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**‘Ladies Delight’: Examining the role and
status of women in the gin retailing trade
1751-1760**

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'Ladies Delight': Examining the role and status of women in the gin retailing trade 1751–60



*Image 1: Female gin hawker depicted in William Hogarth's *The March of Guards to Finchley* (The Foundling Museum, London, 1751).*

Abbreviations:

ECCO Eighteenth Century Collections Online

LMA London Metropolitan Archives

RLV Register for Licensed Victuallers

Contents

Introduction.....	p. 3
Chapter 1: Women in licensed gin retailing 1751.....	p. 9
Chapter 2: Women in unlicensed gin retailing 1751.....	p. 14
Chapter 3: Assessing change over time: 1751–1760.....	p. 20
Conclusions.....	p. 27
Appendices.....	p.29
Bibliography.....	p.32

It is requested that the graphs and maps supporting this study be viewed in colour so that their content is understood.

Introduction

Referred to by Georgian contemporaries as ‘Ladies Delight’ and ‘Mother Gin’ and taking on the folk symbol of ‘Madam Geneva’, gin has a long-established association with women.¹ This enquiry, however, is not concerned with women as consumers of the famous ‘distill’d spirituous liquor’, but as retailers.² Taking a micro-historical approach, this study contributes to the field of women’s labour history by engaging in research to determine the precise role and status of women in the gin retailing trade 1751–1760. Hanoverian London was a place of both tension and mobility for women. It was time of urban migration, imperial expansion and burgeoning economic growth. By strengthening our understanding of women’s relationship to work in the period, historians might comprehend the extent to which gender mediated opportunity for women. Through micro-historical analysis, this study also raises broader historiographical issues in the field of women’s labour history. By uncovering the inadequacy of official written registers and documentation in quantifying the labour contribution of women in this trade, this thesis supports more recent historiography by indicating that ‘women in the eighteenth century, single or married, worked – and worked hard’.³

Labour history in the eighteenth century is a field of enquiry plagued by fragmentary record, and as a result quantitative research remains patchy. This period does not benefit from the first occupational and national demographic censuses conducted in the nineteenth century which aid Victorian labour historians in their studies.⁴ Furthermore, the women of London pose a particular challenge. It is difficult to gauge women’s labour contribution in this period

¹‘London’, *The London Spy Revived*, (London), 25 Oct. 1736; ‘The Downfall of Mother Gin’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, (London), 5 Jun. 1736; J. Bowles, *The Funeral Procession of Madam Geneva* (see Appendix 5 for engraving).

²T. Wilson, *Distilled Spirituous Liquors Bane of the Nation: Being Some Considerations Humbly Offer’d to the Hon. the House of Commons* (London, 1736), 2.

³H. Barker and E. Chalus (eds.), *Women’s History: Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxon, 2005), 1.

⁴Barker and Chalus, *Women’s History*, 124.

for the following reasons: their work was generally more informal, multi-occupational, or seasonal in nature.⁵ Women sometimes worked under the name of their husbands, and were more likely to be employed in environments where records would not be kept. As socialist feminist historian Bridget Hill notes, 'many types of employment for women were hardly perceived as 'work' at all': the role of Governess was viewed as an extension of maternal duties, and to be a maidservant was considered the proper station for a poor girl.⁶ In many instances, the gender of the employee is not discernible from the record: it is possible that registers listing staff by categories such as 'servant' may well refer to both male and female employees. For those in poor circumstances, it was likely that no labour records would be kept at all. Poorer women, for example, often combined catering and needlework in the home with their duties of child-care.⁷ Unsurprisingly, no records remain for historians to trace their labour contribution. In light of this methodological issue, this study puts forward an empirical and gendered review of women's involvement in licensed and unlicensed gin retailing, for which records are readily available – providing an unusual insight into the working life of London's poor as well as the more professional licensed publican.

Originally, the relative absence of women from official documentation available to historians (when considered alongside contemporary literary sources) fostered a conclusion that the middle-class feminine identity was increasingly associated with the domestic throughout the century. Early interpretations characterised the seventeenth century as the 'golden age' for female employment and suggested that women's absence from labour records signified a gradual gendered retreat into 'separate spheres' from the mid to late eighteenth century, and the clustering of working-class women in 'feminine' trades and industries.⁸ However such interpretations have received short shrift in recent years: it is argued that in many

⁵B. Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989), 252.

⁶Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, 2.

⁷P. Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650-1750* (London, 1994), 115.

⁸F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (London, 1972); L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Oxon, 1997); S. Nenadic, 'The rise of the urban middle class', in T. Devine and R. Michison (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland 1760-1830* (Edinburgh, 1988).

instances they display a misplaced nostalgia for the work opportunities women in the seventeenth century (particularly in an urban environment).⁹ More recently, revisionist historians such as Barker and Vickery have argued that interpretations that women retreated into a domestic environment simply on the grounds of an absence from official employment records are not strong.¹⁰ It is possible that owing to this absence, many women of the mid-eighteenth century have fallen victim to what E. P. Thompson famously identified as ‘the enormous condescension of posterity’.¹¹ This study reinforces the latest revisionist literature using gin as a case study: the labour contribution of female licensed gin retailers is found to be entirely under-represented by the official Register for Licensed Victuallers.¹² Moreover, the single and unmarried middle-class retailers encountered in this analysis actually persisted in greater number than their male counterparts in the trade throughout the period 1751-1760. In terms of the working-class men and women, this study indicates that they operated alongside one another in the unlicensed gin trade.

Since this research is concerned with gin, it also contributes to another field of historical enquiry: that of the later-named ‘gin craze’. The gin craze was a period when spirit consumption increased exponentially as the monopoly held by the London Company of Distillers’ was broken in 1689 by William II of Orange, in order to promote the retail of British gin as opposed to imported French brandy at a time of the Nine Years’ War. National production and consumption of distilled spirits rose sixteenfold between 1689 and 1740, sparking social panic and moral outrage from upper class society, and widespread alcoholism in the capital.¹³ Attracted by the great wealth of textual and statistical material to work from, historians have sought to offer explanations for high levels of consumption, and assess

⁹Earle, *A City Full of People*, 108.

¹⁰A. Vickery, ‘Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women’s History’, *The Historical Journal*, 36, 2 (1993); Barker and Chalus, *Women’s History: Britain, 1700-1850*.

¹¹E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1963), 13.

¹²London, London Metropolitan Archives, MR/LV/07/001, ‘Register for Licensed Victuallers’ 1751.

¹³Earle, *A City Full of People*, 6.

the social and demographic impact of the gin craze.¹⁴ Parliament passed no less than five legislative Acts in 32 years to restrict distilling and distribution, and attempts were made by reformers and those in government to calculate the number, location and profile of the gin distillers and retailers. Furthermore, anti-gin campaigns, and the printing and publishing frenzies which accompanies them, provide rich cultural sources for historians to work from. In the wake of the seminal revisionist publication by Peter Clark, however, the favoured approach has become more statistical, and many historians have now questioned whether the so-called 'craze' was quite as dramatic as previously thought.¹⁵ This research works alongside that of Clark and Warner in conducting empirical analysis to quantify the extent of gin retailing (licensed and unlicensed) in London 1751-1760, but the findings shall be applied for the first time to the field of women's labour history.

This study makes use of an extensive body of evidence linking the two fields of historical enquiry: reinforcing the latest revisionist works in in women's labour history through analysis of the primary sources available on the gin trade. The extensive primary material available on gin retail can answer many questions which historians are not able to assess in other industries where women were employed due to fragmentary record. The process of integrating the fields of women's labour and the gin craze is mutually beneficial. By placing the gin craze in the context of trends and shifts in women's labour, this thesis offers a new and exciting perspective by examining 'distilled spirituous liquor' as a product of retail as opposed to consumption.¹⁶ Gin-related studies are in vogue amongst historians at present, owing to a surge in popularity of the drink amongst today's consumers, and the enormous personal contribution of historian Jessica Warner, yet the wealth of material available on gin

¹⁴P. Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5, 38 (1988). For original interpretation of the gin craze see M. D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1925).

¹⁵E. A. Abel, 'The Gin Epidemic: Much Ado About What?', *Journal of Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 36, 5, (2001).

