a researcher because, in addition to attempts at adapting international methods to the realities of the sources available in Poland, it also requires reconnoitring and identifying the best sources for the issues under study and their adequate interpretation. I intend to delve into the issue of mobility and migration in a 'gender-sensitive' approach, and specifically to shed light on participation of women to the labour market and in migration networks. I am also interested in the extent to which women had to migrate under the circumstances of the predominant rural economy of East-Central Europe.

Sources

The sources generated in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth have not been used for in-depth research on migrations before. However, a mixed quantitative and qualitative approach, involving the use of sources of various categories (register books of baptisms, marriages and burials, court books, books of customs and excise records, wills, craft guild records and inventories of landed estates) afford insights into the migration phenomena.

The central city of the Małopolska region was Cracow, the capital of the Commonwealth and also (until the early seventeenth century) the seat of its kings. This circumstance has made it possible to use a very well-preserved and diverse legacy of sources. In related research, the primary problems with respect to the sources are the disproportion of information in terms of gender. Nevertheless, this difficulty can be overcome as

the role of women can be detected even in those materials where male migrants represent an overwhelming majority. In this way, sources useful for the description of the migration networks included the depositions of witnesses giving their testimonies about candidates for apprenticeship in the crafts in Cracow. While women do not appear either among the 1370 apprentices or the nearly 3000 witnesses, there are references to their participation in the migration networks (e.g. to the influence that mothers exerted on the migration of their offspring, to the movements of male migrants' sisters, to contracting marriages in the city within the shared network based on family ties, social relations and harking back to the same native village) (Wyżga 2019a, 56). Information about the monitoring and control of the migration flows can be found in the regulations issued by the municipal government and the craft guilds.

Minutes of interrogations in municipal (and church) courts provide insights into the migrants' intentions and the functioning of their social groups. In the documentation generated by the burghers, one also needs to point to *post-mortem* inventories and wills. Important sources for studying women's participation in the labour market include materials relating to the municipal economy, especially registers of vendors, municipal accounts and taxpayer rolls (the latter usually lack detailed information on the residents' provenance). Registers of new burghers, however, prove less useful in gender-sensitive migration research because they practically recorded men only. Still, given that those men represented whole families, it is possible to establish, at least approximately, the reach of the background in which the influx of the core of the urban community originated (Miller 2008, 33–55).

My intention has been to draw attention to sources generated by smaller urban areas of the region, typical of the landscape of East-Central Europe. My search for information about women's migrations was conducted in sometimes fragmented sources, such as municipal books (Dukla, Dębowiec, Książ Wielki, Nowy Sącz, Proszowice, Uście Solne). But it was the small towns that provided the pivotal centres of local markets, integrating the villages in the area as the background for the development of migration networks and the early stages of peasants' movements towards Cracow.

In the rural context, information about migrants can be found in the widely preserved inventories of landed estates. They contain remarks, even if not always very accurate, about peasants mobility, changes in rolls of

serfs and the labour contributed by them and settlement of new inhabitants. And then village court books, kept by the peasant self-government bodies and the manor offices, contain material relating mostly to the real property market. With a view to migration research, however, they can provide information about the geographical reach of cases brought by peasants and an opportunity to analyse their wills and the local regulations on influx of strangers. Some records cover women who have married outside their home village but are coming back to claim an inheritance, so the use of resources in the native community can be observed in this way (Wyżga 2019a, 61).

Special attention is due to the books of the nobles' courts. They include manumissions issued by landlords to release peasants from serfdom. In some cases, intentions relevant to migration are stated in them (e.g. to move to a town, to get married in another village) (see Grulich 2018, 26–30). There are also quite numerous litigations between landlords, suits for persuading a serf to immigrate illegally and demands for his return (including actions against towns, which were often the destination of migrations). This information is, however, difficult to gather because such entries were made in various books without many method. I have analysed 1524 cases, garnered by Aniela Kiełbicka from court books kept between 1590 and 1610 (Kiełbicka 1989; Wyżga 2018, 11–15).

A very important source for research on migrations in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth is the books of baptisms (births), marriages and burials (deaths). Preserved in most cases since the seventeenth century, they provide orientation in the fundamental phenomena involved in migration. The books of marriages make it possible to determine the ratios of exogamous marriages and the reach of the matrimonial market. Data on marriage witnesses, and on godparents in the records of baptisms, facilitate at least rough determination of the character of the migrants' social networks. The records of burials afford orientation in the scope of the flows of strangers and the local community's approach to their illness, misfortune and death (Hollingsworth 1970, 90–94) (Map 6.1).

Mobility, Migrations and Serfdom

The agrarian character of the country and the geographical properties of the terrain made grain production the prevailing type of agriculture. The relatively low rate of population could cause periodic crises in labour supply, especially during haymaking or harvesting seasons. A
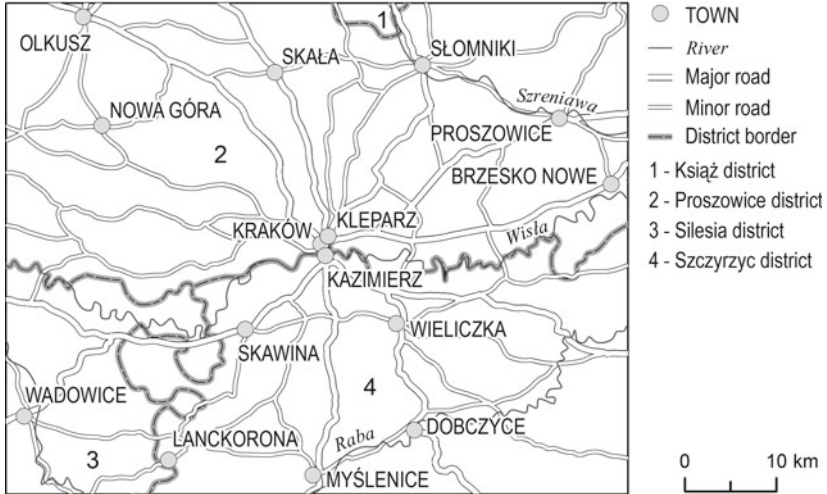
Map 6.1 Cracow micro-region in the second half of the sixteenth century (Based on: *Województwo krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku; Cz. 1, Mapy, plany. Atlas historyczny Polski. Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii. Mapy szczegółowe XVI wieku*; 1, vol. 1, edited by Henryk Rutkowski, Krzysztof Chłapowski: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii PAN; Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa: 2008, map by Tomasz Panecki)

major problem for the owners of landed estates was to keep adequate human resources of peasant population in place, crucial for the ongoing operation of their manor farms. In this context, manor farms owned by the crown, by the nobles, by the clergy and by towns competed for the available labour force. Serfdom, or the formal restriction on peasants' territorial movements, was the tool for controlling and safeguarding the supply of labour force. As users of manor-owned land, peasants were required to provide corvée, i.e. compulsory (and usually unpaid) work on their lord's manor farm, and also to give other levies to the landlord, as well as supply some additional work (e.g. transport services, rural crafts, road repair). It was not, however, a unilateral obligation. In return, the manor provided its serfs with material support in times of need during the year (e.g. during the preharvest shortage of food), formed new farming households for newly married couples, built cottages and generated the local labour market. Furthermore, the manor controlled the migration

flows in consultation with the peasants' self-governing body. Formally, the existence of serfdom was not much of an obstacle for peasants' migrations. These were part of their everyday life. In connection with their economic needs, peasants of both sexes could legally travel outside their village—circularly, seasonally and for longer periods of time. Despite the predominance of serfdom, therefore, there were formal ways of leaving one's village, e.g. with a view to apprenticeship in a craft, moving to a town or seasonal employment (Grulich 2018, 45–68; Wyżga 2018, 16). One of the important issues that required formal release from serfdom and agreeing the terms of the settlement for the loss of a serf was a marriage of such a peasant contracted in another landlord's manor estate. For example, the compensation that the owner of the village of Małachów was to receive for the loss of his female serf who, in 1743, married a male serf in the nearby village of Tęgobórz, owned by the Cracow Academy, included 120 pine trees from the forest outside that village.[1]

The manor itself exerted influence on its serfs' mobility because business trips were required as part of their work for the manor farm. Peasant farmers and innkeepers participated in vehicular transport. They delivered grain and other commodities to towns and river ports. Innkeepers carried water to workers in the fields, and also delivered to towns the dairy products supplied to the manor by peasant women as part of their manorial dues. Depending on the location of the estate, it could be as far away as 70 km. For special occasions, peasants were dispatched on even more distant errands (e.g. to bring in herrings from Gdansk, which, in the case of villages in the Cracow area, meant more than 500 km one way).[2]

The less affluent peasants of both sexes travelled on foot delivering letters and small goods; they were also regional guides for travellers, for which they were rewarded by the municipal authorities. Moreover, peasants regularly visited towns on market days to sell their own merchandise, and also, with the knowledge and consent of the manor lord, they sought seasonal employment outside their home village (e.g. during the dead period of the agrarian year). In this way, their territorial knowledge was quite extensive, and their travels enabled them to make new contacts and extend their social networks. Furthermore, afterwards it was easier to undertake migration, even without the landlord's consent.

The existing records of the manors' prosecution of their serfs usually refer to self-sufficient peasants (generating the highest income for the manor but also absorbing the most investment) who had not adequately settled their accounts with their lord. Peasants' illegal migrations resulted

from various conflicts, or were organized by other landlords, who currently needed more people to work. The desire to recover the resources invested in a serf (money, tools, farm animals, grain, residential and farm buildings) compelled landowners to sue another landlord, who had taken the migrant in (Wyżga 2018, 11–15).[3] An interesting case in point occurred in 1605, when a female farmworker named Dorota fled from the town of Pilica and reached the village of Andrychów over 80 km away. Dorota's previous lord filed a lawsuit to demand the return of his runaway serf, but the court dismissed it because the migrant woman had by then married a nobleman and was 'under her husband's power'. In this case, the migration involved the woman's upward social movement (Kiełbicka 1989, no. 1272).

In the case of the poorly populated Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, most punishments awarded for illegal migration remained purely on paper. Furthermore, the municipal and rural authorities' decrees issued repeatedly in an attempt to control the inflow of strangers are indicative of their poor effectiveness (see: De Munck and Winter 2012, 12–15).[4] I have examined around 1500 trials referring to runaway peasants recorded for the years 1590 through 1610. The uneven gender distribution of the migrants (1452 men, 72 women) is occasioned by several circumstances. The man was often recorded to represent a whole migrating family, which may have included women (whether relatives or employees). Women, especially those fleeing from the manor on their own, were not pursued as often as runaway men. The books of the nobles' courts also rarely recorded detailed information; an exception is an entry from 1651, when, just before the outbreak of a major epidemic, all the serfs from the village of Żeglce, situated between the towns of Dukla and Dębowiec at the foot of the Carpathians, fled to Hungary, leaving behind only one smallholder to watch over the village forests and bodies of water and also one old woman.[5]

No less than about 60% of the cases in the group under review pertained to peasants holding large farms. My analysis of the distances covered indicates that women who were household heads or migrated on their own resettled at an average distance of 18.8 km (median: 11.3 km) from their previous residence. Men moved 29.3 km away on the average (median: 16.9 km). Women were more likely than men to head a migrating family as a widowed person. This, however, does not mean that their effort was completely solitary: they were still part of a migration network. They were accompanied by other families, usually related

to them. It is also known that solo female migrants moved 11.7 km away while the corresponding distance for single female family heads was 6.3 km (both median figures) (Wyżga 2018, 11–15; 2019a, 294–98; Kiełbicka 1989).

The intended destination of every fourth peasant movement was an urban area. In small towns, where members of the local community knew one another well, migrants were treated differently than, e.g. in the large and anonymous population of Cracow. Somewhat negatively coloured descriptions were sometimes used in small towns, with regard to background (e.g. 'you mountaineer woman' or 'you German wench'). An accusation perceived as particularly spiteful was not so much that of peasant origin but rather that of illegal departure from one's village without settling one's serfdom status first. Such an accusation could lead to a libel lawsuit, as could suggestions of one's pauper provenance, of being a vagrant or a person of unknown origin. To clear their good name, victims of such libel obtained information about their own genealogy from the books of baptisms and marriages in the parish of their birth (see: Snell 2006, 42–43).[6]

Quantifying Migrant Women in the Cracow Micro-Region

What was the migration rate of women in the region under analysis? And how long did they travel? In order to answer these questions, I will exploit marriage registers and I will investigate marital exogamy, although such analysis gives us insight into merely a portion of the movements, and only those along shorter distances than other forms of migration (Hayhoe 2016, 16–24). In the case of inter-parish marriages, i.e. those contracted at shorter geographical distances, female migrants had relatives and acquaintances from their home village as witnesses during the ceremony. Where the distance was larger, the migrant's ties with her native community tended to become weaker. The marriage witnesses would then be recruited from local residents, so the migrants had to reconstruct their networks in their new place of residence. It follows that many such female migrants had undergone acculturation before getting married, whereupon they were considered members of the local community and no information of their provenance was recorded in the book of marriages. Certifications issued by the parish priests in their home villages were not recorded either (Wyżga 2019a, 123–24; Puschmann et al. 2016). In some

cases two forms of the surname were entered in the book of marriages for migrants. One was that inherited from the parents and the other was a derivative of the name of the migrant's place of origin. Or sometimes only the latter form of the surname was stated while the place where the migrant had recently spent a considerable period of their life was recorded as their place of origin. There are occasional cases where migrants from a specific area arrived in another settlement some distance away; subsequently, some of them got married there, and their wedding witnesses were other migrants hailing from the same area that they had come from. This is indicative of the functioning of a social network of migrants of both sexes, based on territorial provenance, and the existence of migration chains. The identification difficulties occasioned by the impermanence of migrants' surnames in the books of vital records make any more precise findings unattainable at this stage of research. There is no specific information about the personal inputs invested by migrants in their newly contracted marriage. It appears that migrants were usually less affluent than their spouses, so that their contributed capital was their young age, health and physical prowess, something indispensable in farming. Women married earlier than men, who continued in apprenticeship in a craft or, being the so-called lodgers, waited for taking over the family farm or for obtaining a new farm allotted by the manor (Wyżga 2019a, 91, 122–27; Green 2012, 791–92).

Based on 1820 exogamous marriages contracted in the Cracow microregion between 1581 and 1800, I have calculated that 10.5% of the brides were migrants. Both spouses were newcomers in 5.8% of the weddings. A detailed analysis of the brides and grooms' movements was based on well-kept registers kept by the parish of Więcławice, 13.5 km to the north of Cracow. In the years 1615–1728, a total of 1563 marriages were contracted. The female migrants came to the parish from areas more distant (40.6 km on the average; median: 21 km) than the grooms' home villages (23.6 km; median: 10.9 km). Only every third bride came from an area within the radius of 15 km. All the others came from settlements situated between 15 and 444 km away (Wyżga 2019a, 155–56; see Velková 2006, 89–93). It is noteworthy here that a diverse set of sources containing information about such movements (10,792 measurements of geographical distances) enabled me to determine the average figure for the movement at 14 km (median, while the arithmetical mean was 27.9 km). It is thus not significantly different from those in other countries in early modern Europe and is connected with micro-mobility, which

was the primary form of movements undertaken within the confines of the familiar world (Andersson 2018, 88, 118; Hayhoe 2016, 30–34; Wyżga 2019a, 216). Nevertheless, female migrants who participated in the matrimonial market often exceeded this reach. For example, in 1742 Ewa and Józef Stobiecki, proprietors of the village of Skąpa, released from serfdom Zofia Wrona, a peasant woman who was already staying at the village of Opatów, some 40 km away.[7]

For comparison, I have applied the family reconstruction method to 242 marriages in the Raciborowice parish located just 9.4 km away from Cracow, which has preserved register books of baptisms, marriages and burials from the eighteenth century. No less than 41.3% of cases are families of wealthy peasant farmers. This translates into a smaller inclination to resettle than with less affluent peasants, which is why it is easier to capture them using this method. That in turn is caused by the fact that holders of larger farms had to reconstruct a landholding of similar size in their new place of residence, which was far from easy. My analysis indicates that only 20.2% of women and 20.7% of men found their future spouse among those born in the same village. An analysis of the matrimonial selection of the offspring of exogamous marriages has revealed that migrants' children also selected partners in the original milieu of their migrant parent. This may be indicative of the duration of migration networks over several generations. It is further known that 4/5 of widowers chose a migrant bride. Compared with 79 widowers in the sample under review, only 18 widows remarried. Widows more often than widowers vanish from the field of observation, given that only 16.5% of women spent the rest of their lives in the same village, compared to 34.6% of men. This confirms the greater proneness (need, external necessity or coercion?) to migrate on the part of women. According to Mikołaj Szołtysek, 91.2% of women over the age of 60 did not co-reside with their immediate family (Szołtysek 2014, 45–56; Wyżga 2019a, 157–58, 166–69).

The earliest name-specific censuses in the Commonwealth date back only to 1791. They provide no information on migrations. Only the painstaking correlation of information about specific individuals and families with the vital records in parish books can shed light on these issues. I have also relied here on the materials preserved for the Raciborowice parish (Wyżga 2011, 15–40, 173–77). It is difficult to pinpoint the rules regulating either the leaving or the inheriting of the household by the offspring. The lack of information on the subsequent fates of some of

the siblings may be an indication that these individuals emigrated. For example, the affluent married couple of peasants, Jan Nawara and Maria Chmurzonka, had 11 children, of whom 7 died before reaching adulthood. According to the census, the household was taken over by the eldest son, Kacper, and his widowed mother continued to reside in it. His younger sister lived in her in-laws' house in the same village. Kacper's two younger brothers resided outside the Raciborowice parish. The godparents of one of them were residents of the nearby town of Kleparz (part of Cracow today), so it is possible that their local social network facilitated the brothers' migration. Another example demonstrates that the family household was left in a sequential order determined by age. This may mean that the parents wished to retain the position of household heads as long as possible. In the case of the smallholder Stanisław Rogala, his two elder daughters and son were the earliest to leave the household. All three found spouses in the nearby areas, but no further record of them is found, so they assumedly migrated further away subsequently. The household continued to be run by Stanisław Rogala, now in his sixties, and his wife Maria. Other than them, it was also the home of their thirty-year-old (youngest) son Szymon and his wife. In another example, the tavern keeper Franciszek Wiatr of Raciborowice was quick to marry off his daughters, from the oldest to the youngest, as soon as they turned 15. As regards the marriage of his three younger sons, however, he waited until they reached around 25 years of age (in the case of each sex, those ages could also be considered minimum required for marriage). All of Wiatr's children were married off in the neighbouring villages and held self-sufficient households. At the census date, the tavern keeper was already a widower, and his age was 92 (information verified by the books of baptisms in the nearby Więcławice parish). He continued to run his household, co-residing with his married youngest son Hiacynt, one twenty-year-old female servant named Jadwiga Kozubowna, and a seventy-year-old lodger by the name of Łucja Prażmowszczonka.

The sequential order in the leaving of the household by the offspring was strictly observed in the family of smallholders (i.e. peasants situated in the middle on the scale of affluence) Mikołaj and Barbary Głośny. They lived in a hamlet called Prawda, in 1791 comprising a mere 7 families (34 people). The Głośnys had 6 daughters, who were married off one by one, at intervals of about three years, at ages ranging from 17 to 23. As of the census date, the remaining household residents included the father, Mikołaj (45), his wife Barbara (51) and their three youngest daughters,

aged between 11 and 19. Two years later, in 1793, the parents married off the two older daughters out of those still residing with them, so only the youngest, thirteen-year-old Małgorzata, remained in the household. All the daughters found grooms in villages situated either in the same parish or in the adjacent parishes. This made it possible to sustain a rather strong social network.[8]

The Labour Market

The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was a large country—both multi-ethnic and multireligious (Kleinmann and Wiślicz 2017, 111–20). Its western part, where the region covered by my study, Małopolska, was located, had a relatively dense network of urbanization. Apart from a few major centres, exceeding 10,000 in population, towns in the Commonwealth were small and semi-agricultural. They constituted the craft and trade centres and local markets for their rural surroundings. The towns acted as intermediaries for bigger cities and their populations of consumers; they handled the transport and centralized purchasing of rural products. They were also the economic and administrative centres for the royal and private complexes of landed estates (Janeczek 2001, 168–73; Wyrobisz 1976, 177–87).

The peasant community was stratified. The rural elite included self-sufficient farmers (called *kmieć*, pl. *kmiecie* in Polish), who held the largest allotments of land. They formed the rural self-government. The activities of wealthy peasant farmers can be reconstructed on the basis of entries in village court books. I have used data from several dozen Małopolska villages from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The largest number of recorded cases pertains to inheritance and leasehold of land in another village, credit and debts. In terms of gender, women figure in 18.5% of a total of 453 cases. They were wealthy and enterprising peasant women, who had their own hired labourers. Their recorded wills indicate that, in addition to considerable amounts of cash, they owned expensive garments made of Oriental fabrics and jewellery. The average reach of women's economic activity was 5.6 km, compared to 14.2 km for men (Wyżga 2019a, 313–14). Reckoning with the wives' opinion was often underscored in the records of the transactions in the books kept by Małopolska towns (as exemplified by the formula 'having carefully consulted with my wife'). Furthermore, the signatures of both spouses are subscribed to the transactions.[9]

The bulk of labour force in the countryside hailed from the groups of small landholders (*zagrodnik*, pl. *zagrodnicy*) and landless peasants who either had their own cottages (*chałupnik*, pl. *chałupnicy*, 'cottagers') or lived as 'lodgers' (*komornik*, pl. *komornicy*) in exchange for work. The last category was so mobile that manors did not even bother to keep precise records of them. Lodgers usually contributed only one day of corvée per week, so they had time for additional work as hired labourers. It is known that, in the landed estates owned by the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, the wealthiest peasants (*kmiecie*) were required to sustain one male and the *zagrodnicy* one female lodger each (Wyżga 2019a, 21).[10]

Farm work required physical strength and endurance, which imposed a certain division of the labour market in terms of gender. Men were mostly involved in tilling the land and vehicular transport. Women were primarily occupied with the production of foodstuffs, care for animals, home production (e.g. weaving), sewing garments for the family, harvesting herbs and forest fruit from the undergrowth and gathering small firewood (Bogucka 1998, 72). Common occupations among female lodgers included weaving and performing lighter farm work for the manor (e.g. weeding and using the weeds as fodder for livestock). Peasants of both sexes performed jointly urgent seasonal works (e.g. crop harvesting) and also regularly travelled to the local market fairs to sell the surplus produce and products of their households.

It is interesting that in the records of serf obligations, the division of labour in terms of gender is specified primarily for the lodger group. For example, in 1696 in the Łąka estate owned by the magnate Potocki family of Łańcut, lodgers included 7 women and 17 men. The men were more often called to work on the manor farm while women had a choice, as they could contribute their due corvée by 'performing women's work' at home. It was mostly yarn spinning (work also performed by men). Nearly half of the lodgers in that village were exempt from corvée and described as 'living on their own bread'. There were also exemptions for people in a difficult personal situation (the inventory contains a telling entry: 'it would be a shame to coerce them, one should rather afford them some relief').[11]

In addition to work performed for the manor farm and in their own household, regular trips to the markets played an important role in female serfs' lives. This is how women obtained income by the work of their own hands, which must have improved their status in their households. To prove this phenomenon, I have used a listing of vendors in

Cracow from the late 1660s. It records only larger batches of goods, while women controlled most of the small-quantity supplies delivered on foot (Karpiński 1995, 87). The list, however, is a rarity, which was decisive for its use in my research. Next to the name of every vendor, the list states his or her place of residence and the type, quantity and value of the goods supplied. Smaller deliveries were recorded anonymously and in groups. Peasants accounted for 86.8% of suppliers, covering 26.9 km on the average (median: 19 km) to make their deliveries. Other vendors were burghers, nobles and Jews. In the table, I have used Jeremy Hayhoe's territorial division specifying mobility within the familiar world (0–15 km), middle (15–50 km) and longer distances (over 50 km) (Hayhoe 2016, 25–29). In the peasant vendor group, 41.3% came from a maximum distance of 15 km away from the city. In terms of gender, women accounted for 85.5% and men for 36.4%. In the middle distance category, women accounted for 13.2% and men for 49.3% (in total, 45.7% vendors in this geographical category were peasants). The numerical advantage of men was occasioned by the use of wagons carrying heavy loads of grain from locations throughout the region. This is very important because it shows that the gendered patterns of mobility were influenced by having access to means of transport rather than having to walk (a thing that was more common among men than women). The other vendors came from distances in excess of 50 km, but only 13% of them were of peasant background (Wyżga 2019a, 221).[12]

   As for supplies from peasant farms' autumn harvests (September–October 1658), they were delivered by 1455 men and only 159 women (10.9%). A median measurement shows that the average reach of the inflow of women was 11 km, compared with 24.7 km for men (a very similar outcome to that stated earlier for wealthy peasant farmers' transactions). While the suppliers came every day, men were prevalent on Mondays while women would come to town more often on Fridays and Sundays (Wyżga 2018, 8; 2019a, 238–39).[13] I paid special attention to 165 female vendors who came to the market 581 times between September and the end of the year 1658. This means that, on average, every woman came to town at least four times during that period.

   Table 6.1 indicates that the women's most frequent deliveries to town comprised bakeries (mostly breads, sporadically pretzels and gingerbreads). They were the same individuals every week, coming together with their husbands from villages located 10–15 km away, where grain-milling and baking industries were well developed. They made good

Table 6.1 Register of goods delivered by women to Cracow (September–December 1658)

Commodity	Number of deliveries	%
Bakeries	191	32.9
Fruit	119	20.5
Flour	87	15.0
Dairy products	38	6.5
Grease and fats	30	5.2
Poultry	29	5.0
Vegetables	17	2.9
Brandy	16	2.8
Linen	11	1.9
Grain	8	1.4
Pigs	7	1.2
Cattle	7	1.2
Fish	6	1.0
Building materials	5	0.9
Salt	4	0.7
Ceramics	3	0.5
Eggs	3	0.5
Total	581	100.0

Source The National Archives in Cracow, ref. 744, Regestr wybierania accizy w Kazimierzu, ktora sie poczęła in anno praesenti 1658 według constitutiey seymu generalnego warszawskiego…, 3–219

money on it. For example, Jadwiga Śliwińska, a peasant woman from Zielonki, a royal village about 10 km away from Cracow, delivered bread to the city every two weeks. She made around 7 zlotys on the sale of each batch. During that time, the weekly pay of an excise guard in Cracow, whom Jadwiga would often meet upon arrival, was 2 zlotys. In total, in the period under review, Jadwiga earned 45 zlotys by baking and selling bread alone while the excise guard was paid 28 zlotys (Tomaszewski 1934, 150).[14]

Every fifth delivery made by women was a supply of fruit, mostly fresh apples, pears and plums, less frequently dried fruit and sweet preserves. Women could make a delivery of as many as 2–3 wagonfuls of wares on one visit. The third commodity in terms of number of deliveries was flour (mostly wheat, also grouts), distributed by the same women who were involved in bread deliveries. The recorded deliveries of dairy products are mostly cheeses and butter, supplied by residents of the sub-mountainous areas, as was fruit. The register does not cover an otherwise

unrecognized group of women who made daily deliveries of fresh milk and milk products on foot, both to the market and directly to townspeople's homes. In addition to tallow, women supplied poultry (mostly geese, capons and chickens) and also wild birds. Supplies of vegetables (cabbages, turnips, onions, mushrooms and berries) were smaller. Alcohol (vodka) was ordered mostly by burgher women. Smaller numbers of deliveries were recorded with respect to linen, grain, pigs and cattle, river fishes, building materials (tar, timbers and wood), salt or ceramic vessels. The review indicates that the scope of production and trade controlled by women was quite broad.

An analysis of these deliveries sheds light on the rural-to-urban resettlement process. For example, Zofia Gaczkowicowa was initially recorded on several occasions as a resident of the village of Koźmice, located 17.4 km away from Cracow and subsequently as a city-dweller. An interesting case of a self-reliant peasant woman is that of Ewa Gnatowna [Gnat] of the village of Młodziejowice, at a distance of 11.1 km from the city. In the autumn of 1658, she completed eight large deliveries of flour. She must have remained single as, 10 years later, she was still recorded under her maiden name, without any reference to a husband, on the occasion of baptizing her daughter Zofia. At the time, she was living in the next village called Boleń, owned by the same nobleman as Młodziejowice. The godparents of her daughter worked for the nearby manor farms. It is noteworthy that Ewa Gnatowna's mother or stepmother was probably Maryna Sudakowna, a migrant from the sub-mountainous town of Krosno, some 161 km away, who married a Walenty Gnat of the Młodziejowice area. As of the date of his wedding, Walenty had for a while been running a small farm (as a *zagrodnik*), so it would have been unlikely for his migrant bride to be his first wife.[15]

Little is known of minor supplies delivered to the city on foot by rustic women. Some of the later sources indicate that women who specialized in deliveries of dairies and eggs would set out for the city before sunrise. The milk came from the evening milking (it was referred to as 'ready', as in fresh and ready for sale). Burdened with milk, cheeses, eggs and an assortment of bakeries (photographs of such women, taken by the Cracow photographer Ignacy Krieger around 1880, have been preserved), wrapped in grey checked coverlets to protect them from the morning cold, the women congregated on the roads and walked towards the city in groups. These small supplies were delivered to pre-agreed addresses of burgher households. After completing their own shopping or errands,

the women reached their homes still well before noon (Wyżga 2019a, 232–33). Female residents of villages located nearer to Cracow were also involved in street market vending, and their husbands delivered goods to their stalls from their farms. There they entered into relations with urban female vendors, who sold their goods from stalls in the market square, along the pavements, and from windows or basements of their homes (which generated such descriptions as *okienniczka*, or 'window woman', or *piwniczna*, 'basement woman') (Karpiński 1995, 72, 80–81).[16] The peasants' regular visits to the city led to the creation and cultivation of social networks involving townspeople, which could subsequently be used in migrations, a subject that I shall cover in subsequent chapters of the article.

In addition to trade, the city provided both mobile and native women with other opportunities to make some extra money. The inventories of municipal expenditures that I have analysed seldom contain information referring to workers, which is why they are unfit for mass calculations. It is, however, possible to cite some examples, such as the fees paid for the renovation of a masonry house owned by a Cracow church around 1750, specifically 8 zlotys to the bricklayer, 7 zlotys to his three helpers and 2 zlotys to three women who plastered the ceiling (Wyżga 2019a, 116–17). The 1690 accounts of the Cracow Cathedral indicate that a washerwoman received 14 zlotys on each occasion for washing the church's white linens, while a tailor was paid 4 zlotys for mending chasubles.[17] It is equally difficult to extract information on women's work in lesser urban areas. In the town of Nowy Sącz, there are records of amounts disbursed to women raising orphans specifically for the purchase of milk, and weekly allowances for the wives of the municipal soldiers who have been dispatched on a mission. A separate fee was paid from the town's treasury to a wagoner who brought in the new executioner's wife and children.[18]

There is more regularity in records of fees paid to couriers, usually entered anonymously in municipal books of account. The accounts of the town of Proszowice indicate that men and women alike were employed in this capacity (the description points to residents of rural areas). They were paid fees in the same amounts, varying only with respect to the distance covered. The couriers carried letters to Cracow (1769), some 30 km away, among other places.[19] A gender-related difference in pay is evident with regard to labourers in public works. In 1690, in the town of Pomorzany in Podolian Province (eastern Małopolska), an equal number of men and women were employed to clean the moat (20 people in

total, both married and unmarried). Women, however, received a daily pay smaller by 1/3 than men, although it needs to be added that their workday was shorter. There is no information about the provenance of these people.[20]

Social Networks

The analysed materials indicate that migrations were usually based on social networks. In the context of marriages contracted in the new place, this is shown by the selection of witnesses. It is a limited pool of data because only men were recorded. The brides' witnesses were their fathers, brothers, or legal guardians, while individuals representing the couple's new place of residence included employers, members of the local government, fellow workers (especially migrants coming from the same area as them) and, with reference to shorter distances, the migrants' parents, sometimes widowed, as well as their siblings who still lived at home and had decision-making powers with respect to inheritance. Neighbours, members of the village self-government, or friends were asked to witness pre-marriage contracts.

My calculations based on marriages contracted by peasants in the city of Cracow between 1586 and 1620 have revealed that wedding witnesses included the brides' and grooms' employers and co-workers as well as siblings who had settled in town even earlier. The migrants were mostly employed in the food-producing trades. This is corroborated by an analysis of the depositions given by witnesses testifying about the background of boys applying for craft apprenticeships in Cracow. For example, in 1684 the Maltsters' Guild examined the background of an aspiring candidate named Kazimierz Makuła, from a noble-owned village of Glew, located 24.9 km away. He was an orphaned son of a wealthy farmer. His witness, Franciszek Wojdela, who was already a maltster in Cracow, hailed from the same village. Moreover, he had already married and brought into town Makuła's sister. In this case, a social network based on origin and kinship was used.[21]

My study of marital exogamy among peasants living in the city of Cracow has revealed that about 20% of men chose brides who came from the same sending communities as them. Female migrants were much more likely to select partners representing the same original milieu as themselves (c. 70%). This may mean that migration networks exerted a stronger control over female migrants' life choices. Fifty rustic migrants

whose provenance was stated with precision in the records and who got married in Cracow had originally come from villages located 21.2 km away from the city on the average (median: 14.7 km). It was thus a close distance to the one covered by women delivering farm products (median: 11 km). The rather short distance of movements enabled the sending community to exercise proper control over female migrants, so that they were not left to their own devices in the big city. Moreover, in times of illness or unemployment, it was easy to return to the family home safely and fast (Wyżga 2019a, 93, 114, 162–64). It is further known that young women would not resettle to the city on their own but rather together with, e.g. their sisters, mothers (probably widows), or female neighbours. Rural-to-rural migrations were similar in this respect. When making trips of a circular nature on longer distances (e.g. to deliver letters sent by the manor), women also preferred to travel in company.[22]

Based on nearly 2800 testimonies given by witnesses for the sake of young men intending to start apprenticeship and employment with a professional corporation in Cracow or smaller towns in the region, the greatest role in the creation of migration strategies was played by the migrants' parents. Where both parents were still alive, the witnesses pointed out that they had reached the decision on the future of their children together. For example, Kacper and Katarzyna Walowic were wealthy farmers from Chorowice, a village outside Cracow. Out of their five offspring, they destined one of their sons for shoemaking apprenticeship in Cracow. Both witnesses deposed in the municipal office were burghers of peasant descent. The shoemaker Jakub Machitowic used to be a neighbour in the village. The other witness, tailor Wojciech Smołkowic, hailed from Zbydniowice, where the migrant's parents had moved to a new farmstead (1653), 10 km from Chorowice (Wyżga 2018, 8–10).[23]

It is noteworthy that only 1/3 of migrants aspiring to apprenticeship in Cracow had parents who were still alive. Out of the group of 1370 migrants covered by the research, 25.6% had no parents, 33.3% did not have a father and only 11.5% were without a mother. The latter indicates that mothers were important actors with influence on family migration strategies, especially in the face of impoverishment following the father's death, when they were exposed to widowhood, social degradation and solitude. In the witnesses' testimonies under review, the migrant's father had been dead for 7 years on average. Another possible scenario was that a runaway serf's escape could force the forsaken wife and children to migrate. According to the account given by Błażej Czwartek of the

village of Wola Radziszowska in Cracow's criminal court in 1746, after his father's escape to the other side of the Carpathians, to Slovakia (then part of Upper Hungary), his mother sold their small farm holding and found employment as a house servant of a priest living near Cracow. Her son also worked as a servant for a variety of employers. Whenever his situation was worse, he would return to his mother for some time and help her out at work, but on the whole, they both found it easier to survive on their own, separately (Wyżga 2019a, 174, 399).[24]

A conspicuous gap is the absence of information on the manors' influence on the migration strategies of the future craftsmen and their families. In the event of the parents' death, help in finding apprenticeship, employment and a place to live came from siblings who had already resettled to the city (usually older than the migrant), and also legal guardians (residents of the city and the suburbs, heads of craft workshops). Members of the migration network also included migrants' grandparents, foster parents, godparents and friends. In addition to these, there were co-workers of the migrants' extended family, representing both the sending and the receiving communities. Although the testimonies under review were given in support of male apprentices, the narratives include information about female relatives as well: in addition to mothers, there are references to sisters who had made the city their home with help from the same rural–urban networks. They are known to have married burghers of peasant stock and become active members of the social networks, e.g. recruiting their own employers as witnesses for their siblings migrating into the city (Wyżga 2019a, 367, 371).[25]

Parents living in the countryside and involved in arranging the future of their children in the city had themselves previous experience of migration as young people. Sometimes, after starting a family and raising their children into adulthood, they moved in stages in the direction of the city and its suburbs, to finally make a home there, near their offspring that had already resettled to the urban area. They could also obtain support from others there, members of their social network who had moved to the city and hailed from the same villages as themselves. Furthermore, the parents could utilize the existence of the rural–urban networks in such eventualities as deteriorating health or loss of their household in the countryside. In the city, they could earn their living by taking up odd jobs involving less strenuous work, begging, or seeking shelter in poorhouses (not every rural parish had an almshouse), to some extent relying for support on their children who lived nearby.[26]

Parents who lived in the countryside combined control over offspring settled in the city with regular trips to town on other business (commercial, religious, social, etc.). Sending a child off to live with townspeople involved mutual obligations. Burghers who gave lodging to peasant children could count on a place to spend the night with their tenants' parents. This was used not only during business trips but also in times of epidemic in the city. Mutually acquainted peasants and burghers often shared meals as ensuring the durability of social networks required regular contacts and recommendation of their migrating children to the burgher community (Wyżga 2019a, 174–79).[27]

Cases or periods of deficiency of assistance from social networks can be reconstructed on the basis of the requests for support filed with the ecclesiastical authorities in Cracow. Half of them were written by women, of either the burgher or the noble estate. A certain married woman asked for a grant of means of sustenance due to her husband having been committed to a hospital on account of his mental illness. Widows pleaded having no relatives or friends. Others had been expelled from their homes by their loved ones and asked for funds to pay their sustenance and rent or for assistance in trade, placing emphasis on the fact that they had children. Single maidens requested funding for their dowries from the bishop's foundation.[28] A more thorough description is given to the case of Zofia Urrihowa, a resident of Cracow, who had earned her living for seven years after becoming a widow by operating a small market stall, had a handicapped daughter and had lost a son, killed in a war. Urrihowa's stall had been plundered by soldiers and she had been ill for several weeks.[29] When migrant men requested support, they would seldom plead having children to support. For example, the nobleman Teodor Ujejski came to Cracow Province together with his wife and children to work as a servant. At work, a horse broke his foot, which rendered him unable to work, and his wife came down with a lung illness. As he explained, they were far away from their relations and had no way of reaching them. In another case, Antoni Turski, another nobleman from the neighbouring province, had been robbed on the highway when on a trip and that was why he requested financial aid.[30]

Impoverishment, combined with lack of social support, pushed migrants to commit criminal offences, mostly theft. Books of baptisms afford an insight into the milieu of female migrants who gave birth to children out of wedlock. The fathers of those children were in most cases craft apprentices or practitioners. The godparents were mostly beggars

and the mother's roommates or administratrices of the dwellings (in the city, these would often be in the basement). An analysis of interrogations of 484 migrants accused in Cracow between 1554 and 1700 shows an overrepresentation of men (78.8%). Such a high percentage is caused, among other factors, by the fact that they were responsible for graver offences. Peasants accounted for 51.7% of all the accused. Female rustics who stood trial had come from an average distance of 33.4 km, i.e. shorter than men (52.1 km). Accused women of burgher background had come to Cracow from somewhat more distant places (44 km; 152 km for men). An analysis of the interrogations of migrants recorded in the court books of Cracow and lesser cities in the region indicates that women and men participated jointly in criminal social networks. Women were often involved in receiving and selling stolen property. In addition to the quite common employment as house servants, female migrants with ties to the criminal world were to some degree involved in such trades as barbering, coopering, hide tanning and making of fur clothing, pottery or goldsmithing. As far as the verdicts are concerned, female offenders were more often than men released from remand and expelled from the city (Wyżga 2019a, 341; b, 55–65).[31]

NOTES

1. ANK, ref. Castrensia Cracoviensia Relationes 169, 2319–2.
2. AGAD, Archiwum Potockich z Łańcuta, Dobra Łąka, ref. 1325, Inwentarze 1684–1776, no. 1, 44–45, 75–76; no. 2, 15; ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/121/168, Inwentarz folwarku proszowskiego 1784, 20; AKap, ref. Inv.v.B1, 30–31, 46).
3. AKap, ref. Inv.v.B1, 21.
4. ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/121/89, Książ Wielki, 193.
5. ANK, ref. Castrensia Biecensia 184, 1121–2.
6. ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/121/47, Dębowiec, 212a, 212b; ref. 29/115/14, Uście Solne, 16–18, 31, 33–34.
7. ANK, ref. Castrensia Cracoviensia Relationes 169, 2417–9.
8. ANK, ref. 29/30/0; Spisy ludności województwa krakowskiego z lat 1790–1791, Parafia Raciborowice; APR, Book of Baptisms 1731–1761; Book of Baptisms 1762–1786; Book of Baptisms 1786–1797; Book of Marriages 1638–1758; Book of Marriages 1759–1797; Book of Burials 1729–1797; APW, Book of Baptisms 1641–1686, Book of Baptisms 1686–1710.

9. ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/121/47, Dębowiec, 206, 220; ref. 29/121/78, Dukla, 7–8, 26–27.
10. AKap, ref. Inv.v.B1, 20, 29; See: ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/121/168, Inwentarz folwarku proszowskiego 1784, 13–14.
11. AGAD, Section: Archiwum Potockich z Łańcuta, Dobra Łąka, ref. 1325, Inwentarze 1684–1776, no. 1, 15; no. 2, 15, 31, 17–18, 48–49, 55; no. 3, 36.
12. ANK, ref. 744, Regestr wybierania acciza w Kazimierzu, ktora sie poczęła in anno praesenti 1658 według constitutiey seymu generalnego warszawskiego…, 3–87.
13. ANK, ref. 744, Regestr…, 3–219.
14. ANK, ref. 744, Regestr…, 200.
15. APW, Book of Baptisms 1641–1686, 214.
16. PAU/PAN, ref. 438, Ordynacja miasta Bochni 1750, 53.
17. AKap, ref. Reg.C.18, Percepta pro Sacristia [Ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracoviensis] 1684–1685, 59–60, 60v, 64.
18. ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/110/109, Nowy Sącz 1646–1658, 3, 9, 58, 73v, 74v, 82.
19. PAU/PAN, ref. 1207, Proszowice 1768–1797, 15v, 28–28v.
20. ANK, ref. AD Pom 47, 89.
21. ANK, ref. Advocatalia Cracoviensia (cited as Adv.) 260, 5, 8–9.
22. ANK, ref. 891, 96; PAU/PAN, ref. 1797, Regestr służbowy 1707, 12.
23. ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/121/324, Księga cechu rzeźników w mieście Proszowice 1653–1779, 66–67, 72; ref. Adv. 259, 169.
24. ANK, ref. 879, 3, 6.
25. ANK, ref. Adv. 259, 1128; ref. Adv. 260, s. 15, 41–45, 49, 100–1, 105–6, 147, 166, 170–71, 190–91, 252, 273, 290, 310, 331.
26. ANK, ref. Adv. 259, 643, 1072; ref. Adv. 260, 9–10, 53, 105–6, 285–86; ref. Adv. 262, 41.
27. ANK, ref. Adv. 259, 1, 2, 8, 24, 40, 41, 47, 55, 119–20; ref. Adv. 260, 134, 1097, 1120.
28. AKap, ref. AHosp 20/6; 20/11, 20/13, 20/20, 20/22, 20/32, 20/33.
29. AKap, ref. AHosp 20/28.
30. AKap, ref. AHosp 20/30, 20/26.
31. ANK, Section: Variae civitates et villae, ref. 29/121/165, Księga kryminalna miasta Proszowice, 19–22, 24–26, 27–28.

Archival Sources

Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD)

– Section: Archiwum Potockich z Łańcuta, Dobra Łąka, ref. 1325, Inwentarze 1684–1776, no. 1–3.

The National Archives in Cracow (ANK)

– ref. Castrensia Cracoviensia Relationes 169.
– ref. Castrensia Biecensia 184.
– ref. Advocatalia Cracoviensia 259, 260, 262.
– ref. 744, Regestr wybierania accizy w Kazimierzu, ktora sie poczęła in anno praesenti 1658 według constitutiey seymu generalnego warszawskiego....
– ref. 879.
– ref. 891.
– ref. AD Pom 47.
Section: Variae civitates et villae:
– ref. 29/110/109, Nowy Sącz 1646–1658.
– ref. 29/115/14, Uście Solne.
– ref. 29/121/47, Dębowiec.
– ref. 29/121/78, Dukla.
– ref. 29/121/89 Książ Wielki.
– ref. 29/121/168, Inwentarz folwarku proszowskiego 1784.
– ref. 29/121/324, Księga cechu rzeźników w mieście Proszowice 1653–1779.
– ref. 29/121/165, Księga kryminalna miasta Proszowice.

The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow (PAU/PAN)

– ref. 438, Ordynacja miasta Bochni 1750.
– ref. 1207, Proszowice 1768–1797.
– ref. 1797, Regestr służbowy 1707.

Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter (AKap)

– ref. AHosp20/30, 20/26, 20/6, 20/11, 20/13, 20/20, 20/22, 20/32, 20/33, 20/28.
– ref. Reg.C.18, Percepta pro Sacristia [Ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracoviensis] 1684–1685.
– ref. Inv.v.B1.

Raciborowice Parish Archives (APR)

– Book of Baptisms 1731–1761.
– Book of Baptisms 1762–1786.
– Book of Baptisms 1786–1797.
– Book of Marriages 1638–1758.
– Book of Marriages 1759–1797.
– Book of Burials 1729–1797.

Więcławice Parish Archives (APW)

– Book of Baptisms 1641–1686.
– Book of Baptisms 1686–1710.

References

Andersson, Martin. 2018. *Migration i 1600-talets Sverige: Älvsborgs lösen 1613–1618*. Malmö: Universus Academic Press.

Bilewicz, Aleksandra. 1998. "Wzór kobiety, żony i matki w świetle osiemnastowiecznych kazań" [The Model Woman, Wife, and Mother in the Light of 18th-Century Homilies]. In *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej* [The Role and Place of Women in Polish Culture and Education], edited by Wiesław Jamrożek and Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, vol. 1, 82–88. Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza.

Bogucka, Maria. 1990. "Women and Economic Life in the Polish Cities During the 16th–17th Centuries." In *La donna nell'economia secc. XIII–XVIII*: [The Woman in the Economy 13th–18th Centuries] *Atti della "ventunesima Settimana di studi", 10–15 aprile 1989*, edited by Simonetta Cavaciocchi, 185–94. Firenze: Le Monnier.

Bogucka, Maria. 1996. "Gender in the Economy of a Traditional Agrarian Society: The Case of Poland in the 16th–17th Centuries." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 74: 5–19.

Bogucka, Maria. 1998. *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce: kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI–XVIII wieku na tle porównawczym* [The Female in Old-Time Poland: The Woman in the Polish Society of the 16th and 17th Centuries Against a Comparative Background]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio.

Bogucka, Maria. 2016. *Women in Early Modern Polish Society, Against the European Background*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bujak, Franciszek. 1905. *Studya nad osadnictwem Małopolski* [Studies on Settlement in Małopolska], vol. 1. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności.

Chlebowska, Agnieszka, Katarzyna Sierakowska, and Agnieszka Szudarek, eds. 2010. *Kobiety i procesy migracyjne* [Women and Migration Processes]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton.

De Munck, Bert, and Anne Winter. 2012. "Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities: An Introduction." In *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*, edited by Bert De Munck and Anne Winter, 1–22. Burlington: Ashgate.

Deschacht, Nick, and Anne Winter. 2019. "Micro-Mobility in Flux Municipal Migration Levels in the Provinces of Flanders and Antwerp, 1796–1846." *Journal of Migration History* 5 (1): 1–30.

Dudała, Halina. 2015. *Clerus Decanatus Plesnensis w świetle protokołów kongregacji dekanalnych pszczyńskich z lat 1691–1756: edycja źródłowa* [*Clerus Decanatus Plesnensis* in the Light of the Minutes of the Pless Decanal Congregations from the Years 1691–1756: A Source-Based Edition]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Inforteditions.

Gieysztorowa, Irena. 1976. *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej* [Introduction to Old-Time Poland's Demographics]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Głowacka-Penczyńska, Anetta. 2010. *Kobieta w małych miastach Wielkopolski w drugiej połowie XVI i w XVII wieku* [The Woman in the Small Towns of Wielkopolska in the Second Half of the 16th and in the 17th Century]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton.

Green, Nancy L. 2012. "Changing Paradigms in Migration Studies: From Men to Women to Gender." *Gender & History* 24: 782–98.

Grulich, Josef. 2018. *Migrační strategie: Město, předměstí a vesnice na panství České Budějovice ve druhé polovině 18. Století* [The Migratory Strategies. Town, Suburbs and Villages in the Domain of České Budějovice in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century]. České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích.

Guzowski, Piotr. 2011. "The Influence of Exports on Grain Production on Polish Royal Demesne Farms in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century." *Agricultural History Review* 59: 312–27.

Hayhoe, Jeremy. 2016. *Strangers and Neighbours: Rural Migration in Eighteenth-Century Northern Burgundy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hollingsworth, Thomas H. 1970. "Historical Studies of Migration." *Annales de démographie historique*: 87–96.

Izydorczyk, Anna, and Andrzej Wyczański. 1990. "La femme et l'économie rurale en Pologne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles" [The Woman and the Rural Economy in Poland in 16th and 17th Centuries]. In *La donna nell'economia secc. XIII–XVIII* [The Woman and the Economy 13th–18th Centuries]:

Atti della "ventunesima Settimana di studi", 10–15 aprile 1989, edited by Simonetta Cavaciocchi, 275–82. Firenze: Le Monnier.

Janeczek, Andrzej. 2001. "Town and Country in the Polish Commonwealth." In *Town and Country in the Polish Commonwealth, 1350–1650*, edited by Stephan R. Epstein, 156–76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kałwa, Dobrochna. 2014. "W stronę historii gender" [Towards Gender History]. *Rocznik Antropologii Historii* 11 (2): 7–14.

Karpiński, Andrzej. 1990. "The Woman on the Market Place. The Scale of Feminization of Retail Trade in Polish Towns in the Second Half of the 16th and in the 17th Century." In *La donna nell'economia secc. XIII–XVIII* [The Woman and the Economy 13th–18th Centuries]: *Atti della "ventunesima Settimana di studi", 10–15 aprile 1989*, edited by Simonetta Cavaciocchi, 283–92. Firenze: Le Monnier.

Karpiński, Andrzej. 1995. *Kobieta w mieście polskim: w drugiej połowie XVI i w XVII wieku* [The Woman in the Polish City in the Second Half of the 16th and in the 17th Century]. Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

Kiełbicka, Aniela. 1989. *Zbiegostwo chłopów w województwie krakowskim na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku* [Peasant Flights in the Cracow Province in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries]. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Kleinmann, Yvonne, and Tomasz Wiślicz. 2017. "Introduction to the Early Modern Section." In *Imaginations and Configurations of Polish Society: From the Middle Ages Through the Twentieth Century*, edited by Yvonne Kleinmann, Jürgen Heyde, Dietlind Hüchtker, Dobrochna Kałwa, Joanna Nalewajko-Kulikov, Katrin Steffen, and Tomasz Wiślicz, 111–20. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.

Kołacz-Chmiel, Małgorzata. 2016. "Migracje kobiet z rodzin chłopskich i ich przyczyny w Polsce XV wieku (w świetle ksiąg oficjała lubelskiego)" [Migrations of Women from Peasant Families and Their Causes in the 15th Century (in the Light of the Books of the Judicial Vicar of the Lublin Bishopric)]. In *Via viatores quaerit: mobilność społeczna w dziejach krajów Grupy Wyszehradzkiej* [*Via viatores quaerit*: Social Mobility in the Histories of the Visegrad Group Countries], edited by Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, Lech Kościelak, and Ewa Łączyńska, 303–15. Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pomorskiej.

Kołacz-Chmiel, Małgorzata. 2018. *Mulier honesta et laboriosa: kobieta w rodzinie chłopskiej późnośredniowiecznej Małopolski* [The Woman in the Peasant Family in Late Medieval Małopolska]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.

Kopczyński, Michał. 1998. *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie w XVII–XVIII wieku* [Studies on the Peasant Family in the Kingdom of Poland in the 17th and 18th Centuries]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka.

Kowalczyk, Małgorzata Ewa. 2019. *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia* [Polish Women's Foreign Travels in the Age of Enlightenment]. Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW.

Kowalska-Cichy, Magdalena. 2019. *Magia i procesy o czary w staropolskim Lublinie* [Magic and Witchcraft Trials in Old-Time Poland's Lublin]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Episteme.

Kuklo, Cezary. 1998. *Kobieta samotna w społeczeństwie miejskim u schyłku Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej: studium demograficzno-społeczne* [The Single Woman in Urban Society During the Final Decline of the Nobles' Commonwealth]. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku.

Kuklo, Cezary. 2006. "Imigracja kobiet i ich aktywność zawodowa w miastach polskich w XVIII i XIX wieku" [Women's Immigration and Occupational Activity in Polish Cities in the 18th and 19th Centuries]. In *Ad fontes. Studia ofiarowane Księdzu Profesorowi Alojzemu Szorcowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin* [*Ad fontes*. Studies Dedicated to Fr. Professor Alojzy Szorc on the Seventieth Anniversary of His Birth], edited by Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew and Irena Makarczyk, 183–94. Olsztyn: Pracownia Wydawnicza "ElSet".

Kuklo, Cezary. 2009. *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej* [The Demographics of the Pre-Partition Commonwealth]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG.

Łozowski, Piotr. 2015. "Stan badań nad kobietami w miastach późnośredniowiecznych na ziemiach polskich" [The State of Research on Women in Late Medieval Cities in the Polish Lands]. *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski: Materiały i Studia* 37 (1): 71–91.

Lucassen, Jan, and Leo Lucassen. 2017. "Theorizing Cross-Cultural Migrations: The Case of Eurasia Since 1500." *Social Science History* 41: 445–75.

Malinowska, Monika. 2008. *Sytuacja kobiety w siedemnastowiecznej Francji i Polsce* [The Woman's Situation in Seventeenth-Century France and Poland]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

Malinowski, Mikołaj. 2019. "Economic Consequences of State Failure; Legal Capacity, Regulatory Activity, and Market Integration in Poland, 1505–1772." *Journal of Economic History* 79 (3): 862–96.

Miller, Jaroslav. 2008. *Urban societies in East-Central Europe, 1500–1700*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Poniat, Radosław. 2014. *Służba domowa w miastach na ziemiach polskich od połowy XVIII do końca XIX wieku* [Domestic Servants in Cities in the Polish Lands from the Mid-18th to the End of the 19th Century]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG.

Poniat, Radosław. 2015. "The Age of Entering the Service in Polish Lands in the Second Half of the 18th Century: In Pursuit of Life-Cycle Servants." In *Studies on Family and Household in Preindustrial Poland*, edited by Piotr Guzowski and Cezary Kuklo, 145–62. Białystok: Institute for Research of European Cultural Heritage.

Pooley, Colin G. 2017. *Mobility, Migration and Transport: Historical Perspectives*. Lancaster: Palgrave Macmillan.

Popiołek, Bożena. 1998. "Na marginesie ważnych spraw. Listy kobiece epoki saskiej" [On the Margin of Important Matters. Women's Letters in the Saxon Era]. In *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej* [The Role and Place of Women in Polish Culture and Education], edited by Wiesław Jamrożek and Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, vol. 1, 89–102. Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza.

Popiołek, Bożena, Agnieszka Chłosta-Sikorska, and Marcin Gadocha, eds. 2015. *Kobieta i mężczyzna: jedna przestrzeń, dwa światy* [Man and Woman: One Space, Two Worlds]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG.

Popiołek, Bożena, Urszula Kicińska, Anna Penkała-Jastrzębska, and Agnieszka Słaby, eds. 2019. *Studies on Female Patronage in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej.

Puschmann, Paul, Nina Van den Driessche, Bart Van de Putte, and Koen Matthijs. 2016. "Paths of Acculturation and Social Inclusion. Migration, Marriage Opportunities and Assortative Mating by Geographic Origin in Antwerp, 1846–1920." *Journal of Migration History* 2 (1): 177–207.

Rutkowski, Jan. 1921. *Poddaństwo włościan w XVIII wieku w Polsce i niektórych innych krajach Europy* [The Serfdom of RUSTICS in the 18th Century in Poland and Some Other Countries of Europe]. Poznań: Drukarnia Zjednoczenia Młodzieży.

Rutkowski, Henryk, and Krzysztof Chłapowski, eds. 2008. *Województwo krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, vol. 1: *Mapy, plany. Atlas historyczny Polski. Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii. Mapy szczegółowe XVI wieku* [Cracow Province in the Second Half of the 16th Century, vol. 1: Maps and Plans. Historical Atlas of Poland. Polish Academy of Sciences. Institute of History. Detailed 16th-Century Maps]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii PAN; Wydawnictwo Neriton.

Rzemieniecki, Konrad. 2010. "Rodzina i gospodarstwo chłopskie w ziemi wieluńskiej i powiecie ostrzeszowskim w końcu XVIII wieku" [The Peasant Family and Household in the Wieluń Region and Ostrzeszów County Towards the End of the 18th Century]. *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski. Studia i Materiały* 29: 29–68.

Sharpe, Pamela. 2002. "Introduction: Gender and the Experience of Migration." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 1–14. London: Routledge.

Slany, Krystyna. 2008. "Co to znaczy być migrantką?" [What Does Mean to Be a Migrant Woman?]. In *Migracje kobiet: perspektywa wielowymiarowa* [Women's Migrations: A Multidimensional Perspective], edited by Krystyna Slany, 7–28. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Snell, Keith D. M. 2006. *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Szołtysek, Mikołaj. 2014. "Family Systems and Welfare Provision in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Discrepancies and Similarities." *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne. Беларускі гістарычны зборнік* 42: 25–58.

Szołtysek, Mikołaj. 2015. *Rethinking East-Central Europe: Family Systems and Co-Residence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Szołtysek, Mikołaj, Sebastian Klüsener, Radosław Poniat, and Siegfried Gruber. 2017. "The Patriarchy Index: A New Measure of Gender and Generational Inequalities in the Past." *Cross-Cultural Research* 51 (3): 228–62.

Tomaszewski, Edward. 1934. *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1601–1795* [Prices in Cracow from 1601 to 1795]. Lwów: Kasa Mianowskiego.

Velková, Alice. 2006. "Migrace a životní cyklus venkovského obyvatelstva na Šťáhlavsku v letech 1750–1850" [Migration and the Life Cycle of the Rural Population in the Šťáhlavy Region in 1750–1850]. *Historická demografie* 30 (supplement): 73–98.

Wijaczka, Jacek. 2007. *Procesy o czary w Prusach Książęcych (Brandenburskich) w XVI–XVIII wieku* [Witchcraft Trials in (Brandenburg) Ducal Prussia in the 16th–18th Centuries]. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

Wiślicz, Tomasz. 2012. *Upodobanie: małżeństwo i związki nieformalne na wsi polskiej XVII–XVIII wieku: wyobrażenia społeczne i jednostkowe doświadczenia* [Love in the Fields: Relationships and Marriage in Rural Poland in the Early Modern Age: Social Imagery and Personal Experience]. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon.

Wiślicz, Tomasz. 2018. *Love in the Fields: Relationships and Marriage in Rural Poland in the Early Modern Age: Social Imagery and Personal Experience*. Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN.

Wyrobisz, Andrzej. 1976. "Małe miasta w Polsce w XVI i XVII w" [Towns in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries]. In *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie środkowo-wschodniej: przemiany społeczne a układy przestrzenne* [Feudal-Era Cities in East-Central Europe: Social Transformations and Spatial Alignments], edited by Aleksander Gieysztor and Tadeusz Rosłanowski, 177–87. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Wyczański, Andrzej. 1977. *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku: studia* [Social Stratification in 16th-Century Poland: Studies]. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Wyżga, Mateusz. 2011. *Parafia Raciborowice od XVI do końca XVIII wieku. Studium o społeczności lokalnej* [The Raciborowice Parish from the 16th to the End of the 18th Centuries: The Study of Local Community]. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Wyżga, Mateusz. 2018. "Were Peasants Able to Move in Feudal Poland? Tracking the Determinants of Internal Migrations, 1501–1800." *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* 12 (2): 5–20.

Wyżga, Mateusz. 2019a. *Homo movens: mobilność chłopów w mikroregionie krakowskim w XVI–XVIII* [*Homo Movens:* Peasants' Mobility in the Cracow Micro-Region in the 16th–18th Centuries]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.

Wyżga, Mateusz. 2019b. "Peasant Immigrants in the City of Cracow in the 16th–17th Centuries in the Light of Criminal Records." *Historická demografie* 43 (1): 47–65.

Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Dorota. 1998. "'Jako rządzić mają rodzice córki swe.' Poglądy na wychowanie kobiet w XVI-XVIII w" ['How Parents Should Rule Over Their Daughters.' Views on the Upbringing of Women in the 16th–18th Centuries]. In *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej* [The Role and Place of Women in Polish Culture and Education], edited by Wiesław Jamrożek and Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, vol. 1, 53–63. Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza.

Zyblikiewicz, Lidia. 1999. *Kobieta w Krakowie w 1880 r. w świetle ankiet powszechnego spisu ludności: studium demograficzne* [The Woman in Cracow in 1880 in the Light of Census Polls: A Demographic Study]. Kraków: Historia Iagellonica.

Staying or Leaving: A Female Seasonal Labour Market in Early Modern Spain (1640–1690)

Gabriel Jover-Avellà and Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora

Abbreviations

ACM	Cathedral Chapel Archive
ARM	Kingdom of Majorca Archive
PN	Notarial records
AA	Royal Justice Court

G. Jover-Avellà
University of Girona, Girona, Spain
e-mail: gabriel.jover@udg.edu

J. M. Pujadas-Mora (✉)
Open University of Catalonia & Center for Demographic Studies-Autonomous University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain
e-mail: jpujades@ced.uab.es

215

Migratory flows have traditionally been explained using the attraction/expulsion forces framework at a macro-social level. This model has been applied to the analysis of long-distance and generally permanent migrations such as transoceanic migrations, whether voluntary or forced (Sharpe 2002; Lucassen et al. 2010, 3–35), and intra-European flows (Nadal and Giralt Raventós 1960; Amalric 2003, 23–37; Salas Auséns 2009; Amengual-Bibiloni and Pujadas-Mora 2016; Arrizabalaga 2000; Kesztenbaum 2008; Lucassen and Lucassen 2009; Sommerseth et al. 2016). It has also been used to analyse the middle-distance migration between rural/traditional and modern/urban places during the socioeconomic structural shifts that took place during the first industrial revolution (Camps Cura 1995; Moch 2003; Oris 2003; Vidal i Bendito 1979). In both cases, as A. Lewis (1954) argued some time ago, the pull–push factors in the process of economic development were simultaneously at play.[1] To this effect, a drop in income in the traditional/rural sector would have forced people to abandon their farms and migrate to the modern/urban sectors where yields and wages were higher (Camps Cura 1993; Marfany 2016). Accordingly, migration would have been the outcome of a geographical imbalance in labour supply and demand. Under these considerations, the expulsion factors of inequality and poverty, together with institutional policies, were the driving forces that impelled the poorest individuals in the population to become temporary or permanent migrants.

This model has been revisited and adapted to traditional societies that were not subject to structural change. Recent studies have highlighted the fact that these migrants were not necessarily the poorest in their communities (Deshingkar and Start 2003). Knowing who the migrants were is important since it enables the introduction of gender-specific migration experiences, providing information about why others stayed (Kothari 2002; Boyd and Grieco 2003). The new approaches have added other factors to the macro causes of migration (the socioeconomic inequalities between origin and destination, including income differential, access to land, access to education and qualifications) which could intervene in the migratory process and have been described as meso and micro causes (Greefs and Winter 2016, 62–63).

Meso causes can be understood as the information about migration given/obtained through support networks made up of family members and neighbours (Dribe 2003; Manfredini 2003; Winter 2015; Greefs and Winter 2016). In agrarian societies, shepherds, carters and pedlars

played a fundamental role in maintaining the flow of information and knowledge (Boorsma 1989; Lanza García 1991; Fontaine 1993; Blanco Carrasco 2012), while migrants were also an important chain of transmission/diffusion of 'new' behaviours in their localities of origin (Banerjee 1983).

From a microeconomic point of view, migrations are the result of an individual/collective (family) rational decision based on a perception of a trade-off: higher wages or labour productivity (Borjas 1989; Stark and Bloom 1985). Potential migrants (or their families) estimate the cost and benefits of the migration. In the case of short-term and circular migrations, these have been shown to have a low cost given that they are a win–win scenario for origin and destination (Skeldon 2012) and at the same time can be understood as a long-lasting strategy within households (Coffey et al. 2015). Depending on the family structure, its sociodemographic characteristics and the household resource endowment, families are the ones who make the decision to migrate, including who migrates, where to and when (Bhattacharyya 1985; Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge 2018).

These approaches have recognized the role of women as support for male migration, not only in terms of domestic and reproductive work but also regarding the management of the exploitations in the absence of husbands (Rey Castelao 2006; 2016, 206–18), and to a lesser degree their active role in migrations (Sharpe 2002). Studies on migrations, including seasonal migrations, have shown how under certain conditions these allowed women to improve their autonomy, status and access to resources. At the same time, they necessarily empowered women (Sarasúa García 2002; Rey Castelao 2008, 2015, 2016), lending them certain agency within the limitations that a historical patriarchal society and economic exploitation would have conferred (Garikipati 2008; Humphries 2017). In contrast, migration could also be a stigma for women in both their communities of origin and destination (Parreñas 2015). In this regard, women's integration in the agrarian labour market through seasonal migrations enables the gender perspective to be introduced into migratory research, a little-explored perspective from a historical point of view (Catarino and Morokvasic 2005; Morokvašić 2014; Phizacklea 2017; Rajan and Maruthur 2019). In this paper, the predominance of women in certain labour flows will be demonstrated, debunking the idea that women were followers in men's migrations (Sharpe 2002; Sarasúa García 1994). Last, the study of these issues for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period that paved the way for the creation of the wage

labour market in many places which would become fully developed in the eighteenth century, will be vindicated (King 2015; Whittle and Hailwood 2020).

The aim of this chapter is to study the factors that explain women's intense participation in seasonal migration in the Mediterranean region throughout the preindustrial period, an area where the literature has not previously taken the levels of development of labour markets and female presence into account. From ancient times, olive trees were central to the economy of the Mediterranean mountains (McNeill 1992; Grigg 2001; Infante-Amate 2012b). The oil produced in these areas was a new commodity frontier from the seventeenth century onwards in the sense proposed by Jason Moore (2010). English and Dutch merchants loaded ships with oil in Mediterranean seaports bound for the Atlantic cities, where it was used as a lubricant, in the production of soap, and as an inflammable to light fires, among many other uses (Divitiis 1997). In all the Mediterranean regions during the olive harvest, thousands of women and men moved from their communities to the olive grove areas, each of which had their own mode of recruitment and work organization. In some cases, this mobility had a local or regional character, and in others long-distance movement was involved (Visceglia 1988, 51; Borrero 2003; Lobato 1999; Florencio Puntas and López Martínez 2000, 2003; Theo-dossopoulos 2003, 67–87; Infante-Amate 2012a, 104–5; Lazaridis 2012, 118–28).

This study focusses on one of these olive grove exporting regions, the island of Majorca. In the mid-seventeenth century, this enclave exported over half its production. The olive oil sector was in the hands of large farms that hired wageworkers, most of which were women. The literature has suggested that during harvest time olive pickers would move from villages where land ownership was more unequal and from specialized cereal parishes to olive grove areas, attracted by the higher wages (Grau and Tello 1985, 90–91; Juan Vidal 1989a, 170; Suau 1991; Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020a). However, as will be shown in this study, this relationship was in fact much more complex. The chapter is organized into 6 sections. First, Majorca's agrarian structure in the mid-seventeenth century is analysed and a new hypothesis on the seasonal migrations of olive pickers is discussed. Second, the sources used and some methodological considerations are presented. In section "The Recruitment of Female Labour for the Olive Harvest: Labour Market and Seasonal Migration", the contractual basis of the women pickers and their

recruitment areas compared with those of the men are described. In section "Near and Far: The Geography of the Recruitment of Olive Pickers", push factors such as the unequal distribution of land and agricultural specialization are presented. In section "Inequalities in Land Distribution and Agricultural Systems", the patterns of demand for labour on the two types of farms, olive grove and cereal, are evaluated to test the hypothesis of complementarity between sectors. Last, the study closes with some final comments.

The Case Study: Large Farms, Agricultural Specialization and Female Seasonal Migrations in Majorca

Two major social and economic changes took place in early modern times in Majorca (Tello et al. 2018). Around 1500, important changes were undergone in the property structure and agrarian social relations, which deeply altered the labour markets. First, the peasants experienced growing indebtedness due to increasing fiscal pressure. Their defeat in the civil wars of 1450–1454 and 1520–1423 led to the appropriation of land (peasant tenures and communal lands) by a new landed aristocracy. These new estates were organized in large olive grove farms and cereal farms (Bisson 1977; Tello et al. 2018). And second, the decline of slavery, a basic workforce for large farms until the mid-sixteenth century, meant a growing supply of daily labourers, among which women had a very significant weight (Jover-Avellà et al. 2019). The new estates were consolidated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the heritage system based on *fideicomiso* (similar to the English strict settlement) and matrimonial alliances, both strategies contributing to the accumulation of large estates in the seventeenth century (Morey 1999; Jover-Avellà 2002). These estates were made up of several farms in the *Serra de Tramuntana* (a mountain range in the north of the island) and in the centre and east of the island, which integrated a complex agricultural system and semi-transhumance (Jover et al. 2019). The bulk of the farms in the north of the island were devoted to olive trees and transhumance (summer pastures), and on the plains, the farms were devoted to mixed pastoral (winter pastures) and cereal farming. The main purpose of these estates

was sheep raising to produce wool to sell to woollen manufacturers (Deyá 1997; Vaquer Bennasar 2001, 2007).

The second wave of changes occurred in the seventeenth century. The agricultural crisis of the first-third of the seventeenth century had brought about the intensification of cultivation characterized by increased field fertilization, the incorporation of legumes in rotation with cereal and tree crops, mainly fig and carob trees, and vineyard expansion (Jover-Avellà and Manera 2009; Jover-Avellà 2019). These processes happened during a period of very slow population growth (Juan Vidal 1991). The crisis in wool manufacturing for exportation was also depriving the rural population of an important source of income (Bibiloni 1995; Deyá 1998). However, the growth in demand for olive oil from across the Atlantic presented an opportunity for the landed aristocracy (Montaner and Morey 1989; Jover-Avellà 2002), who redirected the estates and farms they owned in the Tramuntana Mountains to olive oil production and the farms in the centre and east of the island to cereal crops (Bisson 1977; Tello et al. 2018). This process was developed on large farms that hired farmworkers and daily workers, who were mostly women and children. The mobilization of the workforce for the harvesting of olives involved not only the populations in the olive grove counties but also workers from all over the island (Grau and Tello 1985; Jover-Avellà 2015; Jover-Avellà et al. 2017). The olive oil sector became the first commodity to be exported, with more than 80% of the value of total exportations sent to Atlantic cities (Bibiloni 1995).

The olive harvest required a seasonal mobility of labour, given that local markets could not cover the demand generated. This migration linked the olive grove villages in the Tramuntana Mountains with the villages in the centre and east of the island (Map 7.1). It was a medium- and short-distance seasonal migration, which over time was also an internal and circular migration involving living in the workplace for between two or three months depending on the volume of the harvest. The women were the protagonists in this flow of labour. Some of the reasons for these specific migrations have been discussed in previous works. Men's and women's wages in the oil sector were higher than in the cereal sector, so throughout the seventeenth century this fact was a powerful pull factor on the island's rural populations, and no law or customary rules forbid this mobility across the island (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020b).

1: S'Estorell (Binissalem-Lloseta)
2: Son Togores (Esporles)
3: Es Verger (Esporles)
4: Conques (Puigpunyent)
5: Son Pont (Puigpunyent)
6: Galatzó (Calvià)
7: Son Fuster (Inca-Selva)

Safortesa's farms ▲
Descatllar's farms ●
Fuster's farm ■

0 - 100 m.
101 - 200 m.
201 - 400 m.
401 - 800 m.
801 - 1.000 m.
1.001 - 1.437 m.

0   5   10   15   20 Km.
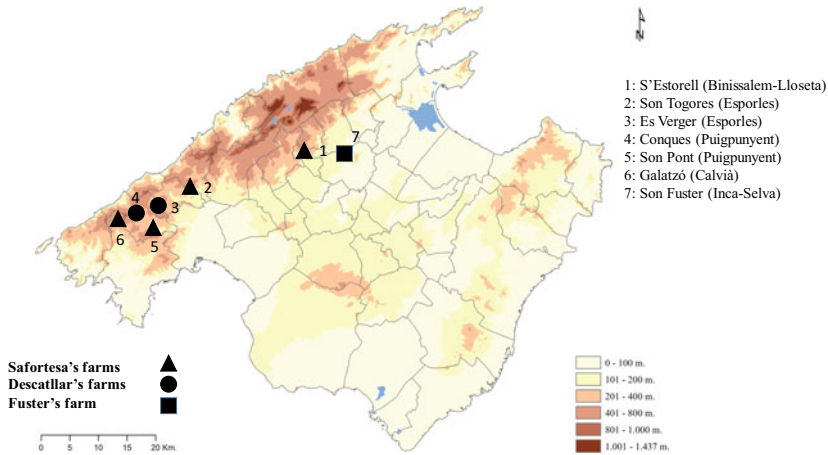
Map 7.1 Main farms of the Safortesa, Descatllar and Fuster estates (*Source* Own elaborations)

The literature has focussed on the extent to which inequality in access to land and complementarities in labour demand patterns in cereal and olive farming systems worked as push factors (Grau and Tello 1985, 90–91; Juan Vidal 1989a, 170; Suau 1991). The first hypothesis would imply that the population moved from areas with greater inequality in land/income distribution to areas that offered greater opportunities to obtain incomes (higher wages). The second hypothesis is based on the argument that the demand for labour came from parishes specialized in cereal agriculture, the reason being that there were complementarities between the oil and cereal sectors in the labour demand pattern. Certainly, the peaks in demand for labour were concentrated in the harvest months, which for cereals were June to August and for olives were October to January (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020a). As will be shown in sections "Near and Far: The Geography of the Recruitment of Olive Pickers" and "Inequalities in Land Distribution and Agricultural Systems", these two hypotheses have not always fitted with the historical evidence and other explanations need to be introduced to clarify the social and geographical origin of the olive pickers who seasonally migrated.

Unusual Sources and Methodological Approach

Various economic sources of different types were collected to answer our research questions, including account books, cadastres and tithes. The predominant way of managing the pastoral and cereal farms in Mallorca was land leasing, meaning that farm account books were not frequently held in aristocratic archives prior to around 1700 (Moll and Suau 1979; Jover and Pons 2012). However, from the second half of the seventeenth century, the olive grove farms preserved much accounting information linked to directly managing the farm and olive oil commercialization. The farm account books are an exceptional source because they report information about incomes from production, consumption and sales, and expenses such as wages, the purchase of inputs and the trade or replacement of production factors such as livestock and facilities (Morey 2013).

The farm account books from three estates were used for this study (Map 7.1). The first is the small olive grove farm estate, Son Fuster (1666–1673), owned by the Fuster family.[2] The second is the Descatllar estate, consisting of two olive grove farms, Es Verger (126 hectares) and Conques (385 hectares), bought in 1662, and the rents from a small manor in Manacor belonging Pere Descatllar (was born in 1595) until his death in 1651, after which the estate was managed under judicial order by his brother, Jordi Descatllar (1598–1673).[3] Pere Descatllar was the head of the secondary family line of the Abrí-Descatllar lineage family (Carbonell Buades 2016, 60). The principal line, led by Jordi Abrí-Descatllar (the uncle of Pere), owned one of the biggest agrarian estates on the island at the time, which included large olive groves in the mountains in the north of the island (Massanella, Son Catllar and pieces of land in the parish of Selva, and Almallutx and Comafreda in the parish of Escorca) covering more than 2589 hectares, and large pastoral and cereal farms in Sa Font Santa, Barrala, Torre Catllar in the parish of Campos and in Sa Vall in the parish of Santanyí.[4] The whole estate amounted to 5084 hectares, to which can be added the rents from the Palmer manor (904 hectares) in the south-east of the island, and other pieces of land in Palma.[5]

The last estate belonged to the Count of Formiguera and was a large feudal territory in the parishes of Santa Margalida and Muro made up of peasant tenancies and several farms as manorial reserves, and also included a large pastoral farm called Son Fuster (600 hectares) in the Palma

district, four more large olive groves farms in the Tramuntana mountains, S'Estorell (Binissalem, 520 hectares), Son Tugores (Esporles, 100 hectares) Galatzó (Calvià, 900 hectares) and Son Pont (Puigpunyent, 150 hectares), some small plots scattered across several villages, and some rents from peasant tenancies and housing in several of the island's villages.[6] To manage these estates, the aristocratic families created a complex administration system, which produced voluminous family archives (Villalonga Morell 2012).

A steward was responsible for the estates' administration. On each farm, there was a foreman (*mayoral* in Spanish) who supervised the agricultural tasks and groups of labourers, while the steward recorded all the farming task costs generated by the olive and cereal fields, the orchards and gardens, the vineyards and the maintenance of livestock, in the farm account books.[7] He also kept a harvest logbook, which was a singular source. In this field notebook, he recorded the names of all the workers hired to pick olives and make olive oil for each olive harvest season and whether they were related by family and place of origin, the number of days worked and the wages received (in cash and in kind). However, this type of documentation had a limited function in both a practical and a temporal sense, and once the wages were paid, these annual books were generally destroyed and their aggregated figures registered in the estate's general account book.[8] But, this specific source has been become a central source for this study. Because, exceptionally twenty-eight harvest logbooks from 1658 to 1679 have been conserved for the Safortesa estate, 20 of which are continuous in time for the Estorell farm (Jover-Avellà 2015; Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020b).[9]

Information from the 1685 *Cadastre* was collected to assess the economic and land inequalities among Majorcan villages. The system included a tax levied on agrarian properties (not surface area), distinguishing between large farms (*possessions* in Catalan) and medium-sized farms (*rafals*, also in Catalan), and other pieces of land and small plots (vineyards, orchards, cereal fields, etc.). The value of each farm or piece of land was estimated according to the surface area and cultivation intensity. Although this register was used for taxation purposes, several studies have shown the cadastre to be a reliable indicator of inequality in land distribution and agricultural wealth (Ferrer Flórez 1974; Vaquer Bennasar 1987; Montaner and Morey 1989). Accordingly, the percentage of large farms owned by the aristocracy out of the total number of large farms in each village was estimated to measure the inequality, a proxy that produces

results similar to those of other approaches calculated using more reliable nineteenth-century cadastral sources, which take the land size and soil qualities into account (Suau 1991).[10]

Tithes are used as a proxy for production. These data come from the Cathedral Chapel Archive of Majorca (ACM, sources in Table 7.5). Tithes were leased each year for each of the villages and for different crops separately and were expressed in monetary value after auction. Hence, the value of tithe leases depended on the harvests and prices for the year (Jover-Avellà 2020). All cereals and dried legumes (beans, chickpeas), the offspring of livestock (but not wool, cheese and other derivations), the production of wine, oil and saffron, and orchards and irrigation (vegetables, legumes, hemp, flax, fodder, named green tithes) were charged on, but not fruit trees and other tree crops such as carob trees (carob trees), almond trees and fig trees, and shrubs such as capers (Juan Vidal 1989a, b). The latter were cultivated from the seventeenth century onwards on small peasant tenancies to increase the yield of the land and family incomes (Bibiloni 1995; Manera Erbina 2001). However, the tithes roughly represented the distribution of the monetary value of the principal agricultural crops for each village.

The Recruitment of Female Labour for the Olive Harvest: Labour Market and Seasonal Migration

By the mid-seventeenth century, the olive oil specialization process had become consolidated, spurred by the rise in domestic demand and the growing international demand. The farm account books show how the number of women and children day olive pickers increased, and how the male workforce was hired as permanent servants to work in olive oil mills and to carry olives and oil, or as daily labourers for specialized and heavy tasks. Women's gangs were hired over the summer throughout the island once an idea of the volume of the crop had been determined. The overseers of the olive grove farms travelled to the villages in the centre and east of Majorca to hire the crews needed to carry out the year's campaign. The hiring was done through the mediation of a forewoman who oversaw the recruitment of the members of the gangs and negotiated wages. It was at this moment that the wages were set and landowners advanced her a small amount of money to retain the workforce. The gangs consisted of presumably single sisters, mothers with young unmarried children, godmothers (who were also usually the children's grandmothers) and

some aunts and nieces. To this effect, 70% of the individuals in a crew had family ties and the rest were single adult women (Montaner and Le Senne 1981; Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020b).

The salary was a monthly payment made up of a part in cash (about 85% of the total salary) and a part in kind (about 15%). Aside from the wage, the landowner provided the pickers with a house to live in during the harvest season (named the *Women's House*). This house was outside the farmyard premises, where the labourers, servants and steward lived. In the Women's House, there was a room with a wood fire oven where pickers could cook and another room with bed bunks. The landowner also provided the pickers with olive oil and wood for cooking and lighting and the gatherers brought them food (meat, legumes, flour, etc.) and linen (Jover-Avellà 2015).

As can be seen in Table 7.1, between 1645–1646 and 1677–1679, the Count of Formiguera hired an average of between 204 and 275 olive pickers for his four farms, with an average of 60 pickers per farm who worked about 60 days, or almost 3 months (with 24 effective working days each month), per season. The Descatllar estate with smaller farms hired between 19 and 39 pickers, and the Fuster estate, 39 pickers. Taken as a whole, for all the years that information is available for 8 different farms, an average of 48 pickers were contracted who worked around 60 full days per year. In the bad harvest years, the minimum number of hired pickers was between 4 and 12 (Verger, Conques, son Fuster). In the worst years (1653 and 1680), no casual workers were hired and permanent male servants, who commonly worked on other agrarian tasks, did the gathering. However, in years of good harvests up to 130 pickers were hired on some farms (see S'Estorell farm) and 60 pickers on medium farms such as Son Fuster and Son Pont.

