

Notes

Introduction

 George Eliot, Middlemarch, A Study of Provincial Life, William Blackwood & Sons, 1871

Part 1: 1066-1348 Doomsday

- 1. Andrew Bridgeford, 1066: The Hidden History of the Bayeux Tapestry, Walker and Co., 2005, loc 2366
- 2. Max Adams, *Unquiet Women*, Head of Zeus, 2018, loc 1928
- 3. Ibid., loc 1014
- David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture, Pelican Books, 1970, p. 53
- 5. Adams, Unquiet Women, loc 1054
- 6. Ibid., loc 1070
- 7. P. Stafford, 'Women in Domesday', Reading Medieval Studies, Vol. 15, 1989, pp. 75–94 (p. 81)
- Hudson, 'Women in Anglo-Saxon England'
- 9. Stafford, 'Women in Domesday'
- 10. Ibid.
- 11. Bridgeford, 1066, loc 3115
- 12. Ibid.
- 13. Ibid., loc 2189
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, trans.
 J.A. Giles and J. Ingram, Project Gutenberg, 1996
- 15. Stafford, 'Women in Domesday', pp. 89 and 90
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Judith A. Green, *The Normans:* Power, Conquest and Culture in

- 11th-Century Europe, Yale University Press, 2022, loc 3831
- John Simkin, 'William the Conqueror and the Feudal System', Spartacus Educational, September 1997
- 19. Bridgeford, 1066, loc 220
- Thomas Piketty, Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century, Harvard University Press, 2014, p. 344
- Paul Kingsnorth, 'High House Prices? Inequality? I Blame the Normans', Guardian, 17 December 2012
- 'To the Manor Born: Mapping the Grosvenor Estate', Who Owns England? (online), 17 August 2016
- H.G. Richardson, 'The Coronation in Medieval England: The Evolution of the Office and the Oath', *Traditio*, Vol. 16, 1960, pp. 111–202
- 24. Green, The Normans, loc 3887
- Rebecca Abrams, 'The Jewish Journey: 4,000 Years in 22 Objects', Ashmolean Museum, 2017
- Marty Williams and Anne Echols, Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages, Markus Wiener, 1993, p. 177
- 27. 'The Rime of King William', Peterborough Chronicle/Laud Manuscript, 1087, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 636, f. 65r
- 28. Mary Bateson, *Medieval England* 1066–1350, 1903, p. 174
- 29. Bridgeford, 1066, loc 2126

- 30. Adams, Unquiet Women, loc 1971
- 31. Emma Mason, 'Invoking Earl Waltheof', in David Roffe (ed.), *The English and Their Legacy,* 900–1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams, Boydell and Brewer, 2012, pp. 185–204
- 32. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 62
- Henrietta Leyser, Medieval Women: Social History of Women in England 450–1500, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2013, loc 3373
- 34. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 63
- 35. Ibid., p. 151
- 36. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 126
- 37. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2745
- 38. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 228
- Caroline Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, Cambridge University Press, 2012, loc 4019
- 40. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 123
- Kaya Burgess, 'Nun Faked Her Death to Pursue Life of Lust', *The Times*, 12 February 2019
- 42. Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England*, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 130
- C.M. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, Yale University Press, 2016, loc 4902
- 44. Mavis E. Mate, *Daughters, Wives and Widows after the Black Death: Women in Sussex 1350–1535*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1998, p. 42
- 45. Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's* Guide to Elizabethan England, Bodley Head, 2012, loc 423
- 46. G.M. Trevelyan, England Under the Stuarts, 1904, p. 47
- 47. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 54
- 48. Frances and Joseph Gies, Women in the Middle Ages: The Lives of Real Women in a Vibrant Age of Transition, Thomas Y. Cromwell, 1973, p. 180

- 49. Ibid.
- 50. P.J.P. Goldberg, 'For Better, For Worse: Marriage and Economic Opportunity for Women in Town and Country', Women in Medieval English Society, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg, Sutton Publishing England, 1992
- 51. Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 177
- 52. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 51
- 53. Ibid., pp. 51 and 55
- Gwen Seabourne, Royal Regulation of Loans and Sales in Medieval England, Boydell Press, 2003, p. 45
- Barbara A. Hanawalt, The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law and Economy in Late Medieval London, Oxford University Press, 2007, loc 1436
- 56. Caroline Barron, 'Post Pandemic: How the Years after the Black Death Briefly Became a "Golden Age" for Medieval Women', *History Extra*, 6 July 2021
- 57. Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 180
- 58. Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500*, loc 2962
- 59. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, pp. 259–60
- 60. Barbara J. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers, Oxford University Press, 2002, loc 116
- 61. Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes* of the People of England, Thomas Tegg, 1845
- 62. John Marshall Carter, 'Sports and Recreations in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of the Eyre and Coroners' Rolls – A Research Note', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, Summer 1988, pp. 167–73
- 63. Marilyn Yalom, Birth of the Chess Queen, HarperPerennial, 2005
- 64. Judith M. Bennett, and Amy M. Froide (eds), Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, pp. 82–105







- Tracy Borman, 'Matilda, William the Conqueror's Queen', BBC History Magazine, October 2011
- 66. James Michael Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"? Women and War in the High and Late Middle Ages Reconsidered', University of Canterbury, 2009, p. 61
- 67. Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 105
- 68. Îllston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?', p. 55
- 69. Rowena Archer, 'How Ladies Who Live on Their Manors ...', in Goldberg (ed.), *Women in Medieval* English Society, p. 150
- Linda Elizabeth Mitchell, Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England 1225–1350, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003
- 71. Archer, 'How Ladies Who Live on Their Manors ...', p. 151
- T.D. Fosbroke, 'Abstracts and Extracts of Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys', London, 1821, p. 152, quoted in Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 215
- 73. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 3609
- 74. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, loc 2444
- 75. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 124
- 76. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 3120
- 77. Bateson, Medieval England 1066–

1350, p. 205

- 78. Magna Carta 1215, Clause 8: The National Archives
- 79. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 146
- 80. Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages*, p. 161
- 81. R.H. Maudsley and J.W. Davies, 'The Justice of the Peace in England', *University of Miami Law. Review*, 517, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1964
- 82. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 162
- 83. Ibid.
- 84. Helen Barker, *Rape in Early Modern England: Law, History and Criticism*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, loc 608
- 85. Bank of England Inflation Calculator

- Cheryl Tallan and Suzanne Bartlett, The Shalvi/Hyman Encyclopedia of Jewish Women, Jewish Women's Archive, jwa.org
- 87. Abrams, 'The Jewish Journey'
- 88. Statute of Jewry, 1275. National Archive ref. E164/9 fol. 31d
- Lionel B. Abrahams, 'The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290 (Continued)', Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. 7, No. 2, January 1895, pp. 236–58, published by University of Pennsylvania Press
- 90. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 260
- 91. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 220
- 92. Ībid., p. 155
- 93. Ibid., p. 82
- Eleanor Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, W.W. Norton and Co., 2023, loc 2317
- Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 148
- 96. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 225
- 97. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2574
- 98. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 177
- 99. Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 159
- 100. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 70
- Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Medieval England, Bodley Head, 2008, loc 3136
- 102. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, loc 5341
- 103. Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England 1260–1850', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 75, Issue 2, June 2015, pp. 405–77
- 104. Îbid.
- 105. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2550
- 106. Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 154
- 107. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, loc 2630
- 108. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 34



- 109. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 233
- 110. Adams, Unquiet Women, loc 2156
- 111. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 57
- 112. Ibid., p. 178
- 113. Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 161
- 114. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 3181
- 115. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 55
- Gies, Women in the Middle Ages,
 p. 180
- 117. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, loc 1639
- 118. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 60
- 119. Smithfield Decretals, c.1340, British Library (Royal 10 E fol. 581)
- 120. Bridgeford, 1066, loc 265
- Eleanor Parker, 'The Cultured Women of Essex', *History Today*, Vol. 69, Issue 9 September 2019
- 122. Ibid
- 123. Green, The Normans, loc 4030
- 124. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 144
- 125. Ibid., pp. 63, 153, 212, 127, 192, 204
- 126. Ibid., p. 127
- 127. Ibid., p. 34
- 128. Michelle M. Sauer, *Gender in Medieval Culture*, Bloomsbury, 2015, loc 1834
- 129. Robin L. Gordon, Searching for the Soror Mystica: The Lives and Science of Women Alchemists, University Press of America, 2013, p. 3
- 130. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2384
- 131. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 184
- 132. Bernard Capp, When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England, Oxford University Press, 2003, loc 3927
- 133. Carol M. Meale, 'Women's Voices and Roles', in Peter Brown (ed.), A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c.1350–c.1500, Blackwell, 2007, pp. 74–90
- 134. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Medieval England, loc 1832

- 135. Katherine Harvey, *The Fires of Lust:* Sex in the Middle Ages, Reaktion Books, 2021, loc 3409
- 136. Janega, *The Once and Future Sex*, loc 2803
- 137. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Medieval England, loc 425
- 138. Harvey, The Fires of Lust, loc 3487
- 139. Henry Ansgar Kelly, 'Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd in the Stews of Southwark', *Speculum*, Vol. 75, No. 2, April 2000, pp. 342–88
- 140. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 1658
- 141. Ibid., loc 1661
- 142. Harvey, The Fires of Lust, loc 3430
- 143. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 1678
- 144. Lindsey McNellis, Let Her Be Taken: Sexual Violence in Medieval England, University of Florida, 2008, p. 83
- 145. Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?, p. 53
- 146. Ibid.
- 147. T. Blount, Tenures of land & customs of manors; originally collected by Thomas Blount and republished with large additions and improvements in 1784 and 1815, Reeves and Turner, 1874, p. 110
- 148. T. Maddox, The history and antiquities of the Exchequer of the kings of England, in two periods: to wit, from the Norman conquest, to the end of the reign of K. John; and from the end of the reign of K. John, to the end of the reign of K. Edward II, W. Owen [etc.], 1769, p. 656
- 149. Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?, p. 96
- 150. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 148
- 151. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 34
- 152. Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?', p. 53
- 153. Ibid.
- 154. William Hepworth Dixon, *Royal Windsor*, Vol. 1, 1877, pp. 67–80
- 155. Agnes Conway, 'The Family of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely,



- Chancellor and Justiciar of England, 1190–1191, *Archeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 36, 1924
- 156. Catherine Hanley, 'Nicola de la Haye' (online)
- 157. Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?', p. 51
- 158. Linda Mitchell, *Portrait of Medieval Women, Family, Marriage and Politics in England 1225–1330*, Palgrave
 Macmillan, 2003, p. 98
- 159. Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?', p. 54
- 160. Ibid., p. 82
- Joanna Winfield, 'Female Warriors in the Middle Ages', 2011, Women's History Month (online)
- 162. Valerie Eads, 'Means, Motive, Opportunity: Medieval Women and the Recourse to Arms', Paper Presented at the Twentieth Barnard Medieval & Renaissance Conference 'War and Peace in the Middle Ages & Renaissance', 2 December 2006
- 163. Harvey, The Fires of Lust, loc 3791
- 164. Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?', p. 72
- 165. Ibid., p. 73
- 166. Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 177
- 167. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 34
- Meg Bogin, The Women Troubadours, W.W. Norton and Company, 1980, p. 32
- 169. Illston, "An Entirely Masculine Activity"?', p. 83
- 170. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide* to Medieval England, p. 240
- 171. Ibid.
- 172. Janega, *The Once and Future Sex*, loc 2596
- 173. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 152
- 174. Ibid., p. 151
- 175. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2638
- 176. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 152
- 177. Janega, *The Once and Future Sex*, loc 2462
- 178. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide* to Medieval England, p. 229

- 179. Bennett and Froide, Singlewomen of the European Past 1250–1800, pp. 130 and 134
- 180. Carole Hough, 'Women and Law in the Anglo-Saxon Period', 2012, Early English Laws (online)
- 181. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 435
- 182. Ben Levick and Roland Williamson, 'For What It's Worth', Regia Anglorum, 1994, 1999 and 2003
- 183. Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, loc 3040
- 184. Ibid., loc 145 and 225
- 185. Ibid., loc 4019
- 186. Rebecca Frances King, Rape in England 1600–1800: Trials, Narratives and the Question of Consent, Theses, 1998, Durham University
- 187. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 450
- 188. John Marshall Carter, Rape in Medieval England: An Historical and Sociological Study, University Press of America, 1985, p. 45
- 189. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 450
- 190. McNellis, Let Her Be Taken, p. 1
- 191. Ibid., p. 40
- 192. Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, loc 2080
- 193. McNellis, Let Her Be Taken, p. 67
- 194. Ibid., p. 1
- 195. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 478
- 196. Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, loc 2141
- 197. Carter, Rape in Medieval England, p. 109
- 198. Ibid., p. 72
- 199. Ibid., p. 128
- 200. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 1678
- 201. Carter, Rape in Medieval England, p. 130
- 202. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 1491
- 203. Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Wife*, HarperCollins, 2001, p. 46
- 204. Ibid., p. 52
- 205. Bateson, *Medieval England 1066–1350*, p. 144



- 206. Mark Searle and Kenneth Stevenson, Documents of the Marriage Liturgy, Liturgical Press, 1992, p. 151
- 207. Abrams, 'The Jewish Journey'
- 208. Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, loc 3461
- 209. Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen in the European Past*, 1250–1800, p. 41
- 210. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2082
- 211. Adams, Unquiet Women, loc 677
- 212. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2169
- 213. Ibid., loc 1998
- 214. McNellis, Let Her Be Taken, p. 51
- 215. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 1975
- 216. Searle and Stevenson, *Documents of* the Marriage Liturgy, p. 163
- 217. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 735
- 218. Janina Ramirez, Femina: A New History of the Middle Ages Through the Women Written Out of It, WH Allen, 2022, p. 188
- 219. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 234. Elizabeth Castelli, "I Will Make 1758 Mary Male": Pieties of the Body
- 220. McNellis, Let Her Be Taken, p. 57
- 221. Nicole Rice, "Temples to Christ's Indwelling": Forms of Chastity in a Barking Abbey Manuscript', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January 2010, pp. 115–32
- 222. Christian D. Knudsen, Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks: Monastic Sexual Misconduct in Late Medieval England, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012, p. 69
- Elizabeth Rapley, A Social History of the Cloister, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001
- 224. Giles Constable, 'Aelred of Rievaulx and the Nun of Watton: An Episode in the Early History of the Gilbertine Order', *Studies in Church History Subsidia*, Vol. 1, 1978, pp. 205–26
- 225. Catherine Tideswell, 'How Far Did Medieval Society Recognise Lesbianism in this Period?', medievalists.net (online)
- 226. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 1272–3
- John Boswell, Same Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe, Villard Books, 1994, p. 244

- 228. Kittredge Cherry, 'Hildegard of Bingen and Richardis: Medieval Mystic and the Woman She Loved', Q Spirit, 17 September 2022
- Norma Giffney, Michelle M. Sauer and Diane Watt (eds), *The Lesbian Premodern*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 36
- 230. St Paul, Romans 1:26–27, 1599 Geneva Bible, Bible Gateway
- Tideswell, 'How Far Did Medieval Society Recognise Lesbianism in this Period?'
- Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Laurie Shepard and Sarah White, Songs of the Women Troubadours, Garland Publishing, 2000
- 233. Angelica Rieger, 'Was Bieiris de Romans Lesbian?' in Walter D. Paden (ed) *The Voice of the Trobairitz*, University of Pennsylvania Publications, 1989
- 234. Elizabeth Castelli, "I Will Make Mary Male": Pieties of the Body and Gender Transformation of Christian Women in Late Antiquity', in Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds), Bodyguards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity, Routledge, 1991, p. 30
- 235. Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England*, Routledge, 2012, p. 9
- 236. Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud, Harvard University Press, 1990, loc 242 and 571
- 237. Gowing, Gender Relations, p. 8
- 238. Sara Middleton and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720*, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 19
- 239. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, 'Fetishizing Gender: Constructing the Hermaphrodite in Renaissance Europe', in Epstein and Straub (eds), *Bodyguards*, p. 81
- 240. St Paul, Galatians 3:28, Authorised King James Bible
- 241. Gospel of St Thomas Gospel, translated by Thomas O. Lambdin, v 114







- 242. Deuteronomy 22:5, and see Debra Haffner, 'Sexuality and Scripture: What Else Does the Bible Have to Say?', Sex and the Church, Spring 2006
- 243. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 313
- 244. Ibid., loc 1954
- Michael Nolan, 'The Myth of Soulless Women', First Things (online), April 1997
- 246. St Paul, 1 Corinthians 14:33–35, King James Bible
- 247. Maayan Sudai, 'Sex Ambiguity in Early Modern Common Law (1629– 1787)', *Law & Social Inquiry*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2022, pp. 478–513

Part 2: 1348-1455 Women Rising

- 1. Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Medieval England*, Bodley Head, 2008, loc 697
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Kate Ravilious, 'Europe's Chill Linked to Disease', BBC, 27 February 2006; William F. Ruddiman, 'The Anthropogenic Greenhouse Era Began Thousands of Years Ago', *Climatic Change*, Vol. 61, No. 3, 2003, pp. 261–93
- Ralph of Shrewsbury, letter, January 1349, in John Simkin, *Medieval Realms*, Spartacus Educational, 1991, p. 52
- Christian D. Knudsen, Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks: Monastic Sexual Misconduct in Late Medieval England, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012, p. 59
- C.M. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, Yale University Press, 2016, loc 3861
- 7. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Medieval England, loc 547
- Lucy Worsley, 'The Survivor, the "Incurable" and the Scapegoat', History Extra, 13 June 2022 (online)
- 9. Helena Graham, "A Woman's Work ...": Labour and Gender in the Late Medieval Countryside', in *Women in Medieval English Society*, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg, Sutton Publishing, 1992, p. 127

- Henrietta Leyser, Medieval Women: Social History of Women in England 450–1500, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2013, loc 2615
- P.J.P. Goldberg, 'For Better, For Worse: Marriage and Economic Opportunity for Women in Town and Country', in Goldberg (ed.), Women in Medieval English Society, p. 112
- 12. Ibid.
- Caroline Barron, 'Post Pandemic: How the Years after the Black Death Briefly Became a "Golden Age" for Medieval Women', *History Extra*, 6 July 2021 (online)
- 14. Ibid.
- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, loc 4902
- 18. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2817
- 19. Extract from a deed by Joanna, daughter of Nicholas de Rudyngton and widow of Stephen de Boneye, 29 July 1380, Latin, translated by Kathryn Summerwill in 'Property Ownership', Wives, Widows and Wimples, Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham, 2010
- Mavis E. Mate, Daughters, Wives and Widows after the Black Death: Women in Sussex 1350–1535, Boydell Press, 1998, p. 11
- Michelle M. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, Bloomsbury, 2015, loc 739/753
- 22. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2169
- 23. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, loc 5226
- Eleanor Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, W.W. Norton and Co, 2023, loc 1387
- Sylvia Federico, 'The Imaginary Society: Women in 1381', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2, April 2001, pp. 150–83
- Sydney Armitage Smith, John of Gaunt, Archibald Constable & Co., 1904, p. 247





