Ralph Barnes Grindrod's *Slaves of the Needle*: An Electronic Scholarly Edition

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A THESIS

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This thesis involves both editorial practice and literary analysis. In order to establish an editorial framework for the electronic scholarly edition of Dr. Ralph Barnes Grindrod's pamphlet *Slaves of the Needle*, I examine current issues in electronic textual editing. In the electronic scholarly edition, approximately twelve of the pamphlet's thirty-five pages are transcribed and encoded using TEI-based code. The second aspect of my master's thesis concerns the depiction of seamstresses in nineteenth-century British literature. *Slaves of the Needle* provides a non-fiction counterpart to the fictional seamstresses of mid-nineteenth-century literature. Using *Slaves of the Needle* as a basis for evaluating the accuracy of mid-nineteenth-century characterizations of seamstresses, I show that authors such as Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, Ernest Jones, and Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna were familiar with the working conditions of seamstresses. By conducting a close reading of certain representations of the seamstress in both fiction and non-fiction, I develop a theory of why the depiction of some aspects of the seamstress story are more accurate than others.

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For Zac & Fiona

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1
Issues in Electronic Textual Editing

Advances in technology continue to expand the opportunities for new approaches to traditional scholarship. In the humanities, the creation of electronic versions of texts is one such innovation. Creators of both traditional and electronic scholarly editions face issues concerning textual authority and the importance of the text's structure to the editorial process. Arguments for electronic editions of texts focus on their potential to improve the way we preserve, analyse, and share information. There are concerns, however, that the creation of electronic texts has the potential to degrade or distort existing information. Kathryn Sutherland poses the question: "what is it that we believe texts should give us access to and why does their electronic representation enhance, compromise, or betray this?" (3). Creators of electronic texts must be prepared to answer this question and to commit to following best practices in text encoding, to using hyperlinking and annotation appropriately, and to safeguarding the scholarly integrity of electronic texts.

A satisfactory definition of scholarly editing must address both its purpose and also the relationship that exists between editor and text. Peter Shillingsburg claims the purpose of scholarly editing is to "[preserve] or [rescue] a work of artistic, social, intellectual, or historical importance as an artifact" and "to make available for scholarly use works not ordinarily available or available only in corrupt or inadequate forms" (*Scholarly Editing* 2-3). The scholarly editor's

role is to preserve and disseminate texts which may otherwise suffer further damage or be lost altogether. Shillingsburg also contends that there are two parts to any scholarly edition: the text and the editor's insight into the text ("Hagiolatry" 421). Based on Shillingsburg's claims, I define a scholarly edition as one that contains a base text modified or interpreted by an editor and that is designed to recover or maintain access to a work to a work deemed important by academic or cultural bodies.

An electronic scholarly edition is created using a markup language to enrich the text with metainformation that communicates data about the function of certain elements within the text. Thomas Rommel claims that markup is necessary "because the ambiguity of meaning in literature requires at least some interpretative process by the critic even prior to the analysis proper" (92). The basic function of a markup language in electronic textual editing is to "[make] explicit for computer processing things that are implicit for the human reader. Markup thus puts intelligence into texts, providing information to help computer programs perform more meaningful operations on them" (Hockey "Reality" 363). There are two kinds of markup that can be used to create electronic texts: prescriptive and descriptive. *Prescriptive* markup tells the computer how to process textual elements for print or screen. Allen Renear associates a preference for prescriptive markup with theoretical attitudes about textuality that privilege faithful representation of an original text over editorial interpretation. An example of an electronic text project that subscribes to the prescriptive model is *Project Gutenberg*, which rejects all but the most basic forms of presentational markup.

Descriptive markup, on the other hand, provides the computer with information about the function a textual element performs in the text and is the kind of markup used in most digital

humanities projects. Marking up elements "embeds in the text a range of structural and semantic information that can be used for subsequent analysis of the text" (Burrows 8). Semantic information of this kind is controlled by the use of a classification scheme that "by identifying properties relevant for such judgements of similarity and dissimilarity, can make explicit a particular view concerning the nature of the objects being classified" (Sperberg-McQueen "Classification" 161). The editor chooses which elements of the text he or she wants the computer to recognize as semantically significant. Currently, encoding schemes chosen by most creators of electronic scholarly editions in the humanities are based on an SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language) application created by the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) Consortium to address the needs of humanities scholars. Editorial projects using TEI-based encoding schemes include the *Women Writers Project*, the *Perseus Project*, and the *Orlando Project*.

Historically, the primary task of the scholarly editor has been to choose between or among variants in an attempt to create the most authoritative edition of a text. The creation of an electronic scholarly edition may also involve evaluating variants. When making a choice among variants, W. W. Greg differentiates between *accidentals* — matters of punctuation, spelling, and word order — and *substantive* differences — differences that change the meaning of the text. In the case of accidental variation, Greg argues that the editor should adhere to the copy-text. However, in the case of substantive differences "the choice between . . . readings belongs to the general theory of textual criticism and lies altogether beyond the narrow principle of the copy-text" (26). When faced with substantive differences, the editor must develop a methodology that

will allow him or her to mediate between or among competing possible readings before choosing which one to privilege.

Creators of both electronic and print-based scholarly editions must face issues of textual authority. Harker describes the literary text as "the visible embodiment of what the author meant to say" (6). For the editor faced with a number of competing variants, however, *which* text represents what the author meant to say? Editors such as Greg argue for the authority of the earliest extant witness on the basis that it is closest to the author's intended work. Morse Peckham, however, criticizes Greg's emphasis on this method of establishing authority. Peckham argues that the work of the textual editor is to "[make] judgements about the relationship of the versions to a *postulated* work" (135) rather than to recover a non-existent perfect text, a text Julia Flanders describes as the "imaginary text the author would have produced if he had never had to write his text into material existence" (132). Greg's privileging of the earliest witness rests on a belief that it is possible for an edited text to mirror the author's intended text. According to the definition I developed earlier, however, scholarly editions cannot make this claim because, as N. Katherine Hayles writes, the editor's "decisions inevitably function as interpretations, for they literally construct the text in ways that foreground some interpretive possibilities and support others" (268; cf. Shillingsburg "Hagiolatry" 419). Regardless of whether he or she works in a print-based or electronic environment, the scholarly editor "[continues] an activity initiated by the author" (Peckham 144). Because the text *is* written into material existence, what the author meant to say is mingled with the utterances of the social network through which his or her manuscript passes (McGann *Textual* 66; Shillingsburg *Scholarly Editing* 29). By adding his or her own interpretations to the text, the scholarly editor participates in the continuing creation of

the text. The editor's act of creation involves integrating his or her knowledge about the text, its author, its intended audience, and its cultural context in an attempt to synthesize existing variants into a scholarly edition of the text. Whether the editor's task is choosing between variants, encoding text, or both, the resultant scholarly edition is not a variant of the original. Rather, both print-based and electronic scholarly editions are new texts that take their matter from existing texts and their interpretation from their editors.

In addition to issues of variation and textual authority, a text's structure may also influence editorial decision-making. Shillingsburg writes: "textual criticism is often understood as the art of examining literary texts to authenticate the words, their order, spelling, punctuation, and capitalization" (*Scholarly Editing* 4). Hayles argues that this characterization of the literary text as a form-independent sequence of words and punctuation is a theory based in print culture and cannot be "carried over wholesale to the screen without rethinking how things change with electronic text, as if 'text' were an inert, non-reactive substance that can be poured from container to container without affecting its essential nature" (267). Looking at the literary text from the perspective of electronic textual editing provides us with an opportunity to re-examine our assumptions about the structure of texts and how that structure influences our interpretation.

Renear's three theories of textuality — Platonism, Pluralism, and Antirealism — are an attempt to explain how electronic textuality has influenced the way we understand the structure of texts. Platonism rests on an understanding of the text as an ordered hierarchy of content objects (OHCO). In Renear's description of OHCO, texts:

> are "hierarchical" because [content objects] nest inside one another. They are "ordered" because there is a linear relationship to objects: for any two objects within a book one object comes before the other. They are "content objects" because they organize text into natural units that are, in some sense, based on meaning and communicative intentions. (Biggs and Huitfeldt)

This theory is problematic because it suggest that linearity and a hierarchical order are essential qualities of a text's structure. Renear's second theory, Pluralism, accounts for this problem by framing texts as systems of independent hierarchies. Renear uses the example of a verse play to demonstrate the Pluralist conception of the text: a verse drama contains acts, which contain scenes, which contain lines, some of which are in verse. These verses are independent hierarchical systems consisting of lines that may or may not correspond to the lines in the drama system. Pluralism, Renear writes, "can perhaps treat texts as systems of structures of objects, each structure corresponding to an analytic perspective, but it should not require that these structures be hierarchical" (121). Depending on the editor's perspective, the existence of both verse lines and dramatic lines may or may not be relevant. The editor can choose whether or not to take a structure's characteristics into account when making editorial decisions. Regardless of the editor's analytic perspective, however, there is an inherent structure in the text.

Most scholars of electronic textuality embrace the Pluralist notion of the text. According to Renear, when people started using TEI-based code "the implicit assumption in SGML that every document could be represented as a single hierarchical structure, with a grammar of elements determined by its genre, quickly created real practical and theoretical problems" (120). The idea of the text as a single hierarchy was replaced by the Pluralist belief that the text is a

system of hierarchies that are each exposed or kept hidden depending on the analytic perspective of the editor. Flanders describes the electronic edition as having "the capacity to create for the reader a textual space from within which one feels the representational power of the text, not as an assemblage of data, but as a meaningful coherent universe" (137). If we accept that the structure of a text is not necessarily ordered and hierarchical, editors have far greater freedom to discover new systems of structures based on their analytic perspective and make editorial decisions that draw attention to those findings.

In Renear's theory of Antirealism, all systems are externally imposed in an attempt to organize an otherwise unstructured text. Antirealists such as Alois Pichler argue that in order to understand a text, we must interpret it through the creation of a structure that foregrounds certain of the text's elements. Because encoding is itself an act of interpretation, it also requires us to impose a structure on the text. Pichler, who prefers the term *constructivist* to antirealist ("Encoding Wittgenstein"), claims: "our aim in transcription is not to represent as correctly as possible the originals, but rather to prepare from the original text another text so as to serve as accurately as possible certain interests in the text" (qtd. in Renear 123). Jerome McGann and his team began to look at texts from an Antirealist perspective during the creation of the *Rossetti Archive*, a project which encourages users to apply an individually-determined system to the material in order to find the answers to their own critical questions.

Principles of electronic textuality can also influence how we see texts in context. The electronic edition "provides an environment in which the relations between multiple versions of a text and between a text and its verbal, intellectual, and visual parallels can also become more immediate" (Shillingsburg *Scholarly Editing* 163). By breaking apart linear, hierarchical

arrangements of texts, a scholarly editor can create a system of texts based on his or her interests and methodology. When creating the *Rossetti Archive*, McGann saw the "fundamental limit of the scholarly edition in codex form . . . using books to study books constrains the analysis to the same conceptual level as the materials to be studied; electronic tools raise the level of critical abstraction" ("Imagining" 383). The non-sequential, decentralized nature of an archive of electronic editions negates the implication present in print-based archives that there is a hierarchical relationship among texts that privileges one over others in the group.

The possibility for this kind of decentralization is only one of the potential benefits of electronic texts. The creation of electronic scholarly editions of texts can expand our scholarly horizons, deepen our understanding of texts, and break down disciplinary barriers. Shillingsburg asks:

> if you can read an electronic text that tries to convey an accurate sense of the original and makes accessible in similar form the alter-texts and contexts of the work and that provides glosses and commentaries in appropriately supportive ways, why read a single text unsupported by the scholarly apparatus thus offered? ("Polymorphic" 39)

Resistance to electronic text within the larger scholarly community focuses, in part, on the fear that without the physical boundaries of the book, the medium will push the boundaries of what is usable. Electronic texts have the potential to become so inclusive that the reader will have difficulty knowing what is and is not part of the text (Hockey "Reality" 362). More chillingly, Shillingsburg's vision of a future where "the comprehensiveness of the electronic archive

threatens to create a salt, estranging sea of information, separating the archive user from insights into the critical significance of textual histories" ("Hagiolatry" 416) points to the very real danger that an electronic archive pushed to its limits will achieve exactly the opposite result than the one intended. Rather than contextualize the work, it will expand the contextual horizon to such a degree that the reader will lose sight of the text. If electronic texts are to be accepted by the academic community, digital humanities scholars must address issues surrounding their encoding practices, their use of hyperlinking and annotation, and they must work towards a system of peer review that will ensure the academic integrity of electronic texts.

Best practices in text encoding require that the choice of encoding scheme be contingent not only on the nature of the text at hand but also on the needs of the encoder, both of which are socially and culturally determined. According to Dino Buzzetti and McGann, "when we 'markup' a text . . . we are actually marking the pre-existent bibliographical markup and not the 'content' that has already been marked in the bibliographical object" ("Critical Editing"). The content is the ideas that are captured and pinned to the page; what we mark up are the bibliographic tools that hold the ideas. McGann argues that, like scholarly editing in a print environment, "markup and theories of markup . . . are and must be social, historical, and dialectical" ("Marking" 199). Most scholars in the digital humanities choose to encode texts using TEI. McGann is, perhaps, TEI's highest-profile critic. He claims: "TEI is now a standard for humanities encoding practices. Because it treats the humanities corpus — typically, works of imagination — as informational structures, it ipso facto violates some of the most basic reading practices of the humanities community, scholarly as well as popular" (*Radiant* 139). McGann's main complaint regarding TEI is that it removes ambiguity and redundancy from human

communication, qualities he argues are necessary for imaginative works and that can't be captured using a markup scheme ("Visible" 286).

McGann describes TEI as an "allopoetic system. Its elements are unambiguously delimited and identified *a priori*, its structure of relations is precisely fixed, it is non-dynamical, and it is focused on objects that stand apart from itself" ("Marking" 200). While it is true that TEI and other SGML-based encoding schema remove ambiguity from language, they do so at the level of computer processing, not human comprehension. C. M. Sperberg-McQueen writes, "like any notation, the TEI guidelines inevitably make it easy to express certain kind of ideas, and concomitantly harder to express other kinds of ideas, about the texts we encode in electronic form" ("Textual" 55). If there is a first rule of text encoding, it is that you must understand the needs of both your text and your editorial project so that you can choose an appropriate encoding scheme (Lavagnino "When Not"). In his own electronic text projects, McGann experiments with encoding schemes that are more flexible and that are capable of describing multiple layers of meaning in a text. For many encoding projects, however, TEI is the best choice. The collaborative nature of the TEI's design ensures that it meets the needs of most humanities scholars and its extensibility makes it a practical choice for scholars who do not want to create a new markup language.

In addition to choosing an encoding scheme that is suitable for his or her project, the creator of an electronic scholarly edition must decide which textual features are of the most importance to his or her interpretation of the text. John Lavagnino is a proponent of the theory of adequacy in text encoding, which allows for the fact that encoding every aspect of a text is both

impractical and undesirable ("Completeness" 71). The creator of an electronic edition chooses what to encode based on his or her own particular areas of interest. Lavagnino writes:

> if the choice is between expending our resources on a clear-cut feature of no significance to us, but possible significance to someone, someday, or on an interpretive feature that we consider important but that isn't perceived by everyone in precisely the same way, we have good reasons to select the latter, particularly if it makes it clearer what we believe is the text's meaning. ("Completeness" 71)

Because encoding certain elements of the text implies that those features are of greater importance, however, responsible encoding practice requires editors to be forthright about both their editorial goals and their encoding choices.

Another way that scholarly editors can enrich a text is through the use of annotations. Annotations are used to clarify obscure passages and can also provide the modern reader with social and cultural knowledge the author would have assumed in his or her original audience but that has been lost to time (Lamont 49). In his description of the difference between editorial practice in history and literary studies, G. Thomas Tanselle notes: "historical editions in general give more attention to explanatory annotations than to the detailed recording of textual data, whereas the literary editions reverse this emphasis" (1). Electronic editions of texts, such as the poems in *The Thomas MacGreevy Archive*, communicate textual data through encoding and can contain or link to a variety of explanatory material.

Annotations in electronic texts benefit from the expansive capabilities of hypertext. Since they do not have to occupy real estate at the foot of a print page, annotations in an electronic text can be made longer and more complex. Another option is to provide different layers of annotation that can be tailored to distinct groups of users. For instance, a text could be annotated with one set of notes for undergraduate students and another set for graduate students. The editor can also link to an external source. While the act of linking does imply the editor's endorsement of the annotation's viewpoint, it is not as immediate as placing that same information in a footnote. However, while the external source can be kept at a distance and not made a part of the text, it is still the responsibility of the editor to choose carefully those documents to which he or she links. While most annotations benefit the reader, annotations have the potential to stifle individual interpretation of a text in favour of the editor's. Claire Lamont writes, "the critical view of the annotator is that he or she, in the guise of offering help, is knowingly or otherwise controlling the situation by both enabling and limiting interpretation of the text and both serving and creating its reader" (53). Like encoding, annotation is a practice that reveals the bias and interpretation of the editor. Annotated features of the text are marked as being more noteworthy than the non-annotated features. It is important, however, for editors of scholarly editions to be aware that their annotations can change how the reader will perceive the text. There is also the danger that the original text will be lost in a sea of annotations and links. As with choosing elements in a text to encode, the creator of an electronic scholarly edition may prefer to aim for adequacy in his or her annotation and hyperlinking rather than comprehensiveness.

Resistance to electronic scholarship is often due to the perception that creators of electronic texts do not adhere as closely to community standards as do authors and editors who

work in print media. We are still more likely to trust a text that bears the imprint of a respected academic press than one that is published electronically. The use of peer review in electronic publishing will help to bridge that gap. Jean-Claude Guédon asserts:

> where similar qualitative guarantees exist — guarantees of peer review, publisher imprimatur, and beyond — electronic academic publication must [be] given the same value as print publication. Indeed, it is the mechanism of peer review . . . that makes the claim of qualitative assurance, and not the medium. (30)

In order for peer review to be successful, digital humanities scholars must establish community standards. John Unsworth broached this issue at the 2001 conference of the Society for Textual Scholarship, saying: "institutional uncertainty about how to value work done in electronic media arises, in part . . . from not having a methodology with which to associate, or according to which to evaluate, that work" ("Reconsidering and Revising"). The need for an accepted methodology has also been raised by the Modern Languages Association whose *Guidelines for Scholarly Editions* now addresses concerns relevant to the creation of electronic texts. Opportunities for peer review of electronic scholarship are also increasing. The mandate of the NINES group (Networked Infrastructure for Nineteenth-Century Electronic Scholarship) is to serve as a peer review board for scholarship in nineteenth-century British and American studies, to offer opportunities for training in electronic scholarship, and to develop tools for the creation of electronic texts.