How many people moved each season for the olive harvest in Majorca in the seventeenth century? What was the impact of this migration on the island's population? The magnitude of these seasonal movements at the end of the sixteenth century is captured in some official sources. In 1591, a year of poor olive and cereal harvests, to guarantee the supply for the population, the authorities of the Kingdom of Majorca ordered a local report on how many people would be needing bread, generating the following figures: *Summing up all the female olive pickers that have listed, the magnificent councillors* [of the olive grove villages] *have counted 2,092 and 300 men who can make oil* (Juan Vidal 1980, 524). At the end of the sixteenth century, three different population counts

Table 7.1 Number of female and male pickers in the olive grove farms of the Safortesa, Descatllar and Fuster estates throughout the seventeenth century

Period with data	Family estate	Farm	Number of years with data	Average number of pickers	Total number of women	Total number of children	% Women	% Children
(1662–1664)	Descatllar	Conques	2	19				
1666-1667	Fuster	Son Fuster	6	39				
1651–1664, 1681–1685	Descatllar	Es Verger	9	39	33	6	84.6	15.4
1645, 1658–1679	Safortesa-Fuster	S'Estorell	20	75	64	11	85.3	14.7
1662–1679	Safortesa-Fuster	Galatzó	4	48	38	10	79.2	20.8
1662–1679	Safortesa-Fuster	Son Pont	5	55	45	10	81.8	18.2
1662–1679	Safortesa-Fuster	Son Togores	3	34	29	5	85.3	14.7
		Average		50	42	8	83.3	16.7

Source Farm accounts books from the Safortesa estate: ACM 5224 (1645, S'Estorell), 16922 and 16923 (S'Estorell, Son Pont, Galatzó and Son Togores, 1658–1679), from the Descatllar estate ARM, C-4269 (1681–1685, Es Verger) and ARM, C-4268 (1651–1664, Es Verger and Conques), and from the Fuster estate (ARM, PN, S-1728, f. 308–414)

were carried out (1585, 1591 and 1593), estimating the population of the island at c. 95,000, of which about a third were female. Therefore, in 1591 more than 2.5% of the Majorcan population was mobilized for the oil harvest (men and women), representing 7% of the total female and child population of Majorca (Jover-Avellà and Manera 2009, 468–69).

In Table 7.2, two scenarios are estimated using the data from the Safortesa, Fuster and Descatllar estates for the mid-seventeenth century to learn more about the real impact of this working migration on the Majorcan population. The population censuses of 1648 and 1667 reported that the total population of Majorca was 93,663 and 99,192

Table 7.2 Estimation of the number of women and children involved in seasonal migrations in the seventeenth-century Majorca

	Number of farms	Minimum hired pickers Bad harvests	Statistical mode of hired pickers	Maximum hired pickers Good harvests
Sample farms	10	4	48	53
Total olive grove farms hiring pickers	467	1868	22,416	24,770
	1667	**Female and child population: (W&Ch) 6–50 years**	**% female olive pickers in bad harvest/total population**	**% female olive pickers/RWCh**
Rural population	73,834	2.53	30.36	33.55
Total population 1667	99,192	1.88	22.60	24.97
	Women and children 6–50 years	**%Women and children migrants/W&Ch 6–50 years**	**%Women and children migrants/W&Ch 6–50 years**	**%Women and children migrants/W&Ch 6–50 years**
Rural women and children (RFCh) between 6 and 50	34,702	5.38	64.60	71.38
Total female and children between 6 and 50	44,078	4.24	50.86	56.20

Sources The olive picker data comes from Table 7.1 and the population data from Juan Vidal (Juan Vidal 1991, 245; Jover-Avellà and Manera 2009, 468–79)

inhabitants, respectively, of whom 69,663 and 73,834 lived in rural parishes and approximately 32,000 were women and 13,774 children (Juan Vidal 1991, 245). According to the Catastro (property register) of 1685, there were more than 450 farms in the mountains that hired workforces to harvest olives (Ferrer Flórez 1974, 560–75).

In the first scenario, the figures for employed people in bad harvest years are considered. If all the farms employed four people each, the harvest season would be covered by around 2000 women and children, representing 5% of the total Majorcan rural female and child population and 4% of the total population (including the city of Palma). Years of good and very good harvests are considered in the second scenario. The sample studied probably represents the years when there were good or very good harvests. The mean and mode of engaged olive pickers would be around 44–50 on each farm in Majorca. Therefore, the total number of women and children hired would be around 20,000 from the total population and 23,000 from the rural areas, which would have represented more than 60% and around 50% of the rural and total female and child populations, respectively. In both scenarios, the impact of seasonal migrations was surely significant for the rural population of the island, and especially for the villages where the pickers came from. The impact of this migration and the negotiation of labour agreements could help to understand the wage convergence, as discussed in previous papers (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020b).

Near and Far: The Geography of the Recruitment of Olive Pickers.

The information contained in the farm account books was compiled in two tables for the analysis of the labour recruitment areas. Table 7.3 provides information on the origin of the male labour force on S'Estorell farm for the period 1658–1680, identifying different labour categories: the daily workers, the mill workers and the farmworkers. The daily workers were hired for a day or a week to maintain the crops (pruning, digging, etc.) and to harvest (cereal, etc.), and the male farmworkers (similar to servants) were hired for a season or for the whole year to perform the general tasks required on farms and for the olive harvest season. These figures are more like the ones commonly described for Northern Europe where the institution of the life cycle servant was common (Jover-Avellà et al. 2017). Table 7.4 and Map 7.2 show the

Table 7.3 Parishes where male daily workers and farmworkers for the Safortesa estates were recruited. Total number of working days per year with information

Parish	County	Men daily workers S'Estorell (1)	Men mill workers S'Estorell (1)	Men farmworkers S'Estorell (1)
Artà	Llevant	0.2	0.1	0.1
Manacor	Llevant		0.8	0.6
Felanitx	Migjorn	0.3	1.0	1.1
Llucmajor	Migjorn	0.3	0.0	0.6
Montuïri	Pla	2.0	0.5	0.4
Muro	Pla	0.0	0.8	0.6
Petra	Pla	0.1	0.2	0.2
Porreres	Pla		0.1	0.1
Sa Pobla	Pla	0.0	0.2	0.2
Santa Margalida	Pla	6.1	5.3	9.5
Sencelles	Pla	4.3	7.0	5.6
Sineu	Pla	0.2	0.5	0.4
Binissalem[a]	Raiguer	38.0	42.5	37.9
Inca	Raiguer		1.4	1.1
Palma	Raiguer		2.1	1.8
Santa Maria	Raiguer		0.3	0.3
Alaró	Serra	19.9	15.7	18.0
Calvià	Serra		0.0	0.0
Campanet	Serra		0.4	0.4
Pollença	Serra		0.4	0.4
Selva	Serra	15.4	12.0	12.8
Valldemossa	Serra	0.1	0.0	0.3
Menorca	Island	3.0	0.5	0.4
Not Identified	–	10.1	8.2	7.1
		100.0	100.0	100.0

[a]Binissalem is the parish where S'Estorell farm was located

County	Number of Parishes	Men daily-workers S'Estorell (1)	Men mill workers S'Estorell (1)	Men farmworkers S'Estorell (1)
Llevant	2	0.2	0.1	0.1
Migjorn	2	0.6	1.8	2.2
Pla	8	12.7	14.7	17.0

(continued)

Table 7.3   (continued)

County	Number of Parishes	Men daily-workers S'Estorell (1)	Men mill workers S'Estorell (1)	Men farmworkers S'Estorell (1)
Raiguer	4	38.0	46.3	41.2
Serra	6	35.4	28.4	31.9
Menorca	1	3.0	0.5	0.4
Not Identified		10.1	8.2	7.1
		100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources ACM 13992, 14202, 16922 and 16923

distribution of hired women in the Majorcan villages and their tasks on the different farms of the Safortesa estate. The number of working days on each farm was calculated to better capture the weight of each village in terms of the total number of women recruited. Hiring labour from near and distant places may have been a way to guarantee the workforce needed on each farm.

In the case of the Saforteza estates, the male labour force came from twenty-three different parishes, although most of the workers originated from just a few of them. More than a third of the daily workers, the mill and harvest workers and the farmworkers were hired in the parish where the estates were located, Binissalem, with figures of 38, 42 and 37%, respectively. The parishes close to Binissalem provided for another third of the demand: 12–15% from Selva and Alaró and 4–6% from Sencelles (Map 7.1). Only one parish in the centre of the island, Santa Margalida, had a certain weight in terms of the supply of male daily- labourers and farm workers, providing 5–9% of the workforce. The remaining recruitment areas were not very representative. We do not have such complete information for the rest of the farms, but it seems that the trends were similar.

The accounting books of Galatzó and Son Pont farms for the period 1631–1643 show that of the male workers whose origin was able to be identified (75% of the total), 62% came from the parishes neighbouring these farms (Calvià, Andratx and Puigpunyent), and that those hired in the regional market came from the south (Campos) and central plain (Sineu)[11] of Majorca in 23% of cases. In the mid-seventeenth century (1662–1665 and 1677–1679), these same farms also recruited 73% of

Table 7.4 Parishes where women and child olive pickers were recruited. Total number of working days per year with information

Parish	County	S'Estorell 1658–1679 Binissalem	Galatzó 1662–1679 Calvià	Son Pont 1662–1679 Puigpunyent	Son Tugores 1662–1679 Esporles	Conques & Es Verger 1651–1685 Esporles/Puigpunyent	Son Fuster 1666–1673 Inca-Selva	Sample 1651–1685
Arta	Llevant	0.53	0.13	1.60	0.00	1.96	0.00	0.87
Campos	Migjorn	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	49.17	0.00	10.99
Felanitx	Migjorn	3.67	21.43	34.17	3.60	0.00	0.00	6.74
Santanyi	Migjorn	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.48	0.00	0.33
Montuiri	Pla	1.10	0.27	10.63	12.52	0.00	97.07	9.57
Muro	Pla	5.31	0.00	3.75	5.15	0.00	0.00	3.21
Petra	Pla	0.01	20.16	7.99	49.40	0.00	0.00	3.71
Sa Pobla	Pla	12.19	0.00	0.00	3.99	12.28	0.00	9.00
Santa Margalida	Pla	56.69	4.38	25.27	3.32	0.00	0.00	31.39
Sencelles	Pla	1.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.85
Inca	Raiguer	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.93	0.23
Alcúdia	Raiguer	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.80	0.00	3.75
Binissalem	Raiguer	8.89	0.00	1.16	1.31	0.00	0.00	4.63
Palma	Raiguer	0.24	3.04	8.08	10.02	0.00	0.00	1.44
Alaro	Serra	2.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.23
Andratx	Serra	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.62
Calvia	Serra	0.03	9.56	1.55	1.11	0.00	0.00	2.65
Esporles	Serra	0.00	37.88	0.46	6.79	0.65	0.00	0.41
Puigpunyent	Serra	0.00	0.00	0.38	0.00	17.67	0.00	3.99
Selva	Serra	6.26	0.00	1.08	1.43	0.00	0.00	3.30
No idf	Nf	0.92	0.02	3.88	1.35	0.00	0.00	1.09

(continued)

Table 7.4 (continued)

Parish	County	S'Estorell 1658–1679 Binissalem	Galatzó 1662–1679 Calvià	Son Pont 1662–1679 Puigpunyent	Son Tugores 1662–1679 Esporles	Conques & Es Verger 1651–1685 Esporles/Puigpunyent	Son Fuster 1666–1673 Inca-Selva	Sample 1651–1685
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

County	Number of Parishes	S'Estorell	Galatzó	Son Pont	Son Tugores	Conques & Es Verger	Son Fuster	Sample
Llevant	1	0.5	0.1	1.6	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.9
Migjorn	3	3.7	21.4	34.2	3.6	50.6	0.0	18.1
Pla	6	77.0	24.8	47.6	74.4	12.3	97.1	57.7
Raiguer	4	9.1	3.0	9.2	11.3	16.8	2.9	10.1
Serra	6	8.7	47.5	3.5	9.3	18.3	0.0	12.2
No Idf	(12)[a]	0.9	3.1	3.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.1
Total	20	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a]The island had 32 parishes, no information for 12 of them

Source Safortesa farms: ACM 16922 & 16923; Es Verger & Conques ARM, C-4267 (1681–1685) and C-4269 (1651–1664); Son Fuster farm: ARM, PN, S-1768, f. 308r–414r

2.1 S'Estorell   **2.2 Galatzó**

2.3 Son Pont   **2.2 Son Tugores**
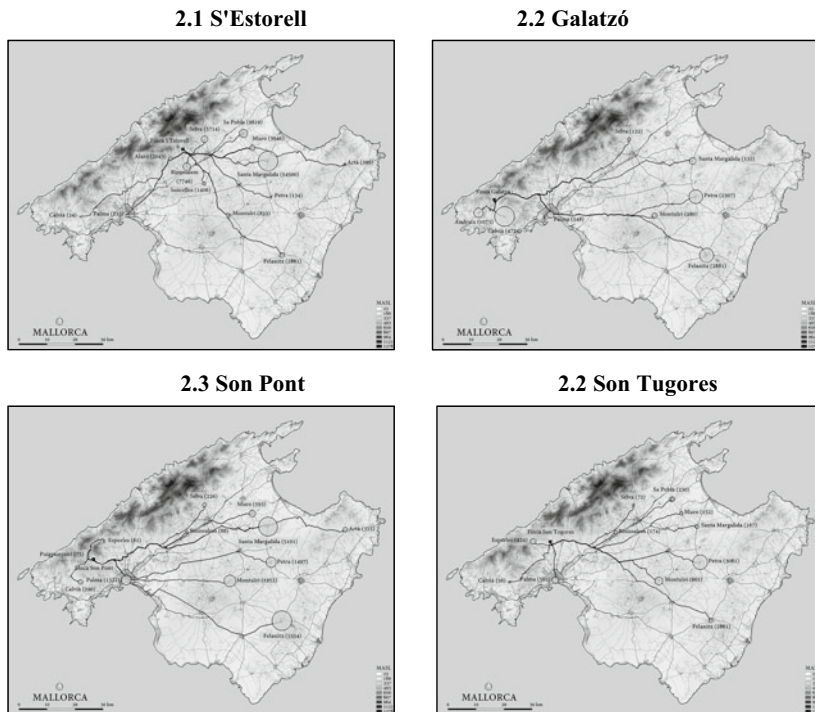
Map 7.2 Pathways of recruitment of the female olive pickers and number of paid daily wages on Safortesa farms (*Source* ACM 16922 and 16923)

the male daily workers from the same parishes in the mountains, 17% from the south (Felanitx) and 11% from the central plain (Petra and Montuïri).[12] Although the documentation from Es Verger (1651–1664), Conques (1662–1664) and Son Fuster (1666–1673) is not complete, the available data show the same abovementioned percentages. On all the farms, the origin of the daily labourers was Puigpunyent, Esporles, Selva and Inca, where the farms were located.[13]

It can be concluded that the landowners recruited more than two-thirds of the daily workers in the parishes close to the farms within a radius of 5–7 km, a distance that allowed the labour force to come and go between their homes and the farm every day. S'Estorell used the regional market, the parishes in the centre of the island, for less than a third of the

male labour force. As regards the daily workers hired outside the local market, this demand for labour was mainly due to the autumn and winter requirements of digging the base of the olive trees and the cereals (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020a).

The demand for millworkers outside the local market was very much related to the peak demand time in autumn and winter for the olive harvest. The farmworkers hired to do general work on the farms could represent the shaping of a further labour market. Although no direct information is available, the market for oil mill workers was basically made up of adult men, while the proportion of younger men was higher among farmworkers (Jover-Avellà et al. 2017). The mobility of the male agricultural labour force on the island in the categories of daily labourers and farmworkers is the same as that observed for other European regions, albeit possibly a little higher and with a greater seasonality (Kussmaul 1981; Whittle 2017, 1–18; Sarti 2017, 227–53).

Table 7.4 and Map 7.2 show a completely different scenario. The table displays the period and number of years for which we have information, and the parish of origin of the female (around 85% of the workforce) and child labour forces for each of the farms of the estates studied. The calculations are given as a percentage of the total for each period and farm and for the whole sample. The island had thirty-two parishes at the time, and the sample studied provides information on twenty of these, covering all the island's agrosocial districts to a greater or lesser extent. This sample includes an average of 359 women and children who migrated for 2–3 months each year to harvest the olives.

Each farm, however, carried out the hiring operation in different parishes. Galatzó was a large farm (of 1000 hectares with an annual oil production of around 17,000 litres), but only a small part of it was cultivated. A large percentage of the olive pickers were recruited from the local market, specifically from the parishes of Andratx, Calvià and Puigpunyent (47.5), a further 24% from the villages of the island's central plain (Petra and Santa Margalida) and 21% from the south, mainly from Felanitx (Map 2.2). This farm was located in 'cul de sac', a valley that was far from everywhere in the southwest, at a distance of 54 kilometres from the centre of the island (Sineu) and 72 km from the south-east parishes (Felantix). It is worth remembering that the employer paid the travel costs and accommodation and some living expenses such as rooms, water and firewood for the olive pickers. Therefore, in this case the cost of travel could have been a reason to recruit the bulk of olive gatherers in the surrounding

villages (about 47% came from Andraxt and Calvià), only hiring gatherers from distant places in the years when there was a bumper crop.

Son Tugores, a smaller farm (100 hectares and 8000 litres of olive oil annually), mainly recruited its female pickers from Petra (49%) and Montuïri (12%), which were about 65 and 45 km away, respectively. Other female workers were hired from villages near to these places (Santa Margalida, Muro Sa Pobla), and from Esporles (7%) and Palma (10%), which were close to the farm (Map 2.4). In Son Pont, a medium but very productive farm (287 hectares and 27,000 litres of oil annually), the main places where olive pickers were recruited were Felanitx (34%) and Santa Margalida (25%), some villages in the centre of island such as Petra, Montuïri and Muro (22% as a whole), the villages surrounding the farm (Puigpunyent, Esporles, Calvià), and the city of Palma (Map 2.3).

The last farm in this study is S'Estorell, the most productive and best-documented farm on the Safortesa estate. It had 520 hectares of land and an average oil production of 40,000 litres between 1658 and 1680. Only 17% of the olive pickers were recruited from the parishes near the farm: Binissalem 9%, Selva 6.3%, Alaró 2.4% and Sencelles 1.7%. These villages were within walking distance of the farms, at around 2–5 kilometres away. However, S'Estorell attracted olive pickers mainly from the island's central plains, accounting for around 80% of the total. These women and children came from Santa Margalida (56%), Sa Pobla (12%) and Muro (Llubí), over 20 kilometres, or 6-hours walking, away (Map 2.1).

Es Verger and Conques (Descatllar estate) contracted almost 50% of the women workers from the village of Campos (in the south-east of the island, 50 kilometres away) and from Sa Pobla (12%) and Alcúdia (17%) in the centre and north of the islands, where the two farms were located. Meanwhile, Son Fuster basically contracted its pickers from the parish of Montuïri (97%) in the centre of the island, and a tiny proportion (3%) from the parishes where the farm was located, Inca-Selva.

In summary, each farm had its own recruitment strategy. In some cases, such as the farms of S'Estorell, Son Togores and Son Fuster, the female gatherers were mainly recruited from villages located in the centre of the island. In others, such as the farms of Es Verger and Conques, the pickers came from the south-east of the island. On other farms such as Son Pont, there was a more balanced recruitment strategy among different areas, while Galatzó farm recruited basically at a local level, in the parishes that bordered the farm. In fact, all the farms hired part of their workforce in the local market. To this effect, the geographical patterns of labour

demand for these farms show that there were two basic markets: the local one (the villages surrounding the farm) and the regional one (the centre and east of the island), although with different proportions.

The geography of the recruitment of workers for these farms raises a number of questions. Why were a proportion of female gatherers hired in the local market, and why was this figure so low in most of the areas studied? What were the factors that forced the gatherers to be hired in markets that were far away from the farms? Why were the gatherers mainly from the centre of the island, the origin of more than 50% of the workforce (sample), as opposed to the other areas where the workforce was more evenly distributed (18% from the south, 10% from the centre and 12% from the mountains)? Some of the factors that drive this mobility are already known. The higher autumn and winter salaries paid on the farms in the mountains than on the farms in the centre of the island were a powerful attraction for both men and women (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020a). In addition, the gangs of female pickers hired in distant markets, the seasonal workers, were paid more than local pickers. As already mentioned, a part of their wages was paid in cash and the rest in kind in the form of housing, firewood and oil, and transport to and from the place of residence to the farms, minimizing the cost of this migration. The salary for picking olives in the mountains was about 25% higher than the salary paid for staying to dig up cereals in the parishes in the centre and east of the island (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020b). However, other push factors of an agrosocial and economic nature also weighed in these decisions, such as the unequal distribution of land, which will be discussed in section "Inequalities in Land Distribution and Agricultural Systems".

Inequalities in Land Distribution and Agricultural Systems

The push factors for migration have always been identified with the unequal distribution of land, the specialization of cereals and the lack of alternatives to agriculture such as rural manufacturing (Deyá 1998). What impact did agricultural specialization and inequality in land distribution have on seasonal migratory movements? Table 7.5 was drawn up to capture the push factors at play. The variables in the table are presented by agrosocial districts, each of which had similar urban and social structures and agricultural production (Juan Vidal 1989a; Rullan 2002). The

Table 7.5 Ratios of land inequality, agricultural specialization and local migration by agroecological districts throughout the seventeenth century

Panel 1

Parish	County	Land inequality		Green fruits	Tithes (1668, 1675–1682)			Local migration
		In hab/km² (1667)	INQ % (1685)		Cereals and legumes	Wine	Olive oil	% Olive pickers/Sample (1651–1685)
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
Artà	Llevant	17.3	49.3	5.1	89.1	3.3	2.5	0.9
Campos	Migjorn	16.1	37.2	0.6	96.8	2.6	0.0	11.0
Felanitx	Migjorn	24.9	6.4	0.4	86.9	12.7	0.0	6.7
Santanyí	Migjorn	7.7	78.9	0.4	99.2	0.4	0.0	0.3
Montuïri	Pla	45.0	58.2	1.9	95.0	3.1	0.0	9.6
Muro	Pla	33.1	64.2	3.7	87.8	8.5	0.0	3.2
Petra	Pla	21.0	83.9	3.0	87.9	9.0	0.0	3.7
Sa Pobla	Pla	31.2	36.4	9.0	90.8	0.1	0.0	9.0
Santa Margalida	Pla	19.1	74.6	1.0	91.9	7.1	0.0	31.4
Sencelles	Pla	24.1	35.9	0.9	90.9	8.2	0.0	0.9
Alcudia	Raiguer	40.7	24.4	7.2	68.7	24.1	0.0	3.8
Binissalem	Raiguer	43.4	59.0	1.3	32.8	38.3	27.6	4.6
Inca	Raiguer	47.1	24.7	1.4	73.1	15.3	10.1	0.2
Alaró	Serra	36.9	51.3	1.0	32.2	19.4	47.3	1.2
Andratx	Serra	24.7	45.4	0.8	37.4	0.4	61.5	0.6
Calvià	Serra	4.3	92.1	0.7	44.5	0.4	54.3	2.6
Esporles	Serra	38.1	73.2	0.4	18.8	3.4	77.4	0.4

(continued)

Table 7.5 (continued)

Panel 1

Parish	County	Land inequality		Green fruits	Tithes (1668, 1675–1682)			Local migration
		In hab/km² (1667)	INQ % (1685)		Cereals and legumes	Wine	Olive oil	% Olive pickers/Sample (1651–1685)
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
Puigpunyent	Serra	17.9	88.6	0.6	15.5	0.3	83.6	4.0
Selva	Serra	30.4	52.4	1.5	34.0	0.8	63.7	3.3

Sources Tithe data, 1668, 1675–1683: ACM 14,985, 14,989, 1685; land registry data: Ferrer Flórez (1974, 560–75) and Montaner and Morey (1989); population data, 1667: Juan Vidal (1990); olive pickers from Table 7.4

Panel 2

County	In hab/km² (1667)	INQ% (1685)	Green fruits	Cereals and legumes	Wine	Olive oil	% Olive pickers/Sample (1651–1685)
Rural sample Average	27.5	54.5	2.2	67.0	8.3	22.5	5.1
Migjor & Llevant	16.5	43.0	1.6	93.0	4.7	0.6	4.7
Pla	28.9	58.9	3.3	90.7	6.0	0.0	9.6
Serra Llevant	25.4	67.2	0.8	30.4	4.1	64.7	2.0
Raiguer	43.8	36.0	3.3	58.2	25.9	12.6	2.9

Sources Panel 1

first column contains the population densities (Inhabitants/km^2), which show the degree of pressure on resources (land). Inequality in land distribution is shown in column 2 (INQ). The inequality indicator is based on the number of large farms owned by the aristocracy in each parish, as explained previously in section "Unusual Sources and Methodological Approach". The ratio indicates the monopoly exercised by the aristocracy on the land and the demand for wage labour (Montaner and Morey 1989). Columns 3–6 indicate the levels of agricultural specialization using the information provided by the tithes for the period 1667–1685. The percentage of each crop tithe value has been calculated with respect to the total tithes output of the parish. This information shows the level of specialization or diversification of the crop system in each parish. The last column (7) shows the parish of recruitment/origin of the olive pickers hired by the Safortesa, Descatllar and Fuster estates (see source in Table 7.4).

The variables are presented in two panels. In the first, the information is presented by parish, and in the second by districts (counties), defined based on certain common agroecological and climatic features (Bisson 1977, 178–81, 213–24; Juan Vidal 1989a; Rullan 2002; Gil et al. 2002, 41–49, 78–123). First, starting with panel two and by means of a correlation analysis (Table 7.6), the general features of the sample studied can be summarized. The parishes located in the Tramuntana ranges previously belonged to the most specialized area, which produced an average of 64.7% of the total parish olive oil tithe output, concentrating 82% of the total value of olive oil tithes on the island (Juan Vidal 1989a; Jover-Avellà 2020). Other olive grove areas were far less important: in the Llevant Mountains in the north-east of the island, 22% of total tithe output was produced, representing just 2.7% of the total for the island, and in the Raiguer district (the valleys and gentle slopes of the Tramuntana that lead down to the Plains), 12.6% of parish output (5.1% output of the island)[14] was produced. The factors that explain these specialization patterns are the good agroecological and climatic conditions for olive grove farming in terms of altitude, temperature, rainfall and soils preserved by building terraces on the slopes of the Tramuntana Sierra. The predominance of poor soils in the counties of Pla and Migjorn, in addition to low rainfall (300–600 ml) and high average spring and summer temperatures, limited olive grove yields in these areas, where other crops were cultivated. In Pla, located in the central plains, the specialization was cereal and legume production, these parishes accounting for more than 80% of

the cereal tithe (column 4), with a significant contribution from vineyards (6% of the wine tithe) and 'green fruits'. Raiguer was the most densely populated county (column 1), with the island's most intense agricultural activity consisting of rainfed farming that associated cereals and arboriculture (almonds, carob and olive trees) combined with vineyards (tithe wine accounted for a 25.9% of the output). The area in the south-east of the island (Migjorn) was devoted to more extensive mixed dry farming combining cereals and livestock.

As column 2 shows, the landed aristocracy owned more than a 67.2% of the large olive grove farms, in addition to 58.9% of the cereal farms in Pla and 43% of the farms in the Migjorn districts. All the evidence points to inequality in distribution and access to land being greater in the olive-growing areas of Tramuntana than in the cereal areas in the centre of the island, in Raiguer with a diversified agriculture or in Llevant with an extensive agropastoral system.[15] To this effect, could a direct link be established between inequality densities and agricultural specialization?

Column 2 of Panel 2 (inhabitants/km^2) shows that there were no significant differences between the population density in the olive growing parishes of the Tramuntana ranges (25 inhabitants/km^2 on average) and those of the cereal growing areas of Pla (the plain part of the island) (28 inhabitants/km^2). The most extreme differences are found between the agropastoral parishes, which had low demographic densities and large farms (Artà and Santanyí, with 18 inhabitants/km^2), and the parishes dominated by small diversified farms with the highest densities (Alcúdia, Inca, Binissalem with more than 40 inhabitants/km^2). The high densities only have a significant and positive correlation with viticulture (0.57), which relates a labour-intensive cultivation with labour availability. The correlation with the inequality index (−0.43) is inverse and moderate, with an apparent relationship between areas with low population densities and large exploitations, caused by the expulsion effect of the landowners' policy of limiting access to land.

The correlation of the inequality index is significant and positive with olive specialization (0.40) in particular, and negative and weak (−0.3) with the rest of the crops (Table 7.6). Therefore, as mentioned previously, there is a certain link between olive oil specialization and the greater presence of large farms. Last, olive tree cultivation presents a very high negative correlation with cereals (0.94), indicating that they were specialization models that were not very compatible in the same parish.

Table 7.6 Correlations between land inequality, agricultural specialization and local migration

		INQ % (1685)	Green fruits	Dry cereals and legumes	Wine	Olive oil	% Olive pickers/Sample (1651–1685)
		2	3	4	5	6	7
In hab/km^2 (1667)	1	−0.430	0.230	−0.183	0.570	−0.027	−0.114
			3	4	5	6	7
INQ 2% (1685)	2		−0.277	−0.290	−0.304	0.401	0.079
			3	4	5	6	
% Olive pickers/Sample (1651–1685)	7		0.013	0.341	−0.052	−0.313	
			2	3	4	5	
Olive oil	6		0.401	−0.404	−0.940	−0.183	

Was there a relationship between inequality, cereal specialization and seasonal migrations? The correlation between the proportion of migrants (column 7) and the level of inequality (column 2) and demographic pressure (column 1) is practically non-existent. The only small association is observed between the seasonal migration sample and cereal specialization (0.30): the greater the cereal specialization, the greater the proportion of female workers hired in these parishes. However, this weak correlation means that the complementarities between the two sectors in terms of demand for labour are not so obvious. The reason for this is that in Mediterranean agricultural systems the intensification of cultivation, or the growing association between crops (cereals and olives or vines), could have led to an increase in demand for labour in the months before the harvest (Tello 1983). As stated previously, demand for workers peaked on olive grove farms in the autumn and winter not only to pick olives (female labour) but also to do maintenance tasks (digging the base of the trees, hoeing the cereal fields and ploughing, male tasks). The cereal farms also demanded a huge labour force in the same seasons for hoeing (female task) and ploughing (male tasks). The result was an increasing concurrence of the diverse demands of agricultural work relating to the different crops in the same seasons or months. Therefore, these conjunctions in demand forced adjustments in the labour market: seasonal migrations,

changes in the gender division of labour (on olive grove farms the men did the tasks that the women usually did on the cereal farms, such as hoeing), and the highest salaries on the olive grove farms (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020a).

The second panel requires a more detailed explanation due to the low correlation between three major variables. Notable are the differences among parishes within the same district. In the olive district, there was a close relationship between greater inequality in land distribution and a high degree of specialization in olive growing (Esporles, Puigpunyent, Selva and Calvià). However, this relationship was less intense in the parishes where more intensive agriculture had been established (Alaró) or where peasant ownership had been maintained (Andratx). In Raiguer (centre of the island), the least inequality and greatest crop diversification was in the village of Inca, while in Binissalem the large olive oil farm, S'Estorell, coexisted with wine specialization (Pascual 1997; Jover-Avellà and Pons 2012). In Pla (the island's plains), there was a high level of specialization in cereals and a predominance of large farms (Montuïri, Petra, Muro and Santa Margalida, column 2, panel 1).

However, these relationships did not materialize in the parishes where there was agricultural intensification and greater equality in the distribution of land, such as in Sa Pobla (columns 2 and 6, panel 1) (Ordinas Marcè 1999; Canyelles et al. 2003) and Sencelles (legumes, cereals and vineyards). In some of the parishes in the district of Migjorn (south of the island) and Llevant (east) there was extensive agriculture devoted to the cultivation of cereals and sheep grazing, such as in Santanyí (Vidal Ferrando 1992), to grazing and large olive groves, such as in Artà (Alzina 1993; Jover-Avellà and Pons 2012, 172–76) and, in a context of lesser inequality in land distribution, in Felanitx, where a large expansion of the vineyards took place (Manera Erbina 2001). The high inequality rates explain why in some areas, such as Santa Margalida, Petra, Montuïri and Santanyí, there was significant recruitment of women olive pickers. However, the gatherers were also recruited from parishes with low rates of inequality (Campos) or where a diversified agriculture was developed (Alcúdia, Sa Pobla or Felanitx).

Regarding the direction of the migratory flows, these occurred from parishes with low population densities (Santanyí or Campos) to others with high densities (Binissalem), or from areas with relatively high densities (Petra, Muro, Montuïri and Sa Pobla) to others with low densities (Calvià, Puigpunyent). Therefore, the understanding of the labour flows

from the centre and east of the island to the mountains cannot be reduced to population-based explanations. To this effect, demographic pressure (inhabitants/km^2) was not the single factor that determined migration. It is difficult to establish macro-social patterns to explain all the factors driving these migratory flows given that there was intense local variability and the analysed sample could produce biases. To this effect, a meso-level interpretation would help shed light on the migratory puzzle.

Networks, Local Power and Circulation of Knowledge

A meso-social analysis may uncover some clearer connections between the recruitment areas and the estates studied. The specific aim is to make the network of economic and social relations emerge that linked the ownership and administration of these estates with the populations of the recruitment areas. Since medieval times the owners of olive grove estates had hired women and men to gather olives in the autumn and winter, as previously described for the early modern period. However, the labour agreements were complicated as few labour laws existed at the time and there were frequent disputes between employers and olive picker gangs. Strikes and breaches of labour contracts under the 'break the contract and escape' formula were the most common ways of expressing disagreement with the working conditions. When olive pickers found out that a higher salary was being paid on another farm, they would break the contract and start to work for the other landlord. Meanwhile, the owners would complain about the olive pickers' actions to the authorities, the Royal Officers or the Manorial Courts, who would prosecute the infringers. Women fought throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for monthly contracts, a mixed salary in cash and oil, and chartered transportation by the landlord from their villages to the farms, as we have described for the seventeenth century, which also contributed to a strong convergence in salaries in the regional market (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020b). Therefore, this implies that there were effective information channels and some kind of organization on both sides of the labour market, in addition to open conflict surrounding the negotiation of labour agreements. The two best-documented estates will be used to address this intermediate level of analysis.

The exchange and circulation of knowledge on the Descatllar and Safortesa estates were through the traditional seasonal transhumance

between the pastoral lands on the plains and the summer pastures in the mountains in north of the island, in which shepherds became key agents. Once Jordi Descatllar took over the management of his brother Pere's estate the bulk of the female olive pickers were recruited from the parishes of Campos and Santanyí, where the Abrí-Descatllar lineage owned a large estate. The large farms of Campos and Santanyí were the winter pastures for the flocks of sheep that transited to the farms they owned in the mountains, in the villages of Selva and Escorca.[16] Other livestock businesses were renting out pastures, sheep raising and acorn gathering, which regularly linked the farms of Es Verger and Conques with the parishes of Sa Pobla, Alcúdia and Alaró.[17] A further source of information was the carters of Campos and Santanyí, who often travelled between farms carrying foodstuff and olive gatherers.[18] The village of Mancor, near Massanella farm, was a rallying point where the olive gatherers from villages such as Sa Pobla and Alcúdia would meet to travel together to the Es Verger and Conques farms.[19]

The Safortesa estate also had livestock business networks which linked large towns in the centre of the island such as Algaida[20] (1663) and the parishes of Sencelles, Andratx, Puigunyent and Alaró (1683).[21] These socioeconomic links further facilitated the spread of knowledge of the labour markets given the intense contact between the foremen of the estates in the mountains and those in the south of the island, ensuring the flow of information and trust in the contracts among the gangs of olive pickers.The carters were also key figures in this network. The head carter and some of the estate's muleteers were trustworthy and reliable workers for a landlord and his steward,[22] delivering letters (delivery notes added to the account books) and transporting money between landowners and stewards and each farm's stewards and foremen.[23] They were thus privy to information about hiring pickers, farmworkers and daily labourers, which they spread around the island.[24] These contacts were maintained through an information network that linked the foremen with the servants and daily labourers from various towns, dependable people who guaranteed the fulfilment of the labour agreements made.[25] In a letter dated 14 February 1669, the count of Formiguera (Safortesa) asked his steward to hire daily labourers from different villages in the centre of the island, including Sineu, Sant Joan, Petra and Montuïri.[26] Servants, gardeners and daily labourers were also hired in Felanitx and Llucmajor to work for a few months on S'Estorell farm, among others,[27] and the steward of the Safortesa estate wrote to the foreman to find out about the deals made

with shepherds and cattle market price.[28] Furthermore, each summer some young people would move from the mountains to the cereal village of the plains to be hired as rippers and the S'Estorell farmworkers would leave the farm to be hired for the cereal harvest season in the parish of Montuïri or to work on other farms belonging to the same estate.[29] Moreover, the foreman and millworkers were from the villages where the olive pickers were hired.[30]

This 'labour highway' built up by carters, shepherds and muleteers who went from one town to another was reinforced by the movements of farmworkers and rippers hired by the landowners. Every year, the steward and the foreman of Es Verger and Conques sent a reliable worker to the villages to make deals with the gangs of olive pickers for the next season. The account books of Pere Descatllar's estate provide a detailed picture of how the information channels and contract bargaining worked. First, the expenses of the servants who went to different villages to recruit the women gangs were recorded in the Es Verger, Conques and S'Estorell account books.[31] These servants kept in contact with a key woman who represented the female olive pickers to negotiate the wages and the number of women to be hired, as stated previously. Trust and paternalism were foremost in this relationship. This forewoman would contact other women who looked for relatives (groups of sisters, mothers and young children or other relatives) to form a gang of about twenty to forty olive pickers (Genovard 1989, 124–26),[32] and as the documentation shows she 'took care' of the olive pickers during the harvest season.[33] The steward would enforce this agreement with the advance payment of a kind of fee to prevent the olive gatherers from later breaking the contract. Thus, the steward wrote '*one pound and ten shillings as a pledge from the women of Alaró and Campos to gather olives in Verger next season*',[34] reflecting the obligations undertaken in making the deal.

Power bargaining in labour agreement was also bound to other social and institutional forces. The Safortesa and Abrí-Descatllar families were large landowners in the villages of Santa Margalida, Campos and Santanyí, from where the majority of the olive pickers that worked on their farms came from. The demand for female labour on the cereal farms for the winter and spring seasons, and also for the summer harvest, was very high (Jover-Avellà and Pons 2012, xx). Breaking a contract could mean being excluded from the labour demand. To this effect, the violent conflicts in the 1650s between the community of Santa Margalida and the Count of Formiguera (Rosselló Vaquer 2005) led to no olive picker from the village

being hired to work on the count's olive grove farms.[35] Furthermore, the breaking of contracts by olive pickers was punished by heavy fines (Jover-Avellà 2017).

The other way to reinforce the bargaining power of the landed aristocracy was to control access to land and the Manorial Courts. The Abrí-Descatllar family had enormous influence in Campos and Santanyí given that they owned a large estate and the Palmer Manor there. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a process of accumulation and enclosure of ancient communal lands. The expulsion of people from the manorial lands of Es Palmer and the enclosure of the Abrí-Descatllar farms in Campos and Santanyí were only barely balanced by the council's allocation of small plots of land on the communal lands (Rosselló Verger 1964, 263).[36] The count of Formiguera owned most of the land in the parishes of Santa Margalida and Muro, and customary land rents (emphyteusis) in the nearby village of Sa Pobla (Montaner and Le Sene 1977, 73). However, he was reluctant to allocate land (in perpetual or emphyteutic contract) to poor rural families, which caused numerous conflicts and even prompted part of the population to emigrate permanently to the Valencian land (Montaner and Le Senne 1977; Mas-Forner et al. 2009). It is worth recalling what a member of the Council of Santa Margalida wrote to this effect:

> most of the land in the area of the village is owned by foreigners, so there are only four plots and they are the least valuable ones owned by private owners who live in the village and many others who have no income to earn on other land, which causes misery and poverty.... (Rosselló Vaquer 2005, 79)

The Council of the villages in Santanyí and Campos litigated against the Abrí-Descatllar family for access to the pastures and common lands. When at the end of the sixteenth century the poor people demanded access to the communal pastures, the Council stated '*to know what rights they had over the marshes where the people had exercised the right to fish and other rights since time immemorial*' (Rosselló Vaquer 1977, 118, 129). The troubles, disputes and squatter's actions in the fight between communal lands and the Abrí-Descatllar estate would continue throughout the seventeenth century (Ginard Bujosa and Ramis Puig-Gròs 2017).

Poverty among the general population and the few alternatives to agricultural work, in addition to the economic and jurisdictional power of

the aristocracy, favoured the latter's bargaining power in the local labour market. This institutional and economic enforcement and few alternatives to labour demand for poor peasant families could explain the fall in olive pickers' wages from 1670 onwards. However, the channels of information and relationships between the women from different villages on the same estate or farm, the forewomen's negotiations and the threat of broken contracts could explain the convergence of salaries in the regional market (Jover-Avellà 2020).

Concluding Remarks

This study demonstrates how every year a large number of women moved temporally from the plains to the mountains. Several push factors, such as inequality in access to land and an agricultural specialization based on cereals, have been identified to explain why women from specific villages were more prone to migrate than the women from others. However, the link between inequality, agricultural specialization and migration is not as clear-cut as previously assumed. Female olive pickers were hired from parishes with high inequality rates, but women were also recruited from places with low inequality rates. Therefore, although poverty or lack of resources could be a basic factor in many women's decision to migrate, there were other factors influencing this decision both in the communities (organization of the gangs, information networks) and in the domestic units (ability of the labour force to meet the needs of domestic and reproductive work).

Neither was agricultural specialization based on the olive and cereal sectors a determining pattern for migration, despite the fact that it was a factor in some villages. First, the seasonal nature of agricultural work during the olive harvesting (October–January) coincided with other tasks linked with cereal cultivation (digging) which required a lot of female labour, as has been seen in previous works. And second, the pickers also came from areas where the diversification of crops meant that the demand generated by local work was intense throughout the year.

The migratory flows on the estates analysed were very much linked to little-known economic power and information networks. The Safortesa and Descatllar families hired their workers from the central and eastern villages of the island where they had land and factor endowments of an institutional (feudal dominion, manorial courts) and economic nature (hiring of labour for their farms) that enabled them to influence the

labour market. Additionally, the information chains through shepherds, servants and other rural workers served to ensure that landowners and female gatherers got to know about the supply and demand of labour, as well as the working conditions. The labour strikes documented in the sixteenth century and the convergence of the wages of olive pickers contracted in the regional and local markets also suggest that the information networks worked in both directions throughout the seventeenth century (Jover-Avellà and Pujadas-Mora 2020b).

The final conclusion of this study is that women had some say in deciding who and how many members of each family should migrate in a specific type of migration that represented a win–win scenario for women/families and landowners. However, for a complete assessment, the micro causes at the individual level should be investigated. Not all families with low incomes were able to emigrate. There may have been factors at the local and family levels that tied some families, while for others there was enough of an incentive to migrate. Some questions arise from this socioeconomic scenario. Did migrant women come from the poorest peasant families or the largest families? What factors determined whether the women joined the local (cereal maintenance tasks) or the regional labour market (becoming part of a gang to gather olives on the mountain farms) from a family household decisions perspective, and in terms of the allocation of their resources? How did the different stages of the female life course influence the decision to migrate? Single women were probably more likely to take part in the labour market. And last, was it the economic situation/marital status of women (widowhood/widows, dowries, spinsters, the poorest) that determined their participation in local or distant markets?

contribution to making the maps that are included in the chapter and to Sarah E. Davies (MCIL, number 44139) for the proofreading.

Notes

1. A review of migration theories taking either a macro- or a micro-economy perspective into account can be found in (Massey et al. 1998, 16–59). Even though the topic of the book is contemporary international migrations, some of the theories can also work for populations in the past, see also Brettell and Hollifield (2014).
2. Account books of the estate of Joan Antoni Fuster, managed by his wife Magdalena Fuster after his death, ARM, PN, S-1728, f. 308–414 (1666–1673).
3. Administration book of the estate of Pere Descatllar in ARM, AH, C-4270 (1651–1664).
4. Jordi Abrí-Descatlar's inventory from 1661 in ARM, PN, B-674, f. 497.
5. Account books of the estate of Pere Descatllar in ARM, C-2264 and C-4269, and the 1661 inventory of the estate of Jordi Abrí-Descatllar in ARM; PN, B-674, f. 497 ss.
6. Inventory of the II Count of Formiguera 1694 in ACM.
7. Inside account books ACM 14193 (1672–1680) and 1402 (1641–1672) there are bundles of letters and delivery notes sent between the landowners and the stewards, and between the stewards and the foreman of each farm.
8. Logbooks of this kind are rare in private archives because once the season was over these lists of payments tended to be destroyed. The ones that have been preserved are not only well preserved but they have also been preserved by chance. To this effect, the preservation of the 31 olive pickers' logbooks from the Safortesa estate for a period of 22 years (1658–1679) is exceptional. For instance, for the Montenegro estate only 6 logbooks for 3 farms for years scattered between 1648 and 1697 have survived (ARM, Montenegro estate).
9. Registers ACM 19223 and 19223.
10. The *cadastro* distinguished between small proprieties (pieces of land, vineyards, cereal field, small farms) and large farms (called *possessions, alqueries* or *rafals* in Catalan), see Ferrer Flórez (1974, 560–75). This source for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shows that the size of the large farms ranged from 50 hectares to over a thousand hectares (Morey 1999; Suau 1991).
11. ACM 14196 and 1697 (incomplete account books) and 14200 (servant's book).
12. ACM 16923 (servants and female olive pickers' books from Son Pont and Galatzó).

13. ARM, C-4264 (book of delivery notes) and 4269 (account book).
14. Another district was the hilly area of the Palma county, which accounted for 9.9% of the tithe value of the island (Juan Vidal 1989a, b; Jover-Avellà 2020).
15. A more extensive description and information can be found in the following works: (Bisson 1977, 178–81, 213–24; Juan Vidal 1989b; Pascual 1997; Gil et al. 2002, 41–49, 78–123; Jover-Avellà and Pons 2012, 172–76; Rosselló i Verger 2013).
16. In springtime, the flock of sheep was driven from the Sa Vall, Barrala, Font Santa and Palmer pastures to Massanella farm (ARM, PN 5531, f. 80, 97; PN 5536 f. 63v, 72, 75r, 345r; PN 5538, f. 262r, 274r) and Almallutx (ARM, AH, C-4263). Regarding transhumance between the Abrí-Descatllar estate farms, see Jordi Abrí-Descatlar's inventory from 1661 in ARM, PN, B-674, f. 497. Regarding pastoral contracts, see ARM, C-4263.
17. In the income for pasture leases and holm oak in ARM, C-2469, f. 23v. In 1654, a servant from Alcúdia was hired to show the carters who transported the women olive pickers the way to Es Verger farm, see ARM, C-2469, f. 64v.
18. The carters and muleteers from Campos oversaw the transport of food-stuffs and the olive pickers' trunks and bags from the village of Campos to Es Verger, see the Es Verger farm account books in ARM, AH, C-4269, 37v, 82r, 152r.
19. Mancor is the village where the women from Alcúdia and Sa Pobla met to travel together to Palma and Es Verger in Esporles, see ARM, AH, C-4269, f. 102v. On the first journeys from Alcúdia to Es Verger a man from Alcúdia was hired to show them the way between Palma and Es Verger, see ARM, AH, C-4269, f. 64v.
20. ARM, PN, M-952, 4–11.
21. Contracts in ARM, PN, 996, f. 137, 140, 148, 150.
22. They earned a higher salary than the farmworkers, but less than the farm foreman, see account books ACM 14193, 14204.
23. The head carter and some of the muleteers brought letters and cash from Palma to S'Estorell and others farms of the Safortesa estate, see ACM 14193 and 14204 (delivery notes).
24. The Safortesa estate carters took the women olive pickers from Felanitx to the estate, as can be seen in the account books' delivery notes in ACM 14193. On the Descatllar estate carters from Campos, Alaró and Sa Pobla were hired to take the women and their bags on the round trip between their villages of origin and the farms. However, the carters that transported the cereals and olive oil were from Esporles and Manacor. See ARM, AH, C-4264 and 4269 account books.

25. A letter is among the delivery notes accompanying the account books of 1645–1672 in which the count asks the steward to report on the conditions of a certain worker through the foreman of Galatzó farm for the purpose of reaching a labour agreement, ACM, 14204, delivery notes.
26. Book of letters to the steward (1663) in ACM 14204 delivery notes.
27. Contracts in the account books (1658–1672) in ACM 14204.
28. See the delivery notes for the years 13-03-1663, 22-10-1668, 30-04-1662 and 25-10-1665 in ACM 14193 (delivery notes).
29. In 1656, the foreman of Estorell farm moved to work on the Santa Margalida farms (ACM 14193, delivery notes). Between 1656 and 1672, farmworkers from the Santa Margalida farms were often hired in Estorell, Galatzó and Son Pont (see account book ACM, 14204, 53r, 54r, 127v, 158v, 159r), 1672–1680 (ACM 14193, f. 15),
30. The foreman (1670–1671) and gamekeeper (1656–1667) on Estorell farm were from Santa Margalida and Muro (1666–1669) ACM, 14193 (delivery notes) and account book 14204 f. 157.
31. In August 1656, a carrier from Es Verger farm agreed to hire women olive pickers from Campos and Alaró, advancing them 1 pound and 10 shillings. (ARM, C-4269, f. 82r, 132*r* 152r).
32. These women oversaw the filling of the sacks with olives from the picker groups' baskets. At the end of the harvest season they received a supplement in cash, an apron (*cassot* in Catalan) and some shoes, see the Verger and Conques farms in ARM, AH, C-4269, f. 21r, 72r, 84r, 89v and 106v; and the S'Estorell Farm in ACM 16923 workbooks from 1658 to 1679.
33. In 1653, the steward from Es Verger farm noted down an extraordinary payment for 'Juana Mir forewoman who takes care of the female olive pickers', see ARM, C-4269, f. 42r.
34. ARM, AH, C-4269, f. 82 and 152r.
35. In the period 1657–1661, the pickers contracted in S'Estorell were recruited in Sa Pobla, Muro (Montuïri and Felanitx, ACM, 19623).
36. The appropriation of communal lands ended in Campos in 1594, and in Santanyí in 1694 (ARM, AA, Plets Civils 2, 117820).

REFERENCES

Alzina, Jaume. 1993. "Població, terra i propietat a la comarca de Llevant de Mallorca, segles XVII/XIX-XX: municipis d'Artà, Capdepera i Son Servera" [Population, Land and Property in the County of Llevant de Mallorca, Seventeenth/Nineteenth to Twentieth Centuries: Municipalities of Artà, Capdepera and Son Servera]. Artà, Artà Town Council.

Amalric, Jean-Pierre. 2003. "Franceses en tierras de España: una presencia mediadora en el antiguo régimen" [The French in Spanish lands: a mediator presence in the Ancien Régime]. In *Los Extranjeros en la España Moderna. Actas del I coloquio Internacional*, edited by Maria Begoña Villar García and Pilar Pezzi Cristóbal, vol. I, 23–37. Malaga: Ministry of Education Science.

Amengual-Bibiloni, Miquel, and Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora. 2016. "Orígens i destins de la immigració francesa a l'Àrea de Barcelona (1481–1643). Aportacions a partir de la Barcelona Historical Marriage Database" [Origins and Destinations of French Immigration in the Area of Barcelona (1481–1643): Contributions from the Barcelona Historical Marriage Database]. *Manuscrits. Revista de historia moderna* 34: 35–61.

Arrizabalaga, Marie Pierre. 2000. "Les basques dans l'Ouest américain (1900–1910)" [The Basques in the American West (1900–1910)]. *Lapurdum* 5: 335–50.

Banerjee, Biswajit. 1983. "Social Networks in the Migration Process: Empirical Evidence on Chain Migration in India." *The Journal of Developing Areas* 17 (2): 185–96.

Bhattacharyya, Bharati. 1985. "The Role of Family Decision in Internal Migration: The Case of India" *Journal of Development Economics* 18 (1): 51–66.

Bibiloni, Andreu. 1995. *El comerç exterior de Mallorca. Homes, mercats i productes d'intercanvi (1650–1720)* [Mallorca's Foreign Commerce. Men, Markets and Products for Trade (1650–1720)]. Palma de Mallorca: El Tall.

Bisson, Jean. 1977. *La terre et l'homme aux îles baléares* [Land and Men in the Balearic Islands]. Aix -en-provence: Edisud.

Blanco Carrasco, José Pablo. 2012. "Migraciones pendulares en la península ibérica durante la época moderna. Notas acerca del papel de la trashumancia en la determinación del sistema migratorio de la España interior" [Pendular Migrations in the Iberian Peninsula During the Modern Era. Notes on the Role of Transhumance in Determining the Migratory System Inside Spain]. *Humanistic Studies. History* 11: 121–46.

Boorsma, Peter. 1989. "Migración temporal de Albuñol (Granada) a la siega de Jerez de la Frontera en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX" [Seasonal Migration in Albuñol (Granada) During Harvest Time in Jerez de la Frontera in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century]. *Cuadernos geográficos de la Universidad de Granada* 18: 47–76.

Borjas, George J. 1989. "Economic Theory and International Migration." *International Migration Review* 23 (3): 457–85.

Borrero, Mercedes. 2003. *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía medieval* [The Rural World and Country Life in Mediaeval Andalucia]. Granada: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Granada.

Boyd, Monica, and Elizabeth Grieco. 2003. "Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory." *Migration Information Source* March 1, 2003: 28.

Brettell, Caroline B., and James F. Hollifield, eds. 2014. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London: Routledge.

Camps Cura, Enriqueta. 1993. "Las migraciones locales en España (siglos XVI-XIX)" [Local Migrations in Spain (16th–19th Centuries)]. *Revista de Demografía Histórica* 11 (1): 21–40.

Camps Cura, Enriqueta. 1995. *La formación del mercado de trabajo industrial en la Cataluña del siglo XIX* [The Shaping of the Industrial Labour Market in Catalonia in the Nineteenth Century]. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.

Canyelles, Martí, Margalida Pujals, Sara Ripoll, and Alexandre Segui. 2003. *Sa Pobla. La gent, el medi, la història* [Sa Pobla. The People, the Surroundings, the History]. Sa Pobla: Ajuntament de Sa Pobla.

Carbonell Buades, Marià. 2016. "La tomba de Pere Descatlar a l'esglesia de Sant Francesc de Palma, obra de l'escultor Pere Joan Pinya" [The Sepulchre of Père Descatllar in the Church of Saint Francis Convent of Palma, Work by Pere Joan Pinya sculptor]. *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul· liana: Revista d'estudis històrics* 72: 53–69.

Catarino, Christine, and Mirjana Morokvasic. 2005. "Femmes, genre, migration et mobilités" [Women, Gender, Migration and Mobility]. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 21 (1): 7–27.

Coffey, Diane, John Papp, and Dean Spears. 2015. "Short-Term Labor Migration from Rural North India: Evidence from New Survey Data." *Population Research and Policy Review* 34 (3): 361–80.

Deshingkar, Priya, and Daniel Start. 2003. *Seasonal Migration for Livelihoods in India: Coping, Accumulation and Exclusion*, vol. 111. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Deyá, Miguel José. 1997. *La manufactura de la lana en la Mallorca del siglo XV* [Wool Manufacturing in Majorca in the XV Century]. Palma de Mallorca: El Tall.

Deyá, Miguel José. 1998. *La manufactura en Mallorca durante los siglos XVI y XVII* [Manufacturing in Majorca During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries]. Palma de Mallorca: El Tall.

Divitiis, Gigliola Pagano De 1997 [1990]. *English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dribe, Martin. 2003. "Migration of Rural Families in 19th Century Southern Sweden: A Longitudinal Analysis of Local Migration Patterns." *The History of the Family* 8 (2): 247–65.

Ferrer Flórez, Miguel. 1974. *Población y propiedad en la cordillera septentrional de Mallorca (Evolución histórica)* [Population and Property in the Cordillera Mountain Range of Majorca (Historic Evolution)]. Palma de Mallorca: Diputación de Mallorca.

Florencio Puntas, Antonio, and Antonio Luis López Martínez. 2000. "Las migraciones estacionales agrarias en Andalucía anteriores al siglo xx" [Seasonal Agricultural Migrations in Andalusia Before the 20th Century]. *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica* 18 (1): 71–100.

Florencio Puntas, Antonio, and Antonio Luis López Martínez. 2003. "El mercado de trabajo en la Andalucía latifundista del Antiguo Régimen: ¿intervencionismo o contratación?" [The Agricultural Labor Market in Andalusian Large States in the Ancient Regime: Intervention Versus Free Contract]. *Historia Agraria* 30: 63–85.

Fontaine, Laurence. 1993. *Histoire du colportage en Europe: (XVe-XIXe siècle)* [History of Peddling in Europe: (Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)]. Paris: Editions Albin Michel.

Garikipati, Supriya. 2008. "Agricultural Wage Work, Seasonal Migration and the Widening Gender Gap: Evidence from a Semi-Arid Region of Andhra Pradesh." *European Journal of Development Research* 20 (4): 629–48.

Genovard, Bárbara. 1989. *Tall de dones* [Women's Quadrilles]. Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics.

Gil, Luís, Carlos Manuel Valdés, and Pedro Manuel Díaz-Fernández. 2002. *La transformación histórica del paisaje forestal en las islas Baleares. Tercer Inventario Forestal Nacional, 1997–2007* [The Historic Transformation of the Forest Landscape in the Balearic Islands: Third National Forest Inventory, 1997–2007]. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura Pesca y Alimentación.

Ginard Bujosa, Antoni, and Andreu Ramis Puig-Gròs. 2017. "Tres mapes de visura de Santanyí (segles XVI-XVIII)" [Three aerial maps of Santanyí (sixteenth-seventeeth centuries)]. In *II Jornades d'estudis locals de Santanyí celebrades els dies 11 i 12 de novembre de 2016*, 109–34. Santanyí: Ajuntament de Santanyí.

Grau, Elena, and Enric Tello. 1985. "Anàlisi de la producció agrària mallorquina en els seus dos aspectes fonamentals: l'oli i els cereals" [Analysis of the Majorcan Agricultural Production in Its Two Fundamental Aspects: Oil and Cereals]. *Randa* 18: 45–91.

Greefs, Hilde, and Anne Winter. 2016. "Alone and Far from Home: Gender and Migration Trajectories of Single Foreign Newcomers to Antwerp, 1850-1880." *Journal of Urban History* 42 (1): 61–80.

Grigg, David. 2001. "Olive Oil, the Mediterranean and the World." *GeoJournal* 53: 163–72.

Humphries, Jane. 2017. "Plague, Patriarchy and 'Girl Power'." In *Making Work More Equal: A New Labour Market Segmentation Approach*, edited by Damian Grimshaw, Colette Fagan, Gail Hebson, Isabel Tavora, 208–26. Manchester: Mancherter University Press.

Infante-Amate, Juan. 2012a. "Los temporeros del olivar. Una aproximación al estudio de las migraciones estacionales en el sur de España (siglos XVIII-XIX)" [Olive groves seasonal pickers. An Approach to the Study of Seasonal Migrations in Southern Spain (18th-20th centuries]. *Revista de Demografía Histórica* 19 (2): 87–117.

Infante-Amate, Juan. 2012b. "The Ecology and History of the Mediterranean Olive Grove: The Spanish Great Expansion, 1750–2000." *Rural History* 23 (2): 161–84.

Jover-Avellà, G., Mas-Forners, A., Ricard Soto- Company and Enric Tello. 2019. Socioecological transition in land and labour exploitation in Mallorca: from slavery to a low-wage workforce, 1229–1576. *Sustainability* 11, 168. https://doi.org/10.3390/su11010168

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel. 2002. "Ingresos y estrategias patrimoniales de la nobleza durante la crisis del seiscientos. Mallorca, 1600–1750" [The Nobility's Incomes and Patrimonial Strategies During the Seventeenth Century Crisis. Majorca, 1600–1750]. In *Fortuna y negocios. La formación y gestión de los grandes patrimonios (ss. XVI-XX)*, edited by Hilario Casaso Alonso and Ricardo Robledo Hernández, 99–130. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid.

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel. 2015. "Salarios y movilización del trabajo femenino en el olivar: Mallorca, 1650–1720" [Salaries and Mobilisation of the Female Workforce During the Olive Harvest: Majorca, 1650–1720]. In *Jornaleras, Campesinas y Agricultoras. La Historia Agraria desde una perspectiva de género*, edited by Teresa Maria Ortega López, 43–64. Zaragoza: Monografías de Historia Rural de la SEHA/Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza.

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel and Pujades-Mora, Joana M. 2017. «'A ro de 28 sous i mig oli mes, i mesureta': els salaris de les collidores d'olives a Mallorca, 1645–1687» [The wages of female olive pickers in Majorca]. *Estudis d'història agrària*, (2020), 28: 65–102. https://doi.org/10.1344/eha.2017.29.65-102

Jover Avellà, Gabriel. 2019. "Une crise de l'engrais A-T-Elle Sévi à Majorque dans la premier tiers du XVIIe siècle? Le cas du domaine Ballester-Togores de 1550- à 1670" [There Was a Manuring Crisis During the First Third of Seventeenth Century (Mallorca) The Estate of Ballester-Togores, 1550 1670]. In *Fumiers, Ordures, Gestion et usages des déchets dans les campagnes médiévales et modernes. Actes des XXXVIIIes Journées internationals d'histoire de l'abbaye*

de Flaran, edited by Marc Conesa and Nicolas Poirier, 87–109. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi-Université de Toulouse-Jean Jaurès.

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel. 2020. "Was there an agrarian crisis in the last third of the 17th century in the Mediterranean World? The island of Majorca", Gérard Beaur, Edt. Alternative agriculture. *À reassessment, Turnhout, Brepols, Number 16 Rural history un Europe*, 2020, pp. 139–166, https://doi.org/10.1484/M.RURHE-EB.5.118737

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel and Carles Manera. 2009. "Producción y productividad agrícolas en la isla de Mallorca, 1590–1860" [Agricultural Production and Productivity on the Island of Mallorca, 1590–1860]. *Revista de Historia Económica, Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27 (3): 463–98.

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel, and Jerònia Pons. 2012. *Possessions, renda de la terra i treball assalariat. L'illa de Mallorca, 1400–1660* [Farms, Land Rents and Salaried Work: The Island of Majorca, 1400–1660]. Girona: Documenta Universitària-Biblioteca d'Història Rural.

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel, and Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora. 2020a. "Mercado de trabajo, género y especialización oleícola: Mallorca a mediados del siglo XVII" [Labour Market, Gender and Olive Groves Specialization: Mallorca at Mid Seventeenth Century]. *Historia Agraria* 80: 1–33.

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel, and Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora. 2020b. "«A ro de 28 sous i mig oli mes, i mesureta»: els salaris de les collidores d'olives a Mallorca, 1645–1687." [«At the rate of 28 sous and a half of oil per month, and mesureta»: The Wages of Female Olive Pickers in Mallorca, 1645–1687]. *Estudis d'Història Agrària* (forthcoming).

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel, Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora, and Ana Maria Suau-Rodríguez. 2017. "¿Quiénes eran los mozos en las regiones mediterráneas? Salarios y movilidad de los mozos en el mercado de trabajo de Mallorca, 1654–1680" [Who Were the Rural Servants in Mediterranean Regions? Contracts, Wages and Mobility of Servants in the Island of Mallorca, 1654–1680]. *Mundo agrario* 18 (39).

Jover-Avellà, Gabriel, Antoni Mas-Forners, Ricard Soto-Company, and Enric Tello. 2019. "Socioecological Transition in Land and Labour Exploitation in Mallorca: From Slavery to a Low-Wage Workforce, 1229–1576." *Sustainability* 11 (1): 168.

Juan Vidal, Josep. 1980. "La producción de aceite en Mallorca durante la Edad Moderna y su papel en la economía mallorquina" [Oil Production in Majorca During the Modern Age and Its Roles in the Majorcan Economy]. *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana: Revista d'estudis històrics* 37: 519–52.

Juan Vidal, Josep. 1989a. "La distribución de los cultivos en la Mallorca del siglo XVI" [The Distribution of Crops in Mallorca in the Sixteenth Century].

Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana: Revista d'estudis històrics 45: 165–75.

Juan Vidal, Josep. 1989b. "Los diezmos en la diócesis de Mallorca en el siglo XVI" [Tithes in the Diocese of Mallorca in the Sixteenth Century]. *Mayurqa* 22: 811–24.

Juan Vidal, Josep. 1990. "La población de Mallorca en 1667" [The Population of Mallorca in 1667]. *Estudis baleàrics* 36: 21–24.

Juan Vidal, Josep. 1991. "La evolución demográfica en Mallorca bajo los Austrias" [Demographic Evolution in Majorca Under the Austrians]. In *Evolución demográfica bajo los Austrias . Actas del II Congreso de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica*, edited by Vicente Gonzalvez Pérez, Antonio Eiras Roel, Massimo Livi-Bacci, Jordi Nadal Oller, and Josep Bernabeu Mestre, vol. 3, 241–48. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante.

Kesztenbaum, Lionel. 2008. "Cooperation and Coordination Among Siblings: Brothers' Migration in France, 1870–1940." *The History of the family* 13: 85–104.

King, Anthony D. 2015. *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy*. London: Routledge.

Kothari, Uma. 2002. *Migration and Chronic Poverty*. Manchester: Institute for Development Policy and Management, Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

Kussmaul, Ann. 1981. *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lanza García, Ramon. 1991. "El contexto de los movimientos migratorios en Cantabria, siglos XVII-XIX" [The Context of Migratory Movements in Cantabria, Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries]. In *La emigración española a Ultramar, 1492–1914*, edited by Antonio Eiras Roel, 97–115. Madrid: Ediciones Tabapres-Asociación de Historia Moderna.

Lazaridis, Gabriela. 2012. *Women's Work and Lives in Rural Greece: Appearances and Realities*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Lewis, W. Arthur. 1954. "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour." *The Manchester School* 22 (2): 139–91.

Lobato, Isabel. 1999. "Cosecha, producción y transporte de aceite en la Sevilla de 1510: aproximación al análisis del mercado de trabajo sevillano en el siglo XVI" [Oil Crops, Production and Transport in Seville in 1510: Approach to the Analysis of the Labour Market in Seville in the Sixteenth Century]. In *Historia Moderna, Historia En Construcción*, vol. 2, edited by Pierre Vilar and Carlos Martínez Shaw, 189–206. Barcelona: Editorial Milenio.

Lucassen, Jan, and Leo Lucassen. 2009. "The Mobility Transition Revisited, 1500–1900: What the Case of Europe Can Offer to Global History." *Journal of Global History* 4 (3): 347–77.

Lucassen, Jan, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning. 2010. "Migration History: Multidisciplinary Approaches." In *Migration History in World History: Multidisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning, 1–35. Leiden: Brill Publishers.

Manera Erbina, Carles. 2001. *Història del creixement econòmic a Mallorca (1700–2000)* [History of Economic Growth in Majorca (1700–2000)]. Palma de Mallorca: Lleonard Muntaner Editor.

Manfredini, Matteo. 2003. "Families in Motion: The Role and Characteristics of Household Migration in a 19th-Century Rural Italian Parish." *The History of the Family* 8 (2): 317–43.

Marfany, Julie. 2016. *Land, Proto-Industry and Population in Catalonia, c. 1680–1829: An Alternative Transition to Capitalism?* London: Routledge.

Mas-Forner, Antoni, Joan Lluis Monjo, and Josep Mas. 2009. *Les arrels margalidanes de poble de Xalò* [The Margalidan Roots of the People of Xalò]. Santa Margalida: Tintinnabula, Ajuntament de Santa Margalida.

Massey, Douglass S., Joaquín Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, eds. 1998. *Contemporary Theories of International Migration: Worlds in Motion Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McNeill, John R. 1992. *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moch, Leslie Page. 2003. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650*. Indiana University Press

Moll, Isabel, and Jaume Suau. 1979. "Senyors i pagesos a Mallorca (1718–1860/70)" [Lords and Farmers in Mallorca, 1718–1860/70]. *Estudis d'Història Agrària* 2: 95–191.

Montaner, Pedro de. 1987. "La estructura del brazo noble mallorquín bajo los Austria" [The Structure of the Branch of Nobles in Majorca Under the Austrians]. *Estudis baleàrics* 27: 3–38.

Montaner, Pedro de, and Aina Le Senne. 1977. "Aproximación al estudio de la clase noble en Mallorca: el patrimonio de los Formiguera." [Approach to the Study of the Noble Class in Mallorca: The Heritage of the Formiguera)]. *Cuadernos de Geografía* 34: 55–85.

Montaner, Pedro de, and Aina Le Senne. 1981. "Explotació d'una possessió mallorquina durant la primera meitat del segle XVI: Son Sureda" [The Management of a Majorcan Farm During the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: Son Sureda]. *Recerques: Història, economia i cultura* 11: 107–24.

Montaner, Pedro de, and Antònia Morey. 1989. "Notas para el estudio de la Mano mayor mallorquina durante los siglos XVI y XVII" [Notes for the Study of the Majorcan Well-Off Peasants During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries]. *Estudis Baleàrics* 34: 71–89.

Moore, Jason W. 2010. "Amsterdam Is Standing on Norway, Part II: Global North Atlantic in the Ecological Revolution of the Long Seventeenth Century." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10 (2): 188–227.

Morey, Antònia. 1999. *Noblesa i desvinculació a Mallorca als segles XVIII i XIX: les repercussions de la legislació desvinculadora sobre els patrimonis nobiliaris* [Nobility and the Abolition of Strict-Settlement in Majorca During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Repercussions of the Severance Legislation on the Patrimonies of the Nobility]. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, Abadia de Montserrat.

Morey, Antònia. 2013. "Les comptabilitats nobiliàries: el cas de la noblesa mallorquina als segles XVIII i XIX" [The Accounts-Books of the Nobility: The Case of the Majorcan Nobility in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries]. In *Comptes de senyor, comptes de pagès. Les comptabilitats en la historia rural*, edited by Enric Saguer, Gabriel Jover-Avellà, and Helena Benito, 171–94. Girona: Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural de la Universitat de Girona / Documenta Universitari.

Morokvašić, Mirjana. 2014. "Gendering Migration." *Migracijske i etničke teme* 3: 355–78.

Nadal, Jordi, and Emili Giralt Raventós. 1960. *La population catalane de 1553 à 1717: l'immigration française et les autres facteurs de son développement* [The Catalan Population from 1553 to 1717: French Immigration and Other Factors in Its Development]. Paris: SEVPEN.

Ordinas Marcè, Gabriel. 1999. "L' explotació de l' Albufera als segles XVII, XVIII i XIX a través dels arrendaments" [The Management of Albufera Marshes in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centures]. In *Jornades d' Estudis Locals d' Alcúdia*, 51–62. Alcúdia: Ajuntament de Alcúdia.

Oris, Michel. 2003. "The History of Migration as a Chapter in the History of the European Rural Family: An Overview." *The History of the Family* 8 (2): 187–215.

Parreñas, Rhacel. 2015. *Servants of Globalization: Migration and Domestic Work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pascual, Aina. 1997. *Casa i estament social a la ruralia mallorquina* [Houses and Social Status in Rural Majorca]. Binissalem: Ajuntament de Binissalem.

Phizacklea, Annie. 2017. "Migration Theory and Migratory Realities: A Gendered Perspective?" In *International Migration in the New Millennium*, edited by Daniele Joly, 131–50. New York: Routledge.

Rajan, S. Irudaya, and Sumeetha Mokkil Maruthur. 2019. "Women Workers on the Move. 2019." In *Handbook of Internal Migration in India*. London: Sage Publications.

Rey Castelao, Ofelia. 2006. "Les femmes seules du Nord-Ouest de l'Espagne: trajectoires féminines dans un territoire d'émigration, 1700–1860" [Single

Women of Northwest Spain: Feminine Trajectories in an Emigration Territory, 1700–1860]. *Annales de Démographie Historique* 112: 13–30.

Rey Castelao, Ofelia. 2008. "Las migraciones femeninas de Antiguo Régimen en su contexto europeo" [Female Migration During the Old Régime in the European Context]. In *Mujer y emigración: una perspectiva plural. Actas del Coloquio Internacional Santiago de Compostela, 23–24 de noviembre de 2006*, edited by Julio Hernández and Domingo L. González, 39–67. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Compostela.

Rey Castelao, Ofelia. 2015. "El trabajo de las mujeres rurales en la España Moderna. Un balance historiográfico, 1994/2013" [The Work of Rural Women Modern Spain: A Historiographical Balance, 1994/2013]. *Revista de Historiografía* 22: 183–210.

Rey Castelao, Ofelia. 2016 "Crisis familiares y migraciones en la Galicia del siglo XVIII desde una perspectiva de género" [Family Crises and Migrations in Eighteenth-Century Galicia from a Gender Perspective]. *Studia historica. Historia moderna* 38 (2): 201–36.

Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge, Matthias. 2018. "Gender Differences in Response to Family Crisis: Changes in Household Composition and Migration of Widowed Parents with Minor Children in the Netherlands, 1863–1910." *The History of the Family* 23 (4): 679–705.

Rosselló Vaquer, Ramon. 1977. *Història de Campos. De la Prehistòria al segle XVI* [The History of Campos. From Prehistory to the Sixteenth Century]. Campos: Ajuntament de Campos.

Rosselló Vaquer, Ramon. 2005. *Documents per a la historia de Santa Margalida. Noticiari. Santa Margalida (Mallorca)* [Sources for the History of Santa Margalida. Newscast. Santa Margalida, Mallorca]. Santa Margalida: Ajuntament de Santa Margalida.

Rosselló Verger, Vicenç Maria. 1964. Mallorca. El Sur y el Sureste. Palma de Mallorca: Cámara de Comercio Industria y Navegación.

Rosselló i Verger, Vicenç Maria. 2013. "La serra de Tramuntana de Mallorca. Paisatge físic i cultural" [The Tramuntana Mountain Range of Majorca. Physical and Cultural Landscape]. *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 76: 215–30.

Rullan, Onofre. 2002. *La construcció territorial de Mallorca* [The Construction of the Territory of Majorca]. Palma (Mallorca): Editorial Moll.

Salas Auséns, José Antonio. 2009. *En busca de El Dorado: Inmigración francesa en la España de la Edad Moderna* [In Pursuit of El Dorado: French Immigration in Spain in the Modern Age]. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco.

Sarasúa García, Carmen. 1994. "Emigraciones temporales en una economía de minifundio: los montes de Pas, 1758–1888" [Seasonal Emigrations in a Smallholding Economy: Montes de Pas, 1758–1888]. *Revista de Demografía Histórica* 12 (2): 163–81.

Sarasúa García, Carmen. 2002. "Leaving Home to Help the Family? Temporary Migrants in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Spain." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 29–59. London: Routledge.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2017. "Rural Life-Cycle Service: Established Interpretations and New (Surprising) Data-The Italian Case in Comparative Perspective (Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries)." In *Servants in rural Europe, 1400-1900*, edited by Jane Whittle, 227–54. Woodbridge (Suffolk): The Boydell Press.

Sharpe, Pamela. 2002. *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Skeldon, Ronald. 2012. "Going Round in Circles: Circular Migration, Poverty Alleviation and Marginality." *International Migration* 50 (3): 43–60.

Sommerseth, Hilde, Peter Ekamper, and Sølvi Sogner. 2016. "Marriage Patterns and Residential Behaviour Among Norwegian Women in Amsterdam, 1721–1720." *Continuity and Change* 31 (2): 175–209.

Stark, Oded, and David E. Bloom. 1985. "The New Economics of Labor Migration." *The American Economic Review* 75 (2): 173–78.

Suau, Jaume. 1991. *El món rural mallorquí* [The Majorcan Rural World]. Barcelona: Curial.

Tello, Enric. 1983. "La producció cerealícola a les petites explotacions pageses des Pla de Mallorca (1850-51)." [Cereal Production in the Small Farms of the Pla de Mallorca (1850-51)]. *Estudis d'Història Agrària* 4: 167–94.

Tello, Enric, Gabriel Jover-Avellà, Ivan Murray, Onofre Fullana, and Ricard Soto. 2018. "From Feudal Colonization to Agrarian Capitalism in Mallorca: Peasant Endurance Under the Rise and Fall of Large Estates (1229–1900)." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 18 (3): 483–516.

Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios. 2003. *Troubles with Turtles: Cultural Understandings of the Environment on a Greek Island*, vol. 16. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Vaquer Bennasar, Onofre. 1987. *Una sociedad de Antiguo Régimen. Felanitx i Mallorca en el siglo XVI, volumen I* [A Society in the Ancien Régime. Felanitx and Mallorca in the Sixteenth Century, Volume I]. Palma de Mallorca: Es pes de sa palla.

Vaquer Bennasar, Onofre. 2001. *El comerç a Mallorca als segles XV-XVI* [Commerce in Majorca in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries]. Palma de Mallorca: El Tall Editorial.

Vaquer Bennasar, Onofre. 2007. *El comerç a Mallorca a la segona meitat del segle XVI* [Commerce in Majorca in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century]. Palma de Mallorca: El Tall Editorial.

Vidal Ferrando, Antoni. 1992. "La Població i la propietat de la terra en el municipi de Santanyi, 1868–1920" [Population and land ownership in the municipality of Santanyi, 1868–1920]. *Estudis Baleàrics* 17: 27–56.

Vidal i Bendito, Tomas. 1979. "Èxode rural i problemàtica demospacial a Catalunya (1860–1970)" [Rural Exodus and Demospatial Problems in Catalonia (1860–1970)]. *Estudis d'Història Agrària* 2: 193–207.

Villalonga Morell, José. 2012. "Les reformes del patrimoni del marquès de Solleric a les possessions d'Alaró" [The Marquis of Solleric's Patrimonial Reforms on the Farms of Alaró]. In *Les possessions mallorquines. Passat i present*, edited by Antònia Morey and Gabriel Jover-Avellà, 283–98. Palma de Mallorca: Edicions Documenta-Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics.

Visceglia, Maria Antonietta. 1988. *Territorio, feudo e potere locale. Terra d'Otranto tra medioevo ed età moderna* [Territory, Lordship and Local Power. Terra d'Otranto Between Medieval Age and Early Modern Era]. Napoli: Guida.

Whittle, Jane. 2017. "Introduction: Servants in Economy and Society of Rural Europe." In *Servants in rural Europe, 1400–1900*, edited by Jane Whittle, 1–18. Woodbridge (Suffolk): The Boydell Press.

Whittle, Jane, and Mark Hailwood. 2020. "The Gender Division of Labour in Early Modern England." *The Economic History Review* 73 (1): 3–32.

Winter, Anne. 2015. *Migrants and Urban Change: Newcomers to Antwerp, 1760–1860*. London: Routledge.

Words at Work, Words on the Move: Textual Production of Migrant Women from Early Modern Prague Between Discourses and Practices (1570–1620)

Veronika Čapská

Edward Said wrote in his book *The World, the Text and the Critic* that 'literary theory has for the most part isolated textuality from the circumstances, the events, the physical senses that made it possible and render it intelligible as the result of human work' (Said 1983, 4). Following Said's lead I am concerned with textual production as work. In early modern

263

Europe, the work of pen and ink was a specialized type of work that presupposed both a formal education and prior experience with texts, which were not available to everyone. Access to them and the opportunity to be paid for mental work was also highly gendered.

I want to take Said's critical point further and address the epistemological and ethical limits in exploring migrant textual production. I recognize and underline the analytical strength of discursive approaches. At the same time, I believe we must not confine our attention to discourses and representations and we cannot resign on studying migrant experiences and practices, although they are not easily accessible to us as scholars. It is essential that we avoid the risks of disregarding the challenges and hardships experienced by people on the move and newcomers. We thus need an integrative study of migration. There is clearly an ethical aspect to it as it was recently voiced for example by Peter Burke who acknowledged that his book *Exiles and Expatriates in the History of Knowledge* 'was the first book which was not just written because I was interested in early modern European history but because I was worried about something' (Burke 2021, 116).

In this chapter, I will explore the interplay of work, gender and mobility in Prague at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at a time when the city attracted many newcomers. East-Central Europe has long been omitted in the international research on pre-modern migrations and gender histories (Gabaccia and Donato 2015). Moreover, women's mental work and textual labour prior to the Enlightenment are rarely addressed or explored as work. The aim of this rather experimental essay, which bridges the gap between textual studies and socio-economic history, is thus to contribute to more inclusive and complex views of gendered mobility and work patterns in early modern Europe. I will specifically focus on long-distance mobility across land borders. With the exception of the tradition of research in historical demography (Grulich and Maur 2006), migration studies in Czech historiography have largely been limited to research into exile and preferring to follow Czech compatriots abroad over incoming people. This is a problematic approach as it copies the native/foreign dichotomy with an emphasis on the former and

V. Čapská (✉)
Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, Czechia
e-mail: veronika.capska@fhs.cuni.cz

a dismissal of the latter. Instead, I want to draw attention here to the potential of combined research into in-migration and out-migration.

In response to this volume's editor and inspired by Natalie Z. Davis's and Peter Burke's efforts not to lose individual people (Davis 1997; Burke 2004), I will make use of biographic case studies and employ comparative and relational approaches. Building on textual studies methodology, I will look at three women of letters, migrants and contemporaries: Rebecca bat Meir Tiktiner (†1605), Elisabeth Jane Weston (1582–1612) and Elisabeth of Kameneck (†1659). I will explore their productive and reproductive work, their roles in the transmission of culture and knowledge and how their migration background shaped their experiences and practices. Until recently, significant parts of the written works by these three women were considered lost and therefore inaccessible to scholars. Critical editions and digitization made them available and I can thus make use of those newly available texts, compare these women's social and textual practices and explore possible connections.

The gender perspective makes us aware that re-definitions of long established research categories, such as literature, work and knowledge, enable us to come up with new angles of view and new interpretations. Therefore, I will use the more complex terms 'textuality', 'textual production' and 'textual practices' rather than literature (Barthes 1980, 24). I will employ a broad concept of work, inclusive of reproductive, unpaid work and the work of pen (Wiesner-Hanks 2008, 102–5; Love 2003, 45–64). I embrace the capacious definition of work recently outlined by Maria Ågren and her team that sees work as a social activity, which connects people, creates interdependencies and hierarchies and whose purpose is to make a living. At the same time, this immediate purpose is not exhaustive and people may endow work with many different meanings (Ågren 2017, 205). The three women I examine here did not hold any occupational titles for most of their lives. Rebecca bat Meir was described as a teacher and preacher in her old age. Similarly, Elisabeth of Kameneck held the position of schoolmistress only approximately in the last quarter of her life. Their textual work also defies any narrow categorization, but it served their communities and shaped their lives in their social networks and beyond (Ågren 2017, 2).

Any gender-sensitive analysis requires a widened understanding of knowledge that can, for example, cover the often disregarded practical skills, experiential knowledge, and the category of wisdom, which according to Peter Burke 'is not cumulative but has to be learned more

or less painfully by each individual' (Burke 2000, 12, 14–15). We might consider migration an important part of that process of individual experiential learning. This sharpened conceptual apparatus opens up a space in which we may see women as active participants and builders of their societies (Zucca Micheletto, Introduction).