¹⁶Wilson, *Distilled Spirituous Liquors Bane of the Nation*, 2.

retailing has never before been applied to the field of women's labour history.¹⁷ By integrating these two fields, this study also responds to calls to combine women's histories with more 'mainstream' fields of research.¹⁸

The dates elected for this study require some explanation. Parliament passed five separate Gin Acts to control consumption between 1729 and 1751.¹⁹ In the months before the passing of each legislation, debate flourished and campaigns raged, amounting to what Clark describes as 'multi-media propaganda warfare'.²⁰ General enquiries were also carried out to gauge levels of consumption and distribution of spirits either by representatives of the state or by those advocating reform. Most historians who are interested in gin focus on the build-up to and passing of the 1736 legislation, and years when levels of gin consumption reached its zenith. Peter Clark's seminal revisionist thesis on the gin focuses on the 1736 Act, its background and aftermath.²¹ In 1743, gin consumption levels reached their peak, with the average consumption for a Londoner estimated to be 2.2 gallons per person per year.²² Since consumption levels were already falling by the time of the passing of legislation of 1751, the data collated on gin retail in that year has been comparatively neglected by historians whose primary interest is in the craze itself. However, since this study is concerned not so much with high levels of spirit consumption, but with the organisation of the retailing trade, the year elected for the first two chapters of this study was chosen as that in which the retailing records are most complete (1751). This also affords this study its degree of originality, as the sources which are examined have been comparatively neglected.

¹⁷ J. Warner, *Craze: Gin and Debauchery in an Age of Reason* (London, 2003); J. Warner, 'Faith in Numbers: Quantifying Gin and Sin in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies* 50, 1 (2011); J. Warner and F. Irvis, "'Damn You, You Informing Bitch": Vox Populii and the Unmaking of the Gin Act of 1736', *Journal of Social History*, 33, 2 (1999).

¹⁸F. Iacovetta and M. Valverde, *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History* (London, 1992) xix.

¹⁹N. Rodgers, *Mayhem: Post-War Crime and Violence in Britain, 1748-53* (New Haven, 2012) 146.

²⁰Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy', 1.

²¹P. Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy'; J. Warner, 'Faith in Numbers'; J. Warner and F. Irvis, 'Gin and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Eighteenth Century Life* 24, 2 (2000).

²²Warner, *Craze*, 2.

The final chapter of this study assesses change over time in the retailing trade (1751-60). Labour historians of the eighteenth century have been primarily concerned with the impact of the onset of early industrialisation for male and female workers.²³ However, it is possible that in an eagerness to identify broad trends in women's labour history, the experience of diverse categories of workers have been homogenised. New studies have sought to challenge this portrayal by presenting in-depth analysis of particular industries of employment to highlight the diversity of experience of women in Britain at the time.²⁴ In reality, as Hufton points out, 'there is no single history to be told of the history of women in any period but rather many stories'.²⁵ In line with this, by taking a micro-historical approach, the following research reveals that fluctuation in this trade was brought on not by burgeoning industrial transition, nor by increased social pressures towards domesticity, but by a range of other factors unique to the trade. This restores some agency to a category of female workers whose primary conceptualisation is that of victim of industrial development, and pressures to occupy a domestic sphere. The experience of the female gin retailer is found to be highly contingent on class, status and even geographical location.

This study shall first provide a gendered and empirical review of all sectors of the gin retailing trade in the year 1751 (licensed and unlicensed), and next determine what the future held for them in the period 1751-1760. The first chapter analyses the position held by women in licensed gin retailing using the 1751 Register for Licensed Victuallers.²⁶ In the process, broader historiographical issues in the field of women's labour history shall be raised. Since the female workers in this trade are found to be under-represented in the 1751 Register, this study uncovers the inadequacy of official records in quantifying women's labour contribution in the period, challenging the assumption that women's absence from

²³I. Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1969); Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*; Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*.

²⁴I. Baudino, J. Carre and C. Revauger, *The Invisible Woman: Aspects of Women's Work in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2005).

²⁵O. Hufton, 'Women in History: Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present*, 101 (Nov., 1983), 126.

²⁶London, London Metropolitan Archives, MR/LV/07/001.np, 'Register for Licensed Victuallers' 1751.

labour records necessarily signifies a retreat into a domestic sphere. Next, making use of the Lord Mayor's 1751 enquiry into *unlicensed* gin retailing in the capital, this study shall illuminate women's significant role in this more clandestine and informal employment.²⁷ This reveals something of the status of female employment, and reinforces the central argument of this thesis: that the records left to the historian can perhaps distort the reality of women's relationship to work in the period. Furthermore, since unlicensed gin retailing was a common means of tiding yourself over during a lapse in employment, this illuminates the precarious nature of female employment in the capital more generally. Finally, through close analysis of the 1751 Gin Act passed by parliament, the 1759 Register for Licensed Victuallers and other cultural sources, this analysis indicates that a unique set of circumstances dictated women's involvement in this trade.

It is perhaps true that the labour contribution of this relatively small group of female gin retailers would leave no significant mark on the macro-historical narrative of labour trends in the eighteenth century. However, it is hoped that by uncovering their occupational lives, broader historiographical issues will be raised as the disparity between the traces these women have left on the official registers, and the daily reality of their working lives is revealed. It is only in the collation of many micro-historical studies that our understanding of the female labour experience in the period can more accurately reflect the rich tapestry of diverse and fluctuating opportunity which they seized.

²⁷ London, LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014/np, 'Ward returns for persons who sell Gin and other spirituous liquors without a license' (hereafter Lord Mayor's Enquiry), 1751.

Chapter One: Women in licensed gin retailing 1751

A clear hierarchy emerges when attempts are made to distinguish those in the gin retailing trade by occupation. Occupying the lowest rungs of the trade, facing the threat of fine and imprisonment and retailing a low quality product, were street vendors and gin hawkers. Next, there were unlicensed retailers operating from chandler's shops, underground cellars, back rooms or more overt alehouses, taverns or gin-shops without a license. Finally, with the greatest overheads and enjoying a better reputation were the licensed publicans and innkeepers who retailed spirituous liquors alongside other alcoholic beverages. By analysing the ratio of men and women engaged in each sector of this trade, something of the status of women's labour can be inferred. Those at the top of the hierarchy of gin retailing shall be assessed first, by way of close analysis of the Register for Licensed Victuallers 1751.²⁸ This register contains the name, and other additional information, of all persons who obtained a license 'to sell brandy and other distill'd liquors by Retail, to be drank in his House wherein he now dwelleth' in London and surrounding areas in the year in question.²⁹

After the passing of the 1738 Gin Act, anyone who wished to legally retail liquor to the public had to acquire a license on a yearly basis, and the names of the applicants appear on the aforementioned register. Each of the Gin Acts passed in the eighteenth century varied in the price set for a retailing license and in efficacy of enforcement. Therefore, it is first necessary to examine the July 1751 Gin Act upon which the September and November 1751 Register for Licensed Victuallers was formed, before studying its contents. A liquor license obtained under this Gin Act would have cost the retailer 'Twenty Shillings per Annum'.³⁰ The price of the alcohol retailed there would have been comparably higher than that available by

²⁸London, LMA, MR/LV/07/001.np, 'Register for Licensed Victuallers' (hereafter RLV), 1751.

²⁹LMA, MR/LV/07/001, 'Memorandum of King George II', 1721 (replicated in 1751 license registers).

³⁰'We Hear of a New Bill for preventing the excessive Drinking of Spirituous Liquors', *The General Advertiser* (London) 13 June 1751.

unlicensed retailers, and the clientele of a higher social standing. Furthermore, spirit retailing licenses were only granted to public houses rated at ten pounds per annum.³¹ It can therefore be inferred that both the premises and the licensed retailer enjoyed a more reputable status.

In 1751, a total of 1,879 retailing licenses were taken out in London and surrounding areas. These license requests were dealt with in separate 'wards' which formed part of the larger geographical 'divisions' of the capital, and finally this data was collated into the yearly register.³² There is some disparity in the quality of information gathered in the separate divisions. The register for Finsbury Division, for example, has been hand-written and as a result sometimes the gender of the applicant is not legible.³³ On occasion, even when clearly stated, the gender of the applicant is not apparent from the name. For this reason, a category of 'illegible' has been included alongside the gendered categories. The following graph was constructed to illustrate the number of retailers who took out a license in 1751, displaying the proportion of male to female licensed retailers by division:

³¹Rodgers, *Mayhem*, 156.

