FREEDOM & WORK
in Western Europe (c.1250-1750)
6-8 July 2022
Exeter UK

ABSTRACTS

Panel 1. Indentured Youth: Contracts, Consent & Control

1. Sonia Tycko - English Parish Children Sent to Colonial American Servitude

In the seventeenth century, some English parish officers arranged for poor children, who they would usually have bound into parish apprenticeship, to instead migrate to the American colonies as indentured servants. Several instances of parishes sending children to Virginia—from London in the 1620s, Kent in the 1660s, and Essex in the 1680s—bring out the similarities and differences in the treatment of consent and the importance of young people's free choice in these two labor systems. This approach allows us to better understand what consent meant to early modern English people: who could offer valid consent, under what conditions, to what terms, and how their internal process of consent could be made external and known to others. Operating at the intersection of labor systems that are traditionally treated as distinct, this paper argues that the imagined free choice of the parish children and the familiarity of the indenture-making process allayed officeholders' and parishioners' worries about the potentially deadly consequences of transatlantic journeys and plantation labor, while making marginalized children (especially boys) more vulnerable to transportation. The paper will closely read several service indentures, and contextualize them within my larger book project on consent and coerced contract labor in seventeenth-century England.

Biography:

Sonia Tycko is a historian of early modern England and the Atlantic world, with a focus on social, economic, and legal history. She is currently the Kinder Junior Research Fellow in Atlantic History at the Rothermere American Institute, Oxford. From January 2022, she will be a lecturer in the history of labour at the University of Edinburgh. Dr Tycko is currently completing her first book manuscript, 'Captured Consent: Free Choice and Coerced Contract Labour in the Seventeenth-Century English Atlantic World' and has published related research in *Past and Present* and *Early American Studies.*

2. Rhiannon Sandy - Degrees of Freedom: Controlling Apprentices' Behaviour in Medieval England

Apprenticeship has long been considered a means of exploiting a source of cheap labour in a quasi-filial position within the household. The master, as *paterfamilias*, strove to control his apprentice's behaviour, not least to protect his own reputation. The reality, however, is more complex; apprentices were *not* a cheap source of labour, and they might be permitted a surprising degree of freedom. Behavioural clauses in extant apprenticeship indentures indicate that, far from being rigidly restrictive, prohibitions were often conditional.

Although formulaic, behavioural clauses were often pragmatic and grounded in reality. Many apprentices were permitted to frequent taverns, as long as it benefitted their master; indeed, it might be wholly impractical to forbid apprentices from patronising such establishments. While some apprentices were forbidden to marry during their apprenticeship, this was not the norm; the majority of indentures indicate that apprentices were able to marry, as long as they had their master's consent. Furthermore, and more surprisingly, it is clear from many indentures that sexual experimentation was an expected part of adolescence, for both male and female apprentices. Masters might seek to prevent apprentices from committing fornication *within the household*, but many indentures contain loopholes permitting a degree of freedom outside the home.

As well as providing craft-specific skills training, apprenticeship was a means of socialisation and a mechanism for creating bonds of fictive kinship. It was intended to mould young men (and women) into respectable, trustworthy, and creditworthy members of the economic community – after all, the ultimate aim of many apprenticeships was to enter the freedom of the town. Teaching the apprentice to behave appropriately was an important element of apprenticeship, and this is clearly reflected in the content of apprenticeship indentures.

Biography

I am currently making minor corrections to my doctoral thesis, "Apprenticeship Indentures and Apprentices in Medieval England, 1250–1500", which I completed (part-time) at Swansea University under the supervision of Dr Matthew Frank Stevens and Prof Deborah Youngs. In 2016 I was awarded a postgraduate bursary by the Economic History Society, which helped to cover the cost of archival research. Once my corrections have been approved, I plan to prepare my thesis for publication as a monograph.

3. James Fisher – Beyond the Labour Market: A Compulsory Apprenticeship Scheme in a Rural English Village c.1670-1750

This paper presents a case study of an organised system of unfree labour in early modern rural England. Specifically, it shows how compulsory apprenticeships for poor youth could operate as a centralised labour allocation scheme directed by the parish elite. Compulsory (or 'pauper' or 'parish') apprenticeships, established by the 1598 Poor Law, gave local state officials the power to bind poor children to work unpaid in other households until the age of 21 (girls) or 24 (boys). Historians have tended to study the economics of such apprenticeships at either the micro level of the household economy, or the macro level of the market economy. In the latter case, the distribution of child labour through compulsory apprenticeships is

interpreted as either a distortion or a response to the demands of the labour market. As a result, the fact that most boys and girls were bound to 'husbandry' or 'housewifery', i.e. farm labour, has been subject to minimal analysis.

This paper argues that a market framing is wholly inappropriate for understanding the economic dynamics of compulsory apprenticeships and has obscured alternative forms of organising labour within the parish that operated according to their own logic. It explores a detailed example of a scheme in the small rural parish of Awliscombe in Devon c.1670-1750. The village began operating an 'estate' rota system from as early as 1672, which reached full maturity by 1708. Young children were bound in turn to the occupiers of the largest 50 landholdings in the parish, before beginning a new rotation. Awliscombe therefore developed a sophisticated system for distributing surplus youth labour among ratepayers in an orderly manner. The leading yeomen therefore combined their roles as both local employers and parish governors to exert significant control over poor families and the local distribution of labour.

Biography

James Fisher is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Exeter, part of the 'Forms of Labour' project. He is currently researching how the poor laws and labour laws intersected in early modern England through a study of pauper apprenticeships. His first book, titled 'The Enclosure of Knowledge: Books, Power & Agrarian Capitalism in Britain 1660-1800', will be published this summer with Cambridge University Press.

Panel 2. Ideas of Unfree Labour

1. Giovanni Lista - 'For Improving Able Beggars to the Best Advantage': Forced Labour in pre-Union Scotland (1670-1707)

From the 1670s until the Union of 1707, Scottish institutions and ruling élites produced several efforts to achieve economic improvement, raising the question of the status of the country's workforce. In the transition between the end of the feudal order and the formation of a free labour market, a class of now landless labourers became harder to define, both legally and conceptually. As the economic crisis of the 1690s engendered statutes and laws to compel the idle to work, public debates drew on a wide range of intellectual resources – from religious justifications to continental natural law theories – to urge such policies.

This paper contends that arguments for coerced labour in pre-Union Scotland should be read contextually to the late humanist tradition of reason of State theory applied to political economy, which defined improvement as a collective endeavour dictated by European commercial rivalry. While most of the appeals for coercing the vagrants and poor to work originated from the classical example of Greek helotry mixed with the legacy of feudalism, in Scotland these formulations were primarily embedded in broader economic discourses, shaped by the reception of Dutch and English models of development. In the context of a new economic science, several authors – from the jurist George MacKenzie or the landowner Robert Sibbald to the propagandist William Seton or the improver James Donaldson – used the

language of necessity and national interest in contrast to that of individual rights to define and enforce servile employment as a resource to be exploited.

In contextualising 'domestic' unfree labour with seventeenth-century European economic thought, this paper ultimately proposes a thus far neglected yet significant intersection the former shared with the discourses underpinning the employment of chattel slavery in the colonies, after Scotland accessed the transatlantic trade of the British empire in the wake of the Union.

Biography

Giovanni Lista completed his PhD in intellectual history at the European University Institute (2018), and has been an early career fellow at the Lichtenberg-Kolleg in Göttingen (2018-2019). While working on his first monograph for *Oxford Studies in the Enlightenment*, his research interests are moving from early modern British republicanism to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political economy. This paper will present the results of his archival research in Scotland, financed by a SHR Trust scholarship (September 2021), and of his experience as the organizer of the conference 'Coerced Labour in the Early Modern World (1500-1800)' for the *International Society of Intellectual History*.

2. Julian Goodare - Discourses of Forced Labour in Early Modern Scotland

Capitalism today is often thought to rely on free labour. However, discourses about labour in early modern Scotland tended to assume that workers were lazy, untrustworthy, and in need of coercion to make them work effectively. There were various forms of forced labour in practice. Within Scotland, most workers were heavily and coercively regulated by law, and 'masterless beggars' were punished. Coal-miners and salt-workers were legally serfs – the property of their employers – between 1606 and 1775. And Scottish entrepreneurs participated actively in the slave trade, and in plantation slavery in Britain's colonies.

This paper surveys how forced labour was discussed by Scottish elites. Instead of looking at the small number of original thinkers who are usually studied by historians of economic thought, my focus is on the much larger number of elite actors who applied economic ideas and expressed these ideas in their discourse. That everyday elite discourse may be informed by high-level intellectual ideas, but needs to be studied in its own right – not least because of its closer connection to economic practice. The sources include parliamentary statutes (especially their explanatory preambles), and texts produced by lobbyists and campaigners. There is also the everyday operational discourse of Scottish landlords, employers, and owners of serfs and Caribbean slaves.

The study is not confined to employed 'servants', but also looks at coercion experienced by peasant tenants. However, one preliminary argument is that discourse on the coercion of tenants was limited. Coercion was more important for employed servants, and it increased further for serfs and slaves. At the end of this spectrum, commentators recognised that slaves were driven to work every day by overseers with whips. But slaves were not placed in a separate discourse; instead, *all* the 'inferior sort' were assumed to need at least some coercion.

Biography

Julian Goodare is Emeritus Professor of History, University of Edinburgh. He has published widely on early modern Scotland, including *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) and *The Government of Scotland, 1560-1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). He is currently co-editing *Agriculture, Economy and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (with Harriet Cornell and Alan R. MacDonald) for publication by Boydell and Brewer. This is part of a research project of which he is director, 'Agriculture and Teind Reform in Early Modern Scotland', a collaboration with the University of Dundee.