Textuality is the work of pen and historians can only analyse it if mobile historical actors made use of times of stability for writing and if that writing survived. I will explore the textual and other work of three women contemporaries who could occasionally sit down and reach for their writing utensils and who had a clear programme and a plan for their substantial textual work, some of which was preserved through print. These women experienced this relative stability after arriving in early modern Prague, although they came from different social and cultural backgrounds and geographic directions.

Rebecca bat Meir Tiktiner—Teacher and Preacher

The well-documented continuous presence of Jewish inhabitants in Prague can serve us as a good litmus paper which allows to interpret the last third of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries as the time of stability. After a long period of insecurity, in 1567 the Jews of Prague and of the whole kingdom of Bohemia had their old privileges confirmed by Emperor Maximilian II, who promised they would not be banished and loosened some of the restrictions on their trade and businesses (Pěkný 2001, 71). In his chronicle *Tzemah David* (Offspring of David), the contemporary Jewish historian and polymath David Gans (1541–1613) recorded that in 1571 the emperor Maximilian II demonstrated his protection of the Jewish community by walking along the main Jewish street in Prague accompanied by queen Mary and their courtiers (Gans 2016, 601).

Prague's Jewish community was not disconnected from the traumatizing waves of persecution fellow believers experienced elsewhere in Europe, neither did local calls for its expulsion cease. However, thanks to the relatively favourable (and utilitarian) approach adopted by emperor Maximilian II (1564–1576), and followed by Rudolf II (1576–1611), Matthias (1611–1619) and Ferdinand II (1619–1637), the Jews in Prague lived in more stable conditions at this time than earlier (Pěkný 2001, 72–84).

In this situation of relative prosperity, Prague attracted incoming Jewish populations and became one of the main centres of Ashkenazic Jews. While in 1562 it is estimated that there were around one thousand Jewish inhabitants in Prague, by 1600 that number had risen to between 10 and 15 thousand inhabitants (excluding small children, servants, the poor, etc.). This was about one quarter of Prague's total population (Pěkný 2001, 634–37). Most Prague Jews at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were thus first- or second-generation migrants. At the same time, this mobility took place within a network of Jewish diasporic communities.

Since the Prague Jews steadily made up about one-third of all the Jewish inhabitants of the Bohemian lands between the mid sixteenth and mid eighteenth centuries (Pěkný 2001, 643), we can infer that most of the newcomers in the Prague community arrived from more distant regions, such as 'Rayser Land'—the region which Rebecca bat Meir Tiktiner repeatedly mentions in her book *Meneket Rivkah* (Rivkah's Nurse), which was critically edited by Frauke von Rohden. The term 'Rayser Land' probably refers to eastern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian state, most likely to Ruthenia (von Rohden 2009, 6).

The epitaph on Rebecca's gravestone at the old Jewish cemetery in Prague describes her as the 'daughter of our teacher and master, Rabbi Meir Tikotin' (von Rohden, 4). Her father's surname refers to the Polish town of Tykocin, north-east of Warsaw and west of Bialystock, quite distant from Ruthenia. This may indicate a migration trajectory but we must also bear in mind that her father could have inherited his surname. Tykocin was Tiktin in Yiddish, i.e. in the vernacular of the Ashkenazic Jews, and on the title page of her book *Meneket Rivkah* the Germanized form of the family surname, Tiktiner, appears along with a shortened version of Rebecca's name, Rivkah (von Rohden 2009, 5, 79). She was probably most often called by this colloquial version of her name, Rivkah.

A number of words in her book that come from Eastern Yiddish provide further clues that Rivkah may have been a migrant from the eastern parts of Poland-Lithuania. Moreover, an entry commemorating Rivkah upon her demise in the memory book *Sefer Hazkarot* of the Old New Synagogue (*Altneushul*) indicates that she was elderly when she died in Prague on April 13, 1605 (von Rohden 2009, 6–7). This suggests she was probably born some time before the late 1560s, when the Prague Jewish population began to grow rapidly. In other words, Rivkah very likely spent a significant time of her life elsewhere and brought her

personal experience and memories of other distant Jewish communities with her to Prague (Greenblatt 2013, 44). Moreover, Rivkah's life and work were profoundly shaped by the diasporic condition. The Jewish people were both denied assimilation and resisted it. The transmission of culture in oral and textual ways was essential for securing the continuity of their diasporic communities (Tölölyan 2019, 23–24).

Rivkah was the daughter of a learned man, although it is not certain whether Meir Tikotin held the office of rabbi. She had access to good education at a time when a significant number of Jewish women could not read and write. She probably studied Hebrew, the Torah and possibly the basics of rabbinic literature as a child (von Rohden 2009, 5). The daughters of Jewish scholars enjoyed high social status and were regarded as desirable marital partners. Rebecca bat Meir herself emphasized this in her book *Meneket Rivkah* where she refers to rabbinic literature, citing: 'A man should always sell everything he has in order to marry the daughter of a Torah scholar'. And she continues with her commentary:

> This means in Yiddish, a man should always sell everything he has in order to take a maiden who is the daughter of a Torah scholar. In our times, due to our many transgressions, people see only money – even the daughter of a Torah scholar, if she has no money, will be pushed away with both hands. King David said about this, 'A brutish man cannot know, a fool cannot understand this.' This means: a fool does not know the daughter of a Torah scholar, and so he will also not merit to have children who will understand the Torah, which is indicated by »this«. (von Rohden 2009, 114–15)

This passage indirectly speaks to Rivkah's own social status as the daughter of a Torah scholar and possibly also to her experience as a migrant. She was a migrant woman who abounded with education but might have had comparably less plentiful financial means. Moreover, through her text Rebecca promotes and reinforces the high value ascribed to the daughters of learned Jewish men.

Moreover, the quote seems to point to Rivkah's self-awareness and identity as a woman of letters. The opening of her book *Meneket Rivkah* supports this idea: Rebecca writes, 'I have marked well, and I have pondered in my heart, I have raised my voice and spoken'. The first letters of the Bible quote 'I have marked well' make up the name Rivkah (von Rohden 2009, 80).

My focus in this study will be on Rebecca's work of the mind and pen—on her writing, translating, teaching, etc. as documented mainly by her book *Meneket Rivkah*. *Rivkah's Nurse* can be characterized as a moral-didactic-homiletic work and a manual of conduct for married women. The book is structured in seven chapters. The first one teaches women how to distinguish between and pursue wisdom of the body and wisdom of the soul. The subsequent six chapters focus on women's social relationships—with their husbands, parents, in-laws, children, daughters-in-law and with non-familial inhabitants of their homes, such as guests, boarders and household staff (von Rohden 2009, 16, 36–47). The title of the book refers to a verse in Genesis 35, 8, which describes how Deborah, Rebecca's nurse died near Bet-El—the place where God gave Jacob his new name Israel (von Rohden 2009, 15). Deborah can thus be regarded as the nurse of the children of Israel, the paragon of a caregiver.

Rivkah was most likely married when she wrote her moral manual, since her husband, a learned man of rabbinical training, is recorded in the Old New Synagogue memory book as having made a charitable donation to the synagogue upon her death (von Rohden 2009, 1–5). We may thus presume that she worked on her manuscripts while also bound by responsibilities towards her husband and children. To the latter she cursorily refers in her book (von Rohden 2009, xiv).

In the Old New Synagogue memory book, Rivkah is described as *rabbanit*, that is a female rabbi or female teacher. On the title page of her book *Meneket Rivkah* she is characterized as *darshanit*, a female preacher (von Rohden 2009, 6–7). While Prague Jewish women are known to have composed prayers and worked as cantors in the sixteenth century, there is no other known example of a woman being described simultaneously as *rabbanit* and *darshanit*, teacher and preacher. These titles are indicative of Rivkah's work in the diasporic Jewish community in Prague and probably also elsewhere.

There was a long Jewish tradition of women instructing other less educated women in matters of liturgy, prayers and religious duties, including ritual prescriptions. In the early modern Ashkenaz the term *firzogerin* ('woman who prompts') was used for these women. The way Rebecca bat Meir is referred to shows she enjoyed respect and authority, yet we do not know whether she was paid for her teaching, how much or how it was organized (von Rohden 2009, 8–9). In addition to teaching, she dedicated time to textual labours. Besides her moral-homiletic book *Meneket Rivkah*, she also composed a poem—the song *Simhes Toyre Lid*,

intended for the *Simchat Torah* festival. It is a liturgical hymn and reveals that Rivkah was skilled at composing according to the formal rules of this genre. We may assume these are only the surviving remnants of her more extensive textual work (von Rohden 2009, 11).

Rebecca bat Meir wrote both *Meneket Rivkah* and *Simhes Toyre Lid* in Yiddish, a Jewish Germanic language with local elements, which employed the Hebrew alphabet in its written form and was the native tongue spoken by Ashkenazic Jews. *Meneket Rivkah* is considered the oldest surviving book in Yiddish by a female author. It was published in two print editions (in 1609 and 1618), which greatly increased its prospects for reaching posterity. Texts that remained in manuscript form had much lower chances of surviving the turbulent times of persecution that repeatedly afflicted the Jewish communities. Despite that, the first complete copy of the book has only been brought to the attention of scholars, rather gradually, since the 1980s (von Rohden 2009, 53).

It takes work for a text to materialize. Harold Love described textual production as a cycle that does not start with writing; he stressed that writing is always preceded by reading. According to him, there is also a stage of reconstitution between reading and writing:

> This is what occurs both communally and individually as the fruits of reading are digested and reformulated in personal and group experience prior to their being employed in new acts of writing. This is the point when new ideas, new experiences, new kinds of language, new instances of work are fed into the cycle, thus making it an open system, not a closed one. (Love 2003, 59)

Rivkah Tiktiner, like her contemporaries Elisabeth Jane Weston and Elisabeth of Kameneck, grew up surrounded by texts that were written and printed in various languages. They learnt how to creatively interact with texts and interpret them and they seized the authority to interpret them for others.

While working as an author, Rebecca bat Meir also worked on translating Hebrew texts into Yiddish. She edited her source texts and often conceived her translations as explanations, as was usual in Yiddish moral literature. This also means it is difficult to identify them and we have only a limited knowledge of what texts she built on (von Rohden 2009, 22). She refers to a broad body of biblical, rabbinical and ethical literature. She often mentions the popular Hebrew ethical-kabbalistic book

Reshit Hokhmah (The Beginning of Wisdom) by the sixteenth-century author Eliyahu de Vidas and the medieval ethical books *Sefer Hasidim* (Book of the Pious) and *Orhot Zaddikim* (The Ways of the Righteous). The latter was first published in Hebrew in Prague in 1581 and we may take that as an indication that Rivkah's book was written later than that, i.e. sometime between 1581 and 1605, when she died (von Rohden 2009, 13, 53). She cross-references a moral-halakhic corpus of texts on women's duties, the so-called *Vroyen Bikhel* or *Froyen Bukh* (Women's Book), which enjoyed widespread popularity in the sixteenth century and with which she evidently expects her readers to have some form of famil-iarity (von Rohden 2009, 13, 22–27): 'I do not need to write everything here about how all depends on the woman, since it is in the *Vroyen Bikhel* along with many proofs' (von Rohden 2009, 115).

We can see that Rivkah wants other women to join in, to read actively by putting their memory to work. Her contemporaries knew many quotes and narratives almost by heart. Rebecca herself relied on this work of recollection and encouraged it in others as she referred to and invoked familiar textual repertoire.

Of the many biblical texts on which Rivkah built, the 31st chapter of the Book of Proverbs, and Rivkah's treatment of this text in partic-ular, offers itself for cross-cultural comparison. In chapter one of *Meneket Rivkah*, the final verses of the Book of Proverbs ordered according to the Hebrew alphabet stand for literacy and knowledge in the sense of practice-oriented knowledge of women's place, work activities and the rules by which a good wife was expected to abide:

> King Solomon, peace be upon him, ended Proverbs with (the praise of) 'The Woman of Valor' and therefore ordered it alphabetically. He did that nowhere else in (Proverbs), in order that one should know that a good woman is equal to the entire Torah. Just as the Torah without one letter cannot exist, so too a good woman should be complete with only good deeds toward God, blessed be His name, and toward people. (von Rohden 2009, 102)

As we can see, Rivkah repeatedly puts special emphasis on the idea of a good woman. She reminds other women that king Solomon envisioned 'the Woman of Valor' as a good woman who knows her alphabet, or better said, her 'aleph beth' in its entirety, right down to the last letter, and transforms it into practice. Taking inspiration from Peter Burke, one

could even describe Rivkah's moral-homiletic book as a set of guidelines on 'How to be a good Jewish Wife in Early Modern Ashkenaz' (Burke 1987).

This passage in Rebecca bat Meir's manual, as well as her other references to the final chapter of the Book of Proverbs, which point to the virtuous wife paradigm, call for comparison with contemporary Christian gendered prescriptive literature published in early modern Bohemia. These texts have so far not received joint attention and deserve more systematic research. I will therefore limit myself here to a few preliminary remarks.

Plentiful works of gendered prescriptive literature were published in Czech in the early modern Bohemian lands, as the first three volumes of the recent four volume series by Jana Ratajová and Lucie Storchová show (Ratajová and Storchová 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013). However, these prescriptive works were all authored by men. By contrast, Rivkah's book was intended to aid homosocial transmission of knowledge in the broad sense, including ritual practices. Nonetheless, the manual authored by Rivkah and the Christian normative works written by men shared the ambition of explaining and sustaining the social order.

The most suitable works for comparison are prescriptive tracts on marriage from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which present the model of a good (and bad) wife and tie the social institution of marriage closely to the gendered social order (Ratajová and Storchová 2009, 816).

The final chapter of the Book of Proverbs, including the metaphor of the alphabet, was heavily utilized by the scribe and city councillor of the Lesser Town of Prague, Jan Kocín z Kocinétu (1543–1610), in his book *The Alphabet of a Pious Wife and Honest Housewife*. This was published in 1585, more than two decades before the first edition of *Meneket Rivkah* (1609). It introduced every verse line with one letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Jan Kocín undertook academic peregrinations and translated from German. In composing his *Alphabet of a Pious Wife* he might have been inspired by German prescriptive literature, such as the work *Der Weyber Geschefft* by the south German reformer Wolfgang Ruβ, which was first published in Augsburg in 1533. The number of German editions of this work indicates that it became an early reformation bestseller (Ratajová and Storchová 2009, 756–57). The structure of the final chapter of Proverbs was also influential in other prescriptive texts in German and Czech, such as the book *Ein christlicher Unterricht von der Weiber Haushaltung* by Stephan Reich, published in Leipzig in 1568, or

the brief Czech book *A Mirror of an Honest and Noble-Minded Woman and Housewife* published by Jiří Strejc-Vetter (1536–1599), a member of the Unity of Brethren, in Olomouc in 1610 (Ratajová and Storchová 2009, 756–57).

Nonetheless, unlike Ruβ or Strejc, but very much like Rebecca bat Meir, Kocín appreciated the alphabet metaphor as a means of encouraging readers to learn what the ideal of a good wife entailed. The reformation, which had a long tradition in Bohemia, profoundly increased interest in direct access to biblical texts and enhanced collective efforts to study and translate them. Knowledge of Hebrew was one of the necessary competencies for this, and so the cultural status of Hebrew improved. It was valued in learned circles and, as we shall see, Elisabeth of Kameneck, the daughter of the first professor of Hebrew at the Prague university, enjoyed renown for her knowledge of Hebrew far beyond the boundaries of Bohemia.

While the 'aleph beth' stood for rather elementary knowledge, the Book of Proverbs had been regarded as wisdom literature since the Middle Ages: the textual body that resulted in a complex of knowledge to be passed from one generation to another. Although women were excluded from formal institutions of higher education, they were active as what Peter Burke calls 'wise women' who passed on collectively recognized as well as individually accumulated knowledge (Burke 2016, 120). Rebecca bat Meir fits particularly well into this category. Her transmission of knowledge involved both oral and textual labour. Rivkah distinguished between the wisdom of the body and the wisdom of the soul and worked to pass that knowledge on within the Jewish diasporic communities she moved in (von Rohden 2009, 87).

At the textual level, the virtuous woman of Proverbs 31 passed on her knowledge, too. As Danielle Clarke recently pointed out, the Proverbial good wife 'is not characterized by silence, but by her actively virtuous eloquence, a type of work or labour in itself' (Clarke 2016, 111). Her wise speech and instructions to others are listed along with her other economic activities.

The very text of Proverbs 31 was traditionally represented as the materialized form of maternal instruction. Jan Kocín, for example, writes in his *Alphabet of a Pious Wife*, that 'the alphabet was drawn up on the basis of directions Salomon's mother Bathsheba gave him when he ascended the throne' (Ratajová and Storchová 2009, 269). Laurel Thatcher Ulrich reminds us that Puritans in early colonial New England

'called this paragon "Bathsheba", assuming rather logically that Solomon could only have learned such an appreciation for housewifery from his mother' (Ulrich 1991, 14).

The reception and the travelling of 'Bathsheba', the final chapter of the Proverbs, with its various commentaries and interpretations, across the medieval and early modern Ashkenazic and Sephardic diasporas, across various European societies imprinted by Christianity and across the Atlantic world is a major topic for separate systematic research. But it is worth noting that pre-modern texts usually travelled along with people.

With Rivkah, as with Kocín and Strejc, we encounter 'Bathsheba' at a critical stage of the dramatic spread of printing technologies, which changed this text's resonance and reception. The Bathsheba of this ancient text taught and shared her wisdom orally but did not engage in textual production, whereas the dynamic expansion of print culture enhanced early modern women's opportunities to absorb this 'alpha beth' in a more literal way. The early modern texts interpreting Proverbs 31, which were increasingly put into print, played a significant role in cultivating women's literacy and textual competencies and thus contributed to their further engagement in textual labours.

From the perspective of work history, it is important that this final chapter of Proverbs provided a cross-culturally influential repertoire of women's economic activities, which shaped representations of both ideal and actual women. A comparative look at *The Alphabet of a Pious Wife* by Jan Kocín, *A Mirror of an Honest and Noble-Minded Woman* by Jiří Strejc and Rebecca bat Meir's *Rivkah's Nurse* reveals that all three texts cover Bathsheba's work activities in their breadth, featuring an industrious woman who tirelessly supports her husband, her children, her community and herself. In the God-sanctioned, gendered social order a good wife is responsible for efficient management of the household, which spatially extends far beyond the house itself to fields, meadows, orchards and vineyards and socially encompasses household dependants, including servants. She engages in clothes production and mending while simultaneously tending to her children. She displays entrepreneurial talent, commercial skills and dedication to charitable activities. The industrious housewife hardly ever sleeps. Rivkah Tiktiner calls this tireless hardworking woman a heroine. In Hebrew, the most common term for the proverbial capable woman was *Eshet Hayil* ('woman of valor'), which Rebecca also uses (Baskin 2013, 38). This complex term was translated into Yiddish as *helde*

vroy—a heroic woman—or *bider vayb*—a diligent, dutiful woman (von Rohden 2009, 111).

While these three prescriptive books all interpret the final chapter of Proverbs (and *Meneket Rivkah* several other works, too), Rebecca bat Meir's text is hermeneutically more demanding and more complex than Kocín's or Strejc's. Rivkah recognizes interpretational challenges, acknowledges a constant search for meanings and exposes a plurality of possible interpretations. Her approach invites readers to ponder with her and join in the process of exploring and probing meanings. The prescriptive texts by Kocín and Strejc are more authoritative and do not encourage readers to search for meanings along with them. This aspect of guiding and encouraging others in search for meanings and in textual anatomy points directly to Rivkah's role as a teacher and preacher.

These normative works cover a broad spectrum of women's economic activities and promote the ideal of the industrious woman for middle-class women. Yet socio-economic research attests to a long-term process of devaluation and marginalization of women's work which kept losing status in early modern Europe (Howell 2008, 523–27). In contrast, Debra Kaplan argues that no parallel process of gradual marginalization of women's work can be ascertained for the Jewish communities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She particularly points out that

> both male and female Jews were often restricted from many of the economic positions held by Christian men, including work as craftsmen, jobs that required guild membership, and vocations such as medicine, which required training. The Jewish community, then, did not, and perhaps could not afford to further restrict women's participation in economic life to the household. (Kaplan 2010, 107, 113)

Rebecca bat Meir enables us to look both at the spectrum of work she outlined for women in her book and at the work she herself performed in the course of her life. These spheres cannot be entirely separated. Rivkah's book materialized her long-term work and can be regarded as her service to the community. Her book was designed to aid young Jewish women to internalize certain rules and values, and thus played an essential role in the transmission of culture, knowledge and in reinforcing both the order of knowledge and the gendered social order.

From the perspective of migration history, Rivkah's book can be seen as a means of fostering cohesion in the Ashkenazic diaspora. Simultaneously, it contributed to setting and strengthening boundaries towards the Christian majority. For example, Rivkah saw Christian maids employed in Jewish households as potential violators of the rules of *kashrut*. She records what she describes as personal recollections from southeast Poland-Lithuania suggesting that Christian servants are not to be trusted, which she claims was a broader pattern:

> I must write yet about something I have seen – a great desecration of God's name, which takes place due to our many transgressions, with Christian maids in *Rayser* Land. I have seen this great impurity: On Friday night, after everyone had gone to sleep, she washed the dishes in a basin used for dairy. Her mistress also kept cows, and would rinse off the dishes in the milk basin. Then I also saw that they slaughtered geese, and the Christian maid took the heads and put them in the basin for dairy products and poured hot water over them. I told this to her mistress, who answered, "I don't believe it – she's served here for many years. (von Rohden 2009, 105)

Meneket Rivkah points to close contact, everyday coexistence, tension and constant boundary-drawing between Jews and Christians in Central and Eastern Europe:

> Later something else happened with a different Jewish woman: On Yom Kippur afternoon she had the oven heated up and let the Christian maid stuff chickens, so that when everyone came home from synagogue, everything would be ready. She herself stood there the whole time and directed (the maid), 'Do it like this, and like this!' I asked her, 'Why did you do this? Isn't it a sin?' She answered, 'This is how I've seen it done, and this is how I've always done it.' (von Rohden 2009, 106)

In order for *Meneket Rivkah* to foster cohesion in the diaspora, it had to be put into print and thereby made broadly available. This happened in Prague in 1609, four years after Rebecca bat Meir's death: she thus did not live to see the social life of her published book—how it was sold, bought, read, heard, borrowed, or indeed brought to another important centre of Central European Jewish printing, Krakow, for its second edition in 1618 (von Rohden 2009, 14, 80). Nonetheless, in his publishing business, the Prague Hebrew printer Gershom ben Bezalel Katz seems to have

built on Rebecca's good reputation and authority, which she had gained through her work as a teacher and preacher engaged in the oral, written and printed cultures of Jewish diasporic communities (von Rohden 2009, 13). We can conclude that she shaped these cultures by working both on and within them.

ELISABETH JANE WESTON—VIRGO ANGLA, POETRIA CELEBERRIMA

Rebecca bat Meir's textual production is described in the introductory part of *Meneket Rivkah* as a previously unheard of and unseen novelty, that should be read and above all bought and possessed by other women (von Rohden 2009, 79–80). Similarly, the Anglo-Bohemian Neo-Latin poet Elisabeth Jane Weston was celebrated by her learned contemporaries as an exceptional occurrence. However, representing learned female textual producers as extraordinary served to confirm the social and gendered order in which women did not have access to the system of higher education, rather than undermine it.

Unlike Rivkah Tiktiner's book, which was assigned a place in the niche of literature for female readers by the Jewish authorities and publishers, Elisabeth Jane Weston's poems and letters were adopted into the canon of largely male-dominated humanist literature, not as a sign of its inclusiveness but because her textual production and its strategic dissemination met the exclusive and highly formalized rules of the *respublica litteraria*. (Storchová 2011, 345). Weston was celebrated by her contemporaries and became a classic to the extent that her example served as a point of reference to other women who cultivated textual labours and ambitions, such as Elisabeth of Kameneck, as we shall see below.

As in the case of Rivkah Tiktiner, the presence of Elisabeth Jane Weston in Rudolfine Prague is inscribed in the socio-historical topography of the city as it is materialized and commemorated by her tombstone. Her epitaph in the cloister of St. Thomas church in the Lesser Quarter in Prague depicts a mandrake plant in allusion to her marital bond with Johann Leo von Eisenach and possibly also to her close ties with the alchemists Edward Kelley and John Dee, who shaped her early youth (Skružná 2019, 225–36).

Elisabeth Jane Weston was born in Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, in 1581 to Joane Cowper and John Weston. In 1582 her father John Weston, a 'clark', died and her mother married the alchemist Edward

Kelley, a companion and collaborator of the polymath John Dee. An entry in Dee's diary for September 21, 1583 shows that he and Edward Kelley departed England for Central Europe with their wives, in the company of the Polish nobleman Albert Lasky, and seems to indicate that Kelley's stepchildren, Elisabeth and her brother John, were left in England and only later brought to Prague:

> Sept. 21st, we went from Mortlake, and so the Lord Albert Lasky, I, Mr. E. Kelly, our wives, my children and familie, we went toward our two ships attending for us, seven or eight myle below Gravessende. (J. Dee, September 21, 1583; Cheney and Hosington 2000, xii)

Nonetheless, Elisabeth and her brother John did follow their mother and stepfather to Bohemia at an early age. In 1588 John Dee hired a certain 'John Hammond, gentleman' who was employed as a private tutor to Elisabeth (J. Dee, August 7, 1588). John Dee and Edward Kelley enjoyed the support and patronage of the emperor, Rudolf II, and the Bohemian magnate Vilém of Rožmberk (Rosenberg) and established themselves in the court circles. While the relatively elderly John Dee decided to return to England in 1589, Edward Kelley and his brother Thomas Kelley were increasingly putting down roots in Bohemia. In 1587 Thomas married Ludmila Lažická von Pisnitz, a niece of Rudolf's vice-chancellor Heinrich von Pisnitz (Cheney and Hosington 2000, xii).

From the migration history perspective, it is significant that Edward Kelley underwent the process of being formally accepted by the Bohemian Land Diet for the bestowal of the residential right (*ius incolatus*) in Bohemia in 1589 (Březan 1985, 355). This meant that he legally passed from the category of a foreigner (*cizozemec*) to the category of a resident and was able to acquire properties recorded in the real estates land registry (*tabulae terrae*). By contrast, his brother Thomas could only gain access to these 'intabulated' real estates through his wife, Ludmila Lažická von Pisnitz, who was a member of the lower nobility. Non-noble holders of residential rights needed a formal letter of approval by the king in order to do so (Starý 2018, 389–92). This may have contributed to Kelley's efforts to be accepted by the Bohemian Land Diet as a nobleman while newly claiming the noble title Imaymi. Part of the residential rights bestowal process was the delivery of a sealed letter of 'commitment to land', i.e. of a written promise to respect the laws and the rule of the king of Bohemia and to adopt one of the two religions of

the land: Catholicism or Utraquism. Edward Kelley most probably chose Catholicism, i.e. the emperor's confession. The written commitment formulated on behalf of Kelley and his heirs and dated June 15, 1589 was to be followed by an oral statement performed at the Prague Castle in the office of the land registry but in the end, it was the officials who travelled to hear this 'commitment to land' from the new residential rights holder—something they did only very rarely, when justified by disease (Starý 2018, 136–60). The officials took a trip to the Rosenberg chateau in Třeboň, south Bohemia, to hear Kelley's formal commitment (Březan 1985, 355). These circumstances underline what exceptional support Edward Kelley enjoyed from the emperor and the Rosenbergs, which paved his way to achieving residential status.

Unlike her mother Joane and her stepfather, Elisabeth Jane Weston can be regarded as a second-generation migrant. She was clearly growing up in a milieu that was well connected to courtly circles, learned men and powerful local high officials. Moreover, her family environment was so well networked that even her stepfather's deep fall from emperor's favour and his subsequent death did not entirely ruin her future prospects. This could hardly have been achieved without the rather stubborn agency with which she appropriated a distinct literary voice on behalf of herself and her mother. The family's reputation was heavily damaged and Elisabeth strived to redress it by attracting attention to the family tradition of cultivating letters and arts.

Only a few records survive beyond the letters and poems written by, to or about Weston. This collection of so-called 'Westoniana', largely made available in a modern edition by Donald Cheney and Brenda Hosington (Cheney and Hosington 2000) thus constitutes the main body of empirical material for research into this Prague-based poet of English descent. The example of the poet Elisabeth Jane Weston invites us to address the boundaries of work. As mentioned above, Maria Ågren and her team understand work as a social activity, which has a purpose to make a living. At the same time, work does not exhaust itself with this immediate purpose and people can endow it with many different meanings (Ågren 2017, 205). I approach Weston's textual production as work which allows us to explore work as a dynamic or even liquid category, much in line with the Ågren's team elastic definition.

Lucie Storchová, who has so far offered the most complex analysis of Weston's work, has recently drawn attention to the gendered denial of authorial activity in her texts. The creative acts of writing are ascribed to

the Muses, Apollo or fate and Weston's own engagement is rhetorically diminished (Storchová 2011, 253–354).

From the perspective of work history, it is worth to take into account Weston's persistent claim to nobility (or lack of efforts to deny it). For our purposes, specifically the tension between the asserted noble status and work is deserving of closer attention. Although Weston's stepfather had achieved noble status, upon his death the noble rank of his heirs was shattered and fragile. It seems that poetry writing provided Elisabeth with a niche for activities through which she could elevate her status. Systematic poetry writing was one of only a few types of work, along with service in the households of higher nobility, that were available to women of Weston's standing (Kettering 1997, 55–85).

When analysing the economy of poetic practice in fifteenth-century Spain, Ana M. Gómez-Bravo characterizes poetry as both 'infused knowledge' and a key commodity in the competition for resources. She sees 'the ennobling power in poetry', which made it into a potential 'tool for social legitimation' (Gómez-Bravo 2013, 46–50). Members of the nobility, especially the poorer among them, could use poetry writing and distribution to secure both material and immaterial support, cultivate their social networks and improve their living conditions.

When we look at the so-called 'Westoniana', we can see that Weston's literary production was rendered as labour, industry as well as collaboration with the Muses and the result of divine inspiration. In her poem for Christopher von Bellvitz, the Frederick of the Palatinate's legate to Emperor Rudolf II, Weston describes how her writing work is assisted by Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy: 'Melpomene begets my arguments and breathes on my labour' (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 48–49). Similarly, the humanist and poet Paul Melissus praised her poetry as 'maidenly labours given sinews by Minervan Weston's effort' (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 254–55).

This sophisticated cultural play, which employed the rhetoric of disguising one's own mental work as the Muses' achievement, seems to have particularly suited the nobility (or aspiration to nobility) as it enabled to harmonize literary labours with the Renaissance courtly ideal of effortlessness epitomized in the notion of *sprezzatura* (Burke 1986, 196; 2007). The concept of *sprezzatura* can be regarded as a fantasy, which concealed that the composition of Latin texts was not a spontaneous outflow of innate talent but a specialized activity that required prior

training and could serve to support oneself and others (Ellinghausen, 1, 69).

Sprezzatura was a quality associated with and expected of courtiers. However, due to Edward Kelley's fall from the emperor's grace Elisabeth Jane Weston probably could not personally socialize at the court. The sovereign's disfavour often implied some form of exile reaching from displacement or internal exile to imprisonment or banishment abroad (Swann 2017, 1–31). One can interpret Elisabeth's textual production, her poems and letters, as the tools with which she reached across this social exile, across this limitation of social space as she strived to compensate for it by expanding her humanist social networks.

The aspect of play in the humanist *respublica litteraria* was pointed out by Lucie Storchová (Storchová 2011, 343–69). She reminds us that the intellectual exchange in the humanist republic of letters can be understood as a communication game with a predefined set of rules (Storchová 2003, 150). In order to be able to participate in this formalized play and to use it to support herself, Weston needed a supreme quality education and a patron broker who would introduce her to the humanist networks. While Elisabeth's brother John Francis (1580–1600) studied at the Jesuit colleges in Prague and in Ingolstadt, she herself could only gain access to a prime Latin education outside the formal school system. Her private teacher, the above-mentioned John Hammond, trained her to master the literary norms and the classical literary repertoire and thus to acquire what Lucie Storchová calls the humanist formal or formalized discursive mode (Storchová 2011, 32–36).

Acquiring skills in Neo-Latin literary writing was only a prerequisite for entering the humanist republic of letters; entry into the predominantly male social network required mediators. Weston's poetry composition enabled her to work, herself, on improving her unstable economic situation. In the Bourdieuan sense, she could and did work towards turning her social and cultural capital into economic capital (Bourdieu 1996, 114, 337). Yet only mediators could expand the potential value of that capital through persistent promotion and gradually establishing her work and her name in the humanist networks.

Elisabeth's most important patron broker was the Silesian nobleman Georg Martinius von Baldhoven (1578–1615) (Cheney and Hosington 2000, xiii). He took up the task of delivering Weston's poems to potential patrons and prepared the first collection of Weston's writings for publication in two books of *Poemata* at Frankfurt am Oder in 1602

(Cheney 2016, ix–x). Moreover, Baldhoven's epilogue to *Poemata* was instrumental in establishing the discourse of Weston's singularity. As Lucie Storchová has shown, gender was employed as the foremost source of Weston's supposed uniqueness. Other recurrent motives that nourished the representations of Weston as a singular occurrence entailed her assumed nobility, youth, virginity and English descent (Storchová 2011, 347, 356–57). This image of Weston promoted broadly by Baldhoven shaped further representations of the poet.

Baldhoven brought Weston's work to the attention of prominent humanist authors, in particular the poet Paul Melissus and the scholar Joseph Scaliger, and mediated her contact with them (Storchová 2011, 346–47). Thanks to Baldhoven's efforts and the mediation of other humanists, such as Matouš Deník, 'Denichius', a physician in the New Town of Prague or the Erfurt scholar Wolfgang Gruningius, Weston was increasingly asked by various humanists to compose and send poems and even portraits (Storchová 2011, 346, 363).

Weston's renown in the humanist circles rose sharply, and even more importantly from the economic perspective, so did the poet's value on the marriage market. In April 1603 she married the lawyer and diplomat Johann Leo von Eisenach, an agent of Christian von Anhalt at the imperial court, and subsequently gave birth to seven children (Cheney 2016, ix). This marriage thus drew Elisabeth closer to the court milieu.

In one of her poems to Johann Leo she places her husband in the position of the reader, editor and mediator of her work. She shows concern for having her works published and presents her husband as a partner in the complexity of textual labour:

> If you take care for the Muses, and for songs,
> John, see what my Calliope might desire.
> I have songs of Christ's birth, prepared for the cradle,
> to be subjected to the permanence of type.
> I commit these to your care; scan them with care so you may
> give them to the printer. Let them be fit to be read. (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 66–67)

Print was at the end of her working process and completed her textual labour. Reading and writing were at its start. In a letter to Baldhoven from as early as February 27, 1602, prior to her marriage, Weston complained: 'Certainly I find very little time to write and none at all to read' (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 219).

In another letter to Baldhoven from July 1, 1603 Weston captured the complexities of her textual labour and described her long-term activities as systematic work—a regular type of work with a plan:

> As for the renewed publication of my writings, the only reason I have until now been silent is that as you know, I have been working for several months now in collecting and transcribing them, both letters and poems, and have not yet been able to complete the work I have undertaken. I would wish for them to all come out together, and that in Leiden as you wish, were it not that my husband prefers they be printed in Prague or Leipzig. I have misplaced, I know not how – as I have previously done with many similar ones – the copies of letters from me written to Messrs. Scaliger and Dousa. So if they could be obtained from them by your means, I would be most grateful. (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 226–27)

Publishing poems along with letters presented her work as networked and connected with prime contemporary humanists. The second collection of her works, *Parthenicon*, was published in three volumes by the printer Paul Sessius in Prague between 1607 and 1610 (Storchová 2011, 343, 352).

Elisabeth Jane Weston was clearly extremely keen for her works to be published and strived to actively shape her second collection of works, which was edited by Baldhoven again. Nonetheless, two of the extant copies of her *Parthenicon*—the British Library exemplar and the copy in the National Museum in Prague—contain almost identical manuscript leaflets bearing a Note to the Reader (*Ad Lectorem*) from Weston herself, in which she expresses her discontent and exposes that poems by male authors have been added to the collection without her consent. In marginal notes, she specifically reproaches the imperial poet Carolides for having added his writings. Weston was not happy with what she saw as a disorderly mix of writings with too many typographic errors. She also disapproved of the attached list of learned women, 'in which welcome and less welcome items appear together' (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 304–7).

Poetry writing and exchange provided Elisabeth Jane Weston with the otherwise scarce opportunity to mobilize her social and cultural capital and improve her standing. Albeit in a rather indirect way and without a reliable income, this work enabled her to support herself and build an identity as a poet, although she could not use the title 'poet' as an occupational title, as for example an imperial poet or a university poet-scholar

could do (Glomski 2007, 83, 221). The title of poet was almost exclusively ascribed to her by other members of the republic of letters, in a series of affirmations through which she was accepted and recognized as a poet.

While the title of a poet is missing from the signatures, which closed her poems, there was an epithet she chose to attach to her name consistently: *Angla*. This reference to her English descent and migration background marked almost every one of her texts. Moreover, in the absence of an occupational title the label *Angla* anchored her in the social space in a way that was not subject to changes in social status, such as maiden or wife.

Although Elisabeth most likely never travelled to England herself, her broader family does seem to have kept ties to their English relatives. In a letter from October 12, 1598, Elisabeth's brother John Francis shared with her the news he had from their stepuncle Thomas Kelley 'that our kinswoman by marriage, Ludomilla Kelley, has set off for England, in the company of two of her sons' (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 210–11). Elisabeth could not undertake any academic peregrination to foreign universities. Nonetheless, she seems to have travelled locally, making the most of her family's networks. Her letter to John Francis from July 26, 1597 was penned in Brüx (Most), a royal town in northwest Bohemia (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 202–3). Elisabeth probably occasionally stayed with the Pisnitz family, who had properties there: Heinrich von Pisnitz was Elisabeth's main benefactor and patron, as well as the uncle of her stepaunt, Ludmilla Kelley. In her letter to Baldhoven from April 1, 1603 Elisabeth once again mentions she is away from Prague for several months (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 225).

Elisabeth's insistence on identifying herself as an Englishwoman in exile, torn from her native land, 'that terrestrial paradise', points to her nurturing some ambitions to reconnect with England (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 229). She strived to cultivate relations with English visitors to the imperial court in Prague. While her family networks, limited economic means and later reproductive labour anchored her in Bohemia, her poems and letters circulated and won her recognition across the Holy Roman Empire. Weston was clearly hoping that her networks and reputation as a poet would extend as far as England. Her letter and a congratulatory poem to the new king of England, James I, reproduced in *Parthenicon*, are evidence of the efforts she put into achieving this goal. She casts herself as the king's 'least worthy client' who commends

herself 'along with my widowed and abandoned mother, in submission to your Royal and paternal tutelage'. Her likewise reproduced letter to the English ambassador in Prague, Stephen Lesieur, and his answer to her, nonetheless indicate that those efforts were largely frustrated. King James I showed no interest and seems to have called Weston's authorship of her verses into question (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 168–82; Ryba 1932, 385–90). The short epigram composed in Weston's honour by Sir John Stradling (1563–1637), in which he calls her 'the unknown bard', is rather symptomatic of the Prague-based poet's unfulfilled hopes (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 431).

Elisabeth Weston's case shows well that forging, mobilizing and expanding social networks in one's hostland was essential for migrants' chances of securing suitable living conditions. Textual production could serve as an important tool for educated women in distress to overcome social and geographic distances and create exchangeable intellectual goods. Edward Kelley may not have known how to transmute things to gold, but Elisabeth Jane Weston surely knew how to transmute texts to services, favours and support.

Elisabeth of Kameneck—'Rectorin und Doctorin'

Weston's stellar reputation as a genius woman poet encouraged cross-referencing and in seventeenth-century Central Europe her name became almost a synonym or a paradigm of a learned woman. In particular, comparisons lent themselves with her namesake, another Elisabeth from seventeenth-century Prague, Elisabeth of Kameneck (Alžběta z Kaménka in Czech, Elisabetha a Kamenek in Latin) (Vaculínová 2020, 92–4). Kameneck's social background was markedly less privileged and her life was more unsettled.

Georg Martinius von Baldhoven included Elisabeth of Kameneck in the catalogue of 65 women savants that he attached to the *Parthenicon*. He assigned her the penultimate place, immediately preceding Elisabeth Jane Weston. However, he introduced a mistaken version of her name, calling her Catharina instead of Elisabeth:

> Catharine, daughter of M. Nicholas Albert, of Bohemia; still living, skilled in the Bohemian, German, Latin, Hebrew and Greek languages. (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 302–3)

It is indicative of the dissemination and reception of *Parthenicon*, particularly in the German-speaking lands, that this mistake was copied into most later early modern German biographic overviews of learned women (Vaculínová 2013, 383).

Until recently Elisabeth of Kameneck's main known text was her letter to the Silesian humanist Balthasar Exner from July 1, 1615, which shows that she appropriated the comparison with Weston—by that time recently deceased—and tapped into her popularity. In a complaint about times being unfavourable to learned women, Kameneck wrote in a somewhat peppery way:

> What good was Apollo himself, and the choir of the Muses, to Weston, honoured with all those praises? What good were they to Pallas? Didn't Venus carry off the palm before her and Juno? (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 402–3)

By the time Elisabeth of Kameneck died in Dresden on October 25, 1656, fourty-four years after Weston, she had achieved a remarkable independent career of her own as a schoolmistress and an occasional poet. As a teacher, she shared Rivkah Tiktiner's experience of instructing others, while as a poet she had faced and adopted comparisons with Weston. Recently, Marta Vaculínová has drawn attention to a collection of Latin-German epicedia entitled *Fama posthuma*, which was published in honour of Elisabeth of Kameneck and casts new light on her work and on her life trajectories as a migrant. This brief commemorative work was prepared and put to print after Elisabeth's death by three of her 'good friends' and, one might even say, professional colleagues: Johannes Bohemus, the rector of the Dresden Latin school of Holy Cross (*Kreuzschule*), the Dresden poet Adam Tülsner and a Bohemian exile and teacher Tobias Hauschkonius (Vaculínová 2013, 384–85).

Johannes Bohemus rhetorically placed Elisabeth in company of three other exceptionally learned contemporary women, well versed in several languages, all of whom bore the name Elisabeth: the English queen Elisabeth I, another Englishwoman Elisabeth Jane Weston, Elisabeth Widebram daughter of the professor of theology Friedrich Widebram, and finally Elisabeth daughter of the Prague professor of Hebrew, Nicolaus Albert of Kameneck (Vaculínová 2013, 384–85; Bohemus et al. 1659, unpag.).

Elisabeth's father, Nicolaus Albert of Kameneck, came from Upper Silesia and was a member of the early radical reformation stream known as the Unity of the Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). He taught Hebrew and participated in the ambitious Kralice Bible translation project undertaken by the Unity, working on the Old Testament translation along with Lukasz Helicz (also Halicz as derived from Galicia), a member of a Jewish family of printers. Helicz's father Samuel and uncles Asher and Elyakim had probably learnt the typographical craft in Prague under Gershom Kohen; they later left to set up their own printing office in Krakow. In 1537 the Helicz brothers converted to Christianity (Voit 2006, 338; Jelínková 2012, 154).

Lukasz Helicz and another member of the Helicz family, Simon, possibly his brother, participated in the Kralice Bible production along with Elisabeth's father when Elisabeth was a child (Voit 2006, 338–39). During that time she acquired a solid knowledge of Hebrew, which even many Jewish women lacked at that time. We may thus hypothesize that when studying Hebrew she might have consulted directly with Lukasz or Simon Helicz.

It is likely that one reason for ensuring Elisabeth gained an excellent knowledge of languages was her father's vision that she would later assist him in collaborative textual work, such as transcribing, editing, etc. Her later letter to Balthasar Exner suggests that she did indeed take on this role, assisting her heavily occupied father with his correspondence and partially taking it over in order to cultivate her family's epistolary networks.

Nicolaus was closely connected with the milieu of the university-educated urban elites. After serving in several Unity of Brethren centres, he took up the office of city scribe in the Upper Silesian city of Opava (Troppau) in 1603. The following year he moved to Prague with his family, where he took up a position at the university *gymnasium*. Nonetheless, due to the state persecution of the Unity he fled already in January 1604 (Hejnic and Martínek 1966, 63). Elisabeth stayed in Prague, where she was already being sought out by peregrinating academic visitors who asked her for entries in their *libri amicorum* (Vaculínová 2013, 383, 387). This genre of commonplace notebooks originated at German universities and can be characterized as 'early modern facebook' which enabled to collect entries by friends and members of the *respublica litteraria* (Rastogi 2017, 151–52).

Elisabeth's knowledge of Hebrew and other languages probably attracted attention and she was invited to collaboratively shape these friendship albums as vehicles of memory and self-representation (Rastogi 2017, 151–58). So far, three entries by Elisabeth of Kamenek in *libri amicorum* are known; others may yet emerge in the future. In all three of them, she provided a Bible quote and rendered it calligraphically in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German and Czech. She signed her contributions uniformly as 'Elisabeta Albertina a Kamenek' (Vaculínová 2013, 387–88).

Her inscription in the friendship album for Menold Hillebrand von Harsens features the initial verse of the 31st chapter of the Book of Proverbs, opening with the *Eshet Hayil* paragon of virtues: 'A woman of valor! Who can find her? Her worth is beyond pearls' (Prov 10, 31). Unlike most of her contemporaries, Elisabeth could spell *Eshet Hayil* in Hebrew with ease. For her this Old Testament quotation was indeed a text on the move—a text in translation. Elisabeth's album entry contains a pun that has so far escaped attention but may indicate that she deliberately chose this quotation in order to show wit and to amuse the album owner. The inscription is dated on July 12, 1604, 'pridie Margaretae', i.e. on the eve of Saint Margaret's day. Unlike Weston, Kameneck was not formally a Catholic but was still willing to use the name of Saint Margaret in intellectual word play: the three sacred languages she mastered, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, share the word root 'margarit' when referring to a pearl, while German and Czech employ *Perle* and *perla*, respectively.

In December of the same year, 1604, Elisabeth made another inscription in the album of the Slovak humanist and poet Ján Filický (Filiczky de Filefalva), this time using a quotation from the third chapter of the Book of Genesis (Gen 3, 15): 'And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel'. The medieval Catholic reading saw the promise of the Virgin Mary's triumph in this passage. However, both Elisabeth of Kamenek and Ján Filický were aware that reformation-inspired textual criticism had brought about a re-reading of this verse as the first promise of Christ (Crowther 2010, 32–35).

On August 23, 1613, the emerging humanist Florian Vermilius received an entry by Elisabeth in his *liber amicorum* with the following quotation from the first epistle of Peter: 'If the righteous one is scarcely saved, where will the ungodly and the sinner appear?' (1 Peter 4, 18) (Vaculínová 2013, 387). Elisabeth's inscriptions in friendship albums, along with her letter to Balthasar Exner, enable us to glimpse fragments

of her social networks. It is likely that further sources will be found. Nevertheless, we can already say that through her letters, poems and contributions to *libri amicorum* Elisabeth of Kameneck inscribed herself in and co-shaped the collective collaborative memory of the republic of letters.

In 1610 Nicolaus Albert of Kameneck succeeded in returning to Prague, where he taught Hebrew privately in the Lesser Quarter while striving for a place at the university. After the family house was ransacked by the bishop of Passau's soldiers in 1611, he managed to gain the university professorship of Hebrew upon the intervention of the so-called body of defensors, who worked towards a more balanced representation of non-Catholics in the predominantly Protestant country (Hejnic and Martínek 1966, 63). Securing maintenance for himself and his family was a long-term pressing problem for Kameneck. Moreover, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there were ongoing disputes among university masters on whether married professors should be allowed to teach and receive board and lodging. Kameneck finally succeeded in obtaining lodging at the College of the Apostles, which was also called Lauda's College in memory of its founder, Mathias Lauda (Winter 1897, 100–5). Moreover, Elisabeth's letter to Balthasar Exner was dated on July 1, 1615 in 'the New College in Prague in Cyprine square' (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 402–3). Shortly before his death in 1617 Nicolaus Kameneck was appointed provost of All Saints' College and moved there (Winter 1897, 164; Vaculínová 2013, 384).

The fact that Elisabeth and her sister Ann inhabited the space of the Charles University colleges while—like all other women—being excluded from any formal university education has so far not received due attention. Their private education and their father's position enabled them to participate, in some limited ways, in the everyday life of the learned elites. Elisabeth's letter to Balthasar Exner provides a useful glimpse into their transgressive gendered experience of being formally excluded but physically present in the very social space of higher learning:

> If you ask for more news about us, here it is: Father was absent abroad in March. Now he is occupied with his academic lectures and duties more than with his writings, and is seldom at home. Any time he has left over he spends on his study of Hebrew and his reading of history. Our brother John is duly occupied with his duties as registrar in the Castle at the Royal Record office. My sister Anne and I spend more time on needle, distaff,

hearth, loom, and broom than on the letters that – you may be amazed to hear – are not much praised by most Bohemians, nay are considered not only useless for a virgin's concern but actually shameful. It grieves and shames our father that he has taught us letters. (Cheney and Hosington 2000, 402–3)

As we can see, Elisabeth listed household chores along with textual production. This textual work included writing letters, receiving requests to inscribe *libri amicorum*, but most likely also transcribing, translating, correcting, etc. Elisabeth depicts Bohemian society as rather unfavourable to educated women. Bohemia was probably not unique in this sense in early modern Europe, but even when we take this complaint with a grain of salt, Elisabeth's life trajectory shows that she saw a major professional leap only after she had immigrated to Saxony.

After a brief marriage to the physician Matthias Pflugbeil from *Saatz* (*Žatec*), Elisabeth was already a widow when she left Bohemia in the massive wave of emigration that followed the defeat of the anti-Habsburg uprising at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 and subsequent confessional pressures. This major stream of seventeenth-century migration still awaits an in-depth comparative research. In the context of the turbulent Thirty Years' War most Bohemian *emigrés* hoped they would have the chance to return. This context and the refugee adaptation dynamics and widespread attitude that exile was a temporary condition it gave rise to might help explain why a substantial shift in Elisabeth's career came only relatively late on. Recent research has pointed out that she wrote poetry on an occasional basis and became a published author. Her poems for the Imperial Poet Laureate Gregor Kleppis (published in 1630) and for the Lutheran theologian Arnold Mengering (published in 1635) are known; these reveal that she was able to cultivate and expand her learned networks in the new context of exile (Vaculínová 2013, 388–90). As in the case of the *libri amicorum* entries, it is likely that more poems by Elisabeth may emerge in the future that will situate her more clearly in the social space.

The commemorative collection of poems *Fama posthuma* shows that Elisabeth of Kameneck eventually won recognition in her new home and achieved the position of a schoolmistress at the town council supervised school for girls in Dresden (Vaculínová 2013, 386). The title page of *Fama posthuma* describes her as 'Schulmeisterin und Doctorin'. In a certain parallel to Rebecca bat Meir's description as 'darshanit verabbanit' the phrase 'Schulmeisterin und Doctorin' is not very clear and

tells us little about Elisabeth's formal status or education. Nonetheless, it certainly reveals respect and appreciation.

In the Latin and German versions of the celebratory poem by Tobias Hauschkonius on the last pages of *Fama posthuma* the words 'Doctorin' in German and 'doctrix' in Latin appear again and indicate some form of usage of this title in the city girls' schools environment. Elisabeth is described as 'Virginei Doctrix' in Latin and 'Doctorin zarter Seelen' in German. In the very last verse, she is referred to as 'eure Doctorin' and 'Vobis Elisabetha' in a rhetorical appeal to schoolgirls and muses—featured as the bereaved who mourn her loss. Thus, while the title 'Doctorin' did not refer to a formal university degree, it seems to have been understood in relation to Elisabeth's office. It was employed in addition to 'Rectorin', i.e. 'Schulmeisterin' emphasizing that she was both a schoolmistress and a female teacher: *Rectorin und Doctorin* (Bohemus et al. 1659, unpag.).

Elisabeth served as the director of the Dresden girls' school for nineteen years, from approximately 1640 (Vaculínová 2020, 92). This required a broader support of the city council and would hardly have been conceivable without some respect for and appreciation of her learning. This long-term employment with regular wages sets Kameneck markedly apart from Rivkah Tiktiner and Elisabeth Weston. As a headteacher and a widow she secured her own independent income for almost two decades.

Conclusion

All three of the female migrant textual producers I have analysed in this paper grew up surrounded by books. This, along with their migration background, shaped their linguistic and textual competences. Rivkah Tiktiner and Elisabeth of Kameneck received their education at home, informed by the tradition of textual criticism, close reading and interpretation of the body of sacred texts they partly shared. Rivkah and Elisabeth of Kameneck seem to have learnt from their fathers, to some extent at least, with the vision that they might then assist with their omnipresent textual work. Elisabeth Jane Weston was trained to acquire the humanist formal discursive mode by the private teacher hired by the polymath John Dee. All these three migrant women abounded with education but lacked comparable economic means, particularly in their youth. They used their exceptional education and competences to put words to work in order to support themselves and others economically.

In the texts by all three of them one can discern their concerns over securing their living. At the same time, it seems that migration provided them with better opportunities than they could have experienced in their places of origin. In addition to their textual work, all of them were in charge of running households at certain stages of their lives. Their texts both reproduced and disturbed the established ideas of women as helpmates to their relatives. These women crossed borders in multiple ways—geographically through migration, culturally through their command of several languages, in a gendered way by producing texts and having them put into print, etc.

The multicultural environment of late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Prague provided these women with a transient haven. It supplied the space where the Jewish cemetery and the Catholic church of St. Thomas on opposite sides of the Moldau (Vltava) river preserve the tombstones as material memories of the two of them. Moreover, the city featured a space in which an intellectually ambitious woman could inscribe her letter from a university college court, her home.

By way of a tribute to Natalie Zemon Davis, we may give a thought to how we could pinpoint the experience of these women in Prague in 1604. At that time Rebecca bat Meir's book *Meneket Rivkah* must have been written or close to completion. Elisabeth of Kameneck was still quite a newcomer to Prague and already occupying her thoughts with which quotation to inscribe in the friendship album she had been sent. Elisabeth Weston was well-settled in Prague, already a published author and a celebrity, recently married and expecting her first child, a daughter Maria Polyxena. Their routes might very likely have intersected at the only bridge across the river Moldau, connecting Prague's Lesser Quarter, below the royal castle, with the Old Town where the university premises were situated and the Jewish Quarter. They might have passed each other while walking across the bridge, possibly with an anxious glance or two at the water level. The Jewish Quarter, adjacent to the river, was often subject to floods. Elisabeth Weston repeatedly mentioned the Moldau river in her verses and composed a poem on the devastating summer flood of 1598.

Although these three women were anchored in different socio-cultural and economic milieus and they were unlikely conversation partners, they shared a number of features, including the enthusiasm for textual production. For that matter, as we could see, they all engaged in wordplay through various puns. They instrumentalized language to their own

purposes. Moreover, they were newcomers to Prague but formed by different migration experiences. Nonetheless, they might have partaken in the same collective fears and uncertainties, be they connected with meteorological disasters, epidemics or social upheavals.

REFERENCES

Ågren, Maria, ed. 2017. *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender, Work and Early Modern European Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barthes, Roland. 1980. *Leçon/Lektion. Antrittsvorlesung im Collège de France. Gehalten am 7. Januar 1977*. Suhrkamp: Frankfurt.

Baskin, Judith. 2013. "Jewish Traditions About Women and Gender Roles: From Rabbinic Teachings to Medieval Practice." In *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, edited by Judith Benneth and Ruth Karras, 35–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bohemus, Johannes, Adam Tülsner, and Tobias Hauschkonius. 1659. *Fama posthuma. Der Weil Edlen Hochwolgelahrten und viel Ehrentugendreichen Fr. Elisabeth Albertin von Kameneck. Des Weil. auch Edlen wolehrenbesten…Herrn Matthiae Pflugbeils, wolbestalten Medici und Physici ordinarii zu Saatz in Königreich Böheimb nachgelassener Wittib, gewesener wolverdienter Neunzehenjährigen Schulmeisterin und Doctorin in Raths offentlicher Mägdel-Schul allhier zu Dresden, welche den 25. Octobris, war Dienstag, dieses 1659ste Jahr, abends Ein Viertel uff Sieben Uhr, nach schweren Schmertzen, in grosser Gedult unter sehnlichem seufftzen und Gebet sanfft und still im Herrn, dem sie gelebet, verstorben, und den Dreißigsten, war der 22. Sonntag nach Trinitatis in der Frauenkirchen zur Erden bestattet worden ist. Von Dreyen guten Freunden aufgerichtet und gedruckt*. Dresden bey den Bergen.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1996. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Březan, Václav. 1985. *Životy posledních Rožmberků I* [The Lives of the Last Rosenbergs]. Edited by Jaroslav Pánek. Prague: Svoboda.

Burke, Peter. 1986. *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Burke, Peter. 1987. "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint?" In *Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, edited by Peter Burke, 48–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burke, Peter. 2000, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Burke, Peter. 2004. *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Burke, Peter. 2007. *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Burke, Peter. 2016, *What Is the History of Knowledge?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Burke, Peter. 2021. "I feel like I am a hybrid myself". An Interview with Professor Peter Burke (University of Cambridge). *Dějiny – Teorie – Kritika / History – Theory – Criticism* 19 (1): 109–129.

Cheney, Donald. 2016. *Neo-Latin Women Writers: Elisabeth Jane Weston and Bathsua Reginald (Makin). Printed Writings 1500–1640*. Series I, Part II, Volume 7. London and New York: Routledge.

Cheney, Donald, and Brenda Hosington, eds. 2000. *Elizabeth Jane Weston: Collected Writings*. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press.

Clarke, Danielle. 2016. "Gender and the Inculcation of Virtue: The Book of Proverbs in Action." In *Biblical Women in Early Modern Literary Culture, 1550–1700*, edited by Victoria Brownlee and Laura Gallagher, 111–28. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Crowther, Kathleen M. 2010. *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Davis, Natalie Z. 1997. *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth Century Lives*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Dee, John. 2006. "The Private Diary." The Project Gutenberg Ebook of the Private Diary of Dr. John Dee. Accessed June 28, 2020. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/19553/19553-h/19553-h.htm.

Ellinghausen, Laurie. 2018. *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1567–1667*. New York: Routledge.

Gabaccia, Donna, and Katherine M. Donato. 2015. "Gender and Early Modern Migrations, 1492–1867." In *Gender and International Migration: From the Slavery Era to the Modern Age*, edited by Katherine M. Donato and Donna Gabaccia, 55–73. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

Gans, David. 2016. *Ratolest Davidova* [Offspring of David]. Edited by Jiřina Šedinová. Prague: Academia.

Glomski, Jacqueline. 2007. *Patronage and Humanist Literature in the Age of Jagiellons: Court and Career in the Writings of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentin Eck, and Leonard Cox*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gómez-Bravo, Anna M. 2013. *Textual Agency: Writing Culture and Social Networks in Fifteenth Century Spain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Greenblatt, Rachel. 2013. *To Tell Their Children: Jewish Communal Memory in Early Modern Prague*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Grulich, Josef, and Eduard Maur. 2006. *Dějiny migrací v českých zemích v novověku* [The History of Migration in the Bohemian Lands in the Modern Period]. Prague: Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

Hejnic, Josef, and Jan Martínek, eds. 1966. *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě / Enchiridion Renatae Poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*, vol. 1 (A–C), 63–66. Prague: Academia.

Howell, Martha. 2008. "The Gender of Europe's Commercial Economy, 1200–1700." *Gender and History* 20 (3): 519–38.

Jelínková, Andrea. 2012. "Hebrew Printing in Moravia at the Beginnig of the Seventeenth Century." In *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, edited by Olga Sixtová, 153–64. Prague: Academie—The Jewish Museum in Prague.

Kaplan, Debra 2010. "Women and Worth. Female Access to Property in Early Modern Urban Jewish Communities." *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 55: 93–113.

Kettering, Sharon. 1997. "The Household Service of Early Modern French Noble Women." *French Historical Studies* 20 (1): 55–85.

Love, Harold. 2003. "Early Modern Print Culture: Assessing the Models." *Parergon* 20 (1): 45–46.

Pěkný, Tomáš. 2001. *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* [History of Jews in Bohemia and Moravia]. Prague: Sefer.

Rastogi, Raashi. 2017. "Early Modern Alba Amicorum and Collaborative Memory." *Shakespeare Studies* 25: 151–58.

Ratajová, Jana, and Lucie Storchová. 2008. *Nádoby mdlé hlavy nemající. Diskursy panenství a vdovství v české literature raného novověku* [Weak Vessels Without Heads. The Discourses of Virginity and Widowhood in Early Modern Czech Literature]. Prague: Scriptorium.

Ratajová, Jana, and Lucie Storchová. 2009. *Žena není příšera, ale nejmilejší stvoření Boží. Diskursy manželství v české literature raného novověku* [A Woman Is Not a Monster but the Sweetest God's Creature. Discourses of Matrimony in Early Modern Czech Literature]. Prague: Scriptorium.

Ratajová, Jana, and Lucie Storchová. 2010. *Žádná ženská člověk není. Polarizace genderů v českojazyčné literature druhé poloviny 18. století* [Gender Polarisation in Czech-Language Literature of the Second Half of the 18th Century]. Prague: Scriptorium.

Ratajová, Jana, and Storchová, Lucie. 2013. *Děti roditi jest božské ovoce. Gender a tělo v českojazyčné babické literatuře raného novověku* [Giving Birth Is a Fruit of God. Gender and Body in the Czech Early Modern Midwifery Literature]. Prague: Scriptorium.

Ryba, Bohumil. 1932. "Westoniin blahopřejný list anglickému králi Jakubovi I" [Weston's Congratulatory Letter to the English King James I]. *Listy filologické* 59: 385–90.

Said, Edward. 1983. *The World, the Text and the Critic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Skružná, Jarmila. 2019. "Vyobrazení mandragory lékařské (Mandragora officinarum) na náhrobku Alžběty Johanny Westonie v mezioborových souvislostech" [The Depiction of Mandrake (Mandragora officinarum) on the Tombstone of Elisabeth Jane Weston in an Interdisciplinary Context]. *Epigraphica et Sepulcralia* 8: 225–36.

Starý, Marek. 2018. *Cizozemci a spoluobyvatelé. Udělování českého obyvatel-ského práva (inkolátu) v době předbělohorské* [Foreigners and Co-Inhabitants. Granting of the Bohemian Residential Right (*incolatus*) in the Pre-White-Mountain Period]. Prague: Auditorium.

Storchová, Lucie. 2003. "Alžběta Johanna Westonia – *rara avis* v humanistické *res publica litteraria*?" [Alžběta Johanna Westonia – rara avis in the humanist *res publica litteraria*?] In *Proměny osudu. Thesaurus absconditus* VI, edited by Eduard Petrů and Lucie Storchová, 149–65. Brno: Atlantis.

Storchová, Lucie. 2011. *Paupertate Styloque Connecti. Utváření humanistické učenecké komunity v českých zemích* [Paupertate Styloque Connecti. The Making of the Humanist Scholarly Community in the Bohemian Lands]. Prague: Scriptorium.

Swann, Julian. 2017. *Exile, Imprisonment or Death: The Politics of Disgrace in Bourbon France, 1610–1789.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tölölyan, Khachig. 2019. "Diaspora Studies: Past, Present and Promise." In *The Routledge Handbook of Diaspora Studies*, edited by Robin Cohen and Carolin Fischer, 22–30. New York: Routledge.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. 1991. *Good Wifes: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750.* New York: Vintage Books.

Vaculínová, Marta. 2013. "Včela na růžích… Alžběta z Kaménka, dcera pražského profesora hebrejštiny" [A Bee in the Roses… Elisabeth of Kame-neck, the Daughter of Prague Professor of Hebrew]. In *Libri Magistri Sunt. Pocta Jaroslavě Kašparové*, edited by Alena Císařová Smítková, 383–400. Praha: Library of Czech Academy of Sciences.

Vaculínová, Marta. 2020. "Albertina a Kamenek, Elisabetha." In *Companion to Central and Eastern European Humanism*, vol. 2: The Czech Lands, edited by Lucie Storchová, 92–94. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

von Rohden, Frauke, ed. 2009. *Meneket Rivkah: A Manual of Wisdom and Piety for Jewish Women by Rivkah bat Meir*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Voit, Petr. 2006. *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století* [Encyclopedia of the Book. The Older Book Printing and Related Trades from the Mid-Fifteenth to Early Nine-teenth Centuries]. Prague: Libri—Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov.

Wiesner-Hanks, M.E. 2008. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Winter, Zikmund. 1897. *Děje vysokých škol pražských od secessí cizích národů po dobu bitvy bělohorské (1409–1622)* [History of the Institutions of Higher Education in Prague from the Secession of Foreign Nations till the White Mountain Battle Period (1409–1622)]. Prague: Czech Academy of Sciences.

Migration, Marriage and Integration: Town Court Records and Imprints of Women Artisan Migrants in Sweden c. 1590–1640

Maija Ojala-Fulwood

Abbreviations

BÅH	Bidrag till Åbo stads historia/Book series Contribution to the History of Turku
KA	Kansallisarkisto/The National Archives of Finland
KB	Kungliga Biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden
RA	Riksarkivet/The National Archives of Sweden
SSA	Stockholm Stadsarkivet/The Stockholm City Archives
SSTB	Stockholms stads tänkeböcker/Stockholm Town Court records

M. Ojala-Fulwood (✉)
University of Turku, Turku, Finland
e-mail: mapeoj@gmail.com

Present Address:
Tampere University, Tampere, Finland

297

TRO   Turun raastuvanoikeuden pöytäkirjat/Turku Town Court records

One of the largest groups of mobile people in early modern Europe were young artisans. Apprentices often moved away from home in order to learn a profession so much so that tramping journeymen were a typical sight in every town. Unmarried young male artisans gathered working experience outside their hometowns before applying for mastery. The craft and journeymen's guilds, a European-wide system, supported and enabled this labour migration. These institutions organised housing, delivered information, provided employment service and in some cases financial aid (Reith 2008, 126–30; Leunig et al. 2011; Steidl 2016). In other words, guilds provided the essential network any migrant would desire. Counterpart to the highly mobile group of journeymen were the masters, who settled down by establishing a workshop in a town. Scholarship on migration has underscored how journeymen's mobility tended to be regarded temporary and short-distance, although some individuals travelled far and wide (Reith 1988, 109–120; Ojala-Fulwood 2018). It seems that journeymen's mobility was linked to a certain age (young adolescents), life-stage (between education and setting up own workshop), marital status (before marriage and mastery) and gender (most of the migrants were males), although not all journeymen's mobility followed this ideal path and all the listed factors included variation (Canepari 2016, 268–73).

This traditional view of artisan migration patterns leaves little room for women. Yet, evidence from across Europe shows that many female apprentices migrated to towns to be trained in the crafts. For example, as evident from Sarah Birt's chapter in this volume, a large number of young women moved to London during the late seventeenth century to receive training in the livery companies, especially in textile trades. Similarly, Annemarie Steidl has demonstrated how numerous girls moved to Vienna during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to learn silk weaving (Steidl 2016). For northern Europe, Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (2012, 237–49; 2018) has shown that during the eighteenth century 89 Finnish married women moved to Stockholm to study midwifery. After completing their education most returned to their place of origin, but about one-third migrated to other towns in the kingdom. Some of these

midwives moved multiple times and over long distances because of better work opportunities, taking their family with them.

Despite these studies, female artisan mobility in Baltic Sea region during the early modern period has not received much attention from scholars. Moreover, very often information about women's mobility and migration in general, is a by-product of other research topics, a tendency which has recently been observed and criticised by Martin Andersson (2018, 25–27). In this chapter, migration is the focal point of my arguments: my main aim is to bring forward new knowledge on women's migration in Northern Europe, particularly in the kingdom of Sweden.

Early modern Sweden was a conglomerate state. Finland was incorporated to Sweden during the High Middle Ages forming an administrative unit of the kingdom until 1809. In Finland, Swedish legislation was adopted and Swedish was the main written language. During the seventeenth century Sweden conquered new territories around the Baltic Sea including Livonia (Estonia and Latvia), but their incorporation in the kingdom was less comprehensive than the Finnish area (Gustafsson 1998; Lamberg 2007, 200–201; Korpiola and Ojala-Fulwood 2019, 189). Swedish economy was prevalently agricultural with most of its inhabitants living in rural areas. However, during the first half of the seventeenth century the Crown actively supported the establishment of new towns (Andersson 2018, 133).

In this chapter, which is one of the first attempts to discuss the mobility of artisan women in the Baltic Sea region, I will investigate migration of women who belonged to the lower urban bourgeoisie and were engaged in handicraft production either solo or with their husbands. I will focus on urban migration in two towns: Stockholm the capital city, and Turku, the chief town on the Finnish side of the realm. In this study, the term 'artisan' is understood in its broadest sense, i.e. as a heterogeneous group encompassing people that produced variety of goods or provided services to the town inhabitants. In Sweden, the craft guilds were a masculine sphere: female guilds did not exist and women could act as masters only upon widowhood, but they had no power within these male-led institutions. Nevertheless, working alongside their husbands, they contributed to the household and urban economy and daughters often performed auxiliary tasks as apprentices. Wives often sold the products, took care of bookkeeping and customer relations, and widows supervised the workshop (Lindström 2011, 196–200; Ojala 2014, Chapter 2.2.1 and 154–55, 165, 193).

Despite the active involvement of women in the craft trades and urban life, they are often invisible or unidentifiable in the records of the guilds or regular tax rolls of the Northern towns before the second half of seventeenth century. Therefore, it is necessary to consider other possible source materials, such as court records. As a central point of the chapter, I will discuss the benefits and limits of these types of sources in the study of migration and female mobility. Hence, the chapter is less a simple overview of early modern female migrants that a methodological analysis of the limitations historians have to come to terms with when tackling the topic and similar sources. By pointing out the challenges in tracing female migrants, we can understand why scholarship on migration tends to view women as followers rather than active decision makers.

Main Trends in Previous Scholarship

Scholarly literature on migration focusing on the kingdom of Sweden up to the early modern period has shown interest in immigration and integration of national and religious minorities or wealthy individuals in both Sweden and in Finland (Arnstberg and Ehn, 1976; Svanberg, and Tyden 1992; Dalhede 2009; Catomeris 2004; Wickström and Wolff 2016). In many of these studies, the starting point is clearly the 'national paradigm'. Addressing single cases, scholars have examined, for example, Finnish, German and Scottish settlements, communities and individuals (Schieche 1952; Murray 1954; Österlund 1966; Tarkiainen 1990; Moring 2004; Grosjean and Murdoch 2005). Drawing on these studies, I go beyond the national paradigm in my initial search of migrant women, I took an inclusive approach: I did not exclude any nationality or ethnicity; rather I have considered all those cases related to female artisan migrants, within the selected period.

In studying Finnish migrants in Sweden, Marko Lamberg has focused on identity, ethnicity, language and integration (or lack thereof), also paying attention to female migrants. According to him, Finns were ambiguous minority group in Stockholm. Many of the Finnish migrants acculturated to their new local society. Some, however, cherished their Finnish identity and their social networks comprised of fellow compatriots. The Swedes regarded them often as a distinct migrant or minority group. The most distinctive element was language. Finnish language differs from all other Scandinavian and German languages, although the west coast is a bilingual area with strong Swedish influence. Thus, the first language of some Finnish migrants was actually Swedish. Based

on Lamberg's studies integration depended largely on occupation and wealth, which endowed a person with a certain social status within the community. During periods of intense social unrest, like witch-hunt hysterias, foreigners including Finns could end up being scapegoats (Lamberg 2007, 2009, 2013, 2019).

Another trend in scholarship on migration has been the focus on lower classes and servant migration (e.g. Moring 2004; Laitinen 2018; Lamberg 2019), in line with international research on family history and domestic service. The available source material partially explains this approach. Maids seem to be by far the broadest group of female migrants that can be found in civil and ecclesiastical court records in both towns and rural settlements. However, Martin Andersson (2018, 142–45) has recently argued that scholars have overemphasised the share of young and unmarried among the urban migrants in early modern Sweden, a group among whom maids seem to have been particularly numerous. According to Andersson urban migration was more versatile including people of different social, marital and occupational status. Moreover, a substantial number of women moved in to towns when they got married or together with their family. This study supplements Andersson's research by analysing migrant trajectories of women who moved in and out of Swedish towns in the turn of the seventeenth century, and by focusing on a less studied group of artisan women.

Related to the topic considered here are also studies discussing family, gender and work, on which a significant amount of research has been conducted in the Nordic countries. Much of the Finnish research has focused on rural areas and therefore falls outside the scope of this study. The Uppsala-based project Gender, Work in Early Modern Sweden has produced new insights into the gendered division labour, household dynamics, entrepreneurship and craft trades (e.g. Jacobsson, and Ågren 2011; Ling 2016; Ågren 2017). These inquiries, however, have only briefly touched migration, discussing mobility of single people, especially in the context of domestic service, and seasonal labour migration.

Urban Court Records and Migration History

Secular and ecclesiastical court records have turned out to be one of the best source materials for the study of gender-related issues in early modern Sweden. In general, court records include a wide variety of matters ranging from criminal cases to disputes concerning property transactions,

the execution of wills and liabilities. The Stockholm Town Court records form a continuous series from 1474 until 1660; the proceedings for the years 1474–1635 have been edited in the series called *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker* (SSTB). The Turku Town Court records have been preserved since 1623, and have been edited for the years 1624–1638 in the series entitled *Bidrag till Åbo stads historia*.

In theory, all women were under male guardianship, which means that their judicial and economic possibilities were limited. In practice many women of different marital, occupational and social status presented their cases at court (Ling 2016, 16). Marko Lamberg (2009) and Riitta Laitinen (2018), for example, have successfully utilised the Town Court records of Stockholm and Turku in their studies about lower-class mobility in early modern Sweden. The principle of guardianship, however, affected how women were often registered, under the name of their male guardian (father, husband or other male relative) rather than with their personal name in court records, tax rolls and parish records.

For the purposes of this study I have investigated all the records of the Town Court from Stockholm and Turku involving craftswomen during the years 1592–1602, and 1618 (for Stockholm), and the years 1624–1638 (for Turku). In addition, I have also considered those cases where the father of a female plaintiff or defendant was an artisan. It is possible that I have missed some female artisans since in most cases the occupation of the woman involved was not specified, although it seems that most women without an occupational title were merchant's wives or widows, or else servants.

In most cases, artisan women that appear in the court records are either wives or widows. The cases involving daughters of artisans usually deal with inheritance and do not include information on a possible migrant background. Furthermore, the cases including artisan wives and widows only rarely mention their origins, which suggests that these artisan women were locals or had lived long enough in the town to be considered as such. Overall, I found only a handful of cases where the migrant status of the artisan woman could be verified.

In one case Margareta Josepsdotter, a wife of the leather belt maker Abraham was banished from Turku because of her continuous stealing and drinking.[1] Margareta Josepdotter's case shows a woman who was not able to lead life as a respectable craftsman's wife. In early modern society a good reputation was of paramount importance, and a wife behaving badly was certainly not good for business. Indeed, the craft guilds forbade

masters to marry women who were not worthy of the craft (Ojala 2014, 222–24). The case of Margareta Josepsdotter does not fall in the category of labour migration but rather sheds light on a very common form of 'involuntary' mobility: banishment from a town. The Town Court records reveal that five years later a Margareta Josepsdotter sold a house in Turku together with a male relative.[2] The house seller could be the same Margareta that was previously banished but we cannot completely exclude that this might be a case of homonymy. It was common, that many of the lower-class townspeople, such as vagrants, thieves and prostitutes returned to the town time after time after their deportation (Lamberg 2009; Laitinen 2018).

Riitta Laitinen has argued that generally, the Turku Town Court records mentioned nationality, religion or language of the individuals involved in the cases only if they were defendants, who were supposed to state their place of origin or present a passport (Laitinen 2018). It follows that details on the origins of artisan women who did not appear in court as defendants or played a marginal role in the case generally went unregistered.

Similarly, Marko Lamberg has argued that when it came to legal rights and practice, social hierarchies based on age, gender, wealth, family background and reputation weighed more than ethnicity, language or being a migrant. Yet, the same Lamberg observes how Swedish town court records reveal that when locals wanted underline otherness (and low social status), migrants from outside or distant corners of the kingdom were registered according to their ethnic origin or language. A typical example is an individual recorded as 'Lars Finn': here the personal name coupled with the ethnicity/place of origin highlights alienness. In the Stockholm Town Court records, ethnicity- or language-based qualifications were rarely used for registering Swedish-speaking regional migrants (Lamberg 2007, 208–209, 212–14, 225). Therefore, long-distant migrants and settlers with different ethnic or language backgrounds are easier to identify in town court records than regional migrants who had Swedish names and spoke the local language.

These considerations point to the conclusion that court records are inappropriate for a quantitative analysis of female artisan migration, and for charting broader migration patterns of craftswomen. Furthermore, the characteristics of the court records clearly have contributed to the predominance of the national paradigm in historiography on Nordic

migration. Therefore, in order to validate the use of court records in this study it is necessary to discuss other available sources.

Scholars have often used tax rolls when studying early modern demography and settlements. In rural Sweden, tax records usually include the taxpayers' birthplace (Heino 1997, 22). In towns, however, the regular tax records list only the head of households who, as one might expect, were prevalently males, with only a few widows being mentioned and no information about migration. Moreover, widows were at times recorded with their personal name, at times with their husband's, and only in a few cases with an occupational title. Most females were recorded just as a 'woman', without either a surname or an occupational qualification, which makes identification difficult.[3]

Martin Andersson has successfully utilised the so-called Silver Tax rolls of 1613–1618 and the inspection lists of 1620s in his study about migration in early modern Sweden. The Silver Tax was an additional payment collected from subjects in order to pay the war ransom to Denmark for Älvsborg fortress. This unique source contains demographic information of the whole kingdom including c. 10,000 references to migration. Despite of its potential the Silver Tax rolls follow the same logic than other tax rolls listing the (male) household head who was responsible for paying the tax, children and servants. Andersson has found evidence of round twenty artisan families who migrated from countryside to town and vice versa (2018, 35, 48, 143). Unfortunately, he has not given any references to these artisan families and as the Silver Tax rolls comprises of hundreds of thousands of pages, I have so far not been able to locate them or do any further research on these families.

Another potential source are parish records, which include information about married couples and their origins (Moring 2004). For example, the marriage register of the German parish of St. Gertrud in Stockholm has been preserved since 1640.[4] For husbands their name, place of origin and occupation are listed. For wives, the register shows their personal name and the name of their father or late husband. Based on the register, several foreign craftsmen married to local women in 1640 and 1641. One way to get the burgher rights and a licence to practice merchant or artisan trade in Stockholm was a marriage with a burgher's daughter or widow (Holmbäck and Wessén 1966, 9; Ojala-Fulwood 2018, 36). In a couple of cases it can be verified that the wife was a second generation migrant: on 7th of November 1641, for example, glazer Frantz Kunckel married Maria, whose father, Peter from Lübeck, had been a meat carrier.

However, parish records start to appear systematically around the 1650s (Lext 1984, 72–79), thus offering little help for this study.

What about material related to or produced by the craft guilds? The statutes of the Stockholm craft guilds included articles related to immigration and the mobility of journeyman but contained no reference to female migrants (Klemming 1856, 1868–1881). It is likely that most of the craft guilds held some kind of membership lists that registered at least apprentices and journeymen. Those membership lists that have been preserved show only males (Sennefelt 2019).[5] The craft guilds protocols could include some remarks about migrants. However, references to women are usually rare and most of the extant protocol books date from later periods.

The city magistrates also drew lists of all people practising a craft trade in Stockholm including the suburbs.[6] The aim was to control the handicraft production and tax payments. According to my knowledge, the earliest lists, called rolls, were made in the 1640s. The first one of 1640–1641 include only male masters and no information about the birthplace. Widows were listed with the name of their husband (for example butcher Anders Olufssons efterlefuerska). The roll of 1644 shows all masters, journeymen and apprentices, neatly grouped under the household heads some of whom were widows. This roll includes the origins of journeymen and apprentices but not of masters or their widows. So far I have not found any female apprentices in the roll either. Consequently, the rolls deliver information about male migration but are silent concerning women's mobility.

Therefore, compared to other available sources the Town Court records seem to be the most useful alternative. Furthermore, despite the drawbacks of the Town Court records a couple of cases had potential for the purposes of the present research when adopting a different methodology. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to these two peculiar cases illustrating two different migrant trajectories, which I will reconstruct through a qualitative analysis and close reading of the sources.

The Downfall of a Cooper's Wife

At the turn of the seventeenth-century Stockholm, the capital of the Swedish realm teemed with migrants: merchants from Germany and Livonia, entrepreneurs from Holland and Russia, officers from Scotland and France, servants and skippers from Finland as well as noblemen from

all corners of the kingdom crowded in the narrow streets of the Old Town (*Gamla Stan*). Compared to the biggest European metropoles like Paris or London, Stockholm was small town with a population of 8000 people in 1580s, rising to 9000 when the royal court was permanently transferred to the capital. Nevertheless, it was still one of the most important urban centres in the Baltic Sea region and by far the biggest in the Swedish realm (Karonen 1994, 57; Karonen 1999, 40; Ling 2016, 27; Andersson 2018, 131; Korpiola, and Ojala-Fulwood 2019, 191).

One of the many migrants that populated the city was a woman called Moicken. She was born in the North German town of Lübeck. With a population of 25,000, Lübeck had been the biggest urban centre in the Baltic Sea region and the leading city of the Hanseatic League during the Middle Ages. Yet, during the second half of the sixteenth century the city had lost its lustre in the wake of periodic bouts of epidemic which had led to a drastic drop in its population. Furthermore, the Hanseatic League was gradually dissolving and maritime trade was hit hard by repeated wars. Ostensibly, economic distress and the subsequent decline in consumption rates affected local craftspeople (Graßmann 2008, 358, 426–33; Ojala 2014, 45) encouraging outbound migration.

