

The role of the state in shaping women's and men's entrance into the labour market: Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

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In contemporary societies, status as a wage worker is a fundamental source of social and political identity. Wage labour is also the main source of income for individuals, conditioning – to a large extent – access to property, patterns of consumption, and receipt of public benefits. In Jane Lewis's words, despite an unequal wage structure between the sexes, the 'best way of avoiding poverty risks, for both men and women, according to statistics, is being in the labour market'.¹

Labour markets have almost always had gender disparities, with women in a secondary position in terms of wage levels and promotion opportunities. In present-day Europe, public policies are the primary mechanism for counterbalancing women's secondary position in the labour market and also within the family.² But this has not always been the case. Among the profound changes in the character of European states during the nineteenth century was their transformation from being one of the mechanisms reinforcing and organizing labour markets along gender lines to becoming an institution that has promoted equal-opportunity policies in the twentieth century and attempted to improve women's disadvantaged position.³

The unequal position of women and men as wage workers has been the subject of extensive historical research in recent decades. Much of this work has focused upon the nineteenth century, or on late-eighteenth-century forms of wage work such as rural industry, and has argued that, by taking the sphere of production out of the domestic arena, the

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development of the market provoked deep changes in women's work and social position.⁴ By contrast, this article argues that institutions other than the market contributed to the deeply genderized nineteenth-century labour market. Although the family, in terms of its internal organization and distribution of labour and resources, accounts for the way in which the supply of labour developed in a gendered fashion, this was reinforced by legislation and state policies.⁵

The present discussion begins by examining the efforts of eighteenth-century European states to achieve 'modernization' through an increase in productivity, and the way in which such policies incorporated a notion of what a worker was, in turn based upon cultural traditions concerning the different social places of women and men. Discussion will then turn to three aspects of the relationship between the emerging labour markets and the eighteenth-century Spanish state. The first of these aspects was the ideological basis of state policies regarding women's and men's roles as workers. Two major sources of authority influenced Spanish governments in the eighteenth century: Catholicism and the Enlightenment. These were not opposing or conflicting influences in terms of their attitudes toward women. Rather, the model of the female worker promoted by both traditions – the spinning wife, described as possessing both moral and economic virtues – reflects the extent to which the two traditions coincided in their viewpoints on women's and men's social positions.

The second major aspect of the relationship between labour markets and the state to be considered here deals with legislation and policies developed by both the state and local institutions. A critical question is how far such policies reinforced the model of the female worker which stemmed from Catholic and Enlightenment traditions. Finally, discussion will turn to the role of the state as employer, a very active role in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in order to explore more fully the changing relationship between the state and labour, and how this contributed to shaping labour supply in particular. The position of an individual in the labour market is a function of both supply and demand mechanisms. This article argues that a definition of male and female workers which existed prior to the rise of labour markets deeply affected the way men and women became wage workers. This definition is important not only in a normative sense. Norms and models existed because they justified the organization of family work based upon assigning unpaid work at home to women.

I argue below that politics developed by the Spanish state tended to reinforce a pre-existing tendency to force women to do (unpaid) work at home; that it developed a moral or ideological apparatus which promulgated an image of women, and their corresponding social place,

very different from those of men; and that as a result women were directed towards some sectors of the labour market and denied access to others, which in turn helps to explain why women entered the labour market under specific conditions and as workers of a different type from men. The state, I argue, by acting in these ways effectively shaped the respective roles of men and women within the wage-labour force in the nineteenth century.

I. THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF STATE INTERVENTION INTO THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Throughout European history there have been many sets of norms or laws controlling access to the various sectors of wage-labour activity, and setting the conditions or times of such access. However, these norms became a major political issue in the eighteenth century, when governments influenced by Enlightenment ideas replaced moralists as influential theoreticians and promoters of particular models of work organization. Work came to be seen as a source of wealth, but also as a source of moral superiority and social identity.

Historians have pointed to two reasons for eighteenth-century governments' new interest in work. One was economic, related to the state's interest in increasing national productive capacities. Increasing expenditures by European states as they embarked upon costly wars necessitated new taxpayers and new taxable wealth. Governments throughout Europe therefore made efforts to transform the populace into 'citizens useful to the republic'. Apart from economic factors, social and political issues also contributed to this development: by the eighteenth century the problem of poverty had intensified in most European countries.⁶ Poverty and unemployment became favourite subjects for reformists: 'The primacy of labour as a factor of production in the mercantilists' intellectual schema, together with the pervasive problem of pauperism throughout England and much of Europe, produced a body of policy-oriented economic literature that because of its dual emphasis on the problems of poverty and unemployment can reasonably be considered the beginning of modern labour economics.'⁷

All this was in turn favoured by a positive ideological situation, the diffusion of new values on the part of the rising bourgeoisie, for whom 'work' and entrepreneurship were more legitimate sources of enrichment than inherited status. The philosophical tradition that emphasized the moral character of work can be traced back to Christian moralists of earlier times, and has been elaborated upon by thinkers over a number of

centuries. But this vision of work as highly moral did not entail a redefinition of the political and social consideration of workers; rather, it was consistent with the traditional division of society into estates, each of them part of the natural order.⁸ What was new in the second half of the eighteenth century was the still-tentative identification between work and political rights. The moral character of work led Rousseau, for instance, to see it as the basis of *égalité* and *fraternité* between men in *Emile, ou de l'éducation* (1762).⁹

Historians have traditionally warned about the gap between norms and practice. Yet this gap was narrower than ever before in the eighteenth century, for two reasons: first, because the eighteenth-century state intervened in and controlled society more than ever before (and had the means to do so, through the expansion of legislative bodies and growing bureaucracy); and second, because state intervention was motivated by the intention of reforming social structures and practices. Both factors encouraged the rise of the state as an economic and social reformer, a basic tenet of eighteenth-century political thought. The new interest in workers and the goal of promoting a new work organization included as one of its key elements a notion of a gender-based division of work. On the other hand, there was very little that was original or innovative in the ideas of eighteenth-century reformist governments concerning the regulation of work and women's and men's identities as workers. In fact, they can be traced back to the classical world and to the first Christian moralists who contributed to the very foundations of Western thought. The still-prevailing vision of European society was that based upon the theory of three functional orders or estates – *oratores*, *bellatores*, and *laboratores* – formulated in the eleventh century and institutionalized in much of Europe from the fourteenth century. As Shulamith Shahar observes:

In the twelfth century John of Salisbury developed the model of the organic polity in which the commonwealth is presented as a human body. The various offices and functions of the state correspond to the different organs of the body: the prince to the head, the officials and soldiers to the hands, etc. The husbandmen (*agricolae*) correspond to the feet and 'it is they who raise, sustain and move forward the entire body'. In this paradigm which was reiterated for centuries there is also no mention of women... In the seventeenth century the model was still regarded as expressing the right political and social order.¹⁰

In the seventeenth century, when the classical theory of the state and its functions was being further refined and developed, the public and the private were conceived as genderized spaces. Alice Clark argues that English political thinkers of the seventeenth century theorized the gender division of society by drawing a line between Home and State, with women excluded from the latter:

The political theories of the seventeenth century regarded the State as an organization of individual men only or groups of men, not as a commonwealth of families; in harmony with this idea we find that none of the associations which were formed during this period for public purposes, either educational, economic, scientific or political, include women in their membership. The orientation of ideas in the seventeenth century was drawing a rigid line between the State, in which the individual man had his being, and family matters.¹¹

The cultural norm that sees women's place as being in the home, and women's work as housework, is one of the most fundamental assumptions of traditional European thought. By identifying these ideological roots of eighteenth-century notions concerning the organization of work, it is possible to avoid overstating the novelty of the supposedly revolutionary impact of industrialization on men's and women's lives, and on women's domestic work after the market developed.

II. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IDEAS ABOUT WOMEN'S AND MEN'S WORK IN SPAIN

(a) *The Catholic discourse*

The Catholic church played a fundamental role in the development of notions of work and family. Aware of this role, reformists tried to utilize the influence of the church, and in particular that of parish priests, to implement their policies.¹² Priests were considered ideally suited for transmitting reformist ideas about the organization of labour, and particularly the labour of women. Bernardo Ward, who was a member of the King's Council and Minister of Commerce, wrote in 1762:

No one ignores the importance of taking women out of idleness, and the difficulty of achieving this by other means, for as far as they are concerned, the authority of the Sovereign, the zeal of the public interest, or the consideration of their duties, are useless. Often, though not knowing what it consists of, the most virtuous woman thinks she has done her godly duty if she has prayed a lot, even if she has not done any work to keep her children. In order to change their ideas, and thus their way of life, it has been necessary to find people who can influence them, such as the eminent men of each town, on whom they rely, such as priests and confessors, particularly priests, who in their teaching do not ignore this matter which is so much a part of their duty.¹³

The influence of the priests in shaping the peasant organization of labour was nevertheless due more to the church's own tradition of diffusing a model of work behaviour than to the influence of reformist thinkers and politicians. This tradition was based upon the church's concern with the organization of the daily life of Catholics. Manuals and other writings set out norms and precepts for regulating daily life, in

theory for all members of the Catholic family, but in practice particularly affecting wives and mothers, whose principal duty was to serve their families.¹⁴

This organic vision of society was shared by moralists and philosophers. But Christian moralists were particularly interested in regulating the domestic sphere, and especially the behaviour of women. They developed a model of the family that was a replica of the body-politic. As Barbazza points out, the organic vision, of the state as well as of the family, proved most useful in justifying social hierarchies. Like the state, the family had its head, the husband: 'la société familiale est organisée selon une hiérarchie. A la tête se trouve le mari qui a le rôle de chef... La femme doit lui être subordonnée, comme le corps obéit à la direction de la tête, comme l'Eglise obéit au Christ.'¹⁵

Probably the most influential of these manuals was Luis de León's *La perfecta casada* (*The perfect married woman*), first published in 1583. Luis de León, one of the most important Spanish theologians of all time, wrote this book in the form of a letter to doña María Varela Osorio, a Castilian noblewoman about to marry. He based it upon the last chapter of Proverbs, where Solomon had already defined the perfect Christian married woman.¹⁶ This work is of the greatest interest due to its immense influence, until very recently, upon Spanish women – it was given as a gift to girls about to marry even in the early decades of the twentieth century – and also because of all the innumerable treatises discussing housework as women's duty it is the one that most clearly defines the home as women's place, and housework as women's work. The author's starting point is society as ordained by God:

It is God who orders it, and the proper and particular thing He asks each one is to respond to the obligation of his trade, fulfilling the charge and lot that belong to him, and failing in this offends Him, although in other respects he might advance and stand out. Because, as in war the soldier who leaves his position does not obey his captain... God does not want in His home him who fails to carry on the trade in which He puts him.¹⁷

The author then describes housework as the function ordered for women by God, through the performance of which the natural order works. The problem and the solution are described as two sides of the same coin: the problem is idleness, a major danger for women for both economic and moral reasons, and the solution is housework, which is endowed with both moral and economic virtues. The link established by moralists between women and virtue, a most valuable good which must be protected, was of fundamental importance for later theories concerning women's standing in society. According to these views, measures had to be taken in order to safeguard women's virtue, since women were

deemed incapable of doing so themselves. In this way, the door was opened to intervention into women's lives – and, as will be seen, to regulation of their work – by individuals (that is, male members of the family) and institutions.

Having studied Spanish moralists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Barbazza concluded that they insisted upon three virtues for women: seclusion, temperance, and application to work. There was a direct link between these ideas about the duties of women and policies about the organization of work. For instance, the idea that women's virtue had to be protected bore significant implications for women's access to wage labour. These ideas survived over the centuries to such an extent that they formed the basis for a model of division of work between genders, whereby housework was defined as unpaid work done by women.

It is worth asking, however, to what extent moralists and parish priests actually succeeded in influencing the work patterns of women and men. This influence must have depended upon the effectiveness of the church's moral teaching in general, and this was accomplished in four main ways. First, there were sermons, in turn heavily influenced by the writings of moralists. There is abundant evidence as to the way in which Spanish parish priests regulated local life through sermons, entering into details of what we would today regard as strictly private life. It may perhaps be that sporadic attendance at religious services by the rural population or the urban poor might have limited the power and influence over them of church discourse. However, parish clergy in rural Spain performed a number of non-religious functions which guaranteed them a very influential position in local society. They could be lenders of grain or money, and they were responsible for issuing certificates attesting to the good character of individuals. Particularly in rural areas, reputations depended upon the recommendations of priests.

The influence of the church was also exercised through education. In many rural villages it was the parish priest who provided elementary education, either by his own role as teacher or by sending some of the local boys off to the seminary, which represented one of the few opportunities for upward social mobility in Spain.¹⁸ However, although some convents of nuns during the nineteenth century did provide an opportunity for urban girls to learn domestic skills such as sewing or embroidery, the education provided by the church was almost exclusively for boys.

Thirdly, there was the role the church played as organizer of poor relief. Policies relating to poverty and to the poor had been particularly important in Spain. In a society built upon Christian values, alms-giving and charity were regarded as a duty, and receiving charity as a right. Theologians had even defined the poor as morally superior beings for,

having no property, they were more closely following God's principles. Religious institutions channelled a significant part of their revenues towards daily distributions of bread, clothes, and money among the poor. When in the sixteenth century some complaints were voiced about the excessive numbers of poor who crowded the cities – where the poor were coming to be regarded as a particular problem as they became involved in urban conflicts – some identified the extensive practice of charity as the cause of this problem. Treatises and other works were written which differentiated between 'false poor' and 'real poor'; being young or middle-aged and in good physical condition were among the criteria used to identify the 'false poor'. Those identified as 'false poor' were to be forced by the state to work. This position was epitomized by the philosopher Juan Luis Vives, who in his treatise *De subventionem pauperum* (Bruges, 1526) proposed a variety of measures to solve the problem of the poor: 'Above all...that everyone eat his bread acquired by his work... that no idle person be among the poor who for his age of health can work...'¹⁹

