

have occupied them for some years. Dr. Rapley here offers a variation on one of these theories. She notes that there existed two approaches to public assistance: one which regarded poverty as a danger and so treated it as deserving of punishment, and another which viewed the evils of vagrancy and poverty more compassionately, as vehicles through which Christian charity might be given meaningful expression. The first approach she suggests characterised social policies advocated by men, while the second became the particular and exclusive concern of women. According to this theory, feminine devotion created an outlet for its fervour in the hospitals, orphanages and charity schools so effectively and successfully staffed by the *filles séculières*. Royal and municipal governments, in turn, became the willing beneficiaries of the work of these *dévotés*.

Dr. Rapley argues her point unconvincingly. A more accurate — if ironic — explanation for the noticeable participation of lay women in the provision of social services would suggest a *conjoncture* of several different but related developments, which together created a demand for lay workers in fields once dominated exclusively by the more traditional monastic orders. Among these developments were the assumptions of vigorous personal rule by Louis XIV, the increased expenditure of public funds in military rather than social ventures, and the determination on the part of municipalities to be free of the burden of supporting formal religious communities within their precincts. Amidst such shifting conditions, devout lay women were presented with a greater opportunity than ever before to provide essential, meaningful and, by contemporary standards, inexpensive social services. The real achievement of women such as Mademoiselle Le Gras, foundress of the Filles de la Charité, is that they were sufficiently gifted and far-seeing to take advantage of those opportunities.

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Women and Industrialization: Gender at Work in Nineteenth-Century England. Judy Lown. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990, Pp. 260 hardcover.

"Gender at work," the subtitle of this book, has a significant double meaning. Judy Lown illustrates how,

at the level of practical experience, being female or male shaped a worker's experience of the silk trade in Victorian Essex. At the same time, she demonstrates that gender — as a category of analysis — informs the structure of an industry and a community. The book is a detailed examination of an important nineteenth-century textile industry, silkmaking, in the family firm of Courtauld's in Halstead, Essex in East Anglia. However, Lown uses her historical study as a starting point for a theoretical reflection on the question of patriarchy.

Women and Industrialization begins with a look at the way the silkmaking trade was organized during the fourteenth century craft phase, in the eighteenth century when capitalistic production was located in the workers' homes within a domestic putting-out system and, finally, in the nineteenth century, when silk was made in factories. For each era, Lown stresses the sexual division of labour in the several forms of production. The remaining chapters focus on the way that gender worked itself out at the social site of employment during the nineteenth century, when that site was the factory. The sources used, however, are not only work-related documents associated with the mill and its employment practices, but they are also the social historian's sources, primarily census records, that can identify the structure of households and families in a community like Halstead.

Lown's reconstruction of "households" as "forms of living arrangement," and "families" as "constellations of ideals and attitudes," permits her to examine the way relationships were structured in terms of power and authority. The patriarchal head of a silkmaking household was the father and his children, husband to his wife, and master to his apprentices and servants, and he derived his authority from both relationships — the familial and the economic. When entrepreneurs like the Courtaulds set up the first mechanized mills for silkmaking, they used the language and ideology of paternalism to make sense of relationships between them and their employees.

The concept of Samuel Courtauld as father and provider, with the workers as his dependents and servants, was particularly convenient and effective since it depended upon the labour of women and children. Courtauld found that youthful female labour was less costly and more tractable than male labour. Furthermore, the women who worked for him, although

ill-paid in comparison with their husbands and brothers, knew they could earn more in the mill than outside it. Courtauld responded to those social activists who wanted the state to regulate and limit hours and conditions of work by defining the protection of his dependents as his own patriarchal duty. He and his family also provided entertainments (Lown describes "a factory festival" in 1846), services (a workplace kitchen was established and later withdrawn), and advice (concerning the prevention of disease and drunkenness) to "their" workpeople, while, at the same time, regulating wages and discouraging union organization. The mill workers responded to this treatment, within the limits of their situation, by developing their own strategies of resistance.

Patriarchy shaped not only the factory but also the home life of Halstead workwomen. Their husbands and fathers, and even their landlords, benefited both from their incomes and from the domestic services they provided. The women usually continued with their jobs despite the demands of marriage, childbirth, and caring for elderly relatives. In Lown's words, "men's patriarchal status was cushioned by women's employment" (p. 77). When concepts of Victorian respectability began to enter the consciousness of working-class men, it was their wives who were charged with the duty of creating and managing respectable households despite the scarcity of financial and community resources.

This book is a piece of very fine historical writing. Lown has worked, creatively and effectively, with a wide variety of sources. Methodology is never permitted to obstruct the narrative, which moves smoothly and persuasively, from example to argument, to characterize the experience of women and men working and living in Halstead. She explains the technical details of the making of silk in the various periods so that the attentive reader can understand just what was going on. At the same time, she never loses sight of her overarching analysis concerning the relationships of class and gender. The argument about the pervasiveness of patriarchy is built up chapter by chapter in the body of the book, so that when the theoretical conclusion is reached, the author's contemporary feminist analysis fits convincingly with an historical account developed on the basis of archival research for a specific industry. There is no easy answer to the question of which factor — class or gender — predominated in the construction of women's

subservient position in the Courtauld mill and in Halstead households, but rather an insistence on the way these elements interacted, in certain lives, in specific communities and industries, within a particular historical period. Although Lown's is a rigorously ideological investigation, deploying the concepts both of the politics of gender and the politics of labour, it is also a very subtle, nuanced analysis of patriarchy and capitalism in a specific historical context.

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Talking Peace: The Women's International Peace Conference. Susan C. MacPhee. *Charlottetown: Ragweed Press, 1990, Pp. 182 paperback.*

Having devoted almost five years to participating in and studying the planning, implementation and aftermath of the 1985 Halifax Women's International Peace Conference for my doctoral dissertation, completed in 1988, on "Feminism, Peace, and International Politics: An Examination of Women Organizing Internationally for Peace and Security," I am delighted that Susan MacPhee's journalistic chronicle of this important event in the history of the Canadian (and international) women's peace movement is now available. *Talking Peace* is a faithful recreation of those five days in June 1985 when 350 women from Canada and 32 other countries gathered in Halifax to assess the sources, levels, and forms of violence in the world and to talk about what women can do about it.

As a popular treatment of this event, the strengths of *Talking Peace* lie in its accessibility, its illumination of the many individual and "ordinary" women in Canada and around the world who made this conference possible, and its extensive reliance on actual quotations from the conference organizers and participants, allowing these women to speak for themselves. It also captures well the central tensions of the conference such as the conflicting perspectives on security among First World and Third World women as well as the problematic relationships women have with national governments.

MacPhee rightly emphasizes two major transitions in the direction of the conference as a result of these tensions. The first was a shift from a more narrow concern about nuclearism that a number of white,