³²See Appendix 1: Ward Map of London.

³³LMA, MR/LV/7/9, RLV for Finsbury Division.

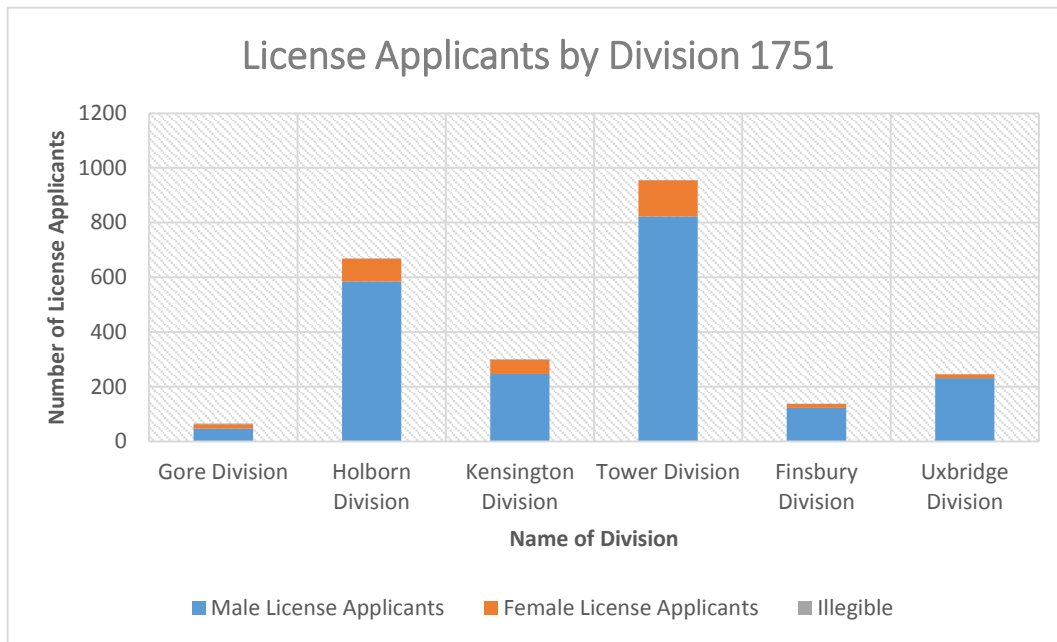


Figure 1: Gendered review of the Register for Licensed Victuallers 1751 arranged by Division, information sourced LMA, RLV, MR/LV/07/001. All graphs and charts included in this study are my own original work.

As displayed in Figure 1, women’s involvement was certainly marginal to that of men. Out of the 1,870 applicants whose gender is discerned, 310 were female [16.6 per cent].³⁴ However the gender ratio is not entirely consistent, with Gore Division containing a far higher proportion of female retailers than Uxbridge Division.³⁵ The 1751 Gin Act applied to those who wished to retail ‘Beer, Cyder, Perry, Spiritous Liquors, or Strong Waters’.³⁶ Owing to this lack of differentiation between the drinks, it has not been possible to conduct a comparative analysis of women’s role specifically in the licensed retailing of gin as opposed to other alcohols, as Clark carried out in his study. Working from the 1736 Middlesex Justice Reports, he revealed that women comprised 23 per cent of spirit-sellers as opposed to 15 per cent of victuallers.³⁷ The possibility that the applicant may not have retailed gin at all must be

³⁴LMA, MR/LV/07/001, RLV, 1751.

³⁵See Appendix 2 for pie chart illustration.

³⁶An Act for granting and continuing to his Majesty, an additional Duty on beer, ale, strong-waters, wine &c, Dublin, MDCCLI, [1751]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. [Accessed via. University of Bristol. 16 Jan. 2016], 1.

³⁷Clark, ‘The “Mother Gin” Controversy’, 70.

acknowledged, but it is highly likely that they would not vend the spirit if they had paid for a license to do so, in the context of high demand.

Some potential limitations of this register in accurately portraying women's involvement in legal retailing will now be addressed. The research undertaken for this study unearthed cases of fraudulent license holding. In one instance, a certain Thomas Horrobin was found guilty of 'obtaining a license from his Majesties Justices at the Guildhall of their city for others who sell brandy and other distill'd spirituuous liquor'.³⁸ It is therefore possible that in some cases the applicant for the license was not the same as the person for whom it would be used. However, these instances were rare, and their disruptive capacity in this analysis is limited. More importantly, the license applications must be placed within the context of existing coverture laws. Such laws meant that woman's legal identity was subsumed under that of her husband upon marriage. These laws had implications for women in legal gin retailing in the period in question: married women could not technically own property in their own name, enter independently into contracts, sue or be sued.³⁹ Although historians such as Pullin have revealed that such laws did not prevent married women from trading, and even argued that they offered married women greater protection under the law than single women or male traders could have expected, in the case of this register it is unlikely that a married woman would have applied for a license under her own name, regardless of the extent of her own involvement in the retailing business.⁴⁰

In light of this, the statistical evidence displayed in Figure 1 takes on a new significance. Women's actual engagement in the licensed gin retailing trade was more extensive than the register indicates, as those women who acted as de facto business partners of their

³⁸LMA, CLA/047/LJ/13/1735/005, 'Order to suppress fraudulent liquor license', 1735.

³⁹Barker and Chalus, *Women's History*, 139.

⁴⁰N. Pullin, *"Business is Just Life": The Practice, Prescription and Legal Position of Women in Business, 1700-1850* (London, 2001), Chapters 1-2.

husbands are not visible. Therefore, the fact that any women at all appear on the register is noteworthy, as such women were most likely either single or widowed: independently managing their own inns, taverns, alehouses and gin shops and handling licensing and administration duties themselves. This research has uncovered one case study which is particularly illuminating in revealing the involvement of these invisible married women in the licensed gin houses of their partners. On 21st August 1749, Ann the Wife of William Crow of the Corner of Drury Lane took Matthew Burke and Mary the wife of Frances Maguire to court, accusing them of stealing from her husband's shop 'three gallons of gin and one gallon of Caraway'.⁴¹ Ann Crow made a statement which she signed detailing the incident. This statement is testament to the fact that Ann was not only single-handedly managing the shop at the time of the incident, but she also sought to defend the place from theft against the accused Matthew Burke and 'five other persons', later taking the matter to court.⁴² In this instance, Ann operated as the de facto manager and defender of the shop, in spite of the fact that her husband took the license for their shop in his name.

To conclude, the limitations of the register for Licensed Victualing records in quantifying married women's involvement in the legal gin retailing trade have now been established, although they prove insightful in detailing the involvement of single and widowed women. It must be remembered that the women whose names were recovered from the register were independently running their own alehouses, inns and taverns. In the light of the aforementioned case study, this would likely entail defending the premises from theft and drunken disorder – no mean task for any self-employed man or woman by modern standards. Since, under the Gin Act of 1751, these licenses were costly to obtain, it is likely that the female license applicants would have been of a middle-class status. As a result, this research poses a challenge to the picture painted by Engels and Davidoff and Hall of a gradual retreat from a working to a domestic sphere amongst middling women of

⁴¹LMA, MJ/SP/1749/09/100, 'Ann Crow vs. Matthew Burke and Mary Maguire', 1749.

⁴²LMA, MJ/SP/1749/09/100, 'Ann Crow vs. Matthew Burke and Mary Maguire', 1749.

Hanoverian London throughout the course of the eighteenth century.⁴³ A significant proportion of these licensed gin retailers were women – likely many more than the 1751 register indicates. A broader historiographical point is therefore raised, as official records in this instance distort the reality of women’s involvement in the world of work. Since the female labour contribution in this trade was far greater than official register indicates, this study advises caution to historians who mark a feminine absence from available labour records in other trades and industries as evidence of the middle-class women’s retreat from the world of work to the world of the home.