Lastly, the role of the church as a direct employer was also important. Some bishops were actively involved in reformist projects such as the promotion of local manufactures and schools for the training of artisans.²⁰ The church thus had both a model of work and the resources to impose it. Its influence continued into the nineteenth century, and focused upon women. In the late 1800s, writer Emilia Pardo Bazán described its influence in this way:

There are cities in Spain [in Vizcaya and Andalusia] where the influence of Jesuits is such, that families are governed by the advice given in the confessional... Yet husbands, or in general those who exercise authority over women, know that confessors are not enemies, but allies. It almost never happens that a confessor advises women to complain, fight, and liberate themselves, but to submit, give way, and conform.²¹

(b) *Enlightenment thought*

As elsewhere in Europe, in Spain the interest of Enlightenment thinkers in the organization of labour was linked to their attempt to reform national economic and social structures. The encouragement of commerce and industry occupied an important place in the plans of the Bourbon monarchs Philip V (1700–1746), Ferdinand VI (1746–1759), and Charles III (1759–1788) in their struggle to renew Spanish power after the crisis of the seventeenth century. However, these reforms had a special meaning for Spain, because the deeply rooted Spanish values of honour and charity were seen as major obstacles to economic 'modernization'. The campaign

to promote the new values was therefore both more 'new' and more intense there than in other European countries.²²

In turn, the state's intervention was further reinforced because the campaign to dignify the mechanical arts centred around the concept of honour, and 'since honour represented the specific social recognition of an individual's contribution to the common good, it took precise form in a legal sense through the concession of privileges, distinctions and carefully stated rights'.²³ In this context, the critique of idleness became a favourite theme. The non-working population were seen as a major burden upon society, and one of the reasons for the decline of Spain.²⁴ Bernardo Ward wrote in 1762 that 'the useful occupation of men is the most fundamental point of the entire economic system'.²⁵

As the basis for their model of how work was to be organized, eighteenth-century governments' actions and legislation regarding labour took the family, an institution directed by the head who governed the rest of its members, his wife and children. The state defined access to labour according to an individual's position within the family. The ideal economic unit for Enlightenment thinkers and politicians was the family farm, and it was the family farm that was the model for programmes of agricultural reform, influencing projects with aims that included repopulating abandoned land, redistributing land, and reforming the system of land tenure.²⁶ The Enlightenment concept of women's and men's roles and functions must therefore be understood as part of this notion of the family as the ideal unit of social and economic organization.

(c) *The 'new' model of the peasant family: the spinning wife*

Enlightenment attitudes toward women's work had two origins. First, in Spain women were seen as comprising a significant portion of the unemployed population, and as such they were potential targets of Enlightenment labour reforms. Second, Enlightenment reformers advocated a greater balance between sectors of the economy: agriculture was no longer the only source of wealth and enhancing the role of commerce and manufactures was increasingly emphasized. A major obstacle to achieving this objective was what was believed to be an inefficient allocation of labour resources: men tended to engage in commercial activities and temporary migration, leaving agriculture to women. As a consequence, agricultural work was poorly performed and domestic manufactures were abandoned, women being unable (or unwilling) to do them.

One critically important text for understanding the reformist projects of Enlightenment thinkers regarding the organization of labour in Spain is

the *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* of Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, published in 1774. Campomanes (1723–1803), a minister under Charles III, was one of the leading figures in the Enlightenment movement. His book, published by the government and distributed in order to defend the reformist agenda, proved to be immensely influential.²⁷

The *Discurso* was a programme for organizing work, and the organizational model proposed was based upon a strict division between the work of women and that of men. Campomanes began by describing what he perceived as the main problem of the nation, women's lack of occupation: 'Considering 11 million inhabitants in the Peninsula and adjacent islands... there are 5,500,000 persons of the female sex... who currently live generally idle, lacking a suitable and available occupation... a million and a half – those under seven, the aged, and the ill – can be subtracted from this... '.

The remaining four million, then, were 'suitable to occupy themselves honestly in such industries, and to contribute to the sustenance of their families'. But Campomanes was not advocating women's work generally, but rather specific, restricted places within it, which were 'suitable and available':

... each person of the female sex can spin daily by spindle eight or ten ounces of ordinary thread. If she spins with a spinning wheel, the cloth will come out more even, and she can spin thirteen to seventeen ounces... daily in her free time... the same applies to the female servants who live idle in the home, and it would be a means of compensating for the salary they take.²⁸

Work in factories or workshops should thus be replaced by work at home, which had the advantage of having no time limits. This project was for women only.

Campomanes was not alone in his efforts to convert women into domestic spinners. Many of his contemporaries wrote about the subject. Cándido María Trigueros, a writer and a member of the *Real Sociedad Económica de Sevilla*, regarded women's and children's work as the most appropriate for his plan of developing wool manufactures in Seville.²⁹ This interest in spinning can be understood as part of the government's interest in increasing the national production of textile manufactures.³⁰ Lace-making, ribbon-making, and the like were also part of this programme. However, the promotion of spinning was never part of an organized plan to develop national manufacturing. No plans were formulated for the other stages of textile manufacture, nor was a market developed in order to absorb the millions of tons of wool that the four million women would spin.

Moralists and governments with Enlightenment views regarded putting women to spinning as a good thing in itself, regardless of the incapacity of the domestic market to absorb what they produced. In fact, more important than the promotion of spinning was the promotion of women as spinners. Spinning was defined as a woman's task because it was done at home, that is, it made it possible for women to engage in production without abandoning their domestic duties, their service to family members. As Campomanes himself put it, 'The current burden with which almost all the sex lives upon the men in Spain will cease, [women] being able to contribute much to the common wealth of the nation without escaping their domestic work.'³¹

Spinning as a women's occupation had a long tradition in peasant societies throughout Europe.³² In promoting spinning as the ideal occupation for women, Enlightenment thinkers joined the old Catholic tradition that regarded it as the morally most acceptable occupation for women.³³ Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos explained this position in a speech delivered in 1785 at the *Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* of Madrid on the occasion of distributing prizes for spinning. This he described as 'that primitive craft which – whether on the basis of the number and variety of manufactures it serves, or of the crowd of hands it occupies, or of the ease with which it is learned, or of the wealth that it provides – is without doubt the most important and profitable of all developed by the industry of man'. But 'above all', continued Jovellanos, spinning was 'useful and important for the influence it has on public customs'. Taking the girls who had attended the spinning school of the *Real Sociedad Económica* as an example of this beneficial effect, he described 'the evils from which we have preserved them; see in them the most gross ignorance replaced by religious instruction; bodily idleness by honest application; indolence by emulation, brazenness by modesty; in a word, see them taken from the paths of vice to the road of virtue'.³⁴

The main advantage of domestic manufactures as promoted by Spanish Enlightenment reformers was that they guaranteed the maintenance of the pattern of female spatial seclusion, importing it into peasant society from the upper classes who had previously adopted it under the influence of Catholic writers. Spatial seclusion maintained the contemporary model of women's service to their families, and also helped to increase the number of workers. An interesting text by one Enlightenment writer illustrates how this 'spatial seclusion' was an integral part of the promotion of spinning among women. It also suggests how, by the last decades of the eighteenth century, the model of women's work was hotly debated because changes were taking place in the structure of economic activity. The text was written around 1795 by an anonymous author, 'J.M.', from