In conclusion, I find that while editors of both electronic and print-based scholarly editions have an interpretative relationship with texts and are engaged in a practice that will

ensure the preservation and dissemination of texts, the practice of electronic textual editing has an added dimension. Renear argues that although computer text encoding is a largely practical rather than theoretical concern, over time there has "evolved a rich body of illuminating theory about the nature of the text" (107). That body of theory has its roots in the practice of textual criticism and the creation of traditional scholarly editions. If electronic scholarly editions are to garner the support enjoyed by their print-based counterparts, editors must address both practical and theoretical concerns. Creators of electronic scholarly editions must examine their own practices and submit their work to the peer review process to ensure that their work makes the best possible use of the advantages of electronic editing. More importantly, working with electronic texts requires editors to challenge their notion of what constitutes a text. My own understanding of the nature of the text most closely resembles Renear's theory of Pluralism. In the case of textual databases, however, I am drawn to the possibilities suggested by McGann's antirealist position. If a group of texts has no inherent structure, the reader must impose his or her own system in order to interpret the material. This allows the reader to participate in the editorial process and to influence the ongoing creation of the text.

2
Encoding *Slaves of the Needle*

In the summer of 2005 I encountered Ralph Barnes Grindrod's *Slaves of the Needle* in a print-based collection of mid-nineteenth-century social-reform pamphlets[1]. In *Slaves of the Needle*, Grindrod exposes the deplorable conditions under which mid-nineteenth-century British needlewomen worked. Grindrod also proposes ways in which upper- and middle-class women can alleviate their suffering. Apart from its publication in this collection, I was able to locate *Slaves of the Needle* in two other places: an original copy in the historical collections of Harvard Business School's Baker Library and an excerpt reprinted as supplementary material to the 2000 Broadview Press edition of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton*. My interest in text encoding and in reconfiguring the role of historical documents in literary studies led me to create an electronic scholarly edition of *Slaves of the Needle* as the first in a series of encoding projects culminating in an archive of nineteenth-century British social-reform texts.

The nature of Victorian social-reform writing makes it an ideal subject for an electronic archive. Social-reform writing of this period is concerned with "specific social problems raised during the process of industrialization" (Bodenheimer 4). The line between social-reform fiction and non-fiction is often blurred because both are heavily influenced by journalism and the

[1] *Conditions of work and living: the reawakening of the English conscience; five pamphlets 1838-1844*. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Parliamentary reports known as blue books. Lamont writes, "there is a social text operating intertextually in the novel. It is a challenge to the annotator not only to pin-point the source, but to indicate following from it the structures intertextually present in the text" (52). Encoding novels and historical documents and placing them together in a linked archive facilitates the mapping of vectors of influence between and among social-reform writers.

My choice of a non-fiction document rather than a work of fiction for the first entry in the archive is motivated by my interest in how the critical apparatus of a scholarly edition affects readers' interpretations of the text. By bringing *Slaves of the Needle* to the front of the book, so to speak, I am challenging the role historical documents have traditionally played in literary studies. In this, the first phase of what will be a larger project, I have chosen to encode the second section of Grindrod's pamphlet for a total of twelve out of the pamphlet's 35 pages. In this section of *Slaves of the Needle*, Grindrod addresses the effects of poor working conditions on the physical, moral, and psychological health of the seamstress. The electronic scholarly edition of *Slaves of the Needle* also includes a critical essay evaluating the accuracy of the depiction of seamstresses in social-reform literature. As the creator of an electronic scholarly edition, it is my responsibility to address the issues facing the digital humanities community I raised in Part One, Chapter One of this thesis by following a clear statement of editorial intent, by encoding the text according to community standards, by annotating responsibly and with an eye to preserving the coherence of the text, and by attempting to secure the approval of the scholarly community.

The intended audience for the electronic scholarly edition of *Slaves of the Needle* is a primarily academic one. My editorial aim is to give readers a sense of what life was like for a mid-nineteenth-century seamstress so that when they read social-reform literature of the time,

they will have a non-fiction account with which to compare fictional narratives. To that end, I have chosen to mark up textual elements that describe the seamstress's physical, psychological, and moral health and that identify characteristics of her working conditions. Using TEI, I have identified and classified certain passages, or segments, of the text according to the information they contain. My system of classification does not stem from a neutral reading of the text; instead, it replicates Victorian social concerns and constraints as they are represented by Grindrod. Segments fall into four categories or types: working conditions, physical complaints, psychological complaints, and moral concerns. Each segment is then assigned to a subcategory:

Category	Subcategories
Working Conditions	length of work day poor ventilation lack of leisure time ergonomics poor nutrition overcrowding
Physical Complaints	hematologic (blood) respiratory uterine cardiovascular (heart, arteries, and veins) musculoskeletal (complaints of the spine) digestive exhaustion general (unspecified illnesses or symptoms)

Category	Subcategories
Psychological Complaints	mania depression exhaustion general (unspecified illness or symptoms)
Moral Concerns	prostitution intemperance (use of alcohol or stimulants) negative influence of peers religious observance general (non-specific concerns)

Table 1: Categories and Subcategories Used in Encoding

For instance, in this passage from *Slaves of the Needle*, the following segments are encoded as belonging to the medical complaints category: "anaemia," "dyspepsia," "disturbance of the uterine functions," and "palpitations of the heart:"

> *Mr. Cantis*, Surgeon. — During the last six years has seen some hundreds of cases of illness among dress-makers. The prevailing complaint is what may be called anæmia; that is, excessive prostration of strength, a bloodless condition of body, conjoined with all the symptoms of severe dyspepsia, disturbance of the uterine functions, and palpitations of the heart . . . (27)

Each condition is further classified as a particular form of somatic illness: circulatory, digestive, reproductive, and cardiac, respectively. The terms "excessive prostration of strength" and "bloodless condition of body" are noted as being alternative terms for anaemia.

Segments of *Slaves of the Needle* that describe the seamstress's psychological and moral condition are also identified. Terms indicating depression and mania such as "excitability of feeling" and "gloomy and discontented trains of thought" (17) are tagged as *psychological complaints*. Consistent with the Victorians' belief in the connection between physical, mental, and moral health (Mort 20; Bashford 17), descriptions of psychological complaints in *Slaves of the Needle* are often found adjacent to accounts of physical illness and expressions of concern regarding the seamstress's moral condition. Nineteenth-century interest in the moral health of the seamstress focussed primarily on the prevalence of prostitution among needlewomen. The lure of prostitution is explored in social protest fiction such as the 1850 short story "Slave of the Needle" in which a young seamstress, left alone after the death of her mother, is propositioned by her employer. Segments that refer to prostitution in *Slaves of the Needle* include phrases such as "lose their virtue" and "fall an easy prey to the insidious arts of the seducer" (17).

Annotations in the electronic edition of *Slaves of the Needle* take two forms. In order to show the relationship between social-reform rhetoric and literature, passages from fiction are linked to corresponding passages in *Slaves of the Needle*. For instance, these passages from *Slaves of the Needle* and *Ruth* are linked for comparison:

> Inspiration proclaims that "*man goeth forth to his work and to his labour* until the evening." Do the shades of evening, however, announce the glad tidings of rest to the delicate and fragile frame of the poor dress-maker? Not so. (Grindrod 17)

> Two o'clock in the morning chimed forth the old bells of St. Saviour's. And yet, more than a dozen girls still sat in the room into which Ruth entered, stitching away as if for very life, not daring to gape, or show any outward manifestation of sleepiness. . . . for they knew that, stay up as late as they might, the work-hours of the next day must begin at eight, and their young limbs were very weary. (Gaskell 3)

Another set of annotations explains terms and references that would have been commonly understood in the mid-nineteenth century but which would be unfamiliar to the modern reader. *Slaves of the Needle* includes a number of references to the findings of the 1843 *Second Commission on the Employment of Children*. In the electronic edition, these passages contain metainformation directing the reader to the corresponding passage in the commission's report. The scope of these annotations is limited and I do not use hyperlinking to connect the electronic text of *Slaves of the Needle* to any external sources. My decision to not include links to other resources is based on the current lack of relevant open-access material online[2]. In a later

[2] While the full text of the 1843 *Second Report* is available in electronic form, access requires a subscription to ProQuest's *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* collection.

incarnation, the electronic scholarly edition of *Slaves of the Needle* will be part of a database of interconnected texts.

In its current form, the electronic scholarly edition of *Slaves of the Needle* is not ready for the peer review process. The project has received, however, input and guidance from Dr. Aimée Morrison and Dr. Kate Lawson. In addition, I attended the 2006 Digital Humanities Summer Institute at the University of Victoria in order to learn more about encoding and also to workshop my electronic scholarly edition of *Slaves of the Needle*. The advice I received from these sources has led to substantial revisions of both the encoded text and the supporting material.

In conclusion, the electronic scholarly edition of the second section of *Slaves of the Needle* puts into practice the editorial principles that will underlie a completed edition of the text. As such, this thesis forms part of what will be a significant contribution to the body of scholarship on mid-nineteenth-century social-reform writing. My editorial practices concerning this project are influenced by Martha Nell Smith's assertion that "understanding the poetics and principles of electronic scholarly editing means understanding that the primary goal of this activity is not to dictate what can be seen but rather to open up ways of seeing" (315). Editors of scholarly editions have a responsibility to readers and the academic community to expand rather than close off avenues of inquiry. In order to ensure the academic integrity of this project, I first researched current issues in electronic textual editing. Based on my research, I determined that I should pay particular attention to following best practices in text encoding, to using annotations and hyperlinking responsibly, and to attempt to secure the approval and support of the academic community for my project.

Part II: Locating the Seamstress in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric and Literature

Introduction

> Human misery has at last found tongues and pens to make itself heard and felt. It appeals to our feelings and our understandings, to our sympathies and fears. Its wails melt us to pity, its ravings terrify us, its sores sicken us. It will no longer hide itself. We must either remove it, or submit to have it constantly exposed to our gaze in all its horrid deformity.
> (Ellis 371)

In this Introduction, I have chosen to situate Ralph Barnes Grindrod's 1844 pamphlet *Slaves of the Needle* in the context of other mid-nineteenth-century narratives concerning seamstresses in order to demonstrate that authors of both fiction and non-fiction often drew from the same sources. My choice of main topics — working conditions, health, and prostitution — is informed by political economist Harriet Martineau's observation that needlework as a profession is responsible for delivering "a crowd of victims to the hospital, the brothel, the madhouse, and the grave" (qtd in Logan 33). I have chosen to focus on these topics because of the interest the nineteenth-century public showed in the seamstress's working conditions, physical and psychological health, and her moral character.

During the mid-nineteenth century, the seamstress figured prominently in popular literature. Authors of social-reform literature attempted to move their audience, which during this time was composed primarily of upper- and middle-class women, to action by painting vivid

pictures of the innocent "slave of the needle." Using *Slaves of the Needle* as a basis for evaluating the accuracy of mid-nineteenth-century characterizations of seamstresses, I demonstrate that authors such as Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, and Ernest Jones were familiar with contemporary non-fiction accounts of the hardships faced by needlewomen. While these authors represent the seamstress's working conditions and physical complaints accurately, when they write about social and moral issues surrounding the seamstress, factual evidence is passed through the filter of social-reform ideology, an ideology which resists legislation and relies on the seamstress's lack of agency for its success. Wherever she is located, the image of the seamstress social-reform writers convey to the public is the one that will arouse the most sympathy, not necessarily the one that is most accurate.

The time period covered by this thesis is the late-1830s to the mid-1860s. Prior to the publication in 1843 of *The Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children: Trades and Manufactures*[1], which contains the findings of the first official inquiry into the working conditions of seamstresses, only a few seamstresses appear in British literature. Kate Nickleby in Charles Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839) works as a seamstress for a brief period. "A London Dressmaker's Diary" and *Jessie Phillips: A Tale of the Present Day* were both published in 1842 but neither includes the kind of detailed description of the seamstress's life and working conditions that is found in works published after the release of the *Second Report*. A number of important social-reform narratives concerning seamstresses were published in 1843 such as Tonna's *Perils of the Nation* and *The Wrongs of Woman*, Elizabeth Stone's *The Young Milliner*, and Thomas Hood's poem "The Song of the Shirt." Hood's poem, first printed in

[1] The Royal Commission's *First Report*, which was published in 1842, concerned the working conditions of children employed in mines and manufactories.

Punch, is often credited with being the inspiration for the flurry of seamstress-related art and literature created during the following two decades. Indeed, quotations or images from "The Song of the Shirt" appear in almost all social-reform writing about seamstresses that is published after 1843. Grindrod reprints the poem in full in the 1844 edition of *Slaves of the Needle*.

During the 1840s, 50s and 60s the seamstress would appear in a number of literary and artistic forms. The death of a London dressmaker named Mary Anne Walkley in 1863 and the publication of the *Second Report of the Children's Employment Commissioners* in 1864[2] mark the end of this period. Walkley's death and the results of the 1864 commission show that attempts by social-reform writers to influence consumers and employers did not have the desired results. Based on the evidence given by seamstresses, working conditions remained very much the same from 1843-1864. The evidence given to the commissioners by employers also shows that they were aware of social-reform arguments and were able to use those arguments to justify their resistance to legislation. The Children's Employment Commission is also significant because, in contrast to the 1843 *Second Report*, the commissioners express strong support for legislation.

In writing his social-reform essays, Grindrod drew on his experiences with Manchester's working-class population. His book-length essay *Bacchus* was published in 1838 after it was awarded a prize by the New British and Foreign Temperance Society. This was followed by *Wrongs of Our Youth* in 1843 and *Slaves of the Needle* in 1844. Born near Manchester in 1811, Grindrod worked as a surgeon and acted as a medical officer for working men's clubs before going into private practice. As a result, Grindrod saw first-hand the effects of alcohol and poverty

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[2] The first report of the Children's Employment Commission appeared in 1863.

on working families. However, he "was not concerned with movements directed towards encouraging working people to improve their lot by organizing themselves into any form of Trade Union. His approach was essentially an effort to arouse the social conscience of employers and ordinary members of the public" (Grierson 37). This belief in the power of upper- and middle-class benevolence is expressed in both *Wrongs of Our Youth* and *Slaves of the Needle*. As president of the Salford and Manchester Temperance Society, Grindrod proposed several new initiatives such as reading rooms, literacy classes for the poor, and a registry for people seeking employment (Grierson 23). Similar ideas appear in *Slaves of the Needle* as suggestions for practical ways employers and customers can help impoverished seamstresses. After retiring from private practice, Grindrod went on to establish a hydrotherapy centre in Malvern and continued to conduct temperance lecture tours until his death in 1883.

Slaves of the Needle is subtitled "An Exposure of the Distressed Condition, Moral and Physical, of Dress-Makers, Milliners, Embroiderers, Slop-Workers." In the pamphlet, Grindrod reprints extracts from the *Second Report* with additional evidence and his own commentary. During the nineteenth century, blue books — the published findings of Parliamentary commissions and committees — were widely read and often provided authors with material for their own work. Oz Frankel notes:

> trade unions and other oppositional organizations, to give an example, regularly scanned blue books in search of evidence that could confirm their grievances. They then republished these plundered bits of information in their own pamphlets and broadsides, emphasizing that official investigations had produced these particular testimonies, figures, and facts. (309)

Like other social-reform writers, Grindrod relies on the strength of the evidence gathered by Parliamentary commissioners to substantiate his claims. The intended audience for *Slaves of the Needle* is upper- and middle-class women, whom Grindrod considers the ideal group to help beleaguered seamstresses. His appeal centres on female sympathy for other women and a sense of Christian obligation to help the less fortunate. Grindrod proposes reforms that focus on changing the habits of female consumers, whose tendency to place clothing orders at the last minute required seamstresses to work longer and later hours to complete items on time, rather than on calls for legislation.

Helsinger, Sheets, and Veeder's assertion that the seamstress's sphere is private rather than public (115) helps to explain why social-reform writers like Grindrod were so resistant to legislation. To suggest that the working conditions of seamstresses be regulated by government policy would be to legitimize the idea of women's work as industry rather than individual domestic labour. The needlewoman in social-reform writing is a sympathetic figure to be helped on an individual basis by a benevolent master or mistress, not a representative of an oppressed class that will only be freed through organized political struggle. In order to arouse the sympathy of their audience, writers had to maintain this image of the seamstress as a helpless individual. The use of the term *slave* to describe British workers dates to the 1830s and is first found in Richard Oastler's reform writing concerning textile workers. In 1843, Tonna applied the description specifically to seamstresses (Alexander *Women* 7). By choosing *Slaves of the Needle* as the title of his pamphlet, Grindrod plays on his readers' fears of the dehumanizing aspects of interminable labour and also suggests that the seamstress is not free to escape her situation.

Although *Slaves of the Needle* is an important social-reform text, it does not figure prominently in the body of scholarship on mid-nineteenth-century seamstresses. Lynn M. Alexander's book *Women, Work, and Representation* is the most recent comprehensive work on the subject of seamstresses in mid-nineteenth-century British literature. Alexander examines the popularity of the seamstress as a character in social-reform literature and how the symbolic value of the seamstress is created. While she does refer to Grindrod and *Slaves of the Needle*, Alexander's focus is on fictional and artistic depictions of seamstresses rather than non-fiction accounts.

I believe the lack of scholarship concerning Grindrod is due, in part, to the fact that so little of the writing in *Slaves of the Needle* is Grindrod's own. Most of the pamphlet is made up of excerpts from the *Second Report*. Rather than use Grindrod's pamphlet as a source of information, scholars choose to work with the *Second Report* directly. By creating a text for readers who were not inclined to read blue books, however, Grindrod conveyed political information to a different audience than that garnered by the original report. One of the barriers many readers of blue books encountered was the sheer volume of material they included. Frankel writes: "the retentive quality of blue books was largely derived from the ideology of the nineteenth-century British public sphere. The Victorian subject as a reader was expected to engage pristine, unprocessed information so he could -- as the cliché goes -- 'judge for himself'" (316-17). I would argue that *Slaves of the Needle* is a significant text in its own right because in his choice and arrangement of excerpts from the *Second Report*, Grindrod reveals what parts of the report he believed were most important for his audience to read. His role, therefore, is as much editorial as it is authorial.