- 27. Federico, 'The Imaginary Society: Women in 1381'
- 28. Ibid.
- 29. Ibid.
- Cooper & Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, Vol. 1, Warwick & Co., 1842, p. 121
- 31. Helen Lacey, "Grace for the Rebels": The Role of the Royal Pardon in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 34, Issue 1, 2008, pp. 36–63
- 32. Melissa Hogenboom, 'Peasants' Revolt: The Time When Women Took Up Arms', BBC News, 14 June 2012 (online)
- 33. Federico, 'The Imaginary Society: Women in 1381'
- 34. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, Knopf, 1996, p. 473
- Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI, Vol. 5, HM Stationery Office, 1909, pp. 338–74
- Barbara J. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers, Oxford University Press, 2002, loc 1149
- 37. Mate, Daughters, Wives and Widows after the Black Death, p. 12
- 38. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2575
- 39. Mate, Daughters, Wives and Widows after the Black Death, p. 12
- P.J.P. Goldberg, Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300– 1520, Oxford Academic, 1992, pp. 82–157
- Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Demographic Perspective', in Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (eds), Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, p. 48
- 42. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, loc 2928
- 43. Goldberg, Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy
- 44. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 3188
- 45. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 30

- 46. Barron, 'Post Pandemic', *History Extra*
- 47. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 2927
- 48. Janina Ramirez, Femina: A New History of the Middle Ages Through the Women Written Out of It, WH Allen, 2022, p. 320
- 49. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 3185
- Barbara A. Hanawalt, The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London, Oxford University Press, 2007, loc 2690
- 51. Barron, 'Post Pandemic', *History Extra*
- 52. Marty Williams and Anne Echols, Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages, Markus Wiener, 1993, p. 54
- 53. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, loc 141, 225 and 1601
- 54. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, loc 2446
- 55. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 2370
- 56. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, pp. 38 and 95
- 57. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2386
- 58. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 229
- 59. Ibid.,p. 229
- Michael Riordan, 'Women at Queen's before 1979', Queen's College, University of Oxford (online)
- 61. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, loc 991, 1470, 581, 591, 684
- 62. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 241
- 63. Lucy Davidson, 'What Did People Wear in Medieval England?', History Hit, 26 February 2023 (online)
- 64. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 241
- 65. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, loc 2724
- 66. Goldberg, 'For Better, For Worse', p. 112
- Barbara A. Hanawalt, The Ties that Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 151







- 68. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, loc 2724
- Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Wages of Women in England 1260– 1850', Oxford Economic and Social History Working Papers, 127, March 2014, p. 16
- L.R. Poos, 'Sex, Lies, and the Church Courts of Pre-Reformation England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1995, pp. 585–607
- 71. Barron, 'Post Pandemic', *History Extra*
- 72. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p. 148
- 73. Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800*, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 25
- Rowena Archer, 'How Ladies Who Live on Their Manors ...', Women in Medieval English Society, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg, Sutton Publishing, 1992, p. 154
- 75. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 201
- Richard Harvey, 'The Work and Mentalité of Lower Orders Elizabethan Women', Exemplaria, Vol. 5, Issue 2, 1993, pp. 409–33, p. 427
- 77. Stéphanie Prevost, 'For a Bunch of Blue Ribbons: Taking a Look at Wife-Selling in the Black Country and the West Midlands', *Blackcountryman Magazine*, Vol. 49, Autumn 2016, pp. 51–7
- 78. James Bryce, Studies in History and Jurisprudence, Volume II, Oxford University Press, 1901, p. 820
- 79. Simon Payling, 'The Elusiveness of Divorce in Medieval England: The Marital Troubles of the Last Warenne Earl of Surrey (d.1347)', The History of Parliament, 3 August 2021 (online)
- 80. Ibid.
- 81. Caroline Dunn, *Stolen Women* in *Medieval England*, Cambridge University Press, 2012, loc 137
- 82. Graham, 'A Woman's Work ...', p. 127
- 83. J.B. Post, 'Sir Thomas West and the Statute of Rape 1382', *Institute of*

- Historical Research, Vol. 53, Issue 127, May 1980, Wiley Online Library
- Helen Barker, Rape in Early Modern England: Law, History and Criticism, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, loc 1857
- 85. Ibid., loc 1623
- 86. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 450
- 87. Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, loc 379
- 88. Ibid., loc 231 and 2090
- 89. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 478
- 90. Carissa Harris, '800 Years of Rape Culture', *Aeon*, 24 May 2021 (online)
- 91. Bennett and Froide, Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, p. 2
- 92. Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Sex and the Singlewoman', in ibid., p. 134
- 93. Katherine Harvey, *The Fires of Lust:* Sex in the Middle Ages, Reaktion Books, 2021, loc 3529
- 94. Ibid., loc 3472
- 95. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2802-5
- 96. Harvey, The Fires of Lust, loc 3768
- 97. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 76
- 98. Harvey, The Fires of Lust, loc 3768
- 99. Karras, 'Sex and the Singlewoman', p. 139
- 100. Harvey, The Fires of Lust, loc 3729
- 101. Judith M. Bennett, 'Etchingham and Oxenbridge', in Noreen Giffney, Michelle Sauer and Diane Watt (eds), The Lesbian Premodern, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 134
- 102. The words of Cino da Pistoia quoted in Francesca Canadé Sautman and Pamela Sheingorn, *Same Sex Love and Desire Among Women in the Middle Ages*, Palgrave, 2001, pp. 110 and 111
- 103. Knighton's Leicester Chronicle quoted in Thomas S. Henricks, Disputed Pleasures: Sport and Society in Preindustrial England, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991, p. 53
- 104. Joanna Winfield, 'Female Warriors in the Middle Ages', 2011, Women's History Month (online)
- 105. Judith M. Bennett and Shannon McSheffrey, 'Early, Erotic and Alien: Women Dressed as Men in Late





- Medieval London', *History Workshop Journal*, Spring 2014, No. 77, pp. 1–25
- 106. Îbid.
- 107. Geoffrey Chaucer, 'General Prologue', The Canterbury Tales, translated by Larry D. Benson (ed.), The Riverside Chaucer, Houghton-Mifflin, 1988
- 108. Ibid.
- 109. Janega, *The Once and Future Sex*, loc 1871
- 110. Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Wife of Bath', *The Canterbury Tales*
- 111. Ibid.
- 112. Ramirez, Femina, p. 301
- 113. Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Knight's Tale', *The Canterbury Tales*
- 114. Ibid.
- 115. Ibid.
- 116. Levser, Medieval Women, loc 4434
- 117. Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, loc 137
- 118. Mate, Daughters, Wives and Widows after the Black Death, p. 186
- 119. King's Bench 9/359 m. 67 (1 October 1481), National Archives, translated by Mark Thakkar, University of St Andrews, 2023

Part 3: 1455-1485 Women at War

- Rowena Archer, 'How Ladies Who Live on Their Manors ...', Women in Medieval English Society, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg, Sutton Publishing, 1992, p. 161
- 2. Melissa Snell, 'Life of Margaret Paston', ThoughtCo., 1 March 2019 (online)
- Philip Payton, Alston Kennerley and Helen Doe (eds), *The Maritime History of Cornwall*, University of Exeter Press, 2014
- Barbara J. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers, Oxford University Press, 2002, loc 239
- Caroline Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, Cambridge University Press, 2012, loc 3040
- 6. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 2592

- 7. Ibid., loc 214
- 8. Elizabeth Norton, *The Hidden Lives* of *Tudor Women: A Social History*, Pegasus Books, 2017, loc 1228
- Miss Evelyn Fox, 'The Diary of an Elizabethan Gentlewoman', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Vol. 2, 1908, pp. 153–74
- Eleanor Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, W.W. Norton and Co, 2023, loc 3047
- 11. Caroline Barron, 'Post Pandemic: How the Years after the Black Death Briefly Became a "Golden Age" for Medieval Women', *History Extra*, 6 July 2021 (online)
- 12. Jean Donnison, 'A History of the Midwife Profession in the United Kingdom', in *Mayes' Midwifery*, 14th edn, Bailliere Tindall Elsevier, 2011, pp. 13–14
- Barbara A. Hanawalt, The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law and Economy in Late Medieval London, Oxford University Press, 2007, loc 2418 and 2445
- 14. Davies Gilbert, The Parochial History of Cornwall, founded on the manuscript of Histories of Mr Hals and Mr Tonkin, JB Nichols & Sons, 1838, Vol. 4, pp. 132–4
- Marty Williams and Anne Echols, Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages, Markus Wiener Publishers, 1993, p. 51
- C.M. Woolgar, The Culture of Food in England 1200–1500, Yale University Press, 2016, loc 1631
- L.R. Poos, 'Sex, Lies, and the Church Courts of Pre-Reformation England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1995, pp. 585–607
- 18. Max Adams, *Unquiet Women*, Head of Zeus, 2018, loc 2422
- 19. Ibid., loc 2663
- 20. Ibid., loc 2701
- 21. Dunn, Stolen Women in Medieval England, loc 4019
- 22. Katherine Harvey, *The Fires of Lust:* Sex in the Middle Ages, Reaktion Books, 2021, loc 3487 and 3729







23. Ibid., loc 3548, 3487, 3548, 3487, 3520

Part 4: 1485–1660 Becoming a Weaker Vessel

- Christian D. Knudsen, Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks: Monastic Sexual Misconduct in Late Medieval England, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012, p. 208
- 2. Ibid., p. 99
- 3. Ibid., p. 178, 177 and 118
- 4. Ibid., p. 105
- Geoffrey Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Surrey', Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. 47, 1941, pp. 12–28
- 6. Knudsen, Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks, p. 223
- Stephanie A. Mann, 'More on the Norwich Beguinage', Supremacy and Survival: The English Reformation, 1 June 2013 (online)
- 8. Knudsen, *Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks*, pp. 223 and 224
- 9. Ibid., p. 81
- Norma Giffney, Michelle M. Sauer and Diane Watt (eds), *The Lesbian Premodern*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 86
- 11. Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England*, Routledge, 2012, p. 52
- 12. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, Knopf, 1996, p. 408
- Madeleine Dodds and Ruth Dodds, The Pilgrimage of Grace, London, 1915
- John Simkin, 'Pilgrimage of Grace', Spartacus Educational, September 1997 (online)
- Elizabeth Norton, The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women: A Social History, Pegasus Books, 2017, pp. 202 and 206
- Charles Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors from ad 1485 to 1559, ed. William Douglas Hamilton, Camden Society, 1875, p. 64
- 17. Sharon L. Jansen, Dangerous Talk and Strange Behaviour: Women and

- Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII, Palgrave Macmillan, 1996, p. 6
- 18. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 2677
- Robert Hutchinson, The Last Days of Henry VIII: Conspiracies, Treason and Heresy at the Court of the Dying Tyrant, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005, pp. 172–3
- 20. Norton, *The Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 4273
- 21. Ibid., loc 4282
- 22. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 407
- 23. Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society, 1500–1800*, Routledge, 2016, pp. 112–17
- 24. All the following are from John Foxe: Foxe's Book of Martyrs, or the Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church; Being a Complete History of the Lives, Sufferings, and Deaths of the Christian Martyrs, Jas B. Smith & Co., 1856
- John Morris (ed.), 'Mr John Mush's Life of Margaret Clitherow', The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers related by Themselves, 1877, pp. 333–440
- 'Margaret Ward' in David Hugh Farmer, The Oxford Dictionary of Saints, 5th edn, Oxford University Press, 2011
- 27. Gerelyn Hollingsworth, *National Catholic Reporter*, 26 February 2010
- 28. Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos*, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932, p. 257
- 29. Barbara Bowen, 'Aemilia Lanyer and the Invention of White Womanhood', in Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (eds), Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England, Oxford University Press, 1999
- 30. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 413
- 31. Norton, The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women, loc 4251
- 32. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society*, 1500–1800, pp. 97 and 105
- 33. Ibid., p. 124







- 34. James Kelly, '17th-century Nuns on the Run', *History Extra*, 20 March 2012 (online)
- 35. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 384
- 36. Lowell Gallagher, 'Mary Ward's "Jesuitresses" and the Construction of a Typological Community', in Frye and Robertson (eds), Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Oueens
- 37. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 4243
- 38. Roger Hayden, 'Dorothy Hazzard', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
- Bernard Capp, When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England, Oxford University Press, 2003, loc 337
- Sara Heller Mendelson, The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies, Harvester Press, 1987, p. 106
- 41. Ibid., p. 107
- 42. Prior (ed.), Women in English Society, 1500–1800, p. 96
- 43. John Wycliffe, Bible, 1382
- 44. WYC, 1 Peter 3:7, Bible Gateway (online)
- 45. Ibid.
- 46. William Tyndale, New Testament, 1525
- 47. TYN, 1 Peter 3:7, Bible Gateway (online)
- 48. Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800*, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 74
- 49. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 41
- 50. 'A Homilie of the State of Matrimony', in *The Second Tome of Homilies*, Edward Allde, 1595
- 51. Ibid.
- 52. Ibid.
- 53. Ibid.
- 54. Ibid.
- Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 297
- 56. Ibid., p. 89
- Mark Searle and Kenneth Stevenson, *Documents of the Marriage Liturgy*, Liturgical Press, 1992, p. 166

- Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancolie, 1621, quoted by Lisa Picard, Restoration London: Everyday Life in the 1660s, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997, loc 3424
- 59. Anger in Mary Prior (ed.), Women in English Society, 1500–1800, p. 172
- 60. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 41
- Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 70
- 62. John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, 1558
- Clarck Drieshen, 'Lady Jane Grey's Letters from the Tower of London', Medieval Manuscripts blog, British Library (online)
- 64. Leah S. Marcus, Janet Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (eds), Elizabeth I: Collected Works, University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 97
- Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud, Harvard University Press, 1990, loc 2331
- 66. Retha Warnicke, *Wicked Women of England*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 5
- Ian Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, Bodley Head, 2012, loc 889
- 68. A.D. Innes, A History of the British Nation, TC and EC Jack, 1912
- Polydore Vergil, Three Books of Polydore Vergil, ed. Henry Ellis, Camden Society, 1844, p. 71
- Barbara J. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers, Oxford University Press, 2002, loc 410
- 71. John Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts* 1066–1618, *Volume II*, 1883, p. 253. Translation cited by Jorge Castell, Tudor Place (online)
- 72. Ascham to Sturm, 1550, in Rev. Dr Giles (ed.), *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, John Russell Smith, 1865, Vol. 1, p. xiii
- 73. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 2872



- 74. Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women*, p. 185
- Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 24
- 76. Judith M. Bennett and Shannon McSheffrey, 'Early, Erotic and Alien: Women Dressed as Men in Late Medieval London', *History Workshop Journal*, Spring 2014, No. 77, pp. 1–25
- Mary Wack, 'Women, Work and Plays in an English Medieval Town', in Frye and Robertson (eds), Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens
- 78. Sandra Clark, "Hic Mulier", "Haec Vir", and the Controversy over Masculine Women', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 82, No. 2, Spring 1985, pp. 153–83
- 79. Ibid.
- 80. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 23
- 81. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 4463
- 82. All the following are from Bennett and McSheffrey, 'Early, Erotic and Alien'
- 83. Donal Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Ex-classics Project, 2009, Vol. 1, p. 130
- 84. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 85
- 85. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 4461
- 86. Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women*, p. 57
- Maayan Sudai, 'Sex Ambiguity in Early Modern Common Law (1629– 1787)', Law & Social Inquiry, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2022, pp. 478–513
- 88. Ronald Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', in Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds), *Bodyguards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, Routledge, 1991, p. 120
- 89. Susan D. Amussen and David E. Underdown, *Gender, Culture and Politics in England 1560–1640: Turning the World Upside Down*, Bloomsbury, 2017, p. 11

- Tracy Borman, 'Anne of Denmark: A Killer Queen', *History Extra*, 11 August 2021
- Amussen and Underdown, Gender, Culture and Politics in England 1560– 1640, p. 58
- 92. Borman, 'Anne of Denmark'
- 93. Amussen and Underdown, *Gender, Culture and Politics in England 1560– 1640*, pp. 50 and 59
- 94. Lisa Gim, "Fair Eliza's Chaine": Two Female Writers' Literary Links to Queen Elizabeth I', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses*, *Cousins and Queens*
- 95. Gallagher, 'Mary Ward's "Jesuitresses" and the Construction of a Typological Community'
- 96. Diane Dugaw, Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650–1850, Chicago Press, 1989, p. 1
- Mark Stoyle, "Give mee a Souldier's Coat": Female Cross—Dressing during the English Civil War', *History*, Vol. 103, Issue 354, January 2018, pp. 5–26
- Kelly Faircloth, 'Searching for the Fighting Women of the English Civil War', Jezebel, 3 April 2018
- Charles Carlton, Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil War, 1638–1651, Routledge, 1994, p. 307
- 100. Rodney Legg, The Book of Lyme Regis: The Story of Dorset's Western Spa, Halsgrove 2003, p. 38
- J.F. Nicholls and John Taylor, Bristol Past and Present, J.W. Arrowsmith, 1882
- 102. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3708
- 103. Ibid., loc 3710
- 104. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 78
- 105. Ibid., p. 77
- 106. Carlton, Going to the Wars, p. 178
- 107. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 78
- 108. Ībid.
- 109. Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, pp. 178 and 309



•

- 110. Ibid., p. 110
- 111. Ibid.
- 112. Ibid., p. 296
- 113. Ibid., pp. 296-7
- 114. Ibid., p. 110
- 115. All the following are taken from: Nadine Akkerman, *Invisible Agents:* Women and Espionage in Seventeenth-Century Britain, Oxford University Press, 2018
- 116. Tammy M. Proctor, Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War, New York University Press, 2003, p. 16
- 117. Peter Rushton and Gwenda Morgan, Banishment in the Early Atlantic World: Convicts Rebels and Slaves, Bloomsbury, 2013, p. 12
- 118. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720*, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 189 and p. 39
- 119. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 48
- 120. Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Maidservants of London: Sisterhoods of Kinship and Labour', in Frye and Robertson (eds), Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens
- 121. Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship in England', in Prak and Wallis (eds), Apprenticeships in Early Modern Europe, Cambridge University Press, 2019, pp. 247–81
- 122. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, p. 241
- 123. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 132; Bennett and Froide, Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, p. 241
- 124. Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen in the European Past*, 1250–1800, p. 241
- 125. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 273
- 126. Ibid.
- 127. Ibid.
- 128. Anne-Marie Kilday, 'The Archetype of Infanticide in the Early Modern Period', *A History of Infanticide in Britain c. 1600 to the Present*, Palgrave