3. Simon Knight - Idealising the Labour of Shoemakers and Clothiers in Thomas Deloney's Prose Works

My paper contrasts the depiction of shoemakers and clothiers in the late-Elizabethan prose of silk-weaver and balladist Thomas Deloney. Deloney's radical portrayals of labouring-class heroes and large workforces were distinctly optimistic and forward-thinking, and resonated with contemporary audiences. Paying closer attention to how the labour process is depicted in each industry, however, reveals differing levels of freedom for the individuals in Deloney's imagined workforces. Deloney conceives of journeymen shoemakers as a mutually supportive brotherhood, and the shoemaker's workshop as a small, intimate, social and creative space, where tradesmen oversee the whole shoemaking process, as well as retail activities, and where they can sing and converse together. The artisan mode of production is shown to provide some intellectual, physical and economic independence. When Deloney focuses on the clothing industry, however, tensions emerge despite his efforts to contain them. In his first proto-novel, *Jack of Newbury* (1597), Deloney imagines industry on an unprecedented scale, and all the good a philanthropically-minded subject can do for his commonwealth with a vast workforce and capital behind him. Anticipating by nearly two centuries Adam Smith's late seventeenth-century endorsement of the economic advantages of the division of labour, Deloney takes the idea of the clothier setting 'many at worke' to 'helpeth every craft' and pushes it to its logical conclusion. But he cannot conceal the alienation that is intrinsic to the mechanised, industrial mode of production, even while it is in its infancy. The more he tries to liberate his cloth-working community through industrialised production, the more he imaginatively curtails his workers' freedoms.

Biography

Simon Knight is a first-year doctoral researcher in English at the University of Bristol. He completed his BA and MA at Cardiff University and specialised in the topic of labour in early modern literature, his two dissertations being on 'Shakespeare and the Concept of Work' and 'Shakespeare and the Rise of Capitalism, Bureaucracy and the Monetary System'. His current doctoral research project, provisionally entitled 'Idealising Labour from Deloney to Milton', looks at how early modern writers imagined freedom, dignity and satisfaction in work: how they conceived of not only what work is, but what work *should be*.

Panel 3. Accessing Freedom & Labour through the Law

1. Martin Andersson - The Rural Laboring Poor in Sweden, 1300–1600

Premodern rural Sweden has a long historiographical tradition of being described as a society of self-sufficient peasants, equal politically as well as economically. This view has however recently been challenged by scholars such as Thomas Piketty, Erik Bengtsson, and Mats Hallenberg, who instead argue for a more unequal early modern Sweden where the landed peasants dominated the large landless groups politically in order to exploit their labor economically. Yet, except for a recent study by Jonas Lindström, who found much larger numbers of landless households than anticipated during the seventeenth century but also a substantial regional variation, there is little or no empirical evidence for the numbers of landless laborers in Sweden before the eighteenth century. In addition, with the servant institution as the sole exception, very little is known regarding the institutional framework concerning the labor of the landless poor. This paper is an empirical contribution that aims to trace the development of the institutional regulations and the legal framework concerning the laboring poor during the period ca. 1300–1600, i.e. including changes that took place in the wake of the Black Death and the following epidemics, during the late medieval agrarian crisis and its labor shortage of the fifteenth century, as well as during the rapid early modern state building of the sixteenth century, during which period the landed peasantry gained substantial political influence, while military conscriptions of the state came with stricter institutional arrangements for the laboring poor. In addition, the paper will also present some preliminary figures on the number of landless laborers in some Swedish regions during the late middle ages and the seventeenth century, and conclude with some reflections on how they could have made a living through wage labor, given the chronologically varying institutional constraints.

Biography

Martin Andersson is a researcher at the Division of Agrarian History at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala, Sweden, and a visiting scholar at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure at the University of Cambridge, UK. His research deals with economic, demographic and social aspects regarding servants and other groups of rural working poor in medieval and early modern Sweden.

2. Mark Bailey - The institutional framework of the English labour market in the fourteenth century

Studies of the peasant land market in late medieval England abound, whereas studies of the labour market are unusual. This is partly because land was a major source of wealth and status in medieval society, but mainly because the transfer of land—either through sale or inheritance—features much more prominently in extant legal and manorial records than the use or exchange of labour. Consequently, our understanding of the labour market is dominated more by the traditional assumptions of early historians and less by detailed empirical research. The former focused on the main institutional factors constraining the participation of ordinary people: notably, the restrictions imposed by urban gilds and authorities; the legal coercion of rural labour through labour services; and the controls imposed by village communities over

agricultural labour. Following the arrival of the Black Death in 1348-9, central government intervened with a wave of new legislation attempting to regulate wages, length of contracts, and methods of hiring, and also forcing the able bodied to work. The post-plague labour legislation has received a good deal of attention from historians, without, however, reassessing how the labour market already operated.

This paper will review the evidence for the operation of the labour market, primarily in pre-plague England. It uses the evidence from the court rolls of four well-documented manors distributed throughout England, and various borough ordinances, to explore how manorial and urban authorities sought to regulate the labour market; how successful they were; and what documentary evidence survives for the operation of the 'free' market in labour. The latter will also be informed by evidence from the royal courts relating to contractual disputes over work. The analysis will also draw upon recent work on cultural influences, such as the evolving notion of the just wage, gender prejudices in the division of labour, and differential rates of pay. In doing so, it offers an initial reassessment of the institutional framework of the fourteenth-century labour market.

Biography

Mark Bailey is Professor of Later Medieval History at the University of East Anglia. In 2019 he delivered the Ford Lectures at Oxford University. His research interests are economic and social change in the later Middle Ages.

3. Taylor Aucoin – Enforcing Service under the English Labour Laws, c.1550-1700

The English labour laws aimed principally at regulating wage labour, rural craftsmanship, apprenticeship, and service in agricultural husbandry. More specifically, the 1563 Statute of Artificers built upon and replaced labour legislation in place since the Black Death in order to dictate, among other things, the regular assessment and setting of maximum wages for day labourers and servants, regular hours of work for day labourers, a mandatory seven-year apprenticeship for rural artisans, and compulsory service in husbandry for one-year terms for all able-bodied men and women not already in employment. Either whole or in part, these laws remained in legal effect until the early nineteenth century. Thus, when examined through the lens of 'freedom or unfreedom' within work, the Statute of Artificers would appear to underpin an obviously coercive system restricting workers' agency in myriad ways. Yet beyond the letter of the law, just how effective and widespread was enforcement of the Statute in early modern England?

Historians debated the latter question throughout the 20th century, with a prevailing view emerging, based largely on the study of wage assessments and minutes of county-level courts, that the labour laws were at best haphazardly and inconsistently enforced. But more recently, scholars such as Jane Whittle and Tim Wales have shown the persistence and sophistication of county and parochial systems which enforced annual contracts of service during specific time frames in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Likewise focusing upon compulsory service, this paper seeks to further complicate this old debate. By illustrating the multi-layered and changing ways in which the labour laws could be enforced and evidenced in source materials across legal jurisdictions, regions and time periods, the paper aims to show how magistrates,

masters and even servants themselves continued to exploit, utilize and indeed enforce the English labour laws throughout the early modern period.

Biography

Dr Taylor Aucoin is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Exeter on the Forms of Labour project. His project research explores the experience of work, as conveyed through witness testimonies in court depositions, as well as the enforcement of labour laws through the quarter session courts of early modern England. Taylor is a cultural and social historian of medieval and early modern Britain, primarily interested in work, play, festivity and Carnival and how these intersected with social relations, identities and politics in the past. His doctoral research on Shrovetide (pre-Lent Carnival) in medieval and early modern Britain is the subject of a forthcoming monograph, and in January 2023 he will begin a new research project, 'The Contested Ball Game: Football and the Social Value of Sport and Leisure in Britain, c.1400-1800' as a British Academy Early Career Fellow at the University of Edinburgh.

Panel 4. Family Economies & Women's Independence

1. **Kathryne Crossley - 'That no evil suspicion shall light upon her': The Domestic Work of Early Modern Women at Oxford Colleges**

Women have worked in Oxford colleges since their foundation nearly eight centuries ago, but the extent and scope of female labour force participation in this labour market has always been underestimated. Domestic service in Oxford colleges is typically described as gendered, with an emphasis on masculine 'dynasties'. In fact, even the most iconic of Oxford servants, the scout and porter, were hired along with their wives as teams. Property rights accrued in these roles and women often took over after their husbands died or were no longer able to continue in work, allowing women to maintain their own households.

Recent scholarship on historical living standards has established the importance of women's labour to the household economy, yet we know comparatively little about women's casual employment. Here, the history of college service provides an opportunity to augment theories of female labour force participation. Charring, or providing domestic day labour, was a very common source of employment for women throughout this period. Similarly, gender historians have identified the provision of lodgings as an important source of income for married women and widows. Records associated with this work in colleges are particularly promising and the variety of wage labour provides valuable insight into family economies.

In addition to work inside colleges, for centuries women also ran home-based businesses serving colleges. The most well-known of these are college laundresses, and again, the form and variety of these labour contracts have been previously neglected. Early modern laundresses contracted independently with members of colleges, negotiated their own rates of pay, regularly extended credit and used the Chancellor's Court to chase debtors.

Biography

Dr Kathryne Crossley is an early career researcher based in Oxford. She completed a DPhil in economic history at Oxford in 2020, supervised by Prof Jane Humphries. Her thesis looked at the history of Oxford college servants. Kathryne's research interests include labour and gender history.

2. Eliska Bujokova - Mistresses and Housekeepers: Navigating the Male World of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh

The emerging world of early modern hospitals was dominated by male managers and practitioners. Matrons and mistresses were the only women that penetrated the upper echelons of these institutions, yet left noteworthy traces of their professional and personal involvement. This paper focuses on a case study of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary matron, Mrs Waldie, who drew on her skills and experiences of a housekeeper in affluent households to negotiate her status within the hospital. It surveys the blurring of boundaries between the institutional, medical and the domestic in exploring the career of a woman that transcended these assumed separate spheres. It looks at the normative and experienced limitations faced by women such as Mrs Waldie that encroached on their personal freedoms and required full dedication to the institution in exchange for relative economic freedoms.