Santander, and sent to the Minister of Finance in 1798. It is a long report of the situation with regard to manufactures, commerce, and agriculture in that province, accurately reflecting Enlightenment preoccupations and analysis.³⁵ The author included among the nine 'more considerable wrongs that afflict this province' the following:

4. That the general policy on mills, receiving the grain by its weight and trading as flour, is not respected. Women go there at night to mill by themselves, and using this pretext of work, they lose their virtue, and abandon themselves to promiscuity. Many zealous missionaries have worked to outlaw this pernicious practice, but in vain.
5. That selling fruit, beans, and other domestic products is in their [i.e. women's] exclusive control, and for this purpose they attend fairs and pilgrimages far away, with no other saleable items than those they carry on their heads. This vice causes the lack of industry in the towns of the Pas, and the tendency of those natives to deal in contraband.
6. In the valley of Camargo, Piélagos, and towns of the Abadía region, women are so voracious to come to Santander with small bundles of wood on their heads, that for the 8 or 10 *cuartos* they can make for each of them they tear off their clothes to gather it, and none of them knows the practice of spindle or wheel. To obtain a *real*, women can be found ready to go loaded two or three miles, but not one wants to spin even if a double salary is offered. By this means they are distracted from their own work, they become accustomed to a vagrant life and to eating and drinking in taverns, lose their modesty for the sake of the remuneration which the road gives for seducing their innocence, and finally they escape from spinning, weaving, sewing, and all the work that keeps them within their houses.

It is noteworthy that in this text all the problems concerning women are related to their mobility: women mill grain at the mills and go to distant markets to sell fruit or wood. Yet the criticism of women's mobility here is in fact centred upon wage-earning activities, as opposed to domestic work. In northern Spain, retail commerce had traditionally been undertaken by women, and one of their main sources of income came from their attendance at the markets. By the late eighteenth century, however, criticism of this practice had grown, based upon hostility to women's physical mobility and to what that mobility entailed ('eating and drinking in taverns'), and also because work-related travel interfered with women's fulfilment of their domestic duties.

In short, the Enlightenment model of labour organization was based upon the allocation of labour resources along gender lines. This model was, in turn, based upon previous ideas about gender identity, and the identification of men and women with specific activities. The model had two intentions regarding women: that they should work more and that they should work only at the activities defined as proper for them. These were the activities that permitted them to perform their obligations to family and home. While agricultural work was defined as male (despite the fact that, as contemporaries lamented, in areas of high male out-migration it was in women's hands), industry was defined as female. This came about

because the type of industry in which Enlightenment thinkers were interested was domestic industry or manufactures and not factory-based industry. In turn, this preference for domestic manufactures instead of factory work rested upon the notion that housework had no time limits (for women).

There is thus abundant evidence that ideas circulated as to women's and men's domestic and labour roles. What was new about the later eighteenth century was that these ideas were defended as a counter to the new opportunities for women in the expanding labour markets. The fact of increasing numbers of female wage workers (even women factory workers) not only did not alter these ideas but in fact reinforced them. Women were not seen as legitimate wage workers.³⁶ The model of work organization proposed by Spanish Enlightenment reformers was in perfect synchrony with the model traditionally advocated by the church. Far from being a Spanish peculiarity, this coincidence between traditional viewpoints and reformist, or even revolutionary, models was the general European pattern with regard to notions of women's place in society.

These ideas did not remain within the realm of books. The following section addresses the extent to which the Enlightenment elite actually carried them through into legislative practice.

III. STATE LEGISLATION AND MUNICIPAL REGULATION CONCERNING WORK

The economic policies of the eighteenth-century reformists have been the subject of extensive historical research. However, among the many issues upon which reformists legislated, historians have not discussed labour policy.³⁷ There has been an equal lack of discussion about the gender basis of the Enlightenment model of labour organization.

Initiatives of Enlightenment reform concerning work can be classified under three main headings. First, there were general measures intended to promote work and to increase employment. These were aimed at different segments of society, for example *hidalgos* (such as in a 1783 law declaring manual trades honest and honourable), nuns (such as in Jovellanos's proposal that contemplative nuns should engage in work), women (such as in the 1779 law abolishing guild restrictions on women's work), and foreign workers (such as in dispositions facilitating or directly organizing the immigration of Central European skilled artisans and farmers). Second, there were measures aimed at rearranging the balance between sectors of activity. The ideal which these measures promoted was the manufacturing farm, which – it was hoped – would alleviate seasonal agricultural unemployment by complementing agriculture with domestic

manufactures. At the same time, manufactures were promoted for the purpose of reducing the problem of commercial debt. A third group of measures pertained to the reorganization of productive activity by gender. These were of two types: measures intended to exclude women or men from certain occupations and measures intended to promote certain occupations as particularly convenient or suitable for men or women (in practice, measures of this type affected women only, though of course regulating women's position was simultaneously a way of regulating men's position).

(a) *Measures restricting access to certain occupations*

Measures regulating the access of men and women to the labour market acted on both the supply and the demand sides of the market. A good example of state regulation of the supply side is provided by the prohibition on Galician and Asturian women from joining the gangs of harvesters who travelled through Castile and Andalucía. Galicia, in north-west Spain, was one of the country's poorest regions in the eighteenth century, and was traditionally one of the main sources of male and female out-migration: to other parts of Spain at all times, across the ocean in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and to other parts of Europe in the twentieth century. For many districts in Galicia, seasonal migration to work on the harvest in the plains of Castile and Andalucía had, by the eighteenth century, become a key occupation, which compensated for the scarcity of work at home. The presence of Galician harvesters in the southern provinces was so familiar that *gallego* (Spanish for 'Galician') became synonymous in other parts of Spain with 'harvester'. Relatives and neighbours would assemble each year to make the seasonal move down, in hopes of earning enough for the rest of the year. It has been calculated that some 30,000 Galician harvesters left the region annually, of whom a third were women.³⁸

Prohibitions against women joining this work-related migration were frequent during the eighteenth century. In 1748, offenders were threatened with imprisonment or the seizure of all their goods. In 1754 a penalty was announced of 20 *ducados* and ten years' jail for those who helped women travel to Castile as part of the gangs, which they did dressed as men. These prohibitions were originally issued by town councils, but in light of their ineffectiveness the Council of Castile intervened. In 1766 an order from the Minister, the Count of Aranda, drew attention to the many dispositions of this type. These measures did not affect only women harvesters from Galicia. In Asturias in 1786, the Bishop of Oviedo repeated the royal dispositions regarding the prohibition of women from going to Castile as harvesters:

By royal ordinances of His Majesty it is forbidden, in order to avoid the serious inconveniences which have been experienced, that any woman, of any estate or condition, go to the kingdoms of Castile for the harvest of grain and other fieldwork in the gangs of harvesters who go there, even if they are the wives, daughters or sisters of those whom they accompany...[I have] given the corresponding orders to the justices so that they might prevent this and do not permit the said exit of women to the said harvest.³⁹

By the nineteenth century, descriptions of gangs of harvesters mention only men.