In Stockholm Moicken married a cooper, Bernt Tynnabindare. It seems that the marriage failed because in winter 1595, Moicken became involved in an extramarital affair with their journeyman, Hans Ladehoff, as well a migrant from Lübeck. Soon the lovers started to plot to kill Bernt, so that they could get married. After several attempts to poison him, they eventually stabbed him to death. Moicken then begged Hans to leave the country, and asked him to remain loyal to her while away, promising to join him as soon as possible. Both defendants pleaded not guilty during the first hearing at the Town Court. However, after spending time in jail journeyman Hans admitted the crime. The Town Court sentenced both to death for murder.[7]

The close connections between Sweden and North Germany go back to the Middle Ages, with many German merchants settling in Stockholm ever since, some temporarily and some permanently (Wubs-Mrozewicz 2004). During the early modern period, immigration of skilled labourers and wealthy burghers to Swedish towns and cities was encouraged by the Crown with the aim to populate a sparsely inhabited kingdom and the resources and capital it lacked (Tarkiainen 1990, 17; Andersson 2018, 133–37). At the end of the sixteenth century, approximately 12 per cent of the permanent residents in Stockholm were German merchants

and artisans. Together with other German-speaking migrants they gathered in the town's German parish of St. Gertrud located in the Old Town (Schieche 1952, 47; Korpiola and Ojala-Fulwood 2019, 199). The records of the St. Gertrud parish show that German migrants practised a large variety of craft trades and mostly lived in the town centre. Moicken's husband, Berent Tynnabindare, made a small payment to the parish for the first time in 1592 and a similar payment the following year.[8] This suggests he also had German roots and that perhaps he/they moved to the city that same year. The Town Court records do not reveal how journeyman Hans ended up at the Tynnabindare household, but since he was a German and a cooper, it only seems logical that Brent would be willing to employ him.

Moicken's crime is exceptional: women are rarely attested committing such brutal criminal acts. Was it a true love that motivated this crime of passion? A very common practice within the crafts guilds was that after the death of the master, his widow could keep the workshop by marrying the journeyman. The widow would officially transmit the mastership rights to her new husband. Moreover, some craft guilds gave journeymen discount on enrolment fees if they married a master's widow. When the number of masters was limited, a marriage with a widow was the only way to achieve mastery (Ojala 2014, 190–96). It was indeed the plan of Moicken and Hans to get married. The Stockholm coopers' craft ordinance neither offered any discount for a journeyman marrying a master's widow, nor limited the number of masters (Klemming 1856, 219–25). Nevertheless, for journeyman Hans the benefits were clear: in addition to love and affection, he would get access to workshop resources and customer network not to mention a higher social status as master.

Moicken's motives are less obvious. The court records do not mention Bernt's misbehaviour that would have motivated the crime. Thus, it seems that she loved Hans. We must also question if Moicken and Hans would have been able to stay in Stockholm after their crime. In early modern towns, successful business was based on personal contacts and networks, thus total anonymity would have been impossible, but it seems that Moicken and Hans thought their crime would go unnoticed, because they were not planning to run away together.

The case above embodies several features characteristic to female artisan mobility in northern Europe during the early modern period. Firstly, the information we can find on mobile women is often related to some matter other than mobility, in this case, a murder trial. A classical

and well-studied example of this are mobile maidservants who were prosecuted in local courts after committing a crime (Laitinen 2018; Lamberg 2019). Secondly, it shows the common group and network building of migrants who often socialised with and married fellow migrants from same national, ethnic or language groups (Grosjean and Murdoch 2005, 199, 206). Thirdly, it illustrates the inherent problem attributed to early modern female mobility, namely that the information in sources is usually sparse and sporadic. In Moicken's case, the Town Court records state her marital status and her birthplace. In addition, the records show the occupation and birthplace of her lover/partner in crime. Based on the Town Court records we can say nothing about her age or how long she and her husband had lived in Sweden or else whether she moved alone or together with her husband, and what migration route had she (and her family) taken.

The Migrant Life of Margreta Larsdotter

Margreta Larsdotter was one of the unmarried women who moved across the Baltic Sea from the Finnish side of the realm to Sweden in the early seventeenth century. Usually these women were looking for better work opportunities and most of them ended up working in the service sector. Some maids probably worked in artisan households and their chores could include similar tasks to those performed by apprentices, as Beatrice Moring (2004, 43, 47–48) and Marko Lamberg have noted (2007, 212, 223).

Margreta Larsdotter was born in Turku, on the south-western coast of Finland. At some point during the first decades of the seventeenth century she moved to the Swedish town Torshälla (about 120 km west of Stockholm). The route to Torshälla went most likely via Stockholm, but the sources provide no clues on whether Margreta stopped in the capital or continued travelling west. In her new location, she met a Finnish carpenter called Ingvald Mårtensson, whose roots were in inner Finland in a village called Pälkäne. At the time, he was working at a church construction project together with a few other Finnish carpenters (Pursche 1979, Bihang, 563–67).[9]

Margreta and Ingvald got married in Torshälla in around 1613. Their union followed a typical marriage pattern of Finnish female migrants. Based on two Stockholm parish records, those of St. Katharina Parish in

the Södermalm suburb and the Finnish parish in the Old Town, Beatrice Moring (2004, 47–52) has examined 136 marriages of Finnish migrants. A quarter of the Finnish female migrants who got married in Stockholm in 1650–1750, married a fellow Finnish migrant. Half of the grooms were born in Stockholm. Most spouses were employed in seafaring-connected occupations but the second-largest occupational group was the building trade.

Soon after their wedding, Margreta and Ingvald moved to Stockholm and settled in the suburban district of Södermalm, located on the south side of city's central island, the Old Town. During this period, Södermalm housed a large number of building workers such as carpenters, joiners, waggoneers, carriers and other craftsmen, as well as seasonal workers, unemployed and poor people. According to register of the Stockholm carpenters' craft guild in 1645 most of the craft members, 81 of the city's 99 carpenters, lived in Södermalm (Pursche 1979, 101). In the rapidly growing metropolis, newcomers and less wealthy people commonly settled in the outskirts of the city in either Södermalm or Norrmalm, where lodging was cheaper and houses were made of wood. In the Old Town wooden buildings were forbidden, which also explains the settlement of wood workers in suburbs (Pursche 1979, 91–92, 101; Moring 2004, 56–57; Ling 2016, 27–30).

The sources do not reveal why Margreta and Ingvald moved to Stockholm. An obvious reason would be that the church building project where Ingvald worked was finished and so they sought to try their luck in the growing capital. During the first half of the seventeenth century, Stockholm cemented its position as political and economic capital of the realm. State administration settled permanently in the city and noblemen built luxurious residences accordingly. The population multiplied fivefold to about 40,000 inhabitants by the 1640s, mainly due intense immigration. In sum, we can easily affirm that during the period under scrutiny, Stockholm transformed into a metropole, marking the beginning of the urbanisation process in Sweden (Pursche 1979, 78–81; Karonen 1999, 40; Ling 2016, 23, Andersson 2018, 132–33).

Leslie Page Moch (2003, 13–16), among others, has argued that economic incentive seldom is the only motivator for migration. Indeed, other factors may have influenced Margreta's and Ingvald's second move. Stockholm had a large Finnish community, amounting to approximately 6 per cent of its inhabitants. Most of the Finnish migrants also lived in Södermalm. Moreover, two-thirds of city's carpenters were migrants from

Finland (Tarkiainen 1990, 18; Moring 2004, 46, 56; Lamberg 2007, 223; Pursche 1979, 101). It is likely that the presence of a Finnish settlement and a cluster of Finnish carpenters were strong pulling factors. In the Silver Tax Rolls Ingvald is listed among the members of the carpenter craft guild, a fact which attests to a successful integration in the community.[10] Most of the Finnish migrants in Stockholm and in the building trade originated from the west coast and south-west Finland (Pursche 1979, 101; Moring 2004, 47). Contacts between the Finns of the west coast and the Swedes were well-established through seafaring activities, so much so that many of the inhabitants of this area of Finland spoke Swedish as their first language. This could have instilled a sense of belonging in Turku-born Margreta.

After being together for four and a half years and having had two children, life changed for Margreta and Ingvald in 1618. A Finnish woman called Gertrud Andersdotter arrived in Stockholm looking for her husband. She was from Pälkäne, the same village as Ingvald, and claimed to be his lawful wife. Gertrud brought her case to the ecclesiastical Town Court, the Consistory. The task of the Consistory was to find out if Ingvald's first marriage to Gertrud was legal. Bigamy was a serious crime in early modern Sweden and could lead to capital punishment (Holmbäck and Wessen 1966, 232–33; Korpiola and Ojala-Fulwood 2019, 210). Based on the testimonies, Gertrud and Ingvald had been together for 17 years and they had three children. Ten years before, Ingvald had left Gertrud and moved to Sweden. He claimed that he had been only six years old when they were married, on which grounds the marriage should have been regarded as invalid. According to Consistory the marriage was, however, lawful because Ingvald had continued to live with Gertrud after he had become of age and they had children, and therefore he should not have left his first wife and take another.[11]

Their case was now regarded as a criminal offence and transferred to the magistrate. At the Town Court Ingvald swore that he had left Finland because of economic distress, knowing that he would earn a better livelihood in Sweden. This is plausible as during this time Stockholm was experiencing a construction boom. In general, the carpenters' wages were low in Stockholm compared to other craft trades, but higher than in Finland, and some individuals could survive the winter with their summer earnings (Pursche 1979, 79–81, 88). Ingvald said that he had written several times to his first wife Gertrud and begged her to come along, but she never answered. Margreta told the court that she found

out about Ingvald's first wife in Finland only a year after they married and that Ingvald had tried to convince her that his first wife was dead. On 11 July 1618, all parties gathered at the Town Court to hear the verdict. Based on the investigation the Town Court had no alternative but pronounce Ingvald guilty of bigamy and sentence him to death.[12]

This bigamy case shows multiple forms of mobility. Like in many other court cases we find most information about the male actor. We know Ingvald's migration stop-overs and can calculate the length of his journey: he first travelled about 170 kms from Pälkäne to the west coast of Finland, a couple of days journey across the sea to Stockholm, followed by about 120 kms on land to Torshälla and later back to Stockholm.[13] It seems that Ingvald's migration was motivated by better work opportunities. It is possible that he genuinely wanted his first wife Gertrud to migrate with him. We can only speculate on Ingvald's hidden motives: he obviously was not considering returning to Finland; after all, he took another wife. It is also clear that he needed to present himself in the best possible manner in order to avoid a severe sentence.

The sources provide far less information on Margreta Larsdotter. The court records provide no clues on the reasons that pushed her to move to Sweden, nor do they tell when she arrived there, what were her (first) occupation and the migration route she took before her marriage. It is possible that she entered the new community as a servant, which seem to have been a common way for a (young) Finnish woman to settle in Sweden. In 1631, the merchants of Turku complained that 'as soon as there is a boat ready to sail, free maids and farmhands hop in, the former to Stockholm the latter everywhere' and demanded tighter control.[14] It is clear that Stockholm was an attractive destination for women who wanted to get some working experience and earn some money before marrying (Tarkiainen 1990, 43; Moring 2004, 48).

Magreta's migration trajectory embodies changes in marital and social status as well as positioning within the family. On her first move, she was probably single and migrated to Sweden independently, either alone or with relatives or friends. Considering the first move Margareta fits well to the common concept that urban immigrants were mainly single. On her second move, she was a wife, maybe already a mother, and moved together with her new family. Margareta's second move supports the findings of Martin Andersson (2018, 145) who has argued that a considerable number of incomers were young women who moved to towns when they got married or young couples who moved with children and servants.

Wrapped in this case we find not only different types of mobility but also settledness, which should not be overlooked in migration research. Why did Gertrud arrive in Stockholm so late, ten years after Ingvald had left? Perhaps she had hoped that Ingvald would return after a couple of years. Perhaps she was afraid: a long journey with three children would certainly not have been an easy one. It is also possible that she was too poor to finance the journey or that she never received the letters. What we do know is that in the summer of 1618 she had made the effort to come to the capital, as the court records specify that she was in Stockholm.[15] Most of the Finns who migrated to Sweden stayed only temporarily, although some settled in permanently (Lamberg 2007, 2019). Based on the length of Margareta's and Ingvald's migration path and successful integration it seems that they intended to stay in the city for good. If we consider this case from a long-term historic perspective, Margreta's and Ingwald's mobility is part of a much broader pattern of thousands of Finns who moved to Sweden in the course of centuries—a phenomenon that reached its peak in the 1960s—while only small number of Swedes have migrated to Finland (Tarkiainen 1990).

Migration, Marriage and Extramarital Affairs

For a migrant woman a marriage with a craftsman was a good choice in normal circumstances because this entailed economic security. Migrant life was not easy and numerous Finns ended resorting to illegal and dishonourable means in order to earn their livelihoods in Swedish towns (Lamberg 2007, 220–25; 2009; Laitinen 2018). In early modern Sweden carpenters generally belonged to the lower strata of the artisan group and the settlement of Margareta and Ingvald at Södermalm district supports the view, although we know little about their financial means.

As concerns the bigamous relationship described here, the case of Margareta, Ingvald and Gertrud was not an exception. On the contrary, similar situations were quite common especially among migrants and soldiers, and were handled in Consistory and Town Court regularly (Korpiola 2017, 796–99). Like Gertrud, many other wives and husbands from near and far travelled to Stockholm hoping to find their spouses. Hiding one's past was easier in bigger towns and ever-growing Stockholm seems to have been a good location for escapees (Moring 2004, 49–50).

According to the court records, Margreta had not known about Ingvald's earlier family life in Finland before they got married. After all, without traveling to Finland or connections in the Pälkäne region it was unlikely for her to stumble upon the truth about Ingvald's first wife Gertrud, and thus she could only rely on his words. The court records do not reveal how Margareta discovered her husband's past life. Ingvald might have told her, but the fact that he was trying to convince her that the first wife had died could also suggest that someone in the Finnish community might have known the truth. Whatever the case, she continued to live with him until Gertrud appeared.

Sometimes the whereabouts of the previous or current spouses were unknown, and even whether they were alive, especially in the case of soldiers. The investigation of the matter became relevant when a person wanted to remarry or to claim an inheritance. Furthermore, it was on the Church's agenda to make sure there were no impediments to a marriage, particularly if one or both spouses were strangers in the community. From the Church's perspective migrating people who were married, disappeared and later turned up elsewhere making promises to new partners jeopardised not only the marriage institution but also the proper ecclesiastical discipline (Korpiola 2017, 796–99; Korpiola and Ojala-Fulwood 2019, 209–212).

The craft guilds also underlined the importance of an honourable marriage, meaning that throughout the Baltic Sea region most craft guilds forbade masters from marrying ill-reputed women or girls born outside wedlock. This was connected to the idea that all households represented the craft. The Stockholm coopers' and carpenters' guild established that all those who wanted to practise these professions, both locals and foreigners, had to have a sound reputation and present proof of their education. Foreigners should also present attestations of their legitimate birth before they could work in town.[16]

Karin Sennefelt (2019, 6–7) has argued that in the seventeenth century some of the Stockholm craft guilds, as a matter of fact, welcomed also male foreigners and illegitimate boys. Social networks mattered as much as proofs of legitimate birth in seeking of guild membership. The bigamous Finnish carpenter Ingvald belonged to the craft guild, thus it seems that his background did not hinder membership. One can observe, however, that the craft guild did not have enough resources or willingness to control the backgrounds of all migrants. At this time, Stockholm was experiencing a construction boom and, more in general, a staggering

economic growth. The high demand of labour force seems to have loosened the control of the craft guilds on the building trades, probably both deliberately, as the guild needed professionals, and unintentionally, because immigration was so overwhelming that made it hard to keep discipline. The construction boom, however, did not necessarily mean increased opportunities for women within the craft guilds. As Sennefelt has noted, there is no evidence of female apprentices or journeywomen (2019, 8).

Conclusion: Migration, Profession and Gender

The two court cases discussed in detail in this chapter introduce us to women migrants who were married to craftsmen. They reveal different types of mobility as well as migrant trajectories. The court records offer some information on migration routes. The German Moicken moved from Lübeck to Stockholm, but further details about her journey or possible migration stop-overs remain unclear. It is likely that her husband Bernt was also a German because they were members of St. Gertrud parish where German-speaking migrants living in Stockholm settled. The migration paths of Turku-born Margreta and her husband Ingvald included at least two destinations: the towns of Torshälla and Stockholm. Their migration trajectory played a significant role in their bigamy case and thus the routes were explained in more detail in the records.

In terms of distance, Moicken's journey from Germany can be described a long-distance migration, since she crossed a national border with significant change in legal system and language, even though there was a large German community in Stockholm. Similarly, Margreta's first move was over long distance but within the same kingdom, the same legal system and perhaps even language group. Margreta's second move can also be described as long-distance migration in the context of an early modern society, but can be regarded as regional migration compared to her first journey. According to Martin Andersson (2018, 118–121, 148, 156) most migrants in seventeenth-century Sweden only moved short distances, from 5 to 35 kms. Long-distance migration was more common among the bourgeoisie who moved from one urban settlement to another. Hence, the distance covered by both Moicken and Margreta was different compared to that travelled by most migrants, but relatively common among the urban bourgeoisie. Moreover, migration across

the sea from Turku to Stockholm/Sweden was so common that even contemporaries complained about mass outbound migration.

The court cases do not reveal exactly when these women arrived in Sweden but it seems that they had been living in their new location/s for some time or even several years. Both Moicken and Margreta were well integrated, at least within the migrant communities of their fellow nationals. Their husbands practised a trade without any problems, which suggests that they were members of their respective craft guilds. In Ingvald's case this can be verified from the Silver Tax rolls where he was listed among the city's carpenters. In both cases, migration was intended as permanent, which in Margareta's case contradicts the general pattern of Finnish migrants.

Margreta had married another migrant from her same minority, which was quite typical among immigrants. It is unclear whether she remained in Stockholm after Ingvald's death. Margareta Larsdotter was very common name, making it easy to incur cases of homonymy. For example, we could perhaps consider a coincidence a reference, dated 1627, to a bourgeois woman called Margreta and her child who were living, together with two other middle-class women (Brita and Gertrud), in Södermalm, in a household, adjacent to others inhabited by carpenters, which belonged to a widow named Maria.[17]

The court records as such do not reveal the reasons why Moicken and Margreta migrated, and how much they participated in the decision-making process. Based on the analysis, it seems that their migration was a voluntary choice, driven, at least partially, by economic motives: fresh work opportunities for her husband clearly played a significant role in Margareta's second move. In Moicken's case, her planned second move was actually a bid to escape from the country because she had committed a crime. Even less can be said about the skills of these women or their contribution to business activities. We can actually question the extent to which one can speak of female labour migration in the two cases examined here. What the court records do reveal explicitly is that women migrated both as unmarried and as wives together with their family.

According to my study and previous research (Moring 2004; Lamberg 2007, 2019; Laitinen 2018; Andersson 2018) it seems that female mobility per se was not a problem in the eyes of the crown or city magistrates as long migrant women engaged themselves in honourable professions and acted as responsible citizens. The authorities, however

considered loose folk of all kind as a potential threat to social order and issued several decrees in order to restrict their mobility.

While my initial intention was to locate artisan women that could be categorised as labour migrants, it became clear as my research progressed that court records are ill suited to combine a quantitative analysis of female artisans and their role in labour migration. Court records frequently mention female artisans, certainly, albeit it is often unclear whether they were of foreign origin. Female labour migrants attested in the sources were mostly registered as maidservants, but it was impossible to verify if they participated in craft trade production in some way. Most women mentioned in court records are listed without any occupational qualification or topographic indication which could distinguish them as migrants; most likely these women were merchant wives and widows.

Despite these drawbacks, in comparison to other available source materials from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Town Court records have potential, as this chapter has demonstrated, especially when reconstructing individual migration trajectories. Cases similar to those of Moicken and Margreta open a window on the lives of migrant women in early modern society, offering us a glimpse of the journeys, as well as the joys and sorrows these women experienced. In sum, court records provide us with snapshots of migrant life, their collective (hi)stories, however, can only be told by combining multiple sources.

Notes

1. KA, TRO, 26. August 1629 and 16. September 1629; BÅH, IV, 48, 53.
2. BÅH, VI, 14. May 1634, 184.
3. For example, BÅH, IV, 112–118 (tax roll 1632). KA, 6889 (tax roll of Finland 1635). Original tax rolls have been digitalised and are accessible for Sweden via sok/riksarkivet.se/nad (Mantalslängder och Älvsborg lösen) and for Finland via diginarc.fi (County accounts/Läänintilit).
4. SSA/0017/C I/1a (Tyska S:ta Gertruds Kyrkoarkiv, Födelse och dopböcker 1639–1688).
5. KB, Handskriften B 598: 13 and 14 (Goldsmiths' list of apprentices and journeymen); SSA/0134B/D/1 (Ämbetskollegium, Rullor över hantverkare samt taxor 1630–1650).
6. SSA/0134B/D/1.
7. SSTB från år 1592, del I, 6. December 1595, 346-347; SSTB från år 1592, del II, 21. February 1596, 12. The case on the courtesy of Mia Korpiola.

8. SSA/0017/L I ab (Räkenskaper för S:ta Gertrud kyrka och församling vol. 1 (1581–1591) and 2 (1591–1600).
9. SSTB från år 1592, del X, 11. July 1618, 84–85, 217–218.
10. RA/5117 (Älvsborg lösen), IV, vol. 16 (1613–1618).
11. SSA/0148/A I/3 (Stockholms Domkapitel, Protokoll, huvudserien 1611–1619), 18. September 1618, 162.
12. SSTB från år 1592, del X, 11. July 1618, 84–85, 217–218.
13. Calculated by google maps and the most likely route of Pälkäne-Turku-Stockholm-Torshälla.
14. BÅH, IV, 28. April 1631, 89.
15. SSTB från år 1592: del X, 11. July 1618, 84–85, 217–218.
16. Klemming (1856, 219–225) (tunnabinare 1500/1579); Klemming (1868–1881, 17–30) (timmermann 1454); Pursche (1979), Bihang 797–803 (timmermann 1641).
17. RA/522/25/21 (Kammarkollegiet, Ämnessamlingar, Städers akter vol. 21, Mantalslängd för Södermalm 1627).

References

Ågren, Maria, ed. 2017. *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press USA—OSO.

Andersson, Martin. 2018. *Migration i 1600-talets Sverige: Älvsborgs Lösen 1613-1618* [Migration in Seventeenth-Century Sweden: Silver Tax Rolls 1613–1618]. Malmö: Universus Academic Press.

Arnstberg, Karl-Olov, and Billy Ehn. 1976. *Etniska minoriteter i Sverige förr och nu* [Ethnic Minorities in Sweden Then and Now]. Lund: LiberLäromedel.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia II: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1624–1625 [Contribution to the History of Turku: From the Town Court Records 1624–1625]. Edited by Carl von Bonsdorff. Helsingfors: J. Simelii arvingars tryckerii 1885.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia III: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1623–1624. Edited by Carl von Bonsdorff. Helsingfors: J. Simelii arvingars tryckerii 1886.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia IV: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1624–1632. Edited by Carl von Bonsdorff. Helsingfors: J. Simelii arvingars tryckerii 1887.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia VI: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1632–1634. Edited by George Granfelt. Helsingfors: J. Simelii arvingars tryckerii 1890.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia VII: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1635. Edited by Torsten Harman. Helsingfors: J. Simelii arvingars boktryckeri aktiebolag 1891.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia VIII: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1636. Edited by Torsten Hartman. Helsingfors: Helsingfors Central-Tryckeri 1896.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia IX: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1637. Edited by Torsten Hartman. Helsingfors: Helsingfors Central-Tryckeri 1898.

Bidrag till Åbo stads historia XIII: Utdrag ur Åbo stads dombok 1638. Edited by Alb. Hästesko. Helsingfors: Helsingfors Central-Tryckeri 1905.

Canepari, Eleonora. 2016. "Working for Someone Else: Adult Apprentices and Dependent Work (Rome 17th to Early 18th Century)." In *Craftsmen and Guilds in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, edited by Eva Jullien and Michel Pauly, 261–275. Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte 235. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH.

Catomeris, Christian. 2004. *Det ohyggliga arvet: Sverige och främlingen genom tiderna* [The Troubled Legacy: Sweden and Strangers Troughout Times]. Stockholm: Ordfront.

Dalhede, Christina. 2009. *Invandrare som resurs 1540–1820: Bland-Européer och handelsfamilijer i Europa och Sverige* [Immigrants as Resources 1540–1820: Mixed Europeans and Merchant Families in Europe and Sweden]. Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet / Presindustrial Study Group.

Graßmann, Antjekathrin, ed. 2008. *Lübeckische Geschichte* [The History of Lübeck]. 4. Auflage. Lübeck: Schmid-Römhild.

Grosjean, Alexia, and Steve Murdoch. 2005. "The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg." In *Scottish Communities Abroad*, edited by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, 191–224. Leiden and Boston: Brill. ProQuest Ebook Central. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kutu/detail.action?docID=280750.

Gustafsson, Harald. 1998. "The Conglomerate State: A Perspective on State Formation in Early Modern Europe." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 23 (3–4): 189–213.

Heino, Ulla. 1997. "Hur många, vem, hur länge? problem och resultat från forskning rörande 1600-talets hantverk [How Many, Who and How Long? Problems and Results of Studies Focusing on Craft Trade in the Seventeenth Century]." In *Fundera tar längsta tiden, sa skräddarn, då han sydde byxor: Frågeställningar och problem kring hantverksforskning från medeltiden till skråväsendets upplösning* [Thinking is the Harderst Work, Said the Tailor While Sewing: Research Objectives in the Study of Craft Trade Production from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century], edited by Ulla Heino and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 21–43. Turku: University of Turku,.

Holmbäck, Åke and Elias Wessén, ed. 1966. *Magnus Erikssons Stadslag (MESt) i nusvenskt tolkning* [King Magnus Eriksson's City Law in Modern Swedish]. Rätthistoriskt bibliotek, sjunde bandet. Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning. Stockholm: A.-B. Nordiska Bokhandeln.

Jacobsson, Benny, and Maria Ågren, eds. 2011. *Levebröd: Vad vet vi om tidigmodern könsarbetsdelning* [Earning the Daily Bread: What Do We Know of

Early Modern Gendered Division of Labour]. Uppsala: Historiska Institutionen vid Uppsala Universitet.

Karonen, Petri. 1994. Kämnerinoikeudet Suomen kaupungeissa suurvalta-ajan alkupuolella (noin 1620–1660) [Treasurer's Courts in Finnish Towns in the Beginning of the Age of Greatness (circa 1620–1669)]. Studia Historica Jyväskyläensia 48. PhD diss., University of Jyväskylä.

Karonen, Petri. 1999. *Pohjoinen suurvalta: Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809* [The Northern Superpower: Sweden and Finland 1521–1809]. Helsinki: WSOY (Werner Söderström Ltd.).

Klemming, G. E. 1856. *Skrå-ordningar* [Craft Ordinances]. Samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornskift—sällskapet. Stockholm: Kungliga boktryckeriet, P. A. Norstedt and Söner.

Klemming, G. E. 1868–1881. *Småstycken på fornsvenska* [Examples of Old Swedish Texts]. Stockholm: Kungliga boktrykeriet, P. A. Norsted and Söner.

Korpiola, Mia. 2017. "Regional Variation in Dealing with Marriage in the Diocesan Courts of Reformation Sweden, ca. 1590–1610." In *Reformatio Baltica: Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums* [Reformatio Baltica: Cultural Affects of Reformation in the Metropolies Around the Baltic Sea Region], edited by Heinrich Assel, Johann Anselm Steiger, and Axel E. Walter. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 793–806. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110573558-047.

Korpiola, Mia, and Maija Ojala-Fulwood. 2019. "Controlling Immigrants in Sweden, ca. 1520−1620: Norms, Regulation and Legal Practice." In *Religion—Migration—Integration: Studien zur Wechselwirkungen religiös motivierter Mobilität im vormodernen Europa*, edited by Anette Baumann, Alexander Jendorff, and Frank Theissen, 187–214. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann Verlag.

Laitinen, Riitta. 2018. "The Necessary and Undesirable Mobility of Lower Classes in Seventeenth-Century Swedish Towns." In *Migration and Multi-Ethnic Communities: Mobile People from the Late Middle Ages to the Present*, edited by Maija Ojala-Fulwood, 53−75. München and Wien: DeGruyter Oldenburg.

Lamberg, Marko. 2007. "Ethnic Imagery and Social Boundaries in Early Modern Urban Communities: The Case of Finns in Swedish Towns, c.1450–1650." In *Shaping Ethnic Identities: Ethnic Minorities in Northern and East Central European States and Communities, c.1450–2000*, edited by Marko Lamberg, 200–240. Helsinki: East-West Books.

Lamberg, Marko. 2009. "Trying to Survive as a Harlot-Thief in an Early Modern Urban Community." In *Hopes and Fears for the Future in Early Modern Sweden, 1500–1800*, edited by Petri Karonen, 139–59. Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society.

Lamberg, Marko. 2013. "A Finnish Minority Identity within the Merchant Community of Late Medieval Stockholm?" In *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500*, edited by Lars Bisgaard, Lars Boje Mortensen and Tom Pettitt, 91–108. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.

Lamberg, Marko. 2019. *Noitaäiti: Malin Matsintyttären tarina* [A Witch-mother: The Story of Malin Matsdåtter]. Helsinki: SKS 2019.

Leunig, Tim, Chris Minns, and Patrick Wallis. 2011. "Networks in the Premodern Economy: The Market for London Apprenticeships, 1600—1749." *The Journal of Economic History* 71 (2), June: 413–443. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23018305.

Lext, Gösta. 1984. *Studier i Svensk kyrkobokföring 1600–1946* [Studies of Swedish Church Records 1600–1964]. Meddelanden från ekonomsk-historiska institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet 54. Göteborg.

Lindström, Dag. 2011. "Genusarbetsdeling i det tidigmoderna skåväsendet [Gendered Division of Labour in Early Modern Craft Guilds]." In *Levebröd: Vad vet vi om tidigmodern könsarbetsdelning?* [Earning the Daily Bread: What Do We Know of Early Modern Gendered Division of Labour?], edited by Benny Jacobsson and Maria Ågren, 179–210. Opscula Historica Upsaliensia 47. Uppsala: Swedish Science Press.

Ling, Sofia. 2016. *Konsten att försörja sig: Kvinnors arbete i Stockholm 1650–1750* [The Possibilities to Make a Living: Women's Work in Stockholm 1650–1750]. Stockholm: Stockholmia Förlag.

Moch, Leslie Page. 2003. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. First edition published 1992.

Moring, Beatrice. 2004. "Migration, Servanthood and Assimilation in a New Environment." In *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity: Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th–21st Centuries*, edited by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, 43–70. Bern: Peter Lang.

Murray, Robert. 1954. *Finska församlingen i Stockholm* [The Finnish Parish in Stockholm]. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakoniestryrelses Bokförlag.

Ojala, Maija. 2014. "Protection, Continuity and Gender: Craft Trade Culture in the Baltic Sea Region (14th–16th Centuries)." Acta Universitatis Tamperiensis 1974. PhD diss., Tampere University. Tampere: Tampere University Press 2014. Available online https://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-44-9574-8.

Ojala-Fulwood, Maija. 2018. "Mobility of Goldsmiths in the Baltic Sea Region." In *Migration and Multi-ethnic Communities: Mobile People from the Late Middle Ages to* the Present, edited by Maija Ojala-Fulwood, 29–52. München and Wien: DeGruyter Oldenburg.

Österlund, Birgitta. 1966. "Finländsk befolkning på Södermalm under senare hälften av 1600-talet [Finnish Inhabitants in Södermalm in the Latter Half of the Seventeenth Century]." In *Studier och handlingar rörande Stockholms*

historia III [Studies on the History of Stockholm III], edited by Nils Stav, 324–339. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksells Boktryckeri.

Pursche, Werner. 1979. *Timmermansämbetet i Stockholm före 1700*, och Bihang [Carpenters Craft Guild in Stockholm Before 1700 and Supplement]. Stockholm: Stockholms Byggmästareförening.

Ranta, Raimo. 1975. *Turun kaupungin historia 1600–1721*, osa I [The History of Turku 1600–1721, Part I]. Turku.

Reith, Reinhold. 1988. *Arbeits- und Lebensweise im städtischen Handwerk. Zur Sozialgeschichte Augsburger Handwerkgesellen im 18: Jahrhundert (1700–1806)* [Life and Work Within the Urban Craft Trade: On Social History of Journeymen in Augsburg in Eighteenth-Century (1700–1806)].Göttingen: Otto Schwarz & Co.

Reith, Reinhold. 2008. "Circulation of Skilled Labour." In *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800*, edited by Stephan R. Epstein and Maarten R. Prak, 114–143. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schieche, Emil. 1952. *Die Anfänge der Deutschen St. gertruds-Gemeinde zu Stockholm im 16. Jahrhundert* [The Beginning of German St. Gertrud Parish in Stockholm in the Sixteenth Century]. Pfingstblätter des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins XXVII. Münster und Köln: Böhlau Verlag.

Sennefelt, Karin. 2019. "Young Man, Find your Fortune: Guilds and the Practices of Social Order in Sweden 1650–1720." In *Scandinavian Journal of History* 2019: PdF pages 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2019.1667863.

Steidl, Annemarie. 2016. "Between Home and Workshop: Regional and Social Mobility of Apprentices in 18th and 19th Centuries Vienna." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* [En ligne], 128–1 (March): PdF pages 1–16. http://mefrim.revues.org/2491.

Stockholms stads tänkeböcker från år 1592a [Stockholm Town Court Records Since 1592], del I (1592–1595). Edited by Daniel Almqvist. Stockholm: P.A. Nordstedt & Söner, 1939.

Stockholms stads tänkeböcker från år 1592b [Stockholm Town Court Records since 1592a], del II (1596–1599). Edited by Daniel Almquist, and Folke Sleman. Stockholm: Stockholm Stadsarkiv, 1951.

Stockholms stads tänkeböcker från år 1592c [Stockholm Town Court Records Since 1592], del III (1600). Edited by Folke Sleman. Stockholm: P.A. Nordsted & Söner, 1953.

Stockholms stads tänkeböcker från år 1592d [Stockholm Town Court Records Since 1592b], del IV (1601–1602). Edited by Folke Sleman. Stockholm: P.A. Nordsted & Söner 1957.

Stockholms stads tänkeböcker från år 1952e [Stockholm Town Court Records Since 1592], del X (1618). Edited by Lars Wikström. Stockholm: Stockholms Stadsarkiv 1953.

Svanberg, Ingvar, and Mattias Tyden. 1992. *Tusen år av invandring: En svensk kulturhistoria* [Thousand Years of Immigration: A Cultural History to Sweden]. Stockholm: Gidlunds Bokförlag.

Tarkiainen, Kari. 1990. *Finnarnas historia i Sverige 1: Inflyttarna från Finland under det gemensamma rikets tid* [The History of Finns in Sweden Part 1: Immigrants from Finland When Finland was Part of the Kingdom]. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura /Finnish Historical Society.

Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi. 2012. *Ujostelemattomat: kätilöiden, synnytysten ja arjen historiaa* [The Self-Confidents: History of Midwives, Childbirth and Everyday Life]. Helsinki: WSOY (Werner Söderström Ltd.).

Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi. 2018. "Midwives: Birthing Care Professionals in Eighteenth-Century Sweden and Finland." In *Early Professional Women in Northern Europe, c. 1650*–1850, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas, Marjatta Rahikainen, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 25–42. Routledge Research in Early Modern History: New York. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1552127&site=ehost-live.

Wickström Mats, and Charlotta Wolff, eds. 2016. *Mångkulturalitet, migration och minoriteter i Finland under tre sekel* [Multiculture, Migration and Minorities in Finland During Three Centuries]. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland nr 803. Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland.

Wubs-Mrozewicz, Justyna. 2004. "Interplay of Identities: German Settlers in Late Medieval Stockholm." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29: 53−67.

Migration and the Household Economy of the Poor in Catalonia, c.1762–1803

Montserrat Carbonell-Esteller, Julie Marfany,
and Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora

In her now classic study of eighteenth-century France, Olwen Hufton identified migration, especially seasonal migration, as a key element in the 'economy of makeshifts' of the poor (Hufton 1974, ch. 3). According to Hufton, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France had clearly

M. Carbonell-Esteller
University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain
e-mail: montsecarbonell@ub.edu

J. Marfany (✉)
Durham University, Durham, UK
e-mail: julie.marfany@durham.ac.uk

J. M. Pujadas-Mora
Open University of Catalonia and Center for Demographic Studies,
Autonomous University of Barcelona, Bellaterra, Spain
e-mail: jpujades@ced.uab.es

323

defined patterns of migration whereby inhabitants of particular regions followed well-trodden paths to seek their livelihoods elsewhere. For Hufton, this migration was a survival strategy. The other side of the coin, however, was that this movement was often essential to the functioning of labour markets, be it the seasonal demand for harvest labour, or the longer-term demand for domestic servants in cities or factory workers in areas of nascent industrialisation.

The mobility of the poor was nonetheless a problem for elites. Authorities were not oblivious to the demands of labour markets, yet they were often uneasy about, if not overtly hostile to the migrant poor. Statutes penalising vagrancy were a feature of many medieval and early modern European regimes (Gutton 1978, 251–54, 438–67; Maza Zorrilla 1987, 51–71; Slack 1974). In practice, however, migration was hard to distinguish from vagrancy. Similarly, if demand for labour were erratic, migrants far from home could be particularly vulnerable to poverty during economic downturns. As Jonathan Healey has recently pointed out, poverty, migration and the law existed in a 'complex symbiosis': poverty might force people to migrate, but then migration might leave them yet more vulnerable once at a distance from kin and other support networks, while the law might restrict their ability to move, or force them to move by returning them to a home parish, or to an institution such as a workhouse (Healey 2014, 141).

Historical studies of the poor are not lacking but surprisingly few since Hufton have tackled the question of how migration fitted into the household economy of the poor. The mobility of the poor is recognised in almost all accounts, but when it is put centre stage, the focus is more on the policing of the poor than on the economic significance of such movement (see the essays in King and Winter 2013). An exception is the discussion of settlement law and practices under the English poor law and more recently in the Low Countries, which has recognised the importance of labour migration, but in terms of the economy as a whole and the growth of industrial areas, rather than from the perspective of the household economies of the poor (Solar 1995; Winter and Lambrecht 2013).

In part, this neglect is a question of sources. The wandering poor are far less visible than those who stayed put, and thus feature in overseers of the poor accounts, or lists of recipients of charity. In the main, historians have relied on the registers of institutions such as workhouses or the *depôts de mendicité* to make any kind of assessment of migration among the

poor (Hufton 1974, 69–106; Norberg 1985, 175–80, 216–26). Valuable though such registers are, they show us only some migrants, arguably those who had failed 'to make shift' in finding work; or had found it initially, but were now too old, ill or infirm to work; or who had been unlucky in failing to convince the authorities that their search for work was genuine. They may also over-represent those who were further from home, since those who had not gone far from home were probably more likely to be able to return. The latter were perhaps more likely to be seasonal migrants, rather than those going for more extended periods, or with no intention of returning. In other words, institutional records capture migrants at the point of arrival, often towards the end of a lifetime of moving around, or on route to a destination. Seeing migrants either as they leave or as they return to their place of origin is harder, though some sources do exist that allow us to form some idea of who left and why.

The problem of sources just highlighted points to differences in the nature of migration. Leaving home could take different forms (Page Moch 1992, 16–18). Migration could be temporary, either seasonal or as a stage in the life-cycle, or permanent. Distance and the 'definitiveness of the break with home' have been seen as the features which distinguished types of migration (Page Moch 1992, 16). What determined whether or not a migrant returned home, however, could vary. Many may have left intending to return only for circumstances to dictate otherwise, others may have seen their departure as permanent from the start. The latter is more likely perhaps in the case of overseas emigration, though even then, migrants did often return (Brettell 1986; Baines 1995, 35–38). The association between distance and duration of migration is not straightforward: migration over longer distances might be more likely to be permanent, if only because individuals might struggle to return home, as discussed below. Seasonal migration, however, often covered considerable distances, while migration for a year or number of years to work in service often took place over relatively short distances (Lucassen 1987). Migration by individuals might be a choice; for family members, particularly dependents, less so or not at all. It is in distinguishing types of migration that gender often comes to the fore, with long-distance migration often viewed as a male activity prior to the twentieth century while women stayed closer to home.[1]

This paper provides one case study of the migrant poor, in Catalonia. We focus on the late eighteenth century, decades which saw a significant

transformation of the region with the spread of commercial viticulture in the south and coastal areas and the emergence of a proto-industrial textile district in the centre (Vilar 1966; Torras 1984; Marfany 2012; Mora-Sitjà 2007). Barcelona also grew as a port, oriented increasingly towards the Atlantic, and with a substantial manufacturing sector, focused primarily on the production of cotton textiles (Sánchez Suárez 1993; Thomson 1992; Valls Junyent 2003; Brea-Martínez and Pujadas-Mora 2018). We use contemporary descriptions to identify those areas of Catalonia in which seasonal and long-term migration played an important role within the economy of makeshifts of the poor. We consider the importance of migration not just as a survival strategy, but also its effects on the communities from which migrants left (Sharpe 2001, 10–12). For the most part, however, the paper follows other studies in using institutional records, namely those of the Barcelona workhouse. While these records have disadvantages, discussed below, they also have the advantage of allowing for a systematic and quantitative analysis of migration patterns over time. We are able to construct profiles of migrants in terms of age, gender and occupational sector. Looking at Barcelona also allows us to explore the relationships between labour migration and poor relief, which are very evident in this context. This paper builds on previous work on the Barcelona workhouse which also argued for the important role played by the workhouse in facilitating labour migration, particularly for the textile industry, but goes further in providing a more in-depth analysis of how migration changed during the period (Carbonell-Esteller and Marfany 2017). It allows us to flag up the presence of women in migration flows other than as domestic servants, something historians have been slow to recognise (Green 2012, 787). Finally, this study is also a contribution towards viewing migration within the context of households, families and the life-cycle (Sharpe 2001, 5–6). Age is key here as well as gender. As will be argued, however, reasons for migration and even more so reasons for not returning home, remain elusive for the historian.

Patterns of Migration

For Hufton and others, the mobility of the poor was explained by a combination of what geographers refer to as 'push' and 'pull factors', namely, the difficulties of earning a living in areas of poor soils, fragmented landholdings or otherwise unpropitious circumstances, and the better economic prospects available elsewhere (Hufton 1974, ch. 3; Page

Moch 1992, 31–40, 61–68). In Hufton's words, 'Poverty certainly put the migrant on the road, but the possibility of a few weeks' work both gave purpose to his journey and determined the direction he took' (Hufton 1974, 69).[2] In the French case, Paris acted as a magnet for much of the country, but otherwise much of the movement Hufton described took the form of migration from mountain to plain, often driven by the demand of grain and grape harvests. Other patterns of movement reveal strong associations over time between regional identities and types of work, such as chimney sweeps from Savoy, and stonemasons from Limousin. From the Alpine and other mountain regions, peddling small wares (and potentially smuggling) was often a typical means to make a living on the move (Fontaine 1993). A survey of the diocese of Comminges in 1786 highlights the frequency with which the inhabitants of many parishes sought their livelihood at least part of the year in the Béarn and across the border in Spain, including smuggling (Sarramon 1968). Despite what the use of terms such as 'vagrant' or 'wandering' might suggest, the poor were often anything but aimless in their movements.

In the case of Spain, less work has been done on regional than on overseas migration, but those patterns of movement that have been described show strong similarities with the French situation (Eiras Roel 1994). The cities inevitably drew people in, but the same movement from mountain to plain is also evident, as is the association between regional identities and particular forms of work. Carmen Sarasúa's work on the Montes de Pas, the mountains of northern Spain around Santander, has shown the importance of temporary migration to the capital, often by women, in the economies of makeshift of the region (Sarasúa 1994, 1998, 2001). *Pasiega* women travelled some 400 km to Madrid as peddlers, as domestic servants and particularly as wet nurses. Enriqueta Camps's work has shown the importance of migration to the formation of the labour market in late nineteenth-century Catalonia, in particular, flows from the Pyrenees along the Llobregat river valley down to Barcelona (Camps 1995). Historians have also drawn attention to significant flows of French migrants, both seasonal and permanent, mainly, but not exclusively, men into Catalonia, Aragon and even as far down south as Andalusia, though these flows appear to have been stronger in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Poitrineau 1962, 1985; Nadal and Giralt 2000; Mateos Royo 2013; Amengual-Biblioni and Pujadas-Mora 2017).

Migration and the Household Economy in Catalonia

Seasonal Migration: The Enquiry of Francisco De Zamora

For Catalonia, patterns of migration by the poor have been less well-studied, with the exception of the phenomenon of French migration just mentioned. However, contemporary descriptions suggest that similar flows from mountains to plains and to the coast, and towards the cities can also be identified. The attraction of Barcelona will be discussed later. The question of seasonal migration is harder to address, but we have one source that allows us some insights into both the extent of the phenomenon and how it was perceived. This is an enquiry carried out by Francisco de Zamora in 1789 which, among other questions, asked about the importance of seasonal migration to local economies.

Zamora was a government official based for a number of years in Barcelona at the court of the *Real Audiència*, the highest level of royal justice. His enquiry was carried out with the stated aim of writing a history and geography of Catalonia, though this work never materialised. Zamora travelled round the region, keeping a diary of his travels, but also sent out a detailed questionnaire with between 140 and 185 questions to all the major towns and districts.[3] These covered various aspects of the local economy, geography, architecture, history, local customs and population. For our purposes, the questions that interest us are the following:

> Are there enough people and animals in this district for all the labour required, or is there a need for outsiders in some seasons of the year?

> Do the inhabitants leave the district at some times of the year, if so, where do they go, do they go to sell their labour or that of their livestock or to beg, and are these departures harmful or beneficial?

The questions are significant for what they reveal about attitudes to seasonal migration, particularly, the acknowledgement that it might, or might not, be a benefit to local communities. Migration is not explicitly portrayed as male here, though that might have been the assumption: other questions betray gendered expectations of work (Marfany 2012, 136). Harvest labour in other areas of Spain had included women, though there were attempts to restrict female participation over the eighteenth

century (Sarasúa 2001). Unfortunately, replies do not survive for every district and there is no complete edition of those that do.[4] Several have been published, in the form of local studies, and it is these published replies that are used here. They cover Barcelona and the surrounding district (Zamora 1973, 399–484), the Baix Llobregat district to the south of the capital (Codina et al. 1992), the Anoia (Torras Ribé 1993) and Berga (Serra Coma and Ferrer Alòs 1985) districts in central Catalonia, the towns of Olesa de Montserrat (Hernández i Cardona 2000) in the centre and Vilanova i la Geltrú (Papiol 1990) and Vilafranca del Penedès (Barba i Roca 1991) in the south and various districts in the Pyrenees (Vigo and Puig 1999; Boixareu 1989; Coll 1990; Boneta 1991; Oliver 1997; Padilla 1997). Most of the viticultural areas to the south and along the coast are thus missing, as is the relatively wealthy north-east area around Girona. However, the replies cover some of the areas of central Catalonia which saw an expansion of proto-industry over the eighteenth century, namely the Anoia and Berga districts and Olesa. There was also some rural industry and viticulture in the Baix Llobregat area. We thus have areas that might be assumed to attract migrants, as well as mountain areas that were more likely to see emigration, either permanently or during part of the year.

In general, the replies bear out this divide. All the replies from the Pyrenean parishes describe seasonal emigration, down to the harvest in Urgell and then in winter either to France or south to Barcelona, Tarragona and further afield. The inhabitants of the district of Talarn, in north-west Catalonia.

> go down to the harvest on the Urgell plains, returning in time for their own harvest. In winter, many cross to France to work, others go down to Barcelona or to the Tarragona plain, and others wander throughout the province, into Aragon and both kingdoms of Castile, begging. These departures do great damage, and delay the labour that needs to be done here. (Boixareu 1989, 66)

The inhabitants of the parish of Sorpe in the Vall d'Àneu also went 'some to France, some to Tarragona and some to the harvest in Urgell. From this, they derive great benefit' (Padilla 1997, 146). By contrast, around Barcelona and in the vine-growing districts, the replies are clear that there was no outmigration at any time of the year and, at certain times of the year, there was a need to bring in labour from outside. In Vilanova i la

Geltrú, there was a need for outsiders 'in abundance' during the grape harvest, but it was 'rare' for inhabitants to leave (Papiol 1990, 78). Similarly, in Vilafranca del Penedès, there was heavy demand for outside labour during both grain and grape harvests; by contrast, the response to the second question was the curt: 'They do not leave' (Barba i Roca 1991, 81). In the central districts, the pattern is more mixed, with some parishes needing extra labour at harvest time and to meet demand in manufacturing but also seeing some outmigration by labourers to earn extra income at harvest time elsewhere (Torras Ribé 1993, 365, 514–17). The likelihood is that those who could take advantage of differences in the timing of harvests in different areas did so, as illustrated by the example from Talarn cited above.

The replies are revealing on many levels. First is the distinction, often implicit rather than explicit, between seasonal migration as caused by insufficient employment in agriculture and seasonal migration as intrinsic to the nature of employment, that is, in fishing, or in maritime or land transport. Hence Josep Albert Navarro-Mas, Zamora's respondent for Barcelona, excludes maritime occupations from his assertion that there is no need for the inhabitants to look for work elsewhere (Zamora 1973, 462). Similarly, the replies from the villages of Calaf and Copons in the Anoia district, where the main employment for men was in land transport as carters and muleteers, taking manufactured goods such as textiles to Madrid and other Castilian markets, also drew a distinction between this kind of temporary migration for commercial purposes and seasonal migration born of poor soil quality or insufficient land (Torras Ribé 1993, 514–17). In terms of the household economy, both types of migration could be seen as 'making shift' and as fitting with the kinds of specialised migration described by Hufton. For contemporaries, however, the latter had a clear association with poverty, whereas the former could be a means of enriching communities. Zamora comments favourably on both the housing and how well-dressed women were in Copons (Zamora 1973, 264–65).

Second, and perhaps explaining why some kinds of seasonal migration were seen in this light, is the association between seasonal migration and begging: inhabitants leave to work or to beg, depending on possibilities. Some respondents are matter-of-fact in their recognition of this. The inhabitants of Son in the Vall d'Àneu 'during the time that they are away, if they do not find work, they beg' (Padilla 1997, 147). In Aramunt

> Some poor labourers who do not have enough to live on go off throughout
> the country in the winter and come back in the summer. Some go to work,
> others to beg, and this benefits the village as there is not as much poverty.
> (Coll 1990, 108)

Finally, the replies reveal mixed views on the effects of seasonal migra-
tion. As in the reply from Talarn quoted above, many felt that such
migration was detrimental to local communities, leading to neglect of
landholdings, though they were less forthcoming on how to encourage
people to stay (Vigo and Puig 1999, 61). Similar complaints are found
for France (Poitrineau 1962, 29–31, 39–40; Sarramon 1968, 76, n. 58).
Poitrineau has highlighted the mixed effects on communities, particularly
on women, of prolonged male absence (Poitrineau 1985, 56–76). Women
may perhaps have gained agency within households and communities, but
marriage markets were skewed and women often left without legal and
social protection. Zamora's correspondents unfortunately do not offer
any evidence in this regard, nor does he himself beyond the ambiguous
comment that Copons was known as 'the village of the Amazons' because
there were so few men (Zamora 1973, 264). An interesting contrast
can be drawn here with the migration of women to work as wet nurses
described by Sarasúa: the high wages Pasiega women could command in
Madrid enabled them to bring home substantial savings every two years
or so, though she does not acknowledge that their migration was perhaps
to the detriment of the infants they left behind (Sarasúa 2001, 39–40).

Many respondents, however, as in the Vall d'Àneu, saw seasonal
migration as a benefit to poor households. Regardless of whether the
inhabitants of Tírvia went to work or beg.

> These departures do more good than harm, for the households of those
> who go are saved the cost of their keep, and those who find work bring
> home on their return some money with which to buy grain for their
> families, and to pay a few debts and taxes. (Padilla 1997, 146)

Other replies were less sure of the benefits, recognising that households
might at least have one fewer mouth to feed, but expressing doubts that
seasonal migrants earned enough to bring much, if any, money home. In
Berga, harvest labour elsewhere was worth it in some years, not in others,
though the author of the replies did not say whether the same was true
of winter migration (Serra Coma and Ferrer Alòs 1985, 200).

Whatever the authorities might have thought, however, the fact that the poor did migrate suggests they viewed it as a worthwhile option, even if limited to the removal of a mouth to feed rather than a positive gain. It is also clear that such labour flows had a part to play in the agrarian economy by meeting a demand that was inevitably seasonal. The replies also suggest differences in the role of seasonal migration within economies of makeshift, with wide participation in labour flows at harvest time, but with winter migration restricted to the poorest areas and often indistinguishable from vagrancy.

Long-Term Migration Flows: The Evidence of the Barcelona Workhouse

Seasonal migration in Catalonia co-existed with other flows of labour that were of longer duration and often over longer distances, particularly to the cities. Some evidence of these flows over the last decades of the eighteenth century is revealed by the changing admissions patterns of the Barcelona workhouse. The Barcelona workhouse in fact comprised two separate institutions, housed on different sites, though with administrative overlap. One, commonly referred to as the *Hospicio*, took in men and boys over the age of about 7 (younger boys might also be admitted, but could be left with their mothers or sent to the Foundling Hospital); the other, the *Misericòrdia*, admitted women and girls. They were not the only poor relief institutions in the city but, except for the Hospital de Santa Creu, which took in foundlings, the sick and the insane, they were the only ones admitting the poor in any significant number. While in theory all the able-bodied poor were to be admitted, there was a strong preference in both policy and practice to accommodate two groups, reflecting two different attitudes towards the poor (Carasa Soto 1987, 239–50; 1991, 29–50). The first group were young, unmarried women and girls, who were seen as in need of protection. While many spent several years in the workhouse, they received education and training that allowed them to join the labour market, either as domestic servants or factory workers. Some also received dowries enabling them to marry (Carbonell-Esteller and Marfany 2017, 832–34). The second group targeted by workhouses, reflecting a more punitive attitude, were vagrants and beggars. All of those caught begging outside their parishes were to be arrested and sent to the workhouse. From 1775 the workhouse had its own police officers, who worked within the city and were sent out across the province to round up beggars. The Barcelona workhouse was supposed to take in the poor

not just from the city but from the province of Barcelona and in practice, from the whole of Catalonia.

Being housed across two sites has had the unfortunate consequence for historians that records survive in abundance for the *Misericòrdia*, including admissions registers, petitions requesting entry into and removal from the workhouse, records of diet, daily regime and so on; but to date, the sole source of any significance located for the *Hospicio*, is a single admission register for the years 1780–1803 (Arxiu General de la Diputació de Barcelona, CC 29). As a result, information on the men and boys who entered is very sparse compared to that for women and girls. The lack of petitions is particularly unlucky, as these are often much richer than the admissions registers, though it should be noted that by no means all the women and girls who entered have surviving petitions. The analysis below is based on a combination of two datasets, one for the surviving admissions register for men and boys, the other a dataset covering two admissions registers of girls and women for the period 1762–1803, which forms the basis of early work on the *Misericòrdia* by Montserrat Carbonell (Carbonell-Esteller 1993, 1997).[5] In total, our dataset includes 6176 women and girls, and 4063 men and boys.

At their most complete, the admissions registers list the names of those admitted, their ages, marital status, names of spouses if married or widowed, names of parents, place of origin, a physical description, reason for admittance and who had brought them to the workhouse. Not all information is provided for each entry. In particular, age is frequently missing. Occupations are rarely given for men, but for girls and women occupations of fathers or husbands do appear with some frequency, though by no means in all cases. Some entries also have dates of departures and readmissions, sometimes more than once, with brief notes concerning the circumstances surrounding departure and readmission e.g. 'left to be an apprentice', 'released by permission of the authorities'. For men, such circumstances are less likely to be stated than for women.

The preference on the part of the authorities for admitting girls and young women is reflected in the age structure of the workhouse population, which was heavily skewed towards younger ages, particularly in the *Misericòrdia*. From a demographic point of view, this preference is problematic, since young women are over-represented in the institution, yet were not likely to be the groups migrating in the largest numbers. Domestic service undoubtedly attracted women in from outside the city, but the women in the *Misericòrdia* were not usually coming in for the first

time after a period of domestic service, rather, they entered at younger ages and left to become servants, as mentioned, or sometimes returned to the workhouse for a second or third time between spells of domestic service.

Analysing patterns of migration based on these registers therefore requires making careful distinctions according to age, sex and other circumstances. For our purposes, migrants were all those whose place of origin in the registers was given as being outside Barcelona. 'Place of origin' is ambiguous: the phrase in Catalan *natural de* usually indicates the place of birth, but whether that was always what was understood or recorded is not clear. The timing of migration in relation to admission also varied. In other words, some individuals were being sent from their home parishes directly to the workhouse, as in the case of the four Trebons children, sent to the workhouse in 1783 from Balaguer in western Catalonia following the deaths of their parents and the inability of their elderly and poor grandmother to care for them.[6] In other cases, individuals had been resident in Barcelona for some time before entering the workhouse, as can sometimes be seen when parents and children entered together. An example is the admission in November 1790 of Antoni Fontrodona, born in Caldes de Montbui, and his son Josep, aged four and born in Barcelona. In the second case, Antoni had presumably come to the city for work, at least four years before entering the workhouse. The difficulty therefore is that it is hard to distinguish those who migrated of their own free will, in search of work or for other reasons, from those who were sent straight to the workhouse.

The period covered by the admissions registers was one of intense change in Catalonia. The changes in the economy described earlier brought rapid population growth, and periods of economic prosperity interrupted by harvest failures, war and economic blockade. Prices were rising and volatile, resulting in considerable social unrest, with food riots in 1789 in Barcelona and other towns (Delgado 1982; Vilar 1966, vol. II, 387–90, 410–18; Nogues-Marco 2001). Against a background of difficult years, 1763–1764, 1789 and 1793–1794 were particularly hard, with poor harvests and the closure of many factories in the last of these three dates. The response of the authorities to such crises was a mixture of relief and repression: cracking down on vagrants, imprisoning and executing rioters, but also running soup kitchens.

Admissions to the workhouse show a similar volatility, but also a tendency to decline overall in the final decade. Figure 10.1 shows the
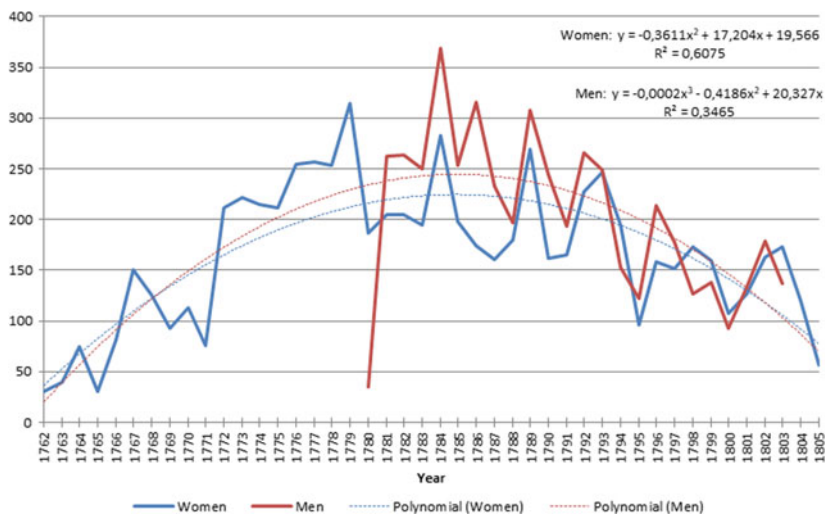
Fig. 10.1 Number of men and women entering the Hospicio each year, 1762–1805 (*Source* ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7)

numbers entering each year, including re-entries. The first years of both series, male and female, are affected by truncation bias, since re-entries by women and girls who entered for the first time before 1762 and by men and boys who entered before 1780 are not included. Instead of creating a new record, re-entries were recorded as additional notes to the first admission record. Although the crisis year of 1763–1764 is visible in the admissions of women and girls, and that of 1789 and 1793–1794 in both series, fluctuations from year to year were very much the norm. By contrast, the crisis of 1799–1802 is not as marked in admissions as might be expected. Figure 10.1 thus highlights a problem in relating admissions to economic circumstances in that the capacity of the workhouse to admit the poor was also affected by rising prices. The institution was struggling financially by the end of the eighteenth century, so much so that it made an urgent appeal in the local newspaper for donations on 25th August 1800, claiming to have only enough for another three days (*Diario de Barcelona*). While demand for relief is likely to have risen in the 1790s, therefore, the ability of the workhouse to meet this demand was reduced.

Figures 10.2 and 10.3 show admissions to the workhouse over time broken down by gender and by place of origin, whether from Barcelona
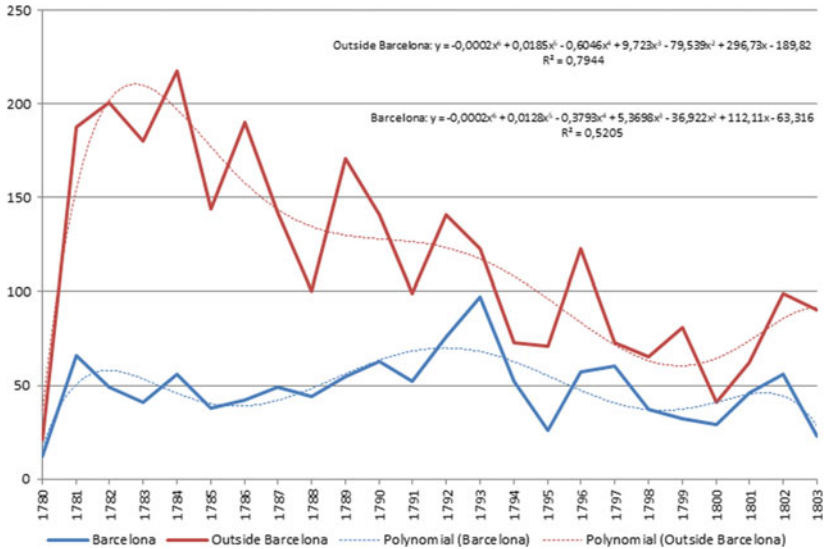
Fig. 10.2 Numbers of men and boys entering the Hospicio each year according to place of origin, 1780–1803 (*Source* ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7)

or outside. For much of the period, immigrants dominate. Overall, 71% of those admitted were from outside the city. As the graphs show, however, there were significant fluctuations from year to year, and the overall tendency for admissions to decline in the 1790s was driven largely by a decline in those coming from outside. Interestingly, the crisis of 1799–1802 saw more of an increase in admissions of outsiders than of those from the city. Additional relief was available during these years in the form of a soup kitchen. It may be that those with family in Barcelona were better able to cope outside the workhouse, making use of other forms of charity, than those from outside the city.

It would seem logical to suppose that the workhouse substituted for kin ties and other support networks where migrants were concerned. To a certain extent, the admissions bear this out, but the picture is complex. There were considerable differences in patterns of admission according to both gender and age. Table 10.1 gives the age structure of both Barcelona-born and immigrant entries, divided by gender. For
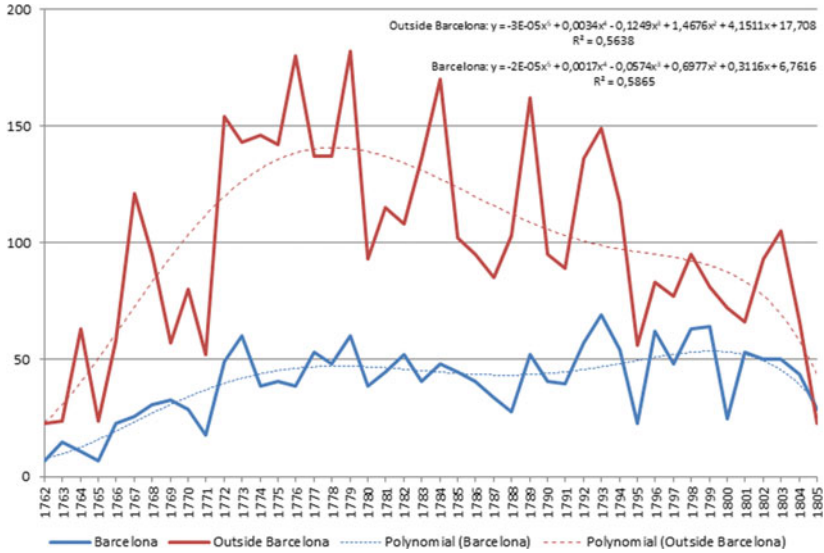
Fig. 10.3 Numbers of women and girls entering the Misericordia each year according to place of origin, 1762–1805 (*Source* ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7)

Table 10.1 Age distribution of entrants into the workhouse by gender and place of origin

Age	Women (1762–1803)				Men (1780–1803)			
	Barcelona		Outside		Barcelona		Outside	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0–9	460	21.6	727	18.0	179	15.4	285	9.8
10–15	376	17.7	750	18.5	417	35.8	587	20.3
16–49	315	14.8	843	20.8	127	10.9	540	18.6
50+	137	6.4	355	8.8	85	7.3	572	19.7
Unknown	838	39.4	1375	34.0	357	30.6	914	31.5
Total	**2126**		**4050**		**1165**		**2898**	

Source ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7

women and girls, the figures are for the longer time span of 1762–
1805, for men and boys, for 1780–1803. The weighting towards children
and adolescents is noticeable for both genders, but the age profiles of
Barcelona-born and immigrants are much more similar for women and
girls than for men and boys. In the latter case, adult men entering the
workhouse were more likely to be immigrants to the city, especially men
aged fifty and over. Table 10.2 shows for each age group, again divided by
gender, what proportion were Barcelona-born and what proportion were
from outside. Here, interestingly, the figures show that among adolescent
boys (10–15) the split was more even than for any other group. For both
genders, outsiders increasingly dominated as the age at entry increased,
more so again for men. While the workhouse did prioritise the young
regardless of origin, it seems adults in the workhouse, particularly men,
were more likely to be from outside Barcelona.

We return to the question of immigrant men later. One difference
between those from Barcelona and those from outside which is intriguing
is in the frequency of re-entries into the workhouse. Up until the age of
50, those described as from Barcelona had higher frequencies of re-entry
than those from outside. The groups with the highest frequencies were
girls and boys aged 10–15, with 1.45 and 1.43 mean entries respectively,
followed by boys under 10 with a mean of 1.41, men aged 16–49 with a
mean of 1.31, women aged 16–49 with a mean of 1.29. The highest mean
number of entries for any age group from outside Barcelona was for boys
under 10 and girls aged 10–15, both with a mean of 1.25. Table 10.3
reports a regression analysis of re-entry controlling for age, sex and origin,

Table 10.2 Proportions of each age and sex from Barcelona and from outside

Age	Women (1762–1805)		Men (1780–1803)	
	% Barcelona	% outside	% Barcelona	% outside
0–9	38.8	61.2	38.6	61.4
10–15	33.4	66.6	41.5	58.5
16–49	27.2	72.8	19.0	81.0
50+	27.8	72.2	12.9	87.1
Unknown	37.9	62.1	28.1	71.9
Total	**34.4**	**65.6**	**28.7**	**71.3**

Source ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7

Table 10.3 Coefficients regression model of re-entry into the workhouse

Model	Coefficients			T
	B	SE	Beta	
(Constant)	1.301	0.027		48.794
Boys < 10 Barcelona	0.186***	0.049	0.043	3.763
Boys < 10 outside	−0.008	0.042	−0.002	−0.190
Girls < 10 outside	−0.077*	0.034	−0.034	−2.284
Boys 10–15 Barcelona	0.192***	0.038	0.066	5.057
Girls 10–15 Barcelona	0.202***	0.039	0.066	5.166
Boys 10–15 outside	−0.054	0.035	−0.022	−1.541
Girls 10–15 outside	−0.010	0.033	−0.004	−0.296
Men 16–49 Barcelona	0.034	0.056	0.007	0.604
Women 16–49 Barcelona	0.038	0.041	0.012	0.935
Men 16–49 outside	−0.062	0.036	−0.024	−1.724
Women 16–49 outside	−0.082*	0.033	−0.040	−2.528
Men 50+ Barcelona	−0.049	0.066	−0.008	−0.735
Women 50+ Barcelona	−0.204***	0.055	−0.041	−3.727
Men 50+ outside	−0.060	0.035	−0.024	−1.703
Women 50+ outside	−0.115**	0.040	−0.037	−2.898
1792–1803	−0.164***	0.013	−0.135	−12.579

Note Reference is 'Girls aged under 10 from Barcelona' and '1780–91'
* = significant at 5% confidence level, ** = significant at 1%, *** = significant at 0.1%

compared with girls aged under 10 from Barcelona. To keep the figures comparable, only the admissions registers for 1780–1803 are included.

Re-entry was most significant for those aged 10–15 at first entry and from Barcelona. That it was those from Barcelona who moved in and out of the workhouse with greater frequency seems surprising in the light of the previous discussion. We might expect those from outside, with kin perhaps at a greater distance, to be in more danger of needing to return to the workhouse if dismissed from service, running away from an apprenticeship or losing a job. What the regression results suggest is that, for Barcelona families, the workhouse was a permanent source of poor relief to be used as a temporary measure to deal with short-term crises. Our previous research showed that it was also used as an alternative to apprenticeship, providing training for the labour market for both sexes (Carbonell-Esteller and Marfany 2017, 831–33; Alonso and Rodríguez 2003). By contrast, for outsiders the workhouse might be a temporary source of relief if they were passing through the city or had been arrested

for begging. Moreover, children from outside Barcelona were more likely to be sent to the workhouse as a last resort or were perhaps harder to reclaim at a distance. In the example of the Trebons family above, three of the four children were reclaimed by their eldest brother, but only after nine years, once he had established himself as head of a household. Even then, he came to the workhouse with a letter of support from a priest. Barcelona families might be better placed to convince the authorities that they were in a position to care for dependents once again. In terms of the economy of makeshifts, therefore, the workhouse might represent a different option for migrants compared with the Barcelona-born.

For many of the younger age groups, it is hard to see their journey from their place of origin to the workhouse as fitting with the kind of purposeful migration described at the start of the paper. For their parents, however, and for the older age groups, it is clear that they arrived in Barcelona not because of the pull of the workhouse but because of the pull of the urban labour market. This is most clear when considering occupations and the main areas from which they came. Figure 10.4 gives the
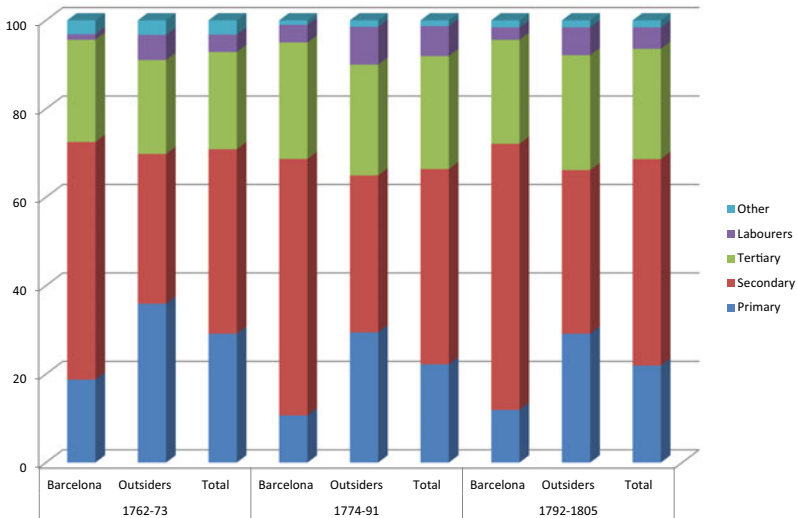
Fig. 10.4 Comparison of occupations between Barcelona-born and immigrant entrants into the workhouse, 1762–1805 (*Source* ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7)

breakdown over time for occupational backgrounds according to a place of origin, whether Barcelona or outside. This time ages and sexes have been combined. Very few entries for men and boys, only 79, provided any occupational information. Figure 10.4 is thus based almost entirely on the occupations recorded for the fathers or husbands of girls and women. Overall, there are 2711 records with occupational information. Occupations have been grouped into the primary sector (agriculture and fishing), secondary (manufactures, building, other crafts), tertiary (shopkeepers, merchants, liberal professions, the army) and a miscellaneous 'others' group. We separated out those described simply as 'labourer' (*jornalero* or *treballador*), labels which usually denoted unskilled general labour in either agriculture or in the secondary sector, since one hypothesis might be both that such unskilled labour would be prominent in the workhouse, and especially among migrants.

As might be expected, the primary sector, mostly agriculture, was more evident among those from outside Barcelona. However, it was only the majority sector in the first period, 1762–1773 and even then, only just, accounting for 36% of occupations compared with 34% for the secondary sector. From then on, the secondary sector was dominant among Barcelona-born and immigrants alike. This dominance reflected above all the growth of the textile industry, which by 1792–1805 accounted for 26% of the total occupational sample, but also the vulnerability of those employed in this sector to the many downturns in demand and production over the period. Unskilled labour featured surprisingly little among the workhouse population, unless we assume that the majority of those with no occupational label fell into that category. Nonetheless, it is still striking that there is little difference here between Barcelona-born and immigrants.

What the occupational figures reflect, therefore, is the demand for skilled labour in Barcelona that pulled in migrants with those skills. Migration to the city was not a universal strategy among the poor of Catalonia. Rather, it tended to be those with particular skills, who could benefit from the work opportunities and higher wages on offer, who moved. While the occupations are largely those of the men to whom female migrants were related, rather than the occupations of the women and girls themselves, it is reasonable to suppose that they had acquired the same skills alongside the men, or had other skills, such as spinning for which there was a high level of demand in the city. This fits with what we know both about proto-industry in the countryside and about wages in the city during

this period. The expansion of proto-industry in rural areas allowed the poor, especially women and children, to earn higher wages and potentially to combine these earnings with smallholdings. As such, it could be a means of retaining individuals and families who might otherwise have emigrated, and might draw others in (Page Moch 1992, 70–76; 1996, 121–23; Marfany 2012, 106–109; Braun 1990, 14–16, 34; Hudson and King 2000, 716–17, 735). Out migration from proto-industrial areas may therefore appear surprising. However, the creation in this case of what Jaume Torras has termed a 'proto-industrial district' was characterised in part by the ability of manufacturers to attract or 'poach' skilled labour from neighbouring locations (Torras 1984). Textile wages in the countryside were higher than agricultural wages, but wages in Barcelona were higher still, making the city the ultimate destination for those with the relevant skills (Mora-Sitjà 2007; Tello et al. 1999). Moreover, manufactures were often short-lived, resulting in patterns of frequent mobility in search of employment and increased vulnerability to poverty.

The evidence from the sample of occupational data is bolstered by a closer analysis of the place of origin. Here, where possible, places of origin were grouped first at the level of the administrative district (*comarca*).[7] The numbers for districts were too small for meaningful change over time to be detected, so the *comarques* were regrouped into larger areas corresponding to different local economies: a north-west area that covered much of the Pyrenees and the area of seasonal outmigration identified earlier in the responses to Zamora; a relatively prosperous north-east area around Girona and down the coast to the Maresme, which combined agriculture with fishing and cork manufacture; a central proto-industrial area also discussed above; a poorer western area mainly given to cereal production; and a southern viticultural area represented in the responses to Zamora by Vilanova i la Geltrú and Vilafranca del Penedès, but extending down to Tarragona and Tortosa (see Map 10.1). Immigrants from outside Catalonia, mostly from elsewhere in Spain or France, though a few came from further afield, were grouped together. Table 10.4 gives the breakdown of places of origin, restricted to 1780 onwards to allow for comparison between women and men.

The breakdown confirms the picture from the occupational data, namely, the predominance of the central proto-industrial district, which accounted for over a third of all places of origin, with very little change over time. In part, this was the effect of distance, since this area included all but one of the districts neighbouring Barcelona. Similarly, the main
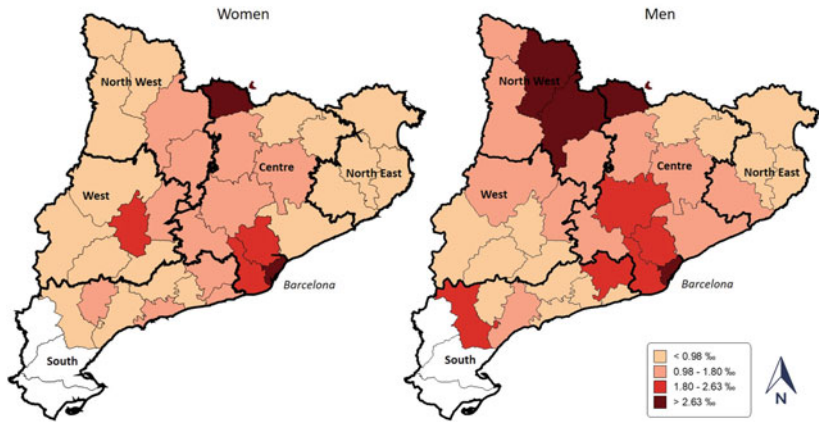
Map 10.1 Origin of inmates weighted by the county population (*comarca*), 1785–1789

Table 10.4 Origins of immigrants into the Barcelona workhouse, 1780–1803

	Women				Men			
	1780–1791		1792–1803		1780–1791		1792–1803	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
North-west	79	6.4	87	8.3	172	10.5	124	12.9
West	175	14.2	95	9.1	162	9.9	94	9.8
South	220	17.8	187	17.8	251	15.4	94	9.8
Centre	485	39.3	425	40.5	593	36.3	375	38.9
North-east	168	13.6	163	15.5	178	10.9	132	13.7
Outside Catalonia	107	8.7	92	8.8	276	16.9	144	15.0
Total	**1234**		**1049**		**1632**		**963**	

Source ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7

difference between the sexes was that women came from shorter distances than men. Migration was not a straightforward question of distance, however, since otherwise we would expect to see fewer immigrants coming from outside Catalonia than from within the region. Moreover, as our previous research shows, the districts of Bages and Osona contributed more to the workhouse population than the districts closest to the city.

These two were among the districts with the highest concentrations of textile manufacturing.

Occupation and place of origin combined are available for a smaller sample of 867 immigrants, again, mostly women and girls. The absolute numbers are given in Table 10.5. Once again, the effect of distance is notable in that large numbers from all occupational sectors are drawn in from the central zone. However, areas further away with less manufacturing also show a slight preponderance of immigrants from the manufacturing sector, suggesting that individuals with those skills were more likely to end up in Barcelona regardless of which part of Catalonia they came from. The exception was among those from outside Catalonia, around half of whom were from the tertiary sector. The explanation here is that most of these were soldiers, or the daughters, wives and widows of soldiers.

Not all those migrants captured by the admissions registers fall into this category of skilled labour drawn in from particular areas. A small but striking cluster is to be found among male immigrants over 50. As noted above, they are prominent among male migrants as a whole, more so than the equivalent age group for Barcelona-born men and for all women. Previous research showed that a high proportion of them were married, yet their wives did not enter the workhouse with them (Carbonell-Esteller and Marfany 2017, 829–30). Looking at their places of origin reveals that a high proportion also came from long distances, including 16% from France, areas of Spain beyond Catalonia and further abroad. Just over 10% came from the north-west area of the Pyrenees, represented

Table 10.5 Numbers of immigrants by area of origin and occupational sector

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Labourers	Others	Total
North-west	14	19	15	1	1	50
West	13	15	17	6	0	51
South	46	46	38	5	2	137
Centre	127	146	44	23	4	344
North-east	44	53	30	18	3	148
Outside Catalonia	10	37	84	2	4	137
Total	254	316	228	55	14	867

Source ADGB, CC 29; AHCMB, ARM3, P5, vols. 6 and 7

in the replies to Zamora as an area with substantial seasonal and temporary migration. Men aged 50 and over made up 20% of immigrants from this north-west area of Catalonia and, even more strikingly, 22% of those from outside Catalonia. In their case, seasonal or temporary migration may have become permanent once they found themselves too far from home to return or were prevented from doing so by being forced into the workhouse. Being married might suggest that these were men who either left their mountain villages originally intending to return or who abandoned wives and children in search of better prospects elsewhere. Sarasúa describes active intervention by the authorities to force married male migrants working in the Cádiz dockyards to return to their families once every three years and to send wages home in the meantime (Sarasúa 2001, 46–50). Many arrived in the workhouse having been arrested for begging, like Joaquím Pons, from Talarn, who first entered the workhouse on 23rd March 1782 aged 66, only to leave and re-enter another two times, the second time also for begging, the third by order of the authorities. Ultimately, theirs was a failure to make shift by migrating, but perhaps only in old age. Prior to that, they might have sustained themselves over the course of a wandering existence, or had been settled for a time somewhere along the way. They reveal the difficulties in attempting to capture the migrant experience. Through Zamora's descriptions, we can reconstruct the circumstances that induced them to leave, and from the workhouse records, we can see their arrival, at the end of their lives. What happened to them along the way, what experiences they had and how purposeful or otherwise their movements, cannot be reconstructed.

Conclusion

Migration was an important aspect of the lives of the poor in early modern Europe, and without such movement, many labour markets would not have functioned. Capturing migration flows and the experiences of the poor is not easy. Migration took many forms: seasonal, temporary and permanent, though drawing the lines between these is often impossible. Similarly, distances varied, as did the reasons for migrating. Age and gender played key roles. As the introduction to this paper highlighted, poverty was both a reason for migration but could also be exacerbated by it. This paper has offered some preliminary thoughts on these questions for late eighteenth-century Catalonia, combining the qualitative discussion of seasonal migration patterns drawn from the inquiries of Francisco

de Zamora with a quantitative analysis of the admissions registers of the Barcelona workhouse.

Seasonal migration followed established patterns similar to those identified elsewhere in Europe, with flows from mountain districts to the plain. However, the replies reveal interesting distinctions between flows of harvest labour or transport of goods by land or sea, generally accepted as necessary and beneficial, and migration over the winter months, viewed as more desperate and likely to take the form of begging rather than labour. The workhouse records reveal a different kind of migration. In part, the nature of the institution as catering primarily for children and adolescents, particularly girls, distorts the picture here. Not all migrants are equally represented within the workhouse population. Moreover, as economic circumstances worsened, the capacity of the workhouse to offer relief diminished and the numbers admitted, particularly from outside the city, fell. Nonetheless, the information provided by the registers allows us to identify different groups within the workhouse and distinguish the different use of the institution by migrants compared with those from Barcelona. While the age structure of the workhouse population was biased towards younger ages, men over 50 were a significant group among the immigrants. A surprising finding was that adolescents from Barcelona had the highest frequency of re-entry into the workhouse, more than outsiders. We interpreted this to mean that Barcelona families made a different, more strategic use of the workhouse to weather short-term crises and to provide training for the labour market, whereas those from outside either used the workhouse as a last resort or found it harder to reclaim family members.

Most significantly, the analysis of occupational sectors and place of origin confirmed previous findings that suggested the workhouse reflected the demand for skilled labour in Barcelona, particularly in textile manufacturing. The secondary sector was dominant among migrants as well as those born in the city. Very few described themselves as unskilled labourers, even though a priori these might be the category most likely to end up in the workhouse. Overwhelmingly, migrants were drawn from the central proto-industrial district of Catalonia. This was partly the effect of distance, but more the result of migrants having acquired skills in rural textile manufacturing. The occupational patterns fit with what we know of wages in Barcelona and also the volatility of the textile sector: wages were rising after 1791, as were prices, but there were frequent closures of factories as war and economic blockade took effect. Those who migrated,

men and women, were skilled workers who, while they probably were poor, may not have been the poorest in their place of origin. They had some chance of improving their economic situation, but ending up in a poor relief institution shows that they did not always manage to do so.