- Macmillan, 2013; Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, pp. 274 and 276
- 129. Alison Wall (ed.), Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Mariah Thynne 1575–1611, Wiltshire Record Society, Devizes, 1983, p. 19
- 130. Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women*, p. 42
- 131. Richard Harvey, 'English Pre-Industrial Ballads on Poverty, 1500–1700', *The Historian*, Vol. 46, No. 4, August 1984, pp. 539–61, p. 553
- 132. Îbid., p. 559
- 133. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 44
- 134. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 2342/2347
- 135. Ibid., p. 11
- 136. Rebecca Frances King, 'Rape in England 1600–1800: Trials, Narratives and the Question of Consent', Durham theses, 1998, Durham University
- 137. Helen Barker, Rape in Early Modern England: Law, History and Criticism, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, loc 1623
- 138. King, 'Rape in England 1600-1800'
- 139. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3050
- 140. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 910
- 141. Ibid., loc 1721
- 142. John Frith, 'Syphilis Its Early History and Treatment until Penicillin and the Debate on Its Origins', *Journal of Military and Veterans' Health*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 2012, pp. 49–58
- 143. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 77
- 144. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, loc 925
- 145. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2811
- 146. Harvey, *The Fires of Lust*, loc 3487 and 3536
- 147. Richard Harvey, 'The Work and Mentalité of Lower Orders Elizabethan Women', Exemplaria, Vol. 5, Issue 2, 1993, pp. 409–33
- 148. Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors*, Oneworld, 2017, pp. 220–1



- 149. Ibid., pp. 15–16
- 150. Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, Pluto Press, 1984, p. 8
- Michael Wood, 'Britain's First Black Community in Elizabethan Britain', BBC News, 20 July 2012
- 152. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 8
- 153. Ibid.
- 154. Kaufmann, Black Tudors, p. 312
- 155. Ibid., p. 203
- 156. Ibid., p. 302
- 157. American Society of Human Genetics, 'ASHG Denounces Attempts to Link Genetics and Racial Supremacy', *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 1 November 2018, p. 636
- 158. Bowen, 'Aemilia Lanyer and the Invention of White Womanhood', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens*
- 159. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women* 1450–1550, loc 3380/3387
- 160. Robert Titler, 'The Feminine Dynamic in Tudor Art: A Reassessment', *British Art Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 1, Spring 2016, pp. 122–30, p. 125
- 161. A Woman, Presumed to Be a Self-Portrait of Susannah-Penelope Rosse', in John Murdoch, Seventeenth-Century English Miniatures in the Collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum, The Stationery Office in association with the V&A, 1997
- 162. Titler, 'The Feminine Dynamic in Tudor Art', p. 122
- 163. Ibid., p. 124
- 164. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 3468 and 3469
- 165. C.I. Merton, Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber 1553–1603, thesis, University of Cambridge, 1992
- 166. Elizabeth A. Brown, "Companion Me with My Mistress": Cleopatra, Elizabeth I and Their Waiting Women', in Frye and Robertson (eds), Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens

- 167. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 3419
- 168. Sarah Laskow, 'A Machine that Made Stockings Helped Kick Off the Industrial Revolution', Atlas Obscura, 19 September 2017 (online)
- 169. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 1918
- 170. 'Sale of a Lyme Ship', Lyme Regis Museum display board, Lyme Regis visit August 2021
- 171. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 150–75
- 172. Wall (ed.), Two Elizabethan Women, p. 14
- 173. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 150
- 174. Mary Lovell, Bess of Hardwick: First Lady of Chatsworth, Little, Brown, 2005
- 175. Heather Delonette, 'Did the Civil War and Its Aftermath to 1660 Offer Any Lasting New Opportunities to Women?', Cromwell Association (online), 2001
- 176. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 51
- 177. Warnicke, *Wicked Women of England*, p. 3
- 178. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 4093
- 179. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 58
- 180. Picard, Restoration London, loc 3585
- 181. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, p. 61
- 182. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2779
- 183. Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound*, p. 151
- 184. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 153
- 185. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 53
- 186. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 50
- 187. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3805
- 188. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2615
- 189. Wack, 'Women, Work and Plays in an English Medieval Town', in



- Frye and Robertson (eds), Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens
- 190. David Kathman, 'Alice Layston and the Cross Keys', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, Vol. 22, 2009, p. 144
- 191. Callan Davies, 'Engendering Before Shakespeare: Women and Early English Playhouse Ownership', Engendering the Stage (online)
- 192. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean*Stage 1574–1642, Cambridge
 University Press, 1992, 3rd edition,
 pp. 142 and 45
- 193. Jones, 'Maidservants of London', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens*
- 194. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, loc 6061 and 5990
- 195. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 4415
- Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, loc 2025 and 1356
- Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 424–447, 531–535
- 198. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide* to Elizabethan England, loc 6880 and 1356
- 199. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, p. 55
- 200. Gim, "Faire Eliza's Chaine", in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens*
- 201. William J. Thoms (ed.), Anecdotes and Traditions: Illustrative of Early English History and Literature, Nichols and Sons, 1839, p. 125
- 202. Edward Rothstein, 'Authors in Rooms of Their Own', New York Times, 23 February 2012
- 203. Joanna Moody (ed.), The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1605, Sutton Publishing, 1998, p. xvii
- 204. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 1502 and 499
- 205. Wall (ed.), Two Elizabethan Women, p. 2
- 206. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 1183–1202

- 207. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 366
- 208. Moody (ed.), The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady
- 209. Simon Harcourt's letter to Lady Harcourt, 3 January 1641, in Edward Harcourt (ed.), *The Harcourt Papers*, James Parker & Co, 1876, p. 147
- 210. Bowen, 'Aemilia Lanyer and the Invention of White Womanhood', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens*
- 211. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, pp. 431 and 414
- 212. Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women*, p. 35
- 213. Ibid., p. 30
- 214. Miss Évelyn Fox, 'The Diary of an Elizabethan Gentlewoman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 2 (1908), pp. 153–74, p. 163
- 215. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 5832
- 216. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 80
- 217. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, loc 1244
- Ian Mortimer, The Dying and the Doctors: The Medical Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England, Boydell Press, 2009, p. 124
- 219. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 82
- 220. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 513
- 221. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 84
- 222. Ibid.
- 223. Jean Donnison, 'A History of the Midwife Profession in the United Kingdom', in *Mayes' Midwifery*, 14th edition, Bailliere Tindall Elsevier, 2011, pp. 13–14
- 224. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 83
- 225. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 5332–61
- 226. J. Loudon, 'Deaths in Childbed from the Eighteenth Century to 1935',



- *Medical History*, Vol. 30, January 1986, pp. 1–41
- 227. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 83
- 228. Ibid.
- 229. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 25
- 230. Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady*, p. 7
- 231. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, p. 8
- 232. Ibid.
- Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft and Evidence in Early Modern England', Past and Present, Vol. 198, No. 1, 2008, p. 42
- 234. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 347
- Charlotte-Rose Millar, Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England, Routledge, 2017, p. 153
- 236. Laura Gowing, 'Pendle Witches Lancashire Witches (act. 1612)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004
- William E. Burns, Witch Hunts in Europe and America: An Encyclopedia, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003, p. 166
- 238. Gowing, 'Pendle Witches Lancashire Witches (act. 1612)'
- 239. Ibid.
- 240. Burns, Witch Hunts in Europe and America, p. 166
- 241. James Sharpe, Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England, Philadelphia University Press, 1996, p. 129; Gordon Napier, Maleficium: Witchcraft and Witch Hunting in the West, Amberley Publishing Ltd, 2017
- 242. Louise Jackson, 'Witches, Wives and Mothers: Witchcraft Persecution and Women's Confession in Seventeenth-Century England', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 4, Issue 1, pp. 63–84
- 243. Shannon M. Lundquist, Finding the Witch's Mark: Female Participation in the Judicial System during the Hopkins Trials 1645–47', Hamline University, 2014

- 244. Malcolm Gaskill, 'Introduction', in English Witchcraft 1560–1736, ed. James Sharpe, Vol. 3 The Matthew Hopkins Trials, Pickering and Chatto, 2003
- Pip and Joy Wright, Witches in and around Suffolk, Pawprint Publishing, 2004
- 246. Jackson, 'Witches, Wives and Mothers'
- 247. Gaskill, 'Introduction', in *English Witchcraft 1560–1736*
- 248. Ivan Bunn and Gilbert Geis, A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth Century Witchcraft Prosecution, Routledge, 2005, p. 81
- 249. Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft Trials in England' in Brian P. Levack, The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 296
- William Beck and T. Frederick Ball, The London Friends' Meetings, 1869, pp. 19–20.
- 251. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 419
- 252. Ibid., p. 418
- 253. Nicholas Blundell (1669–1737), The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1968, in Peter Radford, 'Picturing Early Women Athletes', Folger Shakespeare Library, 18 February 2022 (online)
- 254. P. Seddon, Football Talk: The Language & Folklore of the World's Greatest Game, Robson, 2004, p. 156
- 255. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 38
- 256. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 44
- 257. Hanawalt, The Wealth of Wives, loc 3172
- 258. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2823
- 259. Norton, The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women, loc 1762
- 260. Ibid.
- 261. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 135
- 262. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, loc 1244
- 263. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 2822



- 264. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 1770
- 265. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 136
- 266. Ibid.
- Harvey, 'The Work and Mentalité of Lower Orders Elizabethan Women', p. 428
- 268. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, pp. 133, 136
- 269. Wack, 'Women, Work and Plays in an English Medieval Town', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens*
- 270. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 159
- 271. Ibid., p. 41
- Harvey, 'The Work and Mentalité of Lower Orders Elizabethan Women', p. 423
- McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, pp. 99, 107 and 253
- 274. Ibid., p. 128
- 275. William C. Baer, 'Early Retailing: London's Shopping Exchanges 1550– 1700', *Business History*, Vol. 49, No. 1, January 2007, pp. 29–51
- 276. Wall (ed.), *Two Elizabethan Women*, p. 16
- 277. Baer, 'Early Retailing'
- 278. McIntosh, Working Women in English Society 1300–1620, p. 249
- 279. Baer, 'Early Retailing'
- 280. Wack, 'Women, Work and Plays in an English Medieval Town', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens*
- 281. Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'Wages of Women in England 1260– 1850', Oxford Economic and Social History Working Papers, 127, March 2014, p. 21
- 282. Ibid.
- 283. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 103
- 284. Harvey, 'The Work and Mentalité of Lower Orders Elizabethan Women', p. 428
- 285. Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Wages of Women in England 1260–1850', p. 15

- 286. Robert B. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres? Longman, 1998, loc 3396
- 287. Humphries and Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England 1260–1850', *Journal of Economic History*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 75, Issue 2, June 2015, pp. 405–77
- 288. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, loc 491
- 289. E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, No. 50, February 1971, pp. 76–136
- 290. Andy Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley, c.1596– 1615', *Past and Present*, Vol. 193, No. 1, 2006, pp. 41–72
- 291. Ibid., loc 4051
- 292. Christina Bosco Langert, 'Hedgerows and Petticoats: Sartorial Subversion and Anti-Enclosure Protest in Seventeenth-Century England', *Early Theatre*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2009, pp. 119–35
- Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley, c.1596–1615'
- 294. William Page and J. W. Willis-Bund (eds), 'Parishes: Castlemorton', A History of the County of Worcester, Vol. 4, Victoria County History, 1924, British History Online, pp. 49–53
- 295. Langert, 'Hedgerows and Petticoats'
- 296. Ibid.
- 297. Ibid.
- 298. John Walter and Keith Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, May 1976, No. 71, pp. 22–42
- 299. Ibid.
- 300. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 55
- 301. Lambarde, Eirenarcha, p. 180; M. Dalton, The Countrey Justice: Containing the Practice of the Justices of the Peace out of their Sessions ..., London, 1622 edn, p. 205



- 302. Walter and Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England'
- 303. Ibid.
- 304. Ibid.
- 305. T. Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles the First*, ed. R.F. Williams, 2 vols, London, 1848, Vol. 1, p. 17
- 306. Acts of the Privy Council, 1629–30, pp. 24–5
- 307. Walter and Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order'
- 308. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 4053
- 309. Ibid., loc 4035 and 4042
- 310. Ibid., loc 4051 and 3758
- 311. Ibid., loc 3758
- 312. Ibid., loc 4010, 4069
- 313. Ibid., loc 3978, 3713, 3938
- 314. Ibid., loc 4016
- 315. Ibid., loc 4018
- 316. Ibid., loc 4065, 3971
- 317. Ibid., loc 1383
- 318. Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', Past & Present, November 1984, No. 105, pp. 79–113
- 319. Ibid.
- 320. Ibid.
- 321. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3621, 3638
- 322. Ibid., loc 1410, 3648
- 323. Ibid., loc 3972, 3582
- 324. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England, loc 6191
- 325. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 234, 235 and 237
- 326. David Underdown, in Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 466
- 327. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3448 and 4093
- 328. Ibid., loc 3713
- 329. Patricia-Ann Lee, 'Mistress Stagg's Petitioners: February 1642', *The Historian*, Vol. 60, No. 2, Winter 1968, pp. 241–56
- 330. Ibid.
- 331. Ibid.
- 332. Sarah Read, 'A Women's Revolt', *History Today*, Vol. 65, Issue 8, August 2015
- 333. Ibid.

- 334. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3725
- 335. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 418
- 336. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3723
- 337. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society,* 1500–1800, p. 167
- 338. Ibid., p. 160
- 339. Rebecca Abrams, 'The Jewish Journey: 4,000 Years in 22 Objects', Ashmolean Museum, 2017
- Janet Todd, The Secret Life of Aphra Behn, Rutgers University Press, 2006, Chapter 20
- 341. Ibid.
- 342. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 354, 259, 268, 339, 354
- 343. Christopher Hill, *The World Turn'd Upside Down*, Penguin, 2020
- 344. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 33
- 345. Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women*, p. 2
- 346. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 911
- 347. Ibid., loc 930
- 348. Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women*, p. 71
- 349. Wall (ed.), *Two Elizabethan Women*, p. xxvi
- 350. David Cressy, 'Childbed Attendants', in David Cressy (ed.), Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 74
- 351. Harvey, 'The Work and Mentalité of Lower Orders Elizabethan Women', p. 427
- 352. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 225
- 353. M.P. Tilley, A Dictionary of Proverbs in England, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, University of Michigan Press, 1950
- 354. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 128
- 355. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 238
- Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 110
- 357. Frances E. Dolan, 'Home-Rebels and House-Traitors: Murderous



- Wives in Early Modern England', Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities, Vol. 4, Issue 1, 1992
- 358. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, loc 1963
- 359. Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's* Guide to Medieval England, Bodley Head, 2008, loc 4359
- 360. Norton, *The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women*, loc 3154
- 361. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2384
- 362. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 1326 and 2038
- 363. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 1489
- 364. Searle and Stevenson, *Documents of* the Marriage Liturgy, pp. 166 and 235
- 365. Mendelson in Prior quoted here by Fletcher, p. 191
- 366. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 176
- 367. Leyser, Medieval Women, loc 3004
- 368. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 153
- 369. Barbara Todd, 'Widowhood in a Market Town: Abingdon, 1540– 1720', Oxford University, 1983, pp. 22–8, in Prior, Women in English Society 1500–1800
- 370. Harris, English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550, loc 340
- 371. Wall (ed.), *Two Elizabethan Women*, p. xiv
- 372. Prior (ed.), Women in English Society, 1500–1800, pp. 34, 40, 35
- 373. Ibid., p. 40
- 374. Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen in the European Past*, 1250–1800, p. 242
- 375. Ibid., p. 246
- 376. Ibid., p. 5
- 377. John Boswell, *Same Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe*, Villard Books, 1994, p. 262
- 378. Christian D. Knudsen, Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks: Monastic Sexual Misconduct in Late Medieval England, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012, p. 115

Part 5: 1660–1764 Locked Out and Locked In

- Richard Harvey, 'English Pre-industrial Ballads on Poverty, 1500–1700', *The Historian*, Vol. 46, No. 4, August 1984, pp. 539–61, p. 557
- 2. John Lawrence, *The Modern Land Steward*, London, 1801, p. 158; Report from the Select Committee on Commons' Inclosure (1844), p. 583 (v), 185
- 3. Jay Walljasper, 'Stealing the Common from the Goose', *On the Commons*, 18 January 2013 (online)
- 4. Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, Bodley Head, 2017, loc 5223
- 5. Ibid., loc 745 and 1290
- 6. Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England 1260–1850', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 75, Issue 2, June 2015, pp. 405–77
- 7. E.A. Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Spring 1985, pp. 683–728
- 8. Judith Flanders, 'Slums', British Library (online), 15 May 2014
- 9. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 1698
- 10. Ibid., loc 1321, 1400
- 11. Ibid., loc 1072, 1162
- 12. E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, New Press, 1993, p. 189
- E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, No. 50, 1971, pp. 76–136
- 'Lyme Rebels', Lyme Regis Museum display board, Lyme Regis visit August 2021
- Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 427
- 16. Ned Palmer, A Cheesemonger's History of the British Isles, Profile, 2019, pp. 200, 201



- Donal Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Ex-classics Project, Vol. 3, p. 143, 2009
- 18. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, Knopf, 1996
- Bernard Capp, When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England, Oxford University Press, 2003, loc 4084
- 20. Robert B. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres? Longman, 1998, loc 5073
- 21. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 467
- 22. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, loc 1510
- Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud, Harvard University Press, 1990, loc 2860
- 24. Ibid., loc 285
- 25. Ronald Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', in Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds), *Bodyguards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, Routledge, 1991, p. 112
- 26. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, loc 178
- Chris Nyland, 'John Locke and the Social Position of Women', *History* of *Political Economy*, Vol. 25, 1993, pp. 39–63
- 28. Anthony Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 289
- Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease*, University of Chicago, 1965,
 p. 23
- Marlene LeGates, 'The Cult of Womanhood in Eighteenth-Century Thought', Eighteenth-Century Studies, Vol. 10, No. 1, Autumn, 1976, p. 35
- 31. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 64
- 32. Richard Allestree, *The Ladies Calling*, 1673, loc 752
- Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 420