⁴³Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

Chapter Two: Women in unlicensed gin retailing 1751

1751 was the year selected for this enquiry because it affords the historian an opportunity to make a comparative analysis of women's role in both licensed and unlicensed retailing: formal and informal employment. In general, the labour records of poorer women are harder for the historian to access than those of the middle-classes as they often worked in environments where records would not be kept. However, this is not the case for gin retailing. Making use of the Lord Mayor's Commission into illegal gin retailing in the capital, this study shall now draw attention to the significant proportion of women working in this more clandestine and low-status sector of the trade.⁴⁴ This supports the central argument of this thesis: that due to the nature of female employment, and not necessarily a retreat into the domestic sphere, women do not always appear in great number on official employment records left for the historian to work from.

Between March and May 1751, at the request of the Lord Mayor, commissioners were sent throughout the city to make record of the name and location of those involved in unlicensed gin retailing. This information was gathered to provide a statistical backdrop to the scheduled debates held in the House of Commons for the repealing of the 1743 Gin Act in June 1751. This enquiry, overlooked by historians of the gin craze on account of its date, was conducted by individual commissioners who were placed in charge of gathering information from their own respective wards. Therefore there is great disparity in the quality of the information to work from. Some commissioners detailed substantial information which affords the opportunity to create a vivid profile of the unlicensed female gin retailer; others simply recorded the name. These records shall first be studied to uncover the proportion of men to women engaged in unlicensed gin retailing; and next they shall be gleaned for

⁴⁴London, LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014/np, 'Ward returns for persons who sell Gin and other spirituous liquors without a license' (hereafter Lord Mayor's Enquiry), 1751.

additional information to build up more of a personal profile of the unlicensed female retailer and her status within the trade.

In this enquiry, a total of 267 names of unlicensed retailers were available for analysis. Reports from three of the twenty four wards were in an unfit condition. The sample of retailers examined in this chapter is smaller than that available for licensed retailers, but this does not mean that fewer individuals found employment in unlicensed gin retailing. The Register for Licensed Victuallers contained the name of those retailing all alcohols, whereas this commission only lists those 'suspected to sell Gin... or Spirituous Liquor'.⁴⁵ Furthermore, these reports list only those illegally retailing from chandler's shops, 'green shops' [greengrocers], in the open air and in unlicensed gin shops and taverns. Contemporary literary sources, however, indicate that large amounts of unlicensed gin retailing took place in private back rooms and underground cellars.⁴⁶ Although direct comparison cannot be made between the findings for licensed and unlicensed retail in terms of number, it remains valid to made comparison in terms of the gender ratio in the two sectors of trade. Women formed a substantial part of unlicensed retailers, incurring the risk of fine and imprisonment:

⁴⁵LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014, Lord Mayor's Enquiry, 1751.

⁴⁶T. Smollett, W. Hunter and W. Smellie, *A Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's Six Prints Lately Publish'd* (London, 1751). 10.

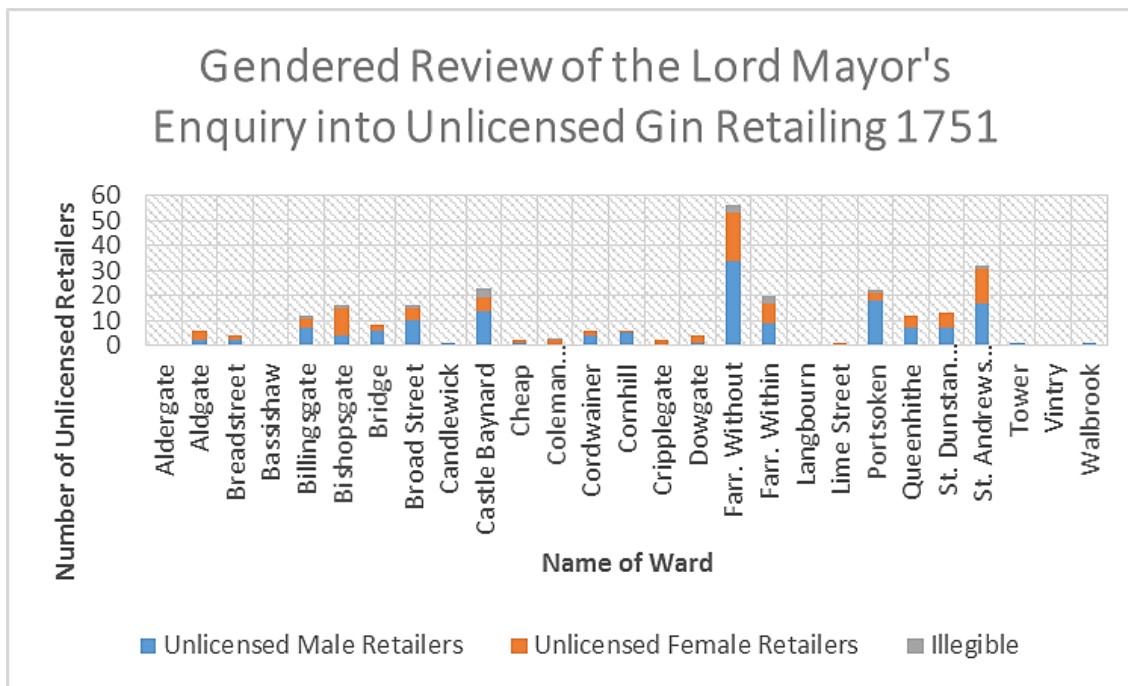


Figure 2: Gendered review of the Lord Mayor's Enquiry into unlicensed gin retailing (1751) information sourced LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014/np. Farr = Farringdon.

As displayed in Figure 2, there was no real consistency in gender ratios in the different wards. In Aldgate, for example, the majority of retailers (4/6) were female, all of whom were widowed.⁴⁷ In contrast, in Billingsgate of the twenty-two unlicensed retailers whose names are listed, only three were women (and one name is illegible).⁴⁸ However, if all of this above data is collated, 100 out of the 251 unlicensed retailers whose gender was identifiable were female [39.8 per cent]. At first glance, this might support the thesis of Clark who concluded from his analysis of the 1736 Middlesex Justice Reports that women predominantly occupied a lower-down position in the gin trade, since on the Register for Licensed Victuallers only 16.6 per cent of names were female.⁴⁹ However, having highlighted the inadequacy of the 1751 register in quantifying women's labour contribution it is no longer possible to make such a claim in this study. Contrary to the findings of historians such as Warner and Clarke, it

⁴⁷LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014, Lord Mayor's Enquiry, Returns of Aldgate Ward, 1751.

⁴⁸LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014, Lord Mayor's Enquiry, Returns of Billingsgate Ward, 1751.

⁴⁹Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy', 69.

is possible that in 1751, women were more prevalent in the licensed retailing trade than in unlicensed.⁵⁰

The significant proportion of women in the unlicensed gin retailing trade may indicate the precarious position held by women in the capital in other fields of employment. Unlicensed gin hawking was a means of economic survival for those who were in desperate need of financial income. It demanded little in terms of overheads, skill or formal training and anyone could enter the trade. However, retailers also risked fine and imprisonment. The large proportion of women participating in this trade may be indicative of an inability to access other fields of employment, or a greater vulnerability to sudden redundancy in other fields of work. The capital in this period was 'monstrously swollen' with migrants from the surrounding countryside and abroad.⁵¹ This growing migrant population has now been identified as predominantly female.⁵² Divorced from traditional networks of support providing social and financial security, it would seem likely that the majority of these unlicensed female retailers would be young and single female migrants. However, a large 43.7 per cent of the retailers in this sample were in fact widowed.⁵³ This may indicate that the widow faced greater difficulty in entering other trades and industries, and was more vulnerable to redundancy than the young, single female migrant at this time.

Four out of the twenty-one commissioners' reports document the premises from which the unlicensed gin retailing was taking place. This information shall now be employed to uncover whether women were more likely to be retailing in the open streets, from small stalls such as chandler's shops, green shops and pork shops supplying gin alongside other products, or from fully functioning but unlicensed taverns and alehouses. This can provide insights into the purpose served by unlicensed retailing for women (whether it was a temporary means of

⁵⁰Warner, *Craze*, 44; Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy', 68-9.

⁵¹P. Dillon, *The Much-Lamented Death of Madam Geneva* (London, 2002) 25.

⁵²Earle, *A City Full of People*, 50.