Looking at older male migrants, however, serves as a useful reminder that the patterns of migration identified in this paper were not entirely separate. A significant number of the men over 50 who, in turn, were a significant group within the workhouse population, had come from further afield. They fitted more with the migration flows described in the first part of the paper, coming down from France and the poorer Pyrenean districts. They were more likely to be the poorest in their home parishes. Theirs was in all likelihood a journey that had begun as seasonal or temporary migration, only to end up further and further away from home, away from kin and frequently begging on the streets. In their case, migration increased their vulnerability to poverty and the chances of ending up in the workhouse in old age, but poverty and being forced into the workhouse made their temporary sojourn a permanent one.

NOTES

1. For a critical reassessment of this view, however, see (Green 2012).
2. Despite the male pronouns, Hufton does discuss female migration, and also recognises the role of the textile industry alongside domestic service in attracting female migrants. See (Hufton 1974, 26–33).
3. The number of questions varies from manuscript to manuscript.
4. The originals are in the Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid. Aside from the published replies that are used here, the archive catalogue identifies replies

from the Cervera, Vic and Manresa districts. In some cases, the published replies are based not on the originals in Madrid but on copies in local archives.

5. The original admissions registers are in Arxiu Històric de la Casa de Misericòrdia de Barcelona (AHCMB), ARM3, P5, Vol. 6, *Entradas y salidas del año 1769* and Vol. 7, *Llibre de Donas de entradas y eixidas de Real Ospici de la present ciutat de Barna comensant en lo any 1790*. Some of the petitions are analysed in (Carbonell-Esteller and Marfany 2017, 826–7, 829–31).

6. AHCMB, ARM 2, P5, C3, Exp. 83.

7. Not all places of origin could be identified, either because names were illegible, or there was more than one locality with the same name, common when places were given simply as e.g. Sant Martí.

REFERENCES

Alonso, Anna, and Lluisa Rodríguez. 2003. "Beneficència il.lustrada i iniciatives econòmiques a la Casa de Misericòrdia de Barcelona al llarg de la segona meitat del segle XVIII" [Enlightened Welfare and Economic Initiatives in the Misericòrdia Workhouse of Barcelona During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century]. *Pedralbes* 23: 797–824.

Amengual-Biblioni, Miquel, and Joana-Maria Pujadas-Mora. 2017. "Orígens i destins de la immigració francesa a l'àrea de Barcelona (1481–1643): Aportacions a partir de la Barcelona Historical Marriage Database" [Places of Origin and Destination of French Immigrants in the Barcelona Area (1481–1643): Findings from the Barcelona Historical Marriage Database]. *Manuscrits: Revista d'Història Moderna* 34: 35–61.

Baines, Dudley. 1995. *Emigration from Europe 1815–1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barba i Roca, Manuel. 1991. *El corregiment i partit judicial de Vilafranca del Penedès a l'últim terç del segle XVIII: Respostes al qüestionari de Francisco de Zamora de Manuel Barba i Roca* [The Administrative and Judicial District of Vilafranca del Penedès in the Last Third of the Eighteenth Century: Manuel Barba i Roca's Replies to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora]. Vilafranca del Penedès: Museu de Vilafranca.

Boixareu, Ramon, ed. 1989. *Resposta del corregiment de Talarn al qüestionari de Francisco de Zamora (1789)* [Replies by the Administrative District of Talarn to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora]. Lleida: Pagès.

Boneta, Martí, ed. 1991. *Respostes de la vall de Cabdella al qüestionari de Francisco de Zamora (1790)* [Replies from the Villages of the Cabdella Valley to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora]. Lleida: Pagès.

Braun, Rudolf. 1990. *Industrialization and Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brea-Martínez, Gabriel, and Joana-Maria Pujadas-Mora. 2018. "Transformación y desigualdad económica en la industrialización en el área de Barcelona, 1715–1860" [Economic Transformations and Inequality During Industrialization in the Barcelona Area, 1715–1860]. *Revista de Historia Económica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 36 (2): 241–273.

Brettell, Caroline. 1986. *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Camps, Enriqueta. 1995. *La formación del mercado del trabajo industrial en la Cataluña del siglo XIX* [The Formation of the Industrial Labour Market in Nineteenth-Century Catalonia]. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo.

Carasa Soto, Pedro. 1987. *Pauperismo y revolución burguesa (Burgos, 1750–1900).* Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid [Poverty and Bourgeois Revolution (Burgos, 1750–1900)].

Carasa Soto, Pedro. 1991. *Historia de la beneficiencia en Castilla y León: Poder y pobreza en la sociedad castellana* [A History of Welfare in Castille and Leon. Power and Poverty in Castilian Society]. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid.

Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat 1993. "Pobresa i estratègies de supervivencia a la Barcelona del set-cents" [Poverty and Survival Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Barcelona]. PhD thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat. 1997. *Sobreviure a Barcelona: Dones, pobresa i assistència al segle XVIII* [Surviving in Barcelona: Women, Poverty and Poor Relief in the Eighteenth Century]. Vic: Eumo.

Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, and Julie Marfany. 2017. "Gender, Life Cycle and Family 'Strategies' Among the Poor: Barcelona, 1762–1803." *Economic History Review* 70: 810–36.

Codina, Jaume, Josep Moran, and Mercè Renom, eds. 1992. *El Baix Llobregat el 1789: Respostes al qüestionari de Francisco de Zamora.* [The Baix Llobregat District in 1789: Replies to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora]. Barcelona: Curial/Abadia de Montserrat.

Coll, Pep, ed. 1990. *Respostes d'Aramunt, Erinyà, Pessonada, Rivert, Sant Martí de Canals, Serradell, Sossís, Toralla i Torallola al qüestionari de Francisco de Zamora (1790)* [Replies to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora (1790) by the Villages of Aramunt, Erinyà, Pessonada, Rivert, Sant Martí de Canals, Serradell, Sossís, Toralla and Torallola]. Lleida: Pagès.

Delgado, J. M. 1982. "El impacto de las crisis coloniales en la economia catalana (1787–1807)" [The Impact of the Colonial Crises on the Catalan Economy (1787–1807)]. In *La economia española al final del Antiguo Régimen*, edited by Josep Fontana, vol. III, 99–169. Madrid: Alianza.

Eiras Roel, A. 1994. "Estructura demográfica, diversidad regional y tendencias migratorias de la población española a finales del Antiguo Régimen" [Population Structures, Regional Diversity and Migration Patterns in Spain at the End of the *ancien régime*]. In *Le migrazioni in Europa secc: XIII–XVIII*, edited by Simonetta Cavaciocchi, 199–231. Prato: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica F. Datini.

Fontaine, Laurence. 1993. *Histoire du colportage en Europe XVe–XIXe siècle* [A History of Peddlars in Europe, Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries]. Paris: Albin Michel.

Green, Nancy L. 2012. "Changing Paradigms in Migration Studies: From Men and Women to Gender". *Gender and History* 24 (3): 782–98.

Gutton, J. P. 1978. *La société et les pauvres: L'exemple de la généralité de Lyon 1534–1789* [Society and the Poor: The Example of the Lyons Region, 1534–1789]. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Healey, Jonathan. 2014. *The First Century of Welfare: Poverty and Poor Relief in Lancashire, 1620–1730*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.

Hernández i Cardona, Àngel M. 2000. *Olesa al final del segle XVIII segons les respostes de Joan Boada al qüestionari de Zamora* [Olesa at the End of the Eighteenth Century from the Replies of Joan Boada to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora]. Olesa: Abadia de Montserrat.

Hudson, Pat, and Steve King 2000. "Two Textile Townships, c.1660–1820: A Comparative Demographic Analysis." *Economic History Review* 53: 706–41.

Hufton, Olwen. 1974. *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750–1789*. Oxford: Clarendon.

King, Steven, and Anne Winter, eds. 2013. *Migration, Settlement and Belonging in Europe, 1500–1930s*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

Lucassen, Jan. 1987. *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1600–1900*. London: Croom Helm.

Marfany, Julie. 2012. *Land, Proto-Industry and Population in Catalonia, c.1680–1829: An Alternative Transition to Capitalism?* Farham: Ashgate.

Mateos Royo, José Antonio. 2013. "Fiscal State, Regional Institutions and Foreign Migratory Policy in Times of Decline: French Immigrants in Aragon, 1635–1697." *Continuity and Change* 28 (3): 347–75.

Maza Zorrilla, Elena. 1987. *Pobreza y asistencia social en España, siglos XVI al XX: Aproximación histórica* [Poverty and Welfare in Spain, Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries]. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid.

Mora-Sitjà, Natàlia 2007. "Labour Market Integration in a Pre-Industrial Economy: Catalonia, 1772–1816." *Oxford Economic Papers* 59, supplement 1: 156–177.

Nadal, Jordi, and Emili Giralt. 2000. *Immigració i redreç demogràfic: Els francesos a la Catalunya dels segles XVI i XVII* [Immigration and Demographic Recovery: French Migrants in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Catalonia]. Vic: Eumo.

Nogués Marco, Pilar. 2001. "Evolucion del nivel de precios al consumo en Barcelona durante el periodo 1775–1844" [Trends in the Consumer Price Index in Barcelona, 1775–1844]. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Barcelona.

Norberg, Kathryn. 1985. *Rich and Poor in Grenoble, 1600–1814.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Oliver, Jaume, ed. 1997. *Respostes de la Coma de Burg, Tírvia i la Vall Ferrera al qüestionari de Francisco de Zamora (1789–1790)* [Replies by the Villages of Coma de Burg, Tírvia and Vall Ferrera to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora]. Tremp: Garsineu.

Padilla, José I., ed. 1997. *Respostes de la Vall d'Àneu als qüestionaris de Francisco de Zamora (1790)* [Replies by the Villages of the Àneu Valley to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora]. Tremp: Garsineu.

Page Moch, Leslie. 1992. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Page Moch, Leslie. 1996. "The European Perspective: Changing Conditions and Multiple Migrations, 1750–1914." In *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives,* edited by Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch, 115–140. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Papiol, Francesc. 1990. *Resposta de Francesc Papiol al Qüestionari de Francisco de Zamora: Vilanova i la Geltrú 1790* [Replies by Francesc Papiol to the Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora: Vilanova i la Geltrú in 1790]. Edited by Joan Orriols. Vilanova i la Geltrú: Ajuntament.

Poitrineau, Abel. 1962. "Aspects de l'émigration temporaire et saisonnière en Auvergne a la fin du XVIIIe et au début du XIXe siècle" [Aspects of Temporary and Seasonal Migration in Auvergne at the End of the Eighteenth and Beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries]. *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 9 (1): 5–50.

Poitrineau, Abel. 1985. *Les Espagnols de l'Auvergne et du Limousin du XVIIIe au XIXe siècle* [The Spaniards of the Auvergne and Limousin from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries]. Aurillac: Malroux-Mazel.

Sánchez Suárez, A. 1993. "Les activitats econòmiques a Barcelona (1717–1833)" [Economic Activities in Barcelona (1717–1833)]. In *Història de Barcelona: El desplegament de la ciutat manufacturera*, edited by J. Sobrequés Callicó, 217–265. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana.

Sarasúa, Carmen. 1994. *Criados, nodrizas y amos: El servicio doméstico en la formación del mercado de trabajo madrileño, 1758–1868* [Servants, Wetnurses and Masters: Domestic Service and the Formation of the Labour Market in Madrid, 1758–1868]. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno.

Sarasúa, Carmen. 1998. "Understanding Intra-Family Inequalities: The Montes de Pas, Spain, 1700–1900." *History of the Family* 3 (2): 173–97.

Sarasúa, Carmen. 2001. "Leaving Home to Help the Family? Male and Female Temporary Migrants in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Spain." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives,* edited by Pamela Sharpe, 29–59. London: Routledge.

Sarramon, Armand, ed. 1968. *Les paroisses du diocèse de Comminges en 1786* [The Parishes of the Comminges Diocese in 1786]. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale.

Serra Coma, Roser, and Llorenç Ferrer Alòs, eds. 1985. "Un questionari de Francisco de Zamora (1789)" [An Enquiry by Francisco de Zamora (1789)]. *Estudis d'Història Agrària* 5: 159–207.

Sharpe, Pamela. 2001. "Introduction: Gender and the Experiences of Migration." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives,* edited by Pamela Sharpe, 1–14. London: Routledge.

Slack, Paul. 1974. "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598–1664." *Economic History Review* 27: 360–79.

Solar, Peter. 1995. "Poor Relief and English Economic Development Before the Industrial Revolution." *Economic History Review* 48: 1–22.

Tello, Enric, Ramon Garrabou, and Albert Roca. 1999. 'Preus del blat i salaris agrícoles a Catalunya (1720–1936)" [Grain Prices and Agricultural Wages in Catalonia (1720–1936)]. In *La industrialització i el desenvolupament econòmic d'Espanya. Homenatge al Dr. Jordi Nadal*, edited by Miquel Gutiérrez, 422–60, vol. 2. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2 vols.

Thomson, James K. J. 1992. *A Distinctive Industrialization: Cotton in Barcelona 1728–1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Torras, Jaume. 1984. "Especialización agrícola e industria rural en Cataluña en el siglo XVIII" [Agrarian Specialisation and Rural Industry in Eighteenth-Century Catalonia]. *Revista de historia económica* 2: 113–27.

Torras Ribé, Josep Maria. 1993. *La comarca de l'Anoia a finals del segle XVIII: Els "questionaris" de Francisco de Zamora i altres descripcions (1770–1797).* [The Anoia District at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Francisco de Zamora's Enquiry and Other Descriptions (1770–1797)]. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat.

Valls Junyent, Francesc. 2003. *La Catalunya atlàntida.* [Catalonia in the Atlantic World]. Vic: Eumo.

Vigo, Salvador, and Xavier Puig. 1999. *La Cerdanya de finals del segle XVIII vista per Francisco de Zamora* [The Cerdanya District at the End of the Eighteenth Century, as Seen by Francisco de Zamora]. Tremp: Garsineu.

Vilar, Pierre. 1966. *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne* [Catalonia Within Modern Spain]. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N.

Winter, Anne, and Thijs Lambrecht. 2013. "Migration, Poor Relief and Local Autonomy: Settlement Policies in England and the Southern Low Countries in the Eighteenth Century." *Past and Present* 218: 91–126.

Zamora, Francisco de. 1973. *Diario de los viajes hechos por Cataluña* [Diary of the Travels Through Catalonia of Francisco de Zamora]. Edited by Ramon Boixareu. Barcelona: Curial.

French Migrant Women as Educators in Napoleonic Northern Italy (1804–1814)

Elisa Baccini

Abbreviations

ASBo   Archivio di Stato di Bologna (National Archives of Bologna)
ASCB   Archivio Storico Comunale di Bologna (Municipal Historical Archives of Bologna)
ASMi   Archivio di Stato di Milano (National Archives of Milan)

This article aims to investigate the paths of some French women migrants who settled in northern Italy during the Napoleonic era and opened or were employed in secular and private houses of education for girls. The timeframe and geographical area of reference is the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1805–1814), which more or less corresponds to the current regions of Lombardy, Veneto and Emilia-Romagna.[1] More specifically,

E. Baccini (✉)
University of Pisa, Pisa, Italy
e-mail: elisabaccini89@gmail.com

355

particular attention will be afforded to Bologna and to the capital of the Kingdom, Milan, the city that eventually became the centre that attracted the largest share of French migrants in Italy (Pillepich 2001). Prior to delving into the discussion, a few premises are in order. First of all, if Italian migration to France, and especially migration for political reasons, has been widely studied (Rao 1992), French migration to Italy after the Revolution of 1789 remains an uncharted theme (Greer 1951). Moreover, the few studies on this topic for other European countries focus on the migration of the nobility leaving revolutionary France (Höpel 2000; Dunne 2001), without considering migrants from the (usually lower) middle-class who left their country in search of fortune in the new territories of the enlarged France or the organisational migrants as administrators and soldiers, which have become the focus of new strands of migration studies (Lucassen and Smit 2015).

In this article I have reconstructed the life path of about fifteen women taking into account on the one hand, the events leading to their migration to Italy, and on the other, their often conflictual relationship with the local institutions. French women who emigrated to northern Italy and found employment in the educational sector have been studied in relation to the history of women's education and educational institutions (Bianchi 2008), but their importance has been neglected in studies of female labour migration and high-skilled migration. During the Napoleonic era a relevant number of women migrated to Italy from France and from other European countries. Certainly many women moved with their families, following husbands and sons employed in the Napoleonic administration or the imperial army, yet this does not mean that they failed to enter the labour market in the new environment or that they never gave their contribution in planning migration and settling down in the place of arrival. Recent studies have shown that archival sources and records largely underestimate the presence of women, whether migrant or not, in the labour market (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012). By focusing on French women who moved to northern Italy during Napoleonic domination, the present article intends to shed light on a relatively small but representative portion of these female migrants who moved with their families or arrived autonomously in search of fresh opportunities, and entered the labour market. Since 1804, these women, were active in founding private houses of education for girls modelled on the *maisons d'éducation* established in France in the late eighteenth century (Tatulli 2013, 177).

The reconstruction of their migration and settlement paths is based on various archival sources. For what concerns Milan, I have exploited documents exchanged between French women and the General Direction of Public Education (*Direzione generale della Pubblica Istruzione*), a detachment of the Ministry of the Interior of the Kingdom of Italy, now preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Milan. This documentation, analysed for the years 1804–1814, has come down to us thanks to the fact that all those who wanted to open a private school had to ask the permission of the Government. Furthermore, as we shall see, a large part of the source material refers to requests for financial aid that these women often made to the Government. For Bologna the documentation is more composite, since it is based on the reserved section of the Prefecture of the Department of the Reno (*Prefettura del Dipartimento del Reno*), on the correspondence of the Prefect of the department (both preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Bologna) and the letters of the *Podestà* (mayor) of Bologna, preserved at the Municipal Historical Archive (*Archivio Storico Comunale*). I also consulted the periodicals of the time, which are scarce in number, so as to cross-reference and complement information gathered from archival sources. For Milan I analysed the two political newspapers of the city, the *Giornale Italiano* and the *Corriere Milanese*, as well as the most widely read women's periodical of the Kingdom of Italy of the time, the *Corriere delle Dame*, which, however, reported specific advertisements mainly for the city of Milan, where it was published. For Bologna I analysed the only political periodical printed in the city, the *Redattore del Reno*.

Before delving into the discussion proper, it is important to highlight the reasons for the expansion of the female secular education sector based on the French model. First of all, Italy followed into France's footsteps when it comes to the closure of the convents and the abolition of the male and female monastic orders, the latter of which traditionally monopolised female education during the *ancien régime*. As a consequence, the only sector in Italy which provided education for young middle and upper-class girls—religious boarding schools called *educandati*—completely disappeared, which entailed a strong demand for establishments that could cater for the education of girls. The other reason is that during the Napoleonic era in Italy important cultural policies for the francisation of Italian society were enacted (Broers 2005). These policies, and more in general the influence of French culture among the Italian elites, triggered the transformation of the Italian educational model increasingly inclined

towards the French one, in which the *maisons d'éducation* played a leading role. Moreover, this model of education was acknowledged by the French government of the Kingdom of Italy which often promoted and supported many of the larger lay institutions for the education of girls that were being opened. These institutions were reserved for the daughters of the political and military elite of the Napoleonic government in Italy, thus excluding many girls from well-to-do families who as a consequence started to look for these kind of institutions within the private sector. For example, the *Collegio Reale delle fanciulle* in Milan was founded at the initiative of the Emperor decreed the opening from the French castle of S. Cloud. In order to run the institution, the head mistress, the French Caroline Delort—appointed by a vice-royal decree dated January 21, 1809—the main female teacher and some female educators were called directly by the government from other French institutes.[2] The *Collegio Reale* was an institute of excellence which mainly admitted the daughters of officials and soldiers who served the Kingdom of Italy.

The successful *Collegio* of Lodi was organised on the model of the *Collegio Reale*, to whose direction was appointed Mary Cosway, upon proposal of the Duke of Lodi, Francesco Melzi d'Eril, former Vice-President of the Italian Republic who had, by the time, retired from the political scene.[3] Mary Cosway was born in Florence to English parents (her maiden name was Hadfield), and married the English painter Richard Cosway (Gipponi 1998). It was Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Joseph Fesch, who called Cosway to head a boarding school for young girls in Lyon in 1803, where she remained until she was offered the position in Lodi (Bianchi 1998). The *Collegio* in Lodi opened in the early months of 1812, once the syllabi had been defined and the governesses chosen, the most prominent of whom were the French Joanne Lambreaux and Anne Proudhon, who came from Lyon along with Cosway. These women were called to Italy by the government of the Kingdom, many of them were unmarried and came from religious orders suppressed in France (for example Caroline Delort was a former canoness, originally from Strasbourg). Even though many of the educators were religious women, my study will focus specifically on lay women who emigrated with their families and founded and managed a number *maisons d'éducation* in Milan and Bologna. These lay women came from a different educational background than that of their religious counterparts; they were able to establish relationships with the French community and participated in the

social life of the cities where they settled: it is for these reasons that they provide a vivid example of the role of the personal initiative of women in migration.

Girls' Schools in Milan: A Few Patterns

Almost immediately the Napoleonic government expressed interest in remodelling female education in Italy. Milan, the capital of the Kingdom, saw the greatest development of these institutions, as well as the greatest attention, support and control by the Government: a large number of private schools for girls were founded in the city from 1804 and throughout the Napoleonic years until 1814 (and beyond). These schools were run by French women of all social classes who came to Italy to look for work or together with their husbands or relatives. They were trying to start a new life in the hopes that their French origin would give them an advantage and endow them with a privileged position. Houses of education flourished: the success of the French educational model and the suppression of religious orders, as mentioned above, entailed increased demand for this type of educational establishments, which had to be catered for. Furthermore, the Napoleonic government, not only sponsored directly some institutes, but it also sustained indirectly women who were interested in opening and running private houses on their own account. These women stood out because of the diversity of their social condition, educational and personal paths. Some of these women came to Italy with the intention of dedicating themselves to female education, others, lacked completely experience in the field and reinvented themselves as teachers after a period of economic difficulty or in an attempt to enrich themselves by taking advantage of the opportunities offered by a sector in staggering expansion. As a matter of fact, they succeeded in securing a kind of monopoly at a local level thanks to the extraordinary advantage given by their common French origin and their mastery of what was universally considered the language of the European elite.

Elisabetta Perillier was the first one to open a house in Milan. She had come to the city with her husband, the soldier Pradel, and her daughter. She lost her husband in 1803, and after being employed as a servant for some time, in 1804 she decided to take advantage of her education and begin the process to open a school. On April 11 of that same year, the Minister of the Interior, Vaccari, accepted her request, specifying,

however 'that in the act of granting the citizen Perrilier this permission, the Government does not intend to likewise grant her any favour, rescue, or guarantee at the moment; this cannot be done until it becomes clear that the outcome of the establishment she envisions fully correspond to the views of the Government'.[4] Consequently, Vaccari postponed any possible government aid: it would be granted only on the condition that once the house became active, it fulfilled the government's purposes. It follows that at first Madame Perrillier had to rely on her own organisational skills and economic resources, a task in which she succeeded. Even before the official opening, at the end of 1804, word had already spread in Milan, a sign of the credit that the woman enjoyed in the city, so much so that already in October 1804, the *Corriere Milanese*, one of the main periodicals of the Kingdom, published the following announcement:

> To the editor of the Milanese Corriere
>
> You who never fail to report about all the establishments which in foreign countries are directed towards the advancement and civilisation of peoples, you must certainly take care to publicize especially those who tend to such a useful purpose in our own city. Among these, the house of education for civil *demoiselles*, which is now being opened in the suppressed monastery of S. Damiano alla Scala by government concession, deserves a special mention. This [institution] is under the direction of Mad. Perillier, already a pupil of the famous Abbey of St. Peter in Lyon, the maidens will be trained there in all manual skills that do not damage the *Bel Sesso* […] Signed Citizens N.N.[5]

This article is interesting from several points of view. First of all, we learn that Madame had received a fine education in Lyon. Moreover, Perrilier was being sponsored by Milanese citizens, who presented this announcement to the editors of the newspaper and who must have known her personally. Initially the house was opened in the convent of San Damiano, suppressed as early as 1796 when the troops of Napoleon arrived, and despite the best intentions of Madame Perillier, it seems that early on she had to face a difficult situation. In February 1805, only a few weeks after opening, Madame published an announcement in the *Corriere Milanese*:

Madame Elisabetta Perrilier widow Pradel, governess approved by the government for the education of civil maidens, wants to inform the public of a resolution she had last taken: her partner Mad. Raron can no longer enter the institution and has in fact already been expelled several days ago, which leaves a greater number of rooms for the use of the maidens who will come under her care, entrusted by their respective relatives. This establishment so useful for the gentler sex is situated in the neighbourhood of S. Damiano on staircase number 1810 in the suppressed monastery as we announced in issue 84 of last October 18th in our newspaper.[6]

The story behind this announcement, which has gone unregistered in the archival records, helps to understand the networks of relationships and the background of this type of enterprise. In fact, it can be assumed that Madame Perrilier took the legal and financial responsibility of opening the house, but she initially had a partner who helped her. From the peremptory tone in describing the departure of Madame Raron, on whom we have no further information, it seems that she had somehow put the newly created institution in a bad light. We do not know the nature of the offences imputed to Raron, but we can surmise that given that these types of houses could not afford to offend the moral sensibility of the collectivity, it was always better to immediately suppress anything that might arouse suspicion. In general, the experimental and tentative nature of these institutions is evident from the constant changes that characterised them. For example, already about six months after the opening, Madame moved the house to another building, and once again she made a public announcement in the *Corriere Milanese*: 'Having Madame Perrilier […] transferred the house of education of civil damsels from the suppressed monastery of S. Damiano alla Scala to the suppressed abbey of S. Celso in Porta Lodovica n. 4401, she feels the urgency to inform the public who aspires to take advantage'.[7] The house was afterwards moved permanently to another building.

In the meantime, as we shall see later, in December 1805, the Viceroy had placed the *Casa Giuseppina*, founded in Bologna, under government protection, providing substantial annual funding. Madame Perillier, therefore, used this precedent to ask for governmental funds for her house in Milan. Pietro Moscati, the newly appointed General Director of Public Education, personally visited Perillier's house of education on 27 May 1806 to evaluate whether the request for help could be accepted by the

Government. Judging it positively, he sent a report to Viceroy Beauharnais in which he expressed his favourable view on granting aid. This notwithstanding, the Viceroy maintained that the house of Madame Perillier, although deserving, should continue to survive thanks to private fees. From that date onwards, the archival documentation is silent on the fate of the first house of female education erected in Milan. But in May 1807 an announcement appeared in the major female periodical of the time, the weekly *Corriere delle dame* (Sergio 2010, 63–82):

> Two years ago a house of education for girls was opened at S. Celso by Mrs. Elisabetta Perillier, a highly esteemed woman, who is well aware of that education is a serious task, and of its important and fruitful advantages. The amiable young girls in her motherly care are sixteen in number, and their manners, the love of work, and the quick progress they made in geography, history, and languages, as well as in dance and music, are a matter of joyful surprise to those who visit that useful establishment. In the past few days they have played comedies in French and in Italian under the direction of a man of letters, and they have been honoured by the approval of remarkable figures, who have deigned to assist them. We rejoice to have among us a woman of such merit, whose intention is to make sure the hearts of our daughters are filled with solid piety and moral virtues and to prepare them to become good mothers of families.[8]

The institute seemed to have overcome the suspicion of the citizens who now willingly entrusted their daughters under the care of a foreigner because in 1807 the pupils had risen to 16 from the 7 during the first months after its opening, perhaps because of the morally impeccable conduct of the lady. In this regard, it is important to note that from the very beginning the authorities involved in these matters stressed the importance of the moral conduct of these women who, as stated before, had received a thorough education in Lyon and proposed a syllabus that included many disciplines, among which geography, history and languages. Although we do not know whether and how Madame Perrilier's experiment continued over the years, her institution had inaugurated a new model of female education that would have enduring success in Napoleonic Milan.

Like Madame Perillier, the widow of the lawyer Rouxel, Madame de Anthony, arrived in Milan with a family member in 1808 to follow her son, at the time employed as lieutenant *alfiere* of the Italian Navy.[9] We do not have much information about the house she opened, but we know

from archival sources that she had already welcomed a few young girls in her institution at the end of 1809, while she was still waiting for government authorization to open the education house.[10] The authorization for an institute—able to host twenty-five female guests and an unspecified number of external students—came in February 1810 and was signed by the new General Director of Public Education, Giovanni Scopoli, whose words of esteem suggest that Madame Anthony was a very prominent and appreciated figure in Milan.[11]

One singular fact seems to confirm this impression: Madame published a syllabary for children the same year she opened the house—the 'Nouveau Syllabaire français', drawn from the best grammarians, to make it easier for children to learn, to teach them more quickly to read, and the principles of spelling, by Madame J. G. Antony Rouxel, French, Milan, printed by Giacomo Pirola. Price 50 c'.[12] Her work was therefore printed by a Milanese publisher and the announcement appeared in the main bibliographical bulletin of the time and in the most important newspaper of the Kingdom of Italy.[13] In this respect, we could ask whether if she were still married and in France, Madame de Anthony would have had the same entrepreneurial spirit and personal initiative. In 1810, as a widow, with a distant son and in a new city filled with opportunities for the French (if they knew how to exploit them), this middle-aged emigrant woman, who had clearly received a fine education, managed to reinvent and assert herself as foreigner in the Milanese social circles.

The Importance of Social Networks

The further we delve into the research, the more portraits appear of these migrant women who did not limit themselves to strict social norms and standards. For reasons of economic subsistence, but above all because of their unwavering spirit of initiative, these women became mistresses of their own destiny. In this sense, one singular character stands out in particular: Madame de Drely, who arrived in Milan the same year as de Anthony (1808) and opened a house for female education modelled on the previously described institutions. The case of Madame Drely is particularly interesting for her life experience, which illustrates an industrious woman, but above all because it describes the network of female relationships that unravelled in Napoleonic Milan. Madame de Drely, was originally from Angers, where she was in charge of the supply of troops and hospitals, later becoming a member of the Post Office of the Loire

Department.[14] These activities were carried out while tending to her four children and husband who was employed at the General Retainer. She became a widow in 1800 and moved to Paris in 1803, from where she travelled to Milan following the advice of a relative. This relative was the Frenchwoman Marie Magne, employed at the Ministry of War of the Kingdom of Italy, who initially hosted Drely and one of her daughters in her house in Corso de' Servi.

During her years in Paris, the widow managed to make many friends, including the prefect of Paris, and Baron Darnay, who would become general director of the Post Office of the Kingdom of Italy and whom she would meet again in Milan. Despite the connections that Drely could boast, the Government collected information on her, as was customary. Once the information was gathered, in October 1808 Moscati, General Director of Education, sent a letter to the Minister of the Interior in which he explained the morality of the woman, in order to 'take the necessary precautions'.[15] Moscati explained that through a police officer he had verified that Drely was in negotiations for the rent of a new house of education and that he had obtained a list of the names of the parents who intended to enrol their daughters in the house once it opened. In this regard, the intervention of Marie Magne was essential, because she presented the project of her relative Drely to the Minister of the Interior, Ludovico di Breme.[16] Mrs. Magne had also financed the enterprise, paying a deposit for the rent of the building in the Contrada del Gesù, from where the institute moved shortly afterwards to the Contrada del Durino.

Despite the success of her school in Milan, as from 1810, Drely sought other occupations including a job at the *Regio Collegio delle Fanciulle* in Milan.[17] Since her school was flourishing, Drely wanted to expand her activity. However, in an attempt to enlarge her business, she had to conceal her entrepreneurial intentions and present her case as unique and at the same time respectful of the patriarchal family model. Consequently, she explained that she had substantial economic needs due to her numerous family, with two sons who were unable to contribute to the financial sustenance of the family, since one had enlisted freely in the Napoleonic army and the other had responded to mandatory conscription. Therefore, she justified her request by resorting to socio-economic motivations. In a letter to the Viceroy of 8 March 1810 she wrote:

The only titles that I limit myself to making to Your Imperial Highness, in hoping to deserve his interest, are the complete loss of my fortune due to the internal wars which have ravaged my country, the premature death of my husband and the needs of my family composed of four children, two of whom are boys; both of them are now serving in His Majesty's armies, one for five years and of his own free will, which has hindered me from enjoying the benefit of law in order to keep with me the second [son] whose work was so necessary to the assistance of his sisters and to my own.[18]

Beyond the arguments employed in this letter, which were quite common in petitions to the authorities since early modern times, and the desire to ensure a respectable future for her daughters, the request by Drely was shaped mostly by her spirit of initiative and enterprise. The government did not give Madame de Drely other jobs in Milan, and so she focused her attention on improving the education house, which in September 1812 moved to the neighbourhood of La Passerella.[19] Her role in the events that are being narrated was not limited, however, to the direction of the flourishing house of education, since she intervened in the personal affairs of another Frenchwoman who emigrated to Milan, also involved in the education of women. The case I am about to present is that of an unmarried French couple, composed of Charles Rouy and Mademoiselle de Bar, who came to Milan precisely because of the possibilities offered by the new capital.

Charles Rouy was born near Metz in 1762 and his activity seems to have been well-established in Paris in the last years of the century.[20] He had arrived in Milan with De Bar presumably in 1807 after that, as later documentation shows, Rouy had convinced the mother of young De Bar to allow her to move with him to Milan, with the promise to marry her once they were settled (which never happened).[21] Rouy must have had a pseudo-scientific background, which often led to charlatanism, but which had earned him some credit or at least the attention of the Milanese press. In 1808, Rouy had published a booklet, with editor Giovanni Silvestri, entitled *Spiegazione della donna invisibile*,[22] that had created a certain debate on the *Giornale Italiano*.[23] The period when articles on his work were published coincided with the opening of a house of education for girls, in which, although officially run by Rouy, the main governess and teacher were De Bar and which was located in the neighbourhood of S. Vito al Pasquirolo, at number 523.[24] We do not know if the school was

successful, but we do know that it was also the base of Rouy's other activities, such as a live demonstration of one of his inventions, a uranographic mechanism, since 'he was determined to re-establish this mechanism in his house of education, located in the neighbourhood S. Vito al Pasquirolo, at no. 523, so that without delay he will be able to offer a small number of performances which will be announced briefly'.[25]

In the announcement Rouy defined himself as a professor of elementary astronomy: he was certainly an excellent mechanical inventor and skilled in self-promotion because in a few months he was able to achieve success with the government of the Kingdom of Italy, by inventing a portable mechanism, explained in his work *Saggio di cosmografia e descrizione del meccanismo uranografico*, which contained also instructions on its use. The booklet listed all the subscribers, among which appeared 'Mrs. Drely educator and head mistress of a House of Education in Milan; Madame Veuve Garnier *Directrice d'une Maison d'éducation à Milan* [to whom I will return shortly]'.[26] This information therefore makes us understand the networks of friendships within the French community in Milan, which included Madame Drely, who knew the couple personally, but was affectionately linked to De Bar. It was during this successful period for Rouy, and perhaps because of that, that the couple broke up. Ruoy's success is confirmed by the fact that his invention was adopted in all high schools in the Kingdom.[27] From some clues it would seem that the house of education held by Rouy was closed when the couple split and de Bar left in 1812.[28] Once Rouy left her, she obviously also lost her job in the house of education and returned to her mother in Metz, in which she opened her own education house. A year later, however, she was forced to close the house due to war, and she decided to return to Milan, where she was welcomed in the house of Madame Drely, her close friend and mentor over the years. Although her skills as a teacher were well known, the General Director of Public Education, Scopoli, did not agree to renew the old teaching permission without further investigation, due to some rumours circulating about the woman, and proceeded to make new inquiries.

It was at this moment that Madame Drely intervened, aware of the rumours circulating about her friend, and wrote Scopoli a long and emotional letter trying to rehabilitate the image of Mademoiselle De Bar and in an attempt to intercede on her behalf.[29] In this letter Madame Drely described in maternal tones the young De Bar, who was 'victime de la séduction d'un fourbe, sans honneur et sans délicatesse [victim of the

seduction of a deceitful, dishonourable, and insensitive man]', suggesting that she had been deceived by Rouy's false promises. The letter stressed the qualities of De Bar as a teacher and the credit she had received among the citizens of Milan over the years. Madame Drely then warned Scopoli that Rouy was the author of the malicious gossip that had been spread. In spite of this, Scopoli had already made his decision and following the information he had received from the police, which ultimately did not contradict De Bar's excellent reputation of a reliable and capable teacher, he denied the young woman the permission, citing as an explanation that regardless of the rumours, the fact that she had lived as a maiden with Rouy for years in Milan was reason enough to keep her away from the education of young girls.[30] From then onwards we lose track of the unfortunate De Bar, who perhaps found another accommodation or a more humble job in Milan.

Family Migration and Family Business

We now come to face the case of the De Frarière couple, which offers evidence of migration in the context of a family strategy. In fact, it shows that both spouses played a crucial role in implementing the project, and that ultimately schools could be a family business and not just the result of a single person's activity. The first information about their institute comes from the press. On July 6, 1811, the *Corriere delle dame* announced to its readers that a 'Madame de Frariére had just opened a new institute for young women. This institute is authorized by the government, and offers all kinds of education at an extremely moderate price'.[31] The couple had immediately invested in advertising their house, which a few weeks later was publicised again, with an advert informing the readers that 'the house of Madame de Frarière […] is open with the full approval of the government. The young girls from civil background are admitted at a fixed pension with permanent residence in order to be educated diligently and in the most convenient way, both in terms of customs and good morals and in different types of skills'. This continuous publicity suggests that the house was not receiving the success the couple had hoped for and in September 1811 a new advertisement was published in the *Corriere delle Dame*.[32] Perhaps in the aim to tap into a more homogeneous and more specific Milanese readership, at the beginning of 1812 the couple decided to publish one last announcement in the *Corriere Milanese*, in which they renewed the previous notices and proposed moderate rates

for both guests and outsiders.[33] Evidently these announcements did not bring the desired results, so the spouses turned to the Government to ask for subsidy: from that date onwards the events of the house are narrated through archival documentation.[34] The correspondence shows that Bartholet de Frarière, Madame's husband, whose house had been approved in 1811, had applied for an annual subsidy of three to four thousand francs.[35] Following this request, the Government, entrusted the inspectors of the General Direction of Public Education, Lamberti and Pino, to collect information on the couple, obtaining only positive news about their conduct and their school.[36] Since the husband was the government's main interlocutor about this matter, the officials referred to the house as the 'establishment for the education of girls set up by Mr. Bertholet de Frarière', overshadowing the role of the wife.

It was the husband who would later put emphasis on his wife's role, when in September 1812 he informed the Government that they had changed the location of the school and installed a new sign: 'My wife, whom you have kindly allowed to open an institute for young ladies, has changed her place of residence'.[37] The new address was Borgo della Fontana n. 142, in the old neighbourhood of Durino (now Via Durini) in Milan. In the meantime, however, the request for economic aid was still pending. Luigi Rossi, General Inspector of Education, wrote a report detailing his visit to the house, in which 'in a few months the number of pupils between pensioners and outsiders has risen to 19'.[38] It was clear from this report that the house of education was a family enterprise, because the couple had migrated to Milan with their daughter, who, together with her parents, was in charge of teaching at the school. Inspector Rossi's positive survey on the house increased the chances of obtaining financial aid, as Scopoli wrote to the Minister of the Interior: 'As should Your Excellency be willing to give Mr. Bertholet de Frarière a grant to enable him to cater for the needs of his establishment, he declared that he was ready to present the necessary deposit to guarantee the Treasury repayment within the current year'.[39]

So the government was willing to provide a loan to the family, but only in return of guarantees, which Mr. Bertholet was in reality unable to supply. As explained in a letter that Mr. Bertholet sent to Scopoli in May 1813, the family felt it was difficult 'to find a person who wants to take over the accounts to guarantee the grant'. These difficulties were due to the family's status as foreigners: they had settled in Milan only recently so they had no one who could intercede for them.[40] This fact highlights

an interesting detail in this case, namely that the family had emigrated without establishing previous contact with the emigrant community in Milan, and with no support from local citizens. Moreover, the resigned tone with which Bartholet confessed that he had no acquaintances, elucidates his condition of loneliness and social isolation. We have no further information on whether or not the grant was accorded to the spouses, but this case shows the involvement of the family members in the new business, and above all the gender imbalance that characterised the relationship between the government and the de Frarière spouses (a situation that was true also for other French couples who, similarly to the de Frarière established new schools for girls in Northern Italy). Despite the fact that this house of education could draw its renown from highlighting the figure of the French governess, the Government had set aside, at least in correspondence, Madame de Frarière, and dealt instead with her husband. At the same time, it should be noted that the latter set himself up as the interlocutor of the Government, not as the founder of the enterprise, in order to support the image of the traditional family sponsored by the Government, in which the role of head of the family was still dominant and business was still expected to be part of the male sphere of action.

If so far it has been possible to reconstruct the details of the life of these migrant women, in several other cases we only have mere attestations of their presence in Milan, which nevertheless are significant for evaluating of the breadth of the phenomenon. For example Maria Anna Elisabetta Debrien in Saint Edme and her daughter Madame Landoir both migrated to Milan from Paris with their husbands in 1807.[41] On April 22, 1813, they applied to open their house of education[42] which was still active in 1816.[43] Their case presents some interesting facts: first the women requested permission to open a house opposite that of the De Frarière couple, which seems to suggest that the French community had settled in a specific neighbourhood. Secondly, it has to be noted that after the return of the Austrians to Milan in 1815, the family returned to France, a sign that the conditions for running their activity, and especially the cultural environment, had changed in Milan.

In other cases, the presence in Milan of migrant women would have remained shrouded were it not for advertisements of their schools. An example published in the *Corriere delle dame* relates to Giovanna Bonnet: 'HOUSE OF FRENCH EDUCATION directed by the widowed Mrs. Bonnet and her daughter from Lyon. This useful establishment is located in Milan in the neighbourhood of S. Fedele n. 5321. Mrs. Bonnet's

method is the easiest and sweetest one can imagine, for what concerns both religion and morals, and all the disciplines that adorn the spirit of the Ladies who deserve a civil and diligent education'.[44] In this case as well we are dealing with a French woman who came to Italy probably following her husband, and who, once widowed, decided to stay in Milan with her daughter, given the favourable conditions in the city.

For what concerns many other women, we can only attest their presence in the city as governesses in Napoleonic Milan. Such is the case of Madame De Reder, wife of the French officer Robin, and Carolina Garcin.[45] Of others we know that the institutes they founded were well-known and long-lasting establishments in Milan: clear examples are the schools of Giulia Besser, Madame Noyer, the widow Garnier[46] Francesca Boyer, known in the city by the surname of her husband, Morel, who had opened a school in the neighbourhood of San Vito al Pasquirolo n. 521, where she would stay until at least 1820. Finally, an interesting case is that of Caterina Menard who arrived in Milan in 1801 and resolved to invest in women's education only during widowhood and after the family business went bankrupt. Upon their arrival in Milan the couple managed the *Albergo della Città*, in Contrada san Vito al Pasquirolo n. 528,[47] as well as Madame Morel's building which was on the same street at n. 521. In 1814 the widow Menard decided to open a house of education for girls in Milan in partnership with an Italian lady, the wife of the owner of the property intended to host the institute. We have no further information about the activity of Madame Menard, but it is interesting to catch a glimpse of the life of a woman who migrated with her husband to Milan in order to establish a business, who upon becoming a widow tried to reinvent herself, finding the support of an Italian couple.

Respectability and Morality: The Impact of Gender in the Migration of Thérèse Langers

The case that will be dealt with in this section is very distinctive and integrates many central aspects in this article. It depicts the events of a house of education opened in Bologna (under the Kingdom of Italy) by a presumably unmarried lay French woman, which, after being placed under the aegis of the royal government, attracted special attention from both government and the inhabitants of Bologna, be they officials or ordinary citizens. These attentions were the result of gendered considerations: first Madame Langers' status as a single woman without the protection of a

husband nor a family member, and secondly her status as a foreigner, who wanted to undertake a delicate task such as the education of young Bolognese girls.

The events start to unravel in 1805, when after few months from the foundation of the Kingdom of Italy, Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson, put under the imperial and royal protection a private house of education for secular girls opened in the city of Bologna by the French Thérèse Langers. We know nothing about Langers's life before the opening of her house in 1805: presumably she had come to Italy either with relatives or to seek fortune in female education (Bianchi 1997).[48] The documentation never mentions the presence of the woman's husband or relatives or of her status as a widow, so it is assumed that she was unmarried, an assumption confirmed by the fact that Langers often referred to herself as 'alone'. In any case, she autonomously opened a school for girls in Bologna, as explained by the prefect of the department of the Reno (whose chief city was Bologna), Francesco Mosca, in a report dated 31 August 1808: 'the house originated from the incessant care of Madame Langers, to whom it seemed that Bologna could represent a stepping stone in introducing new methods of choice and refined female education in Italy'.[49] However, since its first months the Viceroy had to come to the rescue of the house of Langers, because, as Mosca reveals:

> the distinguished governess was not happy enough at the beginning. The novelty, which appealed to some, raised suspicion in most. Doubts grew as they reflected that she was a foreigner, who was unaware of herself. Many also regretted that there was no abundance of means of subsistence, and that the new establishment seemed to be dictated by need and not by consideration. It is certain that the opinion divided us, that little and feeble success arose in favour of the governess; that the local authorities never gave her actual assistance, and that the project would have vanished immediately, if the prefecture had not repeatedly interposed its offices to provide the country with a considerable advantage, such as that of educating less roughly the young girls. Things were in such a state when the Excellent Prince went to Bologna and deigned to grant his high favour to the Bolognese house of education.[50]

These few lines summarise all the issues that marked the vicissitudes of the house, that are, the local population's negative reception, the feeling of mistrust because of the nationality of the headmistress and doubts about her morals. After a stay in Bologna, Viceroy Eugène had granted his

protection to the house by virtue of a decree dated 19 December 1805, which, in addition to giving economic subsidies, renamed the institute after the Empress (and Eugène's mother): *Reale Casa Giuseppina*. The *Casa* came under the government's control, and a commission, headed by Prefect of the Reno, Mosca and the *Podestà* (the mayor) of Bologna, was appointed to manage it (Bianchi 1997, 199). At first it seemed that the Viceroy's intervention would secure the fate of the *Casa*. On the occasion, for example, of the raising of the imperial and royal *insignia* (which took place on 25 February 1807) 'the pupils enacted a brief dramatic play in which the virtues Truth, Innocence, Constance, and Prudence competed in expressing thankfulness in the Temple of Gratitude to the *Augusti sposi* [the Viceroy and his wife]'.[51] The comment of a notable Bolognese citizen, the Marquis De' Buoi, fittingly encapsulates the local population's perception of the house. In his private diary (which depicts life in Bologna during the Napoleonic Era) the Marquis writes in reference to this particular occasion:

> A French adventurer, who intends to ruin the daughters of the Bolognese citizens established, in the former convent of St. Francis in Nosadella, a House of Education, saying that she was being protected by the Viceroy, whose emblem has been placed today on the door of the house; the pupils represented a French farce in the presence of the Prefect Mosca and other authorities. (De' Buoi 2005, 197)[52]

The tone of contempt in the Marquis De' Buoi's words is striking. It must be noted that here the Marquis used a term—adventurer—which we can find in other descriptions of Langers, envisioned as a person who would ruin the young daughters of the Bolognese *notabilato* (notability). On that occasion, just as the Marquis reports, the Prefect Mosca, Cavalier Salina, who was part of the commission charged with the control of the *Casa* on behalf of the government, and other members of the city's elite attended the ceremony. To the commission, among the issues related to the *Casa*, one was more urgent than others: the headmistress and the House were victims of bad rumours, to the point that the name of Langers was 'impitoyablement déchiré dans la Capital aussi qu'à Bologne [ruthlessly ripped in the Capital as well as in Bologna]'.[53] The only administrator who seemed to trust and respect Langers was the prefect Mosca: in a letter dated 10 April 1807, Langers addresses him her grievances and her willingness to find justice and reclaim her honour

which had been tainted by malicious rumours that were circulating about her. In particular, Madame was accused of spending much time at theatre and salons of Bologna, which was a far cry from the exemplary behaviour expected from a headmistress of a girls' educational institution.[54]

Langers, complained about frequent frivolous scenes in Bologna, then asked the Prefect if he would be willing to testify that these rumours were false, since, as Prefect, he was well acquainted with the city's theatres and salons. After just four days, Thérèse sent a new letter to Mosca to seek his help with these words: 'it is only your protection, your kindness, that can save me from the humiliating state in which, through no fault of my own, I have fallen. Only you can stop the flood that threatens to drown me'.[55] As Mosca himself asserts in a report dated August 31, 1808, 'the malevolent people made an effort to spread rumours, which have brought shame and disdain and resulted in the rejection of the institution. This has been enough for calling back most of the maidens to their respective families, and for making pointless any expedient to recover enough of them'.[56] In the meantime, in order to defend an institution which, despite its faults, was still supported by the Viceroy, the local government attempted to dispel the gossip on Madame and the *Casa* by drafting a new regulation for the house and publishing it in the official newspaper of Bologna, *il Redattore del Reno*.[57] This newspaper also reported the news (March 22, 1808) in one of the periodical essays that the school was 'a public experiment in the progress of those young students, and in the various studies and art in which they applied themselves during the year', so that 'the young girls deserved applause for the music and dance exercises, and for the French language, as for the elegant female skills which were universally acknowledged and appreciated'.[58] The attempt to relaunch the image of the *Casa Giuseppina* did not yield the desired effects, to the point that the head mistress had suffered acts of vandalism: she had found 'aux fenêtres du rez-des-chaussée attachés des Masques avec des longues oreilles et l'inscriptions l'Ecole des Ruines [Masks with long ears with the words 'School of Ruins' written over them attached to the ground floor window]'.[59]

In one of his periodic reports to the government in Milan (addressed to the Minister of the Interior)—a very long statement dated 15 February 1809—the Prefect analysed the situation of the *Casa* and attributed many of the problems not directly to Langers, but to the perception that the Bolognese had of her, since she, a foreigner, did not enjoy the friendships

of the city's notables.[60] It is striking, however, that many people insinuated that Langers opened the *Casa* for the sole purpose of obtaining a means of subsistence. This reflects a conception of teaching that was still linked to the sphere of morality associated with the monastic-religious world, according to which life choices were dictated by vocation and not by need. Moreover, for a woman who aspired to be an educator, worldly sociability, work and work ethic could not coexist. In 1810 the situation of the *Casa Giuseppina* plummeted and the Municipality of Bologna was forced to implement extreme control measures, such as asking the house's guardian for information.[61]

It would appear, therefore, that it was the Municipality which was dissatisfied with, and had grown suspicious of the *Casa*. In fact, since the opening of the house the *Podestà* of Bologna, Count Scarselli, had asked several times to the Ministry of the Interior in Milan to intervene actively in its management (Bianchi 1997, 203) and it was through the Municipality that the most negative judgments on the house reached the government. Langers, well aware that she was not in the *Podestà*'s good graces and exasperated by years of harassment and slandering, sent him a letter in Italian, begging him to review his judgement on her, mostly because 'it weighs too much on me to be believed to be an adventurer in a country where, by birth and out of honesty, I never gave in to anyone'.[62] It is clear that Langers wanted to regain the trust of the Municipality: she enclosed in her letter recommendations from Mosca and General Bellagarde, stationed in Bologna. The opinion of the two gentlemen, said Thérèse, was positive because they had shown themselves willing to get to know her personally and to consider her morality and her value as an educator. Through his statements and by his refusal to accept to see Langers, as she reported in the letter, it would appear almost as if the *Podestà* had locked himself up in an attitude of resolute distrust towards a person that he wanted to continue to perceive as a stranger. Madame Langers resolve in wanting to get rid of her reputation as an adventurer is striking (the words written by Marquis De' Buoi in his diary, in which had defined her as 'a French adventurer', come to mind). In any case, the continuous efforts made by Langers to improve her reputation and that of the *Casa*, together with the attention of the central government in Milan, did not produce satisfactory results. Unlike Mosca and some members of the government of the Kingdom, the entire city was polarised against

Langers, and in particular the *Podestà* Scarselli, who at the end of 1810 once again complained to the Prefect of Bologna:

> Mrs. Langers, in the time of real, or simulated, disheartenment and mortification for having been removed from the economic management of the *Casa Giuseppina*, believed she was in a position to ignore the insinuations, and the orders of the Authorities aimed at improving the system of education for the young girls in the institution. How much more contempt can we expect from her, now that she has regained the right to administer the income of the establishment? […] But speaking of good faith, what can ever be the results of the prescribed vigilance, if the regulations, recently established with your approval, Mr. Councillor Prefect, are not observed? If the headmistress, even after pressing requests, does not intend, and does not want, to remove from the House certain people whose presence have fomented rumours unfortunately prejudicial to the good name and conduct of the educators?.[63]

This harsh letter was written by the *Podestà* just before the epilogue of the events connected to Thérèse Langers and the *Reale Casa Giuseppina*. After about five years from its foundation, in the first months of 1811, Langers, overwhelmed by harrowing debts and exhausted by issues connected to the estate of the House, fled from Bologna and we lose trace of her (Zucchi 1980, 398–399). In general, Thérèse's case is significant because she was a victim of traditional prejudices linked to the presence of a foreign and lonely woman, who had received public attention in Bologna through the *Casa*, attracting malevolent judgement on her morals, which was projected over the institute she managed. This case, furthermore, underscores the distance between private boarding schools run by lay people and the monastic ones because, although the difference between one model and the other concerned the educational offer, in reality what was questioned was the moral horizon within which the educational activity itself was carried out. The fear that young women might come into contact with teachers, relatives, friends and male acquaintances of the headmasters, people whose moral integrity was perhaps unknown, created distrust within families and concern among the authorities, who, by authorising such activities, were publicly recognised as guarantors of the moral order within the walls of the institutions. We cannot establish whether there was any truth in the negative judgements about Langers or if the rumours were the result of an archaic morality and

fear of novelty, especially since these concerned matters such as female work, foreign unmarried women and the education of girls.

To further put into perspective the events linked to Thérèse Langers we can turn our attention to another small secular private school in Bologna which was run by a French woman, Giovanna Charage during these same years.[64] Charage managed the house together with her Italian husband, Filippo Gargalli. In this case, therefore, in addition to the more appropriate marital status, the fact that Charage was married to a Bolognese certainly helped her in earning the good graces of fellow citizens. We know about this school because a decree dated 22 November 1810 forbade the establishment of a 'private school of any kind for children without special approval from the Directorate General of Public Education'.[65] Therefore, the Prefecture of Bologna received the request for approval of Mrs. Gargalli.[66] The permit application was followed by two certificates.[67] These certificates showed that Charage had been in Bologna for many years: she was actually the first one to open a school on the model of the *maisons d'education*. The description elucidates the Parisian origins of the lady and the syllabus she wanted to adopt which included subjects typically taught to females. The fact that Charage had been in Bologna for many years, but above all that she was married to an Italian, had certainly facilitated the acceptance of her school by the 'notable Bolognese families'.[68] Moreover, the documents reveal the French origin of the woman, without underlining her foreignness, as if she had been accepted by the Bolognese community. The Bolognese case of Thérèse Langers shows the difficulties for a secular school for girls run by a foreign woman to earn approval in a city like Bologna even though the government of the Kingdom of Italy and the Viceroy enthusiastically supported the initiatives of girl schools based on the French model.

Conclusion

This article has underscored the most important developments of institutions modelled on the French *maisons d'éducation* in Italy, as well as the attention, support and control by the Government of the Kingdom of Italy in regard to these institutions. In particular, for what concerns the capital, Milan, we can observe the foundation of a large number of private schools for girls run by French women of all classes, who came to Italy to look for work or arrived, for various reasons, together with husbands or relatives. This article has investigated the driving forces that pushed

these women to try to make a new life, taking advantage of their French origins and of the increasing demand for educational services in the wake of the closure of female religious institutions. The case studies presented here show a multifarious phenomenon: every life story recounted is characterised by its own peculiar aspects; the common thread is the specific historical moment, i.e. the years of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy.

The experimental nature of these institutions and of the paths taken by these women should be stressed. During the Napoleonic era the abolition of female religious institutions created the conditions for the establishment of this type of educational houses. As a result, both the women or families who had embarked on this kind of enterprise and the government of the Kingdom were faced with a legislative and practical vacuum: for the first time numerous lay women, alone or with their families, were employed in the sensitive area of women's education within an urban and lay social context. Consequently, each case required particular attention. If the model of the 'French governess' became a longstanding phenomenon even after the fall of the Napoleonic regime, it survived in its secular form, yet its structures and programmes were drawn on monastic life (Quartararo 1995). Not only that: many of the longest-serving colleges analysed in this article in the long run employed educators belonging to religious orders, such is the case, for example, of Mary Cosway's *Collegio* of in Lodi eventually entrusted to the English Ladies of the Visitation.

Leaving aside the absolute novelty of the theme of lay education for girls imparted by women, this phenomenon brings new knowledge to migration studies.[69] Firstly, it shows how a substantial number of women migrated as highly skilled migrants in the context of a broader migration movement of individuals from France, who decided to settle in Italy after the Revolution of 1789 (Green 2002). From a qualitative perspective, these case studies have underscored the variety of social, personal and domestic paths that led to migration. We have seen that the French women who emigrated to Italy came from different social backgrounds, but above all they were of different marital status: some were married, others were widows or single, which suggests a certain female mobility and the idea that they could decide their own fate, and improve their social conditions. Of course, we have seen that, when alone, these women were driven by the acquaintances they already had in the territories they settled in.

Secondly, this article also sheds light on another important aspect that is difficult to assess in the history of early-modern non aristocratic migration: the network of relationships established between French women and the French community which had already settled in the Italian territories and their crucial role for the survival of newly arrived migrants (we can here recall De Frarière's sad confession that he could not count on anyone in Milan). In this regard, the case of Mrs. Magne, is particularly enlightening: as French migrant, when she realised the favourable conditions that could be enjoyed in the city, she encouraged her relative, Madame Drely, to settle in Milan. The latter established a relationship also with Madame de Bar, of whom she became a friend and protector, hosting her during her second arrival in Milan. Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct with due precision the French community in Milan and the role played therein by women educators. A clue on the relationships and connections among French migrants can be found in the addresses where they had settled. The already mentioned *Albergo della città,* for example, run by the French spouses Menard was located in San Vito al Pasquirolo, as well as the house of education of Madame Morel, and those of Carlo Rouy run by De Bar. Madame Saint Edme and her daughter, instead, wanted to open a house in Borgo Fontana opposite to the Frarière couple's institute. These choices make us understand that there was no fear of competition: closeness was rather dictated by the desire to strengthen the community and the bonds among French families, but especially among French migrant women.

Thirdly, the article shows the importance of the institutional component in the control of the lives of these migrant women and their families (Bellavitis 2018). Government officials had to evaluate these women's lives and make decisions about their future. They were judges who often based their response on appearances and on morality, used as a yardstick for measuring any issue, be it economic or managerial, that arose in these establishments (Martini and Mukherjee 2020). Morality was often linked to their marital status: while married women and widows were often considered morally irreproachable, unmarried women immediately raised suspicion in both society and institutions. In this regard, the choice of Milan, or northern Italy in general, compared to other French cities where there could be as many possibilities of an expanding sector such as women's education seems peculiar. Why did these women choose to settle in a foreign country? It is not possible to delve deeply into the socio-economic and psychological issues that might have led to this choice, as

to widen our understanding of the concept of 'foreigner' and 'adventurer', often used in reference to migrants and institutions. These were concepts that certainly emerged from the sense of common belonging in the various Italian urban *milieu*, but which are difficult to fully understand given the vagueness of the concept of Italian national identity. It can be assumed that the women and families who came to Italy underestimated the possibility of being harassed so violently—the words addressed to Thérèse Langers are one such example—by a population under the same French ruler, Napoleon, despite the fact that the northern territories of Italy had not been directly annexed to the Empire like other areas of the Italian peninsula. In addition, some historical and contingent reasons can explain why the reactions to foreigners in a city like Bologna were not the same as in Milan. Bologna had belonged to the territories of the Papal States until the arrival of Napoleon's troops in Italy in 1796: it was a city where the concept of respectability was very important. Moreover, fewer foreigners arrived in the city. It would have been interesting to make a comparison with the other great city of the Kingdom of Italy after Milan and Bologna, namely, Venice, where the presence of foreigners had been a tradition for centuries due to its port. In fact, I have not been able to find any documentation that attests a phenomenon similar to that of Milan. Only in periodicals I have managed to find a few clues that would deserve an in-depth examination: the offer of a female French teacher,[70] for example, and hints to the opening of a house of education, albeit in 1815.[71]

In any case, this article aimed to shed light on a phenomenon which has been little studied so far from many points of view, but which may contribute to a desirable new season of studies on French migration to Italy in the Napoleonic era. Furthermore the case studies presented could contribute to provide new information especially on female mobility and work in the early nineteenth century in the migratory fluxes between France and Italy.

<div align="center">NOTES</div>

1. From a jurisdictional point of view the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy was a separate state from the French Empire, but Napoleon Bonaparte was its king and therefore the relations between the Kingdom of Italy and France were very close.

2. *Almanacco reale per l'anno bisestile 1811*, Milano, Reale stamperia, p. 446. At the opening in 1811 the teacher was Madame de Soucy and the governesses were Ortensia and Vittoria Maulevrier, Prudenzia Clausier, Enrichetta Smith, Dorotea Giberti and Anna Martini.

3. ASMi, *Autografi*, n. 77. Milano, 5 January 1811.

4. ASMi, *Studi p.m.*, n. 586, «Perrilier», 11 April 1804.

5. *Corriere milanese*, Milano, n. 84, 18 October 1804.

6. *Ivi*, n. 11, 7 February 1805.

7. *Ivi*, n. 35, 2 May 1805.

8. *Corriere delle Dame*, Milano, n. 18, 3 May 1807.

9. ASMi, *Studi p.m.*, n. 590, dossier Rouxel, 2 February 1810; *Almanacco reale per l'anno bisestile 1812*, Milano, Stamperia reale, p. 218.

10. ASMi, *Studi p.m.*, n. 590, dossier Rouxel, 2 February 1810.

11. *Ivi*, 7 February 1810.

12. The advertisement in French appeared in the *Giornale enciclopedico di Firenze*, vol. 2, Firenze, Molini e Landi, 1810, p. 57 and on the *Giornale Italiano*, Milano, n. 28, 28 January 1810.

13. Cf. *supra*.

14. ASMi, *Studi p.m.*, n. 447, dossier Drely, 28 September 1808.

15. *Ivi*, 1 October 1808.

16. *Ivi*, 28 September 1808.

17. *Ivi*, 8 March 1810.

18. *Ibidem*. Translated from French.

19. *Corriere milanese*, Milan, n. 220, 9 September 1812.

20. *Biographie nouvelle des contemporains*, Paris, Librairie Historique, 1825, p. 269.

21. ASMi, *Studi p.m.*, n. 440, 27 May 1814.

22. Carlo Rouy, *Spiegazione della donna invisibile*, Milano, Giovanni Silvestri, 1808.

23. *Giornale italiano*, Milano, n. 303, 29 October 1808 and n. 313, 8 November 1808.

24. *Ivi*, n. 300, 27 October 1811.

25. *Ibidem*.

26. Carlo Rouy, *Saggio di cosmografia e descrizione del meccanismo uranografico aggradito*, Milano, Pirotta, 1812, p. 4.

27. On *Giornale italiano* n. 132 of 11 May 1812 contains a long article announcing the new invention of the portable uranographic mechanism

«for use in public and private schools and adopted by the Government for all the high schools of the Kingdom».

28. On *Giornale italiano* n. 300, 21 October 1811 it reads: «Evening conversation in French with Mr. Carlo Rouy, now living in the neighbourhood of Bassano Perrone at n. 1729».

29. ASMi, *Studi p.m.,* n. 440, 27 May 1814.

30. *Ivi*, 11 March 1814.

31. *Corriere delle dame*, Milano, n. 27, 6 July 1811.

32. *Ivi*, n. 37, 14 September 1811.

33. *Corriere milanese*, Milano, n. 24, 28 January 1812.

34. ASMi, *Studi, p.m.*, n. 449, dossier n. 17 "La Frarière".

35. *Ivi*, 7 February 1812.

36. *Ivi*, 1 April 1812.

37. *Ivi*, 3 September 1812.

38. *Ivi*, 22 February 1813.

39. *Ivi*, 3 March 1813.

40. *Ivi*, 24 May 1813.

41. ASMi, *Studi p. m.*, n. 447, dossier n. 47.

42. *Ivi*, 22 April 1813.

43. *Ivi*, 5 August 1816.

44. *Corriere delle Dame*, Milano, n. 15, 9 April 1808.

45. It is sufficient to just mention these women since their partial biographies has been reconstructed by Natalia Tatulli (2013).

46. Madame Garnier, subscriber of the "Uranograohic mechanism" by Carlo Rouy, advertised his house in the *Corriere delle Dame*, Milano, n. 16, 16 April 1808.

47. *Corriere Milanese*, Milano, n. 281, 23 November 1810.

48. In his article Angelo Bianchi reconstructs with precision the institutional events of the house based on the archival material of the National Archives of Milan. In this section, instead, I present unpublished material found in the National Archives of Bologna, in the Municipal Historical Archives of Bologna and in the Bolognese periodicals of the time. Unlike the material collected by Bianchi, the documentation presented here shows a more intimate and local point of view of the perception of Thérèse Langers' experience.

49. ASBo, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Reno*, 1808, tit. XIII, n. 1.

50. *Ibidem.*

51. *Redattore del Reno*, Bologna, 1807, n. 7 del 23 January 1807, p. 34.

52. The news refers to the 25th February 1807 and is reported in the edited *Diario delle cose principali accadute nella città di Bologna dall'anno 1796 fino all'anno 1821,* whose original manuscript is in the library of the Art and History Centre of San Giorgio in Poggiale (Bologna).

53. ASBo, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Reno*, Atti riservati, busta n. 33, 10 aprile 1807.
54. *Ibidem.*
55. ASBo, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Reno*, *Atti riservati*, n. 33, 14 April 1807.
56. ASBo, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Reno*, 1808, tit. XIII.
57. *Redattore del Reno*, n. 35, 1 May 1807.
58. *Ivi*, n. 24, 22 March 1808.
59. ASBo, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Reno*, 1808, tit. XIII, 7 October 1808.
60. *Ivi*, 1809, tit. XIII, n. 2, 15 February 1809.
61. ASCB, *Carteggio amministrativo 1803–1861,* tit. X, 1810, 9 February 1810.
62. ASCB, *ivi,* 2 October 1810.
63. ASBo, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Reno*, 1809, tit. XIII, 27 November 1810.
64. ASBo, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Reno*, Titolo XIII, 1810, 27 December 1810.
65. *Ibidem.*
66. *Ivi*, 31 December 1810.
67. *Ibidem.*
68. *Ibidem.*
69. For Milan, the cases presented here are the total number of requests that had been made to the government. If other educational houses existed in Milan, these had not been authorized.
70. *Giornale di Venezia*, n. 324, 23 November 1813.
71. *Ivi,* n. 136, 18 May 1815.

REFERENCES

Bellavitis, Anna. 2018. *Women's Work and Rights in Early Modern Urban Europe*. London: Palgrave.
Bianchi, Angelo. 1997. "Alle origini di un'istituzione scolastica moderna: le case d'educazione per fanciulle durante il Regno Italico (1805–1814)" [At the Origins of a Modern Educational Institution: The Houses of Education for Girls During the Italian Kingdom (1805–1814)]. *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche* (4): 195–230.
Bianchi, Angelo. 1998. "Maria Cosway e l'educazione femminile: da Lione a Lodi" [Mary Cosway and the Female's Education: From Lyon to Lodi]. In *Maria e Richard Cosway*, edited by Tino Gipponi, 171–219. Torino: Umberto Allemandi.

Bianchi, Angelo. 2008. "La scuola delle ragazze: Collegi reali e case private di educazione" [The School of Girls: Royal Colleges and Private Homes of Education]. In *Istituzioni e cultura in età napoleonica* [Institutions and Culture in the Napoleonic Era], edited by Elena Brambilla, Carlo Capra, Aurora Scotti, 501–509, Milano: Franco Angeli.

Broers, Michael. 2005. *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy: Cultural imperialism in an European Context?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

De' Buoi, Tommaso. 2005. *Diario delle cose principali accadute nella città di Bologna dall'anno 1796 fino all'anno 1821* [Diary of the Main Things that Happened in the City of Bologna from the Year 1796 Until the Year 1821]. Edited by Silvia Benati, Mirtide Gavelli, and Fiorenza Tarozzi. Bologna, Bononia University Press.

Dunne, John. 2001. "Quantifier l'émigration des nobles pendant la Révolution française: problèmes et perspectives" [Quantifying the Emigration of Nobles During the French Revolution: Problems and Perspectives]. In *La contre-révolution en Europe XVIIIe–XIXe siècles: Réalités politiques et sociales, résonances culturelles et idéologiques* [The Counter-Revolution in 18th–19th Century Europe: Political and Social Realities, Cultural and Ideological Resonance], edited by Jean-Clément Martin, 133–141. Rennes: Presse Universitaire de Rennes.

Gipponi, Tino, ed. 1998. *Maria e Richard Cosway*. Torino: Umberto Allemandi.

Green, Nancy. 2002. *Repenser les migrations* [Rethinking Migration]. Paris: PUF.

Greer, Donald. 1951. *The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Höpel, Thomas. 2000. *Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen 1789–1806: Eine Studie in vergleichender Perspektive* [Emigrants of the French Revolution in Prussia 1789–1806: A Study in Comparative Perspective]. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag (Deutsch-französische Kulturbibliothek, bond 17.

Humphries, Jane, and Carmen Sarasúa. 2012. "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past." *Feminist Economics* (4): 39–67.

Lucassen, Leo, and Aniek Smit. 2015. "The Repugnant Other: Soldiers, Missionaries, and Aid Workers as Organizational Migrants." *Journal of World History* 26 (1): 1–39.

Martini, Manuela, and Sumita Mukherjee. 2020. "Migration, Institutions and Intimate Lives: Towards a New Agenda." *Gender & History*, n.1.

Pillepich, Alain. 2001. *Milan capital napoléonienne: 1800–1814* [Milan Napoleonic Capital: 1800–1814]. Paris: Lettrage Distribution.

Quartararo, Anne. 1995. *Women Teachers and Popular Education in the Nineteenth-Century France.* London: Associated University Press.

Rao, Anna Maria.1992. *Esuli: l'emigrazione politica italiana in Francia, 1792–1802* [Exiles: Italian Political Emigration to France, 1792–1802]. Napoli: Guida.

Saunders, Rebecca, ed. 2003. *The Concept of the Foreign: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*. Oxford: Lexington Books.

Sergio, Giuseppe. 2010. *Parole di Moda: Il Corriere delle Dame e il lessico della moda nell'Ottocento* [Words of Fashion: The Corriere delle Dame and the lexicon of Fashion in the Nineteenth Century]. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Tatulli, Natalia. 2013. "Spose, vedove, avventuriere: Profili di donne francesi nella Milano di Napoleone" [Brides, Widows, Adventurers: Profiles of French Women in Napoleon's Milan]. In *Nuove frontiere per la storia di genere* [New Frontiers of Gender History], edited by Laura Guidi and Maria Rosaria Pellizzari, 170–177. Milano: Libreria Universitaria.

Zucchi, Manuela. 1980. "Problemi sociali e cultura a Bologna sotto il regime napoleonico" [Social Issue and Culture in Bologna Under the Napoleonic Regime]. *Il carrobbio* 6: 390–408.

Transnational Migration in Wallachia during the 1830s: A Difficult Road from Broader Themes to Micro-History

Bogdan Mateescu

International studies on female migration throughout history have a consolidated history. Migration studies in general have centered around topics such as women's rights, status, gender relations, female labor, relations between communities of different nationalities, community building, migration regulations, etc. Romanian scholars have largely remained on the fringes of these discussions, but not because they have neglected migration as a field of study. Rather, they have rarely approached migration per se, choosing instead to tackle the problem as a corollary to other themes. One of these is Minority studies. Greeks attracted historians due to their influence in politics (including international relations), cultural transfer, and, in general, because they played

B. Mateescu (✉)
"Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest, Romania
e-mail: bogdanmateescu@iini.ro

important roles as the elite class (Cotovanu 2017; Petrescu 2013), as did, more in general, the people of the Balkans (Siupiur 2009). Works on Jews have focused on persecution, state building, and citizenship, as well as on antisemitism (Ungureanu 2005; Vainer et al. 2013). Another field of studies that has incorporated migration is the study of merchants (Lazăr 2006; Pakucs 2017; Luca 2010). Finally, Romanian historiography already has a longstanding tradition of studying and editing the accounts of foreign travelers, a clear example of which is the collection *Călători străini în țările române* (1968–1983; 2004–2020), edited by researchers from the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History.

Dealing with migration from these angles has both advantages and disadvantages. One great advantage is that these perspectives can give a clear picture of aspects that are crucial to migration studies: the emergence of different communities, for example, and the political implications of migration. In the case of Jews and Greeks, in-depth studies have enriched our knowledge on how the State viewed its subjects and, later, its citizens, and on how social and international status overlapped (for the last decades of the eighteenth century see the works of Lidia Cotovanu [2017]). However, there are also some disadvantages when adopting such approaches. One of these is that these perspectives consider migratory patterns of only certain population groups, omitting others. Strangely enough, the majority of the population—i.e., the native one—is generally absent in this kind of scholarly literature. While a brief and general overview of external migration patterns is provided in some works, internal migration in nineteenth-century Romania is basically a non-existent field in local historiography. Another disadvantage of the current methodological paradigm is that its framework is often too general, avoiding micro-studies that would shed light on important social interactions. Inevitably, since migration is not the main focus of these studies, it is limited to the grand historical themes: the waves of settlement of various populations, the role of political and cultural figures, the emergence of social conflicts or unrest.

Often communities of migrants are viewed as a whole, the existence of different kinds of relations with the native populations is certainly acknowledged, but examined only superficially. For example, the degree of intermarriages between different ethnicities (regardless of migration patterns) is still an area where historians are left guessing, whereas for Transylvania comprehensive studies have already been made (Bolovan and Bolovan 2005). Close social ties have been analyzed, but only within a

framework that tends to be heavily inclined toward members of the elites. Studying migration through the lens of foreign travelers has its rewards in terms of cultural history, but less in social and economic history, where internal sources (at least for the nineteenth century) are more fruitful. Needless to say, other aspects have also been neglected, and, above all, migration has never been incorporated into social history.

Progress will be made if the study of historical migration becomes a specific field of research. Despite the lack of progress, in fact, sources on migration exist and are similar to those available for other contemporaneous European countries: some of these were specifically destined to migrants, or included them as a distinct category (travel permits, lists of travelers, fiscal records, some censuses, civil state records). Other sources give an overview of the general population and can be used, by linking information from other sources, for persons identified as migrants (censuses, court and police records, private documents, etc.).

Objectives

The present research intends to fill the aforementioned gaps and focuses on female migration patterns in Wallachia during the 1830s. I started this research by tackling a source that was designed specifically for travelers: lists of border crossings. In doing so, I have included in the analysis all kinds of mobility, taking into account all women travelers and not just a specific category of migrants. At the same time, my analysis will follow a micro-historical approach, in which I aimed to collect and use information related to migration patterns (gender, occupation, reasons for travel) from the perspective of single individuals, rather than at a more general level (community or region).

However, a micro-historical approach inevitably has its drawbacks which depend on the current state of art. The lack of published sources creates difficulties when attempting to expand any exploratory path. Extending the inquiry to the travelers' background and their social networks implied taking into account other kinds of sources. To give an example close to my research, in 1838 the principality issued one of the first general population censuses of Eastern Europe (general, in the sense that officers were ordered to record the names of all inhabitants). It survived in most part, some excerpts have been published in paper format.[1] It is only recently that population samples with information on individual level started to be released, a process that is still ongoing,

meaning that most material remains inaccessible in digital format (which is obviously more suited for any kind of complex analysis).[2] In my case, the central piece of documentation that is still missing is relative to Bucharest, the principality's main migration hub. The five registers of the city record individuals by property (enclosures), regardless if they were owners or tenants, permanent inhabitants or travelers. Those hosted in inns during the compilation of the census were also listed, together with the following information: age, marital status, nationality, social status, and occupation. Unfortunately, these registers are still unpublished, and this makes cross-analysis very hard.

For this reason, while the present study is based on information at an individual level, my analysis has been restricted to a single category of sources. Brief and isolated excerpts from other sources complement the collected information. At the same time, this research is modeled in such a way that it can compensate for the shortcomings in Romanian historiography, while contributing to the international debate. As such, it has two main objectives. First, it documents the relevance and extent of female mobility in this specific region of Europe. In the circumstances described above, even a simple effort at analyzing basic facts is welcome. The main scope of this research is therefore of exploratory nature: I document as much as my sources allow, although only some of the findings will be presented.

Secondly, it investigates the social aspects of travel. I wanted to determine the extent to which women traveled alone, or in company, as well as the nature of these travel groups. It is tempting to use the travel group as a social indicator, especially when discussing the status and power relations, since it shows who interacted with whom during the migration/mobility process. My initial intentions were to analyze this through the idea of agency, but such an approach using travelers' lists has proved to be unrealistic. Until other contextual elements become available through new sources, social ties can be studied only tentatively, providing general hypotheses on the social relations that travel groups underlined.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND SOURCES

The two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia existed since the Middle Ages, falling under Ottoman dominance in the fifteenth century, shortly after their formation. Their autonomy got gradually reduced because of Ottoman expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in turn

countered by the rise of the Habsburgs and of tsarist Russia, all striving for control of South-Eastern Europe. By the eighteenth century the territories of the two countries became a battleground for these two powers. The situation improved after international protection was established, first by Russia (following the 1828–1829 Russo-Turkish War), then by Western European powers, after the Crimean War. These events propelled two important processes: the modernization of law and administration starting from the 1830s, and the union of the two principalities that began in 1859, when it was agreed that both would share common laws and the highest executive power (the prince). Separate governments continued to exist for a short while, until the country fully unified and became recognized as Romania.

Wallachia covered a territory of some 77,000 sq.km and in the 1830s had a small population, of approximately 1.5–1.7 million inhabitants, mostly Romanians, who shared some of the characteristics of other Eastern European people. The inhabitants populated mostly the rural areas (some 80–90% of them lived in villages), they were Christian Orthodox, still within the first phase of the demographic transition (with high birth and death rates). From the point of view of marital behaviors, they fitted the patterns proposed by John Hajnal for Eastern Europe (early marriage, slightly higher age at marriage among men, high rate of remarriages and low celibacy). Gypsies also inhabited this territory since the Middle Ages. After settling in the area, they were enslaved, and maintained this status until their formal emancipation thanks to a series of laws issued in 1838, 1847 and 1856.

Like in other European countries, women lacked political rights, but enjoyed some rights that enabled them to act as economic agents. For married women, the situation was extremely similar to that of Italy, as presented by Beatrice Zucca Micheletto (2014). They owned their dowries, even though control over their dotal goods was exercised mostly by the husband. In case of separation, these goods would return to the wife (Vintilă-Ghiţulescu 2011; Jianu 2009; Roman 2018). Widows and unmarried girls could also own property (including land), and women in general could also travel alone. During this period, travel authorizations or permits (*răvaşe de drum*) were issued by police authorities (police offices in towns, sub-prefectures in the countryside). These permits were used for both domestic and external travel, much like modern day-passports. In the case of foreign subjects living in Wallachia, consulates would issue such papers.

During the 1828–1834 Russian occupation, that coincided with a wave of reforms, the Wallachian border was organized as in most European countries.[3] It consisted of a network of crossing points (equipped with certain establishments) and guard posts. The way in which borders were managed and functioned differed from North to South, according to an interplay of factors such as geopolitics, health concerns, and natural landscape.

The Southern border, where the Danube was a natural barrier, held a higher political stake. During the Russian-Ottoman wars it was the de facto border between the territories controlled by each empire, and securing it was important for sanitary reasons. The spread of bubonic plague and cholera from Ottoman lands was a major concern to Russia, since it was decimating its armies. It was for this reason that all official crossing points along the Danube were equipped with buildings where travelers were forced to quarantine.[4] Hence, the Danube line fell under three different administrations: The Health Office within the Home Office, the regular administration of the Home Office (police/prefectures), and the newly formed Military.[5] In addition, the local population was tasked with guard duty at, as well as with maintaining infrastructure.

Spanning mostly across the Carpathians and separating the country from the Habsburg Empire and Moldavia, the northern border fell under two of the above-mentioned authorities: the Military and the Home Office's regular administration. The latter supervised the building and maintenance of infrastructure (roads and buildings), as well as civil guard duty. In turn, the Military managed and supervised border crossings. These points were under the authority of special commanders, while the rest of the borderline was guarded by regular army units and civilians.[6]

In this context, a new type of administrative record entered routine: lists of travelers compiled by border officers. Since they are not only unpublished, but also largely unexplored, it is very hard to trace their exact origin. Up untill now there is no certainty as to the date of their introduction, and their actual purpose, other than simply to record border traffic. Fiscal reasons might have also come into play, since copies of them were often redirected to the Department of Finance: it is possible that they were used to trace foreign subjects, as they constituted a fiscal category, but once again, the exact bureaucratic purpose is yet to be established. I found such lists in several fonds of the National Archives of Romania (Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale): *Visteria Țării*

Românești, *Ministerul de Război* and *Vornicia Dinlăuntru*. For the same reasons mentioned above, a complete inventory of the preserved material does not exist, and I could only use a limited sample of what I could find.

I chose the material found in files 74 and 75 (archival year 1837) from *Visteria Țării Românești*. It consists in lists that the border officers reported each month to the Army's Central Administration (*Dejurstva Oștirilor Românești*), and that in turn were redirected to the Department of Finance. Therefore, the material is in chronological order (by months), and then organized by crossing points. The files used here date between the late months of 1836, and the end of 1837, and concern only the northern border. Moreover, not all border crossings are covered by lists in this file, the most noteworthy absence being Focșani, the main border between Wallachia and Moldavia, a town which was split between the two principalities.