- LeGates, 'The Cult of Womanhood in Eighteenth-Century Thought', p. 39
- Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500– 1800, p. 384
- 36. Allestree, The Ladies Calling, loc 278
- 37. Ibid., loc 1186
- 38. Ibid., loc 2407
- 39. Ibid., loc 2470
- Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 418
- 41. Maureen Bell, 'Elizabeth Calvert', in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004
- 42. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5047
- Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 427
- 44. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 3758
- 45. Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena:* Her Life and Letters, J.M. Dent, 1905, p. 139
- 46. Elizabeth Gaunt, Mrs Elizabeth
 Gaunt's Last speech who was burnt
 at London, Oct. 23. 1685. as it was
 written by her own hand, & delivered
 to Capt. Richardson keeper of Newgate,
 London, 1685
- 47. Charles Spencer, *Killers of the King: The Men Who Dared to Execute Charles I*, Bloomsbury, 2014,
 pp. 300–1
- 48. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 4078
- 49. Ibid., loc 4084
- 50. John Locke, 1689, in Nyland, 'John Locke and the Social Position of Women', p. 8
- 51. Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England*, Routledge, 2012, p. 26
- 52. Reports of the Society for bettering the condition and increasing the comforts of the poor (1798–1808), Vol. 5, p. 84, in Hufton, The Prospect Before Her, p. 157
- 53. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 159
- 54. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, pp. 49 and 42



- 55. Margaret Hunt, 'English Lesbians in the Long Eighteenth Century,' in Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, p. 280
- Amy Louise Erickson, 'Clockmakers, Milliners and Mistresses: Women Trading in the City of London Companies 1700–1750', Letters before the Law conference held at the Clark Library, UCLA, 3–4 October 2008
- 57. Ibid.
- 58. Bennett and Froide, Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, p. 250
- 59. Ibid., p. 251
- 60. Lisa Picard, *Restoration London:* Everyday life in the 1660s, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997, loc 3576
- Zara Anishanslin, Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World, Yale University Press, 2016, p. 154
- 62. Ibid., p. 155
- 63. Ibid., p. 115
- 64. Ibid., p. 79
- 65. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, loc 3236
- 66. Ibid., loc 3049
- 67. Picard, Restoration London, loc 530
- 68. Ibid.
- 69. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, loc 3428
- William C. Baer, 'Early Retailing, London's Shopping Exchanges, 1550–1700', Business History, 2007, Vol. 49, No. 1, p. 32
- 71. Ibid., p. 34
- 72. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, loc 6585
- 73. Mark Bridge, 'Prize Fighting Women of Victorian Britain ...' *History First*, 12 Jan 2023
- 74. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, loc 7091
- 75. Betty Rizzo, Companions Without Vows: Relationships Among Eighteenth-Century British Women, University of Georgia, 1994, p. 26
- Anishanslin, Portrait of a Woman in Silk, p. 32

- 77. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 54
- 78. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 242
- 79. Ibid., p. 241
- 80. W. Henry, 'Hester Hammerton and Women Sextons in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender & History*, Vol. 31, No. 2, July 2019, pp. 404–21
- Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 57
- 82. National Archive, RG 6/1168D: Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex: Burial notes (1785–1794) in Anna Ruth Cusack, *The Marginal Dead of London c.1600–1800*, Thesis, Birkbeck Institutional Research Online, p. 198
- 83. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 57
- 84. Ibid.
- 85. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 71
- Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 58
- 87. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 72
- 88. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 4959
- 89. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 367
- 90. Picard, Restoration London, loc 3942
- 91. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, loc 2695
- 92. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, pp. 365, 367
- 93. Picard, *Restoration London*, loc 3585
- 94. Laqueur, Making Sex, loc 3695
- 95. Susie Steinbach, Women in England 1760–1914: A Social History, Phoenix Press, 2003, loc 993
- 96. Rizzo, Companions Without Vows, p. 16
- 97. Amy Erickson, 'Identifying Women's Occupations in Early Modern



- London', *History of Population* and Social Structure, University of Cambridge, 1999
- 98. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide* to Restoration Britain, loc 1702
- 99. Ian Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors: The Medical Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England*, Boydell Press, 2009, p. 206
- 100. Max Adams, *Unquiet Women*, Head of Zeus, 2018, loc 3394
- 101. Ibid.
- 102. Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors*, p. 19
- 103. Îbid., p. 125
- 104. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 2048
- David S. Katz, Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655, Clarendon Press, 1982, p. 3
- Cecil Roth, *The History of the Marranos*, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932, p. 270
- 107. N.I. Matar, 'Islam in Interregnum and Restoration England', *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 1991, pp. 57–71, p. 64
- 108. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 3236
- 109. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, George Bell & Sons, 1896
- 110. Helen Smith, "Print[ing] Your Royal Father Off": Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades', Vol. 15, 2003, pp. 163–86
- 111. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 244
- 112. Bennett and Froide, Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, p. 251
- 113. Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, Pluto Press, 1984, p. 75
- 114. Peter Rushton and Gwenda Morgan, Banishment in the Early Atlantic World: Convicts, Rebels and Slaves, Bloomsbury, 2013, p. 12
- 115. Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk*, p. 127
- 116. Ibid., p. 158

- 117. Ibid., pp. 155 and 158
- 118. Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society, 1500–1800*, Routledge, 2016, p. 66
- 119. Ibid., p. 69
- 120. Ibid., p. 85
- 121. Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Women, ch 9, 1792
- 122. Capp, When Gossips Meet, loc 342
- 123. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide* to *Restoration Britain*, loc 2103 and 6502
- 124. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 1674
- 125. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 343
- 126. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 1468
- 127. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 339
- 128. Laqueur, Making Sex, loc 4452
- 129. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 343
- 130. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 46
- 131. Dermot Feenan, *The Omitted Page*, 26 September 2021 (online)
- 132. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 59
- 133. Ibid., p. 228
- 134. LMA, MJ/SBB 472, p. 41, in Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing, Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England: A Sourcebook, Routledge, 2000, p. 76
- 135. *Daily Journal*, 8 August 1728, from Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, Freedom and Race in the Eighteenth Century, University of Glasgow (online)
- 136. *Daily Advertiser*, 29 February 1748, from Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, Freedom and Race in the Eighteenth Century, University of Glasgow (online)
- 137. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 72
- 138. Ibid., p. 69
- 139. Robin L. Gordon, Searching for the Soror Mystica, The Lives and Science of Women Alchemists, University Press of America, 2013, p. 11



- 140. 'The Humble Salutation and Faithful Greeting of the Widow Whitrowe to King William', 1690, Special Collections, Birkbeck
- 141. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society,* 1500–1800, p. 168
- 142. Matar, 'Islam in Interregnum and Restoration England'
- 143. Prior, (ed.), Women in English Society, 1500–1800, p. 169
- 144. Gordon, Searching for the Soror Mystica, pp. 127–83
- 145. Ibid.
- 146. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 440
- 147. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society,* 1500–1800, p. 137
- 148. Ibid., p. 142
- 149. Ibid., p. 150
- 150. Ibid., pp. 146 and 149
- Warren Chernaik, 'Katherine Philips', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004
- 152. Ibid.
- 153. Rizzo, Companions Without Vows, p. 5
- 154. Picard, Restoration London, loc 3950
- Joan Kelly quoted in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 939
- 156. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 974
- 157. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 446
- 158. Ibid., p. 432
- 159. Ibid., p. 447
- 160. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 6124
- 161. Prior (ed.), Women in English Society, 1500–1800, p. 172
- 162. Ibid.
- 163. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 438
- 164. Ibid., p. 443
- 165. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 997
- 166. Emma Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, Bello, 2014, p. 137
- 167. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 443
- 168. Peter Radford, 'Women as Athletes in Early Modern Britain', Early Modern Women, Vol. 10, No. 2, Spring 2016

- 169. Ibid.
- 170. Ibid.
- 172. Radford, 'Women as Athletes in Early Modern Britain'
- 173. Sarah Murden, '18th Century Female Bruisers', All Things Georgian (online), 21 June 2016
- 174. From César de Saussure, A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II, 1902, pp. 277–82, in Radford, 'Women as Athletes in Early Modern Britain'
- 175. Thrasher, 'Disappearance'
- 176. Peter Radford, Letter to Editor, *The Times*, 30 July 2021
- 177. P. Seddon, Football Talk: The Language & Folklore of the World's Greatest Game, Robson, 2004, p. 156
- 178. Janet Todd, *Women's Friendship in Literature*, Columbia University Press, 1980, p. 306
- 179. LeGates, 'The Cult of Womanhood in Eighteenth-Century Thought', p. 39
- 180. Ibid., p. 38
- 181. Ibid.
- 182. Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720*, p. 68
- 183. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650–1850, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 218
- 184. Philippa Gregory, The Popular Fiction of the Eighteenth-Century Commercial Circulating Libraries, unpublished Phd thesis, Edinburgh, 1984
- 185. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2056
- 186. Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Wife*, HarperCollins, 2001, p. 111
- 187. Esther Webber, 'Gretna Green: The Bit of Scotland Where English People



- Go to Get Married', BBC News, 19 August 2014
- 188. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 2126
- 189. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, pp. 395–6
- 190. Picard, Restoration London, loc 2139
- 191. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 182
- 192. Henry Fielding, *The Female Husband*, 1746, p. 51
- 193. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 394
- 194. Ibid.
- 195. Ibid., p. 392
- 196. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 52
- 197. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2817
- 198. Ibid., loc 2826
- 199. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide* to *Restoration Britain*, loc 2054 and 2059
- 200. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 286
- 201. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 43
- 202. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650–1850*, loc 2316 and 2321
- Gentleman's Magazine, 1731, cited in Judy Egerton, 'Mary Edwards', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004
- 204. Egerton, 'Mary Edwards'
- 205. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 2334, 2341
- 206. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 2117
- 207. Harriette Andreadis, 'The Erotics of Female Friendship in Early Modern England', in Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (eds), Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England, Oxford University Press, 1999
- 208. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 235
- 209. Ibid., p. 242

- 210. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, Bello, 2014. pp. 112, 129
- Molly McClain, 'Love, Friendship, and Power: Queen Mary II's Letters to Frances Apsley', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2008, pp. 505–27
- 212. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 21
- Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 246
- Donoghue, Passions Between Women,
 p. 132
- 215. Ībid., p. 140
- 216. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 245
- 217. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 134
- 218. Îbid., p. 135
- 219. Todd, Women's Friendship in Literature, p. 386
- 220. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 246
- Donoghue, Passions Between Women,
 p. 174
- 222. James and Mary Kendall', Westminster Abbey (online)
- 223. Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk*, p. 67
- 224. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 150
- 225. Todd, Women's Friendship in Literature, p. 364
- 226. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, pp. 4–5
- 227. Ibid., pp. 291, 162
- 228. Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 247
- Margaret Hunt, 'English Lesbians in the Long Eighteenth Century,' in Bennett and Froide, Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, p. 282
- 230. Todd, Women's Friendship in Literature, p. 321
- 231. Fielding, *The Female Husband*, p. 51
- 232. Patricia Crawford and Sara Mendelson, 'Sexual Identities in Early Modern England: The Marriage of



- Two Women in 1680', in *Gender and History*, Vol. 7, No. 3, November 1995, Blackwell, p. 360
- 233. 'Love in the Royal Court: Arabella Hunt', LGBT+ Royal Histories, Historic Royal Palaces (online)
- Sara Cunningham deposition quoted in Mendelson and Crawford, 'Sexual Identities in Early Modern England', p. 372
- Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, p. 248
- 236. Amy Poulter deposition quoted in Mendelson and Crawford, 'Sexual Identities in Early Modern England', p. 373
- 237. Ībid., p. 367
- 238. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 20
- 239. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Vol. 2, p. 100
- 240. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 72
- 241. Ibid., p. 74
- 242. Ibid.
- 243. Ibid., p. 72
- 244. Ibid., p. 78
- 245. Ibid., pp. 75–6
- 246. Fielding, The Female Husband, p. 32
- 247. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Vol. 3, p. 35
- 248. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 99
- 249. Mihoko Suzuki, 'The Case of Mary Carleton: Representing the Female Subject, 1663–73', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Spring 1993, pp. 61–83
- 250. Janet Todd, 'Carleton (née Moders), Mary (nicknamed the German Princess)', Online Dictionary of National Biography, 2004
- 251. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, pp. 108, 111, 112
- Steve Murdoch, 'John Brown: A Black Female Soldier in the Royal African Company', World History Connected, Vol. 2, 2004
- 253. 'The Gentleman's Journal: Or the Monthly Miscellany' [ed. Pierre Antoine Motteux], April 1692,

- London, pp. 22–3, quoted in Crawford and Gowing, Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England
- 254. Ibid.
- 255. Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', p. 123
- 256. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, pp. 100–8
- Captain Charles Johnson, A General History of the Pyrates, T. Warner, 1724
- 258. 'Joan Phillips, Highwaywoman', West Bridgford & District Local History Society (online)
- 259. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 808 and 812
- Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists',
 p. 124
- 261. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 335
- 262. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, 'Fetishizing Gender: Constructing the Hermaphrodite in Renaissance Europe', in Epstein and Straub (eds), *Bodyguards*, p. 101
- 263. Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', p. 117
- 264. Edward Ward, 'Of the Mollies Club', Satyrical Reflections on Clubs, Vol. V, J. Phillips, 1710, cited Rictor Norton (ed.), Rictor Norton (online)
- Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 321
- 266. Susan S. Lanser, 'The Rise of the British Nation and the Production of the Old Maid,' in Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen in the European* Past, 1250–1800, p. 298
- 267. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 50
- 268. Thomas Newton's 1576 The Touchstone of Complexions, cited David Wilson, 'Oat, Sow One's Wild Oats, Feel One's Oats', Word Origins (online), 18 November 2022
- 269. Lanser, 'The Rise of the British Nation and the Production of the Old Maid', p. 297
- Donoghue, Passions Between Women,
 p. 136



- 271. Picard, Restoration London, loc 3662
- 272. Yalom, A History of the Wife, p. 114
- 273. Bennett and Froide, Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800, p. 24
- 274. Rizzo, Companions Without Vows, pp. 306, 310
- 275. Lanser, 'The Rise of the British Nation and the Production of the Old Maid', pp. 310, 314
- 276. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 6137
- 277. Cusack, The Marginal Dead of London, c.1600–1800
- 278. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Vol. 2, p. 239
- 279. Ibid., p. 239, p. 343
- 280. Dolan, 'Home-Rebels and House-Traitors'
- 281. O Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, 'Madam Churchill' (online)
- 282. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar* (online)
- Beattie quoted by Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 6435
- 284. Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 'Trial of Alice Gray, 23 April 1707', v. 7, ref. 17070423-26
- 285. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, supplement 3, p. 117.
- 286. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 384
- 287. Ibid., supplement 3, p. 15
- 288. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 6481
- 289. Picard, Restoration London, loc 4976
- 290. Ibid.
- 291. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain*, p. 456
- 292. Elizabeth Gaunt, Mrs Elizabeth Gaunt's Last speech who was burnt at London, Oct. 23. 1685. as it was written by her own hand, & delivered to Capt. Richardson keeper of Newgate, London, 1685
- 293. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 1469
- 294. Ibid., loc 2214, 1436
- 295. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 6373
- 296. Jonathan Barry, Witchcraft and Demonology in South-West England,

- *1640–1789*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 61–2
- William E. Burns, Witch Hunts in Europe and America: An Encyclopedia, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003, p. 75
- 298. Owen Davies, 'Jane Wenham (d. 1730)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
- 299. Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft Trials in England' in Brian P. Levack, The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 298
- 300. W. Carnochan, 'Witch-Hunting and Belief in 1751: The Case of Thomas Colley and Ruth Osborne', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 4, Issue 4, 1971, pp. 389–403
- 301. William Blackstone, *Commentaries* on the Laws of England, Vol. 1, 1765, pp. 442–5
- 302. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 291
- 303. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2279
- 304. Ibid., loc 5108 and 2286
- 305. Ibid., loc 6389
- 306. Dolan, 'Home-Rebels and House-Traitors'
- 307. Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 'Trial of Mary Henderson, John Wheeler, Margaret Pendergrass, 1 May 1728', ref. 17280501
- 308. Rebecca Frances King, 'Rape in England 1600–1800: Trials, Narratives and the Question of Consent', Durham theses, 1998, Durham University
- 309. Wayne R. LaFave, 'Rape: Overview, Act and Mental State', *Substantive Criminal Law*, 2000, pp. 752–6
- 310. King, 'Rape in England 1600–1800'
- 311. Nazife Bashar, published by the London Feminist History Group in 1983, cited in King, 'Rape in England 1600–1800'
- 312. King, 'Rape in England 1600–1800'
- 313. Linda E. Merians, 'The London Lock Hospital and the Lock Asylum for Women', in Linda E. Merians (ed.)