Recommended by a noblewoman and two medical men, Mrs Waldie was elected the 'Mistress or Housekeeper' of the Infirmary in 1733 and was highly favoured by managers. Her tenure was marked by conflicts with the clerical staff, which, perhaps surprisingly, reasserted her position of authority regarding housekeeping, diet management and overseeing of staff and patients. Despite the formal requirement to be 'free of the Burden of Children, and the Care of a Separate family', Mrs Waldie brought in her daughter to live and work in the Infirmary, demonstrating the gaps between formal and practical regulations in place. Hers was by no means a universal experience, however, and her ability to move around formal constraints was not experienced by all hospital matrons. Her story depicts the rather individualised and complex relationship between work, status and freedom within the immense sector of care provision, and shows a glimpse of the unique opportunities for women-only careers in housekeeping in the fast-growing medical milieu, providing a yet another image of 18th century women as professionals successfully navigating the (not so) male-dominated world of work.

Biography

Eliska Bujokova is a third year doctoral researcher at the Centre for Gender History at Glasgow and a Cambridge University graduate. Her research focuses on economies of care in urban Scotland in the long 18th century and combines approaches from histories of medicine, women's work and feminist economics. She has previously studied patterns of wet-nursing networks and women's occupational structures in 18th century London. Most recently she has been exploring Scottish medical institutions and their female staff in the context of contemporary politics of care and the emerging public health movement.

3. Professor Amy M. Froide - What happens to the household trade when the spouses break up? Marital separation and family businesses in 18th-century London

When a couple chose to separate in early modern England it had serious ramifications for them, their children, and even extended kin like parents and siblings. Marital separation also had an impact on family workshops, trades, and businesses. The economic side of marital separation is my current research project. There were two primary legal strategies for obtaining a legal separation: adultery, cruelty, or a combination of the two. Historians have focused on the details of adultery and cruelty because sex and violence are guaranteed topics of interest, but there has been much less interest in the economic issues that were also prominent in the separation cases. While adultery or violence may have been the reason a wife or husband gave for a separation request, what the two spouses ended up talking about in their testimonies was money. There were disputes over dowries, household trades and businesses, and the maintenance and training of family members post separation. Using witness testimony from London's Consistory Court, I examine the economic aspects of separation. This court was frequented by London's middling women— female traders, artificers, and businesswomen. When these sorts of women pursued a separation, issues involving the family business or trade rose to the fore. Wives and husbands provided she said/he said testimonies complaining of debts, business mismanagement, stealing from the till, removing trade stock from the household, and not being a good partner (in business as much as marriage). A subset of cases between widows and their second (or third) husbands illustrate the friction that occurred between a woman already familiar or working in a business or trade and a husband who might expect to be in charge. The separation cases between remarried spouses reveal that wives were definitely key partners in the family workshop or trade, but that we should not assume that such partnerships were always positive.

Biography:

Amy M. Froide is Professor and Chair of the History Department at UMBC (University of Maryland, Baltimore County). She teaches courses in early modern British and European Women's History. She is the author of *Silent Partners: Women as Public Investors during Britain's Financial Revolution, 1690-1750* (Oxford University Press, 2016). Her other books include *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2005) and *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), co-edited with Judith M. Bennett. Professor Froide has served as the book review editor for the *Journal of British Studies* and the Director of UMBC's Entrepreneurship & Innovation Minor. She is currently working on the Charitable Corporation scandal of 1732 and the economic side of marital separation.

Panel 5. Institutional Power & Economic Relations

1. Dr. Marco Tomaszewski - Lordship and Labour. Protoindustrial Textile Production of the Gonzenbach Company in Hauptwil (Eastern Switzerland), ca. 1650-1700

The paper will discuss the aspect of freedom and work based on a case where the boundaries between landlordship and commercial employership became blurred. Around 1670, the brothers Hans Jacob and Bartholome Gonzenbach, merchants from St. Gallen, developed the small hamlet of Hauptwil, where they had lordship rights, into a production site for linen, which encompassed the entire production from weaving workshops to bleacheries and dye works. Numerous new residents were settled here who were at the same time subjects, tenants and workers of the Gonzenbach. The paper focusses on these relations and aims at a contextualisation of this case within the linen industry of the region around the centre city St. Gallen. It raises the question whether this is to be considered typical or rather exceptional and asks how the labour relations in this example could be conceptualised between the poles of 'feudal' and 'free'?

Biography

Marco Tomaszewski is a research assistant in late medieval and early modern history at the University of Freiburg/Germany, having earned a PhD in 2013 with a study on sixteenth-century family books as media of urban communication. Research interests and publications include work/labour, social inequality, history of media and communication, memory culture and historiography, gender, periodisation concepts, and the Reformation. Current research project (funded by the DFG/German Research Foundation 2022-2025): *Social and Cultural History of Proto-Industrial Labour. The Linen Industry of Eastern Switzerland, 1420–1720.*

2. Tommaso Vidal - Coercion in the Fields: Semantics, Institutions and Practices of Coercion in North-eastern Italy (1200s-1400s)

The study of labour relations within the context of sharecropping contracts is a fairly thoroughly studied subject and has become a long-time staple in peasant labour history of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, Italian late-medieval fixed-rent systems suffer a state of neglection that is tied to both a pre-emptive negative bias and source scarcity or opacity. When compared to sharecropping systems, fixed-rent systems are generally considered less efficient if not a backward heritage of the early and central medieval period. Yet, a more thorough examination of extant sources can shed new light on interesting dynamics taking place within these supposedly backward labour and cultivation systems.

In my contribution I analyse the development of coerced rural labour in North-eastern Italy in the High and Late Middle Ages, from a semantic, contractual-institutional and practical standpoint, with a focus on Friuli between the 13th and 15th century. As I will try to demonstrate, the gradual concentration of land in the hands of urban landowners in North-eastern Italy (since the 11th century) did not necessarily determine the total uprooting of peasant population nor, contrary to Brenner's theorization, the transformation of peasants into farmers. Rather, data

from Friulian estates, that will be used as a proxy for the whole area, seem to suggest that the leaseholders of mid- to big urban landowners could be conceptualized simultaneously as peasants engaged in self-sufficient and market-oriented labour and wage earners under strict control by the landlords. These dynamics became more apparent in the second half of the 14th century, as increased rural mobility and decreased labour offer were met by the creation of new, more binding and coercive contracts, whose underpinning can be found in debt and credit relations, in the backing that institutions provided to landlords and in the lasting information asymmetries of labour markets.

Biography

Tommaso Vidal is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the Universities of Padua, Venice Ca' Foscari and Verona with a research project on the hospital of St. Mary in Udine during the late Middle Ages. The research focuses mainly on the economic administration of the institution from the 1380s to the 1430s and analyses both the trends in the hospital's revenues and the institution's investment policies.

His research interest are medieval social and economic history, labour history, migration and mobility studies. Beside his doctoral project he has ongoing researches on the economic and social history of North-eastern Italy and on the role of foreign minorities in the same context.

3. Hannah Robb – Commerce in Early Modern England; Towards a Spatial Analysis

This paper considers commercial work activities in early modern England. It draws on the large database of work activities compiled as part of the project Forms of Labour at Exeter University in order to explore the roles of men and women in the buying and selling of goods as well as the management of credits and debts. We know that commerce extended beyond the bounds of formal, regulated marketspaces. The home was not only a place of domestic work and familial relations but also a space in which commercial transactions, both formal and informal, took place. The home was a threshold to outside market practices and was not by its nature private nor unregulated. By looking at incidental references to buying and selling across depositions in the quarter sessions and church court records we can identify where that commerce that by-passed the regulated market was taking place. This paper will analyse the nature of these small scale exchanges and the spaces of commerce in early modern England. It will question whether these spaces were gendered and analyse instances where commerce was enmeshed in the home and in familial relations.

Biography

Hannah Robb is a post doctoral research associate at the University of Exeter working on the project, Forms of Labour. Her research explores small scale credit and financial management in the early modern period. Her work uses instances of debt litigation and considers the relationship between litigation, legal codes and contracts of credit for concepts such as trust, faith and truth in economic relationships.

Panel 6. Rethinking Wage Labour

1. Carmen Sarasúa –Wages to Fight Poverty. The Work of the Wet-nurses Employed by Foundling Hospitals in 18th century Spain.

Foundling hospitals spread across Europe (and most of Hispanic America) in the 18th century, taking in hundreds of thousands of children each year. The largest foundling hospitals would come to employ staffs of several thousand external wet nurses, who worked mainly in rural localities. A good number of hospitals in major cities had staffs reaching 1,000 women.

Wet-nursing for foundling hospitals was an unusual occupation, in that it provided regular monetary wages to women—mostly married women whose husbands earned irregular or in-kind wages.

In this paper, I study the situation of wet nurses working for foundling hospitals in 18th-century Spain. Wet nurses were legally free to engage in wage work. Although the great majority of them were married, there is no evidence in the historical record that husbands' authorization was required. This does not mean that wet nurses were able to freely dispose of their wages. Two factors acted as restrictions: poverty, and the husbands' legal and de-facto capacity to dispose of wives' wages. This paper will analyze how both factors determined married women's decisions regarding their labor supply and wages, thus conditioning their status as "free workers."

Biography

I am professor of Economic History at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain. My main lines of research are the long-term transformation of occupational structure, and women's labor force participation and its relation to economic growth. I have been a visiting professor and researcher at various universities; and Visiting Fellow at All Souls (Oxford) in 2016-2017. I am the principal investigator of the research project, "Occupational Structure and Income in the Long Run: Redefining Economic Modernization and Living Standards in Spain, 1750–1975." My most recent publications include a chapter co-authored with Jane Humphries in *The Routledge Handbook of Feminist Economics*, "The Feminization of the Labor Force and Five Associated Myths" (2021); and a book on the wages of wet nurses who worked for foundling hospital, *Salarios que la ciudad paga al campo: Los salarios de las nodrizas de las inclusas en España, 1700–1900* (2021).