⁵³ See Appendix 3 for data on widowed unlicensed retailers.

survival, a supplement to their shop's income, or a more long-term employment strategy). Analysing the records from Portsoken, Broadstreet, Lime Street and Castle Baynard, two thirds of these women were operating from stalls which offered gin alongside other products indicating that gin was a means of supplementing an existing wage.⁵⁴ This is perhaps testament to the multi-occupational nature of women's work in the eighteenth century, and to their resourcefulness. For these women, gin was not the only means of financial income, but a way of securing additional money. The rest of the women were retailing in the open streets.⁵⁵ This work would be very low-status and would have served women in desperate need of financial income. The likelihood that these women sometimes also operated as prostitutes is alluded to in the report from Lime Street Ward that a certain Sarah Axton was 'Selling in Beef Hall at night time – not being Licensed and not knowing anyone else'.⁵⁶

Broadstreet Ward was unique in detailing a very precise geographical location of the unlicensed retailers. Using a contemporaneous map of Broadstreet Ward by John Noorthouck, the precise location of the unlicensed retailers is plotted.⁵⁷ The location of Scalding Alley and Pigstreet was not evident from the map, but their location was identified using other eighteenth century surveys of the city.⁵⁸ By identifying the location of both licensed alehouses, inns and taverns, alongside unlicensed retailers, this map gives a sense of the saturation of the gin retailing activities in the capital. The map indicates that gender did not always influence location, with women and men competing for customers alongside one another in Threadneedle Street and Austin Fryers, although it must be noted that four

⁵⁴LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014, Lord Mayor's Enquiry, 1751.

⁵⁵There is one exceptional case of a woman in control of an unlicensed alehouse or tavern.

⁵⁶LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014, Returns of Lime Street Ward, 1751.

⁵⁷J. Noorthouck, *A New History of London Including Westminster and Southwark* (London, 1773) 567-8.

⁵⁸Scalding Alley located in R. S. Seymour, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, (London, 1735) 395; Pigstreet located in J. Entick, *A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark and Places Adjacent Vol III*, (London, 1766) 434.

out of the six female retailers operated in isolation either from chandler's shops, green shops or in the streets.

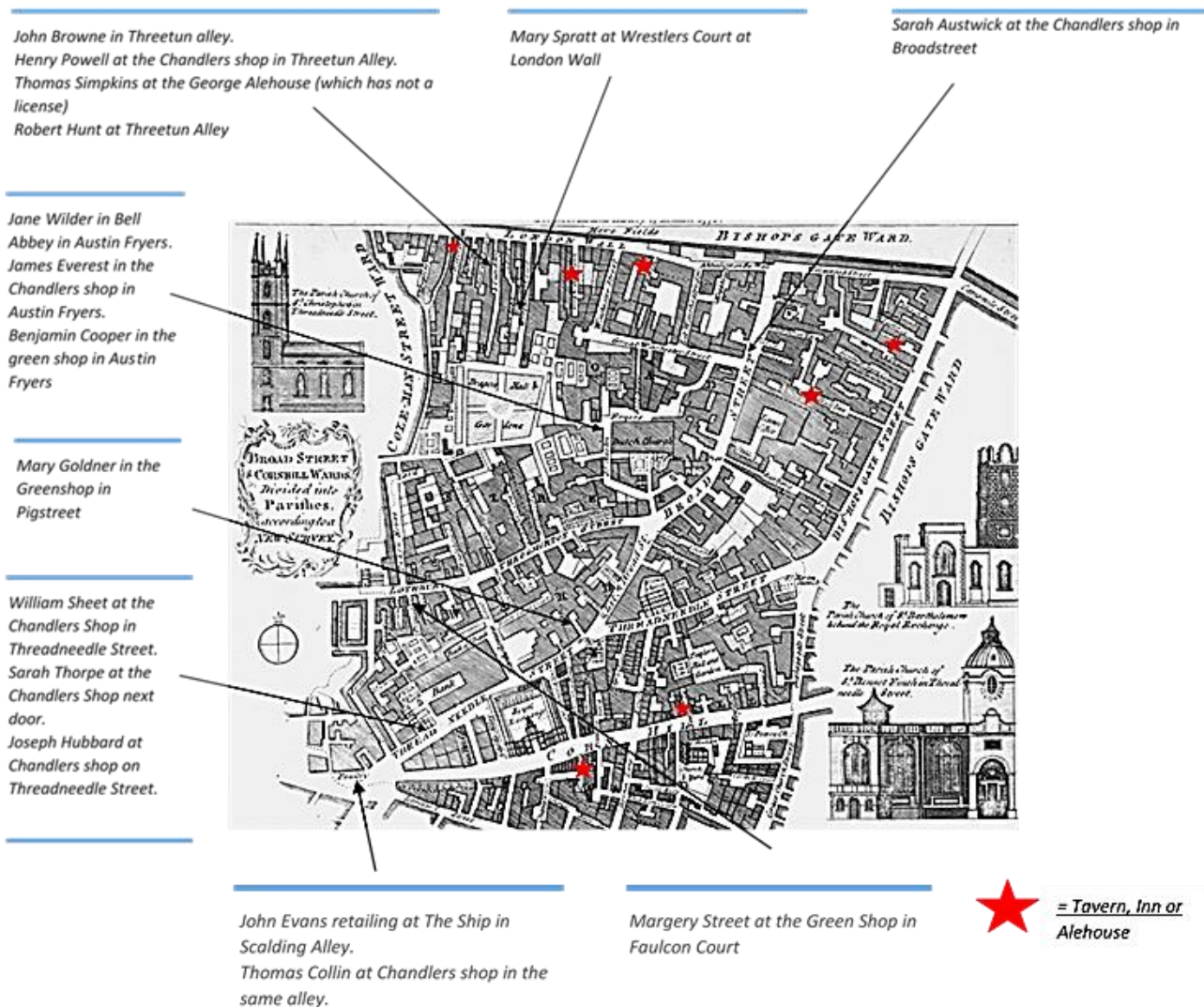


Figure 3: Map of Broadstreet Ward detailing licensed and unlicensed gin retailing 1751. Map sourced J. Noorthouck, *A New History of London Including Westminster and Southwark*, 567-8. Information sourced London, LMA, Lord Mayor's Enquiry (1751).

As to the limitations of the Lord Mayor's Enquiry, the commissioners employed acted individually and reported back from their own divisions separately. Therefore there may have been disparity in the thoroughness of the enquiries. Furthermore, these enquiries were not carried out on exactly the same date. The date of the enquiries varied from 25th March

to 26th May, and this is significant as it is likely that retailing would be more prevalent on a weekend than on a more sober mid-week evening. Frustratingly, the precise means by which the information was gathered is also not clear. It is possible that, if asked directly by the commissioner for a name, the perpetrator would have stated a fake identity. Nevertheless, this is not so disruptive for our purposes, since it is unlikely that the retailer could have lied about gender. It has not been possible to assess whether those carrying out the enquiries would have known the retailers personally. This could add an additional level of bias, and in the context of the many attacks on 'informers' who exposed the identity of the unlicensed gin retailers under the 1736 Act to receive financial rewards, the possibility that the results are distorted for fear of retribution cannot be ruled out.

To conclude, women formed a significant part of the unlicensed gin retailing trade which is indicative of the precarious position held by women in other industries and trades. From analysis conducted on the sample of female retailers, it has emerged that women used gin retailing predominantly as a means of supplementing an existing wage, which reinforces the work of other historians who have suggested that female employment more generally was multi-occupational informal, and clandestine at the time.⁵⁹ As with the Register for Licensed Victuallers, it has again been suggested that both male and female labour contributions far exceeded the 267 identities listed in this enquiry. Gin provides a unique insight into the participation of both men and women in illegal, low-status and informal trades. It is normally impossible to quantify the labour contribution of such individuals as records either were not taken at the time, or were not preserved for the historian to work from.

⁵⁹ Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, 252.