Central and local power bases generally reinforced each other. As is well known, the absence of a general unified legal framework is one of the characteristics of Ancien Régime societies. It was in 1812 that the first constitution, known as the *Constitución de Cádiz*, was enacted in Spain. Eighteenth-century Spain was regulated by a series of law codes, and public intervention very often took the form of local ordinances or by-laws. Hence the organization of work in towns and villages was reinforced by the community through the *Concejo* or town council, to which all married men belonged. The *Concejo* ruled on all matters of local life, labour contributions to the commune, access to communal resources, and so on, with the help of the municipal regulations or *Ordenanzas municipales*.

It is of particular importance in assessing the regulation of work in rural Spain at the time that, in most of these regulations, there are prohibitions stating certain occupations which women were forbidden to perform. The most common of these were prohibitions of women from selling in urban markets. Urban growth had increased demand for foodstuffs. Evidence indicates that most of the sellers were women, often from nearby rural towns and villages. They took advantage of the rising urban demand for food because they were the domestic producers of most of the dairy products, fruit, vegetables, and bread, and because this was a non-regulated sector of the economy in which, unlike the situation where guilds were involved, they encountered no initial resistance to their participation. As the anonymous Enlightenment writer 'J.M.' noted, 'the selling of fruit, beans, and other domestic products' was under 'their exclusive control', and they were 'coming to Santander with small bundles of wood on their heads' as well. This was a cause of concern to the author, because in this way women were able to 'escape from spinning, weaving, sewing, and all the work that keeps them within their houses'.

The importance of these ideas lies in the fact that state and town councils and their officials defended them, tried to enforce them through regulations and prohibitions – that is, with direct intervention into the labour market – and eventually succeeded in excluding women from wage-earning occupations. Two examples can illustrate this: one from the

city of Santander (the home of the anonymous Enlightenment writer 'J.M.' cited earlier), and a second from Madrid.

In 1822, the record of the Santander market mentions that:

On the said day, a lot of plums were taken from Josefa del Río, from the town of Castro, unmarried, which she was selling in the Plaza without a licence... the *Señor regidor* warned her that she should occupy herself by going into service because she was young and alone, she replied that she did not want to be a servant, but to be a fruit seller, which was not permitted to her...⁴⁰

In Madrid, on 2 December 1787, a new regulation was announced in the *Diario de Avisos*:

It being evident that many women devote themselves to finding, buying, and selling tallow in the streets and homes of this town, the married women, under this pretext, abandoning the assistance and care of their respective fathers, husbands, and children, unmarried women also occupying themselves in this work, which puts their morals at risk of corruption as well as ruining their education and even implying the loss of their children, and the possible break-up of their marriages, and that the day-labourer husband or artisan lacks the relief and rest which should comfort his labours and which he should find in the domestic industriousness of his wife and daughters; wishing to avoid all these inconveniences and others brought about by the continuous laziness to which those who call themselves 'tallow sellers' are devoted; in order to make sure that the said women take up an honest occupation which assures their subsistence, contributes to the happiness and better order of their marriages and homes in particular, and to the good order of society, making them learn and occupy themselves in activities, exercises, and occupations proper to their sex, and so that in this way girls and women may be useful, for by occupying themselves in the said work they were not useful, and could be very damaging, living exposed to the corruption of morals due to their young age and because they paid no obedience to their fathers and husbands...⁴¹

Public intervention through norms and regulations was not aimed at freeing women from labour but at forcing them into a 'domestic industriousness'. The intention was to prevent what the anonymous Santander Enlightenment writer 'J.M.' lamented: that women 'escape from spinning, weaving, sewing, and all the work that keeps them within their houses'. Measures excluding women from certain occupations must be understood as the corollary of measures to promote other occupations for them, according to the alternative model designated by the state.

(b) *Measures intended to promote certain occupations*

As an alternative to the occupations that were regarded as unsuitable for women, all work which was done in the home, both unpaid (housework and serving the family) and paid (domestic production for the market), was promoted by reformists and moralists alike. Positive measures included education and legislation.

One of the more influential initiatives of the eighteenth-century state in shaping men's and women's entrance into the labour market was the organization of education. Previously, education had been viewed as a means of perpetuating traditional society based upon social orders, and higher education as a means of facilitating the recruitment of new members of the church and functionaries and bureaucrats for the imperial state. As the eighteenth-century reformers gave increasing emphasis to skilled trades, they also assigned greater importance to institutions which provided teaching in manual skills. Teaching trades and manual skills had traditionally been a privilege of the guilds, in which learning was indistinguishable from apprenticeship. Practical measures to engage women in spinning included the creation of *escuelas de hilazas*, or spinning schools, where girls were taught spinning, lace-making, embroidery, and the like. Spanish reformers assumed that this initiative would command general acceptance by society. An *Interrogatorio* sent in 1803 to all the towns by the government requested information as to the number of 'separate schools for girls in which they are taught to read and write, and needlework'. The *Real Sociedad Económica* of Madrid ran various schools for girls, including one for lace-making.⁴²

When the state, in the nineteenth century, organized a new system of technical education, more directly linked to new opportunities for skilled workers, women were systematically excluded. The result was that women had reduced access to the labour market, especially to the technical and better-paid levels of wage labour, and in some cases abandoned some traditional female occupations such as dairying.⁴³ Yet the state's plan to concentrate women within textile manufacturing met opposition from the guilds, which were traditionally in control of cloth-making. The guilds – the institutions which since the sixteenth century had symbolized male control of market production – were against the new reformist policy.⁴⁴ In Spain, conflicts were most evident in the areas where manufacturing was more developed and where it had traditionally been regulated by guilds, as in Valencia. During the 1770s conflicts with the government intensified. A report of the *Sociedad Económica de Valencia* set out the reasons for the guilds' fierce opposition in terms of labour costs: 'Previously, women wove ribbons for masters of the art, who paid them a very low price, and took all the profit. But now, because women can sell their work, or work for themselves, they ask for a fair compensation for their work.'⁴⁵

In order to reverse the guilds' control of production, Spanish Enlightenment reformers published an order allowing women 'to work in whatever... trade they want, that is compatible with the decency, decorum and strength of their sex'. A year later, in his report to the *Junta General de Comercio y Moneda* on the 'free exercise of the arts', Jovellanos

recalled that decrees issued by the government had qualified women to perform any occupation that nature allowed them to, freeing them from the chains of guild regulations. This liberalization of the labour market should not be seen as a rupture with the pre-existing socio-economic order. Rather, as with reformist economic policy in general, the intention was 'to harmonize a relative growth...with the social stability that rests upon concepts of order, discipline, and hierarchy'.⁴⁶ A woman's occupation was intended as a means of improving the living standards of her family, not as a means of overturning social relations.