2. John Styles - Wages of Spinning

From the arrival of the spinning wheel to England during the Middle Ages to its eclipse by powered spinning machines early in the nineteenth century, hand-spun yarn was vital to the success of the textile industries that dominated English manufacturing. Indeed, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, hand spinning – of wool, flax, or cotton – was probably the principal income-generating activity pursued by English women. However, the way English

women were paid for their spinning was unusual. In contrast to other parts of western Europe, in England payment usually took the form of a wage, paid according to a piece rate for working up raw materials supplied by an employer. Elsewhere, even in large-scale industries trading internationally, spinners were much more likely to be small, independent producers, who bought their materials, processed them and then sold them on in a series of market transactions.

Trends in piece rates paid for spinning have recently figured prominently in debates around the notion of an eighteenth-century English high wage economy. Yet the participants in these debates have rarely asked fundamental questions about why wage payment for spinning was so prominent in England and what piece rates were designed to achieve. In fact, there were many spinning piece rates, which varied according to the fibre being spun, the fineness to which the yarn was being spun, the equipment being used, and short- and long-term changes in the fortunes of the various textile industries and their products. The paper will explore the character of wage contracts in spinning. It argues that generalisations about levels of piece rates are perilous, because the tasks a spinner contracted to undertake differed substantially according to the fibre being spun. Crucial for the way employers computed piece rates was sustaining and improving yarn quality.

Biography.

John Styles is Professor Emeritus in History at the University of Hertfordshire in the UK and Honorary Senior Research Fellow at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. He specializes in the history of early-modern Britain and its colonies, especially the study of material life, textiles, manufacturing and design. His most recent books are *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (Yale UP, 2007) and *Threads of Feeling: The London Foundling Hospital's Textile Tokens, 1740-1770* (Foundling Museum, 2010). He is currently writing a book on fashion, textiles and the origins of Industrial Revolution.

3. Miquel Faus Faus - Understanding the Day Labourer in Late Medieval Valencia: New Sources and Methodologies.

The day labourer has been a key piece in the study of real wages from the beginning of economic history, since the value of their work represented one of the basic units of measurement for the evolution of living standards. However, in recent years, several studies, such as those present in the book *Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages*, have come to doubt not only the validity of this indicator, but also the generalized existence of this form of work. The objective of this paper is to provide qualitative data on the role of the day labourer and the representativeness of his salary in Medieval Valencia.

To do this, we will analyse a source that is rarely used in Valencian economic history studies: criminal trials and sentences. We will focus especially on lawsuits for injuries made to a day labourer, because in these judicial processes the worker claims compensation from the aggressor for the wages lost due to his injuries. These documents usually provide:

1. A short description of the events that caused the injuries.
2. The injured party's claim: specifying the days that he has not been able to work and the wages that he has consequently lost.

3. The statements of testimonies (both from the prosecution and the defense):
    a. Estimating whether the sum demanded is fair and adjusted to the labour market.
    b. Describing the usual work activity of those involved to prove their professional ethics and their respectability in front of the other.
4. The court ruling: marking the compensation that the aggressor must pay to the victim.

From all this information I will try to measure the validity of the series of wages of day labourers as well as to understand the behaviour of the labour market in which they participated in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Biography

- Graduated in History by the University of Valencia (2013-2017)
- Master "Historia de la Formación del Mundo Occidental" by the University of Valencia (2017-2018)
- From 2019 PhD student in history at the University of Valencia
    - Provisional title of the thesis: Work and Living Standards in Medieval Valencia (1300-1460)
    - Financed by a FPU contract from the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports.
- Winner of the bursary "Països Catalans" of the "Institut d'Estudis Catalans" (2019-2020).

Panel 7. Sex Work: Coercions & Economic Opportunities

1. Michelle Armstrong-Partida - The Economics of Concubinage and the Labor of Concubines in the Late Medieval Mediterranean

Fueled by migration and slavery, the practice of concubinage was widespread throughout the Mediterranean. Although concubinous relationships are often associated with elite men, artisans, peasants, and men from the middling levels formed concubinary unions with enslaved, single, and married women. First, this paper will set the stage by underscoring the mobility of low status women across the Mediterranean. The connectivity of the Mediterranean via its trade routes contributed not only to the movement of people but also to common sexual practices around the region. Second, it will discuss contracts of concubinage and the economic activities of women identified as concubines and "amicas" in notarial documents from Mallorca, Barcelona, Valencia, Marseille, and Palermo. Many of these women, who were often single, were migrants in these port cities. For their economic survival, they established relationships with local or migrant men who benefitted from their domestic and sexual labor in the home as well as outside the domestic sphere. Concubines appear as business partners involved in running hostels, taverns, and in the selling of wine, and as active agents negotiating the terms of their sexual relationships with men. Formerly enslaved women are recognized as concubines when they received inheritances from their previous owner and father of their children. Finally, this paper will tie the practice of concubinage to masculinity in the Mediterranean by using the work of the anthropologist Jane Ward and her theory of "gender labor." Concubines performed "gender labor" because their very presence validated a

man's masculinity; thus, the custom of keeping a concubine(s) functioned to bolster men's gender authenticity.

Biography

An Associate Professor at Emory University, Dr. Armstrong-Partida specializes in the study of gender and sexuality and women's history in Iberia and the Mediterranean. She is the author of *Defiant Priests: Domestic Unions, Violence, and Clerical Masculinity in Fourteenth-Century Catalunya* (Cornell, 2017) and a co-editer of *Women & Community in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (2020). Her current book project is a comparative study of concubinous unions among the peasantry, urban poor, and merchant class across the late medieval Mediterranean. This ambitious study is based on archival research in Barcelona and Valencia, Rome, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, and Palermo, as well as Marseille, Perpignan, Toulouse. It draws parallels between Latin Christian merchants with Jewish and Muslim merchants, who likewise kept concubines that were often slave women from eastern Europe and Africa, to illustrate a commonality of sexual practices. Her research exposes the significant population of enslaved, single, married women, and widows, who by circumstance or choice, ended up in an informal union to weave the experiences of women at the lowest levels of society into an account of medieval people who remained on the margins of marriage.

2. Roisin Cossar - Concubines as Sex Workers in the Clerical Households of 15th-century Ferrara

During the Middle Ages, the households of priests and other clerics were workplaces sustained by the labour of women. Modern scholars tend to identify these women as "quasi-wives," emphasizing the companionate nature of their relationships. This paper reframes the status of such women, exploring the usefulness of the term "sex worker" to apply to them. My evidence comes from an unusual source: interrogations of women who had previously lived with priests in the city and diocese of Ferrara. In June of 1421 dozens of women living with priests in Ferrara were expelled from their homes on the order of the local lord and the bishop. Months after the expulsions, the Dominican inquisitor gathered the women to be questioned about their new circumstances, asking specifically for details about their work and finances and recording that information within a register titled "Concerning the Discipline of Clerics." The evidence contained in the register provides invaluable information about women's labour within clerical households. It underlines how the Christian church's portrayal of concubines as agents of corruption and chaos ignores their foundational role in maintaining the local church, even at risk to their own salvation.

Biography

Roisin Cossar is Professor and acting Head of the Department of History at the University of Manitoba. Her research draws on notarial records from across northern Italy to examine the interplay between Christian institutions and daily life in the medieval past. She is also interested in how notarial records both preserve and shape historical memory. Her most recent monograph, *Clerical Households in late medieval Italy* (Harvard, 2017) focusses on the households of priests across northern Italy in the fourteenth century, examining how the clergy represented themselves and their family members in records such as testaments. She is presently at work on several projects, including a study of the female servants of the clergy

across Italy in the fifteenth century and another on seasonality, the environment, and Christian society in Italy during the later Middle Ages.

Panel 8. Mobile Work: Freedoms & Restrictions

1. Daniel Gettings - Opportunity in Exhaustion: The Social and Economic Freedom of Water Work in Early Modern England

Water is essential to life. In the Bible, John 4:1-10, Christ speaks of "living water", reflecting the special place this substance has in sustaining both the body and civilization. Of greater interest, however, is that this passage takes the form of a conversation between Christ and a woman who has travelled to a well to collect water. To early modern readers, the daily labour that was water collection would have been all too familiar, as would the individual performing it. Links between water, food preparation, cleaning and other domestic tasks placed the substance within the female sphere, leaving its collection an almost exclusively female task. Even when no women were present (e.g., in all male apprentice workshops) the perceived femininity of this job led to its delegation to the youngest apprentices.

The revelation that women carried water in the early modern period is not new, and numerous studies of women's work mention water carrying as an important task that was dominated by female labour. This paper, however, wishes to turn towards an aspect of water to which little attention has been paid. The freedoms it afforded those women who worked with it. The wells at which women met to gather water were female dominated spaces. They afforded opportunities to meet up and converse with neighbours and friends as well as sites from which women who transgressed social norms could be excluded in acts of internal moral policing. Water's domestic quality also enabled women to have a role in industries from which they were usually excluded like mining, which could hire them both to collect water and to use it to clean run-off. Water's necessity for so many tasks combined with its female associations in this period makes it a source of clear importance when discussing freedom and women's labour.

Biography

Daniel Gettings is a second year PhD student at the University of Warwick supervised by Beat Kümin. His thesis is entitled, 'Sustaining Body and Soul: The early modern English and their water, 1550 - 1750'. He completed his BA in History and his MA in Early Modern History at the University of Warwick in 2019 and 2020 respectively. His research interests include water, popular religious belief and everyday life in early modern England.