Chapter Three: Assessing change over time 1751-60

*This wicked GIN, of all Defence bereft,
And guilty found of Whoredom, Murder, Theft,
Of rank Sedition, Treason, Blasphemy,
Should suffer Death, the Judges all agree.*⁶⁰

Having established the position occupied by women in the gin trade in 1751, the status of their work, and highlighted the inadequacy of official registers in quantifying the female labour contribution, this study shall now examine what the future held for the hundreds of women whose names have been preserved on the Georgian registers (and the many more whose identity remains elusive to the historian, but nonetheless participated in great number). As outlined in the introduction, much of the historiography on women's labour in the eighteenth century focuses on the impact of early industrialisation on patterns of employment for men and women. Without disputing the influence of London's burgeoning economic growth for many fields of employment, this study exposes the diversity of factors which determined women's involvement in the *unlicensed* gin retailing in the capital in this period, also uncovering the remarkable continuity in labour trends in the *licensed* gin trade. Close analysis of the gin retailing trade indicates that in this instance historians ought to move beyond a primary conceptualisation of women workers in the period simply as victims of industrial development, and aligns this study with more recent historiography which promotes understanding of the diversity of the female labour experience, and the power of class, status and even geographical location in determining employment trends.⁶¹

⁶⁰'Culprit at the Bar', *The Country Journal or the Craftsman* (London) 9 Mar. 1751.

⁶¹Baudino, Carre and Revauger,, *The Invisible Woman*.

Women in unlicensed gin retail 1751 – 1760

The fate of the women examined in the second chapter of this study was decided in June 1751, as parliament passed the 'Bill for Regulating the Number of Alehouses in that Part of Great Britain called England; and for the more easy Convicting Persons Selling Ale, and other Liquors, without License'.⁶² As of this date, the law stated that unless the retailer was both able to obtain a license at the price of twenty shillings, and retail from a premises valued at 10l (ten pounds), they would be 'utterly disabled to sell Any Beer, Cyder, Perry, Spiritous Liquors, or Strong Waters'.⁶³ According to the Act, JPs were empowered to convict 'Any Persons selling Spiritous Liquors without a license', and recover a penalty five pounds which was not to be mitigated.⁶⁴ On the second offence, they would be committed to a House of Correction for three months hard labour, and for the third offence they faced transportation for seven years. Since the majority of those whose name and location appears in the Lord Mayor's Enquiry were retailing either in the streets or from chandler's and green shops, they would never have been able to afford such a license. According to contemporary author and moralist Daniel Defoe, a hard-working unskilled labourer in the city could expect to earn around 10-15 pounds per year.⁶⁵ If unlicensed gin retailing was also a means of temporary economic survival, it would hardly merit the purchase of such a license. Furthermore, the likelihood that these retailers (who had not acquired the license to retail at the much lower price of ten shillings under the previous Gin Act of 1743) would be willing to purchase a new license at double the price is very slim indeed. In light of this, the fate of these women was not so much determined by the legislation itself, as it was by the efficacy of its enforcement.

⁶²An Act for granting and continuing to his Majesty, an additional Duty on beer, ale, strong-waters, wine &c, Dublin, MDCCLI, [1751]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. [Accessed via. University of Bristol. 16 Jan. 2016], 1.

⁶³An Act for granting and continuing to his Majesty, an additional Duty on beer, ale, strong-waters, wine &c, Dublin, MDCCLI, [1751]. ECCO, [Accessed via. University of Bristol. 16 Jan. 2016], 5.

⁶⁴'We Hear of a New Bill for preventing the excessive Drinking of Spirituous Liquors', *The General Advertiser* (London) 13 June 1751.

⁶⁵P. Dillon, *Much-Lamented Death*, i.

There are no further enquiries into the number of individuals engaged in unlicensed spirit retailing beyond that covered in this study, therefore the enforcement of the 1751 Act must be inferred from contemporary writings in newspapers, letters and books. Newspaper records from the times indicate that this Act was successfully enforced. The month before the passing of the legislation, the *General Advertiser* reported that ‘the Tenour of the said Act is intended to be put in full Force and Virtue’.⁶⁶ In addition, the *London Daily Advertiser* and *Literary Gazette*’s reported just weeks after the passing of the Act:

We hear that the worthy Magistrates of the Parish of St. George have been indefatigable in putting the Laws in Execution, in regard to licensing Public Houses for selling Spiritous Liquors.⁶⁷

The amendments to the 1743 Act were published in the newspapers ‘for the more effectually restraining and retaining of distilled spirituous liquors’.⁶⁸ In a private letter to Dr William Brakenridge, Thomas Burrington, clerk of the Commons House of Assembly, reported that:

The lower people of late years have not drank spiritous liquors so freely as they did before the good regulations and qualifications for selling them. The additional excise has raised their price, improvements in the distillery have rendered the home-made distillations as wholesome as the imported. We do not see the hundredth part of poor wretches drunk in the streets since the said qualifications as before.⁶⁹

⁶⁶‘London’, *The General Advertiser* (London), 28 May 1751.

⁶⁷‘London Intelligence’, *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer* (London), 22 Sept. 1751.

⁶⁸‘We Hear of a New Bill for preventing the excessive Drinking of Spirituous Liquors’, *The General Advertiser* (London) 13 June 1751.

⁶⁹Burrington, An Answer to Dr William Brakenridge’s Letter 1751 sourced in E. L. Abel, *Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and Fetal Alcohol Effects*, (New York, 1984) 12.

Historians of class and gender Davidoff and Hall have argued that for women, increased formality in the workplace often leads to their marginalisation.⁷⁰ This study supports their findings, although it must be acknowledged that the increased formality imposed by the 1751 Act marginalised both male and female unlicensed retailers from this employment. Furthermore, since women in this trade were found to be more likely to illegally retail gin as an additional supplement to their income, it is possible that men suffered from this increased formality more than women (as they were more likely to be in control of an unlicensed alehouse or tavern).

In the wake of Pinchbeck's seminal 1939 study, historians have closely fused the history of the women's sphere to a narrative of industrial and economic change, but it must be remembered that the factors which underpinned women's labour experience were always multiplex.⁷¹ In this instance, the fate of unlicensed gin retailers was determined by political and even climatic factors. After severe harvest failure in 1757, on 11th March parliament passed a bill 'To prohibit the making of low wines and spirits from wheat, barley, malt or any other sort of grain'.⁷² This ban stayed in place for four years, and at this time production was simply not allowed to meet demand. Although it is unlikely that the parliament ban entirely prevented gin retailing, it certainly would have increased the price of spirituous liquor out of the reach of the poor. Additionally, it was the hyperbolic anti-gin campaign spearheaded by middle-class and elite reformers in early 1751 which raised awareness of the damage wrought by excessive gin consumption in the capital – ultimately undermining the gin retailing trade. The writings of high profile reformers and celebrities stressed the degeneracy which stemmed from a close relationship between gin and those of the fairer sex (as both consumers and retailers). High-profile individuals such as actress Eliza Fowler Haywood and Henry Fielding (magistrate and novelist) contributed to the 1751 anti-gin campaign, with Fielding famously lamenting:

⁷⁰Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 119.

⁷¹Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, 1969 (first published 1939).

⁷²Dillon, *Much-Lamented Death*, 280.

‘What must become of the infant conceived in gin, with the poisonous distillations of which it is nourished, both in the womb and at the breast?’⁷³

This sentiment was epitomised by William Hogarth’s ‘splendid coda to the attack on gin’: the famous 1751 ‘Gin Lane’ engraving.⁷⁴ Copies were sold at three shillings and enjoyed a wide circulation, making it the ‘single most memorable image not only of the gin craze, but perhaps of eighteenth century London itself’.⁷⁵ This campaign placed enormous pressure upon the government to pass a harsh 1751 Gin Act, cutting the gin craze off at its source: the retailers and distillers. This study does not refute the huge impact of Britain’s transition towards industrialisation on employment in the metropolis as a whole. However, as illuminated in this study, it is likely that heavy historical interest in the industrialisation narrative has somewhat overshadowed the many other factors which influence patterns of labour in the capital.

Women in licensed gin retailing 1751–60

According to historian Leonard Schwarz, there are two approaches to the history of women’s employment in the eighteenth century: the first is to argue that ‘it was very limited to begin with, and remained limited’, and the second is to argue that it became ‘even more limited’ as the century progressed.⁷⁶ This study, however, indicates that whilst the role of women in unlicensed retailing diminished over the ten year period, the number of single and unmarried women engaged in licensed gin retailing remained almost entirely consistent. There is, therefore, a disparity in experience among the women in this trade based on status. Using the Register for Licensed Victuallers 1759, a direct comparative analysis can be

⁷³Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers*, 1751 p. 19; E. F. Haywood, *A Present for Women Addicted to Drinking* (London, 1750).

⁷⁴Clark, ‘The “Mother Gin” Controversy’, 63. See Appendix 4 for *Gin Lane*.