IV. THE ROLE OF THE STATE AS EMPLOYER OF WOMEN AND MEN

One of the results of the new functions assumed by the state during the eighteenth century was the increasing size of its bureaucracy, its army, and the ranks of the agents who were to put into practice its new policies. Public employment in the eighteenth century can be divided into three types: first, industrial, as the state created and sustained a number of royal factories to serve as implements of economic development; second, public works, also regarded as a means of fuelling economic development and, in the case of roads and bridges, of avoiding grain shortages (a major cause of riots); and third, services, particularly those provided by bureaucrats.

Royal factories, such as the silk factory of Talavera (in Toledo), the glass works of La Granja (in Madrid), and the tapestry factory in Madrid (founded in 1721), were intended to supply the palaces of the royal family and the wealthiest nobles. Some of these factories employed a large number of women, but their employment was only temporary. Tobacco factories employed only women as workers, except for a few men in managerial posts. But public works were more important than state-run factories as a source of employment generated by Enlightenment governments. Public works enjoyed a period of unprecedented expansion during the later eighteenth century and in a sense became almost a symbol of the Enlightenment. They were undertaken not just in the main towns or seaports, but even in the smallest towns. Among these public works were local roads (the absence or bad condition of which were seen as major obstacles to internal trade) and bridges, the containment of rivers, and a number of other projects which the government ordered towns and villages to undertake, such as establishing cemeteries outside villages.⁴⁷ Mining was another public sector which employed men almost exclusively. The mercury mines of Almadén (at Ciudad Real), for instance, apparently employed among some thousands of workers not a single woman.⁴⁸

The increasing activity of the state was accompanied by an increase in demand-led public employment. The analysis of how this new employment was distributed reveals its political goal. Temporary public employment was created to compensate for the devastating effects of agricultural crisis, as a means of preventing riots, and in order to guarantee political stability. After 1766, when a series of urban riots had seriously threatened the government and King Carlos III, the prevention of new grain shortages became a top priority of government policy. Whenever the harvest was deficient and a crisis loomed, parish priests and local officials developed local plans to distribute *jornales* to day labourers who depended upon the annual harvest of grapes, cereal, or olives. Numerous instances of this type of public intervention into the labour market can be found in places where day labourers abounded, such as Andalucía and La Mancha.⁴⁹ These daily *jornales* were distributed, and local employment in public works was offered, to men in the hope that they would maintain their families. In 1800, for instance, the *Intendente* of Valencia obtained from the French-controlled government permission to build a *plaza de toros*:

with the object of employing on it a large number of unhappy people who, because of the current decline of commerce, find themselves in the most extreme misery; and in fact by this means more than 500 poor men whom I have employed in the said plaza are being helped each day... those who occupy themselves in cooking, in selling water and other foodstuffs, are an endless number of poor men who are helped and their families maintained.⁵⁰

The exclusion of women from the new professions in the nineteenth century did not always take the form of explicit regulations. Exclusion was the natural result of their earlier exclusion from technical and higher education, or simply of their illiteracy.⁵¹ In any case, state decrees and laws forbade women access to higher education and, as a consequence, to the professions. In 1868, Concepción Arenal, one of the first Spanish women to advocate a right to education and to the professions for women, listed some of the 'professions, crafts, and trades which are not permitted to women'; among them were the professions of pharmacist, lawyer, doctor, notary, professor, priest, and clerk.⁵² The process whereby this situation was altered is without doubt one of the most fundamental social changes in recent European history.

V. CONCLUSIONS

This article has sought to emphasize the importance of public policies in regulating access to the labour market. The state was not an autonomous entity: its policies and regulations were the historical result of various interests and different social forces, and of the capacity of these forces to

pursue their own agendas. Although a trend over time had been identified – European states increasingly accepting women's right to work for wages – the historical evidence does not permit us to conclude that the role of the state has evolved simplistically from a regressive to a progressive position.⁵³ Enforcement by the state (and town councils) during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of unpaid domestic work as women's duty, this article has argued, was a development of the pre-existing labour organization based upon the family as a hierarchical institution, in which women worked unpaid for other family members. State policies were thus utilized as a means for the institutionalization of women's role as unpaid family workers and carers, and men's role as wage labourers. While differences between family members were not created by the state, they were nonetheless reinforced by a legal system which, by defining women as legally dependent upon their husband or fathers, was of fundamental importance in defining their place in society. The Civil Code enacted in 1889 said: 'The husband must protect the wife and the wife must obey the husband', and 'The husband is the representative of the wife. She cannot, without his licence, appear at a trial by herself or by means of an attorney.'⁵⁴

The state was not alone in shaping a particular role for women in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Spain. The Catholic church was also a key actor, developing arguments about the different moral characteristics of men and women, and about the nature of housework and how it was the best means of fulfilling women's nature. Moreover, the Catholic church had the resources, through its different organs of social control (employment, alms-giving, and education), to do its part to ensure that women and men would be kept in separate spheres. A particular Catholic concern about the moral risks of idleness for women was taken up by Enlightenment thinkers and reformers as a justification for the appropriateness of spinning as a model industry for women. Its particular virtues were that it was located in the home (thereby keeping women within physical confines while not removing them from the unpaid household labour which was seen as a woman's calling and her responsibility) and was without time constraints.

The state appears to have endorsed such views, and implemented them through its legislative programmes. These show a high degree of congruence between the thought and practice of the two most influential agents in eighteenth-century Spain, the church and Enlightenment governments. By analysing the position of women and men over time it is possible to see that the home was regularly described as the place of women. Women were not prohibited from economic activity. Rather, they were expected to participate in it actively, but only in the domestic sphere.