- The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France, Vol. 128, University Press of Kentucky, 1996, pp. 128–45
- 314. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 5724
- 315. Ibid., loc 5887
- 316. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 185
- J. Loudon, 'Deaths in Childbed from the Eighteenth Century to 1935', *Medical History*, Vol. 30, January 1986, pp. 1–41
- 318. Mortimer, The Time Traveller's Guide to Restoration Britain, loc 5515
- 319. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Vol. 2, p. 295
- 320. Gowing, Gender Relations in Early Modern England, p. 25
- 321. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 393
- 322. Ibid.
- 323. David Pearce, 'Charles Meigs, 1792–1869', General Anaesthesia (online)
- 324. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, pp. 197–201

Part 6: 1765-1857 Making a Lady

- 'Lives Remembered: Enslaved People in the 1700s and 1800s', Historic England (online)
- Stephen Usherwood, 'The Abolitionists' Debt to Lord Mansfield', History Today, Vol. 31, 3 March 1981
- 3. Daily Courant, 26 June 1711, from Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, Freedom and Race in the Eighteenth Century, University of Glasgow (online)
- 4. Sylvester Douglas, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of King's Bench: In the Nineteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-first Years of the Reign of George III, 1778–1785, Reed and Hunter, 1831, p. 301
- 'Monk, of the Order of St Francis', Nocturnal Revels, or the History of King's Place and other Modern Nunneries, comparing their mysteries, devotions and sacrificies, Vol. II, Goadby, 1779, pp. 75–6

- Catherine Arnold, The Sexual History of London, St Martin's, 2012, Chapter
- Sarah Salih (ed.), The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave, first published 1830, Penguin, 2000, p. 5
- 8. Ibid., p. 28
- 9. Usherwood, 'The Abolitionists' Debt to Lord Mansfield'
- 10. Ibid.
- 11. Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, Pluto Press, 1984, p. 229
- Roberto C. Ferrari, 'Fanny Eaton', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2020
- Adin Ballou, Christian Non-Resistance, in All Its Important Bearings, Illustrated and Defended, J. Miller M'Kim, 1846, p. 119
- 14. H. Young, H. 'Negotiating Female Property – and Slave-Ownership in the Aristocratic World', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 63, No. 3, 2020, pp. 581–602
- Mary Seacole, Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands, 1857, p. 79
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Seacole, Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands, pp. 20–1
- Donal Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Ex-classics Project, Vol. 4, p. 85, 2009
- 19. Ibid., p. 53
- 20. Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 348
- 21. Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 123
- 22. Daily Advertiser, 17 June 1743, Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, Freedom and Race in the Eighteenth Century, University of Glasgow (online)
- Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser,
 March 1765, Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, Freedom and Race in the Eighteenth Century, University of Glasgow (online)
- 24. Marian Smith Holmes, 'The Great Escape from Slavery', *Smithsonian Magazine*, 16 June 2010
- 25. Ellen Craft, quoted in Clare Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in



- Nineteenth-Century Britain' in *Gender & History*, Vol. 5, No. 3, Autumn 1993, pp. 343–62
- 26. Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain'
- Sondra A. O'Neale, 'Phillis Wheatley', Poetry Foundation (online)
- 28. Debra Michals, 'Phillis Wheatley', US National Women's History Museum, 2015 (online)
- 29. O'Neale, 'Phillis Wheatley'
- 30. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 60
- 31. Ibid., p. 95
- Lawrence, W. Read, 'The Heroines of the British Abolition,' Foundation for Economic Education, 7 August 2019
- 33. Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain'
- 34. Anne K. Mellor, 'Sex, Violence, and Slavery: Blake and Wollstonecraft', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 3/4, 1995, pp. 345–70
- 35. Erika Rackley and Rosemary Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks: Celebrating the History of Women and Law in the UK and Ireland, Bloomsbury, 2018, loc 1601
- 36. Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain'
- Robert B. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres? Longman, 1998, loc 5332
- A Vindication of Female Anti-Slavery Associations, in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5393
- 39. Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain'
- 40. Ibid.
- 41. Sarah Ellis, quoted in Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Harvard University Press, 1990, loc 3925
- 42. Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain'
- 43. Ryan Hanley, 'Slavery and the Birth of Working-Class Racism in England, 1814–1833: The Alexander Prize Essay', Transactions of the Royal

- *Historical Society*, Vol. 26, December 2016, pp. 103–23
- 44. Robert Harborough Sherard, *The White Slaves of England*, Bowden, 1898, p. 239
- 45. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 210
- 46. Ibid., p. 209
- 47. Ibid., p. 71
- 48. Ibid.
- 49. Ibid., p. 235
- Anna Clarke, 'The New Poor Law and the Breadwinner Wage: Contrasting assumptions Assumptions', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Winter 2000, pp. 261–81
- 51. W.R. Greg, 'Why Are Women Redundant', N. Trübner & Co, 1869, pp. 33–4
- 52. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, Knopf, 1996, p. 60
- 53. 'breadwinner', *Online Etymology Dictionary*
- 54. Joyce Burnette, 'An Investigation of the Female–Male Pay Gap during the Industrial Revolution in Britain', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 1997, pp. 257–81
- Imraan Coovadia, 'A Brief History of Pin-Making', Politikon South African Journal of Political Studies, April 2008
- 56. Ibid.
- 57. Ibid.
- 'Address of the Female Political Union of Newcastle', Northern Star, 2 February 1839
- Sheila Rowbotham, A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States, Viking, 1997, p. 19
- H. Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex', Signs, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1976, pp. 137–69, p. 157
- Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 58
- 62. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 4317
- 63. Ibid., loc 3787
- 64. Grace di Meo, quoted in Mark Bridge, 'Prizefighting Women of



Normal Women

- Victorian Britain ...' History First (online), 12 January 2023
- 65. Dorothy George quoted in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society *1650–1850*, loc 3861
- 66. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650-1850, loc 3644
- 67. Susie Steinbach, Women in England 1760–1914: A Social History, Phoenix Press, 2003, loc 674
- 68. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650-1850, loc 3655
- 69. Ibid., loc 3644
- 70. Steinbach, Women in England 1760-1914, loc 695
- 71. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650-1850, loc 5453, 5463
- 72. Ibid., loc 3537 and loc 3713
- 73. Women's Trade Union Review, cited 'Campaigning for a Minimum Wage', The Women Chainmakers' (online)
- 74. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 3613
- 75. Henry Mayhew and Christopher Hibbert, London Characters and Crooks, Folio Society, 1996, p. 215
- 76. National Archive, RG 6/1168D: Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex: Burial notes (1785–1794) in Anna Ruth Cusack, *The Marginal* Dead of London c.1600–1800. Thesis, Birkbeck Institutional Research Online, p. 198
- 77. W. Henry, 'Hester Hammerton and Women Sextons in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England', Gender & History, Vol. 31, No. 2, July 2019, pp. 404-21
- 78. Jon Stobart, The Shopping Streets of Provincial England, 1650–1840, Manchester Metropolitan University, 23 April 2014
- 79. Simon Rottenberg, 'Legislated Early Shop Closing in Britain', Journal of Law and Economics, Vol. 4, October 1981, pp. 118-30
- 80. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 4268 and 4285
- 81. Henry Mayhew, quoted in The Flower Girls of 1851, Spitalfields Life (online), 11 October 2010

- 82. Mayhew and Hibbert, London Characters and Crooks, p. 195
- 83. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society *1650–1850*, p. 188
- 84. Ibid., loc 3767
- 85. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 3471
- 86. Steven Campion, 'Women Patent Pioneers you should know', British Library Innovation and Enterprise Blog 9 Mar 2021
- 87. The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791, The Free Society of Artists 1761–1783, A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from the Foundation of the Societies to 1791, by Algernon Graves, London, 1907, p. 60
- 88. Lyme Regis Museum, visit August 2021
- 89. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society *1650–1850*, p. 187
- 90. Steinbach, Women in England 1760-*1914*, loc 515
- 91. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 3822
- 92. Hufton, The Prospect Before Her, pp. 80-1
- 93. Burnette, 'An Investigation of the Female–Male Pay Gap during the Industrial Revolution in Britain'
- 94. Steinbach, Women in England 1760-1914, loc 1130
- 95. Davidoff, 'The Rationalization of Housework', in Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage, eds Diana Leonard Barker and Sheila Allen, Longman, 1976, p. 132
- 96. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 4182 and 4197
- 97. Joanna Major, 'Hannah Norsa, 18th Century Actress: The Intricacies of Relationships Within Her Circle', Georgian Theatre and Music, Women's History, 10 February 2014
- 98. Davidoff, 'The Rationalization of Housework', p. 127; Steinbach, Women in England 1760-1914, loc 1000
- 99. 'Was Pin Money Really for Pins?', Grammarphobia, 1 March 2019
- 100. William Hoke, 'How Women Wove Tax and Suffrage Together', Tax Notes International, 14 May 2018







- 101. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 3917
- 102. Ibid., loc 4782
- 103. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 3240
- 104. Ibid., loc 3278
- 105. Ibid., loc 3292
- 106. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 4725
- 107. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 373
- 108. Geoffrey Chamberlain, 'British Maternal Mortality in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 99, No. 11, November 2006, pp. 559–63
- 109. Thomas Right, 'Working Men's Homes and Wives', *The Great Unwashed*, 1868, quoted in Alison Twells, *British Women's History: A Documentary History from the Enlightenment to World War One*, Bloomsbury, 2007, p. 29
- 110. Christine Hallett, 'The Attempt to Understand Puerperal Fever in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: The Influence of Inflammation Theory', *Medical History*, Vol. 49, Issue 1, January 2005, pp. 1–28
- 111. Chamberlain, 'British Maternal Mortality in the 19th and Early 20th centuries'
- 112. Druin Burch, 'When Childbirth Was Natural, and Deadly', Live Science, 10 January 2009 (online)
- 113. Arthur Ashpitel, *Observations on Baths and Wash-Houses*, John Weale, 1852, pp. 2–14
- 114. Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, p. 393
- 115. Sara Heller Mendelson, The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies, Harvester Press, 1987, p. 192
- 116. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 2338
- 117. Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Wife*, HarperCollins, 2001, p. 182
- 118. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 268
- 119. Ibid., loc 1438

- 120. Helena Whitbread, *The Secret Diaries* of Miss Anne Lister, Whitbread, 1990, loc 4557
- 121. Rachel P. Maines, The Technology of Orgasm: 'Hysteria', the Vibrator and Women's Sexual Satisfaction, Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, 1999, loc 548
- 122. Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts' Advice to Women, Random House, 2005, loc 2626
- 123. Conduct book in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 1617
- 124. 'lovemaking', Online Etymology Dictionary
- 125. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 265
- 126. Steinbach, Women in England 1760–1914, loc 2296, 2308
- 127. Ibid., loc 993
- 128. Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain'
- 129. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5081
- 130. 'Am I Not a Woman & a Sister?', Encyclopedia Virginia (online)
- 131. Mellor, 'Sex, Violence, and Slavery: Blake and Wollstonecraft'
- 132. Ibid.
- 133. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 3099
- 134. Sarah Ellis, *Daughters of England*, 1845, quoted in Emma Donoghue, *The Sealed Letter*, Picador, 2011, p. 216
- Rizzo, Companions Without Vows,
 p. 23
- 136. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 5150
- 137. Ibid., loc 5305
- 138. Midgley, 'Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain'
- 139. 'Orator Hunt and the First Suffrage Petition 1832', UK Parliament (online)
- 140. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 2395
- 141. Diggory Bailey, 'Breaking Down Gender Stereotypes in Legal Writing',

612 / Normal Women

- Civil Service Blog, GovUK (online), 10 January 2020
- 142. Janet Smith, 'First Woman Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, Helen Taylor, 1885', in Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 2408
- 143. Lucy Williams and Sandra Waklate, 'Policy Responses to Domestic Violence: The Criminalisation Thesis and "Learning from History", *Howard Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 3, September 2020, pp. 305–316
- 144. Henry Fitzroy speaking in Aggravated Assaults Bill, Commons Sitting of 10 March 1853, Series 3, Vol. 124, Hansard Debates, cc 1414
- 145. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 776
- 146. Ibid., loc 5270
- 147. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 1284
- 148. Joanna Bourke, *Rape: A History from* 1860 to the Present, Virago, 2007, loc 2406
- 149. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5251–2
- 150. Adrian Randall, *Riotous Assemblies:*Popular Protest in Hanoverian
 England, Oxford University Press,
 2006, p. 1
- 151. E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, New Press, 1993, p. 224
- 152. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 100
- 153. W. Freeman Galpin, *The Grain*Supply of England During the
 Napoleonic Period, Macmillan, 1925
- 154. C.R. Fay, 'Corn Prices and the Corn Laws, 1815–1846', *Economic Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 121, March 1921, pp. 17–27
- 155. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 101
- 156. Derek Benson, 'The Tewkesbury Bread Riot of 1795', *THS Bulletin*, 22 (2013), Tewkesbury History (online)
- 157. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 212
- 158. Benson, 'The Tewkesbury Bread Riot of 1795'
- 159. Randall, *Riotous Assemblies*, pp. 224, 232
- Benson, 'The Tewkesbury Bread Riot of 1795'

- 161. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 215
- 162. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, p. 192
- 163. Ibid.
- 164. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 217
- 165. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, p. 193
- 166. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 29 September 1795, Vol. 65, Part 2, p. 824
- 167. Benson, 'The Tewkesbury Bread Riot of 1795'
- 168. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 319
- 169. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, p. 234
- 170. Îbid., p. 235
- 171. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 241
- 172. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5081
- 173. Genesis 24, Bible Gateway (online)
- 174. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5123
- 175. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, p. 234
- 176. Randall, Riotous Assemblies, p. 313
- 177. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5043
- 178. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 96
- 179. The Susan Burney Letters Project, Letter 2, 'The Gordon Riots, St Martin's Lane, 8 June 1780', Nottingham University (online)
- 180. Ibid.
- 181. George F.E. Rudé, 'The Gordon Riots: A Study of the Rioters and Their Victims: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 6, 1956, pp. 93–114
- 182. The Susan Burney Letters Project, Letter 2, 'The Gordon Riots, St Martin's Lane, 8 June 1780'
- 183. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 5443, 5218
- 184. Jo Stanley, 'Luddite Women', Women's History Network, 30 April 2012, Women's History Network (online)
- 185. Ibid.
- 186. Bamford in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5493
- 187. Emma Speed, "A Deep-Rooted Abhorrence of Tyranny ...": Women



- at Peterloo', Red Flag Walks (online), 15 August 2018
- 188. Ibid.
- 189. Ibid.
- 190. Ibid.
- 191. Robert Poole, 'Peterloo Massacre: How Women's Bravery Helped Change British Politics Forever', The Conversation, 15 August 2019 (online)
- 192. Speed, "A Deep-Rooted Abhorrence of Tyranny ..."
- 193. Bamford, Chapter 34, in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850
- 194. Poole, 'Peterloo Massacre'
- 195. Ibid.
- 196. Richard Carlile quoted in Speed, "A Deep-Rooted Abhorrence of Tyranny ..."
- 197. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5502
- 198. Poole, 'Peterloo Massacre'
- 199. Bamford in Speed, "A Deep-Rooted Abhorrence of Tyranny ..."
- 200. Speed, "A Deep-Rooted Abhorrence of Tyranny ..."
- 201. Ibid.
- 202. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5515
- 203. Ibid., loc 5510
- 204. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5562
- 205. Ibid., loc 819
- 206. Ibid., loc 5575
- 207. 'Address of the Female Political Union of Newcastle', *Northern Star*, 2 February 1839
- 208. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 5535
- 209. David Pickering, *Dictionary of Witchcraft*, Cassell, 1996
- 210. 'The Swimming of Witches', Foxearth and District Local History Society (online)
- 211. Ö Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Vol. 5, p. 183
- 212. Ibid.
- 213. John Beattie in Shoemaker, *Gender* in English Society 1650–1850, loc 6349
- 214. 'Charlotte Walker, c.1754–1806', London Lives 1690 to 1800 (online)

- 215. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Vol. 4, p. 139
- 216. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 1137
- 217. Bridge, 'Prizefighting women of Victorian Britain ...'
- 218. 'History of Abortion Law in the UK', Abortion Rights (online)
- Patrick Wilson, Murderess: A Study of the Women Executed in Britain since 1843, Joseph, 1971, pp. 150–3
- 220. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 1668, 1701
- 221. 'Progress of a Woman of Pleasure: Prostitutes in 18th Century London', Jane Austen's World, 24 March 2012 (online)
- 222. Henry Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor, 1862, p. 476
- 223. Martha Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still*, Methuen, 1980, p. 81
- 224. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 312
- 225. Henry Mayhew, 'Letter XI', *Morning Chronicle*, 23 November 1849, Victorian London (online)
- Hallie Rubenhold, Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies, London, 2005, p. 145
- 227. Ibid., p. 107
- 228. Ibid., p. 57
- 229. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 1479, 1701
- J.J. Tobias, Nineteenth-Century Crime: Prevention and Punishment, David & Charles, 1972, p. 62
- 231. O Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, supplement 2, p. 362
- 232. Ibid.
- 233. Rachel Knowles, 'The Magdalen House in Regency London', 6 July 2017, Regency History (online)
- 234. Ibid.
- 235. S. Toulalan, "Is He a Licentious Lewd Sort of a Person?" Constructing the Child Rapist in Early Modern England', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January 2014, pp. 21–52
- 236. Anthony Simpson, 'Popular Perceptions of Rape as a Capital Crime: The Press and the Trial of Francis Charteris in the Old Bailey',



614 / Normal Women

- Law and History Review, Vol. 22, 2004, pp. 27–70
- 237. Toulalan, "Is He a Licentious Lewd Sort of a Person?"
- J.M. Beattie, Crime and the Courts in England 1660–1800, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 126
- 239. Ibid., p. 130.
- 240. A. Clark, Women's Silence, Men's Violence: Sexual Assault in England 1770–1845, Pandora, 1987, p. 58
- 241. G. Walker, 'Rereading Rape and Sexual Violence in Early Modern England', *Gender & History*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1998, pp. 5–7
- 242. J. Kermode and G. Walker, 'Introduction', in J. Kermode and G. Walker (eds), Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England, University of North Carolina Press, 1994, p. 14
- 243. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 7738
- 244. Peter Radford, 'Was the Long Eighteenth Century a Golden Age for Women in Sport?: The Cases of Mme Bunel and Alicia Thornton', *Early Modern Women*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Fall 2017, pp. 183–94
- 245. Peter Radford, 'Glimpses of Women Athletes in 18th-century England', Folger Shakespeare Library, 11 February 2022
- 246. P.E.B. Porter in *Around and About Saltash*, 1905, cited S. Baring-Gould, *Cornish Characters and Strange Events*, Bodley Head, 1925, Vol. 2, pp. 289–95
- 247. Ellis in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2697
- 248. Rizzo, Companions Without Vows, p. 14
- 249. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, loc 895, 715
- 250. Anna Clarke, in ibid., loc 5950
- Linda, M. Austin, 'Ruskin and the Ideal Woman,' South Central Review, Vol. 4, No. 4, Winter, 1987, pp. 28–39
- 252. Mayhew in Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650–1850*, loc 245 and 533

- 253. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society* 1650–1850, p. 120
- 254. Melanie Renee Ulrich, Victoria's Feminist Legacy, How Nineteenth-Century Women Imagined the Queen, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Texas, 2005, p. 42
- 255. Katherine Margaret Atkinson, *Abduction: The Story of Ellen Turner*, Blenkins Press, 2002, p. 78
- 256. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2355
- 257. Ibid., loc 819
- 258. Samuel Bamford, 'To Jemima', Poem Hunter (online)
- 259. Yalom, *A History of the Wife*, pp. 177–8
- 260. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 224
- Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study, Harvard University Press, 1990, loc 1356
- 262. John A. Éisenberg, *The Limits* of Reason: Indeterminacy in Law, Education and Morality, Transaction Publishers, 1992, p. 115
- 263. Ibid.
- 264. Ibid.
- Quoted in Marlene LeGates, 'The Cult of Womanhood in Eighteenth-Century Thought', *Eighteenth-Century* Studies, Vol. 10, No. 1, Autumn 1976, pp. 21–39
- 266. Yalom, A History of the Wife, p. 182
- Rebecca Jennings, A Lesbian History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Women Since 1500, Greenworld Publishing, 2007, p. 51
- 268. Rizzo, Companions Without Vows, p. 6
- Lawrence Stone, 'Judicial Separation', Road to Divorce: England 1530–1987, Oxford, 1990, pp. 183–230
- 270. For Lord Grosvenor: Stella Tillyard, A Royal Affair: George III, Random House, 2010, pp. 169–75; and for Lord Cloncurry: Colin Gibson, Dissolving Wedlock, Routledge, 1993, p. 34
- 271. Kathrin Levitan, 'Redundancy, the "Surplus Woman" Problem, and the British Census, 1851–1861', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 17, No. 3, July