⁷⁵J. Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester, 2009) 48.

⁷⁶L. D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992) 14.

made between the wards of Gore, Holborn, Kensington and Uxbridge (for which excellent records remain for the years 1751 and 1759). As evidenced in the following diagram, the numbers of men engaged in licensed retailing depreciated by 14.8 per cent, whereas the number of female license applicants depreciated by only 5.7 per cent:

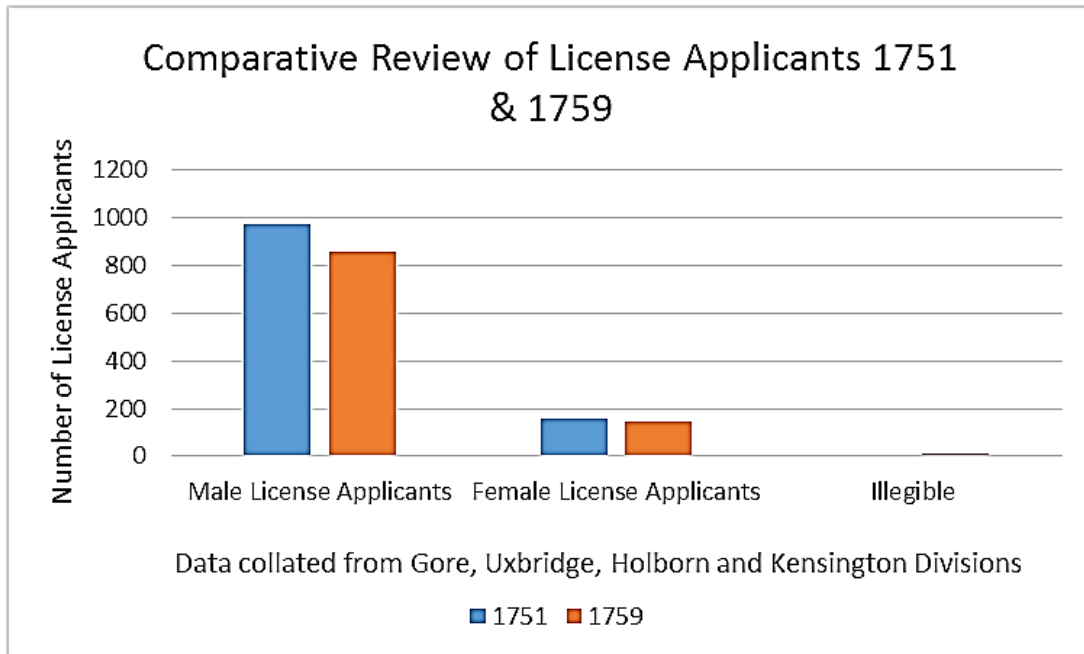


Figure 4: Comparative gendered review of all male to female license applicants 1751 & 1759. Information sourced London, LMA, RLV, MR/LV/07/001.np, (1751) & London, LMA, RLV, MR/LV/7/50.np, (1759).

Far from showing signs of retreating into a domestic sphere, the middle-class women engaged in the licensed gin trade show a striking resilience to both pressures to isolate women from alcohol by anti-gin campaigners and reformers (as outlined above), and to the early economic transition towards industrialisation. Amanda Vickery draws attention to the need to establish ‘whether the rhetoric of female domesticity and private spheres contributed to women’s containment, or instead was simply a defensive and impotent reaction to public freedoms already won’.⁷⁷ In the case of the licensed gin retailer, the latter hypothesis is the most appropriate. In contrast, this study indicates that in the unlicensed gin

⁷⁷A. Vickery, ‘Golden Age to Separate Spheres?’, 141.

trade, the rhetoric and hyperbole of the 1751 anti-gin campaign might have gone some way to curtail women's involvement in the unlicensed gin trade by driving the punitive 1751 Gin Act through parliament. By associating social and moral decay with a close relationship between women and alcohol, the campaign gathered its momentum. A popular one-shilling pamphlet produced in 1751 warns that women who associated themselves with gin are 'brought to open disgrace, and either sent abroad as a Slave to the Plantations, or ... thro' mere Necessity become a Street-walker, and at last an abandon'd Prostitute'.⁷⁸ However, as highlighted consistently in this study, the records left behind to the historian can be misleading. Without empirical evidence it is ultimately impossible to know whether the likes aforementioned Sarah Axton continued to hawk unlicensed spirits in Beef Hall, or whether, burdened by social condemnation, she found employment elsewhere. One thing is clear: it is necessary to continually draw distinction in the experience of women by occupation, by class and by location. In certain wards of London, amongst certain women, 'Madam Geneva' continued to provide a crucial source of financial income; amongst others, she suffered a 'Much-lamented Death'.⁷⁹

⁷⁸T. Smollett etc., *A Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's Six Prints Lately Publish'd*, 12.

⁷⁹ See Appendix 5: *The Funeral Procession of Madam Geneva*.

Conclusions

On the 10th August 2015, the UK's environment secretary Elizabeth Truss issued a statement outlining her intention to 'harness the ambition of [British] 'gin-trepreneurs' and see them help us to build a stronger national economy'.⁸⁰ The situation couldn't have been more different for the female gin retailers encountered in this study. In 1751, women who made a living from selling gin encountered the condemnation of moral reformers and repressive legislation from parliament; many of them operated under the constant threat of fine and imprisonment. As this enquiry has now proven, such factors restricted opportunity for this sample of female workers far more than did their gender. Of course, this does not refute the fact that gender had a heavy influence on the status of female labour in other fields of employment in Hanoverian London. Nor does this study deny the scale of the changes wrought by the economic transition and agrarian revolution, or pose a direct challenge to the many important studies which rightly take up the subject of women and industrialisation.⁸¹ However, by closely analysing the role of women in this marginal and unusual trade of gin retail, the true diversity of the female labour experience is highlighted, and the multiplicity of factors which underpinned patterns of employment in the capital.

As gender historian June Purvis pointed out, 'the recovery of women's past worldwide does not fit neatly into any one theoretical framework or approach'.⁸² However, in view of the particular methodological problems which confront historians of female labour in the eighteenth century, and the comparative lack of empirical information to work from, this research promotes the collation of micro-historical studies. By creating many case studies

⁸⁰'Gin exports set to increase as drink experiences UK revival', GOV.UK (10th Aug 2015): <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/gin-exports-set-to-increase-as-drink-experiences-uk-revival> [Accessed 17/08/2015]

⁸¹I. Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*; L. D. Schwarz., *London in the Age of Industrialisation*; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*.

⁸² J. Purvis, *The History of Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945: An Introduction* (New York, 2006) 13.

based around particular fields of employment at particular times for which primary evidence is readily available, historians might together come to a more accurate understanding of the female labour experience and the Georgian woman's lifestyle and economic status. Even within the marginal trade examined in this study, the experience of the licensed female retailer was found to be entirely different to that of the unlicensed retailer.

Women's relationship to work has important historical, social and economic implications. Alice Clarke contended that historical studies into women's labour would be of more use to the sociologist than 'many volumes of carefully elaborated theory based on abstract ideas'.⁸³ Her statement highlights the relevance of women's labour histories in providing insights into the organisation of society, the economy, and gender relations within it. However, acknowledging the many implications of women's relationship to work only serves to underline the importance of basing our understanding of the female labour experience on solid historical and empirical research. This study has illuminated the disparity between the traces that these women left on official registers and their true relationship to work. By placing the Register for Licensed Victuallers within the context of existing coverture laws, this study uncovers the inadequacy of official documentation in quantifying the labour contribution of the married licensed gin retailer: calling to question the methodological process of citing a female absence from labour records as evidence of a gendered retreat into 'separate spheres'.

⁸³ A. Clarke, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxon, 1919) i.