2. Richard Blakemore - Freedom and Unfreedom at Sea: Seafaring as Work in the Early Modern Period

Maritime labourers occupy an unusual, and even paradoxical, position within the history of work and freedom. Much scholarly research has focused on their lack of freedom, depicting seafarers as a heavily exploited, and prototypically modern and proletarian (if in

some ways marginal) group. Considered an essential resource for state power and mercantile profits, seafarers were subjected to increasingly restrictive laws seeking to control the conditions and circumstances of their employment while satisfying the demands of both military and private employers, laws which often relied on coercion and incarceration to achieve these aims. Seafaring labour was a tool for the subjugation of others through imperial oppression and the transatlantic slave trade, and aboard ship seafarers were subjected not only to confined spaces and a dangerous environment, but to the authority of officers, commanders, and broader institutional hierarchies, especially in the service of state navies or major trading companies. Mistreatment, exploitation, and harsh punishments were well-documented elements of maritime life.

At the same time, maritime work could offer freedom, not just through the traditions of radical resistance that seafarers developed (about which several historians have written), but through the opportunities provided by seafarers' professional mobility within an international, but politically and legally fragmented, labour market. In this paper I will argue that early modern maritime work is best understood not as the preserve of a floating, isolated, atomised, and predominantly male workforce, but dependent on social connections to local communities, including family, neighbourhood, and religious congregations, with women playing an especially important role in maritime labour. I will investigate the resulting combination of freedom and unfreedom, exploring the political and economic circumstances, and the individual factors such as skill development, professional reputation, and personal networks, which shaped that combination within any seafarer's working life.

Biography

Dr Richard Blakemore is Associate Professor in Social and Maritime History at the University of Reading. His teaching and research focus on the social history of seafarers and maritime communities during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. He has written, with Dr Elaine Murphy, *The British Civil Wars at Sea, 1638-1653*, and has co-edited *Law, Labour, and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c. 1500-1800* and *The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain*. He has published articles and chapters on navigation, Atlantic piracy, British trade with West Africa, the economic activities of seafarers, and maritime law.

3. Charmian Mansell - Workers on the Move: Freedoms and Constraints on Itinerant Labour in Early Modern England

> In 1607, the testimony of Joan Daingerfield, a witness in a defamation suit heard in the Gloucester church court came under scrutiny. The opposing party contended she was an unsuitable witness, being 'of litle estimacion amongst the neighbours, one that hath noe certen dwellinge place but stragleth upp and downe to get worke'.

The itinerant lifestyle, contemporaries suggested, was one that bred indolence. Early modern legislation – both labour and vagrancy laws – sought to limit such freedoms to move around for work. Young people were pressed into annual service, to live under the watchful gaze of their masters. Men and women wandering from parish to parish were apprehended by local constables for straying from home and branded as vagrant, despite their pleas in Quarter Sessions examinations that they were 'seeking work'.

But court records are also replete with evidence of workers on the move. Some freedoms were granted by masters. Servants and apprentices loaded panniers onto the backs of horses and set out without their employers to sell wares at local and distant markets and fairs. Others changed the nature and location of their work frequently: at harvest, some of these same workers traded service for agricultural labour, crisscrossing parish and county borders to reap crops and gather apples. Tailors, shoemakers, thatchers and masons genuinely did 'seek work' further afield, working at houses in surrounding parishes all week before returning home at weekends.

This paper explores attitudes towards and the experiences of itinerant workers recorded in church court depositions and Quarter Sessions examinations. It highlights various mechanisms by which their working lives were monitored, examines the experiences of groups and individuals who were permitted freedom to work 'abroad', and interrogates cases where such freedoms were curtailed to understand *why*. In doing so, it sheds new light on notions of workers' autonomy as well as the effectiveness of the state, employers and communities in overseeing itinerant labour.

Biography

Dr Charmian Mansell is a historian of early modern social and economic history. She currently holds a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Cambridge and is working on a project titled 'Everyday Travel and Communities in Early Modern England'. Her research lies at the intersection of the histories of work, gender, migration and community and is primarily concerned with recovering everyday experiences and socio-economic identities of ordinary people using court records. She has published articles in *Continuity and Change* and *Gender and History* and is working on her monograph, *Female Servants in Early Modern England*, based on her doctoral research.

Panel 9. Workers on the Margins: The Poor, Infirm, Old & Young

1. Marie-Louise Leonard - Health and Work in Early Modern Venice

This paper examines the relationship between ill-health and working life in early modern Venice. Scholars have examined how people cared for their own health, looking at how patients experienced and recovered from disease, interacted with multiple medical practitioners and altered the physical environment to improve health. However, the impact that sickness had upon the ability to work has yet to be seriously considered for the pre-industrial period. Drawing on sources including manuscript 'sick notes' found in correspondence, medical treatises, and regulations created by employers, I examine what happened when workers became ill and evaluate the relationship between social status and responses to ill-health. Ill-health is broadly conceived, encompassing chronic illness, bouts of ill-health, injury, and periods of epidemic disease. How did illness impact on different groups of workers? I will examine the types of ailments identified by employees and ascertain if the impact of an illness differed depending on the job or position. For instance, was the impact of a chronic illness different for literate workers or those who had access to a scribe? Connections between domestic life and work were not tightly defined by hours or duties of work in early modern societies. My paper will

focus instead on key elements of these interactions at the time, notably working locations, such as workshops and offices; the impact ill-health had upon the home or household; and measures to protect workers.

Biography

I am a Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellow at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. I began my project, 'Ill-health, Work and Occupational Health in Early Modern Italy, 1550-1750', in September 2020. Previously I was a teaching fellow in early modern cultural history at the University of Leeds. I completed my PhD, 'Plague Epidemics and Public Health in Mantua, 1463-1577', at the University of Glasgow in 2014.

2. Henry French '… some measures may be adopted for the employment of the families of Labourers in this Parish'. Work, Welfare, and the Household Economy in an Eighteenth-Century English Parish.

This paper will contribute to the strand on poverty and economic coercion, and discuss gender and age in the labour market. It will focus on the relationship between paid labour and the poor relief system under the later 'Old Poor Law' in England. This Elizabethan legislation had always empowered parish officers to intervene in local labour markets, enabling them to assign work, service, or apprenticeships for those who were without it, and in theory restricting the geographical mobility of waged workers. Existing research has surveyed the relief initiatives created between c. 1600-1750, and explored contemporary debates about the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, and the emergence of workhouses to control costs and claimants.

General surveys have shown that poor relief became more pervasive and costly in the eighteenth century, as rapid population increases spurred labour competition, depressed real wages, and 'crowded-out' women and children from the agrarian workforce. However, we know less about the relationship between parish assistance/interventions and the working practices and household budgets of the 'labouring poor'. Apart from detailed case-studies by Smith, Sokol and Williams, historians have relied on the model budgets created by Davis (1787) and Morton Eden (1795). Unusually, in the Essex parish of Terling, overseers of the poor surveyed household budgets repeatedly, and the contribution of relief between 1775 and 1813. This paper analyses these, by placing them within a detailed reconstruction of the relieved population in this parish (3,500 people, and 145,000 individual payments) in the later eighteenth century. It uses families' relief patterns to reconstruct the cycle of the working year, the changing composition of the agrarian labour force, and the growing short-fall in labourers' earning power. It will show how welfare payments became an integral part of the experience of labour, and a double-edged form of 'protective-coercion'.

Biography

Henry French is professor of social history at Exeter. He has published several articles on poor relief and the household economy, notably in Economic History Review and Continuity & Change 2015. He has recently edited a volume with Christine Fertig & Richard Paping, called *Landless Rural Households in Europe, 1500-1800* to be published by Boydell Press.

3. Mark Hailwood - Work Repertoires and the Life Cycle: Evidence from the Women's Work in Rural England 1500-1700 Database

One strand of the Forms of Labour project has been the creation of a database of women's and men's work activities collected from witness depositions given before local courts. Our focus has been on gathering evidence of women and men directly engaged in specific tasks, such as 'mowing corn' or 'milking a cow', that allow us to build up a picture of everyday work repertoires that capture a wider range of work activity than more conventional approaches that draw on wage accounts or occupational labels. The database records as much personal information as possible about individuals undertaking work activities, and this allows us to examine the ways in which working patterns were influenced not only by gender, but by factors such as marital status and age too. This paper concentrates on the latter, using evidence from the database to compare the average 'work repertoire' of different age groups, as well as investigating the extent and nature of paid work engaged in by different age groups. It will argue that women's work changed more significantly across the life-cycle than men's, but for men and women alike dependency on forms of paid work was more common in both youth and old age than in middle age.

Biography

Dr Mark Hailwood is a Lecturer in History at the University of Bristol and a social historian of England in the period 1500-1750. He has a particular interest in the relationship between historical change and the everyday lives of ordinary men and women, and in this vein has published on topics such as alehouses and drink culture, literacy, time-use and work. Dr Hailwood has been a co-investigator on the Forms of Labour Project at Exeter University since its initial launch in 2015.

Panel 10. Freedom to Trade

1. Ed Legon – Freedom and Resistance to Search in England’s Cloth Industry, 1603-1714

One of the defining ‘freedoms’ of seventeenth-century clothmakers (combers, weavers, clothiers, and clothworkers, to name but a few occupations) was that which permitted these workers to exercise their trades within corporate towns. This freedom was guarded jealously by those upon whom it was conferred via strict collective regulation of apprenticeship and practice. Those who did not submit freely to company regulation, including those who traded without the freedom to do so, were subjected to a range of coercive measures, such as fines and distraint of goods and chattels. In turn, freedom became a structuring discourse for the preservation or reaffirmation of ancient rights, especially amid the conflagration of Britain’s civil wars and revolutions. Nonetheless, the regulations which defined freedom in a corporate context could be met with strategies of resistance which imply the existence of ‘freedoms’ which rivalled, or overlapped uneasily, with that to trade. The clothworker and Trinitarian

radical John Sturkey refused entry of his Coleman Street workshop, and likely place of illegal worship, to Clothworkers' Company searchers twice in the mid-seventeenth century, doing so on both occasions with 'undecent and uncivill speeches' which threatened company fraternity and order. Meanwhile, the Norwich wool carrier Francis Williamson threatened the lives of local searchers of his wagon 'with a Cleave[r]' two decades later, accentuating thereby longer-term disputes between Norfolk's producers of worsted cloth.