- 2008, pp. 359-76
- 272. Eisenberg, *The Limits of Reason*, p. 115
- 273. Greg, 'Why Are Women Redundant?'
- 274. Ibid.
- 275. Ronald Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', in Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds), *Bodyguards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, Routledge, 1991, p. 131
- 276. Ibid., p. 121
- 277. Ibid.
- 278. Emma Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, Bello, 2015, p. 300
- 279. Helena Whitbread (ed.), *The*Secret Diaries of Miss Anne Lister,
 Whitbread, 1990, loc 4599 and 4651
- 280. Ibid., loc 3656
- 281. Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', p. 113
- 282. Îbid., p. 132
- 283. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 163
- 284. Jennings, A Lesbian History of Britain, p. 43
- 285. Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', p. 114
- 286. Lillian Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men, Women's Press, 1985, p. 164
- 287. Edmund Burke to Eleanor Charlotte Butler and Sarah Ponsonby, Beconsfield, 30 July 1790, Rictor Norton (online)
- 288. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 176
- 289. Danuta Kean, 'Jane Austen's Lesbianism Is as Fictional as Pride and Prejudice', *Guardian*, 31 May 2017
- 290. 'LGBTQ+ History', English Heritage (online)
- 291. Kristina Straub in Epstein and Straub (eds), *Bodyguards*, p. 147
- 292. Tammy M. Proctor, Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War, New York University Press, 2003, p. 16
- 293. Ó Danachair (ed.), *The Newgate Calendar*, Vol. 5, p. 55
- 294. The Female Sailor, undated broadsheet, reproduced in Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and

- Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920, JHU Press, 1996, p. 36
- 295. Grace di Meo, quoted in Bridge, 'Prizefighting Women of Victorian Britain ...'
- 296. Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', p. 123
- 297. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 1405
- 298. Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists', p. 117
- 299. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 69
- 300. Îbid.
- Sharon Marcus, Between Women: Friendship, Desire and Marriage in Victorian England, Princeton University Press, 2007, loc 4192
- 302. Rizzo, Companions Without Vows, p. 208
- 303. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women*, p. 78
- 304. Betty Bennett, *Mary Diana Dods: A Gentleman and a Scholar*, Hopkins
 University Press, 1995
- 305. 'Sarah Geals, 18 September 1865', Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online
- 306. Ibid.
- 307. Ibid.
- 308. Gary Kates, 'Gender and Power in 1777', in Epstein and Straub (eds), *Bodyguards*, p. 186
- 309. L.R. McRobbie, 'The Incredible Chevalier d'Eon, Who Left France as a Male Spy and Returned as a Christian Woman', Atlas Obscura, 29 July 2016
- 310. Ibid.
- 311. Jeanne Campan, Memoirs of the Court of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, Floating Press, 2009
- 312. 'Mrs Bateman', London Remembers (online)

Part 7: 1857–1928 Separate Spheres

- Erika Rackley and Rosemary
 Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks:
 Celebrating the History of Women
 and Law in the UK and Ireland,
 Bloomsbury, 2018, loc 1875
- 2. Bodichon in Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 1822

- 3. Ibid., loc 1824
- 4. 'Cochrane', The Jurist: Reports of Cases, S. Sweet, 1840, p. 534
- Marilyn Yalom, A History of the Wife, HarperCollins, 2001, p. 271
- From Caroline Norton's Submission to parliamentary debate on Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, in *Yalom, A History of the Wife*, pp. 186–7
- 7. Yalom, A History of the Wife, p. 186
- 8. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 1993
- 9. 'Agricultural Labourers' Wages 1850–1914', History of Wages (online)
- 10. Lacey in Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 1986
- 11. H. Young, 'Negotiating Female Property – and Slave-Ownership in the Aristocratic World', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 63, No. 3, 2020, pp. 581–602
- 12. Lacey in Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 2077
- G. Frost, 'A Shock to Marriage?: The Clitheroe Case and the Victorians', in G. Robb and N. Erber (eds), *Disorder* in the Court, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999
- 14. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 3005
- 15. Ibid., loc 3030
- 16. Yalom, A History of the Wife, p. 270
- 17. Ibid., p. 271
- 18. 'The Lanchester Case', *British Medical Journal*, 2 November 1895, 2: 1127
- 'Edith Lanchester: A Socialist Pioneer Against Patriarchy', Workers Liberty (online), 5 September 2021
- 20. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 5161, 5266
- 21. Joanna Bourke, *Rape: A History from* 1860 to the Present, Virago, 2007, loc 6239
- Kate Woodward, The Story of the Cooperative Women's Guild, Co-operative Heritage Trust (online), 28 May 2020
- 23. Michael Faraday, *The Times*, 7 July 1855

- 24. Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness, Feminist Press, 2011, loc 920
- From Sermon XXXIV. on Matt. XXV. 36., published in The Arminian Magazine [...]. Consisting chiefly of Extracts and Original Treatises on Universal Redemption, Printed by J. Paramore, October 1786
- 26. Ehrenreich and English, *Complaints* and *Disorders*, loc 920
- Susie Steinbach, Women in England 1760–1914: A Social History, Phoenix Press, 2003, loc 2000s
- 28. Quoted in Bourke, *Rape*, loc 2419 and 2427
- 29. Steinbach, Women in England 1760–1914, loc 1409, 1224
- 30. Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War One*, Tauris, 2000, p. 107
- 31. William Acton, Prostitution, Considered in Its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects, 1857
- 32. A woman registered as a prostitute, quoted in Anna Faherty, 'The Prostitute Whose Pox Inspired Feminists', *The Outsiders*, Wellcome Collection, Part 6, 20 July 2017
- 33. An account of a complaint from a poor woman, in Mrs Butler's third letter, from Kent, *The Shield*, 9 March 1870
- John Frith, 'Syphilis: Its Early history and Treatment until Penicillin and the Debate on Its Origins', *History*, Vol. 20, No. 4
- A woman registered as a prostitute, quoted in Faherty, 'The Prostitute Whose Pox Inspired Feminists'
- J.R. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 49
- 37. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 2750
- 38. Faherty, 'The Prostitute Whose Pox Inspired Feminists'
- 39. Ibid.
- 40. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 5586





- 'Women's Protest', article published by the LNA in the *Daily News*, 1 January 1870
- 42. Rafia Zakaria, *Against White* Feminism, Hamish Hamilton, 2021, loc 1773
- 43. Antoinette M. Burton, Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865– 1915, University of North Carolina, 1994, p. 146
- 44. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 2586
- 45. Faherty, 'The Prostitute Whose Pox Inspired Feminists'
- 46. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 5342
- 47. Norton, Letter to the Queen on Chancellor Cranworth's Marriage and Divorce Bill of 1855
- 48. Tessa Boase, Mrs Pankhurst's Purple Feather, Aurum Press, 2018, p. 237
- 49. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 5651
- Eliza Lynn Linton, 'Modern English Women', London Review, No. 11, 15 December 1860
- 51. Boase, Mrs Pankhurst's Purple Feather, p. 201
- 52. Ibid., p. 204
- 53. Melanie Renee Ulrich, Victoria's Feminist Legacy: How Nineteenth-Century Women Imagined the Queen, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Texas, 2005, p. 31
- 54. Boase, Mrs Pankhurst's Purple Feather, p. 203
- 55. Ulrich, *Victoria's Feminist Legacy*, p. 17
- 56. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 1919
- 57. Ibid., loc 2369
- Janet Smith, 'First Woman Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, Helen Taylor, 1885', in Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 2386
- 59. Ibid.
- 60. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 5543
- 61. 'Women's Suffrage Timeline', British Library (online)

- 62. 'Who Were the Suffragettes?', Museum of London (online)
- 63. Miss H, quoted in June Purvis (ed.), *Votes for Women*, Routledge, 2002, p. 139
- 64. June Purvis, 'Cat and Mouse: Force Feeding the Suffragettes', *BBC History Magazine*, June 2009
- Julia Bush, Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 3
- 66. Gail Braybon, Women Workers in the First World War, Routledge, 2012
- Lord Cecil, Debate: Clause 1 (The Capacity of Women to Be Members of Parliament), Hansard, 6 November 1918, Vol. 110 cc 2186-202
- 68. Lorraine Dowler, 'Amazonian Landscapes: Gender, War and Historical Repetition', in Colin Flint (ed.), *The Geography of War and Peace:* From Death Camps to Diplomats, Oxford University Press, 2004, p 144
- Nancy Astor on her time as a Member of Parliament, Audio Recording, 2 October 1956, British Library
- 70. Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies*, Spinifex, 1997, p. 89
- Melanie Reynolds, 'Ann Ellis and the 1875 Weavers Strike', The Dewsbury Partnership (online)
- H. Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex', Signs, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1976, pp. 137–69, p. 156
- 73. Thom, Nice Girls and Rude Girls, p. 107
- 'Mary MacArthur and the Cradley Heath Women Chainmakers', Strike of 1910', National Education Union (online)
- 75. Ibid.
- 'Women and Work: 19th and Early 20th Century', Striking Women (online)
- 77. T. Thorpe, T. Oliver, G. Cunningham, Reports to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the Use of Phosphorus in the Manufacture of Lucifer Matches, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899





- 78. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 2797
- Louise Raw, 'Women and Protest in Nineteenth-Century Britain', British Online Archives
- 80. Annie Besant, *The Link*, 14 July 1888, TUC History Online
- 81. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 2824
- 82. Ibid., loc 2862
- 83. Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex', p. 157
- Sheila Rowbotham, A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States, Viking, 1997, p. 25
- 85. Ibid., p. 81
- Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon, Forbidden Britain: Our Secret Past 1900–1960, BBC Books, 1994, pp. 162–3
- 87. Ken Weller, 'Don't Be a Soldier!', *Journeyman*, 1985, p. 32
- 88. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 129
- 89. 'A Forgotten Women's Solidarity Campaign: The Women's Committee for the Relief of the Miners' Wives and Children, May 1926 to January 1927', 4 November 2019, Red Flag Walks (online)
- 90. Sue Bruley, *The Women and Men of* 1926: A Gender and Social History of the General Strike and Miners' Lockout in South Wales, Cardiff University Press, 2010, p. 94
- 91. Ibid., pp. 95-110
- 92. Rachelle Saltzman, 'Folklore as Politics in Great Britain: Working-Class Critiques of Upper-Class Strike Breakers in the 1926 General Strike', Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 67, No. 3, Part 2, July 1994, pp. 105–21
- 93. Ibid.
- 94. Ibid.
- 95. Labour Women, 1 August 1926, in 'A Forgotten Women's Solidarity Campaign', Red Flag Walks (online)
- 96. Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own, 1929, p. 26
- 97. John Horgan, 'Darwin Was Sexist, and So Are Many Modern Scientists',

- Scientific American, 18 December 2017
- 98. Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts' Advice to Women, Random House, 2005, loc 2291
- 99. Ibid., loc 2267
- 100. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2559
- 101. G. Stanley Hall, in Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good, loc 2297
- 102. Quoted in Ehrenreich, For Her Own Good, loc 3560
- 103. W.R. Greg, 'Why Are Women Redundant?', N. Trübner & Co, 1869, p. 32
- 104. Jo B. Paoletti, Pink and Blue: Telling the Boys from the Girls in America, Indiana University Press, 2012
- 105. Ibid., Chapter 4
- 106. Ibid.
- 107. Denise Winterman, 'History's Weirdest Fad Diets', BBC News, 2 January 2013
- 108. Kristina Killgrove, 'Here's How Corsets Deformed the Skeletons of Victorian Women', *Forbes*, 16 November 2015
- 109. Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good, loc 2095 and 2098
- 110. Ellis quoted in Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud, Harvard University Press, 1990, loc 4268
- 111. Ehrenreich and English, *For Her Own Good*, loc 2116
- 112. Laqueur, Making Sex, loc 4401
- 113. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 2234
- 114. Loewenfeld in Bourke, Rape, loc 6108
- 115. Lesley A. Hall, 'Sexuality', in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), Women in Twentieth-Century Britain, Routledge, 2001, Section 4
- 116. Bourke, Rape, loc 6223
- 117. E Sheehan, 'Victorian Clitoridectomy: Isaac Baker Brown and His Harmless Operative Procedure', *Medical Anthropology Newsletter*, Vol. 12, 4, August 1981, pp. 9–15
- 118. Laqueur, Making Sex, loc 3354



- 119. Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good, loc 2358
- 120. Jamie Lovely, 'Women's Mental Health in the 19th Century: An Analysis of Sociocultural Factors Contributing to Oppression of Women as Communicated by Influential Female Authors of the Time', PhD thesis, University of Maine, Spring 2019
- 121. Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good, loc 1983
- 122. Sarah Watling, *Noble Savages: The Olivier Sisters*, Jonathan Cape, 2019, loc 884
- 123. Maria Cohut, 'The Controversy of "Female Hysteria", *Medical News Today*, 15 October 2020
- 124. Ehrenreich and English, *For Her Own Good*, loc 2515
- 125. Watling, Noble Savages, loc 3051
- 126. Michaela Sharf, translated by Nick Somers, 'Hysteria or Neurasthenia', in 'First World War and the End of the Habsburg Monarchy', Virtual Exhibition, The World of the Habsburgs
- 127. Ehrenreich and English, *Complaints* and *Disorders*, loc 327
- 128. J. Loudon, 'Deaths in Childbed from the Eighteenth Century to 1935', *Medical History*, Vol. 30, January 1986, pp. 1–41
- 129. Ibid.
- 130. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 3537
- 131. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 137
- 132. Sheila Rowbotham, *Dreamers of a* New Day: Women Who Invented the 20th Century, Verso, 2010, p. 103
- 133. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 32
- 134. Loudon, 'Deaths in Childbed from the Eighteenth Century to 1935'
- 135. Steinbach, Women in England 1760–1914, loc 2508, 2582
- 136. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 140
- Caroline de Costa, 'The King vs Aleck Bourne', Medical Journal of Australia, Vol. 191, No. 4, 17 August 2009

- 138. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 141
- 139. Chloe Wilson, 'Annie Besant: "[A] Stormy, Public, Much Attacked and Slandered Life"', 4 July 2020, East End Women's Museum (online)
- 140. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 3181
- 141. 'Surplus Women: A Legacy of World War One?' World War 1 Centenary (online)
- 142. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 2785
- 143. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 5796
- 144. Jeffreys, 'On the Birth of the Sex Expert'
- 145. Edward Carpenter quoted in ibid.
- 146. Esther Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman', *Signs*, Vol. 9, No. 4, The Lesbian Issue, p. 561
- 147. Philippa Levine, "So Few Prizes and So Many Blanks": Marriage and Feminism in Later Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, April 1989, pp. 150–74, p. 152
- 148. Ībid., p 158
- 149. Sharon Marcus, Between Women: Friendship, Desire and Marriage in Victorian England, Princeton University Press, 2007, loc 246
- 150. Ibid., loc 4229, 4254, 1173, 1220
- 151. Ibid., loc 1098
- 152. Esther Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian'
- 153. Carpenter quoted in Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men*, Women's Press, 1985, p. 178
- 154. Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men*, p. 214
- 155. Ibid.
- 156. Marcus, Between Women, loc 1607
- 157. Ibid., loc 766
- 158. Minnie Benson, quoted in Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men, p. 208
- 159. Martha Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity and Victorian Marriage: The 1864 Codrington Divorce Trial', *Journal* of *British Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, January 1997, pp. 70–98

.

- 160. Ibid.
- 161. Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian'
- 162. Ibid.
- 163. Ruth F. Claus, 'Confronting Homosexuality: A Letter from Frances Wilder', Signs, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1977, pp. 928–33
- 164. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 1035
- Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian'
- 166. Ibid.
- 167. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 2770
- Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men, p. 241
- Claus, 'Confronting Homosexuality',
 p. 931
- 170. Ibid., p. 932
- 171. Trumbach in Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 1786
- 172. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 88
- 173. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 5495
- 174. P.E. Szoradova, 'LGBTQ+ History: The Red Rose of Colonel Barker', National Archives Blog, 25 February 2019 (online)
- 175. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 1773
- 176. 'Twentieth-Century Trans Histories', Historic England (online)
- 177. Iwan Bloch in Jeffreys, 'On the Birth of the Sex Expert'
- 178. Bourke, Rape, loc 483, 497
- 179. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 11539
- 180. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 6082
- 181. Ibid., loc 6109
- 182. Ulrich, Victoria's Feminist Legacy, p. 28
- 183. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 977
- 184. British Library Learning, 'The Campaign for Women's Suffrage: An Introduction', British Library (online), 6 February 2018
- Ulrich, Victoria's Feminist Legacy,
 p. 110
- 186. Ibid., p. 112
- 187. Ibid., p. 81

- 188. King James Bible, Genesis 3:16
- 189. Lauren Hubbard, 'What Was Queen Victoria Like as a Mother?', *Town and Country*, 23 May 2022
- 190. Caroline Norton, Letter to the Queen on Chancellor Cranworth's Marriage and Divorce Bill of 1855, quoted in Ulrich, Victoria's Feminist Legacy, p. 17
- 191. Alexander Walker in Patricia A.
 Vertinsky, The Eternally Wounded
 Women: Women, Doctors, and Exercise
 in the Late Nineteenth Century,
 Manchester University Press, 1989,
 p. 23
- 192. James Knowles (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, Vol. 27 January–June 1890, p. 56
- 193. Janice Formichella, 'The Victorian Croquet Craze: Crazier Than You Think', Recollections (online), 8 August 2010
- 194. 'Maud Watson, the "First Lady" of Wimbledon', The All England Club, Wimbledon (online)
- 195. John Stanley, 'Archery History: The Sport That Pioneered Equality for Women's Participation', World Archery, 10 September 2020
- 196. Kathleen E. McCrone, 'Gender, and English Women's Sport, c. 1890–1914', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring 1991, Special Issue: Sport and Gender, pp. 159–82
- 197. M. Evans, 'Women's League Hockey and its Early Development', in D. Day (ed.), *Playing Pasts*, MMU Sport and Leisure History, 2020, pp. 120–36
- 198. Rafaelle Nicholson, 'The History of Women's Cricket: From England's Greens to the World Stage', Bournemouth University, 5 March 2020
- 199. Louis Macken and M. Boys (eds), 'Our Lady of the Green, Lawrence and Bullen', 1899, in Vertinsky, *The* Eternally Wounded Woman
- 200. 'Ladies History', Royal North Devon Golf Club (online)
- 201. Neil Laird, 'Early Women's Golf', Scottish Golf History (online)