In addition to Grindrod's *Slaves of the Needle*, the works I have chosen to examine in this thesis, and their date of publication, are as follows: *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839), *The Wrongs of Woman* (1843), "The Young Seamstress" (1847), *Mary Barton* (1848), "Ellen Linn, the Needlewoman" (1850), "The Slave of the Needle" (1850), *Woman's Wrongs* (1852), and *Ruth* (1853). I chose each of these texts because their female protagonist is, at least for a time, a seamstress and the details of her employment are central to the story. I also chose texts that differ in the degree to which their authors refer to factual evidence. What all of these texts have in common, in addition to featuring a seamstress, is that they conform to Antonio Gramsci's definition of a *functional text*.

Gramsci's *functional literature* is literature that is designed to achieve a social or political goal (129). Social-reform writing can be characterized as functional literature because its goal is to persuade its audience to adopt a certain course of action. Because functional literature has an explicit social and political agenda, Gramsci's differentiation between literature and politics is also relevant to the study of social-reform writing. Gramsci writes:

> The politician imagines man as he is and, at the same time, how he should be in order to reach a specific goal. His task is precisely to stir men up, to get them to leave their present life behind in order to become collectively able to reach the proposed goal, that is, to get them to 'conform' to the goal. The artist necessarily and realistically depicts 'that which is', at a given moment . . . (100-01)

Social-reform writers are both politicians and artists; they imagine their audience in political terms but depict their subjects in artistic terms. They describe the present situation of both their audience and their subjects but both male and female social-reform writers grant their female

audience the agency necessary to create change while denying their female subjects that same ability. Helen Rogers notes: "while [Henry] Mayhew assumed that working men could provide political accounts of and solutions to their economic grievances, women possessed only their 'stories' of temptation and fall, stories which were to be woven into reform propaganda" (599). The male worker's account of his present situation and suggested course of action for his future correspond to Gramsci's political discourse while the female worker's stories are an artistic depiction of the present. While political discourse is characterized as masculine and artistic discourse as feminine, the use of political and artistic discourse in social-reform writing does not depend on the gender of the author. It is the gender of the subject that dictates how he or she will be imagined or depicted. Seamstresses are rarely depicted as taking action to achieve a certain goal. The seamstress is always "that which is" and rarely "how [she] should be" in order to help herself.

In addition to Gramsci's theories, my selection and treatment of texts is also influenced by the approach Mary Poovey takes in her essay "Curing the Social Body in 1832: James Philips Kay and the Irish in Manchester." Poovey describes her method as "close textual and historical analysis" of Kay's text and justifies this approach by arguing that the "narrative logic of [Kay's] text -- its contradictions and ostentatious omissions as well as its explicit argument -- exposes the cultural logic by which certain attitudes and habits . . . were successively elevated over other concerns" (56). Kay's writing, which Poovey describes as "empirical observations of specific instances of working-class distress, gathered and interpreted by a middle-class . . . expert" (57), has much in common with the texts I examine here. By conducting a close reading of certain depictions of the seamstress in both fiction and non-fiction, I develop a theory of why the representation of some aspects of the seamstress story are more accurate than others.

In **Chapter One** of the second part of this thesis, I discuss the characteristics of social-reform writing and I evaluate the accuracy of social-reform writers' depiction of the seamstress's workroom and her physical health. I find that, on the whole, these representations are accurate. I find far more discrepancies in the description of seamstresses who turn to prostitution. I argue in **Chapter Two** that these discrepancies stem from attempts by social-reform writers to suppress notions of agency amongst seamstresses. Finally, in **Chapter Three** I discuss the effect of poverty on women's mental health, the way death is represented in seamstress literature and rhetoric, and conclude with an evaluation of the success of the social-reform method.

1
From the Workroom to the Hospital

Social-reform literature represents what Gramsci describes as *functional literature* or "literature based on a plan or on a pre-established social course" (129). In an attempt to persuade their readers to adopt a certain course of action, mid-nineteenth-century social-reform writers combine creative expression with factual evidence. One of the ways in which social-reform writers arouse sympathy in their audience is by creating complex, individual characters. In order to assert the accuracy of their claims, social-reform writers also rely, in varying degrees, on external sources such as blue books. In this section, I describe the characteristics of social-reform literature and evaluate how accurately three authors -- Tonna, Grindrod, and Gaskell -- represent the seamstress's working conditions and physical ailments. This assessment is problematic, however, because the external sources against which fictional representations are judged are not necessarily free from bias and inaccuracy.

Social-reform writers who use novelistic conventions are able to couch their rhetoric in terms familiar to their readers. By using an individual story to bring abstract evidence to life, social-reform writers acknowledge Ellen Barlee's assertion that "tears are oftener shed over the highly-painted scenes of fiction than over the living representatives of misfortune and oppression" (L.N. 73). While mid-nineteenth-century fictional representations of seamstresses are generally based on non-fiction accounts, they are highly stylized depictions. If the goal of social-reform writing is to accomplish change, a representative *every-seamstress* is a useful tool

because it allows writers to highlight common aspects of the seamstress's story most likely to arouse sympathy while minimizing elements that might alienate readers. The most successful characters, however, are those that move beyond being a catalogue of common traits and complaints. Poovey describes the use of complex characters to arouse an audience's sympathy as "an explicit alternative to the abstract aggregations with which political economists appealed to readers' rational judgement" (*Making a Social Body* 133). Representations of seamstresses in social-reform writing range from the aggregations found in *Slaves of the Needle* to more complex characters such as Ann and Frances King in Tonna's *Wrongs of Woman* and Mary and Margaret in Gaskell's *Mary Barton*.

While some authors were already writing about seamstresses before 1843, most seamstress literature and rhetoric draws from Parliamentary blue books published after that date. Rohan McWilliam writes: "writers at both the high and low ends of the fiction market enjoyed a productive relationship with blue books and the assembling of statistics which allowed them to claim their work was not merely fiction but pregnant with social information" (100). Whether they are writing about real seamstresses or creating fictional ones, social-reform writers are quick to guard against charges of exaggeration. When Barlee reports on her experience visiting seamstresses in their homes, she admits to *minimizing* what she has observed for fear that her evidence will be considered unbelievable (L.N. 73). Eliza Meteyard, writing as Silverpen, insists:

> the position of the needlewomen requires no flourish of the pen to make it one of interest, we need not seek to exaggerate or heighten the colouring of the picture; we need only relate the truthful story to send a thrill of horror through the frame

> of those who, not having suffered, can only partially realize what suffering is. (189)

Meteyard recognizes that because most of her readers have no first-hand knowledge of working-class life, much of what she reports is beyond their imagination. Combining description with evidence is one way that social-reform writers convince their audience of the veracity of their claims.

While she does not refer explicitly to any external documents, Gaskell creates characters in *Mary Barton* that embody the medical evidence given in the *Second Report*. Both Grindrod's *Slaves of the Needle* and Tonna's *Wrongs of Woman* include extracts from the *Second Report* but Tonna's vehicle is fiction. Even though it is fictional, however, Tonna's description of seamstresses in *Wrongs of Woman* is as sophisticated as (if not more sophisticated than) Grindrod's non-fiction account. Socially and politically aware, Tonna is one of the first writers to use fiction to inspire her audience to change their habits in order to relieve the suffering of seamstresses. Deborah Kaplan writes:

> convinced that affluent women knew nothing of the miserable conditions of women's industrial work, that they had little access to or interest in the 'male' discourses of parliamentary speech and report . . . Tonna 'translated' those discourses into fiction, a discourse frequently identified by her contemporaries as being female. (52)

The identification of fiction with the feminine relates to the role gender plays in the use of both political and artistic discourse in social-reform fiction. Tonna presents a "feminine" artistic

depiction of her subjects but she also maintains a level of "masculine" political discourse in her treatment of her audience. By basing her argument on evidence from Parliamentary reports and illustrating those facts using literary conventions, Tonna creates a compelling story that appeals to the sensitivities of middle-class readers. Tonna recognizes that Barlee's observation about fiction inspiring more interest and emotion than fact applies to much of her audience.

In social-reform literature, discussions of the seamstress's working conditions focus on the length of her workday, the lack of ventilation in the workroom, and the ill-effects repetitive work has on her health. The use of statistics and evidence can be used to reassure readers that the story they are reading is an accurate representation of reality. However, it is important to consider Carol L. Bernstein's warning that the validity of non-fiction sources cannot be assumed:

> The documents used to measure the novel's historical veracity or the fictional departures from history may now appear themselves to be displaced from absolute fact. . . . The procedures for determining a level of rhetoric that distinguishes the novel from nonfiction still have some value, but one should also consider the alternative possibility of a common resort to figural representation. (31-32)

When evaluating the accuracy of fictional representations and the non-fiction accounts on which they are based, the author's goals must be considered. While social-reform literature is *explicitly* suasive, factual reports are also rhetorical in nature. Their veracity is affected by such things as the sample selected for study and editorial decisions made by the document's creators.

Grindrod opens *Slaves of the Needle* with a long list of pieces of evidence culled from the *Second Report* that concern, for example, the long hours, lack of rest or leisure time, and

exposure to illness experienced by seamstresses. A typical report is that of Miss H. Baker. She tells of establishments where work begins before eight o'clock in the morning and routinely goes until after midnight. Baker's own experiences include working at an establishment where "during three months successively she had never more than four hours' rest, regularly going to bed between twelve and one, and getting up at four in the morning" (Grindrod 4). Other seamstresses report that during the season, or when the death of a public figure requires the adoption of mourning clothes, the work hours are even longer than usual. The long work hours prompted Friedrich Engels to note that "the only limit set to [seamstresses'] work is the absolute physical inability to hold the needle another minute" (219).

In addition to lack of sleep, the seamstress's unusually long work hours preclude leisure activities and, in some cases, church attendance. Grindrod writes: "females employed in needlework have no time to devote to social enjoyment or intellectual elevation. The labours of the day, and often, indeed, night too, indispose them to further exertion" (18-19). In many cases, Sunday is the only day during which seamstresses do not work. In theory, this is so that seamstresses can attend church. Grindrod repeats the findings of the *Second Report*: "no attention is paid to the religious conduct of the young persons. On Sunday, many of them are too tired to get up" (17). The reality is that work continues so much later on Saturday night than any other night that the women are forced to spend Sunday morning sleeping.

According to Grindrod and the *Second Report*, lack of sufficient ventilation in the seamstress's workroom leads to disease and ill-health. Overcrowding means that there is insufficient air for each person in the workroom. The use of gas to light workrooms at night also

reduces the amount of available oxygen in the air. Describing the causes of unhealthy air in the workroom, Grindrod writes:

> The inhalation of dust or fine particles, from the disturbance of goods, often induces disease of the lungs. The body also continually emits no trifling amount of animal effluvia, which is well known to be highly injurious to health. To these prolific causes of disease, we may add the continual loss of oxygen and production of carbonic acid, by the burning of gas. (21)

Grindrod relies on the evidence of medical professionals to evaluate the quality of the air but he also reprints anecdotal evidence from seamstresses who report incidents of fainting from foul and overheated air (19-20). Alison Bashford describes the miasmatic theory of disease as a belief that "disease was . . . a response to decomposing, putrefying matter in the surrounding environment -- human waste, accumulation of dirt, stagnant water, foul air. The latter was understood as the main medium of transmission" (5). Interest in the effects of improper ventilation on public health was widespread during the mid-nineteenth-century, particularly amongst middle-class women (Bashford 14-15). Grindrod's audience would have been familiar with the miasmatic theory and would have drawn the obvious conclusions.

Tonna also uses evidence from the Second Report to convince her audience to adopt a certain course of action. Part one of her book *Wrongs of Woman* concerns two young women, Ann and Frances King, whose father can no longer support his family. Ann is sent to a milliner in London as an "improver" while Frances is apprenticed to a dressmaker. A milliner produces items such as caps, bonnets, and shawls while a dressmaker makes dresses, gowns, and robes. In practice, most establishments employ both milliners and seamstresses (Thompson and Yeo

428-29). Women who work outside of the dressmaker's establishment doing piecework are referred to as slop-workers and are paid a much lower wage. An improver is usually an older, slightly more experienced worker who pays a premium to her employer for room and board while she gains more experience. In Ann's case, her father pays £30 for a three-year position. Frances is apprenticed for 5 years at a cost of more than £30. An apprentice is:

> the young girl placed with a dressmaker to be instructed in all the 'art and mystery' of the calling. If she be lodged and boarded in the house, as is frequently the case, a premium is paid with her. If she remains with her friends, lodging with them, and going home also to her meals, no premium is given, while her labour is considered merely equivalent to her tuition, and she consequently receives no payment for what she does. (Thompson and Yeo 430)

Neither Ann nor Frances will receive a salary for the duration of their placement and they will have to rely on their employers for food and lodging. In *Slaves of the Needle*, apprentices are described as having no choice when asked to work even later than usual (6). The high cost of the apprenticeship makes seamstresses unlikely to protest their treatment because if they do not complete their contract for some reason, their premium is forfeit and they may have to repay their employer for room and board.

Ann's and Frances's experiences mirror the information found in the *Second Report*. Ann is allowed 15 minutes to eat a hurried dinner. In her evidence to the 1843 Commission, London seamstress Miss Baker claims that all of her meals were eaten as quickly as possible. Another of Ann's experiences resembles those found in *Slaves of the Needle*. Ann reports that she worked from six o'clock in the morning to two o'clock the next morning and stays awake by standing.

Miss Baker reports that "in order to keep awake, she stood nearly the whole of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday night, only sitting down for half an hour of rest" (Grindrod 4). Both Grindrod and Tonna quote Devonald, the London surgeon whose evidence in the *Second Report* provides some of the most striking images of the overwork and ill-treatment suffered by seamstresses. Describing the working hours of seamstresses, Devonald asserts "no men work so long. It would be impossible for any animal to work so continuously with so little rest" (Grindrod 18; Tonna 97).

The room where Ann works shows all of the signs of bad ventilation reported in *Slaves of the Needle*:

> . . . the accumulated breath of about thirty persons in a room, not indeed small for that number, but badly ventilated, together with the broad rays of sunshine streaming through the windows, and making visible a cloud of subtle dust, had induced a sickened feeling that demanded [refreshment]. (Tonna 33)

As night falls, the seamstresses remain at work and the gaslights are turned on. Ann experiences "the giddiness, and nausea, produced by the fumes of gas in a confined, low-roofed space, on such as have been wholly unaccustomed to it" (34). Tonna contrasts Ann's life in the country with her experiences in the city. The country represents clean air and labour that invigorates rather than exhausts, while life in the city involves prolonged work in confined quarters.

By her second year of employment, Ann's health has deteriorated. Her testimony is similar to those found in the *Second Report*:

> I was a strong, healthy girl when I came to town, as good as fourteen months ago; but coming at the season, I was forced to work immediately as hard as the oldest hands. It wore me out. I soon began to lose my appetite; I was too tired to sleep at nights; I had pain in the back, and shoulders, and limbs. For some time I went to church on Sundays, and that did me good, body and mind; but after a while, I was forced to lie in bed all the Sunday morning. (48-49)

She suffers many of the same ailments Grindrod reports as common in seamstresses: curvature of the spine, heart palpitations, diminished eyesight, respiratory problems (Tonna 52; Grindrod 16-28). The success of Tonna's characters lies in their complexity. Tonna uses Ann as an individual representative for all seamstresses. She is not merely a collection of traits and common complaints, however. By giving Ann a history and personality, Tonna gives her readers the opportunity to begin to appreciate the impact the seamstress's working conditions have on her physical and moral health.

Both Grindrod and Tonna consider the moral health of the seamstress as well as her medical health. Frances does not suffer the physical deterioration that Ann experiences. She is sent by her employer to run errands. This allows Frances to escape the confinement of the workroom but she is also subjected to the public attention of men on the streets. Tonna writes:

> . . . the snares laid for young girls are so numerous as are the intended victims; and the wrongs inflicted by a heartless woman, in her pursuit of gain, exposed the unhappy Frances to the yet greater, more enduring wrong, that heartless man inflicts, in the pursuit of unlawful gratification. (90)

The implication is that Frances, who turns to prostitution, suffers a worse fate than Ann, who dies from the illness she develops in the workroom. I consider the issue of prostitution among seamstresses in the next chapter of this thesis.

In Gaskell's *Mary Barton*, the hardships of needlework serve as a backdrop for a larger story about labour reform. Less didactic than Tonna's *Wrongs of Woman*, Gaskell's novel treats the physical and moral deterioration experienced by seamstresses as evidence of the overall condition of the labouring class. To illustrate her general statement about the use of characterization and emotional appeals in social-reform fiction, Poovey writes: "for Gaskell, the crisis of the 'hungry forties' should be addressed not by reforming politics or politicizing the novel, but by using the genre's conventional focus on individual characters to engage readers imaginatively with the problems of the poor" (*Making a Social Body* 143; cf. 133). Gaskell's attempts to capture the imagination of upper- and middle-class readers lead her to appropriate certain elements from factual reports to add to the verisimilitude of her characters.

The title character of *Mary Barton* is apprenticed to a dressmaker even though her father cannot afford the usual premium. Mary is accepted primarily because of her physical appearance; a beautiful girl is considered an asset to the establishment because she can serve as a living advertisement. The conditions of her employment are familiar to readers of *Slaves of the Needle* or *Wrongs of Woman*:

> [Mary] was to work for two years without any remuneration, on consideration of being taught the business . . . In summer she was to be there by six, bringing her meals during the first two years; in winter she was not to come till after breakfast.