From this process of seclusion and separation stem some of the origins of gender patterns in contemporary labour markets.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Jane Lewis, 'Gender and time: understanding women's mix of paid and unpaid work in twentieth-century Britain', unpublished paper given at the European Forum on 'Gender and the Use of Time', European University Institute, Florence, 1994 (this article can be found in the library at the Institute).
- 2 Mary Daly argues that the interaction between the state, the family, and the market determines processes of participation and allocation of welfare resources; see her 'The gender division of welfare' (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, European University Institute, Florence, 1996).
- 3 'State policy and ideology have a strong bearing on societal norms on gender roles, affecting women's self-image and their expectations in the labour market, as well as creating or removing structural impediments to labour market gender equality... the more interventionist the state has been in providing a centralized, institutionalized regulation of the labour market, the more women's employment chances have improved' (Christel Lane, 'Gender and the labour market in Europe: Britain, Germany and France compared', *Sociological Review* 41 (1993), 296).
- 4 The most significant examples of this approach are the work by Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, *Women, work and family* (London, 1990), and more recent ones include Joanna Bourke's *Husbandry to housewifery: women, economic change and housework in Ireland 1890-1914* (Oxford, 1994).
- 5 This article is an expanded version of one of the chapters of my Ph.D dissertation, 'The rise of the wage worker: peasant families and the organisation of work in modern Spain' (European University Institute, Florence, 1995, forthcoming in Spanish as *El Nacimiento del obrero. La organización del trabajo de las familias campesinas en la España Contemporánea* (Madrid, 1998)). I am grateful to Elisa Sampson for help in translating the quotations. The dissertation's main argument is that entrance into the labour market for men and women has been defined by the gender hierarchies of the family. I argue that at least during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, institutions external to the family played complementary roles to those of the family itself, and that extra-familial institutions need to be understood as part of the structure that led to a genderized labour supply in the nineteenth century.
- 6 On the policies of the French state and institutions to force the poor to work, see Olwen Hufton, *The poor of eighteenth-century France, 1750-1789* (Oxford, 1974). For eighteenth-century poverty and policies towards the poor in Spain, see Elena Maza Zorrilla, *Pobreza y asistencia social en España. Siglos XVI al XX* (Valladolid, 1987); Pedro Carasa Soto, 'La pobreza y la asistencia en la historiografía española contemporánea', *Hispania* 176 (1990), 1475-1503; and Montserrat Carbonell i Esteller, *Sobreviure a Barcelona. Dones, pobresa i assistència al segle XVIII* (Barcelona, 1997).
- 7 P. McNulty, *The origins and development of labor economics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 4.
- 8 Erasmus exalted the 'holy honesty' of manual work: 'Mais la vision érasmiennne demeure fidèle à l'organisation sociale des ordres, chacun d'eux "travaille" et remplit sa fonction matérielle, spirituelle ou politique' (quoted in Daniel Roche, 'Lavoro autonomo e professioni liberali', in *Forme ed evoluzione del lavoro in Europa: XIII-XVIII secc.*, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini' (Florence, 1991), 658).

- 9 'Toutes ces vertus attribuées au travail fondent dans la pensée de Rousseau, une relation privilégiée, tout à fait nouvelle alors, entre travail, propriété et citoyenneté. Dans les faits, après la Révolution et durant tout un siècle, la citoyenneté sera effectivement définie par la propriété puisque le principe du vote censitaire était de n'accorder le droit de vote qu'aux propriétaires. Plus globalement, les propos tenus à partir de la Révolution confirmeront tout à fait cette relation établie par Rousseau (dès 1762) entre le travail et les vertus républicaines nouvelles' (Annie Jacob, *Le travail, reflet des cultures: du sauvage indolent au travailleur productif* (Paris, 1994), 58).
- 10 Shulamith Shahar, 'The regulation and presentation of women in economic life (13th–18th centuries)', in *La donna nell'economia, secc. XII–XVIII*, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini' (Florence, 1990), 503.
- 11 Alice Clark, *Working life of women in the seventeenth century* (London, 1982), 286: 'Within the family, women had their position, but neither Locke, nor Hobbes, nor the obscure writers on political theory and philosophy who crowded the last half of the seventeenth century contemplate the inclusion of women in the State of their imagination. For them the line is sharply drawn between the spheres of women and men; women are confined within the circle of their domestic responsibilities, while men should explore the ever-widening regions of the State. The really significant aspect of this changed orientation of social ideas was the separation which it introduces between the lives of women and those of men, because hitherto men as well as women lived in the Home' (*ibid.*, 303).
- 12 For example, to defend Prime Minister Godoy's plan to modernize agriculture, a publication was launched that was specifically addressed to parish clergy, who were expected to implement in their parishes the new experiments in rural industries and agriculture (Fernando Díez, *El Semanario de Agricultura y Artes dirigido a los párrocos* (Madrid, 1988)).
- 13 Bernardo Ward, *Proyecto económico, en el que se proponen varias providencias, dirigidas a promover los intereses de España, con los medios y fondos necesarios para su plantificación* (2nd edition, Madrid, 1779), 383. The translation here and in later Spanish extracts is by Elisa Sampson and the author.
- 14 M. C. Barbazza, in 'L'épouse chrétienne et les moralistes espagnols des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles', *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez XXIV* (Madrid, 1988), 99–137, demonstrates the importance the church attached to the daily lives of wives, with many manuals devoted to expounding upon the norms underlying Christian marriage, from Erasmus's *Institution of Christian marriage* (1526). 'Tous les écrits insistent sur le fait que cette activité féminine doit être incessante. L'épouse sera la première à se lever, la dernière à se coucher' (Barbazza, 'L'épouse chrétienne', 125).
- 15 *Ibid.*, 102.
- 16 Sociologist María Angeles Durán first analysed this moral text as an economic treatise defining women's duties as those of houseworkers ('Una lectura económica de fray Luis de León', *Actas de las I Jornadas Interdisciplinarias de Estudios de la Mujer, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* (Madrid, 1983)).
- 17 Fray Luis de León, *La perfecta casada* (Madrid, 1978), 14.
- 18 This was one of the principal functions of the regular clergy, which brought the friars 'into close contact with the general population. The mendicants often opened their courses in arts and philosophy to local students' (William J. Callahan, 'The Spanish church', in William J. Callahan and David Higgs eds., *Church and society in Catholic Europe in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979), 43).
- 19 V. Martín, 'El socorro a los pobres: los opúsculos de Vives y Sotos', *Información comercial española* 656 (1988), 12. The Spanish possessive pronoun, as in 'su pan', 'su

trabajo', and 'su edad', is both female and male. It can, however, be translated as 'his' because the universal discourse was regarded as referring to males. Had Vives meant to include women, he would have mentioned them specifically.

- 20 Callahan, 'The Spanish church', 40.
- 21 Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La mujer española*, ed. Leda Schiavo (Madrid, 1976), 37.
- 22 'The attention of the state was also inevitably drawn to the obstacle to economic progress created by what was assumed to be a pervasive and tenacious system of values that regarded certain forms of business enterprise and manual labour in an industrial context as dishonourable for noble and commoner alike' (William J. Callahan, *Honor, commerce and industry in eighteenth-century Spain* (Boston, 1972), 1).
- 23 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 24 For the main texts of this debate, see Antonio Elorza, 'La polémica sobre los oficios viles en la España del siglo XVIII', *Revista de Trabajo* 22 (1968), 69-283.
- 25 Ward, *Proyecto económico*, 196.
- 26 'In 1761 the crown had decided to improve the artery that connected the capital with Andalusia and the American colonies. To make the highway from Madrid to Seville and Cádiz safe, settlements were needed in the lonely stretches frequented by bandits. The long road through the Sierra Morena, broken only by a few solitary inns, especially worried the planners. Inspired by the desire to reform the countryside, in 1766 Campomanes took charge of creating new model colonies in the region' (Richard Herr, *Rural change and royal finances in Spain at the end of the Old Regime* (Berkeley, 1989), 38). In these *nuevas poblaciones*, land was distributed and rights such as tax exemptions granted to the *colonos* in order to attract them. The only prerequisite was having a family, which was regarded as a guarantee for the successful creation of a farm. The size of the plots distributed was also calculated on the basis of how much land three or four family members could till.
- 27 The first edition was state-financed and 30,000 copies of it were printed. For Campomanes, see Concepción de Castro, *Campomanes. Estado y reformismo ilustrado* (Madrid, 1996).
- 28 Campomanes, *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (Madrid, 1774), 82ff.
- 29 See Díez, *El Semanario de Agricultura*, 123.
- 30 The textiles sector was the first to benefit from a protectionist public policy. In 1756 Fernando VI initiated a series of fiscal exemptions and privileged access to raw materials that, by the last decades of the century, had developed into direct intervention in the productive process. See Rodríguez Labandeira, 'La política económica de los Borbones', in Miguel Artola ed., *La economía española al final del Antiguo Régimen*, vol. IV: *Las Instituciones* (Madrid, 1985), 148-54.
- 31 *Discursos*, 67.
- 32 Spinning was the symbol of women's work at home. 'When it comes to illustrating a world turned upside down, we get images of a man spinning ... *Un homme qui file et une femme qui conduit les chevaux composent un ménage ridicule*' (Martine Segalen, *Love and power in the peasant family: rural France in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1983), 32).
- 33 According to Barbazza ('L'épouse chrétienne', 109), 'le tissage et surtout le filage' are the two occupations that appear in all the manuals by Spanish Catholic moralists when describing women's duties.
- 34 'Discurso pronunciado en la Sociedad Económica en 16 de julio de 1785, con motivo de la distribución de premios de hilados', in Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Obras*, ed. Miguel Artola, Biblioteca de Autores españoles, L, vol. iii (Madrid, 1956), 32.
- 35 'J.M.', *Estado de las fábricas, comercio, industria y agricultura en las Montañas de Santander*, ed. Tomás Martínez Vara (Santander, 1979), 244.