- 202. Jane George, Joyce Kay and Wray Vamplew, 'Women to the Fore: Gender Accommodation and Resistance at the British Golf Club Before 1914', *Sporting Traditions*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 79–98
- 203. Laird, 'Early Women's Golf'
- 204. Miriam Bibby, 'Skittles the Pretty Horsebreaker', Historic UK (online)
- Erica Munkwitz, 'Vixens of Venery: Women, Sport, and Fox-Hunting in Britain, 1860–1914', *Critical Survey*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 'Sporting Victorians', 2012, pp. 74–87
- 206. 'Hunting Notes', *The Ladies' Field* 32/405 (16 December 1905): 69, in Munkwitz, 'Vixens of Venery'
- 207. Alison Matthews David, 'Elegant Amazons: Victorian Riding Habits and the Fashionable Horsewoman', Victorian Literature and Culture, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2002, pp. 179–210
- 208. Andrew Ritchie, 'The Origins of Bicycle Racing in England:
 Technology, Entertainment,
 Sponsorship and Advertising in the
 Early History of the Sport', *Journal of*Sport History, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1999,
 pp. 489–520
- 209. Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman*, pp. 77–9
- Jeroen Heijman and Bill Mallon, Historical Dictionary of Cycling, Scarecrow Press, 2011, p. xix
- 211. Suzanne Wrack, 'How the FA Banned Women's Football in 1921 and Tried to Justify It', Guardian, 13 June 2022
- 212. David Day, 'Swimming Natationists, Mistresses, and Matrons: Familial Influences on Female Careers in Victorian Britain', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 35, No. 6, 2018, pp. 494–510
- 213. 'Lucy Morton', Swim England Hall of Fame (online)
- 214. Marina Dmukhovskaya, 'Look to the Past: Madge Syers, the First Woman to Compete at a Figure Skating World Championships', 15 December 2021, Olympic News (online)
- 215. 'The Women's Amateur Athletic Association the 1920s', Run Young

- 50 (online)
- Gwenda Ward, 'The History of Gender Equity in British Track & Field', FCN, 26 April 2022
- 217. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650–1850, loc 2517
- 218. Leonore Davidoff, 'The Rationalization of Housework', in Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage, eds Diana Leonard Barker and Sheila Allen, Longman, 1976, p. 139
- 219. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 349
- Davidoff, 'The Rationalization of Housework'
- 221. Ibid.
- 222. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 384
- 223. Ibid., loc 1110
- 224. K.E. Gales and P.H. Marks, 'Twentieth-Century Trends in the Work of Women in England and Wales', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 137, Issue 1, January 1974, pp. 60–74
- 225. Ana Muñoz, 'Women in First World War Britain: Exploitation, Revolt and Betrayal', 7 March 2014, In Defence of Marxism (online)
- Claus, 'Confronting Homosexuality',
 p. 930
- 227. McCrone, 'Gender, and English Women's Sport, c. 1890–1914'
- 228. Greg, 'Why Are Women Redundant?', p. 35
- 229. Patricia Owen, 'Who Would Be Free, Herself Must Strike the Blow', *History* of Education, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1988, pp. 83–99
- 230. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 428
- 231. Watling, Noble Savages, loc 4256
- 232. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 22
- 233. Watling, Noble Savages, loc 4215
- 234. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 455
- World Championships', 15 December 235. Steinbach, Women in England 1760–2021, Olympic News (online) 1914, loc 3136
 - 236. Gloria McAdam, 'Willing Women and the Rise of Convents in

622 / Normal Women

- Nineteenth-Century England', Women's History Review, Vol. 8, Issue 3, 1999, pp. 411–41
- 237. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 3316
- 238. Sariya Cheruvallil-Contractor, 'The Forgotten Women Who Helped to Build British Islam', The Conversation, 6 March 2020
- 239. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 3304
- 240. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, p. 1093
- 241. B. Heeney, 'Women's Struggle for Professional Work and Status in the Church of England, 1900–1930', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1983, pp. 329–47
- 242. St Paul, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35
- 243. Heeney, 'Women's Struggle for Professional Work and Status in the Church of England, 1900–1930'
- 244. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 22
- 245. Jessica E. Kirwan, 'A Brief History of Women Doctors in the British Empire', *Synapis Journal* (online)
- 246. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 22
- 247. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 877
- 248. Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 22
- p. 22249. Ehrenreich and English, *Complaints*

and Disorders, loc 511

- 250. Mark Bridge, 'Prize Fighting Women of Victorian Britain ...', *History First*, 12 January 2023
- 251. 'Women's Magazines' from article 'Publishing', Britannica (online)
- 252. Ehrenreich and English, *For Her Own Good*, loc 2858 and 2949
- 253. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 136
- Rebecca Baumgartner, 'How the Industrial Revolution Played Favourites', 3quarksdaily, 27 June 2022
- 255. 'The Invention of the Vacuum Cleaner, from Horse-Drawn to High Tech', Science Museum (online), 3 April 2020

- 256. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 66
- 257. Ibid., p. 65
- 258. Ibid.
- 259. 'The History of the Corps', FANY (online)
- Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 73
- 261. Tammy M. Proctor, Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War, New York University Press, 2003, p. 17
- 262. Ibid., pp. 1, 19, 27
- 263. 'Flora Sandes', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
- Rowbotham, A Century of Women,
 p. 76
- 265. Thom, Nice Girls and Rude Girls, p. 34
- Quoted in Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 72
- 267. Proctor, Female Intelligence, pp. 29, 32
- 268. Ibid., p. 29
- 269. Ibid., pp. 34, 36
- 270. Ibid., pp. 20–1, 33
- 271. Ibid., p. 34
- 272. Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*, p. 37
- 273. Ellen Castelow, 'World War One: Women at War', Historic UK, 20 January 2015
- 274. Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*, p. 165
- 275. Ibid., pp. 125, 128
- 276. L.K. Yates, A Woman's Part, quoted in G. Braybon, Women Workers in the First World War, Taylor & Francis, 1981, p. 48
- 277. Muñoz, 'Women in First World War Britain'
- 278. Williams, quoted in Braybon, Women Workers in the First World War, p. 163
- 279. J. De Vries, 'Women's Voluntary Organizations in World War I', 2005, in Women, War and Society: Additional Resources, Gale (online)
- 280. Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*, p. 44
- 281. Îbid., p. 194
- 282. Ibid., p. 144
- 283. Ibid., p. 187



- 284. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 3550
- 285. Watling, Noble Savages, loc 4872
- 286. Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*, p. 191
- 287. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 87
- 288. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 4297
- 289. Rose Staveley-Wadham, 'Policing Pioneers: A Look at the History of the Women's Police Service', British Newspaper Archive, 25 February 2021
- 290. Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*, pp. 20 and 40
- Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, Pluto Press, 1984, p. 302
- 292. Ibid., pp. 303-4
- 293. *The Times*, June 1919, quoted in ibid., p. 311
- 294. Lucy Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain After the Great War', Gender and History, Vol. 17, No. 1, July 2005, pp. 29–61
- 295. Gales and Marks, 'Twentieth-Century Trends in the Work of Women in England and Wales'
- 296. Rosemary Wall, 'Surplus Women: A Legacy of World War One?', World War 1 Centenary, University of Oxford (online)
- 297. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 3788
- 298. Ibid., loc 3857, 3794
- Hilary Heilbron, 'Women at the Bar: An Historical Perspective', Counsel, 31 May 2013
- 300. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 414
- 301. Ibid., loc 490 and 498
- 302. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760–1914*, loc 896
- 303. Ibid., loc 1486
- 304. Staveley-Wadham, 'Policing Pioneers'
- 305. Ibid., loc 1414
- 306. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 18
- 307. Watling, *Noble Savages*, loc 3943–3951

Part 8: 1928-1945 Into the World

- Sue Bruley, The Women and Men of 1926: A Gender and Social History of the General Strike and Miners' Lockout in South Wales, Cardiff University Press, 2010, p. 17
- Nora Boswell in 'We'd Been Cowed by the Depression; That's Why We Could Fight the War', Guardian, 4 March 2017
- 3. Sheila Rowbotham, A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States, Viking 1997, p. 140
- Jean Edmond, 'No Return to the Thirties: An Eyewitness Warning', Northern Star, 5 June 2015
- Marjorie Broad in 'We'd Been Cowed by the Depression ...'
- 6. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 186
- 7. Edmond, 'No Return to the Thirties'
- 8. Stuart Maconie, 'The Jarrow March: The Lasting Legacy of the 1936 Protest', *History Extra*, 5 October 2022
- 9. Ellen Wilkinson, *The Town That Was Murdered*, Victor Gollancz, 1939, pp. 191–2
- 10. Nora Boswell in 'We'd Been Cowed by the Depression ...'
- 11. Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 176
- Julie Gottlieb, 'Fascism in Inter-war Britain', British Library (online), 2 November 2021
- 13. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 178
- The Blackshirt, 29 June 1934, quoted in Martin Pugh, 'Why Former Suffragettes Flocked to British Fascism', Slate, 14 April 2017
- Christopher Watson, 'House of Commons Trends: How Many Women Candidates Become MPs?', Commons Library (online), 30 October 2020
- 16. Pugh, 'Why Former Suffragettes Flocked to British Fascism'
- 17. Quoted in Sheila Rowbotham, Hidden from History: 300 Years of



624 / Normal Women

- Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It, Pluto Press, 1973, p. 127
- Lou Kenton, 'Lou Kenton describes the Battle of Cable Street', Sound Recording, British Library
- 19. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 175
- 20. Suyin Haynes, 'The Enduring Lessons of the Battle of Cable Street, 80 Years On', *Time* magazine, 3 October 2016
- 21. 'Women at the Battle of Cable Street', East End Women's Museum, 4 October 2016
- 22. Ibid.
- 23. Ibid.
- 24. Ibid.
- 25. Haynes, 'The Enduring Lessons of the Battle of Cable Street ...'
- 26. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 179
- 27. Bruley, *The Women and Men of 1926*, p. 18
- Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts' Advice to Women, Random House, 2005, loc 3580, 3853
- 29. Bruley, *The Women and Men of 1926*, p. 17
- 30. Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good, loc 3387, 3372
- 31. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 181
- 32. Erika Rackley and Rosemary Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks: Celebrating the History of Women and Law in the UK and Ireland, Bloomsbury, 2018, loc 6744, 6752
- 33. Ibid., loc 6752
- 34. Rowbotham, *Hidden from History*, p. 147
- 35. History of Abortion Law in the UK', Abortion Rights (online)
- 36. J. Loudon, 'Deaths in Childbed from the Eighteenth Century to 1935', *Medical History*, Vol. 30, January 1986, pp. 1–41
- 37. John Keown, Abortion, Doctors and the Law, cited Caroline de Costa, 'The King vs Aleck Bourne', Medical Journal of Australia, Vol. 191, No. 4, 17 August 2009

- 38. Costa, 'The King vs Aleck Bourne'
- 39. Ibid.
- 40. Rowbotham, *Hidden from History*, p. 156
- 41. Stella Browne, submission to the 1937 Committee, in Paul Ewans, 'Stella Browne (1880–1955)', Heritage Humanists (online)
- 42. G. Jones, 'Women and Eugenics in Britain: The Case of Mary Scharlieb, Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, and Stella Browne', *Annals of Science*, Vol. 52, No. 5, September 1995, pp. 481–502
- Stella Browne, speech to the 1936 founding conference, in Ewans, 'Stella Browne'
- 44. Loudon, 'Deaths in Childbed from the Eighteenth Century to 1935'
- 45. Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men*, Women's Press, 1985, p. 311
- 46. Esther Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman' in Estelle B. Freedman, Barbara C. Gelpi, Susan L. Johnson and Kathleen M. Weston (eds) *The Lesbian Issue: Essays from SIGNS*, University of Chicago Press, 1985, p. 10
- 47. Brittain quoted in Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men, p. 310
- 48. Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 228
- P. Summerfield, 'Women, War and Social Change: Women in Britain in World War II', in A. Marwick (ed.), *Total War and Social Change*, Macmillan, 1988, pp. 97–103
- 50. Carol Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two', BBC, 17 February 2011
- 51. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 228
- 52. Ministry of Defence, 'The Women of the Second World War', GovUK (online), 16 April 2015
- 53. Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two'
- Pearl Patricia Rushton, 'Memoirs', Headley Hampshire UK (online), 16 March 1999







- The Vital Role of Women in the Second World War, Imperial War Museum (online)
- 56. Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two'
- The Vital Role of Women in the Second World War, Imperial War Museum (online)
- 58. Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two'
- Jackie Hyams, The Female Few: Spitfire Heroines, History Press, 2023, Chapter 5
- 60. 'Women in the Armed Forces', Royal British Legion (online)
- 61. Gary Bridson-Daley, 'Stella Rutter: Spitfire Draughtswoman and D-Day Secret Keeper', History Press (online)
- 62. The Vital Role of Women in the Second World War, Imperial War Museum (online)
- 63. Ministry of Defence, 'The Women of the Second World War'
- 64. Mary McKee, 'Women and the Second World War', British Newspaper Archive, 4 May 2020
- 65. 'Spies, Medics, Soldiers, & Peacemakers: 16 Women Wartime Heroes You Should Know', A Mighty Girl (online), 11 November 2022
- 66. Ben Macintyre, 'A Princess Turned Spy Wins Her Place in History', *The Times*, 4 April 2020
- 67. Sally and Lucy Jaffe, 'Chinthe Women: Women's Auxilary Service Burma 1942–1946', Tenter Books
- 68. Ministry of Defence, 'The Women of the Second World War'
- The Vital Role of Women in the Second World War, Imperial War Museum (online)
- 70. Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, Pluto Press, 1984, p. 364
- The Vital Role of Women in the Second World War, Imperial War Museum (online)
- 72. Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two'
- 73. 'World War II: 1939–1945', Striking Women (online)

- 74. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 6199, 6115
- 75. Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two'
- 76. 'War Diary of Nella Last', BBC History (online)
- 77. Kate Law, 'The Politicization of Food: Women and food queues in the Second World War, by Charlotte Sendall', Women's History Network, 2 April 2019
- 'The Evacuation of Children during the Second World War', History Press (online)
- Richard Morris Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy*, HMSO, 1950, Chapter VII, Appendix II, pp. 543–9
- G. Braybon and P. Summerfield, Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars, Taylor & Francis, 2013, p. 215
- 81. Ibid., p. 216
- 82. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 240
- 83. Ibid.
- 84. Lucy Bland and Chamion Caballero, "Brown Babies": The Children Born to Black GI and White British Women during the Second World War', National Archives (online), 4 January 2021
- S. Lee, 'A Forgotten Legacy of the Second World War: GI Children in Post-war Britain and Germany', Contemporary European History, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2011, pp. 157–81
- 86. Fryer, Staying Power, p. 362
- 87. National Archives, AIR 2/10673, RAF and WRAF Homosexual Offences and Abnormal Sexual Tendencies 1950–68, 'Lesbianism in the WRAF', loose minutes from A.P. Doran, Squadron Leader, 13 October 1971, in E. Vickers, 'Same-Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939–1945', Liverpool John Moores University
- 88. London Metropolitan Archives PH/ GEN/3/19: Fairfield, 'A Special Problem', 1943
- 89. Vickers, 'Same-Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939–1945'







- RAF Museum, AC 72/17 Box 5, memo on lesbianism from DWAAF to DDWAAF, P and MS, 8 October 1941
- 91. Vickers, 'Same-Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939–1945'; RAF Museum, AC 72/17 Box 8, letter from DWAAF to D.P.S., re a case of lesbianism, 2 December 1941
- 92. Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two'
- 93. 'Twentieth-Century Trans Histories', Historic England (online)
- 94. Steven Dryden, 'LGBT Rights in the UK', British Library (online)
- 95. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, pp. 230, 235
- Elena (Lane) Deamant, 'UK Women Opposing Conscription during WW2', Peace and Justice News, Summer 2020
- 97. Mitzi Bales, 'They said "No" to War: British Women Conscientious Objectors in World War II', War Resisters' International, 22 December 2010
- 98. Deamant, 'UK Women Opposing Conscription during WW2'
- 99. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 228
- 100. Ībid.
- Harris, 'Women Under Fire in World War Two'
- 102. Ibid.
- 103. 'Post World War II: 1946–1970', Striking Women (online)
- 104. Windrush: Arrival 1948 Passenger List
- 105. Malcolm Gaskill, Hellish Nell: The Curious Case of Britain's Last Witch Trial, Penguin, revised edition 2023

Part 9: 1945-1994 A Woman Today

- Ian Robson, 'Four Weddings, Two Funerals and a Death Sentence – The Story of the Widow of Windy Nook', Evening Chronicle, 11 November 2017
- Lizzie Seal, 'Ruth Ellis and the Hanging that Rocked a Nation', History Extra, 10 July 2019 (online)

- Sheila Rowbotham, A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States, Viking, 1997, p. 420
- 4. Karen Ingala Smith, Counting Dead Women (online)
- 5. 'domestic violence', Collins Dictionary (online)
- 'Men Still Killing One Woman Every Three Days in UK – It Is Time for "Deeds not Words", Femicide Census (online)
- 7. Ingala Smith, 'Counting Dead Women'
- 'Femicide Census Reveals Half of UK Women Killed by Men Die at Hands of Partner or Ex', 20 February 2020, End Violence Against Women (online)
- 'Emma' quoted in Pritti Mistry,
 'Domestic Abuse Protection Orders "Absolutely Pointless" Say Victims',
 BBC News, 21 September 2022
- 10. Ibid.
- Counter Terrorism Policing, 'Project Starlight: Prevalence of Domestic Abuse Related Incidences within Prevent Referrals', 25 November 2021
- David Sapsted and Thomas Harding, 'Judge Frees Man Who Strangled His "Nagging" Wife', *Daily Telegraph*, 3 February 2001
- 13. Erika Rackley and Rosemary
 Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks:
 Celebrating the History of Women
 and Law in the UK and Ireland,
 Bloomsbury, 2018, loc 12104
- 14. 'Sara Thornton', Justice for Women (online)
- 15. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 12121
- 16. Ibid., loc 12153
- 17. Ibid., loc 12209
- Heather Carrick, 'Peter Sutcliffe: Who Was Yorkshire Ripper, Who Were Victims, and What Unsolved Crimes Have Been Linked to Him?', National World, 23 February 2022
- 19. Joanna Bourke, Rape: A History from 1860 to the Present, Virago, 2007, loc 1522, 2709
- 20. Ibid., loc 949



- Julie Bindel, 'The Long Fight to Criminalise Rape in Marriage', Al Jazeera, 15 June 2021
- 22. Jennifer Brown, Miranda Horvath, Liz Kelly, Nicole Westmorland, 'Has Anything Really Changed? Results of a Comparative Study 1977–2010 on Opinions on Rape', Government Equalities Office Report 2010
- 23. Bindel, 'The Long Fight to Criminalise Rape in Marriage'
- 24. Ibid.
- 25. Bourke, Rape, loc 984
- Ministry of Justice Overview of Sexual Offending in England and Wales 2013, GovUK (online)
- R. Thiara and S. Roy, 'Reclaiming Voice: Minoritised Women and Sexual Violence Key Findings', Imkaan, March 2020
- 28. Ibid.
- Sexual Offences Victim Characteristics, England and Wales: Year Ending March 2020, ONS
- 30. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 8318
- 31. Dame Vera Baird, 'The Distressing Truth Is That If You Are Raped in Britain Today Your Chances of Seeing Justice Are Slim', Victims Commissioner (online)
- 32. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 7869
- 33. Gaelle Brotto, Grant Sinnamon and Wayne Petherick, 'Victimology and Predicting Victims of Personal Violence', Chapter 3, in *The* Psychology of Criminal and Antisocial Behaviour, eds W. Petherick and G. Sinnamon, Elsevier, 2017
- 34. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 5869
- D. Lisak and P. Miller, 'Repeat Rape and Multiple Offending Among Undetected Rapists', *Violence and Victims*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2002, pp. 73–84
- 36. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 7697, 7841, 7884, 7697
- 37. Baird, 'The Distressing Truth ...'
- 38. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 956
- 39. Ibid., loc 7751
- Rape Crisis Scotland, False Allegations of Rape: Briefing Paper, September 2013