> Her time for returning home at night must always depend upon the quantity of work Miss Simmonds had to do. (28)

While her employment does share many similarities with those of the women who give evidence in the *Second Report*, Mary does not suffer many of the ailments common to seamstresses. The character who shows the most physical deterioration is Margaret, who is going blind from prolonged sewing of mourning goods in dim light. Despite her diminishing sight, Margaret must continue to work in order to support herself and her grandfather. Margaret says, "plain work pays so bad, and mourning has been so plentiful this winter, that I were tempted to take in any black work I could; and now I'm suffering from it" (53). The toll needlework takes on a worker's eyes is treated in depth in *Slaves of the Needle*. Grindrod includes the evidence of Frederick Tyrell of the London Opthalmic Hospital concerning the case of a seventeen-year old girl who has lost her sight. Tyrell states: "the immediate cause of the disease in the eye, was excessive and continued application to making mourning" (26). The only cure for Margaret's deteriorating sight is rest. Margaret tells Mary that a doctor has told her that "unless I sat in a darkened room, with my hands before me, my sight would not last me many years longer" (52). Rest is the thing that Margaret can least afford. David Ellison writes, "labor appears to drain light out of her eyes and into the production of goods" (491). Like Ann and Frances King and the numerous real seamstresses who provide their stories in *Slaves of the Needle*, Margaret is being slowly destroyed by a system of employment that is designed to maximize output with no regard to the health of its workers.

Mid-nineteenth-century social-reform fiction is characterized by a blending of factual accounts drawn from Parliamentary reports with complex, individual characters. Creating

individual characters allows authors to reach an audience that would be unlikely to read Parliamentary evidence about the working conditions of seamstresses. By using evidence from blue books as the basis for their fiction, authors such as Tonna are able to counter charges of exaggeration and strengthen their call to action. Based on the evidence presented in mid-nineteenth-century non-fiction accounts of the seamstress's working conditions and physical health, both Tonna's and Gaskell's fictional accounts are accurate representations of the mid-nineteenth-century seamstress.

2
The Brothel

Seamstresses who could not support themselves by the needle often turned to one of the few alternative professions open to them — prostitution. Mid-nineteenth-century rhetoric and literature abounds with euphemisms for sexual fallenness. The seamstress might "lose her virtue," "go a bad way," or "do worse." In order to arouse the sympathy of their audience, many social-protest writers portray the seamstress's fall as the result of her vulnerability to sexual predators rather than as a choice made out of financial need. Her innocence is designed to evoke feelings of protectiveness in middle-class readers. In literature, the threat of moral corruption is represented by the observing eye of male employers or strangers on the street. When she is outside the workroom, the seamstress is on display. In several fictional accounts, being observed by a male employer, or a man in another position of power, is the precursor to the seamstress's seduction. The depiction of the seamstress's moral condition in mid-nineteenth-century social-protest rhetoric and literature is the result of personal stories being filtered through the ideology of social reform which called for voluntary adoption of regulations that would protect seamstresses from overwork and corruption. By 1864, not only had attempts at eliciting voluntary adherence to regulations failed, but calls for political and economic reform were being undermined by anti-legislation forces using appeals popularized by social-protest writers.

In his 1857 inquiry into prostitution in Great Britain, writer and physician William Acton asks: "*what is a prostitute?*" (118). The answer he supplies — "she is a woman with half the

woman gone, and that half containing all that elevates her nature, leaving her a mere instrument of impurity" (118-19) — locates her in terms of mid-nineteenth-century morality but does not tell us what her profession entails. Both Judith R. Walkowitz and Amanda Anderson argue that, for the Victorians, the term prostitute did not refer solely to streetwalkers, but was the term used for a woman who traded sexual favours for money, food, or lodging; who committed adultery; who lived with a man outside of marriage; or who was the victim of seduction. While there was a significant population of women who solicited business openly on city streets, Walkowitz notes:

> . . . it is impossible to estimate the number of clandestine prostitutes, or 'dollymops', who supplemented their meager earnings as dressmakers, milliners, and the like, by occasional prostitution. Some nineteenth-century observers argues that casual prostitutes greatly exceeded the more visible, full-time streetwalkers. (14)

Many of the women who committed adultery, or who lived with a man without being married, did so with men of their own class. For the lower-class woman seduced by an upper- or middle-class man, "problems arose when working-class women learned that the traditional sexual standards of their class did not extend to higher-class seducers who promised luxuries in return for sexual favors" (Logan 29). By characterizing the prostitute according to the *results* of her sexual fall rather than her actions, Acton signals to his readers that he is referring to any woman who flouts society's sexual mores, not only streetwalkers.

Walkowitz's explanation of why women resorted to prostitution focuses on its economic benefits. She writes, "prostitutes had a room of their own; they dressed better; they had spending money and access to the pub, the principal facility in the working-class neighborhood that

provided heat, light, cooked food, and convivial sociability" (195). Mayhew, who interviewed seamstresses who had turned to prostitution, came to a similar conclusion. One such seamstress told Mayhew: "many young girls at the shop advised me to go wrong. They told me how comfortable they was off; they said they could get plenty to eat and drink, and good clothes" (*Voices* 85). Even Acton is forced to admit that prostitution, as an occupation, poses less of a threat to a woman's physical health than millinery or dressmaking:

> If we compare the prostitute at thirty-five with her sister, who perhaps is the married mother of a family, or has been a toiling slave for years in the over-heated laboratories of fashion, we shall seldom find that the constitutional ravages often thought to be necessary consequences of prostitution exceed those attributable to the cares of a family and the heart-wearing struggles of virtuous labour. (72)

While both Acton and Mayhew recognize that poverty is the prime motivator behind most women's entry into prostitution, Acton insists that at least some women fell "through being by their position peculiarly exposed to temptation[,]. . . . many, no doubt, fall through vanity and idleness, love of dress, love of excitement, love of drink" (129). A woman's reasons for choosing prostitution over, or in addition to, needlework are significant to reformers. A woman who has been seduced, or a woman who turns to prostitution as a last resort before starving to death, is a victim. Before asking middle-class readers to extend a protective hand, reform writers detail the kind of moral environment in which the seamstress finds herself. Reform writers describe the seamstress as being vulnerable to the sexual advances of strangers and warn that seduction will lead to prostitution. However, Pamela K. Gilbert questions the accuracy of this warning:

> . . . prostitution was often (inaccurately) explained as being caused primarily by the seduction of working-class women by middle- and upper-class men; the myth which accounts for the fall of individual women, although generally untrue, accurately represents the larger social truth that the conditions of poverty which drove many working-class women to prostitute themselves was a direct result of middle-class exploitation. (40)

By focussing on individual stories when discussing sexual exploitation, reform writers make their appeals more personal and poignant by creating a character with whom readers can sympathize. However, these same stories distort the reality of why women turn to prostitution and minimize the role played by economics.

Social reformers are concerned with preventing prostitution but they also have a vested interest in identifying those women who have succumbed to temptation. A woman who exercises control over her own sexuality in order to advance her position is beyond redemption. In "Letters to the Industrious Classes," G.W.M. Reynolds articulates the particular revulsion mid-Victorians felt for "casual" or part-time prostitutes and the working conditions which drove them to prostitution. These women:

> [join] together the social, and the anti-social life--the good habits and the bad habits--the wages of industry and the wages of prostitution. There is nothing within the social order which reflects so much shame on the hard taskmaster as this horrible anomaly. (250)

One of the fears of the mid-Victorian middle class is the idea that a fallen woman could somehow rejoin society, carrying moral contagion with her. The threat implicit in Mayhew's warning that "women who in youth have lost their virtue, often contrive to retain their reputation; and even when this is not the case, frequently amalgamate imperceptively [sic] with the purer portion of the population and become excellent members of the community" (*London Labour* 212) is that the sense of moral superiority enjoyed by the middle class is unwarranted. Rehabilitation is possible if the woman is repentant, but in the eyes of many reformers, she will never again be fit for polite society. Walkowitz writes, "in their analyses, the investigators treated prostitutes as irrevocably 'fallen' women whose style of life permanently impaired their intellectual and moral faculties" (39). Acton does acknowledge, however, that there are some prostitutes who "willing to do better, unwilling -- even for the sake of those wondrous magnets, dress and admiration -- to join the ranks of the flashy and dissipated, are the proper objects of sympathy" (39-40). Creating that sympathy is the mission of reform writers such as Grindrod.

There are three major elements in the myth of the sympathetic seamstress — innocence, exposure to moral contamination, and desperation — themes which Ian Haywood describes as "conforming to the conventions of romance" (204). Writers of reform rhetoric often fashion their appeals after familiar literary devices in order to appeal to readers who are more familiar with fiction than political writing. By focussing on the individual, social reformers could side-step questions about class relations and political reform. Instead of questioning the system that exploited innocence, fostered corruption, and created desperation, they romanticized personal struggle. Social reformers wanted to inspire personal benevolence, not organized labour reform.

Grindrod presents one such fictionalized biography in *Slaves of the Needle*. We are introduced to the *every-seamstress* who finds herself unprepared to deal with the corruption of the city:

> But lately participating in the joys of a happy home--the beloved and tender object of maternal care--the seeds of virtue and knowledge carefully implanted in her juvenile mind--with the inexperience but implicit confidence of youth--and utterly inadequate to contend with the snares of vice--she is removed to a scene of trial, fraught with danger and temptation. (18)

The seamstress in mid-nineteenth-century social reform narrative is an actor in a scene that is played out again and again across the city. She and others like her are "strangers to the snares and besetments of the vicious and gay" (Grindrod 17). The seamstress's innocence protects her from accusations of sexual deviance, accusations that would make her unworthy of aid. The role of the benevolent middle-class woman is to intervene before the seamstress can "fall an easy prey to the insidious arts of the seducer" (Grindrod 17). Deprived of the guiding hand of her mother, and the watchful eye of her father, the seamstress is powerless against the threats that surround her. Social reformers position their middle-class readers as surrogate parents to the (figuratively) orphaned seamstress.

A potentially worse threat is posed by the seamstress's peers. These women, whom Grindrod describes as being "too frequently seductive and pernicious in the extreme . . . familiar with the world and its unlawful pleasures" (18), are cast as a source of moral contagion. In "Letters to the Industrious Classes," the language of disease is used to describe how the more experienced seamstress infects the innocent: "the contaminated and the pure meet in the same

shops, work side by side--the evil spreads--the murmurs of the virtuous sufferer complaining of her inadequate wages are answered by vicious recommendations" (Reynolds 250; cf. Mayhew 212). Acton's "instrument of impurity" stalks the workroom as well as the streets, contaminating everyone with whom she comes into contact.

To create a sympathetic character, and also to deflect criticism of women who do fall, reform writers emphasize the difficulties the seamstress faces in avoiding prostitution. Already at a disadvantage because of her innocence, and lack of paternal guidance, the seamstress is surrounded by corrupt individuals eager to offer her a means of escape from the misery of the workroom. The reality of her situation is that "the prostitute, who walks the streets for a few hours, may earn in one night, by breaking the laws of society, more than the patient and virtuous needlewoman can earn in a week by keeping them" (Reynolds 250). Grindrod writes that many seamstresses turn to prostitution, "rather than submit to hopeless and interminable labour and confinement" (17). These two passages illustrate different approaches reform writers take when discussing prostitution. In the first passage, the seamstress earns the reader's sympathy because she resists temptation; to help her is to reward her for her virtue. In the second passage, the seamstress earns the reader's compassion because her choice is between prostitution and slavery; to help her is an act of rescue.

While reform rhetoric documents the absence of paternal supervision in the workroom, social-protest fiction replaces that supervision with the observing eye of the seducer. Michel Foucault describes the gaze as "the eye that knows, and decides, the eye that governs" (108). Social-reform rhetoric encourages the benevolent gaze of the middle class by describing the seamstress's innocence, vulnerability to corruption, and desperation. In fiction, the gaze governs

the seamstress's sexuality. Sally Mitchell describes the three possible outcomes of this supervision:

> A seduced woman is the helpless victim of a superior male. A fallen woman is capable of sin and therefore responsible for her own destiny. The third possibility, an emancipated woman, uses her body as she pleases for reasons of her own -- but we will not find any favorable portrait of her in fiction written between 1835 and 1880. (x)

Catherine Judd claims the sexually charged vision of the seamstress "existed because seamstresses were seen as performing genteel, feminine labor. Consequently, they were servants whose sexuality was heightened, rather than diminished, by their work" (86). In *Nicholas Nickleby*, Kate Nickleby is put on display by both her employer and her uncle. Seamstress Annie Lee, in the short story "Slave of the Needle," is kept under observation by her employer, Watkins. Ruth Hilton, in Gaskell's *Ruth*, meets her seducer when her occupation brings her into contact with upper-class society. In each case, the gaze of the seducer reduces, or attempts to reduce, the seamstress to a commodity to be purchased and discarded at will.

Published in 1839, *Nicholas Nickleby* predates the *Second Report* but reflects increasing public knowledge about the working conditions of seamstresses. Dickens's awareness of the popular conception of seamstresses as women prone to sexual corruption influences his choice of dressmaker as Kate Nickleby's occupation. He contrasts scenes set in the dressmaker's showroom with scenes set in Ralph Nickleby's home. When Kate is put on display in the showroom, she is exposed to the appraising gaze of male and female customers. Her uncle displays her in a similar manner to his business associates.

Kate escapes a sexual fall, in part, because she refuses the gaze of the men who would seduce her. Describing the importance of escaping notice to female characters in nineteenth-century fiction, Beth Newman writes:

> The Victorian novel is drawn repeatedly toward heroines who shrink from 'notice' even within their circumscribed domestic worlds, or whose desire to attract notice -- to be seen and acknowledged as a 'sight worth seeing' by others in the social worlds they inhabit -- leads to trouble, collides with circumstances, requires chastening, or gets them written out of the story. (3)

For Beth Harris, "that the seamstress refuses the gaze guarantees her sincerity and virtue. Her opposite, the fashionable woman who solicits the gaze, guarantees our mistrust" (127). Kate is apprenticed to the dressmaker Madame Mantalini by her uncle, Ralph Nickleby. At first, she is confined to the workroom where she is befriended by Madame Mantalini's forewoman, Miss Knag. This friendship ends when Kate replaces Miss Knag in the showroom. Miss Knag makes the fatal error of raising her eyes and witnessing a private moment between members of the upper-class while Kate "[remains] during the whole scene with her eyes modestly fixed upon the ground" (228). Miss Knag accuses Kate of deliberately trying to replace her by using "the vile arts, of a creature, who disgraces us all with her proceedings and makes proper people blush for themselves" (229). Even though Kate has preserved her modesty, the fact that she is subject to the gaze is enough to cast her in the role of fallen woman in Miss Knag's eyes.

Kate is not safe even when she leaves the dressmaker's. Her uncle places her on display for the amusement of his business associates; he hopes to use Kate to gain their loyalty. During a dinner at her uncle's house, Kate sits "as silently as she could, scarcely daring to raise her

eyes" (240) until Sir Mulberry wagers that she will not look him in the eye and deny that she was hoping to attract the attention of the men around her (240). Both Ralph Nickleby and Madame Mantalini proffer Kate as a commodity. Kate protests to her uncle that, until the men grow tired of her, she will continue to be "the scorn of my own sex, and the toy of the other; justly condemned by all women of right feeling, and despised by all honest and honourable men; sunken in my own esteem, and degraded in every eye that looks upon me" (372). Kate is defined by the intentions of the men who observe her; polite society assumes that she has attracted their gaze deliberately. Her employment as a seamstress does nothing to discourage this perception. At the dressmaker's, Kate's beauty is the lure Madame Mantalini uses to sell clothing. Her modesty makes her the ideal model because she is a canvas on which customers can project their own fantasies. She can be watched but she cannot challenge the gaze of her observer.

Unlike many seamstresses in fiction, Kate is spared the humiliation of seduction. While she refuses the gaze, she is ultimately saved by having someone intercept the gaze of her tormentors. It is her brother, Nicholas, who supplies the protective supervision. As a man, Nicholas can observe; as a woman, Kate can only be observed. When Kate returns the gaze of her uncle's male friends, regardless of her intention, it is interpreted as encouragement of their advances (241-42). When Nicholas returns to London, he encounters Lord Frederick and Sir Mulberry. Their abuse of his sister leads to a confrontation in which Nicholas challenges Sir Mulberry: "at length [Sir Mulberry] yawned, stretched himself and rose, walked coolly to the glass, and, having surveyed himself therein, turned round and honoured Nicholas with a long and contemptuous stare. Nicholas stared again with right good-will . . ." (417). When Nicholas engages Sir Mulberry's gaze, it is a challenge, one which Nicholas carries out when he assaults Sir Mulberry in the street.

In *Nicholas Nickleby*, Dickens describes an early morning in London when "many sickly girls, whose business, like that of the poor worm, is to produce, with patient toil, the finery that bedecks the thoughtless and luxurious, traverse our streets" (207). Kate Nickleby is one of these women hurrying to work. In the short story "The Slave of the Needle," another seamstress, Annie Lee, is subject to scrutiny as she walks to work. As in reform rhetoric, writers of social-protest fiction represent the city streets as the setting for the seamstress's seduction. Helena Michie claims:

> women who earned their bread . . . inevitably made their bodies, as well as their work, public. The angel who left her house was, on some metaphorical level, seen by the more conservative elements of Victorian culture as a streetwalker. (31)

Walking to and from work, or leaving the workroom on an errand, exposes the seamstress to observation and solicitation. For the mid-nineteenth-century seamstress, it is as though the city streets are like brothels. Contrast this description of Annie Lee, a fictional seamstress, with a description taken from reform rhetoric:

> Amid the throng was a thinly-clad and delicate-looking girl, who timidly threaded her way, with a package in her hands. Her costume was neat, but scanty. Her cotton frock, fitting tightly across her well-developed bosom, fell in folds around her person; and as the wind drove mercilessly against it, disclosed to the observing eye the whole outline of her slender but elegant frame. (J.P.H. 171)

This excerpt from "Letters to the Industrial Classes" concerns the condition of seamstresses in the past, before the current system of long hours and poor pay. The seamstress of the past is healthy and full of life while Annie Lee is delicate and timid:

> The town or village girl from the country, freshly arrived in London, went along the street with her healthy, merry countenance, neat and clean, full of hope and trust, and laughing to see the spontaneous admiration she created as she went trippingly by. Those glorious waves of crimson in her cheeks, where are they? Those joyous, luminous, sparkling eyes, what is become of their expression? Where are those fine, full round arms, magnificently marbled with carmine peeping through the skin, and vieing with their faces in beauty? (Reynolds 250).