This paper uses research of clothmakers' companies records to explore the overlapping freedoms to which their members and others might lay claim. This research contributes to wider explorations of freedom and urban political participation in the seventeenth century by marrying interests in corporate regulation and the political culture of early modern England's staple industry. This paper seeks to contribute particularly to the 'laws regulating labour or commerce' and 'domination and resistance' strands of the conference.

Biography

Dr Ed Legon is an early modern historian and Lecturer in Heritage Management at Queen Mary University of London. He is currently researching a new book on the politics of textile workers in seventeenth-century England. In 2019, Manchester University Press published his book *Revolution Remembered: Seditious Memories after the British Civil Wars*.

2. Judy Stephenson - Freedom of Contract or Freedom to Contract? Unskilled Labouring and Entrepreneurship in London 1660-1750

Between 1672 and 1696 the Commissioners for rebuilding St Paul's Cathedral signed ninety-three contracts of between £1 and £140 for labouring task work on the site with men who were also employed and paid as day labourers. By signing these contracts, which priced demolition and groundwork by the foot or ton, the labourers accepted risk for managing and completing heavy construction work (subcontracting labour), at profit more than their own day rate. Such contracts are common in seventeenth-century building accounts, but by the mid eighteenth-century they are rare.

When economic historians assume that labour in building construction had 250-300 days of work a year, they assume that workers were directly employed as waged labour and moved seamlessly between employers. In reality, all workers face a search for work (in varied conditions) that constrains their choices, their contracts, their wages and their welfare. Many historians (such as Woodward 1995) have argued that we should instead treat workers in many trades as petty entrepreneurs. In combining the search for work with the search for contracts, even unskilled labourers exercised entrepreneurial capital and skill.

With extensive archival evidence, this paper uses contracts from sites across London 1660-1750 to explore the costs of search and value of entrepreneurship or trading-on-one's-own account for unskilled workers in this period, and charts evidence of the decline of the latter by the mid to late eighteenth century. The implications for our understanding of the changing institutions of work, and freedom to contract, over this important period will be discussed.

Biography

Judy Stephenson is Associate Professor of the Economics and Finance of the Built Environment at the Bartlett, UCL. She is a former EHS Tawney fellow, former fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, and a research associate at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. She has published a monograph 'Contracts & pay – Work in London Construction 1660 – 1785' and is co-editor of 'Seven Centuries of Unreal Wages' with John Hatcher, as well as several papers on work and wages 1660-1800. She is currently writing 'Wages Before Machines' under contract for Princeton University Press.

3. Tim Reinke-Williams - Indictments of Publicans in the Home Counties, 1603-1642: Geography and Gender

This paper investigates the extent to which women and men were free to operate as retailers of alcohol in early seventeenth-century England, by using evidence from assize indictments from Hertfordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Essex and Kent, alongside sessions records from Hertfordshire and Middlesex to investigate how many people were summoned before the courts for running unlicensed public houses between 1603 and 1642. Although major research projects have been established in recent years to investigate women's work and intoxicants (at the universities of Exeter and Sheffield respectively), relatively little research has been carried out into women as retailers and producers of alcohol in the two centuries after 1550, with many early modernists continuing to lean heavily on the findings of medievalists such as Judith Bennett and Marjorie McIntosh, or of historians of mainland Europe such as Thomas Brennan and Beat Kümin, so this paper begins the process of rectifying this omission by using the aforementioned records to compare the extent to which women and men were indicted for running unlicensed (often unruly) public houses across the Home Counties, an area of the country which has not been the focus of attention by either of the two aforementioned research clusters. Drawing on printed calendars of court records catalogued, the paper will not provide definitive statistics on how many individuals were prosecuted, but will draw attention to how levels of policing varied significantly between counties (with Kent and Middlesex seeing especially large numbers of indictments), as well as offering some thoughts on what the evidence suggests about how many women were running public houses in the first four decades of the seventeenth century, a period when (it has been suggested) women were being hedged out of the sector.

Biography

Tim Reinke-Williams is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Northampton and Fellow of the Royal Historical Society who researches the social, cultural and economic history of early modern Britain. His first book, *Women, Work and Sociability in Early Modern London* (Palgrave, 2014), discusses how metropolitan women cultivated positive reputations as honest individuals of good repute through fulfilling roles as mothers, housewives, domestic managers, retailers and neighbours. Tim has edited a volume of essays on shopping in the early modern period (forthcoming in 2022) and is completing a monograph on attitudes to men's bodies in seventeenth-century England.

Panel 11. Mechanisms of Coercion

1. Hillary Taylor - Violence and Labour Discipline in Early Modern England

In a 1983 conversation between EP Thompson and CLR James, the former remarked: 'In Britain, we've had a quiet kind of history, because we've always exported violence.' Interpersonal violence's role in the maintenance and inculcation of labour discipline in overseas settings – including in the context of chattel slavery – is widely acknowledged. Yet, as Thompson's comment suggests, it can be tempting to assume that violence played no analogous role within Britain (or England) itself.

This paper examines the relationship between interpersonal violence and labour discipline in England, c. 1550-1750. Particular attention will be paid to controversies involving farmers, agricultural labourers, and servants in husbandry, as well as instances of 'corrective' violence that resulted in the death of workers. Material from quarter sessions and assize cases, among other sources, will be used to explore several questions. What sorts of work-related controversies resulted in violent 'correction' and, in some instances, death? To what extent did workers' efforts to shape the nature of their labour (its temporal rhythms, the ways in which tasks were accomplished, and so forth) occasion violent reprisals? Was 'corrective' violence more likely to be meted out to relatively young workers, or was it also inflicted upon adults? When employers were prosecuted in court for fatally 'disciplining' their employees, what factors resulted in leniency for the accused? By considering violence's role in the 'core', this paper aims to shed light on the continuities involved in labour relations and labour discipline across different parts of the emerging British 'periphery'. It also aims to enhance our understanding of the forms of domination involved in early modern English labour relations, as well as the experiences of subordination involved in work.

Biography

In recent years, I have held a Research Fellowship at Jesus College, Cambridge, and a temporary Lectureship in the Cambridge History Faculty. My work to date has focused on language and social relations in early modern England; an associated article, which explored the role that socio-economic coercion played in compelling members of the labouring population to testify for their superiors, was published in *Economic History Review*. I am beginning a new project on 'workplace' violence in early modern England. I received my PhD from Yale in 2016 and was supervised by Keith Wrightson.

2. Margo Kolenda-Mason - Captive Work: Bridewell Prison's Theory of Labor

In 1553, Bridewell Hospital was chartered as a place to reform and set to work the recent influx of vagrant Londoners. Four years later, the world's first labor-based correctional facility opened its doors, and quickly changed the landscape of the British penal system. Bridewell was envisioned as a site where idle persons, those whose key crime was the failure to work, would be given "relief" through employment. The criminalization of idleness in the sixteenth century saw work as the key to freedom, and seemingly literalized this tenet through Bridwell's core mission. In practice, the relationship between labor, idleness, crime, and

freedom was much more complicated, as this paper explores. Work, within Bridewell's walls, was the activity of the prisoner, even as it was offered as eventual ideal of the released inmate. This paper takes on the tensions between Bridwell's rhetoric and practice, which position work as the key activity that both constituted freedom and dominated the experience of imprisonment.

I argue that Bridewell offers a fascinating case study for untangling the various components of work, extracting busyness and occupation from craft, productivity, and even profit. On the one hand, Bridewell's rhetoric of personal improvement and a teleology toward freedom through labor concealed the opportunity for exploitation and state control. At the same time, though, the centrality of work, as opposed to pure detainment or humiliation made Bridewell's model of captivity different than the gaols, stocks, or even galley servitude: control and surveillance could have been achieved otherwise, and the enterprise was not financially profitable. The explicit focus on labor, makes Bridewell an opportune site for examining the boundaries between free and unfree work. This paper theorizes how Bridewell both upheld and questioned the relationship between work and freedom, clarifying and complicating the cultural definition of work in sixteenth-century England.

Biography

Margo Kolenda-Mason is a PhD Candidate in the Department of English t the University of Michigan where she works on medieval and early modern English literature. Her dissertation, "Hardly Working" Fruitless Labor in Premodern English Literature" examines alternative versions of labor as a literary reaction to economic and social preoccupation with work in fourteenth- through sixteenth-century England. She claims that English writers turned toward work that somehow wasn't working—the fruitless, impossible, failed, and displaced-- in order to grapple with the unstable definition and valuation of work during this long historical moment.

3. Gabriele Marcon - Lost Labour: Patterns of Coercion and Gendered Labour in Early Modern Mines

This paper builds on the case study of waged labour in the Medici mines in the sixteenth century. It aims to move beyond the widely accepted image of wage-earner male miners as the worker prototype in the early modern mines. In doing so, it sheds new light on two defining and long-standing aspects of mine labour in Europe: 'free' work and the gendered nature of labour. First, it investigates degrees of bondages and coercion mediated by wages embedded in labour relations. Second, it uncovers working women in the mining sector by extending the definition of labour beyond the wage-earning paradigm. I will refer to this category of work output as 'lost labour'. In doing so, I contribute to the debate on free and unfree labour in early modern Europe, and expand our understanding of the gendered nature of specific labour tasks, which have significantly influenced historical and contemporary readings of capitalist production and proletarization models.

The argument is based on original evidence from the Medici silver mines from the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1542 the soon-to-become Gran Duke Cosimo I de Medici reopened ancient silver and lead pits in the area surroundings the towns of Pietrasanta (Versilia) and Campiglia (Maremma). In the following decades, incoming German-speaking miners bolstered

productivity and introduced new forms of labour organization inspired by German mining customs. This migration also left insightful court case books where workers' depositions offer an in-depth analysis of labour relations and women work in early modern mines. I confront such sources with mines' ledgers and official correspondence, thus providing new information on the role of policy makers and subcontractors in allocating labour and conceiving female participation in mining activities.