- 36 In 1831, when a strike was organized by the 2,400 women workers of the tobacco factory of La Coruña, the sergeant in charge of stopping the demonstration wrote in his report how he dispersed the protesters, 'the women to their houses to wash dishes, the men to their houses or to dig in the countryside' (L. Alonso Alvarez, 'De la manufactura a la industria: la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de La Coruña (1804-1857)', *Revista de Historia económica* ii, 3 (1984), 33).
- 37 For instance, Vicent Llombart classifies the legislative work of the Enlightenment under five headings: agrarian, industrial, commercial, and financial policies and policies on public works and communications, besides 'other measures'. He does not identify a labour policy, although he recognizes 'the increase in employment and population' as one of the basic objectives of Enlightenment economic policy (Llombart, 'La política económica de Carlos III. ¿Fiscalismo, cosmética o estímulo al crecimiento?', *Revista de Historia económica* xii, 1 (1994), 11-39).
- 38 Antonio Meijide Pardo, 'La emigración gallega intrapeninsular en el siglo XVIII', *Estudios de Historia social de España*, iv, 2, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid, 1960), 532.
- 39 Quoted in Gonzalo Anes, *Economía y sociedad en la Asturias del Antiguo Régimen* (Barcelona, 1988), 28.
- 40 Archivo Municipal de Santander, Records of incidents of the market, 17 July 1822.
- 41 Municipal order issued by the town council of Madrid, published in the *Diario de Avisos de Madrid*, 2 December 1787, in Carmen Sarasúa, *Criados, nodrizas y amos. El servicio doméstico en la formación del mercado de trabajo en Madrid 1758-1868* (Madrid, 1994), 267.
- 42 On lace-making in Spain, lace schools and the promotion of lace-making as another suitable occupation for girls and women, see C. Sarasúa, 'La industria del encaje en el Campo de Calatrava', *Arenal. Revista de Historia de las Mujeres* 2, 2 (1995), 151-74.
- 43 In the Swedish dairy industry, the state shaped the gender division of labour not by the direct exclusion of women from a market activity, but by organizing technical education along gender lines; see L. Sommestad, 'Able dairymaids and proficient dairymen: education and de-feminization in the Swedish dairy industry', *Gender and History* 4, 1 (1992), 34-48. The same process has been described for Ireland by Joanna Bourke (*From husbandry to housewifery*).
- 44 The conflict between the guilds and reformist state policies on women's participation in production for the market was widespread in eighteenth-century Europe. For England, see Clark, *Working life of women*; for Germany, see Jean H. Quataert, 'The shaping of women's work in manufacturing: guilds, households, and the state in central Europe, 1648-1879', *The American Historical Review* 90, 5 (1985), 1122-48.
- 45 Fernando Díez, *Viles y mecánicos. Trabajo y sociedad en la Valencia preindustrial* (Valencia, 1990), 162.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 181.
- 47 See Santos Madrazo, *El sistema de transportes en España 1750-1850* (Madrid, 1984), esp. vol. 1, 203ff., including references to women's work in the construction of roads in northern regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- 48 R. Dobado, 'El trabajo en las minas de Almaden 1750-1855' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1986). However, women did work in the mining sector whenever mining was undertaken as a temporary family activity, as was the case in northern Spain, where underemployed peasants worked in mining and the transporting of iron, at certain periods of the year. See Mercedes Arbaiza, *Familia, trabajo y reproducción social. Una perspectiva microhistórica de la sociedad vizcaína a finales del Antiguo Régimen* (Bilbao, 1996).

- 49 J. M. Barreda Fontes and J. M. Carretero Zamora, *Ilustración y reforma en La Mancha. Las Reales Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País* (Madrid, 1981).
- 50 Letter from Jorge Palacios de Urdáriz, Corregidor of Valencia, to don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Prime Minister, dated Valencia, 19 July 1800, and 7 March 1801 (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, section Consejos, 3, 165).
- 51 For instance, the postal service developed as an extension of an activity traditionally carried out by officials for the army and the royal family. Postal officials were required to be literate, and to ride horses and use firearms. Officials of the maritime postal service were required to have travelled at least twice to America as pilots (Angel Bahamonde *et al.*, *Las comunicaciones en la construcción del Estado contemporáneo en España 1700–1936. El correo, el telégrafo y el teléfono* (Madrid, 1993).
- 52 'La mujer del porvenir' (1868), in M. A. Durán ed., *Mujeres y hombres. La formación del pensamiento igualitario* (Madrid, 1993), 73–77. The best analysis of the legal and ideological constraints on the employment and education of women in the nineteenth century remains Geraldine Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea, 1868–1936* (Madrid, 1976).
- 53 In much of Europe, policies permitting the access of women to wage labour were reversed in the 1920s and 1930s, when the Fascist and Nazi regimes imposed policies which once more defined unpaid housework as the primary duty of women. In Germany, the right of married women to become civil servants, recognized by the Weimar Constitution of 1919 which had guaranteed legal equality between men and women, was overturned. 'Reich authorities were constantly trying to remove married women civil servants from their jobs from 1919 onwards, either by persuasion or coercion', a policy which resulted in falling participation rates in employment as civil servants by women (Helen Boak, 'The state as employer of women in the Weimar Republic', in W. R. Lee and Eve Rosenhaft, *The state and social change in Germany, 1880–1980* (New York, 1990), 89). Boak points out that this policy was encouraged 'by the pope's encyclicals *Casti Connubii* (30 December 1930) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (15 May 1931), which declared that a married woman's place was in the home (*ibid.*, 85).
- 54 Title IV, 'Of marriage', art. 57 and art. 60, respectively.