In both descriptions, the narrator is an unseen observer following the seamstress as she travels to work. Although both passages are examples of how women who travel the streets are subjected to scrutiny, the language of the second description conveys admiration while the first has suggestions of violence or danger. The image of the wind driving against Annie Lee's body is echoed later in the story by Watkins's relentless advances. The two women also differ in how they receive the gaze. The seamstress of the past seems to accept the gaze with impunity because her relative prosperity means that she is not as vulnerable to her observer. Annie Lee, however, is rendered almost naked by her thin dress.

When Annie Lee arrives at the shop of the slop-seller who will buy the shirts she has made, she must endure the gaze of the shop-keeper, Watkins. Like Kate Nickleby, Annie Lee is observed but she refuses the gaze: "[Watkins] attempted to catch Annie's eye, but in vain; she knew that he was looking at her, and her repugnance at the undisguised assurance of his manner

prevented her even attempting to meet his gaze" (172). Her story is a familiar one and contains all three elements common to reform writing. Annie Lee is described as extremely innocent; she lacks the experience that would protect her from moral corruption. Soon after the story opens, her mother dies after months of deprivation leaving Annie Lee without the maternal protection she needs. Shortly before she dies, Annie Lee's mother makes her promise that if a man tries to tempt her into prostitution, she will die rather than fall (173). Annie is forced to interact with her employer, Watkins, a man who has seduced other seamstresses in his employ. The desperation faced by both mother and daughter is conveyed by a simple accounting of their income and expenses:

> . . . out of the six shillings and ninepence they had to pay two shillings for the apartment in which they lived, and thus had only four shillings and ninepence left for their subsistence during one whole week of work sufficient to prostrate the strongest constitution. (173)

Annie Lee's innocence, vulnerability, and desperation make her the ideal victim for Watkins. He "had long before 'booked' [Annie Lee] as an addition to the number of his dark iniquities, and no cat ever watched a mouse-hole with more vigilance" (179). Although Annie Lee dies a fallen woman and is buried in a pauper's grave, she is such a sympathetic character that it is easy for readers to forgive her. Annie Lee is doubly observed in "Slave of the Needle." Her labour requires her to be in public alone where she can be observed by men on the street. Her position as a slop-worker also means that she must conduct business with men such as Watkins. Without the protective aid of middle-class reformers, seamstresses like Annie Lee will never regain the vitality seamstresses enjoyed in the past.

Another seamstress who is seduced and abandoned is Ruth Hilton in Gaskell's novel *Ruth*. Gaskell published *Ruth* in 1853, midway between the release of the findings of the 1843 and 1864 commissions. Her writing is more subtle than that found in much of the social-protest literature of the time, but she addresses many of the same issues. Like other social-reform writers, Gaskell describes Ruth Hilton's innocence, exposure to morally corrupting influences, and desperation. Unlike Kate Nickleby and Annie Lee, however, Ruth is complicit in her own seduction. Although Ruth is a sympathetic character, not even her innocence, environment, and desperation can excuse her failure to refuse the male gaze. Audrey Jaffe writes, ". . . the sympathy [Ruth] is meant to elicit — sympathy for the fallen woman — takes a form that expresses the social anxieties of those in a position to feel 'for' her: those members of the middle class for whom she embodies an ever-present fear of falling" (78). Ruth's integration into polite society after her fall plays on middle-class fears about their tenuous grasp on moral superiority.

Gaskell's descriptions of the working conditions at the dressmaker's establishment are grounded in an understanding of the hardships faced by real seamstresses. Judd writes, "the long hours, the dismal sweatshops, the lack of proper nourishment, and the absence of supervision during the employees' spare moments of leisure all combine to destroy the spirit, health and judgement of the apprentices" (84). Ruth experiences all of these things while working for Mrs. Mason, but it is the repercussions of being put on display, combined with a lack of supervision, that contributes most to her seduction. Early in the novel, Gaskell describes the seamstresses' work hours:

> Two o'clock in the morning chimed forth the old bells of St. Saviour's. And yet, more than a dozen girls still sat in the room into which Ruth entered, stitching

> away as if for very life, not daring to gape, or show any outward manifestation of sleepiness. . . . they knew that, stay up as late as they might, the work-hours of the next day must begin at eight, and their young limbs were very weary. (3)

Meals at Mrs. Mason's are rushed affairs. The workers are given half-an-hour for dinner and are expected to eat standing up (3-4). Despite her protestations that she cares for her employees, on Sunday Mrs. Mason "chose to conclude that all her apprentices had friends who would be glad to see them to dinner, and give them a welcome reception for the remainder of the day . . . Accordingly, no dinner was cooked on Sundays for the young workwomen" (33). Ruth, who has no friends in town to supply her with meals, spends what is left of the day after she attends church sitting in the unheated workroom. Cold, hunger, and loneliness contribute to her feelings of despair.

One of the few things the girls have to look forward to is the opportunity to serve at a ball where they are to repair torn or otherwise damaged dresses. With a ball approaching, Mrs. Mason chooses four girls. She claims she will choose the most diligent but, in reality, she chooses the most beautiful. Even though Ruth is not one of the hardest-working seamstresses, she is one of the most beautiful:

> [Mrs. Mason] was struck afresh with the remarkable beauty which Ruth possessed; such a credit to the house, with her waving outline of figure, her striking face, with dark eyebrows and dark lashes, combined with auburn hair and a fair complexion. . . . diligent or idle, Ruth Hilton must appear to-night. (11)

Like Kate Nickleby, Ruth is put on display. In Ruth's case, she is not modelling items for sale. Instead, she is modelling an image of Mrs. Mason's establishment that her employer is eager to encourage. Because she has only been working for Mrs. Mason for a short time, she has not begun to show the physical signs of overwork and hunger. She retains the vitality and colour of the seamstress described in "Letters to the Industrial Classes" for now but it seems inevitable that her beauty will fade like Annie Lee's.

At the ball, Ruth is repairing the dress of a young woman when Mr. Bellingham sees her for the first time. Given that she was chosen to appear at the ball as a living advertisement for Mrs. Mason, it is not surprising that she attracts attention. Ruth's mistake is that she does not master her gaze as effectively as Kate Nickleby. When Ruth intercepts Bellingham's gaze, she "was so infected by the feeling, and had to bend her face down to conceal the smile that mantled there. But not before he had seen it; and not before his attention had been thereby drawn to consider the kneeling figure" (15). Ruth's smile has the same effect as the clothing she makes for fashionable women -- it attracts the gaze and makes her, to use Newman's phrase, a "sight worth seeing" (3). Like Harris's fashionable women, Ruth solicits Bellingham's gaze with her smile.

Bellingham gives Ruth a camellia that had been discarded by one of the dancers, a gift which Ruth, in her innocence, regards as a token of his esteem. She places it in her hair and, while he is dancing, Bellingham looks toward where Ruth is standing, removed from the action, and "his eye sought for the camellia" (16-17). Ruth and Bellingham are divided by wealth and class; this division is evident in their fundamentally different reactions to the flower. To Ruth, the camellia is a precious commodity to be treasured, not only because it was given to her by Bellingham but because it has intrinsic value. To Bellingham, the camellia is a mere trifle, the

kind of thing a woman of his class feels no compulsion about discarding when she is finished with it. Unless properly preserved, the camellia will fade; as an ornament, it attracts attention for a short time only.

When Bellingham offers Ruth an alternative to staying in the workroom on Sundays, she accepts. The day he persuades her to walk with him to her old home, they are seen by Mrs. Mason who "was careless about the circumstances of temptation into which the girls entrusted to her as apprentices were thrown, but severely intolerant if their conduct was in any degree influenced by the force of these temptations" (53). Mrs. Mason's attitude reflects that of the middle class, which is content to turn a blind eye to the threat of moral corruption the seamstress faces but will not countenance a fallen woman who tries to reintegrate with society.

Dismissed from her position, and with no family or friends to turn to, Ruth relies on Bellingham for protection. He eventually abandons her, ruined and pregnant. When the Bensons offer her refuge, Ruth accepts and her new life begins. Ruth's fall, and eventual redemption, illustrates the three elements of the social-reform story. Her innocence, exposure to corrupting influences, and desperation lead to her fall. A new life, with a new identity as a widow, gives Ruth the opportunity to undo the wrongs of the workroom. Ruth's surrogate family protects her from the censure of the community by concealing her fallenness, she is surrounded by positive moral influences, and the threat of poverty and hunger is behind her. Her happiness cannot last, however, because a fallen woman forfeits the luxury of a happy ending. After years of invisibility, Ruth again attracts public attention when she becomes a nurse during a typhus epidemic. This time she is recognized for her diligence, not her appearance. She dies nursing Bellingham, the man who killed her in the eyes of society years before.

Implicit in Ruth's story is the message that better working conditions could have prevented her tragedy. Social-reform rhetoric and literature calls for voluntary change rather than legislation. Grindrod, and other reformers, attempt to move upper- and middle-class women to action by demonstrating how seamstresses suffer as the result of a lack of supervision. The middle class, according to reformers, can provide the kind of gentle governance the seamstress needs in order to avoid being delivered to the brothel. Reform writers use images of the seamstress's innocence, exposure to corruption, and desperation to successfully excite sympathy in their audience. The findings of the 1864 Children's Employment Commission's *Report* suggest, however, that the image created by reform writers is also used by anti-legislation forces to hinder or delay regulation that could have significantly improved the seamstress's working conditions.

In the 1864 *Report*, the commissioners comment on the reluctance of employers to embrace legislation. The *Report* notes that while employers' primary objection is that regulation will prevent them from being competitive:

> There is also an opinion among many of those who are anxious to promote the welfare of these young persons, that if the hours of work were to be regulated in accordance with the Factory Act, the substitution of day-workers for residents, which it is anticipated would result, would lead to immorality, by removing these young women from the care and superintendence they receive in the house of their employers, and exposing them to the evil of passing through the streets at late hours. (lix)

Many employers who gave evidence to the commission used the threat of more women walking the streets to prevent legislation. The employers' argument disregards the role poverty plays in a woman's decision to embrace prostitution and absolves the male seducer of any responsibility. Mitchell writes: "almost all authorities agreed that low wages forced girls into prostitution, but in a period of labor surplus an emphasis on woman's frailty serves the economic interest of men. There was no parliamentary action to restrict far more onerous hours in the needle trades, where women were most of the work force and the going wage much lower than in the cotton mills" (26). By focussing on the social-reformers' argument that needlewomen were vulnerable to moral corruption, employers are able to position themselves as the seamstress's guardian, while preserving their right to dictate the terms of her employment.

This opinion is not limited to employers. The 1864 *Report* includes the evidence of a Miss Bramwell who works at an institution created to help needlewomen. Miss Bramwell expresses her wish that employers would not "close their doors on a girl who comes back after hours. . . . if they only knew how many falls are due to nothing more than missing a train or an omnibus they would alter this" (118). She warns that day-workers are especially exposed to temptation but also notes that workers who live in the dressmaker's establishment are also vulnerable. Bramwell notes, "the show-room and shop girls are especially to be pitied; they are always chosen for their brightness, their good figure, good manner, and pretty face" (118-19). Female workers whose job requires them to attract attention, or who must travel in public, are placed in the way of temptation.

That the hardships experienced by seamstresses in mid-nineteenth-century England drove many of them to prostitution is clear. When seen through the lens of social-reform ideology,

however, the motivating factors behind their fall become distorted. Had reformers reported the situation as being due to purely economic factors, calls for social intervention would have seemed inadequate. With social intervention the only type of influence available to most upper- and middle-class women, and with their male counterparts so opposed to legislative reform of domestic industries, "the needlewoman problem was . . . shifted discursively on to the more manageable grounds of sexual morality and away from the failures of political economy" (Haywood 204). Social-reform rhetoric and literature focus on the seamstress's innocence, vulnerability, and desperation and use those elements to encourage feelings of paternalism in the upper and middle classes. Their success was limited and, by the time of the 1864 *Report*, calls for legislation continued to be met with resistance. Anti-legislation forces, led by employers who wanted to maintain a system that was most advantageous to their interests, used the same arguments as social-reform writers to perpetuate the very conditions that led to the fall of so many women.

3
Conclusion: The Madhouse and The Grave

Many seamstresses who rejected prostitution as a means of support found themselves forced to rely on the union workhouse for aid. When outdoor relief was denied, their only alternative was to enter the workhouse. The desperation of poverty combined with the pressure to conform to societal expectations drove many women mad. The pauper asylum provided a refuge for these women and commitment to such an asylum was considered preferable to life in the workhouse. There are few seamstresses in literature who suffer from psychological problems and most references to mental disturbance in social-reform rhetoric concerns the effect of disordered reproductive functions on the female psyche. Illustrations of madness occur in *Ellen Linn, the Needlewoman* and "The Young Seamstress." These stories demonstrate the different attitudes mid-nineteenth-century writers took to male and female insanity.

In her study of admissions to the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum between 1834 and 1852, Marjorie Levine-Clark concludes that "the causes named for women's insanity in pauper asylums . . . reveal that women, too, were identified as workers and felt the pressures connected with the scarcity of employment and poverty" (125). This is in contrast with the nineteenth-century view that reproductive disorders caused the majority of mental illness in women. Levine-Clark notes that statistics demonstrate "assumptions about the fragility of women's reproductive functions are present as causes of insanity, but to no more of an extant than poverty and work issues" (139). Women who were admitted to the asylum often "raved" about their poverty and

intake notes record observations such as "poverty may have assisted to induce the melancholy" and "depressed circumstances ending in inflammation of the brain" (131-32). Because the ability to support oneself was often seen as less important to a woman's psychological well-being than a man's, financial considerations were often overlooked in their cases. Instead, women's mental illness was blamed on physical causes or on emotional responses to death or romantic disappointment.

It is a death and a romantic disappointment that are blamed for the insanity of the title character in *Ellen Linn, the Needlewoman*. Poverty, however, plays a much larger role in her story than the other characters acknowledge. The causes and experience of mental illness were very different for the lower and upper classes: "For the better off, lunacy clearly often 'caused' poverty, just as lower down the scale poverty, expressed through stress and malnutrition, 'caused' lunacy, especially among hard-pressed working class wives and mothers" (Walton qtd. in Levine-Clark 124). Ellen Linn is an orphan who is responsible for supporting both herself and her elderly grandmother. At first, Ellen is able to get enough work making shirts to earn money for food and rent. When there is no more work available, she relies on her fiancé, Tom, to send her money from Australia. He has emigrated in search of steady work and encourages Ellen to apply to an emigration scheme designed to help poor women. The two women grow weaker and weaker as the days pass and they receive no money from Tom and no word from Mr. Fishlock, the clergyman who is supposed to help Ellen with the emigration scheme.

Ellen's grandmother begins to show signs of starvation and blames Ellen for letting her starve to death. This has a devastating effect on Ellen who has struggled to support the two of them for as long as she can remember:

> Ellen's cup was full before, but now it overflowed. Human nature could bear no more; and as the old woman continued to ask for food, and demand why she gave her none, and yet said she loved her, Ellen could endure the scene no longer. Her sense and her reason seemed to leave her. (470)

In her desperation, Ellen rushes into the street and happens upon the very clergyman whose assistance she has been waiting for. He takes her back to her home but it is too late -- her grandmother is dead. Mr. Fishlock turns to Ellen but "he recoiled in horror, for he gazed upon an idiot" (470). The next day, a letter containing money arrives from Australia but it is too late for Ellen. She spends the rest of her days staring the "fixed and vacant stare of helpless, hopeless idiocy!" (470). Certainly, poverty plays a role in driving Ellen mad in the story. Her failure to recover, however, demonstrates the way mid-nineteenth-century society regarded so-called "moral" causes of insanity such as "over-powering grief, passion, disappointment, or fright" (Oppenheim 41). Poverty kills Ellen's grandmother but it is grief and disappointment that drive Ellen insane. This kind of breakdown is seen as irreversible. In contrast, insanity caused by financial failure, such as that experienced by men, is often cured by returning the patient to financial health.

It is a man that suffers from mental illness in the short story, "The Young Seamstress." Caroline Melford is the titular young seamstress who cares for her siblings and her father "whose idiotcy [sic] was of a perfectly harmless description" (166). If Caroline fails to support her family, her father will be committed to an asylum and she and her brother and sister will have to go to the workhouse. The story takes place during one day and night during which Caroline is unable to earn enough money to buy food for her family. She goes to the slop-seller with her

work, but he rejects it and refuses to give her any money in advance. Just when the family believes that poverty and desperation will force them to part, a chance meeting brings the news that Mr. Melford's farm, lost in a business deal, is to be returned to him. The effect on Mr. Melford is almost instantaneous. The effect is that "the mists of idiotcy [sic] were gradually dispersed, memory returned, the extinguished torch of reason was again illumined" (169). Whereas Ellen Linn does not recover, even after receiving aid, the news that he will once more be able to support himself and his family is enough to revive Mr. Melford.

The final resting place of many seamstresses was a pauper's grave. Victims of constant labour and crushing poverty, many women succumbed to their illnesses. In late June, 1863, a seamstress named Mary Anne Walkley died while working for a London dressmaker. The factual accounts of her death and the story of Jones's fictional seamstress Anna in *Woman's Wrongs* contain all of the elements social-reformers attempted to draw the public's attention to during the 1840s, 50s, and 60s.

In the story "The Young Milliner" from Jones's *Woman's Wrongs*, Anna is forced to accept aid from the nefarious Frederick Treadstone. Treadstone has been trying to seduce Anna for some time now but she consistently resists his advances. When she meets Charles Trelawney, a young medical student, they fall in love. Treadstone, angry at having been rejected, spreads word that she is a prostitute. As we have seen, any contact between a young woman and man was cause for suspicion in the mid-nineteenth-century. Combined with the common belief that seamstresses were unusually prone to prostitution, Anna's reputation is soon damaged. She is forced from her rooms and cannot find enough work to support herself. Charles rescues her and

the narrator implores: “world! judge not too harshly of them. She fell -- let her who would have stood under the same circumstances, throw the first stone!” (Jones 54).