The selected lists were designed to contain the following type of information: traveler's name, nationality, origin, destination, occupation, and purpose of travel.[7] Information such as age, civil status and ethnicity were purposefully omitted, but can be reconstructed, at least for some travelers. Though there is no specific column specifying the gender of the traveler, this can be made out in several ways. The most obvious is by looking at first names, often clearly identifiable as male or female, but, even more reliable are occupations and nicknames. The patriarchal culture of the age made women easily recognizable in any Romanian population lists, including these ones: commoners were often referred to simply as *Women* ('Femeia'), and women in general were often given nicknames according to their husband's status or occupation. Since these names were feminized (as in the Romanian language nouns are gendered), it makes identifying women extremely easy, especially since Wallachian officials adopted the same registration procedure for locals and foreigners alike. For example, Safta [wife of] Vasili Costandin is labeled as 'milităreasă', meaning *military woman*, from 'militar' = soldier. The occupation obviously refers to her husband. There were indeed some ambiguous cases, but these are extremely rare. In order to study female migration, I only extracted individual information available for women travelers and I set up a data set containing information for 624 border crossings that involved women, from November 1836 to November 1837.

SOURCE QUALITY, CONCEPTS, AND METHODOLOGY

The sources used for this study present some limits. First, they only cover the northern border, where the largest share of traffic occurred by land, between Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia. For the Southern border, samples might offer different results, given different neighboring countries (the Ottoman Empire and Serbia) and communication means (by water, along the river Danube). Apart from this bias, another problem is the somewhat ambiguous manner in which the distinction between the administrative and physical crossing points was reflected in the Army's bureaucracy. Border check points were not situated exactly on the border, and some were not even located in the settlements directly neighboring the border. In the case of Câmpina and Văleni, for example, they were quite distant, about 40–50 kilometers away. At Dragoslavele, the distance was smaller (some 20 kilometers). Each checkpoint supervised traffic through one major road and one main physical crossing point: Predeal (Câmpina), Cheia (Văleni), and Rucăr (Dragoslavele). But travelers could enter the country through other places close to these, guarded by smaller posts. Such events were rare, but we should assume that when they occurred, their records might have been centralized along with those of travelers passing through the main points. Thus, the lists reported to the Government were labeled according to border checkpoint, and not to the exact point of entry, with few exceptions. This is why Maps 12.1 and 12.4 (the latter in the appendix) contain dual labels for the three aforementioned points: one indicating the checkpoint and the other the major crossing point associated to it. Given this situation, it should be assumed that, in their case, the records might include travelers who entered the country through other nearby places (within a range of 5–10 kilometers).

The second set of flaws refers to the nature of information regarding travelers, which can be distorted or missing, mostly because of the lack of uniformity and the approximate manner in which the documents were filled. Thus, the following data are more or less susceptible to inaccuracies:

1) *Origin of the traveler*. It was understood differently from one officer to another: some referred to their domicile (in a foreign country), others to the last place where they found temporary residence before arriving at the checkpoint.

2) *Companions*. When people traveled in groups, it often happened that some persons formally protected others and appear as group leaders in the lists. It could have meant that the authorization to cross the

The territory of Wallachia compared to present day borders

Border crossing points covered in this paper

■ Sampled travelers from the respective border crossing. Information extracted for all identified female travelers

● Nov. 1836 – Oct. 1837
○ Dec. 1836 – Oct. 1837
○ Dec. 1837 – Nov. 1837
● Feb. 1837 – Nov. 1837

Dragoslavele – Rucăr   Câmpina – Predeal   Văleni – Cheia

Câineni

Vulcan

Nămoloasa (Bolboaca)

_____ Current national borders

- - - - - Historical borders of Wallachia

Wallachia 1836 – 1837

Bucharest

0   50   100   150   200   250 km

Map 12.1 Wallachia compared to present day borders and sampled border crossings

border was given to all members of the group, but only one paper was issued, which was then entrusted to the group leader. In most of these instances, the records yield meticulous information on the group leader, while companions were recorded with less precision, left anonymous, only marked according to their position to the group leader ('wife', 'child', 'relative', 'friend', 'servant', 'slave', etc.). Many times, companions are simply referred to as *souls* ('suflete'), which has prevented me from establishing the travelers' gender (this is why Fig. 12.2 contains categories for unknown gender).

3) *Social background*. For what concerns this particular point, travelers' lists are rather special, especially in regards to women. In their paper which deals with how sources are more or less transparent on women participation in the labor force and how this (lack of) transparency affects historical research, Jane Humphries and Carmen Sarasúa point to two categories of sources. The first are official records, which, as the authors argue, grossly underestimate women as income earners or distort their occupation, to the point of making them 'invisible'. This could have happened for a number of reasons: emphasis on men as main taxpayers, property owners and sole military recruits; the (perceived) nature of female occupations ('seasonal, irregular, interrupted, performed at home, unspecialized and unskilled, and consisted, in part, of subsistence production' [Humphries and Sarasúa 2012, 45]); not to mention gender and social bias. Enumerators (or census agents) filled forms partially according to their own expectations, assumptions, or reality, and less in the spirit of detail. The second category of sources is those in which the authors were more sensitive toward these realities. Such sources include an 1851 French census, as well as records of charitable institutions (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012, 51). The Wallachian sources fit both categories. The column *Occupation* was filled like in most European censuses at the time, reducing women to stereotypes, disregarding the idea that women could play active roles in the economy (I explained earlier how women in population lists were often referred simply as '*woman*' or by the occupation of the husband). However, the column *Purpose* offers more insight into the social and economic motivations behind their travels. Persons marked as women in occupation, could be recorded as traveling for personal reasons (to visit certain relatives), for professional reasons (to sell goods, to become domestics) or in mixed situations. Table 12.1 provides an example from the winter of 1836/1837, entries through Câmpina-Predeal.

Table 12.1 Extracts from the travelers lists compiled by the commander of border crossing Câmpina

Name	Origin	Destination	Occupation	Purpose
December 14th 1836 (dates in Julian calendar)				
Morgit Istók	Bácsfalu	Bucharest	Woman	With merchandise
December 29th 1836				
Maria Languşi	Braşov	Bucharest	Woman	To [serve a] master
January 2nd 1837				
Rozi Orban	Id[em][a]	–	Woman	–
Stana Purice	Id[em]	–	–	–
Chiva Blabea	Braşov	Bucharest	Woman	To [serve a] master
January 20th 1837				
Susanna Pelzner with two souls	Id[em]	-–	Woman	With merchandise

[a]All Idem markings refer to Braşov

All six travelers are registered as 'woman' in the column *occupation*, as if the meaning of the term had a universal understanding, denoting a lack of individuality (from an administrative and/or economic point of view). However, when required to give details about their dealings in Wallachia—in the column *Purpose*—the records, short as they may be, are very much in contrast with the label previously used. Morgit and Susanna were involved in commerce, while Maria, Rozi, Stana, and Chiva were aiming to find a job as maids. In this sense, data is more transparent, and, even if it does not give specific information on their social status (only the activity performed at their destination), it is still relevant enough to be used to study the economic implications of female migration.

4) *Names.* Finally, a piece of information that occasionally proved painstakingly challenging were names. Given the numerous non-Wallachian travelers, names in languages other than Romanian were written down using the native Cyrillic alphabet, following phonetic principles. This makes it difficult to identify the name's form in the traveler's tongue. Some can be easily deduced, others not. This made transcription difficult, sometimes impossible and can affect research in two ways. First, it makes it difficult to use names in order to infer ethnicity (which was not required to be recorded). For this reason, in this article, I have avoided to tackle the question of ethnicity. Second, it can impair the identification of the same traveler in multiple border crossings, or in other sources, in a

future cross-reference approach. For example, we read that Ilinca Ghiro (written 'Гиро') exited the country on January 28. Half a year later, Ilinca Chiro ('Киро') crosses the border at the same point, originating from the same Transylvanian village as the previous Ilinca (the village of Turcheş). Assuming they are one and the same person, they will have to share the same code in a variable designed for personal identification. However, since the surnames do not match exactly, the coding process could prove erroneous in this case, if done automatically. Given this potential for flaws, I prioritized analysis based on border crossings, instead of travelers. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to them simply as *events*. One event is equivalent to one border crossing made by one individual, regardless of how many times they crossed the border, in and out of the country, within the sampled timespan.

In addition, I analyzed the origin of the travelers only from the point of view of those entering the country (which was recorded uniformly), showing in this way travel routes and their destination. Finally, when dealing with the socio-professional background of the travelers, I especially concentrated on their stated 'purpose', because it is generally recorded and the information provided is more precise.

A core aspect of my analysis is travel groups. I wanted to measure the degree to which women traveled independently, from a social point of view. The best indicator for social ties that I could extract from the lists is the formal group in which individuals were recorded. By formal, I mean a group of persons listed in a single entry. In the vast majority of cases, I assume they shared the same passport. Of course, relations might have existed between individuals outside these groups, as some are clearly visible in the lists (see Table 12.2 in the appendix—formal groups of similar background traveling on the same day, to the same places and for the same purposes). Using the formal group as a unit of analysis poses certain risks, but it also has certain advantages. The advantages are that a formal group reflects closer ties. It is highly unlikely that a wife, a child, or a servant would have been recorded separately from her husband, parent or master, as the pattern of recording suggests. Therefore, a formal group is likely to correctly pin-point cases of lack of independence. The risk is that it ignores travelers of equal status traveling together, but each with their own passport. They could had been 'concealed' in the source as single entries, when, in fact, they were part of travel parties. In such cases, both categories—single individuals and 'equal' travelers—can be classified as relatively independent subjects.

Clearly, the primary goal of this analysis is exploratory; it represents a first attempt to classify travel groups, but it cannot be necessarily used to determine status, power, or agency. Indeed, some instances can be interpreted as representative. Women traveling with servants to do business (see the examples in next section) or for leisure (see Table 12.2 in the appendix) can be given as an example of proactive women. The two female slaves that accompanied their mistress, Zinca Ghica (also a woman, see next section), are certainly proof of dependency. However, other instances of group travel are too ambiguous to constitute an indicator of dependency/independence. Individuals who traveled in groups, even as 'subordinates', that is in the same formal group, shouldn't necessarily be viewed as lacking independence. Sometimes people traveled together solely for protection, out of friendship, or because they shared common interests and destinations. From a legal standpoint, women traveling with their husbands were under their protection, but, from an economic point of view, they could participate in managing (even owning) a business, depending on the context. The case of Turin (Zucca Micheletto 2014), and Wallachian legal practices suggest that such instances should be treated with caution. This said, I classified the instances of women travelers on a scale of three tiers, depending on the degree of belonging to a formal group:

1. In the first category I grouped instances that reflect a relatively high degree of independence. This classification can be further subdivided into categories, though we should bear in mind that the following in no way implies a strict hierarchical order:

   a. Women traveling with subordinates, such as servants or slaves;
   b. Women traveling alone;
   c. Women traveling with members of their kin group (children, relatives);
   d. Women traveling as companions, apparently retaining equal status as their formal protectors.

2. Another category groups women who traveled with companions, but whose exact status is unknown (i.e. we cannot ascertain whether they were subordinates or equals to the group leader).

3. In the third category I classified cases that suggest a relative lack of independence. This category includes women traveling as companions that were subordinate to their protector: wives, children, servants, slaves, as well as relatives or other persons (other than 'comrades') who depended on their protector from a formal point of view.

Wallachia: Women Crossing the Northern Border

The analysis of the Wallachian samples has led to the following findings: first, men traveled far more often than women. Only 3.3% (481 out of 14,427) of the events (border crossings) involved women as passport holders, although it is fair to observe that there are significant differences in the data relative to different crossing points. For what concerns Văleni, for example, I could barely find such events: only 6 out of about 4070 crossings, accounting for less than 1%. Data for Vulcan and Câineni yielded a slightly higher share, 2 and 1% respectively, while for Nămoloasa the share is close to the average (3.5%). Women traveled more frequently through Câmpina and Dragoslavele, with a share of just over 7%. These two points saw the majority of women travelers, totaling 394 events. In fact, Câmpina alone witnessed 320 crossings. This was because transnational travel of women to or from Wallachia was basically one-sided: the travelers were mostly Austrian subjects from Transylvania—of different ethnicities (German, Hungarian, Romanian, Jewish)—who traveled only between certain towns. In fact, the two most populated urban settlements from each side of the border, Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, and Brașov, in Trasylvania, attracted 66–80% travelers (Map 12.2).

Moreover, out of Transylvania's most important towns, including its capital (Sibiu), Brașov was the closest to Bucharest and to the Wallachian border. This meant that these particular localities were home to more numerous and more important establishments, as well as the economic and political elites, and they were characterized by constant exchange and flow of goods and people. As stated, Bucharest hosted many Austrian subjects who practiced their trades there. More developed markets and stronger ties between transnational communities meant that women could played a more important role in maintaining these connections. It comes
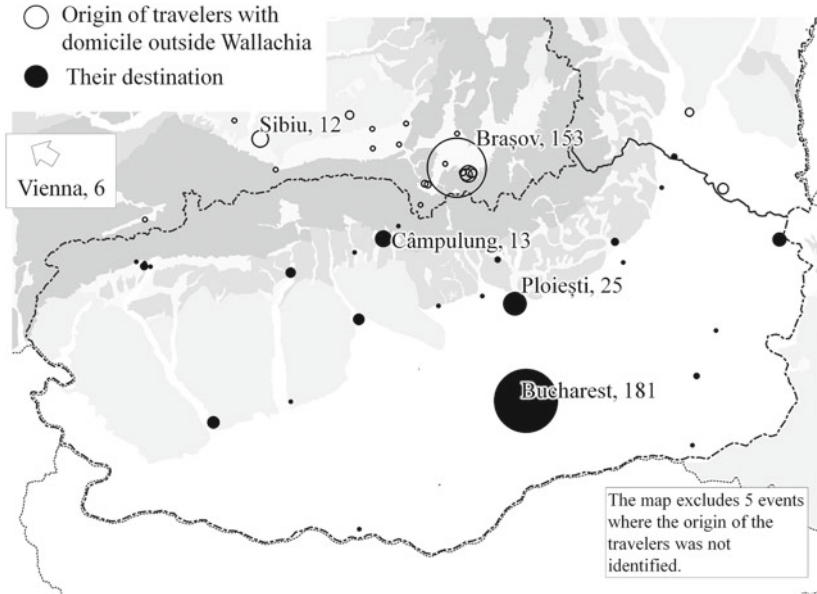
Map 12.2 Origins and destinations of travelers entering Wallachia

to no surprise, therefore, that the data for these two border cross-ings, both located on the shortest routes between Bucharest and Braşov, yielded the highest numbers of female travelers. Between them were the Wallachian towns of Câmpulung, Curtea de Argeş, Piteşti, Târgovişte, as well as the market towns of Filipeşti, Câmpina, Potlogi, Găeşti. Very few travelers who entered the country had these settlements as their destina-tion, as the more distant Bucharest appeared to have absorbed the vast majority of incoming female migrants.

There were of course secondary spatial patterns, that can be classified according to distance and communities:

- Bucharest attracted travelers from Braşov's surroundings as well, from the villages of Săcele, Baciu, Turcheş; but also from Transyl-vania's capital, Sibiu;
- Shorter journeys show links between communities closer to the border: Braşov-Ploieşti, Braşov-Câmpulung, Sibiu-Râmnic.

- Traffic through the most distant points from Bucharest was mostly local. In Nămoloasa, in the East, the main points of communication were Brăila, Tecuci, Nămoloasa (the Moldavian market town). In the west, the women who crossed the border through Vulcan came from the villages of Northern Dolj, the county that stretched across those mountains.

The vast majority of journeys took place over a distance of 200 kilometers at most, which can be considered a medium range. It is hard to establish how regular these journeys were. The sample reveals a range of different reasons for traveling that are often difficult to classify or disentangle. Some could reflect permanent migration, some were seasonal, and some concern cases of irregular mobility (example: a one-time visit to relatives across the borders; or visits at intermittent intervals). Because of the short time frame analyzed (roughly one year), certain stages of migration might be missing from the sample. Travelers leaving Wallachia at the beginning of our timeframe (end of 1836) could have arrived earlier that year; as those who entered the country in late 1837 (the end of our timeframe) could have returned only a few weeks later. So, temporary migration is most likely underrepresented in my sample. Taken as it is, my results show that 31% of female group leaders crossed the border more than one time, so quite an important share of them were temporary settlers. The actual percentage is likely higher, for the reasons explained above.

Another aspect that can be considered is the timing of travel. In absolute numbers, as well as a share of all journeys, the peak of border crossings by women was reached during summer and early autumn (Figs. 12.2 and 12.3). At Dragoslavele-Rucăr, women made up some 20–31% of all the document holders passing through checkpoints from June to September. At Predeal-Câmpina they were fewer, but still more than during the rest of the year: approximately 10–15%. Therefore, women seemed to plan their travel to coincide with favorable weather, which stands to reason given that they had to travel through the mountain passes. Men, on the other hand, traveled even during winter, with December actually being the second busiest month for them, after March. This pattern was determined by the cycles of pastoral agriculture, which saw shepherds and farmers moving back and forth from Transylvania to the rich grazing plains of Eastern Wallachia (which were also gateways for cattle export). Therefore, the patterns that have been observed are

influenced by the fact that men and women crossed the border in very different contexts (rural/urban destinations and occupations; economic cyclicity).

Who were the women crossing the sampled northern border? The vast majority (over 80%) were non-Wallachian subjects (mostly Austrian) and seem to be linked to an urban setting, regardless of their social status. The previous paragraphs explained the particular geographic pattern that linked Brașov to Bucharest; but why was the traffic dominated by Transylvanian women? Put simply, the reason was that the activities they (or their communities) were linked to were considered of high value in Wallachia. During most of the nineteenth century, there was a great demand for skills that in Wallachia were scarce or hard to teach locally. At least in part, this demand was connected to the process of Westernization. A country progressively influenced by Western European culture due to constant contacts, Transylvania was home to tradesmen, artists, physicians, teachers, and others professionals, who found in Wallachia fertile ground for their skills. The exact role that women played in this context will be revealed (at least partially) in the following sections.

As already stated in the section on methodology, their social background is shrouded since most were just registered with the generic label: 'woman' (among few others). In those rare cases in which an occupation is provided, this was either theirs, or their husbands. As few as they may seem, these cases point toward urban or non-agricultural background: the travelers belonged to families of merchants, tradesmen, noblemen, those who practiced liberal professions; or were themselves servants in towns (Fig. 12.1).

How did women travel from a social point of view? In most events in the sample under scrutiny—530 (63%) out of 843—women traveled in 'formal groups' with a group leader who had a passport and received permission on the behalf of all other group members, while in 312 (37%) they traveled alone (again, formally, since this number could include cases of friends or associates traveling each with their own passport). Of course, traveling in a group did not always imply lower social status or less freedom of movement. Indeed, in most cases of formal collective travel, women actually appeared to be group leaders. Moreover, half of those traveling with companions did so while under the protection of another woman. If I further filter data by taking into account social ties, then the resulting picture shows that moving women were proactive: in about three quarters of events, women traveled either alone, as formal group
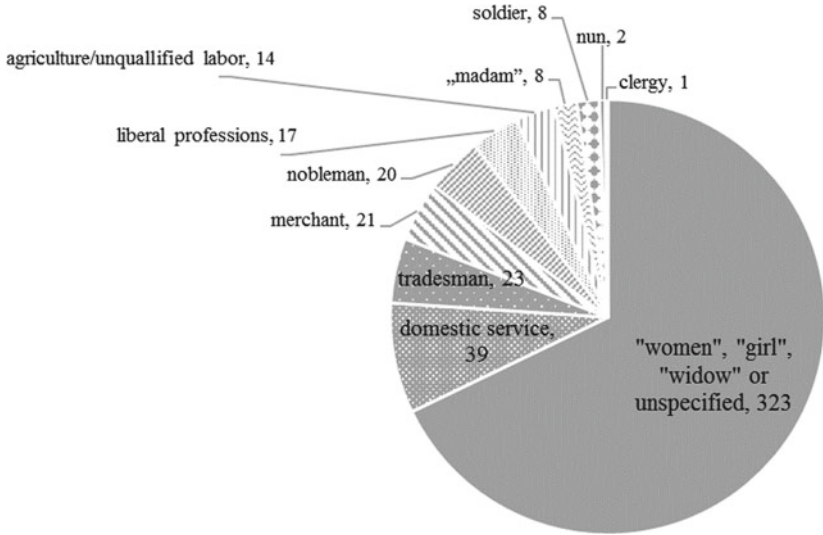
Fig. 12.1 The number of events by the general reference to social background recorded in the column Occupation

leaders, or as companions that were not subordinated to the group leader from a social point of view. Some of them—although the share is small—traveled with servants and even slaves, a clear sign of status, freedom and possibility of movement. Relatively rarely women traveled in a condition of formal subordination to another person—about a quarter of events. In most cases they were accompanying wives.

Why did they travel? In order to answer this question, I will exploit the information from the column 'purpose' of the travelers' lists. Several patterns can be described.

First, entering Wallachia to visit relatives, and/or returning home afterward, were by far the most frequent stated purposes for travel, amounting to 71% of events. This also underscores the nature of transnational travel: most of the times it was temporary and within already established connections and known communities. Predictably, Bucharest was the focal point: it was recorded as the final destination in 89 out 124 entries in which female document holders stated that they were in the country to visit various relatives. In turn, Braşov was the preferred destination when '[returning] home' (acasă) accounting for 88 out of 110 exits. In light

of these statistics, some examples are common, like those registered on August 7, 1837: Maria Mitriță and 'two souls', and Chiva wife of Dinu, accompanied by Maria wife of Ion and four children, all entered the country at Predeal. I found two of them—Maria Mitriță and Chiva—on the same route, returning to Brașov on October 9. They were accompanied by two souls and 'one wife/women with three children'. The latter *wife* could have been Maria Ion. Safta, wife of Vasile Constantin traveled an even shorter distance. Her journey and some of her family seemed tied to the mountain pass which marked the limits of the Habsburg Empire. Living in Tohanu Vechi, she crossed the border on June 22, and went just across it, to Dragoslavele, to 'see a daughter of her'. Her occupation was stated as 'military woman', meaning that her husband was in the army. He could have been a recruit or even a carrier soldier, part of the units guarding the border. I identified other two women who came from the same surroundings, and who similarly were traveling to visit their kin: Maria wife of priest Ion, and Ioana wife of Ion Mânzatu. They traveled to their relatives in Câmpulung, a town not far from Dragoslavele, but this time in full winter, in December 1836 and January 1837.

Second, women entered Wallachia for professional reasons, even though there were fewer cases of women traveling to work. In this category I classified 62 events (17% of the total). In most of these cases women aimed at being hired as housemaids. The majority (36–9% of all events), as simple servants: *servant* ('slujnică'—under *Occupation*) who traveled *to serve* ('să slujască'), *to [find/rejoin] a master* ('la stăpân'). Few were reported to offer more specialized services. Maria Gudhart was a *governess* ('gubernantă') from Sibiu, who wanted *to teach children* ('să înveţe copiii') in Craiova, while Kati Benko, from Brașov, was a cook ('bucătăreasă'). This subcategory of events might seem small in number, but my sample only covered one year and only the northern border. When analyzing aggregate data from two decades later, it becomes clear that the migration of foreign female servants continued, especially to Bucharest. The capital city continued to attract the bulk of migration, to such a point that in 1859 foreign servants made up almost half of the female servants in the households of merchants and tradesmen, their absolute number far exceeding that in any other town (Map 12.3).

Returning to travelers' lists, another important instance is that of women who apparently traveled as merchants (18 events). Of course, the source does not explain in what capacity they contributed to the business: if, for example, they owned or managed a shop, if they worked in family

business along with husbands or fathers, or just took part in supplying or keeping connections with transnational business partners. Women sellers or suppliers were not uncommon in Wallachia. During the census operations of 1859, the government invited agents to present descriptive reports—later published—about social life in their circumscriptions. Referring to gender roles, some noted:

> The same can be observed among common women, that they alone care for the household economy, they tend to gardening and produce not only for their family's need, but they also take and sell vegetables and legumes at the market. (…) All of these objects are sold in marketplaces by the very women who manufacture them, who satisfy many household needs with the money thus earned. Fruits too are sold at the market by women, one cannot see men wasting time selling legumes and gardening products at the market, but only women.
> (From a report by V.I. Paraschivescu, census officer for district Muscel, published in *Analele Economice*, p. 41)

Map 12.3 Wallachia in 1859. Number of foreign female servants in households of merchants and tradesmen, by urban settlement

These assessments reflect gender roles in local commerce, but also the involvement of women in the local economy. What the travelers' lists show, however, is that in nineteenth-century Wallachia women actively took part even in transnational commerce/business by transporting goods across the border. In all but two cases the border agent simply wrote 'woman' under occupation. But the stated purpose was along the lines of: *with merchandise* ('cu marfă'), *with shoes / with shoes to sell* ('cu pantofi'/'cu pantofi să vânză'). The case of Maria Vasiliu provides one example where the occupation *merchant women* given under *Occupation* was not simply a reference to her husband's background. She does indeed seem to have been a (de facto?) merchant, as her recorded purpose was *for commerce* ('pentru negoț'). While traveling from Craiova to Brașov via Dragoslavele-Rucăr she was accompanied by one *comrade* ('tovarăși') and one female servant. Similarly, a Moldavian counterpart, Sultana *wife of Vasile Eșanu*, was a *potter woman* (*female pottery maker*) destined for Brăila, *with pots* ('cu oale'). All of these cases show that women played a role in, most likely, family businesses, corroborating some of the previously cited studies on women as active participants in local economies (Zucca Micheletto 2014). The case of Ecatirina Rainert is also telling. She left Sibiu for Râmnicu-Vâlcea (see Map 12.2—Rm. Vâlcea), via Câineni, to join her husband. Interestingly, she is mentioned as a *woman bricklayer* ('zidăreasă'), and her reason for traveling was to *work with her husband*.

Another sub-pattern related to professional travel concerns female actors. I found two events where companies of actors that included women entering the country, bound for Bucharest. They first crossed the border in July 1837, lead by Ignatius Fritz, the director of the French theatre in Bucharest. In October a second troupe arrived; it was made up of comedians and lead by Peter Dimart. Ana Mogled, accompanied by eight *souls*, and Maria were the two *female comedians* ('femei comediante') of the group.

In few events (13) women migrated to work in agriculture in the Eastern Wallachian districts, where they most likely tilled land or assisted shepherds. At least this is what the recorded purpose of *to [tend to] sheep* ('la oi') suggests. The low number of such cases correlates with the timing of female travel, that was different from that of men. The spikes in certain months observable among the general population are determined especially by pastoral cycles that involved crossing the mountains from

Transylvania to the fertile plains of Eastern Wallachia. Each year Transylvanian shepherds would enter the country, exit and return, in line with the cyclical phases of pastoral activities.

Finally, women left Wallachia also for tourism and leisure. Although such events were not frequent (15 events—1% of the total), this pattern is dominated by Wallachian women of high status, usually hailing from noble families. Catinca Hagiopolu, Elenca Filitis, Efrusina Gorneanu, Anastasia Văduva (etc.) traveled from Bucharest to Braşov and Arpatak, but also Iuli Matei, the only Austrian subject among them. Elenca Arion, also left from Bucharest to the famous baths of Mehadia, as her destination. In this sub-pattern there were women who traveled from other Wallachian towns as well: Sica Brătianca (to Mehadia), Elenca Popeasca, Luxandra Budişteanca and Marghioala Drugănescu (to Arpatak, near Braşov), all lived in Piteşti. Stanca Calfoloaia left Râmnicu-Vâlcea for Sibiu, while Djuna Doftoroae (*a doctor*), engaged in the longest leisure trip: from Turnu, on the Danube, to Cluj, in the heart of Transylvania. It is in this sub-pattern that we can find the largest travel group headed by a woman. Zinca Ghica was a member of the family that ruled Wallachia in the 1830s. She too traveled to the baths of Arpatak in the same summer, accompanied by her daughter, three servants, and five slaves, two of whom were female.

What should be kept in mind is that all of the above cases were reconstructed from the point of view of border crossing events (1 event = 1 person crossing one time, for a certain purpose). If we prioritize the individuals in our analysis, we see that sometimes purposes overlap, that some women traveled *several times* but *in different circumstances*.

Commercial networks were sometimes complemented by social relations. One interesting case is that of Catrina Grin. In February 1837 she entered Wallachia through Câmpina-Predeal, bound for Bucharest, *with shoes [to sell]*. In April she returned to Braşov, but she was not alone, traveling in her mother's company. She again traveled to Bucharest in August, this time with the sole recorded purpose of visiting her sister ('la soră-sa'), while accompanied by a female *comrade*. So, we can tell that her sister and her mother were living in Bucharest, that she sold or supplied shoes there, but that she also traveled with relatives and friends between Bucharest and Braşov. Something similar seems to have happened with Maria Viber, who traveled on the same route. She entered the country in April *with merchandise*, exited in May, but returned to Bucharest in July *to [visit] relatives*. Future research might shed more light on the kind of

networks that linked Wallachian and Transylvanian towns, and migrant communities to the native population.

Like the previous examples, the voyage of Maria Terezia in December 1836 is also telling. Her occupation stated her as a *female tanner* taking the route from Braşov to Câmpulung, via Dragoslavele-Rucăr, in order to *receive debt payments* ('ca să scoată nişte datorie'). Her cross-border networks implied financial exchanges, in addition to social and economic ties. It would be interesting to better investigate what role she played (if any) in hers or her husband's business.

Women who traveled as companions, especially as wives, show slightly different patterns. Their travel routes were more diverse and included more long-distance destinations or points of departure. This is indicative of the higher status that men held, that allowed them to move over longer routes with more diverse purposes. The only women bound for England, Saxony, Galicia, or coming from Italy in the dataset—not to mention other farther places within Wallachia or Transylvania—traveled alongside their husbands. Moreover, their background was also more diverse. At the highest end of the social scale we can include the British consul to Wallachia, Robert Colhoun, who returned home with his wife in March 1837. At the opposite side of the scale, four *beggars* ('cerşetori'—column *Occupation*)—Ilie Tudor, Nicolae Bălaş, Toader Alecu, Lazăr Bartoş—traveled with their respective wives and children to Bucharest, or returned home to Braşov. These were the only examples I found of women coming to Wallachia *to beg* (pentru cerşit—column *Purpose*). Between these contrasting instances, we can place more common journeys, like those performed for commercial reasons. But even here, the examples are somewhat exotic. Franz Parsot (?), an *Italian subject* entered Wallachia through Câmpina-Predeal, coming all the way from Italy (unspecified principality), accompanied by his wife (unnamed). He was a *dollmaker* ('păpuşar'), on his way to Bucharest *to sell dolls* ('să vânză păpuşi'). Similarly, a Wallachian subject, Mihalache Maca, traveled to Leipzig with his wife Anastasia, *for commerce* ('pentru comerţ'). To Wallachian merchants, Leipzig was a major connection in Central Europe, and a commercial gateway to the West, so much so that those importing goods from Leipzig had their own guild: that of 'lipscani'.

Examples can further be cited regarding short distance commerce. Ioan Găină, another Wallachian subject, was based in the village of Râmniceni,

close to the border with Moldavia. On March 26, he and his wife left the country for the Moldavian port of Galați, *to bring merchandise* ('să aducă marfă'). In these cases, migrant women appear, from the point of view of formal ties, as 'followers' of their husbands, according to a consolidated (and stereotypical) image developed in previous literature on the topic. Clearly, only further research, cross reference of different kinds of sources and biographical reconstruction, could help to better underscore their role and their concrete contribution to mobility within the family context.

Conclusions

My research has looked at the women who crossed the Wallachian Northern border for a year beginning from the end of 1836. The major pattern that emerged in the results concerns medium-range journeys that linked the two most populated towns in Wallachia and Transylvania: Bucharest and Brașov. The most common type of traffic in this pattern can be seen as a byproduct of the process of importing skills, goods, and services from Transylvania, a process that coincided with the establishment of Transylvanian communities in Wallachia. Romanian historiography has so far focused on important figures, while my results reflect this process on a micro-level and taking into account individuals traveling for a range of purposes, and hailing from multiple social and professional backgrounds. My research shows that women played a crucial role in these dynamics of exchange. Considering all spatial patterns that are reflected in the sample, women who traveled across the border seem to have been proactive: they journeyed mostly independently or accompanied by children, relatives, or friends. Furthermore, thanks to their mobility, they maintained transnational ties between communities and participated in the economy. A more complete picture will surface once additional sources are cross-researched—in this sense a future social history of migration in Wallachia is a promising field of studies.

Appendix

See Map 12.4, Table 12.2, Figs. 12.2, 12.3, and 12.4.
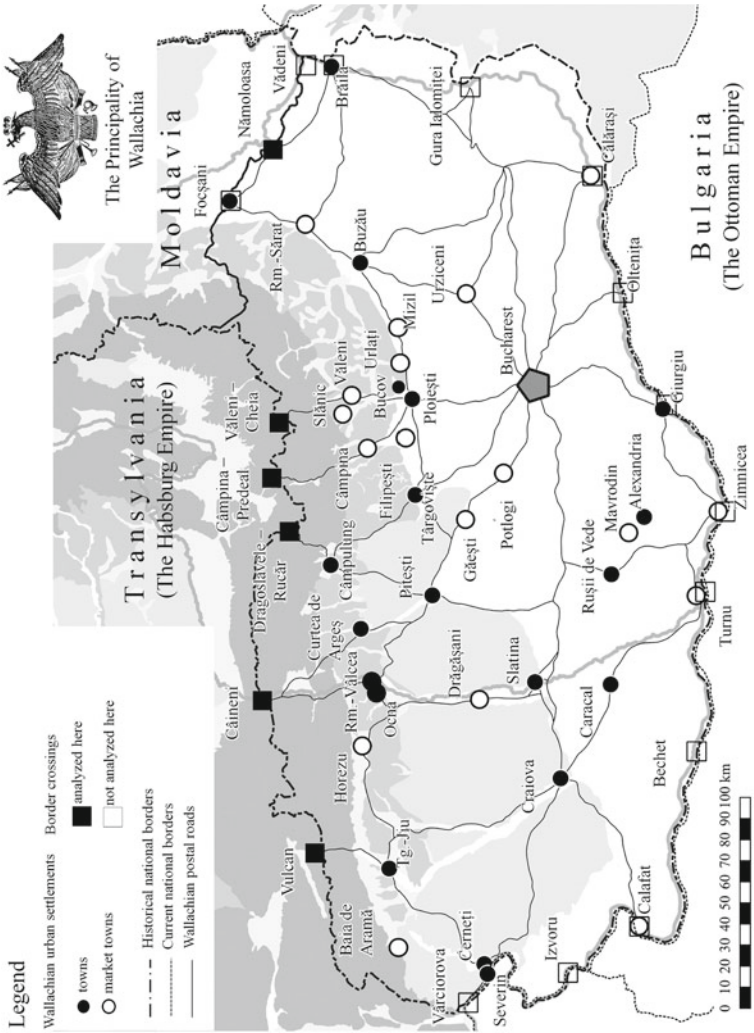
Map 12.4 Wallachia in 1837. Towns, Market towns, border crossing points and postal roads

Table 12.2 Extracts from travelers lists

Date	Name	Origin	Protection	Occupation	Destination	purpose
June 3rd	major Costache Brătianu with his wife and 2 servants	Bucharest	Wallachian subject	–	to Arpatak	for the baths
–	Eli(n)ca Pope(a)sca with her son and 2 servants	Pitești	–	–	–	-
–	Lucsandra Budiște(a)nca with 2 servants	–	–	–	–	-
–	paharnic Margh(i)oala Drugăneasca with her son and 2 servants and 2 lads	–	–	–	–	-
• file 74/1837, page 191. Predeal-Câmpina crossing point						
• (February 21st)	Ana Miko	Brașov	• (Austrian subject)	woman	- (to Bucharest)	with shoes to sell
–	Rozina the Women, with two souls	–	–	–	–	-
–	Noghi Balint	–	–	–	–	-

Date	Name	Origin	Protection	Occupation	Destination	purpose
page 191 verso February 21st						
• **file 74/1837, page 247. Nămoloasa crossing point**						
	Caterina Grin	Braşov	Austrian subject	Woman	To Bucharest	with shoes
(March 24th)	Sultana (wife) of Vasile Eşanu	Nicoreşti	Moldavia	Woman potter	to Brăila, with potts	
• **file 74/1837, page 299. Căineni crossing point**						
(April 13th)	Ecatirina Rainert, with two children	Sibiu	• (Austrian subject)	Woman bricklayer	Râmnic	to work with her husband

National Archives of Romania, Visteria Ţării Româneşti, file 75/1837, page 71. Dragoslavele - Rucăr crossing point
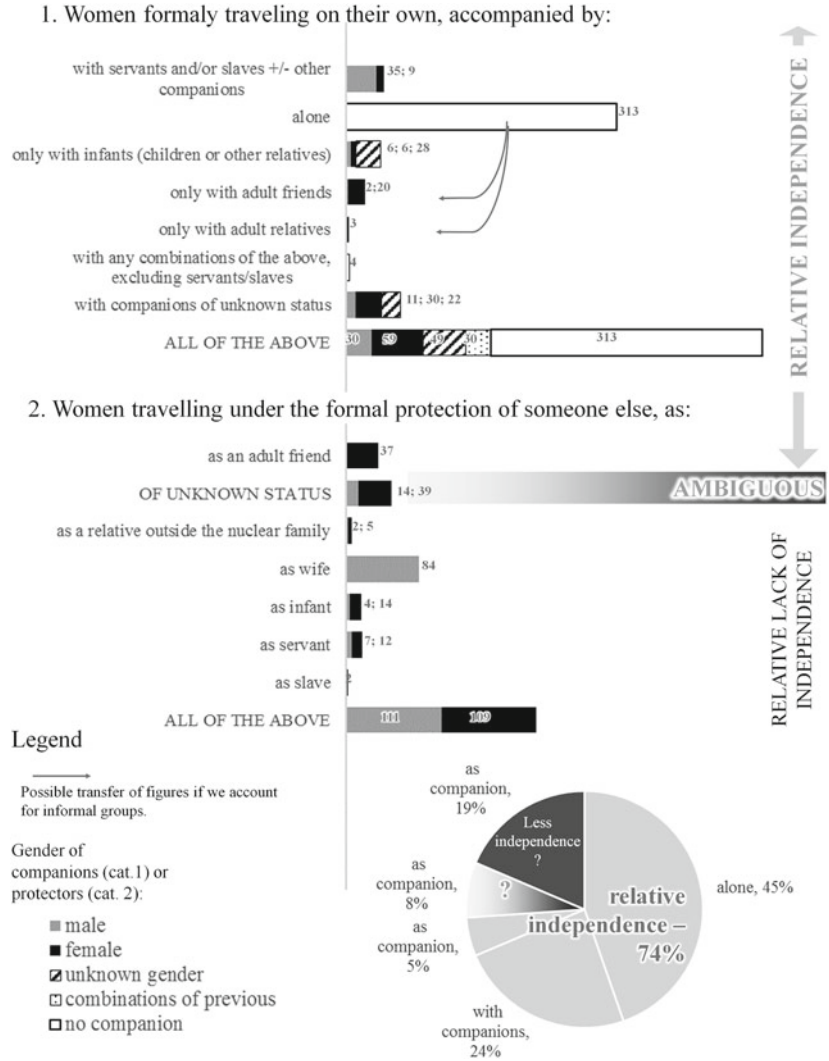
Fig. 12.2 Number of events involving women, by the status of women in formal groups
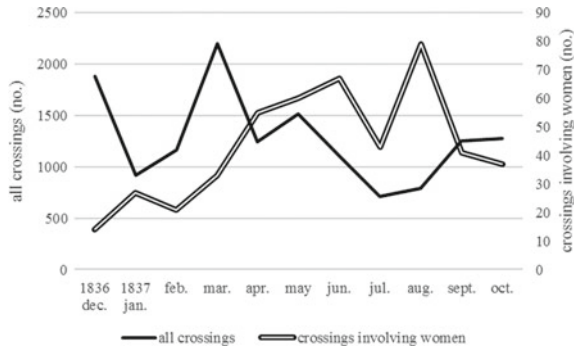
Fig. 12.3   Sampled travelers lists from Wallachia's Northern border. Number of crossings by month**; double scale. **The month of November was excluded from the analysis because of missing material for the majority of the crossing points
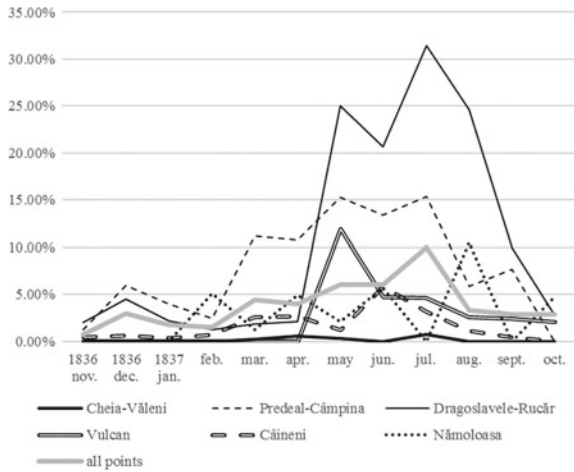
Fig. 12.4   Sampled travelers lists from Wallachia's Northern border. Percentage of crossings where women were formal group leaders or traveled alone

NOTES

1. Several publications exist and cover mostly towns: Câmpulung, Cerneţi. Piteşti, Brăila, Caracal, Ploieşti; authors include Spiridon Cristocea, Ion Dedu, Dinică Ciobotea, Emanoil Barbu.
2. In 2014 a representative dataset on rural population was published on the MOSAIC database. Similar efforts at digitization are taking place at Nicolae Iorga Institute of History (Romanian Academy) and Sodderstorm University; the databases are set to be published in 2021.
3. A constitutional law was introduced, called *The Organic Regulation*, which constituted the basis of reorganizing the administration and introducing modern branches of government.
4. These facilities were called 'quarantines' and were maintained after the end of the war, and later integrated into the Wallachian administration (art. 180–211 of the Organic Regulation). Travelers were required to stay there between four and sixteen days, depending on the existence of epidemics South of the Danube.
5. In spite it being called *Millitia* (Miliţia), it functioned like a regular army, with a permanent active force and constant recruitment. It was composed of three regiments.
6. Villages close to the border had to provide a number of men to guard designated points and routes. In turn, they were partially exempted from taxation.
7. The content of lists varies over time, according to the table format that was used. In the late 1850s additional columns were inserted: age, approximate height, eye colour, form of the nose and face—see the lists preserved in the archives of the former War Department (National Archives of Romania, fond Ministerul de Război—Punctul Bechet). However, from unknown reasons, some border officers used a slightly different format than in the others. Among our own sources, those from Nămoloasa also state the means of transport.

REFERENCES

Analele Economice pentru cunoştinţa părţii muntene din România [*The Annals of Economics Concerning the Wallachian Parts of Romania*] 1860(I), no. 2.

Bolovan, Sorina, and Ioan Bolovan. 2005. "Căsătoriile mixte în Transilvania la sfârşitul epocii moderne. Consideraţii demografice" [*Mixed Marriages in Transylvania at the End of the Modern Age. Demographic Aspects*]. In *Căsătorii mixte în Transilvania (secolul al XIX-lea şi începutul secolului XX)* [*Mixed Marriages in Transylvania (19th century—Beginning of the 20th*

Century], edited by Corneliu Pădurean and Ioan Bolovan, 87–109. Arad: Editura Universităţii „Aurel Vlaicu".

Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu. 2011. "Mariage et parenté à travers les actes dotaux roumains (1700-1865)." *Annales de démographie historique* 121: 141–60.

Cotovanu, Lidia. 2017. ''Chasing Away the Greeks': The Prince-State and the Undesired Foreigners (Wallachia and Moldavia between the 16th and 18th Centuries)." In *Across the Danube. Southeastern Europeans and Their Travelling Identities (17th–19th C.)*, edited by Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria A. Stassinopoulou, 215–52. Leiden-Boston, Brill.

Humphries, Jane, and Carmen Sarasúa. 2012. "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past." *Feminist Economics* 18 (4): 39–67.

Jianu, Angela. 2009. "Women, Dowries, and Patrimonial Law in Old Regime Romania (c. 1750-1830)." *Journal of Family History* 34: 189–205.

Lazăr, Gheorghe. 2006. *Les Marchands en Valachie (XVII XVIIIe siècles)*. Bucharest: Editura Institutului Cultural Român.

Luca, Cristian. 2010. "Greek and Aromanian merchants, protagonists of the trade relations between Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and the Northern Italian Peninsula (Second Half of the 17th–First Half of the 18th Century)." *Transylvanian Review* 19 (supplement 5): 313–36.

Pakucs, Maria. 2017. "Between 'Faithful Subjects' and 'Pernicious Nation': Greek Merchants in the Principality of Transylvania in the Seventeenth Century." *Hungarian Historical Review* 6 (1): 111–37.

Petrescu, Ştefan. 2013. *Migraţie şi ortodoxie în Europa de Sud-Est. De la "destrămarea" societăţii fanariote la constituirea comunităţilor greceşti în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea* [*Migration and Eastern Christianity in South-Eastern Europe. From the 'disintegration' of the Phanariot Society to the Formation of Greek Communities during the First Half of the 19th Century*]. Bucureşti: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române.

Roman, Nicoleta. 2018. "Dowry Contracts, Women's Objects and the Circulation of Goods in Mid-Nineteenth Century Romanian Families. The Case of Oltenia." *Revista istorică* 29 (1–2): 105–39.

Siupiur, Elena. 2009. *Emigraţia: condiţie umană şi politică în Sud-Estul european* [*Emigration: Human and Political Condition in South-Eastern Europe*]. Bucureşti: Ed. Academiei.

Ungureanu, Mihai-Răzvan. 2005. "Jewish Leadership Institutions in the Romanian Principalities in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Starost' and the Hakham Bashi." In *The History of the Jews in Romania. The Nineteenth Century, vol. II,* edited by Liviu Rotman and Carol Iancu, 11–63. Tel Aviv: The Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center.

Vainer, Aurel, Neagu Djuvara, Andrei Pleşu, Adrian Cioroianu, Andrei Oişteanu. 2013. *Evreii din România* [*The Jews of Romania*]. Bucureşti: Hasefer.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2014. "Only Unpaid Labour Force? Women's and Girls' Work and Property in Family Business in Early Modern Italy." *The History of the Family* 19 (3): 323–40.

Social Networks: Kinship and Community Ties

Family, Care and Migration: Gendered Paths from the Mediterranean Italian Mountains to Northern Europe in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

Manuela Martini

Migration studies occupy a prominent place in the flourishing literature on care that spans through the humanities and social sciences. Undoubtedly they are one of the most creative areas of theoretical development and empirical analysis of care. Concepts now of fundamental importance in feminist studies such as global care chains are directly linked to the study of migrant domestic workers, undoubtedly the new main characters of the sociology and history of international migrations (Hochschild 2000, 131). More broadly, it is now impossible to escape questions on

M. Martini (✉)
Université Lumière Lyon 2-LARHRA, Lyon, France
e-mail: manuela.martini@univ-lyon2.fr

Institut Universitaire de France, Paris, France

how and to what extent care matters in migration choices and what impact it may have on migration paths in which gender differences are embedded.

While the global dimension has attracted greater attention and has led to the development of a concept that refers to relationships built up over, and to some extent as a result of long-distance migrations, in every migratory trajectory this issue arises. It is particularly relevant for women, but also for men, since the wives of migrants themselves, for example, may need care if they are pregnant or ill. From this point of view, because of its broadness and inclusiveness, the notion of transnational care or care transnational services proposed by Nicola Yeates is more useful and comprehensive (Yeates 2004, 2012). In doing so, he pointed out the limits of the concept forged by Arlie Hochschild and stressed the need to integrate these flows into international labour markets' workflows and to enlarge the scope of the analysis to other groups of workers.

As an extension of these general remarks, this article wishes to insist on the fact that the chains of care can be understood in a horizontal approach. According to Hochschild's analysis, global chains originally involve a wealthy woman in a developed country recruiting a domestic worker who in turn recruits in her home country a woman for less well-paid care work than she does, thus using a woman from her own entourage to attend to her care tasks. The chain of care is also a chain of decreasing value of the care work allocated by economically poorer women, until the last, often unpaid, links in the chain. The merit of this concept is that it has formalised a possible and recurrent typology in certain migratory contexts. For the Philippines in the USA and Italy, and for the domestic workers from Ukraine to Poland and from Poland to Germany, we have now for example a clear notion of the chains that involve multiple links and are connected to the globalisation of service provision and the feminisation of international migration flows (Salazar Parreñas 2001, 2012; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2011; Palenga-Möllenbeck 2013).

This concept also has the advantage of having put the emphasis on an unavoidable element of this mechanism: a chain end that is generally unpaid. However, historically there have been chains differently shaped, and that can be interpreted in a less vertical manner. These care chains may also originate with a woman who is not necessarily wealthy, who comes from the same social background as her substitutes and who enters the formal labour market herself through migration. The social and

ethnic asymmetry that would be at the origin of emancipation processes reproducing the social hierarchies structuring the host societies does not necessarily have to be in the form sketched out for contemporary societies. Moreover, these chains may also have at their origin men involved in service tasks themselves or leaving behind vulnerable people, for example, widows with very young children or young unmarried men with sick parents. These individuals may not only be initiators but also a simple link in the chain and may be on both the demand and supply side of the place of departure and arrival when they leave some of their children or elderly family members in their home country but keep some of them in their migrant paths. Less studied, especially from a historical point of view, these complex forms of transnational care deserve all our attention because they are at the crossroads between different economic and social worlds which are closely related by these care relations (Baldassar 2011).

In all of these and other migratory circumstances my aim is to highlight the functioning of perfectly integrated migration schemes that do not always involve asymmetrical social hierarchies between those who leave and those who stay. In this study I will deal with the intertwined reasons that led many families in the mountains of the Emilian Apennines— 'labour reservoirs' for the plain, as Fernand Braudel remarked (Braudel 1966, 30–53), but also drivers of specific practices—to carry out these care tasks throughout the nineteenth century and for the first part of the following century. These families were thus transformed into structures ensuring the care and custody of the youngest or the elderly and sick family members. As such they were well placed to manage, smoothen and enhance the mobility of their members.

In this perspective, the notion of transnational care is quite comprehensive and includes all forms of care, of people and goods left in the places of origin. And this by taking into account both long and medium-distance migrations, including those trajectories that do not involve moving across borders. By comparing the migratory paths of men and women from the same sending areas to very different geographic and economic places of arrival, I will show that this care work combines material tasks and an immaterial/human dimension, which of course have different patterns depending on the labour markets and the distances travelled by the migrants, but also striking similarities across different migratory contexts that need to be explained.

Historically, in the absence of state social protection systems, these forms of distant and in situ care are omnipresent. The main problem

for historians is to catch the multiple dimensions of this phenomenon from the point of view of migrants. In order to follow this approach focused on male and female migratory experiences, my research field deals with migratory chains that emerged and grew up as early as the last quarter of the nineteenth century between the Apennine mountains and various Western European destinations, mainly the Paris region and South Wales. From the valleys situated on the border between four regions—Emilia, Liguria, Lombardy and Piedmont—sprung many considerable, even extraordinary migratory flows in relation to the size of the villages that generated them. From the end of the nineteenth century to the interwar period, these were directed towards the large plain of the Po valley and towards extremely different economic areas such as the expanding Parisian suburbs or the valleys of the growing coal mining production of South Wales (Map 13.1).

At the end of the nineteenth century, extremely different migratory flows in terms of destination, occupation and distance depart from the same hamlets of a few dozen people from the middle of the nineteenth century. This was the first element characterising the economic system specific to these Mediterranean mountain areas at the end of the nineteenth century. These mid-mountain regions shared with other mountain regions of the Alps or the Pyrenees the structuring nature of mobility incomes for the local economy (Albera and Corti 2000; Fontaine 1993, 2003, 2005; Viazzo 1989). The high density of migrants in relation to the population goes hand in hand with a certain diversity among the trades practised, and the presence of multiple forms of mobility involved in migration. A wide historiography shows there are at the same time individual, familial or group/team migrations (Albera and Corti 2000; Fontaine 2005).

These migratory trajectories are experienced differently by men and women. For this reason, I will simultaneously study men and women who sometimes moved together and to the same destinations, especially from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, but often also to different destinations following specific recruitment channels (Martini and Rygiel 2010). I will first sketch this gendered configuration of migration patterns at work in my research field. Then I will look at family histories by following the whole trajectory of some of their members in the places of origin and of arrival, and finally I will show what can be deduced in terms of care relationships and the family as a resource from these individual

Map 13.1 Map of the sending valley of Ceno, Nure, Taro and Trebbia (today provinces of Parma and Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna) (*Source* https://d-maps.com/pays.php?num_pay=305&lang=fr [free map])

and collective paths. These resources, material and human, are activated despite distances that can be considerable in historical contexts where transport conditions until at least the 1950s of the twentieth century made travel an expensive and complex experience.

What Sources to Look for Transnational Care in the Past?

Since the point of view chosen is that of migrant people, it is essential to multiply the sources to approach their migratory experience. I will mobilise both narrative sources, public reports and surveys and accounts by civil servants or printed social observers, and nominative sources produced by the local and state administrations. Nominative sources make it possible to reconstruct family biographies in a very detailed and qualitative manner from a micro-analytical scale of analysis, but also, processed in aggregated data, allow to identify trends in migration phenomena at the intermediate level of the territory. These are in particular the sources produced between 1820 and 1860 by the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, including the territories of the Ceno, Nure, Taro and Trebbia valleys, and later by the Italian State to which the Duchy was attached in 1861, divided into two separate provinces, Parma and Piacenza, with autonomous public archives.

It is quite clear from the start, when one undertakes this work of cataloguing and collecting archival and printed materials, that sources may have gender biases. This study cannot but confirm this recurring remark in the feminist historiography (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012), which has from the beginning encountered this problem, even for the apparently simple task of giving a shape and quantitative outlines to female migration. This is the case, of course, for qualitative sources, administrators' accounts and their surveys, from the Napoleonic prefects' reports on migration to the bulletins of the Italian Labour Office at the end of the nineteenth century. But this is also the case when one comes to nominative sources of local administrations or parish registers, where the deficiencies in recording migratory destinations or occupations are more evident and systematic for women. For men, there is undeniably more information to infer mobility. This also happens for parish registers and the lists of the parish population censuses carried out at Easter (*status animarum*/census of 'souls') drawn up under the mandate of Mons Scalabrini, Bishop of Piacenza and initiator of the San Carlo

missions for Italian migrants in the world, who was particularly sensi-
tive to the phenomenon of migration and its consequences during his
long ministry (Tomasi 2000; Sanfilippo 2018). Poor sources, such as
the nominative lists of the censuses, can thus prove to be extremely rich
because they allow us to grasp the multiplicity of migratory destinations
of the members of the same parish. Other sources produced by the public
administration allow us to understand mobility in a less expected way. The
registers of birth certificates indicate the occupation and the reason for the
absence of the father who is supposed to go to the town hall to register
the birth of his child. But of course it is only about absent men that these
nominative sources inform us about.

Only a register of passports issued during the First World War and
kept for the large commune of Ferriere allows us to have a picture of the
declared professions of both men and women, who were quite numerous
by force of circumstance to apply for passports during the war. Further-
more, the restriction on migrations and the need of a passport to cross the
Italian border made it necessary for applicants to declare precise profes-
sional occupations, which allows us to reconstruct the range of declared
professions, connected to plausible occupations abroad, for women as
well.[1]

This set of sources provides information that makes it possible to
reconstitute individual paths in parallel with an overall analysis of the
family structures of a number of departure villages particularly affected
by international emigration. It does not, however, allow us to get into
the black box of family relations during migration and the role of care
in this relational interplay (Fontaine and Schlumbohm 2000). In order to
go deeper into the analysis of care relationships, I have carried out a more
in-depth study of some family biographies whose genealogy and history I
have reconstructed over several generations. This analysis of active kinship
in a transnational circulatory system enables us to understand the care in
the context of mobilising family resources for both men and women. An
abundant historical, sociological and geographical literature has made it
possible to clarify that the crucial issue is studying migratory fields linking
poles characterised by the circularity of the movements connecting them
(Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2013). In general, however, this circular
chains are studied in the places of arrival; rarely are they traced back to
the places of origin to observe how they function. In order to show the
richness of a multisite study also from an empirical point of view, I will
first examine what can be inferred from the observation of migrants in the

places of arrival and then return back to the places of departure where I will identify the outstanding features of the migration system in operation.

While at the macro level there were concentrations of immigrants in certain urban and industrial areas from the 1850s onwards in receiving countries such as France and the United Kingdom, it is only at the level of the department/county and municipality district that we can observe the salient features characterising them from a professional and demographic point of view (Table 13.1).

The Paris suburbs are one of the areas where foreign immigration to France was concentrated, especially from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. From that time on, the suburbs were equipped with road infrastructure (bridges and widening of the road network) and transport infrastructure (including new train and tram lines) and its population grew dramatically. Not only in the industrial North but also in the territory of the communes of the East of Paris the population growth was considerable. In the territory composed by the municipalities of Nogent-sur-Marne, Champigny-sous-bois and Le Perreux the population doubled between 1891 and 1911 passing from 19,722 to 40,448 inhabitants (half a century before, in 1861, in the same area lived 5,507 inhabitants).

In Nogent-sur-Marne in particular, the number of resident foreigners became quite high very early on. More particularly, here the concentration of Italians among the foreigners was a longstanding phenomenon; the first is recorded as early as 1861 and they constituted 44.5% of the foreigners in 1872 and 65.5% in 1911 (Blanc-Chaléard 2000, 156–74). Among these immigrants of Italian nationality, most were men but at least 15% of women appear in the first 'Foreigners' list' of 1872. Not surprisingly, already in the census of 1881 their share is 27.5% and twenty years later, in 1901, they represented 44% of the population of Italian nationality in Nogent-sur-Marne. Remarkably, the presence of women balanced that of men as early as 1911, when there were 113 men for every 100 women (Blanc-Chaléard 2000, 162). Concerning their origins, these Italians actually came from a few regions of northern Italy. There were a few Piedmontese and an even smaller group of immigrants from the Tyrol, while a large majority came from the contiguous valleys of the Nure (69% in 1911), Taro and Ceno in the Emilian provinces of Parma and Piacenza.

The composition and typology of the migrants' families can be reconstructed from the nominal lists of the local population censuses. When we look closely at them we notice three main features before Word War I. First of all, there is a high rate of endogamy, with only 12% of mixed

Table 13.1 Nogent-sur-Marne, Le Perreux et Champigny-sous-bois populations, 1891–1968

Years	Nogent-sur-Marne	Le Perreux	Champigny-sur-Marne	Growth Rate Nogent-sur-Marne	Growth Rate Le Perreux	Growth Rate Champigny-sur-Marne
1891	8399	6699	4624			
1896	9413	8390	5302	12.07	25.24	14.66
1901	10,586	11,149	6655	12.46	32.88	25.52
1906	11,721	13,265	8555	10.72	18.98	28.55
1911	14,051	15,971	10,426	19.88	20.40	21.87
1921	17,464	17,915	13,571	24.29	12.17	30.16
1926	19,765	20,429	20,289	13.18	14.03	49.50
1931	21,324	23,808	27,098	7.89	16.54	33.56
1936	21,056	23,553	28,883	−1.26	−1.07	6.59
1946	21,547	23,086	30,239	2.33	−1.98	4.69
1954	23,581	26,745	36,903	9.44	15.85	22.04
1962	24,541	27,408	56,919	4.07	2.48	54.24
1968	26,238	29,099	70,419	6.91	6.17	23.72

Source: *Paroisses et communes de France* 1974, 407

unions (mainly among Italians of Piedmontese origin and much lesser along the Emilian ones) and many of the children recorded were not born in France but in the places of departure (Blanc-Chaléard 2000, 171). This is evident when we look closely at the by far largest population of Italian immigrants to Nogent-sur- Marne in the lists of compulsory declarations of residence compiled between 1888 and 1893. Secondly, from a professional point of view, men were massively employed in masonry in those lists as well as in later nominative rolls (69% of men in 1911 censuses). Finally, women were not only employed in services such as domestic service and laundry (17%), but also as industrial workers in ostrich feather fabrics production (28% in 1911).

An important channel of male immigration concerns the construction trades, especially masonry, fumbling and painting in the building trade (Martini 2016). Arriving without prior qualification, newcomer migrants acquired a sound know how quite quickly, in a matter of a few years. Interestingly, a few entrepreneurs can be already spotted as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. Construction industry appears as a relatively quick road to qualification for these unskilled workers. Yet, this was not a migration flow connected to a craft, because in 1872 Italian migrants were mason's helpers even at a fairly advanced age. However, they specialised in a sector with low economic barriers to enter entrepreneurship (Martini 2016, 140–55). As in other receiving countries, in France the immigrant entrepreneurship rate was quite high, even if not necessarily extraordinary, except for the very small entrepreneurs and self-employed workers, because in the Paris suburbs small entrepreneurship was also very high among natives. As a consequence, in the 1926 census, in the earthmoving and construction sector, the rate of male entrepreneurship of foreigners was 11.3% while that of Italians was slightly higher: 11.6% (Martini 2016, 188–19). Nevertheless, this rate remains well below the rate of entrepreneurship of the native male working population in the sector, which in 1926 was 23%. It should also be noted, however, that from the beginning of the century Italians have occupied a predominant place in the category of 'isolated' or self-employed workers in 'earthmoving and construction': they represented, in absolute figures, half of the small self-employed workers (called *tâcherons*) which contributes to making them visible in an autonomous way, even if their relative share is lower as heads of enterprises. This position was further accentuated during the Great Depression: in 1936 within this rapidly growing group, in a context where unemployment had been

increasing for some years, Italians tripled in absolute and relative figures. At that time, they represented two out of three foreigners in this branch.

In Nogent-sur-Marne, Italian mason entrepreneurs and self-employed workers were already in 1911 one third, 4 out of 12 entrepreneurs in total, 7 out of 17 in 1921, and then two thirds (22 out of 35) in the following censuses and tax rolls registers, thus marking the masonry industrial landscape of the city.[2]

The new economics of labour migration and the economic sociology of immigrant entrepreneurship have challenged the view of the individual entrepreneur and have emphasised the role of family and networks in the places of arrival (Waldinger 1986, 1989; Waldinger et al. 1990; Portes 1995). Indeed, in this suburban territory a closer analysis of the family structure of immigrant entrepreneurs and masons reveals the existence of a majority of family businesses. By cross-referencing census data and business tax registers, we can identify, in particular, associations between brothers in enterprise property and management, often accompanied by residential proximity and cohabitations.

An important characteristic of migrant entrepreneurs in particular is that, taken as a whole, mason entrepreneurs differed from workers because of the extended form of their families. In 1911 and 1921 several of these entrepreneurs lived in extended families. Thus they contributed to increasing masonry's share of complex families, which was already significant at that time (a little over 18% since it involved 31 of 231 households in 1921). The parents' generation had a sizeable presence in these complex families (17 of 31), but fully a third involved cohabitation with family members of the same generation as the household head: brothers, brothers-in-law, cousins and friends. Masonry workers followed a different model. They were closer to France's dominant model of the nuclear family, whose make-up they reflected: they lived in households with only one couple or one parental unit and their children (thus 60% were in nuclear families). However, it is also true that migrant Italian and French provincial workers lived in extended families more often than workers from the Paris department (Seine). Most interestingly, of the complex households that were headed by a Frenchman, the head was most often an inter-provincial migrant (of the various origins the Creuse, Haut de Vienne and Orne are of special note). Only three of these French heads of household were native, born in the department of the Seine. Remarkably, two of them were entrepreneurs (Martini 2016, 236–42).[3]

The effects of the family reorganisation of migrant families and the economic solidarity between their members most likely facilitated these co-residencies at a time when attitudes were changing around them.

From this perspective, the three Ponticelli brothers from Bettola (Piacenza), respectively a mason, stove-setter, and bricklayer, who were still living with their laundress mother in 1921 before moving to the close Paris suburbs of Porte d'Ivry, formed a household based on the sharing of immigrant labour resources.

Not surprisingly the three of them funded a firm on 1921, Ponticelli Bros, located in a building where two of the brothers were also living. The sharing of housing and labour resources favoured cohabitation (Martini 2017, 104). For migrants, this household elasticity was partly attributable to the sharing of city costs and expenses, which were much higher than in the countryside despite the modest lifestyle of most of these households. Over three quarters self-employed masons paid in 1926 low taxes of less than 500 francs in Nogent-sur-Marne (22 of 27). For more established 'entrepreneurs' in the tax-rolls, economic cooperation, particularly at the time of the business' establishment or in the event of hardship, was achieved through household pooling. In other cases, cohabitation served to save on wage payment to a child learning the trade. But the desire to save does not explain everything. Other important factors for co-resident practices included mutual support, the pleasure of sharing a family meal, and reciprocal care services (Martini 2016).

The transformation that began shortly thereafter immediately resulted in a clear downward trend in extended families, which in relative terms halved in 1931. Like other interwar urban realities, a wave of independence and inter-generational separation swept over and fragmented families: in particular, the number of extended families with one ascendant fell drastically (Roussel 1987; Ségalen 1988). Another element of the transformation in 1931 was the extremely high share of single-person households among masons. While they accounted for a quarter of households in 1921, they rose to over a third of households (or 172 of 431), undoubtedly reflecting the distinction between recent immigrants living in furnished hotels from the rest of the immigrant masons, and the masons born in the Paris Department (Seine). Established immigrants were now indistinguishable from the French: whether they were from the provinces or born in the department of the Seine, most of them lived in simple household structures.

However, for a minority of 32 complex households the impact of emigration was more evident. These households continued to have a complex structure and were almost exclusively populated by foreign or provincial migrants. Virtually none of the masons born in the Seine shared his home with parents or friends outside the nucleus formed by his spouse and children. On the contrary, the migrants were more likely to be hosting migrant members of their families. The rest of these complex households were mostly families of Italian origin, almost all of which came from the same mountainous region of the Piacenza province, in the northern Apennine.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the observation of these complex and extended families. First of all, the parental generation was now surprisingly scarce. Ascendants barely had a presence in immigrant families—just a few widows living with their children. The co-resident practices of multigenerational family nuclei that had still applied to a large share of households at the end of the century were now insignificant (Martini 2017). However, just like in 1921, a relatively wide range of young and single family members of the husband or wife reappeared: brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, cousins, nephews, and nieces of the household head.

In the very first phases of the migration process the difficulty that new immigrants experienced trying to find housing in the rapidly growing Nogent-sur-Marne of the late 1920s created particularly favourable conditions for family reconstitution via immigration. Living under the same roof represented a form of economic solidarity with the household of origin, creating novel cohabitations or a partial reorganisation of former family cohabitations within a new household, which could last a long time in the case of brothers and sisters without their own families. Second, entrepreneurs once again accounted for a large share of this little group. At a time of family relation privatisation around couples, when transformation seemed to be prevailing over traditional forms of living arrangements, some entrepreneurs continued to keep this model alive. A number of them, around 20%, were also involved in boards associating their brothers or brothers-in-law in the management of their businesses (Martini 2016).

In light of this considerable and relatively rapid transformation, it was clearly exceptional to see the persistence of co-residency in multiple households consisting of two or more family nuclei, as noted from the 1921 census. The Cavanna and Taravella households represent such an

exceptional residential configuration. In a building located at three, Saint-Anne road, lived the family of Dominique Cavanna, that of her sister Angèle, married to his masonry firm associate Dominique Taravella, and that of the latter's brother, André Taravella. This particular set-up was a union of two nuclei operating in a bi-national circulatory migration configuration and practising several forms of sharing of living and professional spaces (since the company's office was on the building's first floor); it was forged through professional ties involving a type of *fraterna*/brotherhood through collateral marriage.

Another important group characteristic that can be identified from these sources relates to women's occupation. The women who lived in these households headed by Italian masons were not only of Italian nationality—since in France a woman acquired the nationality of her husband until the 1927 nationality law—but they were also Italian by origin and immigrant to France. It is possible to affirm this with certainty because in the 1901 census, even if the place of birth is not specified, the surname of the wives before marriage is indicated in the census. Only three surnames are French among those of the 93 working women registered in Italian masonry families.[4] These migrant women were very active: 25, or 26.9%, worked in the field of laundry, washing and ironing, 13% were day labourers, 11.8% were employed in an ostrich feather factory, 10% in domestic service and a significant number, 7, were landladies, hotel owners or 'wine merchants', that is they sold also food and sometimes accommodation. A total of 74.2% of women aged more than 12 years old report an activity and among the 24 women without any declared professions (classified as 'without any profession'), are very old women and young girls who clearly had caring tasks. This is the case for at least four of them. Antoinette Casaliggi, 20 years old, sister of the landlady Pauline, wife of Joseph Peguri, an entrepreneur, most probably helped her sister in her activity and in the care of her 7-year-old nephew Ludovic and the 10 masons, all of them with Italian surnames, who lived at the same address as their employer. Paid or unpaid, the work provided is probably similar to her sister's: cleaning, feeding and caring for close family or guests paying for their accommodation. Similarly, Louise Dusio, a 17-year-old, probably helped her mother, a grocer, and took care of her 11-year-old brother Maurice. Jeanne Manfredi, whose mother was a domestic servant, was the eldest of a sibling group of 4 children, including two 2-year-old twins and a younger brother of 4 who undoubtedly kept her quite busy. The same

goes for older women such as Philomène Molinelli, 55, who took care of her 59-year-old brother and her 33-year-old nephew, both bricklayers.[5]

Contrary to what was read until a few years ago in scholarly literature on migration, close observation of these migrant families shows that the women in this migratory chains were undeniably very active, especially in the service professions, but with a fairly precise specialisation in laundry and in the hotel and catering trade. This is the case not only for unmarried women but also for the 63 married women, 82.5% of whom declared a profession. The working environment in which they used to live probably accentuated the importance of these labour force participation rates, but the trend is the same for all immigrant women of Italian nationality recorded in Nogent-sur-Marne among whom 65.5% were active in 1901 and 61.7% in 1911 (Blanc-Chaléard 2000, 164).

In this laborious context, numerous personal accounts and narratives testify to forms of family support in the places of arrival and of origin as well, such as childbirth and childcare for young children (Blanc-Chaléard 2000, 313; Martini 2016, 237). In order to allow young mothers to go back to work, the first child was often left in the village of origin to the care of the mother's or father's relatives. This care activity is invariably associated with the work of immigrant women and reveals the ways transnational families originate and work though long distance, activating several kinds of transnational care services.

It could thus be interesting to compare these family patterns with those operating within a completely different immigration context, South Wales, a major destination and a destination of choice for a growing group of Italian migrants from the Apennines since the 1870s. Together with London, this area concentrated the most important migratory flows coming from the Parma valleys to Great Britain at the end of the nineteenth century (Sponza 1988, 2005). As it was the case in the Paris suburbs, even in Wales the entrepreneurship of Italian migrants started at an early stage of the migration flow. In addition, in the United Kingdom the Italian population was much more entrepreneurial than the local one: between 1851 and 1911 the rates of Italians entrepreneurship varied between 27.9 and 34.8 with the only exception of the year 1881 with 22.9% while during the same period the English and Welsh populations had rates between 11.0 and 15.4% (Smith et al. 2019, 265). Only immigrants from the Middle East had higher rates than Italians. The mechanisms highlighted by the economic sociology of immigrant entrepreneurship as a response to the difficulties of accessing the formal

labour market and industrial salaried workforce were clearly operating in this context. As several studies have highlighted, until the mid-twentieth century only occasionally some Italian workers were employed in the building or mining industry when native or Irish workers were on strike (Sponza 1988, 2005; Smith et al. 2019).

While in the Paris suburbs Italian migrant specialised in a given professional field but entered into a wide and diversified branch, in South Wales the professional vocation of Italian migrants was extremely selective. This migration chain is particularly interesting not only because of its geographical homogeneity but also in relation to the high concentration of migrant people in a single commercial niche: refreshment houses, called 'temperance bars', i.e. without sale of alcoholic products. Ice-cream making was one of the Italian cafes' specialties, and of course it was hand–made, in both the figurative and real sense of the word, with hand operated machines until the 1920s, when they became electric (Sponza 2002). The first refrigerators were introduced a few years later, in the 1930s (Hughes 1991, 63). Very often the ice cream and other confectionary and sweets were also sold by young cart sellers coming from the villages around Bardi and recruited through ethnic networks. It is interesting to notice that the physical environment migrants had to cope with had some similarities with their homeland. For example, in the Rhondda valleys, street vending involved physical effort in hilly landscapes that mountain people could face without too much trouble (Emanuelli 2010; Servini 1994).

The fabricating and sending activity was organised on a family basis. The opening of a family run business was quickly followed by the creation of a mobile sale network which could also give rise to the setting up of chains of coffee shops rented and entrusted to managers always accompanied by the sale of sweets and ice cream by carts moved by hand or with a horse. A current management feature of these business was also the association between brothers, which we had also noticed as a recurring management form between the mason entrepreneurs from the Nure valley in Nogent-sur-Marne (Martini 2016).

In these family run activities, women were systematically employed at the counter in the refreshment houses, as well as the children who, as soon as possible, were employed for small commissions but also for sales. Hector Emmanuelli, born in 1920, in Treorchy (Rhondda), describes in detail the functioning of these coffee houses, quite numerous, until the interwar period following the development of the mining industry and

its decline during the Twenties and the crisis of the Thirties (Emanuelli 2010, 12–35; Hughes 1991, 68–70). Refreshment house 'Pure Ices, G. Emanuelli. Confectionery' was founded by his father Giovanni from Bardi. Arrived for the first time in Wales in 1905, aged 15, he started working for a Giacomo Bracchi *padrone* in Aberdare and then rented a first house from Gazzi brothers in 1921 in Treorchy and then a second in Treherbert in 1927 (Emanuelli 2010, 3–6). Like the Emmanuellis, other families owned several houses that were entrusted to immigrant managers (Servini 1994; Hughes 1991).

Along with the Bracchis, the Bernis were among the first to settle in the late nineteenth century and set an example to others to emulate. Leaving their mother in Bardi, Franck Berni, followed by his brother Aldo, arrived just after World War I in Ebbw Vale, Monmouthshire, where his father Louis had a flourishing activity (Levy 2004; Hughes 1991, 59–75). As is the case for Giovanni Emmanuelli and many other young mountain people, they left Bardi at the age of 15/16 years old when they were strong enough to push a cart. A few years later the Berni Bros opened their own business in Merthyr Tydfil.

All these businesses, whether opened in the 1890s or in the 1920s, shared some striking characteristics: homogeneous ethnic networking and strong matrimonial endogamy. As Hector Emmanuelli relates, even if his father arrived long before World War I, he returned home at the end of the war and in 1920 married Carolina Tedaldi who already had experience as a waitress in the hotel *Bue Rosso* of Bardi and immediately began working in the café managed by her husband where very quickly their two young boys, while continuing their studies, were put to work (although we cannot ascertain what kind of salary they received, Emanuelli 2010, 33). Unpaid wives and sons are at the heart of family activities which share another significant characteristic: the managers' families resided on site (Folbre 2018).

As in the Parisian suburbs, the presence of women among Italian migrants in Great Britain became significant quite early. By the turn of the century, in 1911, 244 out of 1,298 Italian immigrants in Wales, that is 19%, were women. In England at that time they were already a share of 32% (Sponza 2005, 11).[6] This allows forms of horizontal care within the network of relatives in the place of arrival (even if to a lesser extent than in Nogent-sur-Marne where the Emilian immigrants were more numerous). Moreover, the fact that they worked in places adjacent to the home

enabled these women to take care of both their homes and their businesses. However, this does not prevent examples of transnational care up to the interwar period. A Bracchis' coffee house assistant in Aberdare and then Tonypandy since 1920, Ernesto Melardi returned to Bardi to marry a Maria Bacchetta from the small hamlet of Costa Bella in 1929 and left her to the care of her parents. His savings during the hard Great depression times allowed however them to buy a house with a piece of land in Grezzo. Ernesto came back only once three years after their marriage and left again his wife pregnant, and again he returned back three years later in 1936. The fear to be divided by the forthcoming war, but also the opportunity to buy the refreshment house where he was used to be an employee in Tonypandy, convinced Ernesto to bring his family to Wales (and Maria to be separate from her parents) in March 1939 (Hughes 1991, 74–75).

We also know that some women, despite the distance, returned home to give birth, such as Maria Strinati, who run a fish and chips shop in Bell Street in London with her husband Marco Fulgoni, both of them from hamlets near Grezzo in Val Ceno (province of Parma). After the death of their first baby in 1904 in London, Maria went back home to give birth to a daughter. Two other children were born in London and the last one in Wales in 1918 where the Fulgonis bought a refreshment house in Pontypridd (Hughes 1991, 61–62). From here Maria could go and visit a cousin Gazzi once a week to Ferndale, and managed to return every three years to see her family (Hughes 1991, 65).

These women wished for different reasons—perhaps trust on some relatives or a desire to give their children education and values shared with their native community—to turn towards their distant families. A vertical chain of care, guided by a strict economic logic is not necessarily the reason for this choice of transnational care. A long journey to give birth or to entrust a child to someone else at home is more expensive than recruiting childcare providers locally. Other examples testify to the refusal to leave home for people living in migrant families and the positive choice linked to the care of common goods, children and the elderly. Frank and Aldo Berni's mother, who prefers to stay in her village even though her husband has a well-established business in Ebbw Vale, is not the only one who chose to stay home when close relatives left (Reeder 2002). During the same period, among the Cavannas of the Nogent-Ferriere migratory chain, Lucia Felloni and her son Jacques explicitly chose to become guardians of the family properties in Bolgheri of Ferriere. Yet already in 1888 her husband Giovanni declared to be resident in Nogent-sur-Marne

with his wife Lucia. Even in her case one of her sons, André, was born in Modane, on the way back to Italy and became later the owner of one of the most fashionable restaurants of Nogent-sur-Marne in the interwar period (Martini 2016, 291). The choice to return, the strong motivation for which was related in an interview by his great-grandson Serge, was also clearly reflected in the chain of administrative sources produced by Lucia's migratory trajectory.

Views from the Homeland

We have observed significant traces of transnational care in both the Parisian suburbs and South Wales' Apennine migratory chains, and a remarkable participation of women in extra-domestic work and in unpaid work for the market in family businesses. Also, the presence of these enterprises is linked both in France and in Wales to persistent forms of association between brothers in businesses with cohabitation or close neighbourhood in residence. These striking similarities in the forms of management and in the practices of transnational care impose a return to the places of departure. As we have seen, 70% of the Italians in Nogent-sur-Marne came from the mountains of the Apennines on the border between Parma and Piacenza. Among the latter 50% came more precisely from the Nure valley and from the villages gathered in the municipality of Ferriere in particular. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, all the Italian migrants in South Wales came from the neighbouring Val Nure valley, Val Ceno and in particular from Bardi and its hamlets (Hughes 1991).

These territories belonged to an autonomous state before the unification of Italy in 1861 and the subsequent annexing to the Kingdom of Piedmont: the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, ruled during the Restoration between 1815 and 1847 by Mary-Louise of Austria, eldest daughter of the Austrian Emperor Francis I and last wife of Napoleon Bonaparte. One of the important acts of her government was to maintain in the Civil Code of 1820 the equality between female and male heirs if the father died intestate introduced by Napoleon in 1806. This provision, which would be taken over by the 1865 Civil Code of the Italian State, created the conditions for an even greater fragmentation of land ownership in mountain regions where the land productivity was very modest.

The high *Val Nure, Val Ceno and Val Taro* regions were characterised by a concentrated type of dwelling in villages located at heights

between 600 and 1300 meters. According to the land register completed under the government of Mary-Louise of Austria in the 1830s, of the Ferriere municipality's 12,033 hectares, almost half were wooded (of which only 358 were chestnut-wooded), 2815 were classified as 'sterile', 1515 as prairies and pastures, and only 1407 as cultivated plots (classified, however, in the lowest tax brackets with estimated seed yields of 2 to 4) (Martini 1997, 221). In this typically middle mountain Mediterranean landscape properties are divided in a few large properties and a majority of very small properties.

A close look at some of these properties shows, for example, that the two properties that exceed ten hectares in the hamlet of Canadello are shared between several members of the same family. In describing this area, the director of statistics of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza put it in a Restoration-era topographical dictionary already at that time these mountain dwellers secured additional resources (rice, wheat or crowns) through work they periodically were used to do in the lowlands (Molossi 1832–34, 40).

The migration of both men and women was thus part of the economic system of these regions. A first feature that characterised these populations when reading these reports and surveys is the activity of women in domestic work, proto-industrial cotton spinning at home, and extra-domestic work in the fields and animal husbandry, but also in seasonal migration. This migration was linked to migratory chains that were renewed from one year to the next thanks to relations with team leaders from the plain who recruited women from the same villages who travelled in groups to the site, where they were housed in large farms (*cascine*). In particular, once the work of spinning at home was no longer available around 1850, they turned to classical domestic service employment in the plain or to agricultural work as day labourers (Martini 1997). On the one hand, the latter was life cycle service, especially for young girls, and on the other hand the former were mainly seasonal rice weeding occupations (available especially in spring when in the mountains the fields required less daily work) in the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, where the intensive exploitation of rice fields became widespread from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. This polyactivity helps to explain, in continuity with these experience of medium-distance mobility, the female labour force participation rates in international destinations that we have observed in the suburbs of Paris or in Wales.

The size and extent of this female seasonal mobility remain difficult to quantify precisely. We have attestations and traces of it especially in the writings of the administration and the reports of the prefects who regularly pointed it out from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Napoleonic prefects mentioned it for the mountainous departments of the Empire, such as the Taro, which united the territories of Parma and Piacenza. According to the 1856 census of the Duchy of Piacenza, 9,767 people left, including 1913 women, i.e. 19.6% of the migrants (Martini 1997, 221). In other words, one out of every five migrants was a woman who was mainly a day labourer in agriculture and domestic work. At the time, only a few men migrated to 'France and America'.

For men, the information is more diversified. Not only do we have these general statistical sources, but we can locate information at a more micro level allowing for a more detailed analysis of their mobility. To do so, we have chosen to explore the demographic records of the municipality of Ferriere between 1820 and 1895. Ferriere is a very wide district, the highest in the Nure Valley, with a population of 6,295 resident people in 1861, divided into 12 hamlets from which the vast majority of migrant masons and laundry women workers from Nogent-sur-Marne came. At the time of the census preceding unification in 1856, the population was 6,303 inhabitants and the male migrants were 850, 38% of the men between 10 and 60 years of age (Martini 1997, 222). When marriage and birth certificates are examined, women—with the exception of the years 1830–1850, when female spinners appeared—are defined as a peasant. On the contrary, for men are recorded in many occupations linked to mobility.[7]

Men's professions define quite precisely two types of mobility patterns: on the one hand a few itinerant trades, mainly peddlers and muleteers, but there are also some examples of street musicians and bear-teachers at the end of the nineteenth century, and on the other hand a more massive seasonal migration linked to agro-forestry, charcoal or butchery trades, but especially pit sawing, by far the dominant profession in these villages. This goes hand in hand with a marked seasonality of marriages as in other mountain societies, concentrated between July and October with a strong rise in September. Significantly, this mobility does not only concern single people; married men were also massively employed in these professions (Martini 1997, 218).