- 41. Ibid.
- 42. Andy Myhill and Jonathan Allen, 'Rape and Sexual Assault of Women: The Extent and Nature of the Problem, Findings from the British Crime Survey', Home Office Research Study 237
- 43. Bourke, *Rape*, loc 6025
- 44. Ibid., note 36 loc 6306, 6460, 6326
- 45. Ibid., loc 4219, 4187, 4394, 4436
- Brotto, Sinnamon and Petherick, 'Victimology and Predicting Victims of Personal Violence'
- Ministry of Justice, Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Request

 201123016, 'Sexual assaults in prison by sexual identity of victim', December 2020
- 48. Ministry of Justice, HM Prison and Probation Service, New Transgender Prisoner Policy Comes into Force, 27 February 2023
- 49. Richard Wheeler, 'Minister: No Sexual Assaults by Trans Inmates in Women's Prisons since Reforms', Independent, 21 February 2023
- Ministry of Justice, 'Women and the Criminal Justice System 2021', 24 November 2022
- 'Black and Mixed Ethnicity Women More Than Twice as Likely to Face Arrest', Prison Reform Trust, 31 August 2017
- 52. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 8013
- 53. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 245
- 54. 'The Marriage Bar', *Spectator*, 23 August 1946
- 55. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, p. 526
- Robin Lloyd, 'Rosalind Franklin and DNA: How Wronged Was She?', Scientific American, 3 November 2010
- 57. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 350
- 58. Ibid.
- Susie Steinbach, Women in England 1760–1914: A Social History, Phoenix Press, 2003, loc 909
- 60. 'Diane Abbott', Britannica





- 61. Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 495
- 62. Evelyn Kerslake, "They Have Had to Come Down to the Women for Help!": Numerical Feminization and the Characteristics of Women's Library Employment in England, 1871–1974', *Library History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2007, pp. 17–40
- 63. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 3702
- 64. Ibid., loc 4402
- 65. The Baroness Casey Review, Met Police UK, March 2023
- 66. Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 413
- 67. The Grunwick Dispute', Striking Women (online)
- 68. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 488
- 69. Christina quoted in ibid., p. 488
- 70. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 291
- 71. Emily Hope, Mary Kennedy and Anne de Winter, 'Homeworkers in North London', in *Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage*, eds Diana Leonard Barker and Sheila Allen, Longman, 1976, p. 89
- 72. National Minimum Wage and National Living Wage: Rates and Overview
- 73. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 558
- Hope, Kennedy and de Winter, 'Homeworkers in North London', p. 97
- 75. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 406
- Cordelia Fine, Delusions of Gender: The Real Science Behind Sex Differences, Icon Books, 2010, p. 80
- 77. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 501
- 78. Îbid., p. 473
- Margaret Thatcher, speech to Finchley Conservatives, 31 January 1976
- 80. Margaret Thatcher, speech on Women in a Changing World (1st Dame Margery Corbett-Ashby Memorial Lecture), 26 July 1982

- 81. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 6979
- 82. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 246
- 83. Ibid., p. 247
- 84. Ibid., p. 473
- 85. Saul Mcleod, 'John Bowlby's Attachment Theory', Simply Psychology, 16 June 2023
- 86. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 293
- 87. David Batty, 'Timeline: A History of Child Protection', *Guardian*, 18 May 2005
- 88. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 421
- 89. Îbid., pp. 419 and 498
- 'Unmarried Mothers Whose Babies Were Taken Away and Never Seen Again', ITV News, 26 July 2022
- 91. 'The Violation of Family Life: Adoption of Children of Unmarried Women 1949–1976', Human Rights (Joint Committee), HC270/ HL43, published 15 July 2022, p. 33
- 92. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 421
- Lovelock quoted in Louise Peterkin, 'Bread Rationing: A Surprising and Timely Subject', HCA Librarian, University of Edinburgh, 27 October 2020
- 94. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 344
- 95. Îbid., p. 348
- 96. Ibid., p. 406
- 97. 'The Grunwick Dispute', Striking Women
- 98. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 9978, 10038
- 99. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, pp. 484, 485
- 100. Anwar Ditta obituary, *The Times*, 3 December 2021
- 101. Anandi Ramamurthy, 'Families Divided: The Campaign for Anwar Ditta and Her Children', Our Migration Story (online)
- 102. Anwar Ditta obituary, *The Times*, 3 December 2021

14/08/2024 15:34



- 103. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 302
- 104. Ibid., p. 484
- 105. Lizzie Dearden, 'Sarah Everard Vigil organisers Win Legal Challenge Against Metropolitan Police after "Rights Breached"', *Independent*, 11 March 2022
- 106. The Baroness Casey Review
- 107. Ibid., p. 573
- 108. Ibid., p. 407
- 109. Mary Whitehouse, 24 January 1979, in Ben Thompson, Ban This Filth: Letters from Mary Whitehouse, Faber, 2012
- 110. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, pp. 473 and 341
- 111. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 10979
- 112. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, pp. 507 and 553
- 113. What Became of the Windrush Stowaway, Evelyn Wauchope?', Historycal Roots (online)
- 114. 'Mona Baptiste', Historycal Roots (online)
- 115. Jo Stanley, 'Women of Windrush: Britain's Adventurous Arrivals That History Forgot', New Statesman, 22 June 2018
- 116. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 228
- 117. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 7887
- 118. Ibid., loc 7860
- 119. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, Knopf, New York, 1995,
 p. 183
- 120. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 430
- 121. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 7610
- 122. Ibid., loc 7614
- 123. 'Great British Female Olympians Down the Decades', Team GB (online)
- 124. Rachael Heyhoe-Flint obituary, *Wisden Almanack*, John Wisden & Co, 2017
- 125. 'The Story of Women's Football in England', Football Association (online)

- 126. C. Deere and C. Doss, 'The Gender Asset Gap: What Do We Know and Why Does It Matter?', *Feminist Economics*, Vol. 12, Issues 1–2, 2006, pp. 1–50
- 127. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 9771
- 128. Ibid., loc 9858
- 129. Married Women's Property Act 1964, Women's Legal Landmarks (online)
- 130. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 11245
- 131. Lord Nicholas of Birkenhead, White v White, Conjoined Appeals Judgment, House of Lords, Parliament UK (online), 26 October 2000
- 132. Lillian Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men, Women's Press, 1985, p. 330
- 133. Ibid., p. 385
- 134. Quoted in ibid., p. 391
- 135. Rackley and Auchmuty, Women's Legal Landmarks, loc 5773
- 136. *Guardian*, 25 April 1988, Section 28 LAIC Subject File, in Kelly McGhee, 'The Destruction Caused by Clause 28', Glasgow Women's Library (online)
- 137. Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men, p. 329
- 138. Suzannah Weiss, "'Fear of the Clit": A Brief History of Medical Books Erasing Women's Genitalia', *Vice*, 3 May 2017
- 139. Rowbotham, A Century of Women, p. 510
- 140. Helen Gurley Brown, Sex and the Single Girl: The Unmarried Woman's Guide to Men, Bernard Geis, 1962, p. 18
- 141. 'AIDS in New York: A Biography', New York Magazine, 26 May 2006
- 142. Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm: 'Hysteria,' the Vibrator and Women's Sexual Satisfaction*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, loc 1358, 1362
- 143. D. Griffiths, 'Diagnosing Sex: Intersex Surgery and "Sex Change" in Britain 1930–1955', *Sexualities*, Vol. 21, Issue 3, 2018
- 144. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, p. 422



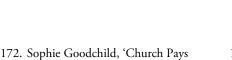
Women_B_Notes.indd 629



(

- 145. Judith Shapiro in Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds) Bodyguards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity, Routledge, 1991, p. 253
- 146. Ibid.
- 147. Ibid., p. 255.
- 148. Veronica Horwell, 'April Ashley Obituary', *Guardian*, 19 January 2022
- 149. James Michael Nichols, 'Trans Supermodel Shares How Hugh Hefner Fought For Her When No One Else Would', HuffPost, 2 October 2017
- Anne Fausto Sterling, 'Gender/Sex and the Body', Psychology Podcast, YouTube
- Philippe Testard-Vaillant, 'How Many Sexes Are There?', CNRS News, 8 January 2016
- 152. Kate Lyons, 'Gender Identity Clinic Services Under Strain as Referral Rates Soar', Guardian, 10 July 2016
- 153. From 2.5 deaths to 3.6 per 100,000 in 2021, 'Suicides in England and Wales: 2021 Registrations', ONS, in 'ONS Report Shows Alarming Rise in Suicide Rates among Young Women', Mental Health Innovations, 7 September 2022
- 154. 6-5 per cent in 2000 to 19-7 per cent in 2014, Sally McManus et al., 'Prevalence of Non-Suicidal Self-Harm and Service Contact, 2000–2014', *Lancet Psychiatry*, Vol. 6, pp. 573–81, 4 June 2019
- 155. Annelies E. van Eeden, Daphne van Hoeken and Hans W. Hoek, 'Incidence, Prevalence and Mortality of Anorexia Nervosa and Bulimia Nervosa', Current Opinion in Psychiatry, Vol. 34, No. 6, November 2021, pp. 515–24
- 156. 'Nearly One in Five Women Screened for Possible Eating Disorder', NHS, 15 December 2020
- Richard Adams, 'Oxford University Admits More Women Than Men for First Time – Ucas', Guardian, 26 January 2018
- 158. Mary Curnock Cook, 'Foreword' in Nick Hillman and Nicholas

- Robinson, 'Boys to Men: The Underachievement of Young Men in Higher Education – and How to Start Tackling It', Higher Education Policy Institute Report 84, 2016
- 159. 'Record Number of Women on FTSE 100 Boards', GovUK (online), 8 March 2018
- 160. Working Futures 2010–2020, Evidence Report 41, UK Commission for Employment and Skills, August 2012
- 161. Nicholas Hellen, Rosamund Urwin and Rosa Ellis, 'Men Earning over £150,000 Outnumber Women 5–1', Sunday Times, 7 April 2019
- 162. Kevin Rawlinson, 'FTSE Firms' Excuses for Lack of Women in Boardrooms "Pitiful and Patronising", Guardian, 31 May 2018
- 163. Ross Raisin, 'Men or Mice: Is Masculinity in Crisis?', *Guardian*, 6 October 2017
- 164. Ibid.
- 165. David Reilly, 'Men Think They're Brighter Than They Are and Women Underestimate Their IQ. Why?', The Conversation, 14 March 2022
- 166. Apostolic Constitution of Pope Pius XII, Munificentissimus Deus, Defining the Dogma of the Assumption, November 1, 1950
- 167. The Case Against the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood, Being the Report of a Commission Appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Church Information Office, December 1966, Chapter 5, in Women Priests (online)
- 168. Erin Martise, 'What Were the Professions of the Twelve Apostles?', The Classroom (online)
- 169. The Case Against the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood, Being the Report of a Commission Appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York
- 170. 'Sex is Irrelevant to This Office', Church Times, 3 May 2019
- 171. Margaret Duggan, Dame Betty Ridley obituary, *Guardian*, 4 August 2005



Afterword

10 March 2002

1. Virginia Woolf, 'Professions for Women', lecture, January 1931, in *The Death of a Moth*, Harcourt Brace, 1974, p. 238

Millions to Clergy Who Walked Out

Over Women Priests', Independent,

- 2. From 2.5 deaths to 3.6 per 100,000 in 2021, 'Suicides in England and Wales: 2021 Registrations', ONS, in 'ONS Report Shows Alarming Rise in Suicide Rates among Young Women', Mental Health Innovations, 7 September 2022
- 6.5 per cent in 2000 to 19.7 per cent in 2014, Sally McManus et al, 'Prevalence of Non-Suicidal Self-Harm and Service Contact, 2000–2014', *Lancet Psychiatry*, Vol. 6, pp. 573–81, 4 June 2019
- 4. Annelies E. van Eeden, Daphne van Hoeken and Hans W. Hoek, 'Incidence, Prevalence and Mortality of Anorexia Nervosa and Bulimia Nervosa', *Current Opinion in Psychiatry*, Vol. 34, No. 6, November 2021, pp. 515–24
- Amelia Gentleman, "An Explosion": What Is Behind the Rise in Girls Questioning Their Gender Identity?, Guardian, 24 November 2022
- 6. 'Table of Opposites', Britannica (online)
- Marvin Harris, quoted in Christopher Ryan and Cacilda Jetha, Sex at Dawn: How We Mate, Why We Stray, and What it Means for Modern Relationships, Harper, 2010, loc 3661
- 8. Willem Adriaan Bonger, quoted by Joanna Bourke, *Rape: A History from* 1860 to the Present, Virago, 2007, loc 1872
- 9. Nina Brochmann, Ellen Stokken Dahl and Lucy Moffatt, *The Wonder Down Under: A User's Guide to the Vagina*, Quercus, 2018
- Jo B. Paoletti, Pink and Blue: Telling the Boys from the Girls in America, Indiana University Press, 2012

- John Horgan, 'Darwin Was Sexist, and So Are Many Modern Scientists', Scientific American, 18 December 2017
- 12. Julia Bush, 'The Anti-Suffrage Movement', 5 March 2018
- 13. Paoletti, Pink and Blue
- Judith Shapiro in Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds), Bodyguards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity, Routledge, 1991, p. 253
- Anne Fausto Sterling, 'Gender/Sex and the Body', Psychology Podcast, YouTube
- Sheila Rowbotham, A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States, Viking, 1997, p. 406
- 17. Paoletti, Pink and Blue
- Priyanka Aribindi, '13 Fascinating Careers You Never Knew Barbie Had', *Time*, 30 July 2015
- 19. 'Stupid Gender Parties', *The Times*, 9 September 2020
- 20. Soma Sara, *Everyone's Invited*, Gallery Books, 2023, p. 23
- Philippe Testard-Vaillant, 'How Many Sexes Are There?', CNRS News, 8 January 2016
- Charles Bremner, 'Let Me Race Against Men, Says Top Female Cyclist', *The Times*, 19 March 2019
- 'UK Athletics Want to Prevent Transgender Athletes from Competing in Women's Category', Reuters, 3 February 2023
- 24. Cordelia Fine, *Delusions of Gender: The Real Science Behind Sex Differences*, Icon Books, 2010
- 25. Ibid.
- First Census Estimates on Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation, Census 2021, ONS, 6 January 2023
- 27. Comparisons of official Ministry of Justice statistics from March/April 2019 (the most recent official count of transgender prisoners):
 Written evidence submitted by Rosa Freedman, Kathleen Stock and Alice Sullivan, 'Evidence and Data on Trans Women's Offending





632 / Normal Women

- Rates', GRA 2021, Parliament UK, November 2020
- 28. 'Coercive Sex in Prison: Briefing Paper 3', Commission on Sex in Prison, Howard League for Penal Reform, 2014
- Michelle M. Sauer, Gender in Medieval Culture, Bloomsbury, 2015, loc 3431
- Joyce Burnette, 'An Investigation of the Female–Male Pay Gap during the Industrial Revolution in Britain', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 1997, pp. 257–81
- 31. Fine, Delusions of Gender, p. 80
- 32. Pamela Duncan, 'UK Gender Gap: Women Paid 90p for £1 Earned by Men', *Guardian*, 6 April 2022
- Peter Craddick-Adams, 'Women at War: "She-Soldiers" Through the Ages', BBC History
- Susan Byrnes, 'Missing Perspectives: How Women Are Left Out of the News', Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 2 December 2020
- Leslie Young, 'Drugs Aren't Tested on Women Like They Are on Men, and It Could Have Deadly Consequences', Global News, 2 November 2016
- Alyson McGregor, 'Why Medicine Often Has Dangerous Side Effects for Women', TED Talk, 5 November 2015
- 37. 'Women Doctors "Best for Female Heart Patients"', BBC News, 7 August 2018
- 38. Lindsey Bever, 'From Heart Disease to IUDs: How Doctors Dismiss Women's Pain', *Washington Post*, 13 December 2022
- David Morris, The Evil Hours, quoted in Rebecca Solnit, The Mother of All Questions: Further Feminist Essays, Haymarket Books, 2017, loc 467
- 40. Suzannah Weiss, "Fear of the Clit": A Brief History of Medical Books Erasing Women's Genitalia', *Vice*, 3 May 2017
- 41. Rebecca Jennings, A Lesbian History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Women since 1500, Greenwood Publishing, 2007, p. 15

- 42. Anthony Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 35
- 43. Ibid.
- 44. Patri J. Pugliese, 'Robert Hooke', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
- 45. Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts' Advice to Women, Random House, 2005, loc 2369
- 46. Jeanette Winterson in *The Times*, 21 August 2019
- 47. Weiss, "Fear of the Clit"
- 48. Brochmann et al., *The Wonder Down Under: A User's Guide to the Vagina*, Quercus, 2018
- 49. Weiss, "Fear of the Clit"
- 50. William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act IV, scene 6
- Daisy Payling, 'Selling Shame: Feminine Hygiene Advertising and the Boundaries of Permissiveness in 1970s Britain', Gender and History, Wiley Online, 2023
- 52. Leonard Shlain, Sex, Time, and Power: How Women's Sexuality Shaped Human Evolution, 2004, p. 182
- Ben Panko, 'This High-Ranking Viking Warrior Was a Woman', Smithsonian Magazine, 11 September 2017
- 54. Rosamund Urwin, 'Odin's Beard! Transgender Vikings May Have Played a Key Role in Pillage Life', Sunday Times, 16 August 2020
- Nadia Brooks, 'DNA Tests Solve Mystery of Finnish Warrior Buried in Women's Clothes', *The Times*, 2 August 2021
- Ida Emilie Steinmark, 'Archaeology's Sexual Revolution', Observer, 16 January 2022
- 57. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, Knopf, 1996, p. 219
- 58. Sara, Everyone's Invited, loc 919
- 59. Andrea Dworkin, *Right-Wing Women*, Perigee Books, 1982, p. 215