After Charles establishes her in a house, their relationship becomes public and Anna is once again evicted. Charles’s mother approaches Anna and offers her £20 to renounce any claim she has on Charles. Anna protests: “I have ruined myself for his sake -- to him I have sacrificed my reputation!” to which Mrs. Trelawney replies scornfully: “the reputation of a milliner! -- and, no doubt, it was not the first time you made the sacrifice” (62). Anna acquiesces to Mrs. Trelawney’s wishes despite the fact that she is pregnant with Charles’s child. Anna dies of an unidentified sickness in the hospital shortly after giving birth. A post-mortem of her body is ordered so that the doctors can discover the nature of her illness which has also struck a number of upper- and middle-class women.

The last time Charles sees the face of his mistress is on the dissection slab. He screams and faints after finding out that “this is the body of his mistress, -- and that it is he who killed her!” (68). Sally Ledger calls the post-mortem the “final violation of Anna’s body” and notes that it “properly completes a process of objectification in a narrative in which the female protagonist begins as a desiring subject and ends as a prostituted commodity” (62). Like Margaret in *Mary Barton*, Anna’s vitality is absorbed by the employment that leaves her destitute and vulnerable. The last words of the story belong to Weldon, the narrative’s voice of conscience:

> Daughter of the People! You have worked -- you have suffered -- now your fate's accomplished: your body has ministered to the amusement and to the instruction of the favoured few: now to the bed society gives you in the common graveyard; and SLEEP! DAUGHTER OF THE PEOPLE! (68)

Anna cannot refuse Charles because he is her only refuge outside of the workhouse. However, her love for Charles is not reciprocated; once he is faced with the social stigma of their affair, he quickly abandons her. Elisabeth Bronfen describes women as representing "the margins or extremes of the norm -- the extremely good, pure and helpless, or the extremely dangerous, chaotic and seductive. . . . Over her dead body, cultural norms are reconfirmed or secured" (181). Anna is punished for transgressing social and moral boundaries. In the end, her body is all that is left and even that is used to benefit her social superiors.

Walkley's death prompted a flurry of letters to the *Times*. Some letters call for continued attempts at social reform while others protest that the time for legislation has arrived. The descriptions of her working conditions could have been taken from the *Second Report* or *Slaves of the Needle*. One letter claims "not only was the wretched victim doomed to incessant toil, but she was imprisoned in a Calcutta blackhole during the hours of slumber" (M.D. 7). In another, the writer uses language worthy of any social-reform novelist to remind readers whom should really be held responsible for Walkley's death:

> If tomorrow, in the midst of the splendours of the Guards' ball, some one in the presence and hearing of all was to lead forward some fair girl and, touching her rich dress, say to her, —'To supply you with this a girl as beautiful and innocent as yourself has laid down her life; the hand which was so busy with these flounces last night is now cold and stiff; her life was risked against your disappointment; you were not disappointed, and she is dead; your mother has made every careful and kindly preparation for your enjoyment at the ball; hers has prepared for her a

> quiet grave in a country churchyard, in the fresh and pure air, for want of which she lost her life', — would she dance any more that night? (W.D.B. 8)

What is made clear by the circumstances of her death is that by 1863, twenty years of social-protest writing had done little to effect change in the business of dressmaking. Even faced with this evidence, the editors of *The Times* dismiss calls for legislation, saying that regulation would "stereotype a state of things which we would fain regard as temporary" ("Ten Days Ago" 11).

For the editors to claim that the working conditions that led to the death of Mary Anne Walkley are temporary is disingenuous at best. As Jane Le Plastrier notes, "promises are worthless; they were freely made 10 years ago, but only to be broken" (Children's Employment Commission 117). The reluctance of editors to support calls for legislation shows that even in 1864, upper- and middle-class society still considered dressmaking to be a domestic rather than an industrial affair. Grindrod addresses *Slaves of the Needle* to the women of Great Britain with the express hope that his pamphlet will "excite those kind and generous feelings in behalf of a deeply degraded and oppressed portion of their own sex" (2). His implication is that dressmaking is a woman's concern and not part of the march toward reform that was changing the face of industrial Britain.

Social-reform writers such as Grindrod focus on voluntary reform by both consumer and employer. He calls for women to change their habit of ordering dresses at the last minute, a practice which requires seamstresses to work late hours in order to complete the item on time. Grindrod writes: "each act of procrastination but adds one more pang of sorrow to the oppressed and unprotected slave of the needle" (33). One of the threats against the seamstress's moral health is her lack of protection; rather than call for formal protection, however, Grindrod

encourages upper- and middle-class women to extend voluntary aid to their labouring counterparts by only patronizing those establishments that will adopt restrictions.

By 1864, many employers had realized what the editors of *The Times* continued to resist: namely, the only way that dressmaking establishments would limit their hours and the volume of work expected of their employees was if every house was required to respect the same limits. The 1864 *Second Report of the Children's Employment Commission* includes evidence such as that given by the owner of a dressmaking establishment who testifies:

> If I refuse a lady, she goes to my neighbour, who takes her order; so I cannot refuse without displeasing her, and perhaps may lose her custom, because she thinks me disobliging. But if every one were the same, -- if all were equally prevented by the law from working more than what I have said,-- we should be all alike. (lix)

The expectation of writers such as Grindrod that employers will spontaneously agree to ask their employees to do less work blatantly disregards the fact that dressmaking is, in every way, an industry. Helsinger, Sheets, and Veeder note that "because [the seamstress] works at home or in small workshops, her woes are assumed to be a matter for private conscience, beyond the reach of legislation" (115). By 1864, that assumption was being challenged by the Children's Employment Commission which found "as to all essential characters, this occupation must be regarded as an industrial and commercial undertaking; it is carried out for the pecuniary profit of the employer; it demands the labour of persons who, whether paid or paying, belong in reality to the class of work-people" (lxvi). Because social-reform writers try to inspire individual

benevolence rather than foster wholesale class upheaval, these aspects of the seamstress's work are obscured in reform literature and rhetoric.

If the dressmaker works in a factory-like setting or, as in the case of the slop-worker, is self-employed in a micro-factory, she is entitled to the rights and benefits afforded workers in factories and mills. Rogers notes, however, that in social-reform writing the seamstress is rarely granted the ability to act on her own behalf (590). The helplessness of the seamstress is an important factor in the success or failure of the social-reform writer's plan. Alexander observes that "the seamstress created a sense of empathy among women readers who shared a common occupation -- sewing -- thus inspiring them to take an active role in social issues" ("Creating" 30). The limited sphere of influence enjoyed by these women readers ensured that no major changes could be made to the working conditions of seamstresses. In this sense, seamstresses and their customers share more than a common occupation.

Social-reform literature contains both political and artistic discourse. Because of an assumed lack of agency on the part of the seamstress, social-reform writers do not endeavour to move her to action. Rogers notes that when Mayhew interviewed seamstresses who turned to prostitution, he "failed to detect in the needlewomen's evidence any political analysis, and so [was] unable to imagine any independent action by needlewomen to redress their situation" (598). They too could only imagine things as they were rather than how they could be. I believe this has to do with the assumed domestic, rather than industrial, nature of needlework. Until the advent of the sewing machine, the discourse surrounding needlework concerned tradition and the home rather than innovation and the factory.

The lack of political discourse in seamstress literature and rhetoric may also explain the discrepancy in their levels of accuracy. When writing about working conditions, illness, death, and, to a lesser degree, mental illness, fiction writers are surprisingly accurate in their portrayal of the seamstress. The only area where the accuracy of the account becomes suspect is when the subject matter is prostitution. An accurate representation of the workroom, hospital, madhouse, or grave is an artists rendering of the seamstress's life as it is. To accurately represent the relationship between needlework and prostitution, however, must involve the depiction of the seamstress choosing how things will be. The seamstress's decision to turn to prostitution is a political one. In social-reform rhetoric and literature, however, her agency is usurped by the sexual predator or corrupt peer who leads the innocent seamstress astray. In this one area, writers pass factual evidence through the filter of social-reform in order to maintain a consistent representation of the helpless, apolitical, seamstress.

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Appendix A: TEI-Encoded Text

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<title>Slaves of the Needle <date>(1844)</date>:</title>

<author>

<name type="person">Ralph Barnes Grindrod</name>

</author>

<respStmt>

<resp>Transcribed and encoded by</resp>

<name>Caroline Leitch</name>

</respStmt>

</titleStmt>

<publicationStmt>

<publisher>University of Waterloo</publisher>

<pubPlace>Waterloo, ON</pubPlace>

</publicationStmt>

<sourceDesc>
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<monogr>

<author>Grindrod, Ralph Barnes</author>

<title>The Slaves of the Needle:</title>

<title type="sub">An exposure of the distressed condition, moral and
physical, of dress-makers, milliners, embroiderers, slop-workers, &amp;amp;c.</
title>

<imprint>

<pubPlace>London </pubPlace>

<publisher> William Brittain, and Charles Gilpin </publisher>

<date value="1844">1844</date>

</imprint>

</monogr>

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<p>This electronic scholarly edition of Grindrod's pamphlet Slaves of the
Needle is the first in a proposed series of encoding projects that will
culminate in the creation of an archive of mid-nineteenth-century British
social reform texts. For the first phase of the encoding project, I have
chosen to work with the second section of Grindrod's pamphlet, which deals
primarily with the physical, psychological, and moral effects poor working
conditions had on nineteenth-century seamstresses. My editorial aim is to
give the reader a sense of what life was like for a nineteenth-century
seamstress so that when he or she reads a mid-nineteenth-century social
protest novel, he or she will have a factual representation to compare with
the characters in the novel. To that end, I have chosen to mark up textual
elements that describe the physical, mental, and moral condition of the
seamstress as well as her working conditions.</p>

</projectDesc>

<editorialDecl>

<correction>

<p>Spelling and typographic errors in the text were regularized rather than
corrected.</p>

</correction>

<quotation>

<p>Quotation marks were not been retained as content in the text. Quotation
marks were replaced by markup.</p>

</quotation>
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<hyphenation>

<p>Hyphenation was not retained, except in the case of a hyphenated word that
spans a page-break.</p>

</hyphenation>

<segmentation>

<p>Segmentation was performed by the encoder based on the type of information
included in the segment. Segments fall into four categories: working
conditions, physical complaint, psychological complaint, and moral concern.</
p>

</segmentation>

<interpretation>

<p>Classification of segments was performed by the encoder based on research
into nineteenth-century medical, psychological, and moral concerns. A segment
is identified as belonging to one of four types: working conditions, physical
complaint, psychological complaint, and moral concern. The segment is then
assigned one of 22 subtypes.</p>

<p>Working Conditions: these segments describe the seamstress's working
conditions. They fall into six subcategories: length of work day, poor
ventilation, lack of leisure time, ergonomics, poor nutrition,
overcrowding.</p>

<p>Physical Complaint: these segments concern the seamstress's physical
health. Medical complaints fall into eight subcategories: hematologic
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(blood), respiratory, uterine, cardiovascular (heart, arteries, and veins),
musculoskeletal (complaints of the spine), digestive, exhaustion, and general
(unspecified illnesses or symptoms).</p>

<p>Psychological Complaint: these segments concern the seamstress's mental
health. Psychological complaints fall into four subcategories: mania,
depression, general (unspecified illness or symptoms), and exhaustion.</p>

<p>Moral Concern: these segments address the moral concerns of mid-
nineteenth-century society. Moral concerns fall into five subcategories:
prostitution, intemperance (use of alcohol or stimulants), influence of
peers, religion, and general (non-specific concerns).</p>

</interpretation>

</editorialDecl>

</encodingDesc>

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<div1 type="section" n="2">

<head>Division the Second. <hi rend="smallcaps">the effects of the system.</
hi></head>

<div2 n="1" type="subsection">
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<p>1. <hi rend="italic">In a moral, social, and intellectual point of view.</
hi>&mdash;We look in vain for one single feature connected with this system
of fearful oppression, which is favourable either to moral, social, or
intellectual cultivation. Every thing, on the contrary, is calculated to <seg
type="psychological complaint">deprave the senses, to warp the feelings, and
to lower the intellect</seg>. Alas, how often do we witness in the workroom
of the unfortunate sempstress, <quote rend="block"><lg>

<l>The languid eye; the cheek</l>

<l>Deserted of its bloom; the flaccid, shrunk,</l>

<l>And withered muscle; and the vapid soul.</l>

</lg></quote></p>

<note type="annotation"><p>Grindrod borrows these lines from William Cowper's
1785 poem, "The Task." He quotes them out of context, however:</p>

<lg>

<l>The sedentary stretch their lazy length</l>

<l>When custom bids, but no refreshment find,</l>

<l>For none they need: the languid eye, the cheek</l>

<l>Deserted of its bloom, the flaccid, shrunk,</l>

<l>And withered muscle, and the vapid soul,</l>

<l>Reproach their owner with that love of rest</l>
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<l>To which he forfeits even the rest he loves.</l>

</lg></note>

<p>The remarks of <name type="person">Dr. Farre</name> on this subject are
extremely forcible. <citPassage source="unknown"><quote>The effect,</quote>
observes this experienced physician, <quote>of <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="cardiovascular">diminishing the power of the heart and arteries</
seg> by <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">over-
labour</seg>, in a <seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor
ventilation">confined atmosphere</seg>, is to <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="hematologic" reg="anemia">deteriorate the blood</seg>, and to <seg
type="psychological complaint" subtype="depression">excite, in the <emph
rend="italic">animal</emph> part of the mind, gloomy and discontented trains
of thought, which disturb and destroy human happiness, and lead to habits of
over-stimulation</seg>. <seg type="psychological complaint"
subtype="depression">The reflecting or spiritual <pb n="17"/>mind gradually
becomes debased</seg>; and unless education interposes to meet the
difficulties of the case, the being is necessarily ruined both for the
present and future life.</quote></citPassage> The observations of <name
type="person" reg="Blundell, Dr James">Dr. Blundell</name><note
type="annotation"><p>Dr. James Blundell is best known for his pioneering work
in the field of blood transfusion. After performing the first blood
transfusion in a human in 1818, Blundell continued to develop new techniques
for transfusing blood. He practiced obstetrics at Guy's Hospital, London.</
p></note>, in reference to the factories of our manufacturing towns, applies
with tenfold force to the workrooms of the females under
consideration:&mdash;<citPassage source="unknown"><quote><hi rend="italic">I
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look upon them as nurseries of feeble bodies and fretful minds.</hi></quote></citPassage> This eminent physician is of the opinion, that the system has a tendency to produce <seg type="psychological complaint" subtype="mania">irritability of the nervous system, excitability of feeling, and a certain busy play of the ideas when the mental faculties are roused, together with that state of mind generally which produces fretfulness and discontent</seg>. Need we wonder, then at the result. It is now on evidence, the <seg type="moral concern" subtype="prostitution">irrepressible disgust at the system has been the ultimatum to determine many a hapless female to seek prostitution with liberty, rather than submit to hopeless and interminable labour and confinement</seg>. <citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 236"> <seg type="moral concern" subtype="prostitution"><quote>Many of these young women,</quote> says <name type="person">Mr. Devonald</name>, <name type="occupation">surgeon</name>, whose long acquaintance with the system is specially noticed by the commissioner, <quote>owing to the hard treatment they receive, lose their virtue: <quote rend="single">they could do anything rather than return to such labour.</quote></quote></seg></citPassage> Unfortunate, indeed, is their situation. <seg type="moral concern" subtype="prostitution">No friends or relations to afford them consolation or advice, strangers to the snares and besetments of the vicious and the gay, many young females fall an easy prey to the insidious arts of the seducer</seg>.<note type="fiction"> . . . the snares laid for young girls are so numerous as are the intended victims; and the wrongs inflicted by a heartless woman, in her pursuit of gain, exposed the unhappy Frances to the yet greater, more enduring wrong, that heartless man inflicts, in the pursuit of unlawful gratification. (Tonna 90) </note> <citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f236"><quote>As a great number of them,</quote> remarks

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<name type="person">Mr. Devonald,</name> <quote>come from the country, and
have no immediate friends in London, they are exposed, in a peculiar degree,
to the temptations of the metropolis. <hi rend="italic">Their employers, who
ought to supply the place of their natural protectors, are, in general,
indifferent to the moral evils to which they are exposed:</hi> <quote
rend="single"><seg type="moral concern" subtype="religion"><hi
rend="smallcaps">religion is never thought of.</hi></seg></quote></
quote><bibl>Grainger, Evidence, appendix, p. f 236</bibl>.</citPassage>
Another witness observes, <cit><quote><seg type="moral concern"
subtype="religion"><hi rend="italic">no attention is paid to the religious
conduct of the young persons. On Sunday, many of them are too tired to get
up.</hi></seg></quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App.">Ibid</orig> p.
f226.</bibl></cit></p>

<p>It would be an easy matter to extend these appalling details. In the
evidence of the employers and employed already adduced, it has been
demonstrated that, as a rule, and few indeed are the exceptions, no regard is
paid by employers to the moral, social, or intellectual condition of the
young persons in their employ. Reckless of every consequence, human or
divine, one single object alone seems to absorb their attention, and the poor
drudges of the needle are subjected to hardships unexampled in the history of
civilized nations. <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work
day">Inspiration proclaims that <quote><hi rend="italic">man goeth forth to
his work and to his labour</hi> <hi rend="smallcaps">until the evening.</
hi></quote> Do the shades of evening, however, announce the glad tidings of
rest to the delicate and fragile frame of the poor dress-maker? Not so.</
seg><note type="fiction"><p>Two o’clock in the morning chimed forth the old
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bells of St. Saviour’s. And yet, more than a dozen girls still sat in the room into which Ruth entered, stitching away as if for very life, not daring to gape, or show any outward manifestation of sleepiness. They only sighed a little when Ruth told Mrs. Mason the hour of the night, as the result of her errand; for they knew that, stay up as late as they might, the work-hours of the next day must begin at eight, and their young limbs were very weary. (Ruth 3) </note> The claims of avarice and fashion set at nought the obvious designs of Deity. <name type="person">Mr. Devonald</name>, a medical gentleman, whose statements <name type="person">Mr. Grainger</name>, the <name type="occupation">sub-commissioner</name>, informs us, are very valuable, from his ample opportunities of observing the effects of dress-making, and of knowing the whole system, remarks as <pb n="18"/ >follows;—<citPassage source="unknown"><quote><hi rend="italic">Is convinced, in no trade or manufactory whatever, is the labour to be compared to that of dress-makers.</hi> <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day"><hi rend="smallcaps">No men work so long. It would be impossible for any animal to work so continuously with so little rest.</hi></seg></ quote></citPassage>

Youth is peculiarly designed to be the period of rational pleasure and enjoyment. It is that portion of our existence, when the moral feelings exercise their keenest relish, and the mind exhibits the most ardent desire for mental acquisition. Does the youthful slave of the needle, however, find opportunities to gratify the lawful and rational instincts implanted in her nature by a wise and beneficent creator? Alas, NO. But lately participating in the joys of a happy home—the beloved and tender object of maternal care—the seeds of virtue and knowledge carefully implanted in her

juvenile mind—<seg type="moral concern" subtype="general">with the inexperience but implicit confidence of youth—and utterly inadequate to contend with the snare of vice—she is removed to a scene of trial, fraught with danger and temptation.</seg> <seg type="moral concern" subtype="influence of peers">The associates and associations by which she is constantly surrounded, are too frequently seductive and pernicious in the extreme</seg>. <seg type="moral concern" subtype="religion">Her employer, by frequent, if not habitual practice, openly violates the sanctity of the Sabbath, and disregards the obligations of religion.</seg><note type="fiction"> For some time I went to church on Sundays, and that did me good, body and mind; but after a while, I was forced to lie in bed all the Sunday morning. (Tonna 49) </note> <seg type="moral concern" subtype="influence of peers">The example and conversation, too, of her companions, themselves, perhaps the victims of a wicked system, and familiar with the world and its unlawful pleasures, also powerfully contribute to undermine the advantages of early instruction.</seg> Under these circumstances, is it not rather a matter of surprise that so many young females comparatively unscathed.