Biography

I am a PhD researcher in the Department of History and Civilization at the European University Institute (Florence). My dissertation is a comparative analysis of labour mobility and knowledge circulation in early modern Europe. I examine the mobility of German-speaking miners to the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Florence in the sixteenth century. I have been trained in social and economic history at the University of Padua (Italy) and studied at the University of Innsbruck (Austria), where I developed reading and translating skills of early modern German handwritten sources. I am the co-coordinator of the European Labour History Network Working Group "Labour in Mining" and the "History of Science Working Group" at the EUI.

Panel 12. Women's Agency through Work

1. Eugene Costello - The Origins and Economic Importance of Gendered Livestock Husbandry in North-west Europe

In much of Europe, the task of herding livestock tended to fall to men in recent centuries. However, ethnographic sources in Ireland, western Scotland, Iceland and northern Scandinavia show that women in those countries had a central role in herding as well as milking livestock. This was especially the case on upland and outland pastures that were used on a seasonal basis by non-elite peasant communities. Here they would stay in seasonal dwellings known variously as shielings, boolies, sel sites, seter and fäbodar. The traditions associated with these female-dominated sites are relatively well documented from 1850 onwards but how far back in time does the role of women in livestock husbandry go? This paper examines the origins of gendered livestock husbandry in north-west Europe, paying particular attention to Ireland and Sweden. It considers 'herding' and 'dairying' together, since these were tasks that were linked in the landscape (a vital physical arena which previous studies in agrarian labour history have tended to overlook). Notwithstanding the at times fragmentary documentary record for pastoralism in north-west Europe, the paper argues that women had some role in herding prior to the late medieval period, and that this went beyond milking cows and making butter. Indeed, it is possible that this pre-existing female tradition of livestock husbandry facilitated the integration of 'peripheral' rural communities into the emerging capitalist world system. Changes in gendered labour as such help us to investigate the commercialisation of livestock and dairy production in pre-1750 Europe.

Biography

Dr Eugene Costello received his PhD in 2016 from NUI Galway and has since served as National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow at University of Notre Dame, Postdoctoral Fellow in environmental humanities at Stockholm University, and National University of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellow in Humanities at UCC. He is currently a Marie Curie Fellow at Uppsala and the Principal Investigator of a major Swedish Research Council project entitled, 'Feeding Capitalism and Facing its Consequences? Upland Pastoralism in Ireland and Sweden, c. 1350-1850'. His award-winning book, Transhumance and the Making of Ireland's Uplands, 1550-1900, was published recently by Boydell.

2. **Gabriel Jover-Avellà and Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora - Looking for Agency in Southern Europe: Life Course and Wages of Female Olive Pickers, Mallorca, 1645 – 1696**

In the 17th century the island of Mallorca, like other Mediterranean regions, became one of the commodity frontiers that provided olive oil as an input (lubrication, lighting, soap production, etc.) for the Atlantic urban economies. The olive cultivation in Mallorca had two peculiarities compared to other exporting areas: large-scale production (in extensive estates) and the intense hiring of women's and children's wage labor for olive harvesting.

In this paper we propose to analyze the life course, wages and incomes of women olive pickers between 1645 and 1696 that worked in a big estate located in the center-north of the island of Mallorca. With the purpose of determining whether the income accumulated by these women provided them with a certain agency in the formation of a new home through marriage. This is an issue that has been little studied in southern Europe, given the a priori consideration that the dowry system favored early marriage, which prevented women from entering the labor market.

In order to carry out this study, a wide variety of sources will be used, from notarial documentation to accounting documentation. In this way, we seek to estimate the average value of dowries as an indicator of the economic effort required to create a new household, which in turn will allow us to establish the social position of the women olive pickers studied. Next, we will analyze the average number of years that they were going to pick before marriage –which was later in comparison with those who were not working away from home-, the average days of work they performed in each season and the annual and total income of their economic life cycle in the olive grove, which will allow us to theorize about the income necessary to accumulate sufficient capital to pay an average dowry.

Biography

Gabriel Jover-Avellà is Associate Professor of Economic History in the Department of Economics and member of the Rural History Research Centre, both at the University of Girona (Spain). His research interests focus on two areas: the development of labour markets and the environmental history in early modern period in Spain and also England. He has published in journals like *Revista de Historia Económica, Journal of Agrarian Change, Sustainability, Historia Agraria*, *Climate Change* or *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. He has been visiting scholar at the London School of Economics, University of Durhamand and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora is Associate Professor of Human Geography at the Open University of Catalonia and Principal Investigador at the Center for Demographic Studies. Her research lines deal with: Time reduction in database construction through artificial intelligence; Intergenerational transmission of social status and labour markets formation. She has been visiting researcher at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population (UK), the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (USA), the Centre for Economic Demography (SW), etc. She has published in journals like *The History of Family, Historical Methods, European Review of Economic History, Journal of Historical Sociology,* etc.

3. Nancy Haijing Jiang - Women of Credit and Female Spirituality in Pre-modern England

Women's work in pre-modern European credit markets has garnered increasing critical attention in recent years. Scholars have uncovered numerous ways women navigated the gendered obstacles within credit networks to promote their own economic agenda—from investing in companies, to acting as creditworthy guarantors, to acquiring loans. These studies have countered assumptions about women's relative invisibility and silence within the credit market, shedding light on their inclinations and initiatives to define and advance their own work in an arena wherein they were traditionally seen purely as supplementary supports for male agents. My paper adds to this conversation by investigating how pre-modern women asserted their own conceptions of work in credit markets within female spiritual accounts and autobiographies. In doing so, I demonstrate not only that spheres of female credit and spirituality could be deeply implicated in each other, but also how some women appropriated those intersections to empower themselves within the church and the marketplace. My two main case studies are the *The Book of Margery Kempe* (the famous account of a fifteenth-century businesswoman turned mystic), and the spiritual autobiography of Alice Thornton (an early seventeenth-century gentry woman who was embroiled in her family's domestic debts, litigation suits, and credit relations). In examining the ways their credit practices were imbricated in their spiritual identities, I highlight how these women harnessed their religious communities, devotional endeavours, and visionary insights to strengthen their lending networks, financial security, and creditworthiness, affording themselves more independence and freedom within the credit market. Moreover, this productive influence was also bilateral as their writings testify to their enhanced creditworthiness likewise bolstering their spiritual and social reputation before clerical critics within the church. By positioning their credit work alongside their spiritual imperatives, this paper does more than lay claim to the multifaceted forms of credit engaged upon by pre-modern women. It ultimately illuminates the creative ways women could unit their religious and credit practices to grant themselves agency in both spiritual and commercial realms.

Biography

Nancy Haijing Jiang is a PhD candidate in the English department at Northwestern University. Her dissertation—"The Trade of Penance: Commerce and Confession in Late Medieval England"—sits at the crossroads of religious studies, literature, and economic history. Her project examines how medieval writers and thinkers harnessed the tools and discourses from their ever-expanding commercial culture to interrogate, teach, and re-envision the doctrines of sin and salvation. Alongside her dissertation, Nancy is currently developing a post-doctorate

project that explores the intersections between women's credit practices and religious writings in pre-modern England.

Panel 13. Labours of the Enslaved in the Mediterranean World

1. **Hannah Skoda - Slavery in Late Medieval Dubrovnik and Genoa: Slaves using Law.**

This paper would examine slavery in late medieval Dubrovnik and Genoa. Contemporaries used law to grapple with the moral, religious and logical conundrum of how people could be defined as commodities. And whilst legal attempts to define people in such terms were tortuous but determined, slaves themselves of course remained irreducibly human. The paper would focus on the courageous, canny and deeply impressive ways in which slaves engaged with and used legal mechanisms. Many were able to shape their own experiences, at least to some extent.

Three case studies would be examined, with gender, family, religious identity, as key categories of analysis. In 1393, a slave trader in Dubrovnik was sued by three young girls. The trader claimed that the girls were Bosnian heretics when they were enslaved, and had converted to Catholic Christianity under his ownership. Canon law forbade the enslavement of fellow Christians, although conversion *after* enslavement did not automatically mean the slave was freed. The girls, however, understood the niceties of their situation very well. They claimed that they had converted to Christianity just before they were sold as slaves. They won their case, and were freed. This case would be compared with that of another slave woman, who engaged in complex litigation about the fate of her unborn child. A third case involved an enslaved woman who bought her freedom by paying a fixed sum, as well as promising the services of her sister for 10 years.

A legal anthropological approach to these cases underscores the strategies of these slaves. These women had to reckon with marginalisation and disempowerment on so many levels, and yet managed to use their legal knowledge and determination to exploit distinctions between slavery and indentured labour, religious identities, and kinship and property.

Biography.

I am associate professor of History at Oxford. My first book was on violence in late medieval France, and I am currently working on a monograph on nostalgia in the long fourteenth century. I co-edited two volumes with OUP: *Legalism: Anthropology and History* (2012), and *Legalism: Property and Ownership* (2018). To the latter volume, I contributed an article about late medieval slavery in Ragusa, and this sets the scene for my next research project comparing slavery across the northern Mediterranean. I am particularly interested in a legal anthropological approach to slavery, and the ways in which slaves themselves used law.

2. Corinna Peres - Beyond Unfree Slaves and Free Servants. Forms of Labour in a Merchant Household in Late Medieval Tuscany

The letters from the Datini archive in Prato are both a treasure trove and a Pandora's box for historians. They contain dense information on labour relations in Tuscan merchant households of the late Middle Ages (1370s–1410s). In particular, they offer valuable insights into the groups mar-ginalized in administrative and judicial documents of the time, such as female workers. Yet, the more closely historians study the letters, the more they face the challenge of systematically distin-guishing the various forms of labour described in them.

