

Abstract:

This paper presents initial estimates of female labor force participation rates in preindustrial Turin. According to the population census of 1802, participation rates of married women are suspiciously low compared with rates of unmarried women or widows and therefore needing additional investigation. Firstly, the paper points out the value of a methodological approach based on the use of *non-principal breadwinner* oriented sources, such as registers of applicants for poor relief. Here *all* the members of the family were encouraged to declare their occupations and activities in some detail in order to demonstrate their concrete contribution to the survival of the family. Finally, the paper discusses the female occupational patterns of domestic servants and of artisans and laborers in silk manufacturing. This highlights the crucial role played by migration flows and by women's access to skilled or low-qualified jobs, in determining the extent of female participation in preindustrial Turin's labor market.

Manuscript:*Introduction*

The data on women's work in archival sources is ambiguous and complicated. Officials charged with conducting population censuses, for example for military or economic purposes, were always interested in men's work, and more generally only in the principal breadwinner's occupation. The invisibility of women in the sources is of course one of the factors that for long led researchers to undervalue, and even to neglect completely, women's presence in the labor market. On the other hand, the nature of women's work and the conditions in which they performed their work were often unclear: since they were obliged to reconcile a paid job with childcare and housekeeping, frequently they worked outside or at the margins of the official labor market or guilds, and they were therefore underpaid and invisible. In addition, conditions of the local labor demand as well as regulations and prohibitions coming from economic actors, such as guilds or

politicians, “heavily restricted women's access to education and paid occupations” (Sarasúa 2008). Finally, even when performing skilled and paid work, women were often not considered real workers and, as a consequence, scarcely registered by the sources (Humphries, Sarasúa 2012). The complicated relationship between women’s work and archival sources constitutes one of the main obstacles to the correct evaluation of historical female labor force participation rate. In order to escape this impasse, it is essential to intensify research activities and to improve the methodological approaches to the topic, as this paper suggests, accordingly to the theoretical framework of the present and the previous symposia (Humphries, Sarasúa 2012). Starting with the population census of Turin carried out in 1802 (known also as the Napoleonic census), this paper is a first attempt to describe female labor force rates in a preindustrial Italian city. Work on this specific topic in Old Regime Italy are rare: demographic research has a long and esteemed tradition as has women’s studies, but the two have seldom interacted. Demographers, using the Catholic registers of birth, marriage and burials and the “*stati delle anime*” (population surveys conducted family by family by the priests in order to check if their parishioners took part in the Easter Communion and to collect the tithe¹) concentrated on the structure of families, the presence of co-resident servants and the age-composition of the societies, while they undervalued the occupational data and totally neglected a gendered analysis of it. On the other hand, students of gender were more involved in qualitative than quantitative research. For these reasons, efforts to evaluate female participation rates are unusual in Italian historiography. The exceptions are two studies based on the population census of Florence of 1810 (Scardozi 1995) and the population survey of four parishes of Bologna in 1796 (Palazzi 1990) to which I refer below.

This paper will look initially at the Napoleonic census in order to calculate female labor force participation rates. Two mayor factors which affected the presence of women in this type of source and in the local labor market in eighteenth-century Turin will be discussed: 1) marital status and age, and whether or not the women had a position as head of the family; 2) three important

economic, social and cultural features of Turin society in the eighteenth century, namely the occupational structure, the presence of migrants in the local labor market and the crucial role of skill training. In sections 1 and 2 there will be a brief presentation of the historical context in which the Napoleonic census was conducted in order to explain what were the goals and what are the differences with the previous population surveys of Turin. Sections 3 and 4 aim to identify the types of categories that are seriously undervalued in the census. Analysis of the marital status, the age and the position in the family of individual women (as wives, children or head of household) will show that married women's work and children's work are the most undervalued and that, in some respects, these are enduring factors, valid also for later Turin population censuses (dated 1705 and 1857). Furthermore, the paper will demonstrate the importance of a methodological approach based on the cross referencing of sources and on the use of documentation that identifies the economic contribution of other members, beyond the *head* of the family or *main breadwinner* (section 5). In this case the registers of the applicants of the *Ospedale di Carità* (the most popular charitable institution of the city) will be used with the goal of showing how this methodology allied with relevant sources improves our appreciation of the labor contribution of *non-principal breadwinners*. The second purpose of the paper (discussed in sections 6 and 7) is to show how economic, social and cultural factors could affect the supply of and demand for women's work in the local labor market. More specifically, it will suggest that, although important, the female life-cycle, the marital status and the juridical position of women are not the only pertinent variables; the analysis of two specific case-studies – the female presence in domestic service as well as in the production of silk yarns and clothing - will show that, in eighteenth-century Turin, female occupational patterns were also strongly affected by cultural models and values and by local economic and social phenomena. In the case-studies considered here, for example, the dual role of Turin as a court city and as a manufacturing city, the role of migration flows, as well as the access (or not) to skilled training and jobs will be assessed as crucial factors.