It is mere mockery to talk of social pleasure or intellectual improvement to the poor dress-maker. And to speak of <emph rend="italic">home !</emph> alas, she remembers but too keenly that she once enjoyed the pleasures of home; but <emph rend="italic">now</emph> the contrast is too painful for her to contemplate. The tender training of girlhood stands in bitter opposition to the harshness and cruelty she experiences at her present abode. Friends she has none. Her employer, who ought to cherish and to guide those who toil and slave by day and by night for her advantage, reckless of the

consequences, seeks but to gain the greatest amount of labour from the poor drudges of her avarice. Nay, too often she contemplates, apparently without remorse, the pallid face, the sunken cheek, the tottering limbs, the feeble voice, of her helpless and unprotected victims. The voice of the physician proclaims the unavoidable consequence of a <orig reg="perseverance">perseverence</orig> in this worse than negro servitude; but it is heard with indifference or neglect. The <soCalled>claims of business</soCalled> harden every generous feeling and render the heart obdurate to pity or remorse. The evidence already adduced, as well as the testimonies of the two eminent surgeons, Messrs. Tyrrel and Dalrymple, which will shortly be given, fully justifies these severe, but well merited remarks.

On a review of the system it will be seen, that the <seg type="working conditions" subtype="lack of leisure time">females employed in needlework have no time to devote to social enjoyment or intellectual ele <pb n="19"/ >vation.</seg> <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="exhaustion">The labours of the day, and often, indeed, night too, indispose them to further exertion</seg>; indeed, <seg type="psychological complaint" subtype="exhaustion">the exhausted state of their bodies utterly incapacitates them for mental effort.</seg> We are told of one young person who, on the conclusion of her labour, actually fell asleep on the stairs, worn out, as the narrator states, with slavish and unreasonable fatigue. Nor is this a solitary case. How then can we look for intellectual advancement among this numerous but suffering class of our fellow-creatures; and, still more, what are we to expect at their hands, when they assume, as many of them in after-life do, the important position of <emph rend="italic">mothers</

emph>.The injury which accrues to society in this respect, is as irreparable as it is extensive.

</div2>

<div2 n="2" type="subsection">

<hi rend="italic">II. In a physical point of view.—</hi>The bodily evils which arise from the system under consideration, are too numerous to permit of lengthened exposition. The maxim of Sir Philip Sidney— <quote rend="block"><lg>

<l>The common ingredients of long life are,</l>

<l>Great temperance, open air,</l>

<l>Easy labour, little care,</l>

</lg></quote> in its practical application to the slaves of the needle, presents a painful and striking contrast. The habits of the young dress-maker are as much opposed to the laws of true temperance—using the word in its general and primitive sense—as we can well conceive. Nor is it possible to find any employment, accompanied with so <seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">little exposure to the open air</seg>, <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">labour protracted to such an oppressive and unnatural a period</seg>, or <seg type="working conditions" subtype="lack of leisure time">one where so few means for mental recreation are afforded</seg>. There is not, in fact, one single feature in the system to favourable to health of body or purity of mind. <quote rend="block"><lg>

<l>Even from the body's purity the mind</l>

<l>Receives a secret sympathetic aid.</l>

</lg></quote> <note type="annotation"> Grindrod quotes poet James Thomson (1700-1748). These lines are an excerpt from Thomson's poem "The Seasons: Summer." </note>

The main physical evils to which females employed in the various avocations of the needle, are subject, arise from <hi rend="italic"><seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">long confinement in close and impure air</seg>, <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">protracted labour</seg>, <seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor nutrition" >irregular diet</seg>, <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work hours">loss of nocturnal rest</seg>, and <seg type="working conditions" subtype="ergonomics">unnatural position of the body</seg>.</hi> The effects will be shortly illustrated by the evidence of numerous medical men.

<seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">The apartments in which dress-makers work, are, in general, crowded with workpeople, and ill ventilated</seg>. The following testimonies are in point. <cit><quote>All the workwomen, in the season about fifty, work in one large room. <seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">In the season, with the sun in the day, and lamps at night, this place is extremely hot and oppressive</seg>.<note type="fiction"> . . . the accumulated breath of about thirty persons in a room, not indeed small for that number, but badly ventilated, together with the broad rays of sunshine streaming through the windows, and making visible a cloud of subtle dust, had induced a sickened

feeling that demanded [refreshment]. (Tonna 33)</p></note> <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">Several young persons have fainted at their work.</seg></quote> <bibl><hi rend="italic">Second Report, App.</hi> p. f 207.</bibl></cit> <cit><quote><seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">The work-room is large; but from the number of workpeople, the many hours they are occupied continuously, and from the gas-lights, it is extremely hot and oppressive.</seg></quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App."> <hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi></orig>, p. f 210.</bibl></cit> <cit><quote>In some of the large houses, the bed-rooms are too much crowded. The work-rooms are often also much crowded.</quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App."> <hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi></orig>, p. f 213.</bibl></cit> <cit><quote>At another house there were four or five young persons in the same sleeping room.</quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App."><hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi></orig>, p. f 225.</bibl></cit> <cit><quote>The sleeping-rooms are built over stables, and they are damp, and many have caught cold. <hi rend="italic">In one of these rooms eighteen sleep; in another, with only one window, there are ten persons.</hi> Since witness has been there, one <pb n="20"/>young person has died, and two have left, in a decline. Some medical men who had attended those who had been ill, have remonstrated against the treatment. <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">It is very common for the young women to faint, especially at the end of the week. These attacks are not like common fainting fits; they are very alarming.</seg> <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">The week before last one young person was in such an alarming state, that a medical man was called in.</seg> They expect it will be much worse soon, as they will be more busy, and the hours will be later.</quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App."><hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi></orig>, p. f. 226.</

bibl></cit> <cit><quote>The sleeping-rooms, last year, were small and crowded.</quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App."><hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi></orig>, p. f 227.</bibl></cit> <cit><quote><seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">The work-room is hot and close; too many work in it.</seg> <seg type="psychological complaint" subtype="mania">Has often seen the young persons hysterical</seg>, and also faint. Some of them were always ill.</quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App. p. f 227."><hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi>.</orig></bibl></cit>

<cit><quote><seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">The work-room was heated with gas, and there were several openings for ventilation, which caused draughts.</seg> She left in consequence of bad health; <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">many of the young persons were ill; there were some of them constantly ill.</seg></quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App. p. f 227."><hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi>.</orig></bibl></cit> Mr. Devonald, surgeon, remarks—<cit><quote><seg type="working conditions" subtype="overcrowding">The sleeping-rooms are frequently very insufficient; some sleep in kitchens, some in attics. They are often most crowded; has himself seen five in one bed in an attic.</seg> Has known one house where the young women worked in a perfectly dark kitchen, which was lighted night and day with gas. Attended two young persons who worked in this room.</quote> <bibl><orig reg="Second Report, App."> <hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi></orig>, p f 236.</bibl></cit> Mr. Cantis, surgeon, says, <cit><quote><seg type="working conditions" subtype="overcrowding">The workrooms are often very much crowded and heated, especially at night, when the gas is lighted.</seg> From this cause, joined to the exhausting hours of continuing labour, <seg

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type="physical complaint" subtype="general">fainting fits are very common</
seg>. <seg type="working conditions" subtype="overcrowding">From what he has
seen in some houses, and heard of many others, he has no doubt the sleeping-
rooms are often close and crowded.</seg></quote><bibl><orig reg="Second
Report"><hi rend="italic">Ibid</hi>.</orig></bibl></cit></p>

<p>It is well known that changes are effected in the lungs of the most vital
importance. The existence of pure blood, and, as a consequence, health
itself, depends on the supply of pure air.<note type="annotation"><p>Alison
Bashford describes the miasmatic theory of disease as a belief that “disease
was . . . a response to decomposing, putrefying matter in the surrounding
environment -- human waste, accumulation of dirt, stagnant water, foul air.
The latter was understood as the main medium of transmission” (5). Interest
in the effects of improper ventilation on public health was widespread during
the mid-nineteenth-century, particularly amongst middle-class women (Bashford
14-15). Grindrod’s audience would have been familiar with the miasmatic
theory and would have drawn the obvious conclusions.</p></note> Hence,
oxygen, which effects the arterialization of the blood, is denominated the
<emph rend="italic">vital</emph> air. <name type="person">Dr. Combe</name>
correctly observes, that <quote>air is fit or unfit for respiration in exact
proportion as its quantity of oxygen approaches to, or differs from, that
contained in pure air.</quote></p>

<p>Health, then, under the circumstances detailed above, is impossible. The
chief sources of vitality are undermined in the most effective manner, and it
would be wonderful indeed, if exhausted nature could long maintain so unequal
a contest.</p>
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To prove that the air which we breathe is for life or for death, it is only necessary to mention two or three facts. Twenty-four hogsheads of blood are presented to the lungs every twenty-four hours, to receive the action of the air. Not less than fifty-seven hogsheads of air flow to the same organs during this brief period. Unless this air be pure, the most pernicious consequences ensue.—Debility and disease, indeed, are the inevitable results.

But this is not all. The system not only continually receives air by the medium of the lungs, but, through the instrumentality of the same organs, discharges from the body a noxious gas, which is denominated carbonic acid. Even at a very low estimate, the quantity of carbonic acid generated in the course of 24 hours, is about 18,000 cubic inches. Thus, in crowded rooms, when the ventilation is imperfect, the parties engaged <pb n="21"/>at work are constantly exposed to a deleterious atmosphere. When the air of rooms, moreover, is charged even to a moderate extent with carbonic acid, the amount of this gas excreted is considerably diminished. Hence, an additional serious cause of ill-health. These facts sufficiently explain the frequent head-aches of dress-makers and others who suffer much distress from oppression of the brain, and other affections depended on imperfect aeration of the blood.

The air of crowded work-rooms is rendered still more impure, by several other causes. The inhalation of dust or fine particles, from the disturbance of goods, often induces disease of the lungs. The body also continually emits no trifling amount of animal effluvia, which is well known to be highly injurious to health. To these prolific causes of disease, we may add the continual loss of oxygen and production of carbonic acid, by the burning of gas, a mode of lighting apartments extremely injurious, unless counteracted

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by appropriate and judicious ventilation. A single gas burner consumes more
oxygen, and produces more carbonic acid, than six or eight candles.</p>

<p>Deficient appropriate exercise forms another fruitful source of disease.
Hence, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="cardiovascular">feeble
circulation of the blood</seg>, with its attendant evils. Add to these, <seg
type="working conditons" subtype="poor nutrition">irregular meals and often
insufficient or improper food</seg>, the <seg type="working conditions"
subtype="length of work day">want of due nocturnal rest</seg>, and, without
additional investigation, abundant causes will be found for the disease and
mortality which prevails among females employed at needlework. In <title
level="m">&amp;quot;The Wrongs of Our Youth</title>,&amp;quot; the author has entered
more fully into an investigation of this subject.</p> <p><seg type="working
conditions" subtype="ergonomics">Among other causes of ill health, to which
this class of individuals are subject, we must not omit the <hi
rend="italic">peculiar position of the body</hi>.</seg> Hence <seg
type="physical complaint" subtype="musculoskeletal"><hi
rend="italic">distortion of the spine</hi></seg> is of very frequent
occurrence among dress-makers. The importance of this subject renders it
necessary to enter into a few brief particulars.</p>

<p>The spine consists of twenty-four cylindrical bones, called vertebrae,
placed over each other, and forming a pillar, which extends from the pelvis
or large solid bones which support the body, to the lower part of the head.
Between each of these four and twenty bones there intervenes an elastic
substance, which serves as a pad, and is kept in its proper situation by
strong ligamentous bands. A mass of flesh, consisting of numerous distinct
muscles or cords, is situated on each side of the spine. These, by their
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united and concurrent action, keep the spinal column in its vertical
position. The elastic intervertebral substance, conjoined with the numerous
muscles which are attached to the vertebrae, on each side of the spine,
permits, in a state of health, the most varied freedom of action. Sitting,
however, for a lengthened period, in one posture, induces a diseased action
of the muscles, which are contracted on that side to which the position
inclines, while, on the other hand, the corresponding muscles on the opposite
side, from want of due action,</p>

<pb n="22"/><figure entity="Fig1"><head>The Spine In Its Natural State.</
head><figDesc>A line drawing of a distorted spine.</figDesc></figure>

<p>become feeble and powerless. Hence, a progressive diminution of the
elastic intervertebral substance, on the side on which the unnatural pressure
of the body inclines, and, in the opposite direction, and almost equal
elevation of the same substance. In young persons, this state of things is
readily induced, as, during the period of growth, the substance which forms
the pad between the vertebrae is peculiarly soft and yielding, and the
ligaments which surround it are tender, and susceptible of gentle
impressions. <citPassage source="unknown"><quote>A tumour on the head or
jaw,</quote> observes <name type="person">Sir Charles Bell</name>,
<quote>which makes a child carry the head to one side, or constant stooping,
such as is used by a girl in working at the tambour, or the carrying of a
weakly child always on one arm, by a negligent or awkward nurse, will cause,
in time, a fixed and irremediable distortion.</quote></citPassage></p>

<p><seg type="physical complaint" subtype="musculoskeletal">The feeble
debilitated frame of the sempstress, of course, renders her peculiarly
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susceptible of spinal deformities.</seg> Hence it is, that this disease
exists, to a considerable extent, among this unfortunate class.</p>

<p>The following letter, which I recently received from my friend, <name
type="person">Dr. Clay</name>, will serve as a practical illustration.</p>

<pb n="23"/><figure entity="Fig2"><head>The Distorted Spine of the
Sempstress.</head><figDesc>A line drawing of a distorted spine.</figDesc></
figure>

<quote rend="block">

<text>

<body>

<div0 type="letter">

<opener>

<dateline><name type="place">Manchester, Piccadilly,</name> <date>December 5,
1843.</date></dateline>

<salute><hi rend="smallcaps">Dear Sir,</hi></salute>

</opener>

<p>You ask me for a few facts respecting females employed as milliners and
dress makers. I have for twenty-five years past paid much attention,
professionally, to this most useful but very much abused class of suffering
humanity. I think them worthy of a better fate than generally awaits them:
and if any portion of her majesty's subjects deserve their hours of laborious
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employment shortened, it is surely these, and more so, as they are comparatively helpless, having neither the means nor opportunity of defending their cause, nor yet of appealing to the public, except through the medium of other classes of sufferers better able to make known their heavy grievances than themselves. I cannot think for a moment that the rich and truly benevolent ladies of this enlightened country would (if they were aware of the sufferings entailed) add one pang to the already too many at present inflicted; but would rather lend their timely aid and charitable assistance to lighten their labours, and to lessen their miseries. If they cannot rescue them from an early doom, they have it in their power, at least, to smooth their passage to the grave, and disarm death of some of its terrors. Could the ladies of this favoured land only see the dreadful effects of procrastinating their orders for the gay trappings of the bride or the sadder garments of mourning, or the general fashions of the day <emph rend="italic">to the latest possible moment</emph>—<seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">the midnight oil consumed</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">the constitutions <pb n="24" />wasted</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="musculoskeletal">the distortions effected</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="exhaustion">the loss of natural sleep</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">the aching sight of the poor creatures employed</seg>—they would assuredly pause, and as surely do something to ameliorate their sad condition.