There were workers who were employed only temporarily and workers who lived permanently under the employers' roof. Among the group of live-in workers were servants and slaves, mainly women. If the distinction between these two groups with varying legal status is already highly prob-lematic in terms of labour practices, it becomes even more tricky within the groups themselves. According to the letters, some female slaves could refuse to perform certain tasks, while others could not. Some women could choose to work as servants for the merchant couple Datini after a trial period, while others could not. Why do some servants and slaves seem to have been freer than their fellows? How can historians grasp the many facets of labour in Tuscan households when work experiences within a supposedly homogeneous group of female servants and slaves appear highly heterogeneous from situation to situation?

Drawing on several case studies, this paper proposes a comparative approach to the study of ser-vility in late medieval Tuscany that goes beyond the dichotomies of free and unfree labour. It focuses on the tasks and (dis)qualifications of the live-in workers reported in the Datini letters, including categories such as age, gender, and marital status. In analytical terms, the paper explores whether and how the concepts of degrees of coercion and freedom can help to further differentiate forms of labour in the Tuscan merchant household of the late Middle Ages, bringing together the history of labour and the study of slavery.

Biography

I am a university assistant at the Department of Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna, Austria. In my dissertation, I focus on forms of coerced labour in Italian households in premodern times. In 2019, I graduated with a Master of Arts degree with distinction in History and Romance Philology from the Ruhr University Bochum, Germany. Since 2020, I am Public Out-reach Coordinator of the COST Action "Worlds of Related Coercions in Work" (WORCK). With my work experience in eLearning gained at the Ruhr University, I currently teach hybrid and online courses in economic and social history at the University of Vienna.

3. Teresa Witcombe - 'This Woman's Work': The Lives and Labour of Enslaved Muslim Women in Thirteenth-century Toledo

Slavery was endemic to the societies of the Iberian Peninsula across the central Middle Ages. It was both a ubiquitous and widely accepted result of warfare between the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain and Islamic Al-Andalus, although the trajectories of those taken captive and enslaved has been largely overlooked in modern scholarship to date. This paper will explore the lives and labour of the enslaved Muslim women who were brought to work in the city of Toledo over the course of the thirteenth century. A series of emancipation charters,

written in Arabic (the *lingua franca* of medieval Toledo) between the 1230s and the 1290s, gives us an at times surprisingly detailed insight into the lives of these women, from those who were described as 'lady companions' for aristocratic men, to others who were forced to do domestic labour for a convent of nuns. Drawing on these charters, as well as on a variety of other documentary and material evidence, this paper will examine the work and lives of these enslaved women, how their unfreedom was defined and regulated, and the relationships they had with those they served. It will also identify the ways in which these women were, on occasion, able to exercise their own agency and navigate within the interweaving hierarchies of religion and gender that conditioned their status in thirteenth-century Toledo.

Biography

Teresa Witcombe is a cultural and intellectual historian of interreligious relations in medieval Spain, with a particular interest in exchange, translation, forced movement, and slavery. She is currently a postdoctoral research fellow funded by the Leverhulme Trust and based at the Concejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid. She was awarded her PhD in 2019, from the University of Exeter, where she was a student of Professors Simon Barton and Sarah Hamilton. She has published several articles and book chapters, and her co-edited volume on the reign of Fernando III came out last year with Brill. She has a monograph under review with Cornell University Press, entitled *Learning, Reform, and Conquest on the Edges of Christendom: The life and thought of Bishop Maurice in thirteenth-century Castile*. From October 2021, she will be an Associate Fellow of the Institute of Historical Research.

Panel 14. Labour over the Longue Durée, 1300-1900

1. Filipa Ribeiro da Silva – Reassessing the Role of Female Labour in the Little Divergence Debate: The Case of Portugal in Comparative Perspective, 1565-1760

Over the last decades, the topic of female labour in early modern Europe has received an increasing deal of attention within the framework of Little Divergence debate. This literature championed the idea that women in Northern Europe had greater incentives to work and participate in the economy than their Southern counterparts. These were allegedly more discriminated and subordinated to heads of household. Hence, a higher female participation in North-western labour markets (in particular, Britain and The Netherlands) generated greater economic growth, whereas less female economic participation in Southern Europe and, to a certain extent, Central and Eastern Europe led to economic backwardness (De Moor & Van Zanden, 2010; Van Zanden et al., 2019). This image of subordination of Southern European women has been challenged over the recent years, with scholars showing that differences between female work capacities, wages, and participation rates did not diverge considerably within different parts of Europe (Sarasúa, 2019; Drelichman & González Agudo, 2020; Silva & Carvalhal, 2020). Yet, a long run perspective on how did female work develop and in which capacities did women participate in the world of labour is still lacking for early modern Southern Europe. Such an exercise will also allow scholars to assess the degree of freedom of female work towards early modern institutions and actors.

This paper will contribute to this effort by analyzing female occupations and labour relations in Portugal for three benchmark years/periods: 1565, 1670-80, and 1760s. The comparison with other Northern and Southern European cases will allow us to place this case study within the wide frame of the Little Divergence debate and to identify and explain main differences and similarities overtime.

Our analysis will be based on three datasets with information on female occupations and labour relations extracted from fiscal records and populations surveys. The use of both the taxonomy of the Labour Relations, developed by the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam), and the PSTI classification (Cambridge Group) will allow to fulfil the abovementioned analysis and, consequently, to project our results in a wider comparative scenario.

Biography

Filipa Ribeiro da Silva is Senior Researcher at the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam, The Netherlands). Her research interest are early modern and modern economic and social history. She has published material on Work, Labour Relations and Labour Migration in Portugal and the Portuguese empire.

2. José Antolín Nieto Sánchez – Artisan Apprenticeship in Castilian cities at the Early Modern Age

This article relates the apprenticeship of artisan crafts and the urban labor markets of the Crown of Castile during the Modern Age. It analyzes the long-term evolution of the artisan labor markets of these cities; it compares the behavior of these cities and their labor markets in order to know the changes in migratory flows that took place between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries; and to know the main features of the apprentices in fields such as their age, their distribution in the workshops, the weight of the guilds in the reproduction of the trades or the social origin of the apprentices. This study links the problem of these Castilian labor markets with the most general of Spain and Europe.

We have proceeded to collect more than 10,000 apprenticeship contracts subscribed between 1450 and 1800 in cities what had more than 10,000 inhabitants. Thus we have selected samples of artisan apprenticeships in cities of Old Castile (Segovia, Valladolid), New Castile (Madrid, Toledo) and Andalusia (Sevilla, Córdoba, Cádiz). For all this, a database has been prepared for each of these cities, in which the main fields that appear in the contracts have been included: first, the structural data (number of contracts, trades represented, age of the apprentices, geographical and social origin of apprentices and tutors, level of orphanhood, duration of the contract, degree of compliance); second, the clauses to which the parties to the contract were bound, both masters and tutors and apprentices. In sum, with this information, we are in a better position to know how the artisanal labor markets worked in Castile. We can also see the transformations that were taking place in the world of work, with the exclusion or not of women in apprenticeships or of groups such as the slaves.

Biography

I am a contracted professor in the Department of Modern History, of the Autonomous University of Madrid, where I coordinate the Social History Workshop group. I have published the book Artisans and merchants. A Social and Economic History of Madrid, 1450-1850, which was awarded the Villa de Madrid Prize in 2007 edition. I have been working on castillian guild issues for 30 years. I have opened a line of research on migrations artisans and the transmission of technical knowledge (based mainly on apprenticeship contracts). I have written several articles on the subject in the Journal of Social History or in the volume directed by Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis, Apprenticeship in Europe, published by Cambridge University Press in 2020. During 2107-2018 I have been principal investigator of a Latin American and Spanish Work Network, and I am currently the second principal investigator of a project on Social History funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (2019-2023).

3. Martin Andersson & Carolina Uppenberg – "Remuneration and Coercion: The Servant Institution in Premodern Northern Europe"

The servant institution was one of the most important forms of remunerated labour in Northern and Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Although it at times might have featured a varying degree of local peculiarities, its institutionalized form had a number of defining characteristics in common all through its existence. 'Servants' were people who could not freely choose between different forms of labour but were – by differing means – legally coerced into their status, which was exclusively reserved for the poor. In their paper on "Remuneration and Coercion. The Servant Institution in Premodern Northern Europe (1300–1800)", Martin Andersson and Carolina Uppenberg argue that a pivotal part of the coercion that defined and formed servant labour relations was its specific forms of remuneration. Servants were remunerated through three distinct features: the fastening gift or God's penny, the obligation to eat and sleep under the master's roof, and the cash payment, paid at the end of the period. The study is based on Swedish legislation and court cases concerning servant remuneration, from the earliest written records down to the end of the early modern era. The servant institution has previously often been seen either as a life-cycle phenomenon and an education for the rural young awaiting marriage, or as an arcaic remnant of feudal labour relations. This paper contributes with two seldom used perspectives: firstly, instead of using the traditional dividing line between medieval and early modern history, we trace changes and continuties of the remuneration legislation and practices in the servant labour relations from 1300 until the 19th century. Secondly, we argue for understanding servants as workers and through an analysis of gender, age and class categories, we are working with perspectives from the field of labour history, thus aiming for a better understanding of freedom and coercion in servants' work.

Biography

Martin Andersson is a researcher at the Division of Agrarian History at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala, Sweden, and a visiting scholar at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure at the University of Cambridge, UK. His research deals with economic, demographic and social aspects regarding servants and other groups of rural working poor in medieval and early modern Sweden.

Carolina Uppenberg holds a PhD in Economic History and is researcher and PI for the project "Challenging the domestic. Gender division of labour and economic change studied through 19th century crofters' households", a three-year project funded by the Swedish Research Council, at Stockholm University. Recent publications include the published PhD thesis *Servants and masters* (Gothenburg: 2018), "Masters writing the rules: how peasant farmer MPs in the Swedish Estate Diet understood servants' labour and the labour laws, 1823–1863", *Agricultural History Review* 2020 (68:2) and a chapter in *Servants in rural Europe 1400-1900*, ed. Jane Whittle, Woodbridge: 2017.