Appendices:

Appendix 1:

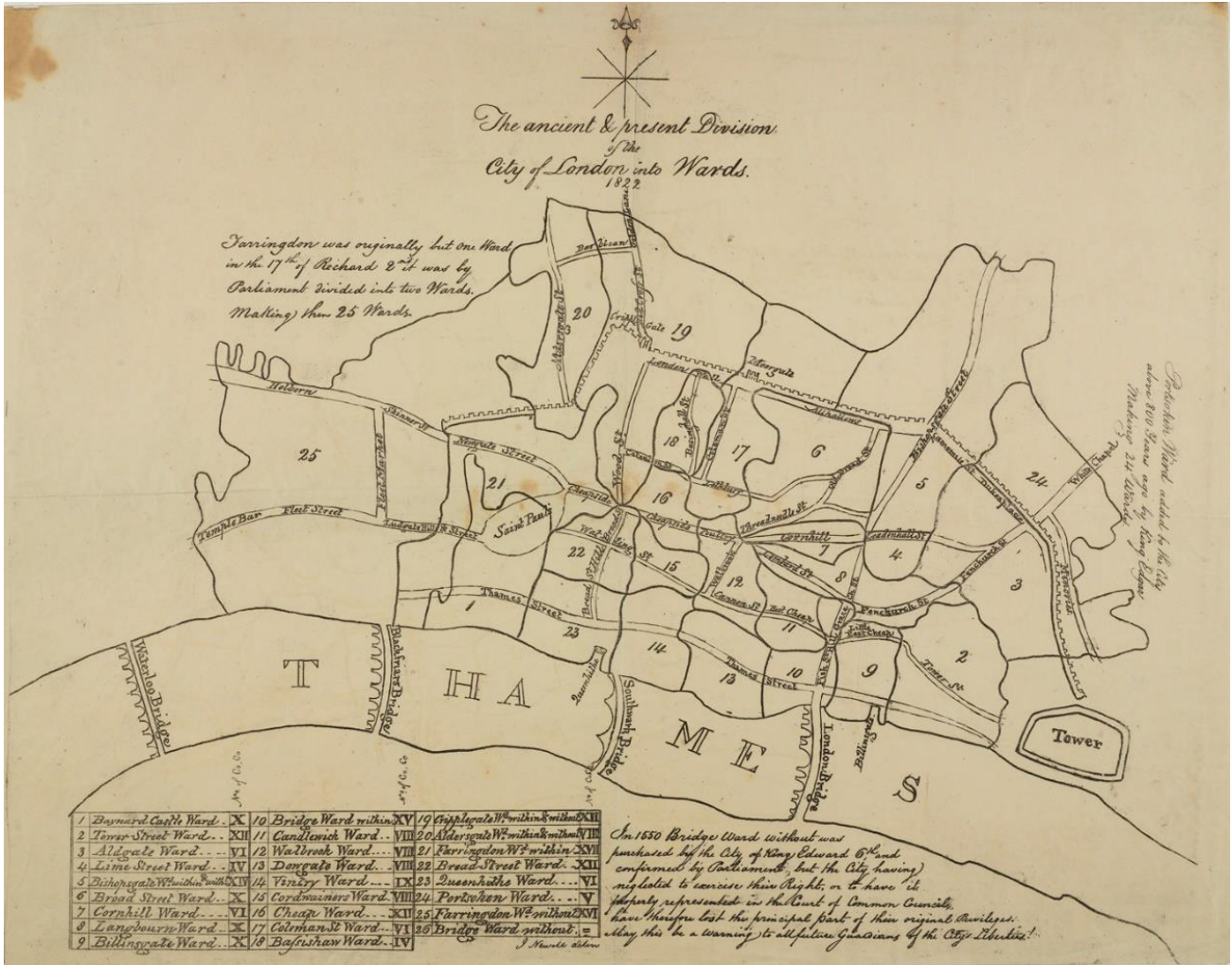


Image 2: Plan of Ward Divisions in the City of London, Anon (London, LMA, 1822) sourced LMA, LI 2124/CT/MB/SEN. Although this map was produced at a later date, there was no significant alterations to the formation of the 'wards' in the interim period. Plan illustrates the disparity in size of London's different 'wards'.

Appendix 2:



Figure 5: Pie charts illustrating proportion of male to female retailers in Uxbridge and Gore Divisions. Information sourced:

London, LMA, MR/LV/7/28, Register for Licensed Victuallers for Uxbridge Division; London, LMA, MR/LV.7/1, Register for Licensed Victuallers for Gore Division.

Appendix 3:



Figure 6: Graph displays proportion of widowed female unlicensed retailers to single or married female unlicensed retailers. Collated data gathered from the Lord Mayor's Enquiry: London, LMA, CLA/047/LR/04/014/np.

Appendix 4:

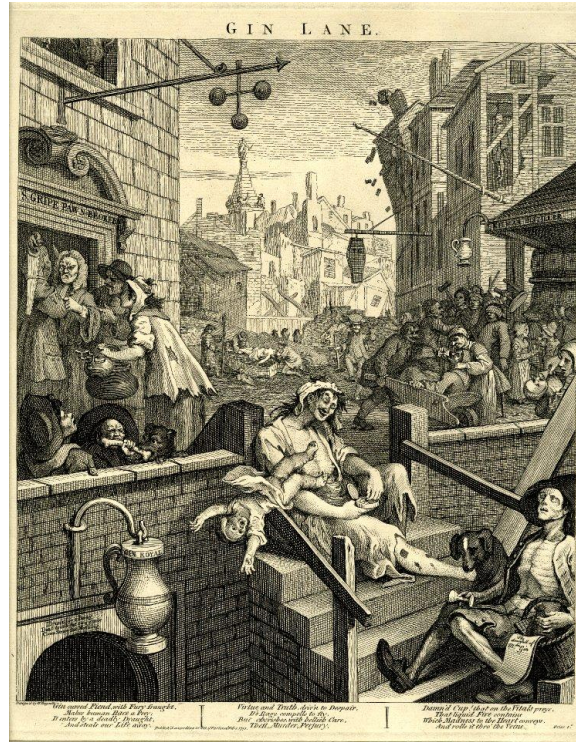


Image 3: Engraving by William Hogarth: *Gin Lane* (The British Museum Collection Online, London, 1751) http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=705186&partId=1&searchText=gin+lane&page=1 [Accessed 13/02/2016]. Engraving formed part of series 'Gin Lane and Beer Street'.

Appendix 5:

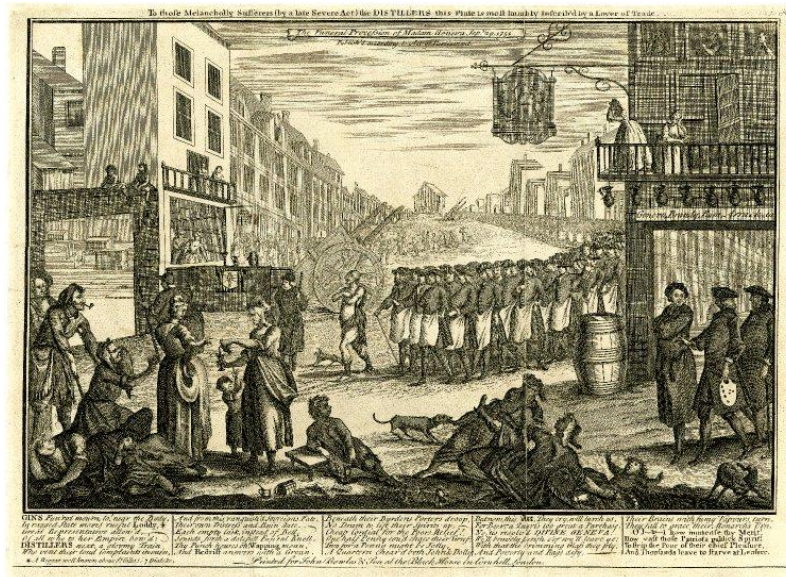


Image 4: Engraving published by John Bowles: *The Funeral Procession of Madam Geneva* (The British Museum Collection Online, London, 1751) http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3075876&partId=1 [Accessed 16/01/2016]

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- MR/LV.7/9: 'Finsbury Division'.
- MR/LV.7/3: 'Holborn Division'.
- MR/LV.7/4: 'Kensington Division'.
- MR/LV.7/5: 'Tower Division'.
- MR/LV.7/18: 'Uxbridge Division'.

London, LMA, MR/LV/7/50, 'Register for Licensed Victuallers' 1759:

- MR/LV.7/37: 'Edgeware and Gore Division'
- MR/LV.7/36: 'Edmonton Division'
- MR/LV.7/38: 'Holborn Division'
- MR/LV.7/39: 'Kensington Division'
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