<seg type="physical complaint" subtype="musculoskeletal">I have by me notes of about 600 cases of milliners and dress makers of a dependent nature, 150 of which had distorted spines to a very great extent, and fifty more of

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less extent</seg>; <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="respiratory"
reg="tuberculosis">140 had emaciated constitutions with severe coughs, many
of these confirmed phthisis</seg>; <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="respiratory">40 more with coughs less severe</seg>; <seg
type="physical complaint" subtype="general">65 suffering from other diseases,
more particularly applicable to females of sedentary employments, and likely
to terminate fatally.</seg></p>

<p>I do not wonder at this, from the knowledge of one fact. Some years ago, I
knew of <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">seven
girls confined from <orig reg="5:00">5</orig>, <orig reg="6:00">6 o'clock</
orig> in the morning, to <orig reg="22:00">10</orig>, <orig reg="23:00">11</
orig>, and sometimes <orig reg="00:00">12 at night</orig></seg>, <seg
type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">in a room of <orig
reg="3.25">3&#188;</orig> yards square, in which was a fire, and at night two
strong gas lights, burning constantly.</seg> <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="general">The seven girls were all unhealthy</seg>; <seg
type="physical complaint" subtype="musculoskeletal" >four had crooked
spines</seg>; <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="respiratory">not one
without a cough</seg>. Two were originally delicate; but five came out of the
country, in the bloom of health, and had not been at the trade two years. But
at the time I speak of, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">not
one of these females would have been admitted to a life assurance benefit</
seg>.<note type="fiction"><p>I was a strong, healthy girl when I came to
town, as good as fourteen months ago; but coming at the season, I was forced
to work immediately as hard as the oldest hands. It wore me out. I soon began
to lose my appetite; I was too tired to sleep at nights; I had pain in the
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back, and shoulders, and limbs. (Tonna 48-49)</p></note> These, with many
other facts, which I have no doubt you will enlarge upon, will, I am sure,
claim some portion of sympathy from the public, in behalf of milliners and
dress makers: and I sincerely hope you will become one of the means by which
this class may be liberated from their present state of bondage.</p>

<closer><salute>I am, dear Sir, yours respectfully,</salute> <signed><name
type="person">Charles Clay</name>, M.D.</signed> <salute>To <name
type="person" reg="Ralph Barnes Grindrod">R. B. Grindrod</name>, Esq. LL.D.</
salute></closer>

</div0>

</body>

</text>

</quote>

</div2>

<div2 n="3" type="subsection">

<head><hi rend="smallcaps">Medical Testimonies</hi></head>

<p><citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f232 "><name type="person"><hi
rend="italic">Sir James Clark</hi></name>, <name type="role"><hi
rend="italic"><orig reg="baronet">Bart.</orig></hi></name>, <name
type="occupation">Physician to the Queen</name><note type="annotation"><p>Sir
James Clark was a celebrated doctor who cared for a young Princess Victoria
before she became Queen. Later, he served as royal physician to Prince Albert
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and Queen Victoria.</p></note>.—<quote rend="uncited">The effects which I have observed upon the health of girls employed in dress making and millinery, have been a <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">relaxed, enfeebled state of the whole system</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">a pale cachectic look</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="digestive">indigestion</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="digestive">constipated bowels</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">irregularity in the female functions</seg>. Such has been the condition of the young dress makers whom I have seen, and such will invariably be the effect upon the health of <seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">young persons confined in ill-ventilated apartments night and day</seg>, <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">over worked</seg>, and <seg type="working conditions" subtype="lack of leisure time">deprived of exercise in the open air</seg>. I have questioned these poor girls on their mode of life, and have found it such as no constitution could long bear. <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">Worked from six in the morning till twelve at night, with the exception of the short intervals allowed for their meals</seg>, <seg type="working conditions" subtype="overcrowding">in close rooms, and passing the few hours allowed for rest in still more close and crowded apartments</seg>;—a mode of life more completely calculated to destroy human health could scarcely be contrived, and this at a period of life when exercise in the open air, and a due proportion of rest, are essential to the development of the system. Judging from what I have observed and heard, I scarcely believe that the system adopted in our worst regulated manufactories, can be so destructive of health as the life of the young dress-maker; and I have long been most

anxious to see something done to rescue these unfortunate girls from the slavery to which they are subjected.</quote></citPassage>

<citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 232"><name type="person"><hi rend="italic">Dr. James Johnson</hi></name>, <name type="occupation">Editor of the Medico-Chirurgical Journal, &</name>.—<quote>The <pb n="25"/>incalculable numbers of young females confined to sedentary avocations, from morning till night, and too often from night till morning, become not only unhealthy themselves, but afterwards consign debility and disease to their unfortunate offspring. It is thus that infirmities of body and mind are acquired, multiplied, transmitted from parents to progeny, and consequently, perpetuated in society. The fashionable world— <quote rend="block"><lg>

<l>The gay licentious proud,</l>

<l>Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround</l>

</lg></quote><note type="annotation"> James Thomson (1700-1748). These lines are an excerpt from Thomson's poem "The Seasons: Winter." </note> know not how many thousand females are annually sacrificed, during each season, in this metropolis, by the sudden demand and forced supply of modish ornaments and ephemeral habiliments. They know not that, which they conscientiously believe they are patronising trade and rewarding industry, they are actually <seg type="working conditions" subtype="lack of leisure time">depriving many thousand young women of sleep, air, and exercise</seg>; <seg type="working conditions" subtype="overcrowding">consigning them to close recesses and crowded attics</seg>, where <seg type="moral concern" subtype="intemperance">the stimulus of tea, coffee, and liquors, is rendered necessary to support the corporeal fabric</seg>, and where <seg type="moral

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concern" subtype="influence of peers">the congregation of juvenile females,
under such circumstances, conduces to anything rather than vigour of
constitution, or morality of sentiment</seg>.</quote></citPassage></p>

<p><citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 233 "><name
type="person">Dr. Hughes</name>, <name type="occupation">Assistant
Physician</name>, <name type="organization">Guy's Hospital</
name>.&mdash;<quote>The effects produced by <seg type="working conditions"
subtype="length of work day">long-continued sedentary occupation</seg>, <seg
type="working conditions" subtype="poor ventilation">in a confined
atmosphere</seg>, and a <seg type="working condtions"
subtype="ergonomics">constrained position of the body</seg>, upon the health
of young females engaged as milliners, are very familiar to me, from my
pretty extensive practice among the classes to which they belong. <seg
type="physical complaint" subtype="general">The individuals are marked by a
pale face, a dull lack-lustre eye, a care-worn countenance, a pallid indented
tongue, and &#230;dematous feet and ankles.</seg> <seg type="physical
complaint" subtype="general">They complain of pain in the side, varying as to
position, direction, and intensity</seg>; <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="digestive">loss of appetite, and dyspepsia, often accompanied with
pyrosis</seg>; <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="exhaustion">debility
in exertion</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="respiratory">shortness of breath</seg>, and <seg type="physical
complaint" subtype="cardiovascular" >palpitations from all sorts of
excitement, physical or moral</seg>, and <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="uterine">are almost always affected with leucorrh&#230;a and
am&#230;norrhea</seg>; <seg type="physical complaint"
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subtype="musculoskeletal">not <orig reg="infrequently">unfrequently</orig>
with lateral curvature of the spine</seg>, and occasionally, with <seg
type="physical complaint" subtype="cardiovascular">hæmorrhoids</seg>.</
quote></citPassage>

<citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 233"><name type="person">Dr.
Hamilton Roe</name>, <name type="occupation">Physician</name> to the <name
type="organization">Westminster Hospital</name>.—<quote>Has been in the
constant habit of seeing large numbers of patients, among whom, many are
young women, who are dress-makers. <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="general">The most common complaint among this class of patients is
great constitutional weakness, indicated by that degree of pallor which only
arises in other cases from the abstraction of a large quantity of blood,
producing anaemia</seg>: <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="respiratory">pulmonary affections threatening consumption, and
frequently ending in that complaint, are most common</seg>. Has known many
who have fallen victims to that disease. <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="digestive">A most common affection is dyspepsia; indeed, few who
have been any length of time in the business escape this: loss of appetite,
pain in the sides, head-ache, and extreme emaciation are almost universal.</
seg> <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">The uterine actions are
almost constantly deranged: amænorrhoea and leucorrhæa are the most
ordinary results.</seg> <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">As
these young persons commence this laborious occupation at the age of fourteen
or sixteen, when the great change occurs in the female constitution, the most
serious interruption to the functions of the uterus is likely to be produced;
and daily experience shows that this is the result. Has no doubt that action

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of the uterus is frequently permanently deranged.</seg> <seg type="working
conditions" subtype="length of work day">Has ascertained that the hours of
work are inordinate: it is not uncommon for the dress-makers to work from 6
AM till 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, and in the season frequently all
night.</seg></quote></citPassage><note type="fiction"><p>[Mary] was to work
for two years without any remuneration, on consideration of being taught the
business . . . In summer she was to be there by six, bringing her meals
during the first two years; in winter she was not to come till after
breakfast. Her time for returning home at night must always depend upon the
quantity of work Miss Simmonds had to do. (Gaskell Mary Barton 28)</p></
note></p>

<p><citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 233"><name type="person">Dr.
Hodgkin</name>.&mdash;<quote>My former connexion with the London Dispensary
and with Guy's Hospital, where I saw many hundreds of out-patients, as well
as the numerous gratis patients I used to see at my own residence, afforded
<pb n="26"/>me abundant opportunity of witnessing the very serious injury to
health which the working milliners and dress-makers sustain from the
iniquitous system to which they are subjected. <seg type="working conditions"
subtype="length of work day">I learnt from the most credible authority, that
it is a frequent practice to confine them closely to work during the whole
day, and for a considerable part of the night</seg>; that <seg type="working
conditions" subtype="lack of leisure time">the intervals for meals are few
and short; and that relaxation and exercise are out of the question</seg>. It
was, therefore, no matter of surprise to me to find this class of persons
exhibiting extreme cases of those <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="general">distressing nervous, hysteric, and dyspeptic affections,
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which the worst debilitating causes can induce among young females</seg>. <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="respiratory">Pulmonary consumption was of frequent occurrence.</seg> My attention was likewise particularly arrested by <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">cases of erythema nodosum, terminating in ill-conditioned and obstinate cellular membranous sores.</seg><note type="annotation"> Erythema Nodosum is characterized by inflammation of the skin. It appears primarily on the legs and is associated with diseases such as tuberculosis and syphilis. </note> As might reasonably be expected from the nature of the employment, from the generally close situations in which it is carried on, as well as from the unreasonable duration of the work, the pernicious dress-making system seems, on the whole, to exert its influence in promoting and aggravating every affliction to which an unhealthy and weakly constitution is predisposed, rather than in giving rise to any singular characteristic and peculiar affection.</quote></citPassage>

<citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 233-34"><name type="person">Frederick Tyrell, Esq.</name>, <name type="occupation">Surgeon</name> to the <name type="organization">London Opthalmic Hospital</name>.—<quote>Witness has often seen cases of <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">impaired vision</seg> and <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">total loss of sight</seg>, occurring in young women, from the age of twenty to about thirty years, caused by needlework. Has been frequently informed by patients coming for advice, that <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">in dress-making and millinery establishments, the hours of work are much too long</seg>, and, consequently, that <seg type="working conditions"

subtype="lack of leisure time">the time allotted to rest and recreation, are quite insufficient to maintain a healthy state</seg>. The result is, that <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">a large proportion of the females thus employed, suffer from serious local disease, or from such constitutional disturbance, as renders them unable to resist diseases which would have but little effect on healthy individuals</seg>. They are particularly liable to <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">affections of the chest and abdomen, often proving rapidly fatal</seg>. <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">The usual period at which these young persons begin to work at dress-making, &c., is that at which the most important change of the female constitution would occur; but which change is frequently interrupted or deranged, in consequence of the labour, sedentary life, and want of rest, to which they are subject.</seg> It is unnecessary to dwell upon the evils which result from the interruption of so important a function.</quote></citPassage>

<citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 233-34"><quote>A fair and delicate girl, about seventeen years of age, was brought to witness, in consequence of <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">total loss of vision</seg>. She had experienced the train of symptoms which have been detailed, to the fullest extent. On examination, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">both eyes were found disorganized</seg>, and recovery, therefore, was hopeless. She had been an apprentice as a dress-maker, at the west end of the town: and some time before her vision became affected, her general health had been materially deranged, from too close confinement and excessive work. The immediate cause of the disease in the eye, was <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work

day">excessive and continued application to making mourning</seg>.<note type="fiction"> Margaret, who is going blind, says “. . . plain work pays so bad, and mourning has been so plentiful this winter, that I were tempted to take in any black work I could; and now I’m suffering from it” (Gaskell Mary Barton 53). </note> She stated that <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">she had been compelled to remain without changing her dress for nine days and nights consecutively</seg>; that during this period, <seg type="working conditions" subtype="lack of leisure time">she had been permitted only occasionally to rest on a mattress, placed on the floor, for an hour or two at a time; and that her meals were placed at her side, and cut up, so that as little time as possible should be spent in their consumption</seg>. Witness regrets that he did not, in this and a few other cases, nearly as flagrant and distressing, induce the sufferers to appeal to a jury for compensation.</quote></citPassage>

<citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 235"><name type="person">John Dalrymple, Esq.</name>, <name type="occupation">Assistant Surgeon</name>, <name type="organization" >Royal London Opthalmic Hospital</name>.—<quote>Since my election to the Opthalmic Hospital, in Moorfields, <pb n="27"/>in 1832, I have seen some hundreds of cases of <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">impaired vision</seg> and <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">total blindness</seg>, consequent upon the nature of the employment, coupled with the habits of life of the individual sufferers.—The form of ocular disease which such persons [<quote>the class of milliners' apprentices and workwomen, who are employed on the premises of the mistress, and who have not even the trifling benefit of the walk to and from their own residences</quote>] are affected, varies

from simple <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">irritation</seg> to <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">complete blindness</seg>; but these unfortunate subjects of the disease, who apply at the hospital for relief, seldom present themselves in the earliest stages, and not until after they have in vain resorted to spectacles for temporary assistance. <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="ocular">The proportion of very young persons using glasses of the highest power, when thus employed, is very large.</seg> Even in the earliest stages of impaired vision, a decline of general power in the constitution is visible. The patient complains of <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="cardiovascular">frequent palpitation</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="respiratory">embarrassed respiration upon slight exercise</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">general lassitude and want of tone</seg>. In a more advanced stage, the <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="cardiovascular">bloodless cheeks, the feeble pulse, and the coldness of the extremities</seg>, even in summer, indicate the progressive deterioration: to these symptoms are added <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">various defects of the uterine system</seg>. The <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">periodical discharges are either wholly suppressed, or voided with great difficulty and pain; sometimes scanty, sometimes in excess</seg>. Various forms of <seg type="psychological complaint" subtype="general">hysterical affections</seg> are present. <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="digestive">The bowels are torpid, the digestion imperfect, and the patient loses flesh.</seg> At this period the patient may recover, but rarely perfectly. A patient now in attendance, is a women thirty years of age. The <seg type="working conditions" subtype="length of work day">average number of hours of work were eighteen daily, sometimes

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more</seg>, and this in the winter also. Her health was greatly injured: and
at this time, though she has long ceased to be employed at her needle, her
vision remains much impaired, and her general health feeble.</quote></
citPassage></p>

<p><citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 235"><quote>A few years ago
a delicate and beautiful young woman, an orphan, applied to the hospital for
very defective vision, and her symptoms were precisely as just described.
Upon inquiry it was ascertained that she has been apprenticed to a milliner,
and was in her last year of indentureship. Her <seg type="working conditins"
subtype="length of work day">working hours were eighteen in the day,
occasionally even more</seg>; her <seg type="working conditions"
subtype="lack of leisure time">meals snatched with scarcely an interval of a
few minutes from work</seg>; and her <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="respiratory">general health was evidently assuming a tendency to
consumption</seg>. An appeal was made, by my directions, to the mistress for
relaxation; but the reply was, that in this last year of her apprenticeship
her labours had become valuable, and that her mistress was entitled to them
as recompense for teaching. Subsequently a threat of appeal to the Lord
Mayor, and a belief that a continuance of the occupation would soon render
the apprentice incapable of labour, induced the mistress to cancel the
indentures, and the victim was saved. It was not until many months afterwards
that her health was re-established.</quote></citPassage></p>

<p><citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 236"><name type="person">Mr.
Cantis</name>, <name type="occupation">Surgeon</name>.&mdash;<quote>During
the last six years has seen some hundreds of cases of illness among dress-
makers. The prevailing complaint is what may be called <seg type="physical
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complaint" subtype="hematologic">anaemia; that is, excessive prostration of
strength, a bloodless condition of body</seg>, conjoined with all the
symptoms of <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="digestive">severe
dyspepsia</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">disturbance
of the uterine functions</seg>, and <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="cardiovascular">palpitation of the heart</seg>. There is usually
great emaciation of body, and frequently a tendency to <seg type="physical
complaint" subtype="hematologic">dropsical effusion about the legs</seg>: in
short, all those symptoms which threaten consumption. As the above have been
gratuitous outpatients, has had no means of observing the termination of the
most severe cases, those only attending who were able to walk out. From his
experience finds, that if the case, as so commonly happens, has attained to a
serious extent, the health is never recovered. Has often observed the same
parties applying during two or three years for advice. Has often been <pb
n="28"/> told, that the principals, if at the time they are busy, object to
the young women, when ill, coming for advice. Is certain that many cases have
been much aggravated by this conduct, and by the young persons themselves
refraining from consulting a medical man from fear of the consequences; that
is, of losing their situation. <seg type="working conditions" subtype="poor
nutrition">When they are ill, whatever additions to the ordinary diet are
prescribed, must be provided by themselves; their employers will not procure
what is required.</seg></quote></citPassage></p>

<p><citPassage source="Second Report, App., p. f 237"><name type="person">Dr.
Shaw</name>, <name type="occupation">Physician</name> to the <name
type="organization">Leicester Infirmary</name>.&mdash;<quote>The young
persons who are employed by the principal dress-making establishments are
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more subject to long hours of work than others. The common results are <seg
type="physical complaint" subtype="digestive">dyspepsia</seg>, <seg
type="physical complaint" subtype="uterine">derangement of the uterine
action</seg>, <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">head-ache</
seg>, and <seg type="physical complaint" subtype="general">pain in the side</
seg>: there are also frequently <seg type="physical complaint"
subtype="general">swelling about the ankles</seg>, and <seg type="physical
complaint" subtype="general">general languor, accompanied with great pallor</
seg>. Frequently these affections cause a permanent loss of health. In some
few cases, where he has had an opportunity of seeing these females after
marriage, he has observed, that there was great delicacy of the general
health, so that they were always ailing. Has generally some of these young
persons under his care.</quote> </citPassage></p>

</div2>

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</text>

</TEI.2>
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Appendix B: Supplementary DTD File

```
<!-- project dtd -->
<!-- This file defines elements that have been added or modified. -->

<!--  The following declarations define revised tags      -->

<!ELEMENT seg %om.RR;  %paraContent;>
<!ATTLIST seg
      %a.global;
      %a.seg;
      reg CDATA #IMPLIED
      type CDATA #REQUIRED
      subtype CDATA #IMPLIED>


<!--  The following declarations define new extensions    -->

<!ELEMENT citPassage %om.RR; %paraContent;>
<!ATTLIST citPassage %a.global;
          source CDATA #REQUIRED>
```

Appendix C: Supplementary ENT File

```
<!-- project.ent -->
<!-- This file describes local modifications to the TEI dtd. -->
<!-- The folowing elements are ignored -->
<!ENTITY % seg 'IGNORE' >

<!-- The following classes are extended. -->
<!ENTITY % x.hqinter 'citPassage |' >
```