The analysis of birth certificates is especially revealing: it allows to qualify the profession of pit sawyer as one that is systematically accompanied by mobility and which also concerns married men to a considerable extent. We can quantify their absence thanks to birth certificate registers. Between 1825 and 1895 an average of about 30% of fathers per year were absent at the time of the birth of their babies. Seasonality was marked: in January, February, March, April, and May, up to 70% of fathers were absent before returning for the harvest in June. Consequently, they were more present in the autumn and until the end of the year where only a few fathers and sometimes none at all in November or December were away (Martini 1997, 217). The 1850 birth rolls list 8 muleteers and 2 peddlers out of the 139 acts (that is 8% were involved in itinerant trades) but the dominant profession is without any doubt that of pit sawyer, 56% of the fathers and 76% of the young people at the first marriage are registered as such in 1850 (Martini 1997, 222). Complementarity with the agricultural calendar structured a mobility of workers mainly involved in the agro-forestry sector.

To complete this migratory model, it should be noted that it is accompanied by

- relatively low age at marriage, probably due to the resources of mobility (27 years for men and 23 for women, but quite low birth rates: 30 per thousand due to the mobility of men and women too);
- a significant presence of complex households in all the high Val Nure villages of Ferriere.

This point is important because it refers to characteristics that we have observed in the Parisian suburbs and that are accompanied by an organisation of family businesses that we have also attested for Wales.

It is possible to affirm this with some certainty, and not only thanks to the speeches of local observers, through the study of the parish registers of one of the parishes of Ferriere, San Pietro of Centenaro, a large parish gathering several villages and a total of 1,037 inhabitants in 1876 and 1296 'souls' in 1901, about 1/6 of the population of Ferriere which counted 6,367 resident inhabitants and 722 absent at the date of the parish census (Martini 1997, 216 and 229).[8]

The nuclear family was in the majority in 1876, but there were also a large number of complex families, more than 40% of the total of 167

households. Interestingly enough, they were equally divided between extended families with at least one parent (34 out of 167), and multiple families with several nuclei, called *fraterne/*brotherhoods (34). In this parish census or *status animarum/*record of the 'souls', the parish priest has indicated with precision the place of destination for each absent person.

The connection between mobility and family structure is clearly evident. Of the 37 families in which at least one member was a migrant, more than a third (14) were nuclear, but a large majority (23) were complex. Half of these were multiple families composed of family nuclei of brothers. The eldest brother was the head of the family, and siblings had the same supporting function for absent members as extended families, where at least one parent was present (Martini 1997, 230; 2016). Many of these families included migrants with both medium- and long-distance destinations. There is no clear-cut substitution between wood cutting and saw-timber mobility and that of long-distance migrants, most of whom are indicated as masons. Both forms of mobility coexisted.

The family biography of the Taravellas of the neighbouring parish of Rocca, from which Domenico, an entrepreneur engaged in a business founded in Nogent-sur-Marne with his brother-in-law also from a Ferriere hamlet, helps to explain the dynamics that govern the relationship between family forms and migration. In 1889, in the Taravella household of Rocca di Ferriere, of which, at the age of 45, Giovanni Taravella was the head, five brothers lived together. Two of the youngest married brothers were in France, one with his wife and little daughter, the other, Antonio, worked there alone. His young wife Francesca and Domenico, their 3-year-old son (the future entrepreneur), stayed in the village and lived in the family house. Agostino, the only one of the Taravella brothers still unmarried, also lived in the village while the other two brothers, Giovanni and Luigi, were pit sawyers in Piedmont. Starting a family and migrating seems to have been an unescapable experience for the Taravella brothers. However, it led them to take different paths, towards Piedmont or Paris. Domenico, the youngest member of the family, spent his childhood in a large household counting sixteen people in 1894, which expanded to include little cousins and a brother, Andrew, who was probably conceived during a temporary return of his father. His mother, aunts and an unmarried uncle took care of the many plots of land that made up their undivided property and thus practised the full range of agricultural trades in the rural polyactivity; two uncles were always registered as pit

sawyers, while his father, an uncle and two young cousins were masons in France. The untimely death of his father in 1899 changed the destiny of young Domenico, who found himself the eldest of his family nucleus and was propelled earlier than expected into a migratory trajectory that would bring him to France to learn the trade of mason (Martini 2016, 288).

The distinguishing feature of these migrants, young and old, was their remarkable use of the family as a resource. They knew how to optimise the management of a whole range of family assets and income that they shared: undivided land, in-kind or monetary wages for each family nucleus, complementarities between mobility and the agrarian cycle allowing participation in seasonal migration and agricultural work, sharing the table and dividing up the tasks related to the care of the elderly and children within the household. More than capital, these households provided their members with a solid and multi-connected relational 'parachute'. This ability to create and maintain forms of family cohesion in the complexity of transnational journeys is an additional guarantee of the optimization of resources from migration. Indeed, as has been the case in more recent times, we can speak of 'transnational families' (Bryceson and Vuorela 2020, 18).

Mobility is much more difficult to manage for nuclear households. Their autonomy also means a chronic deficit of allies on whom to rely. We have poignant examples of migrants' stories from nuclear households broken by bereavement and migration that forced parents to entrust children to strangers to the family (Ponticelli 2005). In these cases, the absence of family ties on their home ground makes the separation harder to live with, as these children left by migrant mothers testify much later in interviews (Ponticelli 2005). The logic behind the organisation of migrant paths around complex families is justified by their role as shock absorbers for the unforeseen and dramatic events to which nineteenth-century mountain dwellers were frequently exposed.

On the material level, the complex multiple nuclei or *fraterne* households are more easily able to cope with death and mourning. After his father's death, Domenico Taravella was the first to leave his nucleus: he settled with his maternal aunt in Fontenay-sous-Bois in France while his mother stayed in the village with his little brother. When it was her turn to leave to join Domenico, she entrusted her youngest son, Andrew, to her sisters-in-law. He grew up in a family where his uncles and some of his cousins went away as pit sawyers for long seasonal journeys. Only later Andrew also joined his close family in Nogent-sur-Marne, where he

worked until his retirement in the masonry company founded by his elder brother Domenico.

In a different context but with striking similarities, two other brothers, Franck and Aldo Berni, grew up with their mother in Grezzo di Bardi in an extended family while their father was in Wales. Upon their arrival after World War I, they continued to base and manage activities on the same model adopted by their elders. They arrived in Wales in a particularly difficult period but set up their own business in Merthyr Tydfil, 9.5 miles far or 3 hours by foot from Ebbw Vale where their father used to live, and supplied drinks and sweeties to Welsh miners and their families and slot machines to local Italian cafes owners. After World War II, a large multinational catering company was set up as the Berni Inn from the business of two brothers who, like their father Louis/*Luigi*, kept undivided properties in the village in the Apennine mountains (Levy 2004). As a guarantee of protection and support, the brotherhood/*fraterna* is also based on the maintenance of undivided properties which thus remain large enough to guarantee those who remain suitable living conditions. For a long time, until the 1950s, this configuration was a very distinctive feature of family structures in the mountains, and was the basis for the transnationality that characterised a considerable proportion of its inhabitants.

From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, forms of multi-situated belonging, from transnationality to everyday life, became very present in the lives of a majority of families in the villages of Ferriere and Bardi. Among the six women declared in France by the parish priest in the 1876 'census of the souls' of Centenaro, all of whom were abroad with their husbands, half of them left their young children behind in their families, where the sisters-in-law, wives of middle-distance migrants and other older people took care of them. They lived for several years the experience that has been defined as transnational motherhood. The distance due to the complexity of the travel at that time is similar to the present transcontinental distance, with the notable difference that the trip can be afforded by train, coach or on foot from Paris, without crossing the sea (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997).

At that time, anyway, women living in the Ferriere villages and willing to migrate abroad were able to declare specific occupations to the local administration in order to obtain a passport. If at the beginning of World War I, they were still peasants in the passports' register, they adapted very quickly and after a few months, from July 1914, were able to declare professions that were definitely credible for an increasingly demanding

administration. Among the 325 applications submitted to the Mayor in 1914, 101, one third, originated by women. Quite unsurprisingly 31 were declared as peasants and 17 as housewives, but 52.5% are recorded with a specific occupation: 31 as labourers or workers, eight as laundresses, five as seamstresses, two as domestic servants, one as florist and only six were pupils or aged persons without any profession.[9]

Most of these women clearly knew what occupations were available in the receiving countries they declared (mainly France and the United-States, but also Argentina and Austria) or already had themselves this labour experience abroad during a previous journey. Circularity at that time was quite common in most of the Ferriere hamlets and relied on complex households and active kinship which not only shared resources but also constituted a resource reservoir for migrants.

The fact that the latter were lasting anchoring points is also visible in the investment in land in the village, in the splitting of families between two, sometimes three, migration poles, followed by possible re-compositions, new births in the places of origin and children being entrusted in the summer to those who remained in the village, until very late in the post-World War II period and including the children of the second migrant generation (Martini 2016).

In 1901 the parish of Centenaro appears much more marked than in 1876 by international mobility. The population is getting older and more feminine and some of the couples live abroad with most of their children, but still leave some of them behind.[10] These migrations are always connected to 'maintaining' migrations (Rosental 1999) based on transnational care provided by complex households, a significant number of them always recorded by the priest as multiple households sharing the same 'fireplace' under the same roof.[11]

Conclusions

This research has shown the connection between dimensions that are generally studied separately of the link between family and migration. Transnational care and business association between siblings are studied as distinct aspects of the migration system of these Mediterranean regions, divided into two quite separate strands of research, on the one hand the history of gender and on the other hand the history of enterprise. Instead, quite to the contrary, this study from the interior of the migratory fields has shown the close and systemic interconnection of these dimensions, all

linked to the functioning of families sharing land ownership and resources linked to periodic and permanent migration.

This unexpected connection allows us to highlight the interweaving of household typology and organisation of mobility, rather than the better-known aspects linked to the financial support, in the strict sense of the term, that family can provide to members seeking independence. Thus, we were able to trace the journeys of workers and entrepreneurs from families who were not part of the elite and were only distinguished by their mastery of migration practices including both men and women, even after marriage. This involved on one side managing household resources in such a way that one or more adults and sometimes the elderly took care of the youngest ones in the village. In the history of complex households, and particularly *fraterne*/brotherhoods, the combination of various forms of mobility seems especially significant in this respect (Rosental 2000; Martini, 2016).

In addition to the adaptability shown in response to opportunities in very different contexts, this analysis of longstanding professional practices linked to seasonal migration in the northern Mediterranean mountains has revealed a specifically familial-professional dimension of the entrepreneurial attitude that initially unskilled migrants displayed. Particular household conditions provided a strong basis of support. They guaranteed a division of responsibilities, duties and services that enabled free movement for young people, but also adult men as well as married women. Was this an 'ethnic' characteristic? Yes to the extent that the particular form it took was the legacy of family practices specific to certain groups from specific institutional and economic contexts. At the same time, it was one of the manifestations of a larger 'familial' framework including a broader range of migrants who had become entrepreneurs with a shared preference for complex and extended households. In this transnational framework care was a crucial issue, allowing first of all the start of a migration project that could include women and secondly allowing to compensate for the lack of support that has often been noticed especially for women in the places of arrival until relatively late in the twentieth century.

Notes

1. AMF (Ferriere Municipal Archives), 1913–1918.
2. ADVdM (Archives départementales du Val-de-Marne), 1911.

3. ADVdM, 1901–1931.
4. ADVdM, 1901.
5. ADVdM, 1901.
6. UK Data Archives, Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Names and Addresses, 1851–1911.
7. AMF, Births' Register, 1850.
8. APC (Centenaro Parish Archives), 1876.
9. AMF, *Domande pel rilascio passaporti per l'estero*, 1913–1918.
10. APC, *Stato delle anime*, 1901.
11. APC, *Stato delle anime*, 1923.

Archival Sources

Archives départementales du Val-de-Marne (ADVdM) D2M8.
   Listes nominatives du recensement de la population de Nogent-sur-Marne, 1891–1936.
Ferriere Municipal Archives (AMF).
   Domande pel rilascio passaporti per l'estero, 1913–1918.
   Anagrafe e stato civile.
      Births' Register, 1806–1896.
      Marriages' Register, 1806–1896.
Centenaro Parish Archives (APC).
   Stato d'anime della parrocchia di San Pietro di Centenaro, 1876.
   Stato di popolazione della parrocchia di San Pietro di Centenaro, 1901; 1923.
   Stato d'anime della parrocchia di Rocca nell'anno 1889.
Stato di popolazione della parrocchia di San Cristoforo Martire in Rocca, 1908.

References

Albera, Dionigi, and Paola Corti. 2000. "Migrations montagnardes dans l'espace méditerranéen. Esquisse d'une analyse comparative" [Mountain Migrations in the Mediterranean Space. A Comparative Analysis]. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 112 (1): 359–84.
Baldassar, Loretta. 2011. "*Obligation to People and Place*: The National in Cultures of Caregiving." In *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World*, edited by Loretta Baldassar and Donna Gabaccia, 171–87. New York: Fordham University Press.
Blanc-Chaléard, Marie-Claude. 2000. *Les Italiens dans l'Est parisien (années 1880–1960). Une histoire d'intégration*. Rome: École Française de Rome.
Braudel, Fernand. 1966. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* [The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II]. Paris: Colin.

Bryceson, Deborah Fahy, and Ulla Vuorela. 2020. "Transnational Families in the Twenty First Century." In *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, edited by Deborah F. Bryceson, Ulla Vuorela, 3–30. New York: Berg.

Emanuelli, Hector. 2010. *A Sense of Belonging. From the Rhondda to the Potteries. Memoires from a Welsh-Italian Englishman*. Langenfled (Germany): Six Towns Books.

Folbre, Nancy. 2018. "Family Work: A Policy-Relevant Intellectual History." In *What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, edited by Raffaella Sarti, Anna Bellavitis, and Manuela Martini, 89–113. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Fontaine, Laurence. 1993. *Histoire du colportage en Europe. XVe-XIXe siècle* [History of Peddling in Europe. Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries]. Paris: Albin Michel.

Fontaine, Laurence. 2003. *Pouvoir, identités et migrations dans les hautes vallées des Alpes occidentales (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)* [Power, Identity and Migration in the Valleys of Western Alps (Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries)]. Grenoble : Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.

Fontaine, Laurence. 2005. "Montagnes et migrations de travail. Un essai de comparaison globale (XVe-XXe siècles)" [Mountains and Labour Migration. An Essay of Global Comparaison (Fifteenth-Twentieth Centuries)]. *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 52 (2): 26–48.

Fontaine, Laurence, and David Schlumbohm, eds. 2000. *Household Strategies for Survival, 1600–2000: Fission, Faction and Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hochschild, Arlie R. 2000. "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value." In *On The Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*, edited by Will Hutton, and Anthony Giddens, 130–46. London: Jonathan Cape.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette, and Ernestine Avila. 1997. "'I'M Here, but I'M There': The Meaning of Latina Transnational Motherhood." *Gender and Society* 11: 548–71.

Hughes, Colin. 1991. *Lime, Lemon and Sarsaparilla: Italian Community in South Wales, 1881–1945*. Bridgend: Seren Books.

Humphries, Jane, and Carmen Sarasúa. 2012. "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past." *Feminist Economics*, 18(4): 39–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2012.746465.

Levy, Paul. 2004. "Berni, Aldo (1909–1997)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press.

Lutz, Helma, and Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck. 2011. "Care, Gender and Migration: Towards a Theory of Transnational Domestic Work Migration in

Europe." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 19 (3): 349–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2011.610605.

Martini, Manuela. 1997. "Variazioni dei tragitti migratori, mobilità professionale e strutture familiari nelle montagne dell'Appennino piacentino (XIX-inizio XX secolo)" [Variations in Migration Paths, Professional Mobility and Family Structures in the Apennine Mountains around Piacenza (Nineteenth Century-Beginning of the Twentieth Century)]. In *Disuguaglianze, stratificazioni e mobilità sociale nelle popolazioni italiane* [Inequalities, stratifications and social mobility in the Italian population], edited by SIDES, 213–43, t. 1, Bologna: CLUEB.

Martini, Manuela. 2016. *Bâtiment en famille. Migrations et petite entreprise en banlieue parisienne au XXe siècle* [Building within the Family. Migration and Small Family Firms in the Paris Suburbs in the Twentieth Century]. Paris: CNRS.

Martini, Manuela. 2017. "Migrations et travail en famille. Recenser les entreprises familiales des maçons migrants dans la banlieue parisienne, fin du XIXe-début du XXe siècle" [Migration and Family Work. Making an Inventory of the Migrant Masons' Family Firms in the Parisian Suburbs, End of the Nineteenth Century- Beginning of the Twentieth Century]. In *Inmigración, trabajo y servicio doméstico en la Europa urbana, siglos XVIII-XX* [Migration, Work and Domestic Service in Urban Europe, Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries], edited by Isidro Dubert and Vincent Gourdon, 93–108. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez.

Martini, Manuela, and Philippe Rygiel. 2010. "Des formes de médiation sexuelle-ment orientées? Lieux, institutions et acteurs du placement des travailleuses migrantes à l'époque contemporaine" [Forms of Mediation Sexually Oriented? Spaces, Institutions and Actors of Placing of Laboring Migrants in the Contemporary Age]. *Migrations sociétés*, 127: 47–57.

Molossi, Lorenzo. 1832–34. *Vocabolario topografico dei ducati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla*. [Dictionary of Topography of the Dukedoms of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla]. Parma: Tipografia Ducale.

Palenga-Möllenbeck, Ewa. 2013. "Care Chains in Eastern and Central Europe: Male and Female Domestic Work at the Intersections of Gender, Class, and Ethnicity." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 11 (4): 364–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2013.822955.

Paroisses et communes de France [Parishes and municipalities of France]. 1974. *Dictionnaire d'histoire administrative et démographique, Région parisiennes* [Dictionary of Administrative and Demographic History, Paris and Its Region]. Paris: CNRS.

Ponticelli, Lazare. 2005. *Ponticelli Frères. Les premières années. Trois frères, une entreprise* [Ponticelli Brothers. The First Years. Three Brothers, One Firm]. Ville du Kremlin Bicêtre: Ecoprint.

Portes, Alejandro, ed. 1995. *The Economic Sociology of Immigration. Essays on Networks, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

Reeder, Linda. 2002. *Widows in White: Migration and the Transformation of Rural Women, Sicily, 1880–1928*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Rosental, Paul-André. 1999. *Les sentiers invisibles. Espaces, familles et migrations dans la France du XIXe siècle* [Invisible Paths. Spaces, Families and Migration in Nineteenth-Century France]. Paris: EHESS.

Rosental, Paul-André. 2000. "Les liens familiaux, forme historique?" [Family Ties, an Historical Pattern?]. *Annales de démographie historique* 2: 49–81.

Roussel, Louis. 1987. "Données démographiques et structures familiales." [Demographic Data and Family Structures]. *L'année sociologique* 37: 47–55.

Salazar Parreñas, Rhacel. 2001. *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (2nd Edition, Stanford University Press, 2015).

Salazar Parreñas, Rhacel. 2012. "The Reproductive Labour of Migrant Workers." *Global Networks* 12 (2): 269–75.

Sanfilippo, Matteo. 2018. "Scalabrini, Giovanni Battista." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 91. Last accessed April 08, 2020. http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-scalabrini_(Dizionario-Biografico).

Ségalen, Martine. 1988. *Sociologie de la famille* [Sociology of the Family]. Paris: Éditions Armand Colin.

Servini, Les. 1994. *A Boy from Bardi: My Life and Times*. Cardiff: Hazeltree Press.

Smith, Harry, Robert J. Bennett, and Carry van Lieshout. 2019. "Immigrant Business Proprietors in England and Wales (1851–1911)." *Continuity and Change*, 34: 253–76. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0268416019000171.

Sponza, Lucio. 1988. *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Sponza, Lucio. 2002. "Italian 'penny ice-men' in Victorian London." In *Food in the Migrant Experience*, edited by Anne J. Kershen, 17–41. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Sponza, Lucio. 2005. "Gli italiani in Gran Bretagna: profilo storico" [Italians in Great Britain: A Historical Outline]. *Altreitalie* 30: 4–22.

Tomasi, Lydio F. 2000. "Giovanni Battista Scalabrini." In *The Italian American Experience: An Encyclopedia*, edited by S. J. LaGumina, et al. New York: Garland.

Triandafyllidou, Anna, and Sabrina Marchetti. 2013. "Migrant Domestic and Care Workers in Europe: New Patterns of Circulation?" *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 11 (4): 339–46, introduction to the special issue *Migrant Domestic and Care Workers in Circularity*. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2013.822750.

Viazzo, Pier Paolo. 1989. *Upland Communities: Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps Since the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waldinger, Roger D. 1986. *Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrant and Enterprise in New-York's Garment Trade*. New-York and London: New York University Press.

Waldinger, Roger D. 1989. "Immigration and Urban Change." *Annual Review of Sociology* 15 (1): 211–32.

Waldinger, Roger D., Howard Aldrich, and Robin Ward, eds. 1990. *Ethnic Entrepreneurs. Immigrant and Ethnic Business in Western Industrial Societies*. London: Sage.

Yeates, Nicola. 2004. "Global Care Chains." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6 (3): 369–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000235573.

Yeates, Nicola. 2012. "Global Care Chains: A State-of-the-Art Review and Future Directions in Care Transnationalization Research." *Global Networks* 12 (2): 135–54.

Migrant Brick- and Tile-Makers from the Island of Kythnos in Athens During the First Half of the Twentieth Century: A Gendered Perspective

Michalis A. Bardanis

This chapter[1] discusses a large group of inner migrant brickworkers from the island of Kythnos (Greece), and especially from a village named Driopida,[2] who worked at the brickyards of Athens, the capital of the country, during nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Inspired by gender studies, and the growing interest in the gendered aspects of migration, this contribution aspires to bring to light the implication of gender, and the visible or invisible actions of both sexes, in a complex migration pattern which radically reshaped a sector of production. It especially

M. A. Bardanis (✉)
Department of History and Archaeology, University of Ioannina, Ioannina, Greece
e-mail: mich.bardanis@yahoo.gr

shows the crucial—although often imperceptible—role played by women in the achievement of important economic, social and cultural developments, especially in brickwork, traditionally acknowledged as a 'male' professional environment.

Apart from the fact that this particular case study has been neglected by scholars, what makes it unique is that it allows to focus on inner migration. Here, workers gained their specific occupational knowledge only as a result of their migration to Athens and without having any experience beforehand (in their birthplace), apart from their involvement in small-scale pottery production (Venetoulias 2004, 17; Psaropoulou 1990, 47–76). In addition, the Kythnian community, through an almost monoprofessional choice which proved to be a successful survival strategy, managed not only to become a long-lasting presence, but to dominate the brickmaking sector. I will show how gradually, this community established a well-rooted settlement in the city and achieved social integration, by building a powerful ethno-local network and without losing contact with their birthplace. Above all, this case study examines migration over the span of 150 years and therefore considers several generations of workers.

In particular, during the period under scrutiny (1900–1940) substantial changes occurred which totally transformed the brickmaking sector, such as the gradual transition from hand-made to machine production, and the passage from cottage industry to the factory.

The first section of the article analyses the historical framework. A number of aspects will be taken into account, like the well-known *migration tendency* in the brickmaking industry (Peacock 1982, 38. On the relation between migration and brickmaking see also Kessler and Lucassen 2013, 265), the relation between Greeks and migration, as well as the brickmaking sector in Athens (1834–1950). Finally, data regarding the group of Kythnian brickmakers, the quality of their labour migration and of their social relationships will be provided.

The subsequent section (and the following ones) probes the gender aspect of the migratory flows of Kythnians in Athens and their professional progression and social mobility (before and after they settled permanently in the city). Several notions of special importance and of growing interest in migration studies, such as settlement, skills, kin, labour intermediation, marriage patterns (endogamy and exogamy), land property, dowry, assets, integration and social advancement, will be scrutinized. The multifarious role of gender will emerge through the study of two powerful institutions in Greece: *family* and *family business*. Both sexes will be approached as

a relational social category, according to the latest approaches in gender studies (King et al. 2006, 249).

Early on during my doctoral research, I realized that the topics of brickmaking in Athens and the related migration flows from Kythnos (or from elsewhere) was understudied, partly due to the lack of both qualitative and quantitative sources. Thus, it became imperative to compile a detailed inventory of brickworks, including data regarding the history of each unit, as well as biographical notes of the owners. In order to compile this inventory, I consulted several sources, chiefly commercial and industrial directories of that period (amounting to almost 50 volumes in total), as well as a number of newspapers, company brochures and reports. Research in a number of public archives which contain files pertaining to several businesses (such as the General State Archives—GSA, National Bank of Greece Historical Archives—NBGHA) or in small private archives (which have provided old photos, personal papers, notarial documents, family trees etc.) proved fruitful. But above all, the most important source material to this study are the interviews with more than 80 former brickmakers or their descendants, of both sexes, that I carried out between 2002 and 2019. A micro-history approach allows to delve into the, until now, unknown brickmaking community and appraise its gendered connotations.

The Historical Framework

In the last forty years, labour migration has raised the interest of social scientists at an international level. More recently, researchers are focusing especially on migration from a gendered perspective, since 'the changing epistemologies of gender studies which today bring yet newer questions – and answers – to the field' (Green 2012, 782–83; Sharpe 2001; King et al. 2006; Miller Matthei 1996; Sinke 2006. On gender and interdisciplinarity see Donato et al. 2006).

Even a cursory look at the extensive international bibliography on different regions since Roman times, it becomes evident that migration is a common pattern for the brickmaking sector, in rural as well as in urban areas. This tendency to move is undoubtedly motivated by the seasonal nature of the profession, due to the climatic constraints (Lucassen 1987, 3).[3] Moreover, since a 'huge demand for workers is not easily met locally' (Lucassen 2008, 520) it stands to reason that workers tended to move from rural areas to cities, as a part of the urbanization process (Clarke

2011, xvi). This proved to be an absolutely efficient tactic, since: first, it was easier to attract craftsmen than to import heavy and fragile bricks (Haynes 2019, 64–65), and secondly because these groups of migrants were already trained and experienced in a demanding trade. Brickworkers travelled in (inner migration) or out (external migration) of their countries, during the production period, in a systematic seasonal migration.[4] In many cases, after travelling for several years to the same place, the labourers settled down permanently. According to several works the year-round production is associated with the elimination of the migratory practices (Lucassen 2008, 523; Edoor 2018, 38). Sometimes migrant flows of brickmakers were geared into building a new city/capital in a country, broader building projects (both industrial and public works), all within the wider spectrum of what has been called *building capitalism* (Kessler and Lucassen 2013, 278; Oltmer 2013, 38; Bernotas 2013, 141; Clarke 2011).

Brickmaking is usually acknowledged as a 'male job'.[5] On an international scale the participation of women in the brickmaking process does not exceed 10 or 20% of the total labour force (Clarke and Wall 2006, 43; Aajeevika Bureau 2008, 10). Despite this fact, historians and sociologists are increasingly becoming interested in a gendered approach, in examining migration patterns and roles of men, women and children, in every aspect of work in brickfields, as well as in approaching gender through a more updated methodology, which considers relationships, networks, economic resources and institutions (Clarke 2011; Edoor 2018, 13; Kessler and Lucassen 2013, 287 and 300; Lucassen 2008, 543; Wilson 2005).

As concerns the matter of migration in Greece, historically, different types of the phenomena are known. In modern times, population movements (inner, outer, transatlantic migration) became an apparent strategy of survival, which secured the well-being of single individuals and their families, and on many occasions, altered Greece's socio-economic conditions, heavily impacting the development of the country (Korma 2017; Tziovas 2009; Tsoukalas 2006, 97–159, 288–371; Panagiotopoulos, 1985).

Among different, well-documented, examples of *inbound* and *outbound* labour migration in the country, the case of workers in the building industry occupies a distinct place. Specifically, the establishment of Athens in 1834 as the capital of the newborn Greek State, caused a

remarkable demographical and spatial increase, which marked the beginning of a longlasting building process, attracting a considerable number of skilled workers, specialised in different fields (many of whom belong to migrant groups), in order to support the rapidly developing building construction sector and the robust labour market (Fatsea 2011; Kenna 1978). These migration flows should be considered against the broader background of migration from the islands and some rural areas of the mainland to Athens, which, especially, for the period between 1860–1870 and 1930 (maybe even later) is phenomenon that has become known as the *Islandic* or *Agrarian Exodus* (Tsoukalas 2006, 124–46; Spathari-Begliti, 1992, on a group of pottery makers from an other island of Aegean Sea, Sifnos).

Brickmakers are a less-known group than others associated with the building trades (such as, for examples, builders and carpenters). During the nineteenth century a large number of itinerant groups of brick- and tile-makers (especially until 1860–1870) and small workshops can be traced; in 1857 there were more than 50 kilns in Piraeus (Agriantoni 2010, 111). Until 1920, the vast majority of brickworkers worked only on a seasonal basis and in small-scale workshops, producing bricks manually. In addition, before 1900, all the efforts to establish large companies that operated with steam-powered machinery, failed. Only after that, and especially after 1920, a group of 5–6 industries that used imported integrated production systems and hired large numbers of workers (more than 150) who worked on a regular basis all year round, were established with a certain success. Simultaneously many of the small companies mentioned above, proceeded to build extensions and upgrade equipment, thus transitioning from the status of 'workshop industries' to medium or large scale factories. This led to the formation of a large team of *labour-intensive units*, a total of 170 (but possibly even more than 200) brickworks[6] (Bardanis 2018, 110).

At the beginning, brickworks were disseminated in and around the city and its port Piraeus. The first sizeable group of units was established since at least 1840 at Piraeus and the Phaliric Delta. A few units were installed after 1880 in Elaionas. After 1900 the vast majority of the city's brickworks were gathered in the industrial areas of Elaionas at Athens and Kaminia at Piraeus, leaving gradually their initial locations.[7] Antagonism eventually developed between this particular group and the group of 5–6 large industries mentioned earlier.

If we consider the origin of the brickmakers in Athens (both brickyards' owners, and the labour force in general), it is evident that until 1860, native Athenians (including inhabitants from villages around Athens) or people from other areas of the country were involved in the profession. Brickmakers from the island of Kythnos (50 naval miles away from Piraeus/the port of Athens), are known to have moved to Athens during that time. In 1857, over a total of 1000 workers at the brickworks of Piraeus, the majority were from the island of Kythnos (*The Filopappos* 7.5.1857; Agriantoni 2010, 111).[8] After 1860 more people from Kythnos migrated to Athens (Bournova 2016, 98–99) while many of them found a job in the established brickyards. Quantitative data shows that after 1900, Kythnians outnumbered native Athenians, the migrants from areas of the Peloponnesus, from the islands of Aegean Sea, and elsewhere in Greece, as well as refugees (Table 14.1 and Fig. 14.1).[9]

Additionally, as evident from Table 14.2, the previously presented data

Table 14.1   Brickmakers in Athens—Piraeus, 1900–1950. Place of origin

	Athens[d]	Other[e]	Immigrants[f]	Unidentified	Kythnos	Total
Surnames[a]	14	7	14	68	30	123
Brickworks owners[b]	39	18	14	80	156	307
Brickmaking Units[c]	24	10	13	75	75	197

[a]Brickworks' owners under the same surname, whether or not members of the same family
[b]Maybe one or more persons belong the same brickmaking unit
[c]Origin of people who belonged to a brickmaking unit
[d]From Athens and Attica
[e]Including people from Peloponnesus, islands of the Aegean Sea other than Kythnos, and elsewhere
[f]From Asia Minor and elsewhere

Sources [1] Industrial and commercial guides: Alexakis 1906–1907; Anninos and Gounaropoulos 1924; Artia 1928; Artia 1930; Athens Chamber of Commerce & Industry-Flamma 1935; Eastern Advertisement Company 1913; Fimi 1929; Gavriilidis 1939; Hairopoulos 1933; Iglesis 1905–1934 (13 vol.); Kousoulinos 1904; Kyrieris and Giannopoulos 1921; Panagopoulos and Ganasoulis 1935; Panagopoulos 1938; Sideris 1939; Skenderidis 1933; Skenderidis 1949; Stamatiou and Bouzouras 1912; Tsapogas and Koudouris 1930; [2] interviews with Maria Athanasaki, Aggela Alessandri, Anna Anapliotou, Maria Kokkinogeni and Bouriti, Kostas Bouritis, Georgios Bournias, Konstantinos Delavinias, Yannis Dousis, Dionisios Filippaios, Athanasia Fragoulaki, Paraskevi Gonidaki – Degleri, Georgios Gonidakis, Markos Goumas, Vassilis Goumas, Polyxeni Gouma, Petros Kallilas, Antonios Kambanelis, Georgios Kokkinogenis, Stavros Koumousis, Georgios Lebesis, Yannis Martinos, Frangiskos Martinos, Antonios Michas, Eleni Panagiotopoulou, Georgios Papamakarios, Zoe Ropaitou, Georgios Stinis, Panagiotis Tranoulis, Dimitrios Tranoulis, Vassilis Tridimas, Georgios Tridimas, Frangiskos D. Verros, Anastasios Venetsanopoulos
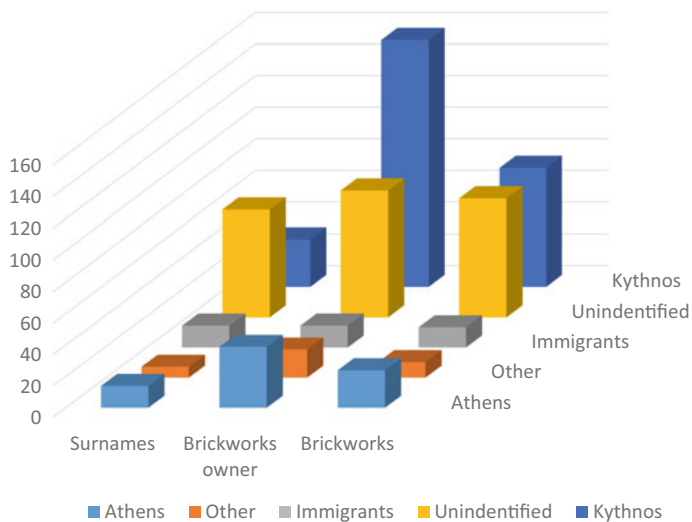
Fig. 14.1 Brickmakers in Athens, 1900–1950, Place of origin

Table 14.2 The largest labour-intensive brickmaking units in Athens—Piraeus, 1934[a]. Origin of the brickwork owners

	Brickworks (in total)	Brickworks owned by Kythnians	%	Brickworks owned by others	%
Annual production of over 5 million items	13	9	69.2	4	30.8
Annual production between 3 and 5 million items	24	14	58.3	10	41.7

Sources NBGHA, A1S34S31F14, Catalogue of brick and tile annual production
[a]With the exclusion of the three biggest industrial firms

tallies with the information about the largest brickmaking firms in Athens in 1934.[10]

Furthermore, enterprises run by Kythnians were among the longest-lasting family businesses. Some of them functioned uninterruptedly for more than 60–80 years, i.e. the span of 3 or 4 generations.[11] Some of the most frequent surnames among brickmakers from Kythnos (either brickyard owners or workers) are Bouritis, Gardelis, Georgoulis, Goumas, Gonidakis, Gonidis, Delavinias, Kallilas, Karamanolis, Kokkinogenis, Koheilas, Larentzakis, Levantis, Martinos, Nitsis, Panagiotopoulos, Papageorgiou, Papamakarios, Stinis, Tsirdimos, Filippaios, Filippas, Vassalos, Verros, Vrettos, etc.[12]

A careful analysis of the development of the brickmaking industry in Athens, shows that this particular labour network is associated with the following characteristics:

a. The paternalistic management by the side of the employers (including several privileges granted to their compatriots and relatives), the sub-contracting system of production (into small- and medium scale-units) combined with over self-exploitation and flexible forms of work led quite often to relatively high final wages. Thus a large group of brickworkers was eager to work in these labour-intensive units and was able to refuse jobs as wages labourers offered by the few big industrial enterprises of that time (for less final profit).

b. Staunch adherence to the traditional production process (hand made production and child labour continued until 1940) and a remarkable delay of the brickmaking sector in Athens in shifting from craft to a pure industry, which took place only after 1960s and 1970s (Yannitsiotis 2006, 77–88, on the Greek case in general).

c. The persistence of a paternalistic management, underpinned by the ethno-local and kin bonds.

d. The 'victory' of labour-intensive units over the few big industrial units by the end of '30s (process of deindustrialization).

Gender Role in the Creation
of Professional and Social Networks
Away from the Home-Country

The success of the Kythnian migrant brickmakers in Athens was undoubtedly the result of the existence and interaction of the *institution of family brickworks* and the *extended labour network of the people of Kythnos*. The former supplied and supported the latter constantly, and vice versa.[13] Family, in general, was at the core of Greek economy and business, at least since the eighteenth century (Avdela 2004). A highly productive unit, it was the main production cell of Greek economy for centuries (Dertilis 2005, vol. 1, 20). Business ties based on kin relations were much denser in Greece than abroad (Pepelasis 2007, 518), while family firms are 'widely recognised as the basic vehicle of Greek development' (Dritsas 1997, 85).

As concerns the brick- and tile-making sector, action took place in a two clusters of brickworks in the capital of Greece. As in many parts of the world, after 1900, in Athens brickworks were installed in specific locations where clay of the appropriate quality could be found in the suitable amounts, and not far from the building market.[14] The almost adjacent areas of Kaminia, Piraeus (since the 1830s), and Elaionas, Athens (since 1880), were transformed from rural areas to *brick villages*, where brickyards, clay pits, houses (both for employers and employees) were gathered.[15] Recent research has pointed out that 'immigration coincides with a period of metropolitan expansion, when residential changeover is very rapid, as socially mobile classes vacate neighborhoods, leaving them for arriving immigrants' (Asselin et al. 2006, 142). However, in the case study under scrutiny there was a gradual occupation and settlement of an almost empty suburban area, by migrants; of course this by no means implies residential segregation. The place was transformed into an urban industrial area, where the houses were beside and between the units of production.

Considering the percentage of Kythnian presence, during the first half of the twentieth century both areas, especially Elaionas after 1920, probably resembled densely populated colonies of Kythnos. This massive grid of brickworks (more than 100 units were developing at a time), while labour neighbourhoods circled them by 1950, unquestionably affecting the social life of immigrants there. The brickyard owners and their families often lived in houses adjacent or close to the brickworks. At the same

time, seasonal workers found shelter there, under the sheds and in storehouses, stables or in small houses built especially for that reason. Later on, when they settled down permanently, they occupied the surrounding areas and turned them into settlements and urban neighbourhoods (Bardanis 2018, 119).

In the following section I will use gender as a methodological tool in order: first, to dissect the parameters of this ethno-local and occupational 'triumph' in Athens/Elaionas, and second, to understand social and entrepreneurial development, before and after the *feminisation* of migration flows, which coincides with the permanent settlement of the brickmakers. Notions of family, household and family businesses were of prominent importance for brickmakers in Athens. Evaluating these aspects will reveal the entangled, overlapping, ambiguous and/or contradctiory role played by women and men in the multilayered and multidimensional process of integration.

The analysis will be conducted along five main points: (a) labour division and transfer of knowledge; (b) decision-making process and the role of dowry; (c) paternalistic management; (d) permanent settlement and the ethno-local labour network of Kythnians; (e) integration process and external networks.

Labour Division and Transfer of Knowledge

Labour division in brickmaking is acknowledged as a factor of crucial importance for the production line. According to international scholarship, the labour division in brickworks assigns different duties to men, women, and children with (Lucassen 2008, 548). As a general rule, task allocations based on gender and age determine the character and quality of the brickmaking process; the system of production of choice, the rhythm of work and final output—in both quantitative and qualitative terms—are connected to labour division. The matter of labour division in brickmaking in Athens will be examined as concerns both unit-owners and the labour force, before and after their permanent settlement in the capital of Greece.

I will first address the labour force. When brickmaking was a seasonal production, each summer, many men and their male relatives (fathers and sons but also uncles and nephews) aged 10/12 and above, travelled by small boats from Kythnos to the port of Piraeus, to work in the differnt brickyards of Athens (mostly owned by Kythnians) from May

to September.[16] They were assigned different duties, depending on their skills and age. Men were involved in any kind of task (clay extraction, clay weaving, brick formation,[17] drying process, loading and unloading the kiln and of course firing). Children, on the other hand, usually were assigned tasks like moving bricks and tiles from the brick worker's bench and setting them to dry.[18] In addition they helped adults in several chores, while youngsters/teenagers carried out the most physically demanding task.[19]

All interviewees confirm, that women and daughters remained on the island, in order to till the land (wheat), tend to animals (goat, sheep etc.), and raise children.[20] Unfortunately, there is no information on the decision-making framework and how women influenced their husbands' migration to Athens.

When migrant workers settled down permanently and became a sedentary labour force, men continued to do the arduous work of making brick and tiles. Women were involved mostly with subsidiary duties, like working at the drying fields. After the introduction of the brickmaking machine a typical female task was the handling of the wire cutting device to cut the extruded clay into bricks.[21] Once a brickworker's wife settled in Athens permanently (irrespective of the fact that she had married him before or after settling in the capital), in many cases she started to work at the brickworks, either the same which employed her husband or in a different one. Especially, if a man sub-contracted different parts of the production, his wife often helped him.[22] When it comes to child labour, it was preferable to employ boys, although we know that girls aged 10–12 and over, were given the same tasks as boys.[23]

The different roles of men and women is evident when it comes to assessing the (nuclear or extended) families of the brickyard owners. After the permanent settlement of a brickmaker in Athens and the establishment of a brickworks, usually other members of his family were involved with the enterprise. Sometimes women contributed to the family income by taking part in the production line (hands-on involvement), but they did not perform the more demanding tasks such as the preparation of clay and brick-shaping. They were mostly involved in subsidiary jobs, although this generally happened with a certain reserve as the gender ideology in many countries 'makes it a shame for men to allow their wives to work' (Bardanis 2018, 108). Additionally, as 'the family home was attached to the brickworks until the 1930s or 1940s and even after 1950, it was easy

for family members to get involved, beyond domestic work and childrearing in supplementary activities in the unit, in what is called 'invisible' work, which included the raising of small livestock and poultry, preparing meals for the unit's paid laborers and doing the laundry' (Bardanis 2018, 119). On the other hand, the brickmakers' wives and children could be called to give their contribution in emergency situations, such as saving fresh bricks when unexpected storms hit in the middle of the night.[24]

There is little information regarding their activities during the inoperative season. Some aspects we can infer: for example, it is very likely that between September to May, when workers travelled back to Kythnos and the brickworks remained closed, men and woman were engaged in farming activities.[25] In addition we have to consider that some chores, such as tempering the clay and especially firing row bricks, was done outside the actual brick season.[26]

Intra- and intergenerational transfer of skills is another crucial topic for this case study. Occupational knowledge and secrets of the *métier*, were generally kept among Kythnias brickmakers. So much so, that even if they were involved in many brickyards owned by non-Kythnians, no other group of brickmakers emerged who could challenge their *expertise* and *monopoly*. An inter-community knowledge transfer was achieved through a priority-policy on recruitment of men and women from Kythnos. Apprenticeship/child labour[27] became the way with which skills were passed down from father to son and other members of the family. This corresponds to Jochen Oltmer's statement that 'the special knowledge of migrant groups from identical home regions was transmitted within stable communication networks based on kinship and friendship' (Oltmer 2013, 39).

If the role of men is clear, because of their preponderance, women also participated to this transfer of knowledge, as 'addressers' or 'receivers', through their hands-on involvement, as well as a managerial role. Whether wife or daughter of a brickworker or brickyard owner, they were basic components of the family enterprise. A mother in the context of the household or in the house-brickwork unit, would teach her girls how to become good wives and mothers, and how to juggle successfully between the demanding activities at both home and the brickfields.

In conclusion, whether workers or brickmakers, the cooperation of husband and wife ensured the well-being of the entire family. Labour division reinforced the contribution to the family income, as many (if not all) members of a family were involved in the working activities. Different

strategies were developed which were aimed towards the reinforcement of the family economy. A notable example is the case of Bouritis family. During 1920s Chriso Bouriti, a widow, rented the Fragoulakis brickworks. She, her children and grandchildren, of both sexes, as well as her son-in-law, all worked together there. Through hard work they eventually managed to establish their own brickyard.[28]

Over the course of time, upward social mobility eventually reinforced the gendered division of labour. Brickmakers' wives mostly retained a subsidiary managerial role. In addition, many brickmakers managed to turn their units from a small cottage-scale (where brickmaking was a hand-made process), to small or bigger factories (incorporating machinery), passing through all the ordinary steps/social rungs[29] (Wilson 2005, 59–60). Economic well-being allowed many brickyards' owners to stray away from hands-on involvement and to concentrate on managing their units, while after the 1920s, female family members gradually moved away from the kilns and the clay pits (Bardanis 2018, 128).

It seems that the brickworks owners' female family members were no longer involved in the brickfields, when the families moved to residential areas, within the city's grid and, later on, in its suburbs, far from the factories and the industrial areas of Kaminia and Elaionas. They preferred to live in bigger houses or apartments, where they adopted habits that were compatible with the middle class (Bardanis 2018, 128).[30] Wives and daughters of factory owners focused on less visible types of work, like raising and educating children and household management, or in the pursuit of better educational qualifications. At the same time they cultivated and fostered social networks which included other families involved in the business.[31] As our knowledge on that matter is limited, more research should be done on the de-feminization of the work space among brickyards owners families.[32] This observation on de-feminazation is perhaps associated with a problem inherent to the sources: could male intervewees have made a deceptive 'construction' of the work of female family members'work? Especially considering that only 11 women have been interviewed. Many testimonies of male interviewees could raise suspicions of a deliberate false reproduction of the model of the male breadwinner family (Horrell and Humphries 1997; Barragán Romano and Papastefanaki 2020, 4). Especially in a strongly androcentric environment such as contemporaneous Athenian society (Avdela 2000, 40), this may be due to reasons of dignity[33] and underestimation of, or an attempt to mask female work, on the part of male interviewees.

Decision-Making Process and Dowry

Managing the units was basically a male duty. The brickmaker was the head of the family, as well as of the brickyard.[34] Many informants recall that owners were powerful and strict men, with a deep knowledge of the profession and a sense of justice. On the other hand, brickmakers' wives or daughters took on managerial roles only in event of widowhood (Bardanis 2018, 115–16).[35] This notwithstanding, there is some evidence of their involvement in the management of the brickworks. They were responsible for the orderly functioning of the units in the absence of their husbands, and in many cases they were involved in commercial dealings. Maria Filippaiou, for example, wife of Michalis Trepas (a brickmaker in Elaionas–Aigaleo), was engaged in the commercial affairs of her husband's brickworks after 1945—and possibly before 1940—while he was involved in the production line.[36] As they were strict, clever, powerful and respectable women, they could easily deal with both workers (on site) and clients.[37] They were addressed by the workers as 'ma'am' or 'lady' (κυρά or κερά Greek).[38] Hence, the brickyards' owners were the heads of the enterprises, while brickmakers' wives were the heads of households.

Women participated in the success of the enterprise especially by contributing with their own property. Litterature has acknowledged that marriage and the system of dowry, which was well entrenched in Greek society, became a parameter of great importance for the enlarging the unit and financial well-being (Herzfeld 1980, 225–41; Sant Cassia and Bada 1992, 52–55; Kenna 1976a, b). The production of millions of brick and tiles required adequate quantities of clay. During the operation span of a unit, brickworks owner/s needed to expand their property by acquiring adjacent land, in order to ensure constant supply of raw material. In Elaionas and Kaminia, the land was fragmented and land prices saw a gradual increase (as several notarial documents from personal archives of former brickmakers show). Dowry therefore contributed significantly to devise an investment plan.

Studying brickmakers in Mexico, Wilson has pointed out that 'there are endogamous tendencies among brickmakers due to, first, the isolation of brickyards on the periphery of the city and, second, due to this isolation, the narrow social connections of brickmakers, which tend to include primarily other brickmakers and their families' (Wilson 2005, X). An extended endogamy can be observed also in the Greek case.[39] Many brickmakers or their sons married the daughters of inhabitants of the

area (who could be either brickworks' owners, landowners, artisans or entrepreneurs). In many of these cases the groom was given a dowry: cash, a house, and especially land which he could then use as a clay pit or sell. Even when brides were from Kythnos (either in the case of *family formation* by migrants in host society, or in case of *marriage migration*— where a migrant brings his spouse from the home country [King et al. 2006, 252]), she as well could have had land back on the island.[40] In any case, therefore, the wife's contribution to the development of the family business is obvious.

Since 'in contemporary developing countries, women's property and its social acknowledgement enhances women's agency, since it gives them influence over family economic decisions and over society, and finally contributes to the reduction of inequalities among sexes' (Zucca Micheletto 2014, 2), more research should be done in this direction. Scholarship must ascertain whether or not wives got involved in the decision-making process because of their contribution to the development of the family businesses thanks to their dowry. An indication of their involvement in the decision-making process is staff recruitment, which was not limited to relatives and friends of the brickworks' owner. There are many examples where family members from the wife's side (even if she was or not from Kythnos) worked in the husband's brickyard. [41] This tendency also proves that after marriage bonds with the wife's family were maintained (Nitsiakos 2016, 102). Can we take this as a sign of direct female participation, or rather of their 'hidden' managerial role? Or is this rather an instance of an 'unequal gender distribution of resources and women's lack of access to power within the household' (Matthei 1996, 40)?

The answer to this question might be linked with the matriarchal standards of the past, certainly present in Greek society, but concealed by the dominant patriarchy for so many centuries. Remnants of this pattern in association with the demoted role of women, can be found in Arvanitic societies (Alexakis 1994, 141), to which many Athenians and Kythnians brickmakers belonged or originated from (and which I will comment later on).

Management: Reinforcing
Relations and Paternalism

The Kythnian brickmasters (renters and especially brickworks owners) 'not only created the myth of the successful, self-made entrepreneur but also earned him the title of patriarch and patron. A specific personal management style, involving paternalism and a deep knowledge of the craft, made him a respected person in the eyes of the members of the vibrant brick-making community in Athens, as well as of the community of workers' (Bardanis 2018, 117–18).[42]

The brickmaker and his wife, were respectable persons and were perceived as benefactors of the island. Brickmaking in the area of the capital, proved to be a solution to the problem of unemployment in Kythnos and especially in periods of crises, like in 1930, when the exploitation of the mines on the island stopped for a while ('Στα Θερμιώτικα καμίνια' [At Thermiotika Kilns], *Kythniaka Nea* 15.11.1934, 2; Papastefanaki 2017, 266). By offering a job to the poor people of Kythnos and preferring them to other workers, migrants became at the same time benefactors and patrons for their birthplace, a situation which was further fostered by the constant back and forth movement of labour force to Athens within the framework of seasonal migration.

Their presence was a guarantee of a safe stay of migrant workers in Athens. Workers were coming to work in family businesses which resembled more to a friendly household environment than a factory. Workers from Kythnos not only benefited from the opportunity to accumulate money during a period of 4–5 months, in order to ensure a decent living for themselves and their families back in the island during the winter, but they knew that because of the local and family bonds with their employers, they would gain also special advantages such as lodging, food, laundry, etc.[43] The presence of the brickmaker's family ensured a safe stay at the brickyards, for unaccompanied children, and reinforced the relationship between brickworks' owners and the families (parents, wives, children) of the people who migrated to Athens.[44]

In addition to this, every September when they returned to Kythnos, they brought back with them gifts they had received from their employers for both themselves and their family members: clothes, olive oil and other foodstuffs, tools, fuel for heating, to mention a few; all items which could easily be found in the capital but not in Kythnos.[45] But most of all, they knew that they could trust their employers, and that they would certainly

receive their salary at the end of the period without any danger of being deceived.[46] All of these factors contributed to the formation of a devoted labour force.

Permanent Settlement and the Creation of a Network of Kythnians

As stated earlier, an important factor in the permanent settlement of workers is that it took place gradually. Male workers generally decided to live permanently in Athens after several cycles of seasonal migration. Those who were married, had to rent or buy a house, with their savings, or with the income from renting or selling a property.[47] Bachelors generally sought to marry a girl from the island before settling in the city. Sometimes the bride was the daughter of the groom's employer.[48] In all cases the importance of having property (a piece of land or a house) in Kythnos was critical, not only for economic reasons, but also in order to maintain links with the island.[49] At times this allowed migrants to shift more quickly from the status of worker to that of unit renter or owner.

Migrants settled in Elaionas, Kaminia, and the surrounding areas.[50] Most brickyards owners chose to build a house next to the premises,[51] although once they achieved a higher social status they would move to a more posh neighbourhood, at the beginning not far away from the units.[52] These dynamics neither led brickmakers to spatial segregation in the city's periphery nor to the setting up of homogeneous social and professional networks, such as those observed for other cases (i.e. in Mexico, see: Wilson 2005). Kaminia and Elaionas, as well as the surrounding areas, were not residential areas just for brickmakers. Over the span of more than 120 years, people from Kythnos came and find a job in other sectors, in this developing industrial area. Many men found employment in trades that were subsidiary to brickmaking: many carters and suppliers of building material were from Kythnos, while a number of taverns for the workers, were run by Kythnians, even by relatives of brickmakers or individuals employed in other industries of the building sector, like lime-, and cement floor-tiles production. In addition, several became carpenters and peasants, while others were workers in industries of the area, such as the Gas Works, in Gazi, where women were also employed.[53]

In this context, men and women, working and socializing together in the same places (workplace, churches and taverns), further strengthened existing relations. The fact that many were already acquaintances, friends or relatives (cousins, nephews etc.) and given the practice of epigamy, best-man and godfathership, reinforced connections between them (Bardanis 2018, 113).[54]

Before settling permanently in the city, most seasonal migrant Kythnian brickworkers stayed at the brickyards. At night they slept there in shelters and dined on site or in the neighbouring taverns, again owned by Kythnians, who organized evening parties with local music and socialization, commonly with members of the brickmakers family.[55]

The progressive massive settlement of people of Kythnos in the city eventually led to the creation of a Club/an Association of Kythnians in Athens, in 1904. This became one of the most vivid between those of outcomers, and still is.[56] The participation of brickmakers of course was extensive.

At the same time, and in parallel with permanent settlement, the prolongation of 'the systems of chain and return migration kept the ties with the Old Word intact' (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 29) ultimately leading to the establishment of network with strong characteristics of mutual assistance and solidarity.[57]

INTEGRATION PROCESS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

I will now discuss the integration and assimilation of the Kythnian brickmakers community and the relations between immigrants and native inhabitants in the urban environment according to a *convergent approach* - whereby different immigrant groups living in the same place are taken into account (Green 1999, 60)—and according to a *diachronic convergent* approach—whereby 'two or more immigrant groups are compared across two periods of time in the same location' (King et al. 2006, 239).

Thanks to their professional success and their ability to accumulate property and riches, the brickmaking Kythnian community and especially brickyards owners, experienced a remarkable improvement of their social status. Men gained the reputation of competent professionals, who could profitably create their own units or successfully succeed their fathers in the ownership and/or management of the brickworks. On the other hand, unmarried female members, were endowed with houses, land and money, which sometimes could constitute a significant fortune.[58]

At the same time, those who belonged to a second, third (and so on), generation of migrants, became integrated (through education and socialization), leaving behind the customs of Kythnos and adopting habits typical of the urban environment (clothing, hair styles, life style etc.).[59]

Thus, unmarried members of the Kythnian brickmakers' families, especially those who were born and raised in Athens (second or third generation), became potential grooms and brides for native Athenians or other migrants with an identical or different professional background. A high incidence of endogamy, in spatial terms, or/and an exogamy in terms of the place of origin, has been documented. For example, many cases attest marriages between members of brickmakers' families from Kythnos and land owners from Elaionas. An example is Konstantinos Vassalos, a brickmaker (and son of the brickmaker Emmanouil Vassalos, from Kythnos) who married Cryssoula Chelmi. His bride's father owned several parcels of lands adjacent or at a short distance from Vassalos brickworks in the Tavros area. After this marriage, K. Vassalos became also involved in the management of a dairy farm that belonged to Chelmis (Soutos and Soutos 2017, 138).

Moreover, multilevel partnerships and multiple bonds, in the different socio-economic aspects of life, connected natives (land owners, farmers, artisans and merchants) with the Kythnian community of brickmakers.

As concerns occupational cohabitation, Kythnian brickmakers did not engage in a conflict/competition. They, rather, established a fruitful collaboration with native and other migrant brickmakers who originated from other places. Furthermore, a professional alliance that could constitute a cohesive front against the 4–5 big industrial brickmaking units was established. After 1950, this front came to dominate the great industrial enterprises thus bearing testament to an open-minded strategy.

At this point another important factor should be mentioned that underpinned the integration mechanism and the development of social bonds between Kythnians and non-Kythnians in Elaionas. Many of the brickmakers in Athens, either natives or migrants from Kythnos were Arvanites.[60] The Arvanites were a clan from Albania that settled in Greece during the Middle Ages.[61] Many native Athenians were in fact Arvanites. During my studies I was able to ascertain that a group of land owners and brickmakers native to Athens which developed social bonds with brickmakers from Kythnos, were descendants of migrants from the island of Andros. Surnames like Balas, Chelmis, Dousis, Isaris, Kyranas, Lebesis, Leloudas or Louloudas, Tridimas which can be found among

the Arvanitic population of Andros (Johalas, 2010, 88–95) correspond to those of land owners/farmers of Elaionas, who migrated to mainland Greece in the mid-nineteenth century, or even earlier (Ropaitou-Tsapareli 2006, 204).[62] Gradually, members of these families (all except Balas, Chelmis and Ripis) moved from agriculture and animal husbandry to brickmaking.[63]

It is necessary to put under careful consideration the common socio-economic background of the previously referred groups of people. All were both Arvanites in origin and descended from migrants. They shared a common language, habits, tradition, customs, gender roles, system of property transmission that enforced the male birthright, endowment of women, occupational trends, etc. (Alexakis 1994, 1996a, 1996b). Especially concerning women, their prominent role into the household and household economy is excelled (Pashalis 1934). All these similarities in the cultural background of migrants of different generations, undoubtedly, affected their acculturation and symbiosis into Athens.[64]

Conclusion

The case of brickmakers from the island of Kythnos shows that the successful transition from the condition of the migrant to that of settler occurred through a complex transition process. Having an enterprise or job (for men), and a dowry (for women), undoubtedly ensured the well-being of Kythnian brickmakers and their community in Athens, as well as their 'integration' in Athenian society. Workmanship, land property, assets and wealth accumulation became a vehicle for social and economic mobility. In time the group of migrant brickmakers from Kythnos, were able to advance along the social ladder attaining middle and upper-class status in the Greek capital. So much so that the well-being of the community was upheld even after the 1970s when the operation of brickworks in Athens was stopped under the pressure of the state and unfavourable financial circumstances.

The socio-economic advancement of a large group of migrant brickmakers from the poor island of Kythnos, could not have happened without the creation of a powerful ethno-local network. Men and women of every age and social condition (brickyards owners/labour force, married/unmarried, seasonal/permanent migration) played a specific part in the process. Kinship, family ties, common origin and family determined their actions in Athens, the place they chose to settle permanently in and where they became socially integrated.

Notes

1. This research was conducted within the framework of my ongoing Ph.D. at the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Ioannina, entitled Οι οπτόπλινθοι και τα κεραμίδια στα κτήρια της Αθήνας. Ο κλάδος της πλινθοκεραμοποιίας σε Αθήνα, Πειραιά, ευρύτερη Αττική, Χαλκίδα και Πόρο (1834-1950) [Bricks and Roof-tiles at the Buildings of Athens. The Brick and Tile Industry in Athens, Piraeus, wider Attica, Chalkida and Poros (1834–1950)] under the supervision of Assoc. Prof Leda Papastefanaki. An earlier version of this paper has benefitted from the discussion that took place during the workshop "Migration and Gender: Relationship, Economic Resources and Institutions in Historical Perspective (15th–20th Centuries)", held at the University of Cambridge, U.K., Faculty of History—Campop, 8–10 November 2018. I would like to thank the conveyor Beatrice Zucca Micheletto for her comments and for her constant guidance during the following period until the publication of the present text. Acknowledgments should be also addressed to all participants (chairs and speakers) of the workshop and especially to Janine Maegraith, Annette Cremer, Amy Erickson, Yukari Takai, Huseina Dinani, Alessandra Gissi, Mateusz Wyzga, Elisa Baccini, Nimisha Barton and Nicoleta Roman. On May 2017, the issue of the migrant flows of brickworkers from the island of Kythnos (quantitative data and properties), had been presented at the 3rd International Conference in Economic and Social History, 'Labour History: Production, Markets, Relations, Policies (from the Late Middle Ages to the Early 21st Century)', organized at the University of Ioannina, Department of History and Archaeology and The Greek Economic History Association (on 24–27 May 2017). Among others I would like to thank Thomas W. Gallant, Marcel van der Linden, Amy Erickson, Maria Papathanassiou, Domna Iordanidou, Dimitris Kopanas, Akis Palaiologos, Nikos Potamianos and Kostas Paloukis for their comments and several discussions during the conference. Some of the presented facts and figures then, will be included hereafter, in the 'historical framework' paragraph. Finally I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Leda Papastefanaki for introducing me to the subject of labour migration and her constant guidance on the topic, and to the many brickmakers and their descendants for allowing me to interview them.
2. Interview with Kostas Bouritis (2018).
3. Lucassen connects the end of migration patterns and of the hand-made production with the advent of machines, as the process lost its seasonal character (Lucassen 2008, 523).
4. For inner migrants see Peacock (1982, 35), Kessler and Lucassen (2013, 300, 311), Lucassen (1987, 79), Edoor (2018, 21), Wilson (2005, X), Eldem (2017, 459). Regarding external migration, the most prominent

examples are those of the brickmakers from Lippe region, in Germany (Lucassen 1987, 79; Lourens and Lucassen 2015; Oltmer 2013, 38–39) and the Wallons brickworkers, who traveled around Europe and much further (Peacock 1982, 35; Lucassen 1987, 79; 2008, 534). For other cases see Bade et al. (2013), particularly in Lunn (2013, 23), Moch (2013, 57), Bertagna and Maccari-Clayton (2013, 108 and 111), van Eijl (2013, 330), Del Fabro (2013, 503), Blanc-Chaléard (2013, 525), Bernotas (2013, 143), Lucassen (2008, 543–44), Cook (1988), Morales (1992). For transatlantic migration see Ippel (1993), van Ravenswaay (1977, 108, 221–24).

5. All building trades belong to this category, even though, some exceptions have been documented. See Clarke and Wall (2006, 37), Price (1975, 111), Kessler and Lucassen (2013, 287).

6. Hand-made bricks and tiles were produced in Athens until 1940 (to some extent even after 1950), in parallel with the machine-made products, which were introduced in the market on a massive scale after 1920. This means that until 1950 in many brickworks both kinds of bricks were produced simultaneously: machine-made were manufactured throughout the year and hand-made during the summer (interviews with Kostas Bouritis 2018; Georgios Kokkinogennis 2018).

7. A smaller group of units were still in progress in the suburbs of Athens or even further, in small towns and villages spread in Attica (Bardanis 2018, 92).

8. This great number of workers possibly indicates that the periodical immigration to Athens had started even before we can document it.

9. Refugees came to Greece before 1922, but mostly after that year, from several parts of Asia Minor, Turkey, as well as elsewhere. Many of them worked in every kind of brickworks in Athens (interview with Kostas Bouritis (2018), while a few of them created very small brick units, mainly, in the northern suburbs of the city (Kontostathis 2013, 75–100).

10. In terms of size of production, among the 13 units with average annual output over 5 million items (excluding the 3 big industrial firms of that time), 9 businesses were owned by Kythnians and 4 by others (that makes 69.2 and 30.8%, respectively). A reducion (from 69 to 58%) is detected when considering brickworks with an annual production over 3 million items.

11. Interviews with Georgios Papamakarios (2016), Polyxeni Gouma (2014), Athanasia Fragkoulaki (2015), Frangiskos Martinos (2012) and others.

12. On names and nicknames from the island of Kythnos see Martinos and Georgouli (2007).

13. Scholarship has evidenced that 'the great social cohesion within' familial groups of migrant brickamking workers was achieved exactly because these workers were, 'originated from small villages where up to one third of the

population left for the brick season', something which must have been of vital importance (Lucassen 2008, 536). For a thorough analysis of the family business institution in brick- and tilemaking sector in Athens (1900–1940) see Bardanis (2018).

14. About the many reasons for which the acknowledged phenomenon of nucleation (clustering) of potteries and brickworks worldwide took place, see Peacock (1982, 38–43).

15. On Elaionas see Ropaitou-Tsapareli (2006). On Kaminia see Bafouni and Melios (2005).

16. Interviews with many old brickmakers or their descendants (i.e. Anna Anapliotou 2014; Frangiskos Martinos 2003 and 2012; Kostas Bouritis 2018).

17. This has been characterized as the *heart* of the brickmaking process (Lucasssen, 2008: 521). A team of 3 up to 10 workers, undertook the production of bricks. In Greek it was called *o πάγκος/the bench*, the *gang* or the *table* internationally (Watt Kathleen 1990, 31; Lucassen 2008, 535).

18. Interviews with Panagiotis Tranoulis (2001), Konstantinos Delavinias (2003), Frangiskos Martinos (2012), among others.

19. Interview with Kostas Bouritis (2018).

20. An example is the case of Fraggos Verros' mother. Frangiskos Verros (born in 1878 in Driopida village, Kythnos), fatherless, migrated every year from the age of 7–8, to work at the brickworks of Athens, in order to contribute to the family income (interview with Frangiskos D. Verros (2013).

21. Interviews with Georgios Gonidakis (2014) and many other brickmakers.

22. Interview with Yannis Martinos (2015).

23. Interviews with Kostas Bouritis (2018), Maria Kokkinogeni-Bouriti (2018), Athanasia Fragoulaki (2017) and Maria Athanasaki (2013).

24. Interview with Anna Anapliotou (2014).

25. Until 1950–1960, and sometimes even after that, birckmakers possessed farms or small and medium sized cultivated lands, often adjacent to their brickworks (interviews with Frangiskos D. Verros 2013; Frangiskos Martinos 2012; Georgios Tridimas 2015; Kostas Bouritis 2018).

26. Interview with Kostas Bouritis (2018).

27. For the apprenticeship system of Greek builders see Konstantinopoulos (1987).

28. Interviews with Kostas, Bouritis (2018) and Maria Kokkinogeni-Bouriti (2018).

29. Interviews with many Kythnians and non-Kythnians interviewees (i.e. Frangiskos D. Verros (2013), Georgios Papamakarios (2016), Georgios Lebesis (2014).

30. The phenomenon regards not only migrant brickmakers but also native Athenians. Among migrants from Kythnos we can take as examples

the members of the Verros, Goumas, Papamakarios, Panagiotopoulos, Bouritis and Filippas families, as well as many others (interviews with Anna Anapliotou (2014), Georgios Papamakarios (2016), Kostas Bouritis (2018) and others).

31. Interviews with Kostas Bouritis (2018), Athanasia Fragoulaki (2017), Anna Anapliotou (2014), Polyxeni Gouma (2014) and others.

32. I would like to thank Amy Erickson, Susan Zimmermann, and Leda Papastefanaki for their critical comments/criticism on different occasions.

33. It was considered shameful for the brickmakers to allow their wives to work (interview with Georgios Kokkinogenis (2018).

34. Greek society was strongly androcentric at that time (Avdela 2000, 40).

35. The capability of widows to continue their husbands' craft suggests they were already actively involved in the family business, before their husbands' death (see Zucca Micheletto 2014, 324).

36. Interview with Yannis Martinos (2015).

37. Like Angeliki Degleri, wife of Georgios Degleris and Angeliki Martinou, wife of Christos Martinos (interviews with Paraskevi Gonidaki – Degleri 2013; and Frangiskos Martinos 2012).

38. Interview with Frangiskos Martinos (2012).

39. Interviews with many old brickmakers or their descendants (i.e. Kostas Bouritis 2018; Georgios Gonidakis 2014).

40. Interview with Yannis Martinos (2015).

41. This was, for example, the case of Frangiskos Martinos Goumas Bross brickworks. One should note that Frangiskos Martinos and Kostas Goumas were both from Kythnos, while their wives were respectively from Kythnos and Amfissa, an area in Central Greece (interviews with Frangiskos Martinos 2012 and Polyxeni Gouma 2014).

42. Many interviewees state this for their ancestors (interviews with Georgios Lebesis 2014; Paraskevi Gonidaki – Degleri 2013; Polyxeni Gouma 2014; Aggela Allesandri 2017; Georgios Papamakarios 2016; Frangiskos Martinos 2012; Eleni Panagiotopoulou 2014; Anna Anapliotou 2014; Dimitrios Tranoulis 2012; among others).

43. Interviews with Paraskevi Gonidaki – Degleri (2013).

44. In this way parents were sure that their children could avoid overexploitation, or becoming victims of bad behavior and abuse. On the difficulties child migrants experience upon arrival see King et al. (2006, 240–41). On relations between peasants/villagers and their kin/relatives who migrated to cities and the mechanism for maintaining urban–rural connections, see Friedl (1959).

45. Interview with Kostas Bouritis (2018).

46. Interview with Frangiskos Martinos (2012).

47. Some of them had a small piece of land. Sometimes it was aquired through dowry (interview with Yiannis Martinos (2015).

48. As in the case of Georgios Fragoulakis, who married Marigo Levadi, daughter of one of the best-known potter-brickmakers in 1900, Ioannis Levantis (interview with Athanasia Fragoulaki 2017).
49. Interview with Kostas Bouritis (2018).
50. In Elaionas many brickworkers and brickmakers, apart living in houses beside and around the brickworks, they rented or bought a house at Gazi, Kerameikos, Votanikos, Tavros, Egalaio, Academia Platonos, Kolonos, etc. (interviews with Georgios Gonidakis 2014; Yannis Martinos 2015).
51. More than 30 cases have been traced in the interviews.
52. More than 20 cases have been traces. Members of the Lebesis family belongs to this group (intervie with Georgios Lebesis (2014).
53. Interviews with Paraskevi Gonidaki – Degleri (2013), Polyxeni Gouma (2014), Fangiskos Martinos (2012), Georgios Gonidakis (2014).
54. On the important role of wedding sponsorship (bestmanship) and godparenthood in Greek society see Campbell (1964, 217–24), Kenna (1976a, b, 347–62), Nitsiakos (1990), Friedl (1962, 111–16).
55. Interviews with Dionisis Filippaios (2003), Paraskevi Gonidaki – Degleri (2013), Maria Athanasaki (2013), Frangiskos D. Verros (2013), Georgios Gonidakis (2014), and Kostas Bouritis (2018).
56. See Vallindas (1896, 25–37) and Bournova (2016, 99). Until today Kythnians, even those who belong to the fifth, and even successive, generation(s) of migrants, have not forgotten their origins, even if they abandoned Elaionas and Kaminia in the 1950s. In contrast, many non-Kythnian migrants in Elaionas, since 1920s, consider themselves Athenians. This is for example the case of land owners, farmers and brickmakers from Andros.
57. As many interviewees state (e.g. Kostas Bouritis 2018; Georgios Gonidakis 2014).
58. Interviews with Georgios Papamakarios (2016), Kostas Bouritis (2018) and many others.
59. Interviews with Anna Anapliotou (2014), Eleni Panagiotopoulou (2014) and Kostas Bouritis (2018).
60. Interviews with Georgios Tridimas (2015), Frangiskos Martinos (2012), Kostas Bouritis (2018) and many others.
61. 'This clan, which gradually integrated into Greek society, is known for its involvement in landowning and agrarian occupations. The dominant role of men over women, marriage strategies and the use of the dowry as a vehicle for financial insurance and upward social mobility are clearly visible' (Bardanis 2018, 97). On the subject among others, see Alexakis (1996a, b), Biris (1960). Regarding the settlement of Arvanites in the Greek islands of Kythnos see Vallindas (1896), and about movement of Arvanites from Attica to the islands of Aegean Sea and vice versa, see Hasluck (1908–1909) and Komis (2004).

62. Lebesis, Tridimas and Dousis families originated from Andros. Interviews with Georgios Lebesis (2014), Georgios Tridimas (2015) and Yannis Dousis (2018).
63. Interviews with Georgios Lebesis (2014), Georgios Tridimas (2015), Yannis Dousis (2018).
64. More research should be done on this direction. It should be mentioned that, often historiography highlights conflicts between 'notions of appropriate gender and family behavior and relationship', which caused problems among different groups of people (native and migrants), making their coexistence troubled (Sinke 2006, 93, where a case of Dutch migrants in the U.S. is discussed). Regarding brickmaking see Lucassen (2008, 516), on differences of religion, language and ethnicity in Europe and India and the resulting lack of solidarity.

References

Industrial and Commercial Guides

Alexakis, Georgios. 1906–1907. *Πλήρης οδηγός του Πειραιώς, 1906–1907* [Complete Guide to Piraeus, 1906–1907]. Piraeus: Ermis.

Anninos, P., and A. Gounaropoulos. 1924. *Νέος επαγγελματικός οδηγός Αθηνών–Πειραιώς–Περιχώρων, 1924–1925* [New Business Guide to Athens–Piraeus–Suburbs, 1924–1925]. Athens: n.p.

Artia. 1928. *Μέγας οδηγός Πειραιώς* [Guide to Piraeus], 1928–29. Piraeus: Artia.

Artia. 1930. *Μέγας οδηγός Πειραιώς* [Guide to Piraeus], 1930–31. Piraeus: Artia.

Athens Chamber of Commerce & Industry-Flamma. 1935. *Εμπορικός και βιομηχανικός οδηγός της Ελλάδος, 1935* [Commercial and Industrial Guide to Greece, 1935]. Athens: Athens Chamber of Commerce & Industry-Flamma.

Eastern Advertisement Company. 1913. *Πανελλήνιος οδηγός* (Το ελληνικόν ντιρέκτορι), 1913 [Panhellenic guide (The Greek Directory), 1913]. Athens: Eastern Advertisement Company.

Fimi. 1929. *Εμποροβιομηχανικός οδηγός Αθηνών Πειραιώς και Θεσσαλονίκης, 1929* [Commercial-Industrial Guide to Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki, 1929]. Athens: Fimi.

Gavriilidis, Gavriil. 1939. *Μέγας Εμπορικός–Βιομηχανικός Επαγγελματικός Οδηγός Αθηνών–Πειραιώς–Περιχώρων, 1939* [Commercial-Industrial Guide to Athens–Piraeus–Suburbs, 1939]. Athens: Gavriilidis.

Hairopoulos, Takis. 1933. *Ο εικονογραφημένος ελληνικός επαγγελματικός οδηγός εμπορίου–επιστημών– βιομηχανίας, 1933* [The Illustrated Greek Guide to Commerce–Sciences–Industry, 1933]. Athens: Panhellenic Illustrated Library.

Iglesis, Nikolaos. 1905–1934 (13 vol.). *Οδηγός της Ελλάδος* [Guide to Greece], vol.: 1905–06, 1908–09, 1910–11, 1915, 1916–17, 1918, 1920, 1921, 1925–26, 1928–29, 1930, 1931, 1934–35, Athens: Iglesis.

Kousoulinos, Spyridon. 1904. *Οδηγός της Ελλάδος, 1904* [Guide to Greece, 1904]. Athens: n.p.

Kyrieris and Giannopoulos. 1921. *Ελληνικός Οδηγός, 1921* [Guide to Greece, 1921]. Athens: Kyrieris-Giannopoulos and co.

Panagopoulos, A. 1938. *Εμποροβιομηχανικός οδηγός της Ελλάδος 1938* [Commercial and Industrial Guide to Greece, 1938]. Athens/Patras.

Panagopoulos and Ganasoulis. 1935. *Εμποροβιομηχανικός οδηγός της Ελλάδος, 1935* [Commercial and Industrial Guide to Greece, 1935]. Patras/Athens.

Sideris, Nikolaos. 1939. *Οδηγός βιομηχανίας της Ελλάδος, 1939* [Industrial Guide to Greece, 1939]. Athens: N. Sideris.

Skenderidis, Theoklis. 1933. *Οδηγός της ελληνικής βιομηχανίας, 1933–34* [Hellenic Industry Guide], 1933–34. Athens.

Skenderidis, Theoklis. 1949. *Οδηγός της ελληνικής βιομηχανίας, 1949–50* [Hellenic Industry Guide], 1949–50. Athens.

Stamatiou, K., and V. Bouzouras. 1912. *Πανελλήνιος οδηγός, 1912* [Guide to Greece, 1912]. Athens: n.p.

Tsapogas, Alexandros, and Spyridon Koudouris. 1930. *Εμπορικός οδηγός "Ο Ερμής", 1930* ["Ermis" commercial guide, 1930]. Athens.

Newspapers

Kythniaka Nea. 1934. November 15, 2.
The Filopappos. 1857. May 7.

Bibliography

Aajeevika, Bureau. 2008. *Brick-by-Brick. A Study on Situation of Migrant Brick Kiln Workers from Korta*. Udaipur and London: Aajeevika Bureau—Overseas Development Institute. Accessed April 23, 2020. http://www.aajeevika.org/assets/pdfs/Brick%20by%20Brick%20-%20An%20Occupational%20Profile%20of%20Brick%20Kiln%20Migrant%20Workers.pdf.

Agriantoni, Chrstina. 2010. *Οι απαρχές της εκβιομηχάνισης στην Ελλάδα τον 19ο αιώνα* [The Beginnings of Industrialisation in Greece during the 19th Century]. Athens: Katarti.

Alexakis, Eleftherios. 1994. "Περί της Βιτόρας ή του στοιχείου του σπιτιού: Η συμβολική συγκρότηση της οικογένειας και της συγγένειας στους Αρβανίτες της Αττικής" [Vitora or the Spirit of the House: The Symbolic Construction of Family and Kinship among the Arvanites of Attica]. *Εθνολογία* 2: 129–53.

Alexakis, Eleftherios. 1996a. *Τα παιδιά της σιωπής: Οικογένεια, συγγένεια και γάμος στους Αρβανίτες της Αττικής (1859–1940)* [The Children of Silence: Family, Kinship and Marriage among the Arvanites of Attica (1859–1940)]. Athens: Parousia.

Alexakis, Eleftherios. 1996b. "Διτοπική μεταγαμήλια εγκατάσταση και προίκα σε μια νησιωτική κοινότητα: Κέα Κυκλάδων" [Bilocal Post-Marriage Residence and Dowry in an Island Community: Kea in the Cyclades]. *Εθνολογία* 5 (1–2): 5–66.

Asselin, Oliver, Françoise Dureau, Lucinda Fonseca, Matthieu Giroud, Abdelkader Hamadi, Josef Kohlbacher, Flip Lindo, Jorge Malheiros, Yann Marcadet, and Ursula Reeger. 2006. "Social Integration of Immigrants with Special Reference to the Local and Spatial Dimension." In *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe, A State of the Art*, edited by Rinus Pennix, Maria Berger, and Karen Ktaal, 133–70. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Avdela, Efi. 2000. *Le genre entre classe et nation: Essais d'historiographie grecque.* Paris: Syllepse.

Avdela, Efi. 2004. "Η Ιστορία των γυναικών και του φύλου στη σύγχρονη ελληνική ιστοριογραφία: Αποτιμήσεις και προοπτικές" [The History of Women and Gender in Contemporary Greek Historiography: The State of the Art and Prospects]. In *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας 1833–2002* [Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833–2000], edited by Paschalis Kitromilides and Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis, vol. 2, 123–38. Athens: Institute of Neohellenic Research.

Bade, Klaus, Pieter Emmer, Leo Lucassen, and Jochen Oltmer, eds. 2013. *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bafouni, Evangelia, and Nikolaos Melios. 2005. *Κάτω στον Πειραιά, στα Καμίνια. Η ιστορία της γειτονιάς* [Down in Piraeus, at Kaminia. The History of a Neighborhood]. Piraeus: Institute for the Study of Local History and the History of Enterprises.

Bardanis, Michalis. 2018. "Family Business in the Brick and Tile Industry in Athens, 1900–1940." *The Historical Review/La revue Historique* 15 (2018): 91–131. https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/historicalReview/issue/view/1266.

Barragán Romano, Rossana, and Leda Papastefanaki. 2020. "Women and Gender in the Mines: Challenging Masculinity Through History: An Introduction." *International Review of Social History* 65/2 (2020): 191–230.

Bernotas, Rivo. 2013. "Brick-Making in Medieval Livonia—The Estonian Example." *Estonian Journal of Archaeology* 17 (2): 139–56.

Bertagna, Federica, and Marina Maccari-Clayton. 2013. "Italy". *In The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the Seventeenth Century to*

the Present, edited by Klaus Bade, Pieter Emmer, Leo Lucassen, and Jochen Oltmer, 107–115. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Biris, Kostas. 1960. Αρβανίτες: Οι Δωριοίς του νεώτερου Ελληνισμού. Ιστορία των Ελλήνων Αρβανιτών [Arvanites: The Dorians of New Hellenism; History of Greek Arvanites]. Athens, s.n.

Blanc-Chaléard, Marie-Claude. 2013. "Italian Workers in the Construction Industry in the Paris Region since the 1870s." In *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, edited by Klaus Bade, Pieter Emmer, Leo Lucassen, and Jochen Oltmer, 524 – 527. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bournova, Eugenia. 2016. Οι κάτοικοι των Αθηνών, 1900–1960: Δημογραφία [Inhabitants of Athens, 1900–1960: Demography]. Athens: National and Kapodistrian university of Athens. Accessed June 17, 2019. http://ebooks.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/econ/catalog/book/4.

Campbell, John. 1964. *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain. Community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Clark, Peter. 1987. "Migrants in the City: The Process of Social Adaptation in English Towns, 1500–1800." In *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, edited by Peter Clark and David Souden, 267–91. London: Hutchinson.

Clarke, Linda. 2011. *Building Capitalism. Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of Built Environment*. Oxon: Routledge (first edition 1992).

Clarke, Linda, and Chris Wall. 2006. "Omitted from History: Women in the Building Trade." *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History* (held in Queen's College, Cambridge University, 29.3–2.4.2006), edited by Malcom Dunkelb, James W. P. Campbell, Hentie Louw, Michael Tutton, Bill Addis, and Robert Thorne, 35–59. Exeter: Short Run Press.

Cook, Scott. 1988. *Mexican Brick Culture in the Building of Texas, 1880s-1980s*. Texas: Texas A & M University Press.

Del Fabro, René. 2013. "Italian Industrial Workers in Western and Central Europe in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." In *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, edited by Klaus Bade, Pieter Emmer, Leo Lucassen, and Jochen Oltmer, 501–507. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dertilis, George. 2005. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Κράτους, 1830–1920* [History of the Greek State, 1830–1920], 3rd ed. Athens: Estia.

Donato, Katharine, Donna Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansn IV, and Patricia R. Pessar. 2006. "A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration

Studies." *The International Migration Review* 40/1, *Gender and Migration Revisited*: 3–26.

Dritsas, Margarita. 1997. "Family Firms in Greek Industry during the Twentieth Century." In *European Enterprise: Strategies of Adaptation and Renewal in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Margarita Dritsas and Terry Gourvish, 85-103. Athens: Trochalia Publications.

Edoor, John. 2018. *Archaic Technology, Social Relations and Innovations in Brick Kilns*. New Delhi: Centre for Education and Communication.

Eldem, Edhem. 2017. "Of Brick and Tiles: The History of Local Industry in the Area of Mürefte (Thrace)." In *Living the Good Life. Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empire of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Elif Akçetin and Suraiye Faroqui, 433–73. Leiden: Brill.

Fatsea, Irene, 2011. "Migrant Builders and Craftsmen in the Founding Phase of Modern Athens." In *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, edited by Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi, and Florian Riedler, 190–217. London: Routledge.

Friedl, Ernestine. 1959. "The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece." *American Anthropologist* 61 (1): 30–38.

Friedl, Ernestine. 1962. *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Gabaccia, Donna. 2001. "When the Migrants Are Men. Italy's Women and Transnationalism as a Working-Class Way of Life." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 190–208. London and New York: Routledge.

Goldthwaite, Richard. 1982^2. *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Green, Nancy. 1999. "The Comparative Methods and Poststractural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies." In *Migration, Migration History and History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, edited by Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 57-72. Bern: Peter Lang.

Green, Nancy. 2012. "Changing Paradigms in Migration Studies: From Men to Women to Gender." *Gender & History* 24 (3): 782–98.

Hasluck, Frederick William. 1908–1909. "Albanian Settlements in the Aegean Islands." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 15: 223–28.

Haynes, Carolyne. 2019. *Brick. A Social History*. Cheltenham: The History Press.

Herzfeld, Michael. 1980. "The Dowry in Greece: Terminological Usage and Historical Reconstruction." *Ethnohistory* 27 (3): 225–41.

Horrell, Sara, and Jane Humphries. 1997. "The Origins and Expansion of the Male Breadwinner Family: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Britain." *International Review of Social History* 42 (1997), Supplement: 25–64.

Ippel, Henry. 1993. "Example of Dutch Settlement in Grand Rapids. The Brick-yard." Paper presented at the 9th Biennial Conference on Dutch-American Studies, *The Dutch and Their Neighbors in Transition*, 3 Oct 1993, Calvin College, Grand Rapid, Michigan). Accessed June 18, 2019. https://dutchamericans.files.wordpress.com/2017/02/1993_04_ippel.pdf.

Johalas, Titos. 2010. *Άνδρος. Αρβανίτες και αρβανίτικα* [Andros. Arvanites and arvanitika]. Athens, Editions Typothito.

Kenna, Margaret. 1976a. "The Idiom of Family." In *Mediterranean Family Structures*, Peristiany, edited by J. G. Peristiany, 347–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kenna, Margaret. 1976b. "Houses, Fields and Graves: Property and Ritual Obligation on a Greek island." *Ethnology* 15 (1): 21–34.

Kenna, Margaret. 1978. "The Occupational Culture of Building Workers in Athens." Paper presented at the SSRC Seminar on Anthropological Research in Europe, 16–17 December 1978. Accessed June 17, 2019. https://www.academia.edu/12112953/The_Occupational_Culture_of_Building_Workers.

Kessler, Gijs, and Jan Lucassen. 2013. "Labour Relations, Efficiency and the Great Divergence: Comparing Pre-industrial Brickmaking across Eurasia, 1500–2000." In *Technology, Skills and the Pre-modern Economy in the East and the West: Essays Dedicated to the memory of S.R. Epstein*, edited by Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 260–322. Leiden: Brill.

King, Russell, Thomson Mark, Tony Fielding, and Tony Warnes. 2006. "Time, Generations and Gender in Migration and Settlement." In *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe. A State of the Art*, edited by Rinus Pennix, Maria Berger, and Karen Kraal, 234–67. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Komis, Kostas. 2004. *Νησιωτικά. Πληθυσμιακές μετακινήσεις, δημογραφικές ανακατατάξεις & οικονομικές διαμορφώσεις.* [On Islands. Population Movements, Demographical Rearrangements & Financial Conformations]. Ioannina: University of Ioannina.

Konstantinopoulos, Christos. 1987. *Η μαθητεία στις κομπανίες των χτιστών της Πελοποννήσου.* [Apprenticeship in Builder Groups in the Peloponnese]. Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth–General Secretariat for Youth.

Kontostathis, Achilleas. 2013. *Η Νέα Ερυθραία στη χαραυγή της ζωής της. Ένα χρονικό της κοινωνίας των προσφύγων της Νέας Ερυθραίας κατά τα πρώτα χρόνια της εγκατάστασης τους στα μισά του δρόμου Κηφισιάς – Εκάλης* [Nea Erythraia and Its Begeining. A Cronicle of Nea Erythraia Migrants Society During the First Years of Their Settlement, Between Kifissia and Ekali]. Nea Erythraia: Municipality of Kiffisia, Cultural and Research Studies of Erythraia in Asia Minor.

Korma, Lena. 2017. "The Historiography of the Greek Diaspora and Migration in the Twentieth Century." *Historein* 16: 1–2. https://doi.org/10.12681/historein.8778.

Lourens, Piet, and Jan Lucassen. 2015. "Labour Mediation among Seasonal Workers, in Particular the Lippe Brick Makers, 1650–1900." In *The History of Labour Intermediation: Institutions and Finding Employment in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Sigrid Wadauer, Thomas Buchner, and Alexander Mejstrik, 335–67. New York: Berghahn.

Lucassen, Jan. 1987. *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600–1900: The Drift of the North Sea*. Translated by Donald Bloch. London, Kent: Croom Helm Ltd.

Lucassen, Jan. 2008. "Brickmakers in Western Europe (1700–1900) and Northern India (1800–2000): Some Comparisons." In *Global labour history. A state of the Art*, edited by Jan Lucassen, 513–71. Bern: Peter Lang.

Lucassen, Jan, and Leo Lucassen. 1997. "Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives." In *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, edited by Jan Lucassen, and Leo Lucassen, 2nd edition, 9–38. Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York, Paris and Wien: Peter Lang.

Martinos, Nikos, and Marietta Georgouli. 2007. "Ονοματολογικά Δρυοπίδος Κύθνου" [On the onomatology of Dryopis-Kytnos]. In *Ονόματα. Revue Onomastique*, proceedings of the 4th Onomatological Conference, 334–42. Athens: Academy of Athens.

Matović, Margareta. 1990. "Migration, Family Formation, and Choise of Marriage Partners in Stockholm, 1860–1890." In *Urbanization in History. A Process of Dynamic Interactions*, edited by Ad van der Woude, Jan de Vries, and Akira Hayami, 220–42. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Miller Matthei, Linda. 1996. "Gender and International Migration: A Network Approach." *Social Justice* 23 (3): 38–53.

Moch, Leslie Page. 2013. "France". In *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the Seventeenth Century to the Present, edited by Klaus Bade, Pieter Emmer, Leo Lucassen, and Jochen Oltmer*, 52–62. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Morales, Alejandro. 1992. *The Brick People*. Houston, Texas: Arte Público Press.

Nitsiakos, Vassilis. 1990. "Μηχανισμοί εναλλακτικών κοινωνικών δομών: κουμπαριά και πελατειακές σχέσεις στην αγροτική Ελλάδα" [Mechanisms of Alternative Social Structures: Bestmanship and Client Relations in Rural Greece] *Θεωρία και Κοινωνία* 2: 121–30.

Nitsiakos, Vassilis. 2016. *Παραδοσιακές κοινωνικές δομές* [Traditional Social Structures]. Ioannina: Isnafi.

Oltmer, Jochen. 2013. "Geographical Mobility and Qualification—A Historical Perspective." *BWP Special Edition*, 36–40. Accessed June 17, 2019. https://www.bibb.de/veroeffentlichungen/en/bwp/show/7058.

Panagiotopoulos, Vassilis. 1985. "Αγροτική έξοδος και σχηματισμός της εργατικής δύναμης στην πόλη" [Agrarian Exodus and the Formation of Labour Force into the City]. In *Οθωμανικές Κληρονομιές και Ελληνικό Κράτος* [Ottoman Inheritances and the Greek State] (conf. proceedings) vol. 2: 521–31. Athens: Mnimon.

Papastefanaki, Leda. 2016. "Labour in Economic and Social History: The Viewpoint of Gender in Greek Historiography." *Genesis* 15 (2): 59–83.

Papastefanaki, Leda. 2017. *Η φλέβα της γης. Τα μεταλλεία της Ελλάδας 19ος-20ός αιώνας* [The Veins of the Earth: The Mines of Greece, Nineteenth-Twentieth Century]. Athens: Vivliorama.

Pashalis, Dimitrios. 1934. "Οι Αλβανοί εις τας Κυκλάδας" [Albanians at Cyclades], *Ημερολόγιον της Μεγάλης Ελλάδος* [Calendar of Greater Greece]: 263–82.

Peacock, David. 1982. *Pottery in the Roman world: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*. London and New York: Longman.

Pepelasis Minoglou, Ioanna. 2007. "Women and Family Capitalism in Greece, c. 1780–1940." *The Business History Review* 81/3, 517–38.

Price, Richard. 1975. "The Otherface of Respectability: Violence in the Manchester Brickmaking Trade. 1859–1870." *Past & Present*, 66: 110–32.

Psaropoulou, Betty. 1990. *Η κεραμική του χθες στα Κύθηρα και στην Κύθνο* [Ceramic Art in Kythera and Kythnos, during the Past]. Athens: Friends of the Centre for the Study of Modern Pottery.

Riginos, Michalis. 1999. "Η ελληνική βιομηχανία 1900–1940" [Greek Industry, 1900–1940]. In *Εισαγωγή στην Νεοελληνική Οικονομική Ιστορία (18ος–20ός αιώνας)* [Introduction to Modern Greek Economic History, 18th–20th Centuries], edited by Vassilis Kremmydas, 177-223. Athens: Typothito.

Ropaitou-Tsapareli, Zoi. 2006. *Ο Ελαιώνας της Αθήνας*. [Elaionas in Athens]. Athens: Filippoti.

Sant Cassia, Paul, and Constantina Bada. 1992. *The Making of the Modern Greek Family: Marriage and Exchangein Nineteenth-century Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sharpe, Pamela. 2001. "Introduction. Gender and the Experience of Migration." In *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*, edited by Pamela Sharpe, 1–14. London and New York: Routledge.

Sinke, Suzanne. 2006. "Gender and Migration: Historical Perspectives." *The International Migration Review* 40/1, Gender and Migration Revisited (Spring): 82–203.

Soutos, Christos, and Dimitrios Soutos. 2017. *Ταύρος. Τοπογραφικές – ιστορικές – λαογραφικές σελίδες*. [Tavros. Pages of Topography—History—Folklore]. vol. I, Tavros, Editions Ekkyklima.

Spathari-Begliti, Eleni. 1992. *Οι αγγειοπλάστες της Σίφνου – κοινωνική συγκρότηση – παραγωγή – μετακινήσεις.* [The Potters of Siphnos. Social Construction—Production—Movements]. Athens: Arsenili.

Tsoukalas, Konstantinos. 2006. *Εξάρτηση και αμαπαραγωγή. Ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα (1830–1922).* [Dependence and Reproduction: The Social Role of the Educational Mechanisms in Greece, 1830–1920]. Trans Ioanna Petropoulou and Konstantinos Tsoukalas. Athens: Themelio.

Tziovas, Dimitris. 2009, *Diaspora and Migration since 1700. Society, Politics and Culture.* Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate.

Vallindas, Antonios. 1896. *Ιστορία της νήσου Κύθνου από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τα καθ΄ ημάς, σχετιζομένη προς την των ομοταγών νήσων του Αιγαίου* [History of the Island of Kythnos from Ancient Times to Today in Relation to the Aegean Island Complex]. Athens: Spyridon Kousoulinos.

van Eijl, Corrie. 2013. "Dutch Labour Migrants in Germany in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." In *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the Seventeenth Century to the Present, edited by Klaus Bade, Pieter Emmer, Leo Lucassen, and Jochen Oltmer*, 329–331. New York: Cambridge University Press.

van Ravenswaay, Charles. 1977. *German Settlements in Missouri. A Survey of a Vanishing Culture.* Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press.

Venetoulias, Giorgis. 2004. *Τα κεραμικά της Κύθνου* [The Ceramics of Kythnos]. Athens: Municipality of Kythnos, En Plo.

Watt Kathleen, Ann. 1990. *Nineteenth Century Brickmaking Innovation in Britain: Building and Technological Change* (Ph.D. Thesis). York: University of York.

Wilson, Tamar Diana. 2005. *Subsidizing Capitalism. Brickmakers on the U.S.—Mexican Border*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Yannitsiotis, Yannis. 2006. *Η κοινωνική ιστορία του Πειραιά. Η συγκρότηση της αστικής τάξης. 1860–1910* [Social History of Piraeus. The Formation of Bourgeoisie]. Athens: Nefeli.

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2014. "Only Unpaid Labour Force? Women's and Girls' Work and Property in Family Business in Early Modern Italy." *The History of the Family* 19 (3): 323–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2014.92.135.

CHAPTER 15

"Women Were Always There…": Caribbean Immigrant Women, Mutual Aid Societies, and Benevolent Associations in the Early Twentieth Century

Tyesha Maddox

Abbreviation List

APS	Antigua Progressive Society
AWILAS	American West Indian Ladies Aid Society
BBA	Bermuda Benevolent Association
BVIBA	British Virgin Islands Benevolent Association
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
MARBD	Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division
MPS	Montserrat Progressive Society of New York
NACP	National Archives at College Park, MD

T. Maddox (✉)
Fordham University, New York, NY, USA
e-mail: tmaddox1@fordham.edu

485

NARA   National Archives and Records Administration
SCRBC   Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture
WIBANYC   West Indian Benevolent Association of New York City

On June 10, 1919, Mary Layne, a 41-year-old native of Barbados, arrived in New York on the *S.S. Tivives*, operated by the United Fruit Company. Because she was illiterate, Layne was initially excluded from entering the United States; at the time literacy was one of the major requirements for the admission of immigrants into the United States. She was later granted temporary admission and placed on a $300 bond for one year because she was the domestic servant of and child care provider for Margaret and C.F. MacMurry, an American couple living in Colon, Panama. The family paid her a wage of $12.50 a month. Margaret MacMurry was the daughter of John C. Horter of Nutley, New Jersey, a sugar broker and owner of "Horter & Diago S. en C. Sugars" in New York. Horter had used his influence with the U.S. Secretary of Labor to allow Layne to enter the United States in 1919 with his daughter, Margaret, who would be traveling alone with her small children and would need Layne's assistance.

Prior to her employment with the MacMurrys, Layne had been living and working in Panama for a total of nine years. She was widowed in 1908, and the death of her husband may have been one of the factors that sparked her move to Panama, a country where she had no family or connections. Layne did, however, have a daughter named Ann Pounder who had been living in Harlem, New York for three years. Pounder had invited Layne to come to the United States on numerous occasions, even offering to pay her mother's passage from Panama. In 1920, when her mother was granted a one-year stay in the United States to work for the MacMurrys, Pounder tried to have Layne's stay extended. The Board of Special Inquiry held at Ellis Island records the following exchange between officials and the mother and daughter: "Her daughter desires her to remain and is ready to care for her at any time, although it is the alien's intention to work and support herself, which she is able to do. Destined to her daughter, she may be exempted from the literacy test, which appears to be the only ground for exclusion." Ellis Island officials asked Pounder, "What would you be willing to do for your mother?" She responded, "Anything I am called upon to do, [sic] I am an only child." Layne was then asked how long she intended to stay and responded, "As long as my daughter is here." Layne was eventually allowed to remain in

New York with her daughter; and MacMurry, her employer, moved back to Panama on March 13, 1920 without her.[1]

This chapter examines the migratory movements of women much like Mary Layne whose narrative demonstrates the reality of immigrant women's mobility, female-led chains of migration to the United States, and the various labor roles available to Caribbean immigrants in the United States. Furthermore, through the stories of women such as Layne and Pounder, I posit that women served as the vital proponents of Caribbean culture in the United States in the early twentieth century.[2] While West Indian men initially made up most of the immigrant population in the nineteenth century, in the early twentieth century, women in larger numbers immigrated to the United States. This fact not only contradicts the historiographical assumption that places men at the forefront of migration histories (see Kasinitz 1992; James 1998), but it has gendered ramifications in the analysis of the overall Caribbean immigrant experience to the United States.

In the early twentieth century, specifically between 1915 and 1940, Caribbean women were a significant immigrant group outnumbering Caribbean males in the United States. This pattern is consistent. Between 1915 and 1919, for instance, Caribbean women made up 17.6% of arriving immigrants in contrast to Caribbean men who constituted 16.8% of immigrants. Between 1920 and 1924, Caribbean women were 29% of arriving immigrants, while Caribbean men were 23.1%. In 1925, Caribbean women were 7.8% of arriving immigrants with Caribbean men making up 6.6%.[3] Caribbean women initiated female-led chains of immigration, leaving behind their families, including their children, to migrate to the United States. Once established in the United States with a place to live and a job, and having secured employment for their relatives, they then sent money for their family members to join them, much like Pounder who tried to arrange passage for her mother.

These female-led chains of migration, in which families followed Caribbean women, became the social and economic foundation for later Caribbean immigrants for the simple fact that setting up households in the United States was crucial to sustaining a thriving Caribbean immigrant community. Without the social networks established by Caribbean immigrant women, the Caribbean immigrant community in the United States could not have been sustained. These social networks included child fostering, and the creation of social and cultural organizations such as benevolent associations and mutual aid societies, which kept West Indian

immigrants to the United States connected to their home islands and Caribbean identity. Caribbean women were instrumental in creating a community in the United States, in which Caribbean immigrants, both women and men, could begin to find their place.

Particularly, important was Caribbean immigrant women's participation in immigrant benevolent associations and mutual aid societies. At the turn of the twentieth century, there were few opportunities for women at large, and black immigrant women in particular, to hold leadership positions in organizations in order to voice their political beliefs. Immigrant benevolent associations and mutual aid societies gave Caribbean women the opening to assume leadership roles unavailable to women overall.

By examining the prominence of female members in Caribbean social organizations, this chapter challenges the historiography of immigration that tends to normalize the male experience of immigration. Familiar frameworks of Caribbean migratory trends foreground, as observed Campt and Thomas (2008, 2), "the mobility of masculine subjects as the primary agents of diasporic formation and perpetuate a more general masculinism in the conceptualization of diasporic community."

As their participation in immigrant social organizations demonstrates, Caribbean women were active and influential participants in the immigration experience, not just passive bystanders. Social organizations served as training grounds for female Caribbean leaders. Caribbean women used these organizations as platforms to discuss social issues and political reform, and in the process gained professional experience organizing and running associations. These associations empowered immigrant women to become involved in organizing and political activism. In addition, it gave them a built-in audience that became a political base. In heavily male-dominated associations, women frequently organized their own auxiliary groups; they took on important executive positions and ran their own programs, ensuring that their views and interests were addressed, even forming exclusively women's associations like the American West Indies Ladies Aid Society (AWILAS), whose purpose was to establish camaraderie among Caribbean immigrant women (Maddox 2018, 83–85).

Second, mutual aid societies and benevolent associations helped immigrant women create formal and informal networks. The activities and social events hosted by these mutual aid societies and benevolent associations provided Caribbean immigrants living in New York City an opportunity to form social relationships with other Caribbean immigrants,

including women, connecting more established immigrants who may have already been in the United States for some time with newly arrived immigrants. Thus, allowing immigrants the opportunity to exchange their experiences and advice for navigating their new city. This social networking created a sense of community for Caribbean immigrants in New York. Moreover, through these organizations, Caribbean women were able to stay connected to their home islands. Through their relief efforts, charity work, and collaboration with Caribbean organizations, female members of these New York social organizations created larger diasporic networks that kept them abreast with events happening in the Caribbean and connected to their West Indian identity.

Through these organizations Caribbean women were not only able to stay connected to the homeland, but they utilized these associations to celebrate their ethnic identities in the United States. For example, the St. Lucia United Association held events that celebrated the history and culture of St. Lucia, including annual heritage dances.[4] Caribbean women thus created new communities that celebrated their ethnic identities for themselves and their families within the larger American community.

A failure to take account of the activities and achievements of Caribbean women in this period leaves us with only half the story: an inadequate analysis of the formation of diasporic and transnational identity, of Caribbean American identity and community, and the relationship between culture and politics. An examination of the role of Caribbean women in mutual aid societies and benevolent associations is essential to shaping complex and diverse immigrant narratives. This chapter places women in the center of diasporic formation as indispensable agents in forging diasporic communities.

Historiography

This chapter provides a nuanced and complex understanding of Anglophone Caribbean immigration to the United States and changes our understanding of politics, identity, and the role of women. By pushing the unique experience of Caribbean immigrants to the forefront, this research adds dimension and complexity to the historiography on American immigration by highlighting Anglophone Caribbean immigrant women and the role of social organizations to their immigrant experience, as well as illuminating an earlier period of migration prior to the 1960s. Additionally, it demonstrates that while politics are often thought of on large

stages, in actuality, they were taking place in these smaller associations with black Caribbean women doing much of the organizational work.

Historians of early twentieth-century African-American history, with the exception of a few scholars such as Martin Summers and Keisha Blain, who do not provide an extended discussion of Caribbean immigrants in the United States, tend to gloss over the presence and contributions of Caribbean immigrants in this period with only a slight acknowledgment—if any—of their ethnic roots and unique experiences as black immigrants (see Summers 2004; Blain 2018). Furthermore, the historiography of Caribbean immigration to the United States features a significant amount of literature examining the period post-1965 because the largest wave of Caribbean immigrants came to the United States during that period. In comparison, there are few historians, such as Irma Watkins-Owens (1996), Winston James (1998), Violet Showers Johnson (2006), and Lara Putnam (2013), who examine Caribbean immigration in the early twentieth century prior to World War I at all; even fewer highlight the gendered aspects of Caribbean immigration in this period (see Watkins-Owens 1996; Showers Johnson 2006; Putnam 2013).

Significantly, despite the large number of Anglophone Caribbean organizations that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, there are few works that examine this topic in detail. In fact, only a scarce number discuss African-American social and cultural organizations as a whole (see Beito 2000; Mjagkij 2001; Summers 2004; Dunbar 2012). The lack of research on this topic is surprising given the fact that in the early twentieth century participation in voluntary associations was at an all-time high, with one in every three Americans, white or black, participating in a secret society, sick and funeral benefit society, or life insurance society (Beito 2000, 1–2). Nevertheless, historians who do examine African-American social organizations in the early twentieth century rarely discuss Caribbean immigrants who were members and often held leadership positions in such groups. Such is the case with Nina Mjagkij's encyclopedic work *Organizing Black America* (2001) which provides a detailed look at over five hundred historical and contemporary African-American organizations, yet does not highlight one single Caribbean American group, with the exception of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. By highlighting these lesser known organizations, this chapter provides a fuller analysis of the Caribbean immigrant experience and illuminates the previously unheralded story of smaller associations and their female members who are equally integral to this history.

By utilizing the framework of mutual aid societies and benevolent associations, to question notions of gender, culture, politics, and identity formation, this chapter turns the traditional narrative of Caribbean immigration on its head. Departing from traditional male-centered immigrant narratives, this project explores the seemingly quotidian activities of Caribbean women in immigrant associations to explore how Caribbean immigrants blended culture and politics, and created an ethnic and transnational identity for themselves in the United States. This work does not simply fill the gaps of previous scholarship, but adds dimension and complexity to the historiography of American immigration by highlighting a group that is often overlooked—Anglophone Caribbean immigrants prior to the 1960s, changing our understanding of politics, identity, and the role of women by pushing the unique experience of Caribbean immigrants to the forefront.

Sources

This chapter utilizes traditional archival research, examining primary documents such as manuscripts, periodicals, consulate dispatches, passenger arrival records, naturalization records, passport applications, historical photographs, oral history interviews, and the association records of numerous mutual aid societies and benevolent associations. The Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division at Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture served as a major source for primary research. Within this archive are the records of numerous mutual aid societies and benevolent associations established between 1884 and 1940, such as the organization records of the Antigua Progressive Society, the Bermuda Benevolent Association, the British Virgin Islands Benevolent Association, and the American West Indian Ladies Aid Society. These collections house a vast amount of correspondence between different Caribbean immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations in New York as well as organization minutes, financial reports, and programs. Additionally, I have conducted interviews with several current and former female members of Caribbean social organizations.

To provide a rich history of the formation of these organizations and their impact within the international black community, this work draws on a number of archival sites within the Caribbean and beyond including the National Archives of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Several archives in the United States were also valuable. These include the National Archives

New York City; the U.S. National Archive and Records Administration (Washington, DC); the National Archive and Records Administration (College Park, Maryland); the New York Historical Society Library; and the aforementioned Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Caribbean New York

Between the years 1890 and 1940, just over 355,000 Caribbean immigrants came to the United States. They flooded into cities such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, heralding a change in Caribbean migration. In the nineteenth century, Caribbean men made up much of the population of immigrants traveling within the Caribbean basin for work. However, in the twentieth century, women were often the first to immigrate to the United States, and from the years 1915–1940, women made up the majority of Caribbean immigrants. This fact had serious effects on Caribbean communities both in the United States and back home. Caribbean women laid the foundation for subsequent family members to follow and established a role as the proponents of Caribbean culture in the United States. This fact is most apparent between the years 1920 and 1924, when Caribbean women for the first time outnumbered male Caribbean immigrants to the United States, 13,981 female migrants to 13,391 male migrants.[5] Similar female-led lines of immigration to the United States can be seen in several narratives of famous Caribbean American leaders. The Caribbean-born radical Hubert Henry Harrison, for instance, immigrated to Harlem in 1900 at the age of 17, joining his older sister, Mary, who had moved to the United States a few years prior and had secured an apartment in the San Juan Hill area of Manhattan. Harrison lived with his sister for four years until he eventually got his own apartment (Perry 2009, 55–56). Cyril Briggs, W.A. Domingo, and Richard B. Moore also migrated to the United States through a chain of female networks (Foner 2001, 26). The rise in female Caribbean immigrants to the United States may have been due to several factors including the increased need for domestic labor and garment workers in major cities. Another possibility may be related to the fact that Caribbean women actively maintained relationships with relatives and communities back home in the Caribbean, more so than in the case of male immigrants. As a result, they were instrumental in creating the necessary kinship networks and social contacts needed to encourage more female immigration to the United States. They provided referrals and informed

female relatives and friends when there were job vacancies, encouraging other potential Caribbean immigrants, both female and male, to seek job opportunities in the United States (Picture 15.1).

The narrative of Caroline Nurse and Beatrice (Nurse) Beach seamlessly illustrates a twentieth-century female-led chain of immigration. Born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, Caroline Nurse immigrated to New York City sometime in the early twentieth century, leaving behind her husband and two children, Beatrice and Catherine. Caroline found employment in New York through the help of familial ties and existing female kinship networks and made a home for herself in Brooklyn. In 1924, her daughter Beatrice, also leaving behind her husband, Edward Beach, joined her in the United States. Once established in New York, Edward and Beatrice's nephew, Eric Thomas, soon joined the two women. Edward and Eric moved into a ready-made housing arrangement organized by the two women. In 1926, with her family settled in New York, Caroline returned

Picture 15.1 Women from Guadalupe arriving at Ellis Island (*Source* National Park Service, Ellis Island National Monument Archives)

to Trinidad to live. Caroline's role in initiating a female-led chain, illustrates the pioneering character of Caribbean women in the immigrant community in the United States during this period.[6]

Settling In

Early Caribbean immigrants established scattered communities in lower Manhattan and parts of Brooklyn. Caribbean American women working as domestics, like Ann Pounder, often chose to settle near their employers' homes, which included areas within Brooklyn and Manhattan (Foner 2001, 5). The San Juan Hill section of Manhattan, which encompassed West 62nd to 66th Streets and later became known as Columbus Hill, was a popular neighborhood for Caribbean immigrants living in Manhattan prior to 1915 (Watkins-Owens 1996, 2). After 1915, Caribbean immigrants, along with African Americans from New York and the South, began to move into the Harlem community in upper Manhattan. In a letter to Caroline Nurse, dated September 22, 1925, Beatrice Beach tells her mother of her move from Brooklyn to 231 West 134th Street in Harlem in August. "I am living in the same house with Mildred [a family friend]," she says, "I got a room for $4.50 a week and 50 cents a week for gas it is very small, about the size of the bedroom you had in [sic] Jefferson Ave. [in Brooklyn] Sonie and Anna always come to see me and give me help."[7] Beatrice, like many other Caribbean women, flooded into Harlem in the 1920s. Many rented small rooms or found housing with families that they knew. Philip A. Payton, an African-American real estate agent is credited with being one of the first to convince white landlords to accept black tenants in the then all-white area of central Harlem. Through his Afro-American Realty Company, he rented several houses on 134th Street to Caribbean tenants. By 1920, the Harlem neighborhood became a desirable location for Caribbean immigrants to move as it afforded them opportunity to purchase property at a more affordable rate than in other areas of Manhattan (Watkins-Owens 1996, 40–42). In the late 1930s, there was a move to the Bedford Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn as the Harlem Renaissance left high rent rates and overcrowded housing conditions in Harlem. The Bedford Stuyvesant neighborhood with greater opportunities for affordable homeownership attracted Caribbean immigrants.

Employment: Domestic Labor

In the early twentieth century, many Caribbean immigrants that came to the United States were skilled and professional workers (De Reid 1939, 244). They are often characterized as coming from a middle-class background in the Caribbean. Historian Watkins-Owens adds that these immigrants usually had a basic formal education, a skilled trade, but little money. Many were educated and traveled to the United States to attend university or receive further schooling.[8]

Though they were often skilled, Caribbean immigrants were not able to secure positions in their trained fields. For example, in Jamaica, W.A. Domingo was trained as a tailor, but when he arrived in New York he took a job working at the U.S. Post Office. He eventually started a lucrative business importing Caribbean foods to New York (James 1998, 89–90). Due to racist hiring practices that would not allow black Caribbean immigrants to break into certain fields, some Caribbean Americans became entrepreneurs to secure a better economic future. They experimented with various business ventures, including tailor shops, jewelry stores, fruit and vegetable stands, candy shops, millinery stores, and grocery stores in black neighborhoods. They soon became noted for their shrewd business sense (Diggs 1988, 44). Beatrice Beach was also an entrepreneurial woman, and sought other means of income separate from her factory job. She owned a rental property in Trinidad which she leased out weekly, helping to supplement the income she made working at the garment factory.[9]

Real estate and insurance was another industry in which Caribbean immigrants worked, as it allowed them to create positions for themselves. In 1925, Monserrat-born William H. Roach owned and operated the only black casino and moving picture theatre in Harlem, the Renaissance Theater and Casino (Domingo 1925, 649). For Caribbean men, the U.S. military provided additional viable employment opportunities. Employment in the U.S. military was not only a secure source of income, but in many cases it allowed immigrant workers to obtain American citizenship. In addition, many Caribbean men worked as elevator operators (Picture 15.2).

In contrast, many Caribbean women were employed in the garment industry, taking on positions as seamstresses, dressmakers, and tailors. Upon her arrival to the United States in 1925, Beatrice Beach secured a job working at an embroidery factory, paying $12 a week from 8 a.m.
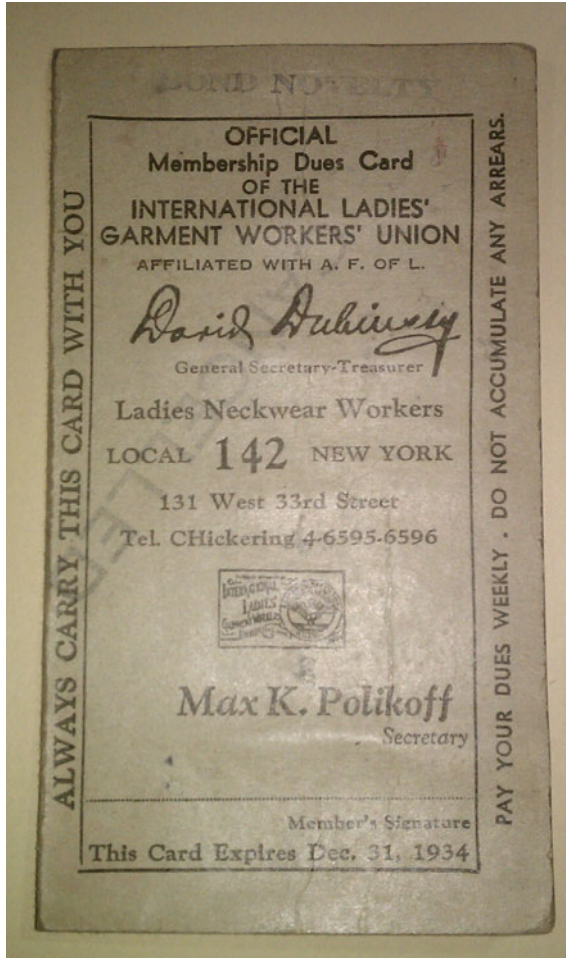
Picture 15.2 Beatrice Beach Garment Workers Union card (*Source* Beach-Thomas Family Papers, 1888–1973. MARBD, SCRBC)

to 7 p.m. She was also an active member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.[10] Like many West Indians emigrating from the Caribbean at this time, Beatrice was a skilled worker with a formal education. However, similar to African-American women, one of the

most viable options for employment for Caribbean immigrant women was cleaning houses and washing clothes. In the membership application files for the AWILAS, of the fourteen applications found, half of the applicants' listed domestic or housework as their occupations.[11] Domestic work was the most prevalent source of employment for black women, foreign or native. In fact, in 1900, 36.9% of women in the United States or 1,962,035 women worked as domestics or in personal service illustrating its prevalence among women of all races. This percentage decreased yearly as fewer white women took on these positions and mostly native and foreign-born black women were left in the field.[12]

Domestic work, particularly positions that required women to live in, were very hard on immigrant and black families. Working long hours from sun up to sun down, it was difficult for single Caribbean women to form families as much of their time was spent working. Caribbean women who were already married and/or had children were often separated from their families for long periods of time. As a result, Caribbean women relied on kinship and familial networks to aid in the rearing of their children. Many women immigrated without their children, electing to send their children to stay with other Caribbean women in the United States or with relatives back home in the Caribbean. Grandparents were often the recipients of these returning children. Child fostering became an important function of women's primary social networks. The freedom of mobility child fostering granted Caribbean women allowed them to take risks such as migrating to the United States in order to obtain jobs that they might not have otherwise pursued. Child fostering also helped to deepen kinship networks, as it required the utmost trust between both parties to raise someone else's child.

Mutual Aid Societies and Benevolent Associations

As Caribbean immigrants poured into New York City at the turn of the century, they looked for ways in which to provide support to each other, as the U.S. government had very few programs set up for immigrant groups, least of all for non-white and English-speaking immigrant groups. In the 1920s, the United States began setting up "Americanization" programs for female immigrants, because they believed that women were key to productive and successful immigrant groups. The programs often centered around preparing women for U.S. citizenship, however many of these programs were not for English-speaking immigrants. This

fact effectively shut out Anglophone Caribbean immigrants and dismissed their needs as an immigrant group, leaving the question of where did English-speaking Caribbean immigrants fit into the United States' idea of an immigrant?[13]

Having arrived in an unfamiliar city, often with very few networks, Caribbean immigrants relied on the familiar structure of Caribbean friendly societies to provide a network of kinship and mutual aid. "The immediate reaction of the newly arrived immigrants was to reach out to each other for comfort and protection against a hostile environment" (Thomas 1988, 45). Caribbean immigrants took the basic principles of friendly societies in the Caribbean and applied them to their new realities in the United States. West Indian friendly societies were the forerunners of the mutual aid societies and benevolent associations Caribbean immigrants would establish in the United States. These societies emerged at the onset of emancipation in the Caribbean, developing from the need of freed people to attain social security and insurance. Their main purpose was "to promote the moral and religious welfare of members and to provide relief during their illness and help at their burial."[14] Because the well-being of newly freed people was no longer the responsibility of former slaveholders, friendly societies stepped in to fill this need.

In an interview with Ivy Simons, a prominent former member of the Bermuda Benevolent Association (BBA), she affirms that having been a member of a friendly society in Bermuda, it only seemed natural for her to seek out similar support networks once she arrived in New York City. She explains that it was difficult adjusting to American life, which was so different from the Bermudian way of life. The familiarity of the structure of benevolent associations in New York made her feel at home. Simons goes on to state that many of the members of American social organizations were formerly involved with Caribbean-based friendly societies in some form.[15] Caribbean American organizations served as gateways Caribbean immigrants used to gain entry into their new societies. They helped immigrants to become acclimated to their new environments by providing members with ready-made social networks, teaching them the ways of the city and "how to be good Americans," as well as providing them with a way in which to stay connected to their cultural identities.[16] These associations served many functions for their members.

The first known Caribbean social organization in the United States, established on April 3, 1884, was the West Indian Benevolent Association of New York City (WIBANYC). In founding the WIBANYC,

member A.G. Munday explains, "As there are many of us West Indians in this country and among strangers, it behooves us as fellow countrymen to unite ourselves in one compact, with the help of our Heavenly Father, to assist each other in sickness or death."[17] Its members were concerned with having a place in which fellow Caribbean immigrants could fellowship and more importantly provide support for one another in times of difficulty. The WIBANYC initially had seven active members, including three of whom were women. The association did not consider for membership anyone under the age of 15 years old or over the age of 45. After members turned 45, they had to pay fifty cents additional each year along with the standard initiation fee of three dollars. Monthly dues were set at forty cents. Another requirement to join the organization was that all applicants had to be West Indian natives and recommended by someone who was already a member. This requirement demonstrates the early concerns of immigrant social organizations to serve as a place specifically for Caribbean immigrants to find support.

Between 1884 and 1940, sixty-six mutual aid societies and benevolent associations were established in New York City alone. These organizations represented the entire spectrum of the Anglophone Caribbean from the smallest islands to the largest. Membership numbers of these groups vary greatly with some associations, like the BBA, having as many as three hundred members in the 1940s and less than twenty in 1998. It is hard to give definitive membership numbers in each society, as the organizations did not leave behind logs with their annual total membership numbers. However, organizations such as the American West Indies Ladies Aid Society (AWILAS) and the Antigua Progressive Society (APS), did keep annual records of new applicants. An interesting pattern observed from examining new APS membership applications from 1934 to 1940 is that women joined the association at a higher rate than male immigrants. In fact, more women applied to join the APS than men every year, with the exception of 1938. This speaks to an overall trend in which women were more active participants in immigrant associations.[18]

Furthermore, examining the membership records of mutual aid societies and benevolent associations, we are allowed a microscopic look into the types of people who were involved in immigrant social organizations. For instance, the membership records of the AWILAS show that the society's applicants ranged in age from 18 years old to 46 years old. However, most potential members were in their late twenties and thirties. In terms of socio-economic standing, benevolent associations and

mutual aid societies had a variety of members from all class levels coming together to form social networks. Examining fourteen AWILAS membership applications, half of the potential applicants held occupations as domestics, two were housewives, one a student, and one applicant was a self-employed hairdresser. More than half of the women were married and five were unmarried.[19] While the membership records of the AWILAS are just a tiny cross-section of all potential members of Caribbean social organizations, they do provide an important sampling of the makeup of benevolent association members and demonstrates that membership into mutual aid societies and benevolent associations appealed to Caribbean immigrants from various socio-economic backgrounds. Associations did not have criteria in terms of income requirements or job specifications for membership. Instead, they envisioned the organizations to be places in which all Caribbean immigrants, regardless of financial or social standing, could come together and fellowship.

Functions

Benevolent associations and mutual aid societies served many purposes for Caribbean immigrants living in New York City. The most common of those functions were sick and death benefits. Every association had some form of death benefit set up for its members from the very beginning of their inceptions. In the Montserrat Progressive Society (MPS), when a financial member of one full year or more passed away, the society paid the member's beneficiary the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars. In addition, the association provided a funeral wreath and every association member was notified, in order to attend the funeral service.[20] Death benefits served as a form of health insurance to members and their families. They also provided association members with a network of people for emotional and spiritual support. Many early Caribbean immigrants came to the United States by themselves often leaving spouses and children behind. By providing these types of intimate networks for Caribbean immigrants, they felt less isolated and were better able to successfully navigate their new homes.

The benefit, however, that members most regularly took advantage of was the sick benefit. Once members became ill and could no longer work, they were entitled to a weekly stipend of money for a set amount of time. Associations made sick visits to its members and provided them with a set sum of financial assistance. The MPS, for instance, gave members six

dollars a week for five weeks, and then four dollars a week for five additional weeks if they were still sick and unable to work. The total amount of sick benefits payable to members for one year could not exceed 50 dollars.[21] The West Indian Benevolent Association of New York City had a visiting committee set up in order to make hospital or home visits to check in on members who fell ill. Sick members were given five dollars a week for eight weeks, after which they were given two dollars and 50 cents for the following weeks if they still could not return to work. During this period, association members would also take up a voluntary collection at meetings soliciting extra funds for sick members. These monetary benefits, however, were all contingent on the member's standing in the association.[22]

Sick and death benefits were deeply beneficial to association members and they regularly took advantage of such financial assistance. This is conveyed by the large number of thank you cards and letters found in each association's records. In one letter to the AWILAS, dated September 12, 1933, member Rose Thomas writes how grateful she was to the association for having given her a sick benefit:

> Through this medium, I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kind and sympathetic letter also your generous gift of $20.00... I wish therefore to express my sincere gratitude for this assistance given me during my time of distress. I appreciate your noble act of kindness and wish to thank you from the bottom of my heart, and to add with few feeble words the grateful appreciation of my entire family. Your assistance has been a source of cheer to us; it has given us courage and hope in the midst of our troubles and difficulties.[23]

Thomas' letter is one of many similar letters from members thanking their organizations for making home visits, as well as sending flowers and monetary gifts. This practice of financial assistance provided immigrants with a sense of security that they could not receive elsewhere; as worker's compensation and other disability benefits did not exist at this time. It also comforted members and helped them feel less alienated, giving them a sense of community. Associations established visiting committees in order to check on the well-being of their members, bring them flowers, and keep them in good spirits. This type of kinship was very important and powerful for an immigrant who might have been in New York City without family members. Associations in many ways became families to their members.

In addition, associations offered their members educational workshops or forums, which provided them with information on a wide array of subjects including child rearing, job placement, the naturalization process, and even how to use voting poll machines. These forums aimed to be informative and educational by providing assistance to members in obtaining United States citizenship and helping members resolve immigration problems.[24] These educational workshops or forums provided association members with useful information in order to navigate their new lives in the United States. Social organizations wanted their members to be active participants in their new communities and they believed hosting educational forums would help them to achieve that objective.

Charitable causes were also of great concern for associations and their members. The most common were scholarship funds set up for members' children.[25] However, charitable efforts were not limited only to members. Associations often donated to local organizations, such as public schools, churches, hospitals, and associations for the disabled. For instance, the St. Lucia United Association, formed in 1920 in Harlem, lived up to their motto of "Friendship, Love, and Charity." They were strongly committed to public service and written in the association's bylaws was a pledge to continue "the tradition of improvement of our brothers and sisters socially and physically, and to extend the hand of goodwill to our larger community." They stated that their, "primary obligation is to provide aid in [the] time of adversity."[26] The association embodied these principles from their inception, hosting an annual scholarship for first year college students. Members later created the College of Preceptor Scholarship for local teachers. The St. Lucia United Association aligned itself with a children's orphanage named the Holy Family Home in St. Lucia and members regularly sent monetary donations and gifts to the children of the orphanage. The Association also donated to various elderly homes and provided books, stationary, printers, and other supplies to the island's elementary schools.[27]

Education was very important to these associations, as can be witnessed by the numerous academic scholarship funds they established. The Virgin Islands Alliance held various fundraisers in order to raise capital to provide scholarships to students. One such fundraiser was the 1934 "Cocktail Musicale" to raise funds for an academic scholarship to assist students through school.[28] They also held an annual Christmas drive for students at the historically black university, Hampton University, to which other immigrant groups like the AWILAS donated.[29]

Associations' charitable efforts also extended to those in need within the Caribbean. The British Virgin Islands Benevolent Society was very active in donating money to charities within the British Virgin Islands. In 1936, they donated a large sum of money and an "invalid chair" to the Tortola Cottage Hospital and musical instruments to the Sunnyside Ragtimers, an orchestra based in Tortola. In 1938, they donated money and books to a local school in Tortola, an organ to the Methodist School in Virgin Gorda, and twenty-five hundred dollars to a hospital in Tortola, which used the donation to purchase an x-ray machine.[30] Many of these organizations were still intimately connected to Caribbean charities and could therefore donate not only money, but very specific items they needed.

A final and very significant function of mutual aid societies and benevolent associations was the potential for financial investment. Separate from their monthly association dues, some groups such as the Jamaican Associates offered their members rotating lines of credit or *susus*, which worked as a collective savings plan in which a group of people could pool their money and distribute it among themselves periodically. For instance, ten people might contribute $200 each into the pool every month for a year. In the first month, one person would receive $2000. The next month, the next person would receive $2000, and so on. At the end of the year, each person has contributed $2000 and received $2000. *Susus* were utilized to start businesses, to put a down payment on a new home, or to even provide passage for a relative to the United States.[31] Additionally, groups like the BBA offered a bond fund, where members paid money to a bond and were promised a 4 or 5% return on their investment, which at the time was more than what was offered in a standard savings account. This bond allowed both members and the association a chance to profit.[32]

Paule Marshall in her novel *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959) discusses a similar phenomenon among the community of Caribbean immigrants that settled in the Bedford Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn from 1930 through the 1950s. These immigrants formed a homeowners' association with a similar bond fund that enabled Caribbean immigrants to purchase houses. Although a work of fiction, this book closely parallels Marshall's own life growing up the daughter of Barbadian immigrants in Brooklyn. In the novel, the Association of Barbadian Homeowners was a dominant force in the main character Selina Boyce's family's life. Marshall's depiction of

networks immigrants created through benevolent associations, illustrates both the size and significance of Caribbean American social organizations throughout the twentieth century to Caribbean immigrants.

Leadership Training Grounds

Caribbean immigrant women played a vital role as the founders and participants of mutual aid societies and benevolent associations in the early twentieth century. Although not reflected as much in the leadership of some Caribbean social organizations, women made up a large percentage of the general membership and organizational committees. Caribbean women's participation in immigrant social organizations was often times equal to or surpassed that of male membership. As noted, many groups like the APS saw higher female membership enrollment numbers on a yearly basis. "Women were always there, especially unmarried women. They [women] were always more active in these groups," states former Jamaican Associates President Dr. Doreen Wilkinson.[33] Women were the backbone of many Caribbean immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations. They made up a disproportionate number of association's planning and organizing committees, responsible for the daily operations of the associations, including planning and executing association meetings and activities.

Often immigrant women held membership in two or more organizations in the early twentieth century. For instance, Virgin Islander Isabelle George was a member of the AWILAS, Federation of American Virgin Islands Society, the United Benevolent and Social League, and the Virgin Island Civic and Industrial Association. Ivy Simons was a member of both the BBA and the United Benevolent Association. Caribbean women's desire to expand their social networks and cater to their particular interests often resulted in them holding multiple organizational memberships. Caribbean women were not pigeon-holed solely to women's auxiliary groups. They held membership in multiple organizations that were characterized as coeducational or auxiliary, while their own special interest women's groups, such as the AWILAS, were not connected to any larger male group.

Women were also an integral part of the founding of many Caribbean social organizations in the early twentieth century. For instance, Ernestine McNeil-Rogers was one of the two original founders of the Jamaican Associates, Inc. of Boston established in 1934.[34] In 1934, when the

Antigua Progressive Society was founded, half of the society's original members were women.[35] In organizations not founded by women, male founders were often cognizant of including women in the language of their organization's constitution. The authors of the constitution of the British Virgin Islands Benevolent Association made it clear that although the language of the association's bylaws used male pronouns, the association openly welcomed women to join. This illustrates the organization's strong desire to incorporate female participation.[36] The Montserrat Progressive Society's constitution and bylaws also explicitly stated that one of their goals as a society was to unite "our brothers and sisters," highlighting the desire of these immigrant organizations to include female membership.[37] This desire for female inclusion was also reflected in the policies that mutual aid societies and benevolent associations enacted. For example, when the APS was tasked to form a special committee appointed by the Antiguan government for the improvement of conditions in the island of Antigua, they made sure to advocate for Antiguan women's rights. The APS made recommendations for working women on the island to receive a minimum wage in agricultural labor and manual labor whether in government or public service.[38]

There are several explanations for the large rate of female participation in Caribbean mutual aid societies and benevolent associations. Statistically, there were simply more female Caribbean immigrants in the United States than male immigrants in the early twentieth century. The sheer number of female Caribbean immigrants present in the United States during the early twentieth century is certainly one of the reasons that their participation in social organizations was high. However, this was not the only factor. As previously noted, Caribbean women were largely responsible for creating chains of migration that brought groups of new Caribbean immigrants, especially other women, to the United States. They often set up housing arrangements or boarded other immigrants, and introduced them to their social networks. These social networks generally included participation in mutual aid societies and benevolent associations.

In an interview with the previously cited Ivy Simons, she states that she had two aunts who came to New York for a better life. The two women lived together on 116th Street in Harlem; one worked as a midwife and the other as a domestic servant. Simons is vehement that her aunts were indispensable when she first came to New York in the 1950s. They helped her establish herself in the city and found her housing. More importantly, they introduced her to the BBA and their networks of other Caribbean

immigrants in New York. "I joined the Bermuda [Benevolent] Association soon after I came here [New York] because that was just automatic; you had to be in the association. My aunts and uncles were all members… they knew everybody… they had a lot of activities."[39] Simons credits her membership in the BBA with helping her establish herself in New York. "It was hard to get adjusted from Bermudian life to American life," she states, but her membership in a benevolent association gave her a built-in social network of other Caribbean immigrants, many whom had been in the United States for varying years and had various levels of experience with American society. Social organizations appealed to Caribbean women like Simons because it was one of the few spaces in which they could address the issues they faced as black female immigrants. These associations also gave them a sense of home in their new city.

In heavily male-dominated associations, women frequently organized their own auxiliary groups; they took on important executive positions and ran their own programs, ensuring that their views and interests were addressed.[40] Moreover, Caribbean immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations served as pseudo leadership training grounds for Caribbean immigrant women. These associations gave Caribbean women a platform to discuss an array of issues ranging from social and political reform to transnational concerns. They empowered immigrant women to become involved in organizing and political activism, giving them a built-in audience and political base. Women then used these positions to venture into other endeavors.

Elizabeth Hendrickson, for instance, served as president of the AWILAS from 1923 to 1928. Utilizing the leadership skills and experience she had gained from the AWILAS, she then went on to co-found the Harlem Tenants' League in 1928, which advocated on the behalf of Harlem residents (Maddox 2018, 69–70). Another important benefit of immigrant social organizations is that they provided female members with opportunities to gain professional experience running and organizing associations. In Hendrickson's case, she used the knowledge she gained working on the executive board of the AWILAS to take on other leadership roles. She would go on to serve as the treasurer and secretary general of the Community Progressive Painter's Union, Inc., an organization dedicated to fighting for labor issues affecting all black New York workers. Hendrickson would eventually feel empowered enough to take her oratory skills to the street corners of Harlem, where she became a prominent soapbox speaker. Hendrickson, like many other black activists

at the time, used the street corners of Harlem as a sounding board to discuss their political opinions. She also used her platform in mutual aid societies and benevolent associations to mobilize support for various social justice campaigns. Many of her fellow association members would also serve as her soapbox audience, highlighting the fact that immigrant social organizations provided female leaders with a built-in base of supporters (see Maddox 2018).

Another prominent woman who used her involvement in Caribbean immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations to gain leadership experience and skills is Ivy Simons. Born in Bermuda and following a female-led chain of immigration, Simons immigrated to New York City in the 1950s. As noted earlier in this chapter, she joined her two aunts who had previously immigrated to New York for a better life. She credits her aunts as being indispensable when she first came to New York and helping her establish herself in the city. Significantly, they were responsible for introducing her to their network of Caribbean immigrants, which centered around the BBA.[41] Simons would eventually work her way up in the association and in 1959, she became the first woman elected BBA president, later going on to serve three more terms as the BBA's president. Within the association, Simons held several other leadership positions, including Chaplain, Financial Secretary, Chair of the Forum Committee and House Committee, Chair of the Board of Trustees, and she was elected a lifetime member of the Executive Board.[42] Simons did not limit her involvement to only the BBA, she was actively involved in multiple Caribbean social organization and held various leadership positions, including serving as the Vice President of the United Benevolent Societies of New York and the Financial Secretary of the UBS Holding Corporation. She also became a leader in Grace Congressional Church in Harlem. After being introduced to the congregation through her involvement with the BBA, Simons joined the church in 1959 and would go on to serve on the church's Board of Directors of its Credit Union. She was also elected a Deacon in the church and served as Chair of the Board of Deacons.[43]

Simons was actively involved within the BBA and used her membership in the association to become politically active in her community. Through the BBA, she marched in demonstrations to advocate for reform in the New York City school system, participated in worker's strikes, and became an active member in her local union. Many women similar to Hendrickson and Simons used their participation in Caribbean mutual aid societies and

benevolent associations to take on leadership positions in their communities. These organizations were one of the few outlets in which black immigrant women could hold positions of power.

Formal and Informal Networks

Membership in mutual aid societies and benevolent associations allowed immigrants a way in which to highlight and celebrate their ethnic identities, create a community within the United States, and remain connected to their communities back home in the Caribbean. Female members of these associations played a significant role in this process as they were the majority members of many of these organizations and played a large role in the daily operations and programming of associations. Through social organizations' activities and social events, immigrant women created a system of formal and informal networks that brought together Caribbean immigrants from various socio-economic backgrounds. They also helped to connect more established Caribbean immigrants with newly arrived immigrants, allowing them the opportunity to exchange their immigrant experiences and share advice for living in a new foreign country.

At their core immigrant benevolent associations and mutual aid societies were social organizations, with an emphasis on fellowship and developing social networks. Thus associations held various social events for its members. These social events served as spaces in which Caribbean immigrants could socialize with people from their home islands, as well as from other islands. Dances, holiday parties, and group trips were just some of the events associations held for their members. Organizations like the British Virgin Islands Benevolent Association (BVIBA) and the Antigua Progressive Society (APS) had dedicated entertainment committees responsible for planning and coordinating events for each respective society. The APS entertainment committee held annual dances for Thanksgiving, as well as bus trips to national parks and tourist attractions. In addition to an entertainment committee, the BVIBA had a floral committee, which organized flower arrangements for association dances and events. This committee was also largely responsible for sending flowers to sick or deceased members.

Female association members, like Ivy Simons, organized cultural events such as Bermuda Week, a week of event programing held annually by the BBA to celebrate the history and culture of Bermuda.[44] Simons, who served on the BBA's executive board in various capacities, undoubtedly

played a large role in establishing these types of cultural events. Other groups, like the St. Lucia United Association held annual heritage dances that highlighted St. Lucian culture and food. When St. Lucia gained independence from the British in 1979, the St. Lucia United Association held celebrations to commemorate the historic moment. Annually, they continued to host events leading up to St. Lucian independence in order to celebrate the history and culture of the island.[45] Such occasions fostered strong bonds between Caribbean immigrants living in New York and effectively created a sense of community. They also helped immigrants maintain a connection to their home islands in the Caribbean.

Through juvenile auxiliary groups, Caribbean women were also responsible for helping the children of Caribbean immigrants remain connected to and learn about their heritage.[46] These groups provided a model for younger immigrant children, as well as the second generation of Caribbean immigrants to not only continue the tradition of mutual aid societies and benevolent associations in the United States, but to foster a sense of ethnic identity in children who were not born in the Caribbean. Through juvenile groups of mutual aid societies and benevolent associations, the children of Caribbean immigrants cultivated kinship networks that were essential to the survival of Caribbean immigrant groups in the United States. Caribbean women were at the forefront of these processes.

In an effort to create larger ties to the Caribbean immigrant community in the United States and to expand their social networks, members of mutual aid societies and benevolent associations frequently collaborated with one another. The records of the AWILAS demonstrate the eagerness in which these West Indian social organizations collaborated. There are over 50 letters of correspondence between the AWILAS and various Caribbean immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations.

Associations regularly invited one another to attend each other's association meetings, workshops, and social events. Associations like the BBA supported other associations in their fundraising efforts, sending both monetary and material donations. They frequently took out paid advertisements in each other's event program booklets. Groups such as the Virgin Island Society, American West Indian Benevolent Society, and the United Brothers and Sisters of the United Islands attended each other's meetings and closely worked together. The AWILAS and the American Virgin Island Correspondence Committee also exchanged correspondence for over the span of a decade. They attended each other's meetings

and social events, as well as helped each other to fundraise for charities. The AWILAS would eventually serve as an umbrella organization for other immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations in an effort to unite these Caribbean social organizations.[47]

These social organizations frequently collaborated in an effort to create kinship networks and foster a sense of community among immigrant members. Often spearheading these connections were female members, who in turn were responsible for creating extensive diasporic networks that helped keep them abreast of events occurring in the Caribbean through the relief efforts, charity work, and a constant stream of collaboration with groups in the Caribbean.

Conclusion

An examination of the role female Caribbean immigrant women in Caribbean immigrant mutual aid societies and benevolent associations in New York City is essential in shaping a more comprehensive and nuanced immigrant narrative. Through their participation in these social organizations, Caribbean women provided much needed services to incoming immigrant populations, as immigrant services were almost non-existent for black immigrants during this period. They helped fill a void for the black immigrant population that often felt invisible, providing socializing opportunities and fostering a sense of community in a new and foreign city. Associations served as early insurance companies and provided members with security against illness and death. Additionally, Caribbean immigrant women were empowered by associations to become involved in organizing and political activism. Social organizations served as training grounds for female Caribbean leaders and provided them a platform in which to discuss issues of social and political reform, as well as gain professional experience running and organizing associations.

As the founders and often backbone of these associations, immigrant women preserved Caribbean culture in the United States and played an important role in the formation of ethnically distinct Caribbean communities. Caribbean women used these associations to celebrate their ethnic identities within the larger black community, and create new communities for themselves and their families while staying connected to the homeland. Participation in these organizations allowed Caribbean immigrants frequent opportunities to collaborate and draw parallels in their experiences, helping to foster a unified West Indian ethnic identity.

They also acted collectively through these organizations, helping family members immigrate to the United States by raising money to pay for their relatives' passage, and also supported family back home through remittances. Women's involvement in these organizations, provided Caribbean immigrants with the community and kinship networks they needed to survive upon their arrival in the United States. Through their formal and informal social networks, social Caribbean women helped pave the way for Caribbean immigration to the United States.

Notes

1. Barbadoan servant; File#54,595–539, Box#3291; Records of the INS, Record Group 85, Entry 9, NACP.
2. A note on terminology: the phrase *West Indian* refers to people from the Anglophone or Commonwealth Caribbean. Immigrants from Bermuda are also included in this examination given their strong identification and socialization as West Indians. *Caribbean American* refers to Caribbean immigrants and their known descendants who settled in the United States. *African American* is used for blacks whose ancestors were brought to the United States through the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Finally, the term *black* is used as an all-encompassing term that refers both to Caribbean Americans and African Americans.
3. US Census of Population, 1930 and 17th Census of the United States, 1950 Population Volume IV Special Reports.
4. St. Lucia United Association history from Danette O. Sampson, former St. Lucia United President, May 2011.
5. US Census of Population, 1930 and 17th Census of the United States, 1950 Population Volume IV Special Reports.
6. Beach-Thomas Family Papers, 1888–1973. MARBD, SCRBC.
7. "September 22, 1925 Letter," Box 1, Folder 2, Beach-Thomas Family Records, 1888–1973. MARBD, SCRBC.
8. "William H. Gore of Antigua, British West Indies got a scholarship to Howard University," September 24, 1934; File#55,853–732; Records of the INS, Record Group 85, Entry 9, NACP.
9. Beach-Thomas Family Records, 1888–1973. MARBD, SCRBC.
10. Beach-Thomas Family Records, 1888–1973. MARBD, SCRBC.
11. AWILAS Records, 1915–1965. MARBD, SCRBC.
12. Table XXI, "Gainful Workers 10 years old and over, by general divisions of occupations and sex, for the United States, 1870 to 1930," 100; Table XXII, "Percentage Distribution, by general divisions of occupations, of Gainful Workers 10 years old and over, by sex, for the United States, 1870 to 1930," 101 *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population,*

Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940, United States Government Printing Office Washington: 1943. Alba M. Edwards.

13. File# 27,671/17681, "Revision of Suggestions for Americanization Work among Foreign Born Women"; File# 27,671/4720, "The Woman Citizen," Record Group 85—Entry 30 Box 187. NACP.

14. Saint Vincent Handbook, Directory, and Almanac—1844," RBK 737, National Archives of St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

15. Interview with former BBA President Ivy Simons, September 2014.

16. "How to be a Good American Booklet," Beach-Thomas Family Records, 1888–1973, Box 1, Folder 14. MARBD, SCRBC.

17. Constitution and By-laws of the West Indian Benevolent Association [Amended and republished, June 1, 1891], F128.9.W54 W47 1891, New York Historical Society.

18. Antigua Progressive Society, ABPS: Admin Box. MARBD, SCRBC.

19. Membership Applications, AWILAS, Folder 12, Box 1. MARBD, SCRBC.

20. MPS, Constitution and By-Laws donated by Alan Pinado to Irma Watkins Owens, 21.

21. Montserrat Progressive Society of New York, Inc., Constitution and By-Laws donated by Alan Pinado to Irma Watkins Owens, 3, 20.

22. Constitution and By-laws of the West Indian Benevolent Association [Amended and republished, June 1, 1891], F128.9.W54 W47 1891, New York Historical Society.

23. AWILAS Records, 1915–1965, Box 1, Folder 4. MARBD, SCRBC.

24. BBA Records, 1898–1969, Box 2, 8 and "October 24, 1933 Letter," The Virgin Islands Civic and Industrial Association, AWILAS, Folder 9, Box 1. MARBD, SCRBC.

25. BVIBA Records, 1926–1989, Box 8, Folder 10. MARBD, SCRBC.

26. St. Lucia United Association history from Danette O. Sampson, former St. Lucia United President, May 2011.

27. St. Lucia United Association history from Danette O. Sampson, former St. Lucia United President, May 2011.

28. AWILAS General Correspondence 1928–1936 Folder 4 Box 1. MARBD, SCRBC.

29. AWILAS General Correspondence 1928–1936 Folder 2 Box 1. MARBD, SCRBC.

30. BVIBA Records, 1926–1989, Box 9, Folder 1. MARBD, SCRBC.

31. *Susus* were a function of many mutual aid societies and benevolent associations, such as the Jamaican Associates of Boston, which hosted a rotating line of credit for members called *partners*. *Susus* were not specific to any one British West Indian island. Instead, they were utilized by numerous Anglophone Caribbean immigrants with varying names, including p*artners* or *box*. Additionally, its concept was not unique to

mutual aid societies or benevolent associations. There were many separate informal savings groups or *susus* not connected to social organizations. While these groups were not organized by specific islands, most people tended to join s*usus* affiliated with their home islands, as they usually had some connection to or personally knew the people running the *susu*.

32. BBA Records, 1898–1969, Box 8. MARBD, SCRBC.
33. Interview with former Jamaican Associates President Dr. Doreen Wilkinson, April 2016.
34. 80th Anniversary of the Jamaican Associates, Inc., 2014 program booklet, donated by member and former president Dr. Doreen Wilkinson.
35. APS Records,1934–1984. MARBD, SCRBC.
36. "1911 Constitution Book," BVIBA Records, 1926–1989, Box 1, Folder 1. MARBD, SCRBC.
37. Montserrat Progressive Society of New York, Inc., Constitution and By-Laws donated by Alan Pinado to Irma Watkins Owens, 5.
38. "Pamphlet—December 12, 1938," Folder—Admin Correspondence Political Concerns, APS. MARBD, SCRBC.
39. Interview with former BBA President Ivy Simons, September 2014.
40. "History," taken from the West Indian Social Club, Inc. (http://www.westindiansocialclubinc.org/history.html) April 13, 2011.
41. Interview with former BBA President Ivy Simons, September 2014.
42. 100th Anniversary of the BBA, 1987–1997 program booklet, donated by former member Ivy Simons.
43. 100th Anniversary of the BBA, 1987–1997 program booklet, donated by former member Ivy Simons.
44. BBA Records, 1898–1969; Box 8. MARBD, SCRBC.
45. St. Lucia United Association history from Danette O. Sampson, former St. Lucia United President, May 2011.
46. Originally founded for adult West Indian immigrants, mutual aid societies and benevolent associations expanded their functions to adapt to the growing needs of their members as Caribbean immigrants began to reunite with their families and start new families in the United States. In 1923, MPS formed a juvenile group called the Montserrat Progressive Society Juvenile. The youth group was supervised by three members of the parent body of the MPS, and two of these members regularly attended MPS juvenile monthly meetings and reported back to the MPS parent body. Juvenile members were allowed to attend at least one meeting of the parent body in each quarter, which was essentially preparing younger members for transition into the parent association when they turned 18 years old. The BBA also formed a juvenile branch called the Rosebuds. Rosebud members ranged from 6 to 15 years of age. Later, a young adult's group was also formed and catered to members 15–25 years of

age. Montserrat Progressive Society of New York, Inc., Constitution and By-Laws donated by Alan Pinado to Irma Watkins Owens, 25–26; BBA Records, 1898–1969, Box 2. MARBD, SCRBC.
47. "AWILAS Records, 1915–1965," Box 1, Folder 1. MARBD, SCRBC.

References

Primary Sources

80th Anniversary of the Jamaican Associates, Inc. 2014 Program Booklet.

100th Anniversary of the Bermuda Benevolent Association, 1987–1997 Program Booklet.

American West Indian Ladies Aid Society Records, 1915–1965. Papers. MARBD, SCRBC, New York, NY.

Antigua and Barbuda Progressive Society Records, 1934–1984. Papers. MARBD, SCRBC, New York, NY.

Beach-Thomas Family Records, 1888–1973. Papers. MARBD, SCRBC, New York, NY.

Bermuda Benevolent Association Records, 1898–1969. Papers. MARBD, SCRBC, New York, NY.

British Virgin Islands Benevolent Association Records, 1926–1989. Papers. MARBD, SCRBC, New York, NY.

Montserrat Progressive Society of New York, Inc., Constitution and By-Laws. 1952. Irma Watkins-Owens' private collection.

Record Group 85—Entry 9, Entry 30. National Archives at College Park, MD.

Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Saint Vincent Handbook, Directory, and Almanac. 1844. "National Archives of St. Vincent and the Grenadines." Kingstown, St. Vincent.

Sampson, Danette O. 2011. Email Correspondence with Author, May 7, 2011. Brooklyn, NY.

Simons, Ivy. 2014. Interview by Author, September 10, 2014. New York, NY.

Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls).

U.S. Census of Population, 1930 and 17th Census of the United States, 1950 Population Volume IV Special Reports.

West Indian Benevolent Association. Records, 1891. New York Historical Society. New York, NY.

Wilkinson, Doreen. 2016. Interview by Author, April 1. Boston, MA.

Secondary Sources

Beito, David T. 2000. *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890–1967*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Blain, Keisha. 2018. *Set the World on Fire Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Campt, Tina, and Deborah A. Thomas. 2008. "Gendering Diaspora: Transnational Feminism, Diaspora and Its Hegemonies." *Feminist Review* 90 (1): 1–8.

De Reid, Ira. 1939. *The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustments, 1899–1937*. New York: AMS Press.

Diggs, Charles. 1988. "Kin Meets Kin: An Analysis of Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean Relations in Harlem During the 1920s." Master's Thesis, Cornell University.

Domingo, W. A. 1925. "The Tropics in New York." *Survey* 53: 648–650.

Dunbar, Paul Lawrence. 2012. "Hidden in Plain Sight: African American Secret Societies and Black Freemasonry." *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (4): 622–637.

Edwards, Alba M. 1943. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940*. United States Government Printing Office Washington.

Foner, Nancy. 2001. *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

James, Winston. 1998. *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*. New York: Verso.

Kasinitz, Philip. 1992. *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Maddox, Tyesha. 2018. "More Than Auxiliary: Caribbean Women and Social Organizations in the Interwar Period." *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* 12: 67–94.

Marshall, Paule. 1981. *Brown Girl, Brownstones*. Old Westbury: Feminist Press.

Mjagkij, Nina. 2001. *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Perry, Jeffery B. 2009. *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Putnam, Lara. 2013. *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Showers Johnson, Violet. 2006. *The Other Black Bostonians: West Indians in Boston, 1900–1950*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Summers, Martin. 2004. *Manliness & Its Discontents: The Black Middle Class & the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900–1930*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

516 T. MADDOX

The West Indian Social Club, Inc. 2011. "History." Accessed 13 Apr 2011.
http://www.westindiansocialclubinc.org/history.html.
Thomas, Bert J. 1988. "Historical Functions of Caribbean-American Benevo-
lent/Progressive Associations." *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*
12 (2): 45.
Watkins-Owens, Irma. 1996. *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the
Harlem Community, 1900–1930.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana
University Press.

CHAPTER 16

Conclusion: Engendering the History of Migration

Beatrice Zucca Micheletto

Over the last decades, there has been a proliferation of studies on migration and migrants in both contemporary and past societies: people have started talking about migration studies, new journals and book series have been devoted to the topic, existing journals have started paying more attention to it, and so on. Some particularly active scholars have insisted that we try to overcome disciplinary and chronological obstacles in order to understand the impact of migration flows within broader political, economic, and social contexts (Lucassen and Lucassen 1999; Bade 2003; Fauri 2015). More recently, the "mobility turn" in human sciences has led to a reconsideration of the concept of migration, which has been incorporated into the broader and more inclusive notion of mobility based on the premise that mobility pervades every aspect of human societies. In

B. Zucca Micheletto (✉)
Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità DiSSGeA,
University of Padua, Padua, Italy
e-mail: beatrice.zucca@unipd.it

this sense, the object of interest is no longer migration understood simply as a movement over long distances or in very different cultural and social contexts, but also in terms of short-distance—even daily and/or regular—movements (e.g. going to work or carrying out any kind of activity) and the wider circulation of goods, objects and ideas (Merriman and Pearce 2018; Moraglio and Kuttler 2021).

It is precisely this new awareness of the complexity and richness of migration phenomena that has urged historians (economic and social historians in particular) to reflect on the effectiveness of traditional historiographical periodizations and categorizations adopted thus far. Consequently, new interpretative schemes and historical turning points have emerged. In the 1990s, for example, many scholars argued that the study of the history—or rather, the histories—of migration and mobility as well as their valorization allows us to abandon, or at least mitigate, the idea that the Industrial Revolution was an absolutely discriminating caesura. Scholars have proposed a new periodization of migration history in the long term that, thanks also to a dialogue between disciplines, enables us to overcome the rigid dichotomy between migrations of the pre-industrial and those of the industrial period (Hoerder and Page Moch 1996; Lucassen and Lucassen 1999; Bade 2003). Leslie Page Moch (1992, 1999), in particular, developed an analytical framework within which to analyze the phenomenon of migration at the level of both macroeconomic structures—responsible for general migration patterns—and individual migration systems, which complement the former and are valid at a regional, local or individual level. There are four main macroeconomic structures that can explain general migration patterns: labor force demands, population growth rates, landholding regimes, and capital deployment. These four variables reflect an equal number of patterns that characterized four consecutive periods running from 1650 to the present day. Thus, Jan and Leo Lucassen stressed the need to rethink the history of migration, renouncing to the simplistic idea that migrations became mass migrations only after the Industrial Revolution, since "migrations are not a signal of the modern age but rather 'continuous phenomena which are embedded in the social and economic framework of human organisation' and as a consequence, they are part and parcel of the history of Europe" (Lucassen and Lucassen 1999, 30). There have also been increasing calls for a migration history that goes beyond traditional categorizations of migrants (e.g. "welcome" and "unwanted" migrants) and

that includes different forms of mobility and migration (De Munck and Winter 2012; Greefs and Winter 2019).

In the same decades, women and gender studies have contributed—albeit with completely different goals and motivations—to broaden the perspective on migratory phenomena, moving in two complementary directions that we have also pursued in the present volume: by giving migrant women a voice, on the one hand, and through a gender-based approach to migratory phenomena, on the other. The decision to give visibility to migrant women—which will undoubtedly remain a priority in migration research—must be credited for the fact that it has helped to unveil the numerical relevance of women in short- and long-term migrations. In doing so, in this book we have been able to gain a better idea of the broad impact of migration, thus starting to bridge the so-called *gender data gap* (Criado Perez 2019). Moreover, we have managed to shed light on a wide range of female migration phenomena that have thus far remained unfathomable, not limiting our analysis to international and overseas migration, and to develop a reflection on the fact that the sources themselves follow criteria that tend to hide migrant women, or that make them invisible: this happens either because many statistical surveys fail to disaggregate the data or because officials do not deem it necessary to record migrant women when they are part of a household run by a man.

Thanks precisely to the adopted gender perspective, the studies here collected have managed to introduce new tools for analyzing migration phenomena (e.g. ideals of femininity and masculinity, social networks, individual or family strategies). At the same time, they have enhanced—and made more complex—a number of themes and problems that were already present, at least partially, in migration studies. Thus, while the migration policies that states, regions, or cities have implemented in the past are the subject of many studies (De Munck and Winter 2012), the latter do not explain who the actual recipients of the relative measures are. Conversely, a gender approach shows that—past but also present—migration policies are influenced by specific models of femininity and masculinity and by specific family models, despite their apparent neutrality (Green 2012). In early modern Venice, for example, migrant women who arrived with their families (hence under the protection of a man) were not required to declare their presence, contrary to women who failed to meet this requirement, such as prostitutes.

A similar approach allows for a better understanding of migration phenomena and offers new and more appropriate points of view on the

matter. It must not, however, remain a niche approach or a prerogative of women's or gender studies. Rather, it must lead to an *engendering* of migration history, as is happening in other important fields of economic and social history—first of all, labor history. This means that we should aspire to give migrant women a primary place within the economic, social, and even political history of states and cities. After all, women's and gender history is not a separate discipline but must be considered an integral part of a new narrative of social and economic history. Silva Seidel Menchi (1999, 2009) accurately described the situation when she wrote that women's and gender history is often defined as "low" or "soft" (*sommessa*), since established and authoritative historiography still conveys a certain distrust of women and gender history despite the existence of relevant and well-founded scientific publications. This explains its "imperfect" integration in the great narratives of economic, social, and political history. The essays contained in this volume, on the other hand, show how migrant women are an integral part of and even a privileged observatory for the history of states, individual regions, and even individual cities. Without migrant women and, more generally, without a gendered approach to migratory flows, the economic, social, and political history (i.e. the history of men) of a country or region is only partially told, with the risk that it becomes a default history *tout court*.

When, during the nineteenth century, the region of Wallachia sought to acquire the latest medical and childbirth provisions, thus embarking on the path to modernization (read westernization, at least in part), both foreign and local midwives played an important role in these processes. However, they were conditioned by the laws and decisions taken at the state level. As a result, foreign midwives were encouraged to introduce knowledge and new techniques in the country, but in doing so they triggered work competition with local midwives. With regard to contemporary Italy, it is possible to enrich—if not to rewrite—certain aspects of its history if we take into account the migrant women who settled in Italy in the 1970s and 1980s in order to carry out domestic tasks. This undoubtedly weakens the dominant image of a land of emigrants that has only very recently become a land of immigration—and what is more, one that usually leads to criminality and illegality. Another example of the historical relevance of migrant women is that of Majorcan women, key protagonists of agricultural and seasonal migration who played a major role in the economic revolts and protests that swept across the island in modern times. Similarly, the development of the silk industry in Barcelona

during the eighteenth century was the result of a large inflow of men and women from rural areas, who then shifted to the welfare sector when the industry collapsed. In short, migrant women—and their economic and political role, in particular—are essential for a better understanding of important social, economic, political, and cultural phenomena.

One of the thematic intersections that most benefits from the process of engendering migration history is undoubtedly that of labor history. This means that we must acknowledge the social and economic value of the contribution of women, which cannot be quantified through (male) categories of salary, working hours, or professional titles because of its specific characteristics—informal, intermittent, precarious, and linked to the needs of family care (Martini and Bellavitisa 2014; Bellavitis et al. 2016; Sarti et al. 2018). A good example is that of the Jewish women who carried out intellectual activities in Prague; although their educational level was undoubtedly equal to that of men, they lacked official recognition and titles precisely by virtue of their being women, consequently working at the margins of the academic world. It also means admitting that migrant women played a crucial, and nearly always unpaid role in family businesses. Thus, the highly skilled craftswomen who worked and ran shops in the prestigious Royal Exchange of London in the modern era were assisted by a network of helpers and relatives who often did not have any official qualifications, but who nevertheless contributed to the success of the business. Likewise, it is undeniable that women played a fundamental role in the history of the migrants from Kythnos who arrived in Athens to set up their brick-making activities: in terms of their labor contribution (given that they actively participated in the family business), their dowry and/or patrimonial property, and their ability to build and maintain social networks with compatriots and, especially, with other social and professional groups.

Moreover, it also means recognizing the economic value of care and domestic activities that require commitment, effort, skills, and abilities; classical economic history has dismissed these as being non-productive (non-market activities), and described instead by Nancy Folbre (2008) as *family labor*. In reality, the—more or less—temporary migration of Italian laborers to France or Wales would not have been possible without the intervention of family members who stayed in the place of origin, ensuring the necessary care for young children in the absence of one, or both, of their parents.

The essays contained in this volume seek to engender the history of migration, by adopting a local and a global perspective at the same time. Furthermore, this book lays the foundations for future research, at least in two specific directions. First, it would necessary to explore and collect detailed data on the classic themes of economic and social history with regard to migrant women more explicitly: wages, remittances, working hours for paid, unpaid, and care work, allocation of time for each kind of work, consumption levels, and living standards. Secondly, the use of the gender as a tool for the analysis of power relationships between women and men should encourage scholars to focus also on migrant men, to investigate specificities of male migration patterns, and to address how masculinity ideologies impacted on migration/mobility and settlement patterns. Recently, Leda Papastefanki (2019, 3) has argued that "by the 1990s (…) feminist scholars already demonstrated that gender relations in the workplace are not related exclusively to the participation of women in the labor force; the identity of male workers is structured in relation to gender identities, which affect and are affected by employment. As an analytical category, gender shapes all approaches aiming to historicize the structure of gender difference and hierarchical relationships of power between men and women". By acknowledging the importance of the gender perspective, the history of masculinities in past and contemporary societies have started to investigate men's status inside and outside the family, has addressed the link between masculinity and work, authority and domesticity and has shown "the existence not only of a plurality, but also of a hierarchy of masculinities" (Sarti 2015, 527). To date, this history of men has been seldom connected to the history of migration (Sharpe 2001; Green 2012; Dinani 2019). In this perspective, questioning explicitly the link between masculinity and migration, studying how specific models influenced migration behaviors and policies, how social expectation about men was confirmed or upset by migration patterns, how the migration experience of men intersect with ethnicity, life cycle and age are at this stage a fundamental step toward the understanding of a gendered history of migration.

References

Bade, Klaus. 2003. *Migration in European history*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Martini, Manuela, and Anna Bellavitis eds. 2014. Households, family workshops and unpaid market work in Europe from the 16th century to the present. *The History of the Family* 19 (3).

Bellavitis, Anna, Manuela Martini, and Raffaella Sarti, eds. 2016. Familles laborieuses. Rémunération, transmission et apprentissage dans les ateliers familiaux de la fin du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine en Europe. *Mélange de l'École Française de Rome Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 128–1.

Criado Perez, Caroline. 2019. *Invisible women: Exposing bias in a world designed for men*. London: Chatto and Windus.

De Munck, Bert and Anne Winter, eds. 2012. *Gated communities? Regulating migration in early modern cities*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Dinani, Husseina. 2019. Gendered migrant labour. Marriage and the political economy of wage labour and cash crops in late colonial and post-independence Southern Tanzania. *Gender & History* 31 (3): 565–583.

Dirk, Hoerder, and Leslie Page Moch, eds. 1996. *European Migrants. Global and Local perspectives*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Fauri, Francesca, ed. 2015. *The history of migration in Europe. Prospectives from economics, politics and sociology*. London and New York, Routledge.

Folbre, Nancy. 2008. *Valuing children. Rethinking the economics of the family*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Greefs Hilde and Anne Winter, eds. 2019. *Migration policies and materialities of identification in European cities. Papers and gates, 1500–1930s*. New York-Abingdon: Routledge.

Green, Nancy. 2012. Changing paradigms in migration studies : From men to women to gender. *Gender & History* 24–3: 782–798.

Lucassen, Jan and Leo Lucassen. 1999. Migration, migration history, history: old paradigms and new perspectives. In *Migration, Migration History, History. Old paradigms and new perspectives*, edited by Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 9–38. Bern-Berlin-Frankfurt-New York-Paris-Wien: Peter Lang.

Merriman, Peter, and Lynne Pearce, eds. 2018. *Mobility and the humanities*. London-New York: Routledge.

Moraglio, Massimo and Kuttler Tobias, eds. 2021. *Re-thinking mobility poverty: Understanding users' geographies, backgrounds and aptitudes*. Abingdon, Oxford, New York NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Page Moch, Leslie. 1992 (2003 2nd edition revised). *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Page Moch, Leslie. 1999. Dividing time: an analytical framework for migration history periodization. In *Migration, Migration History, History. Old paradigms and new perspectives*, edited by Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 41–56. Bern-Berlin-Frankfurt-New York-Paris-Wien: Peter Lang.

Papastefanaki, Leda. 2019. Family, gender, and labour if the Greek mines 1860–1940. *International Review of Social History*: 1–22.

Sarti, Raffaella. 2015. Men at home: domesticities, authority, emotion and work (thirteenth-twentieth centuries). In "Men at home", special Issue of *Gender & History*, vol. 27, n. 3: 521–558.

Sarti, Raffaella, Anna Bellavitis, and Manuela Martini, eds. 2018. *What is work? Gender and the crossroad of home, family and business from the Early Modern era to the present*. New York-Oxford: Berghahn.

Seidel Menchi, Silvana. 1999. A titolo di introduzione. In *Tempi e spazi di vita femminile tra medioevo ed età moderna*, edited by Silvana Seidel Menchi, Anne Jacobson Schutte and Thomas Kuehn, 7–22. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Seidel Menchi, Silvana. 2009. Storia alta, storia sommessa. Dicotomia della ricerca e storia della famiglia. In *Famiglie e poteri in Italia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, edited by Anna Bellavitis and Isabelle Chabot, 17–31. Rome: École Française de Rome.

Sharpe, Pamela, ed. 2001. *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*. London, New York: Routledge.

Index