1. Statistical surveys of the Turin population before the census of 1802

All through the eighteenth century, knowledge about the composition of the population of the Kingdom of Sardiniaⁱⁱ was considered essential to the maintenance of public order. Since control over the population was an important element of domestic policy, from the end of the seventeenth century until 1796 the city of Turin developed an independent and annual system of population survey (Castiglioni 1862; Levi 1974). Regular censuses had several functions: 1) to ascertain how many men and boys could be recruited into the army if required; 2) to control the presence of “strangers”, namely migrants from France which was by turn allied to or enemy of the kingdom; 3) to measure the portion of the population which the authorities determined were mobile or unruly and so needed to be monitored as a potential threat to contemporary ideas of public order. It's worth noting that, apart from vagrants, beggars and other people interned in hospitals, this category consisted of servants, apprentices and laborers of all crafts and of both sexes, since these groups were characterized by high turnover rates. The city was organized into sections (“*isole*”) and each headquarters (“*capitano di quartiere*”) managed of an “*isola*” and had to register the members of all households. Unfortunately, these registers and their data have by and large been lost; but what has been preserved is a “*ristretto*”, a document summarizing the composition of the population year by year. This source allows the calculation of the percentage of servants, and of apprentices and laborers in the global female urban population all through the eighteenth century; however it does not provide information about the activity of other women and moreover does not make it possible to set up connections between women’s work, their marital status, and their age. It can initiate the computation of female labor force participation rate but not sustain or complete the task.

2. The 1802 census

According to the economist Giovanni Prato (1906), the population census of Turin may be

the first example of an Italian “regular census, carried out using the categories of civil status and independently of the Catholic authorities”. The census was conducted at the very beginning of the nineteenth century as a consequence of the annexation of the Kingdom of Sardinia to Napoleonic France. Previously the registration of population in cities as well as in villages was under the control of Catholic authorities or, as was the case for Turin, the local administration. In contrast, the census of 1802 was part of the larger project of administrative reform started during the Napoleonic eraⁱⁱⁱ. It was designed not only to facilitate tax collection but also to establish the rights of citizenship and the domicile of inhabitants (Muttini Conti 1951: 7-10). While in the past, data was collected by headquarters or their staff with the help of notaries, the Napoleonic census was carried out directly by the families. As explained in the edict by the mayor of the city, the owners of houses received forms which they were obliged to complete declaring every family living in the house^{iv}. Each person had to state his or her family name, name, date and place of birth, job, marital status, floor of the house, and duration of the domicile in Turin. Sometimes in the field “remarks” (“osservazioni”) they stated their position in relation to the head of the household (wife, daughter, son, mother, father etc) or we can infer it from name and age. In some cases, it is likely that owners of the houses filled themselves the forms, according to their knowledge of the tenant families. While many of the Turin population census records are lost, the Napoleonic census has been preserved at the Municipal Archives of the city of Turin. It was first studied by the economist Germana Muttini Conti (1951) within the framework of a larger research project on Turin and Piedmont. During the 1990s, the census was completely transcribed by a team of researchers and students from the Economic History Department in Turin, under the supervision and coordination of Professor Maria Carla Lamberti and is now available on an Access database^v. The structure of the database takes into account the complexity of the source; all the information available was transcribed. Every individual was entered as a single record with all the pertinent biographical data (name, occupation, place and date of birth, etc.). In addition, another database was set up for

families – and connected to the first by a FAMILY CODE - in order to register data concerning the domicile (quarter, house, floor). The findings presented in this paper are the result of my explorations of this database. Recently, Maria Carla Lamberti (2002a; 2003) presented some innovative findings about male and female participation in the Turin labor market; nevertheless, until now, there are not studies using this source to measure female labor force participation rates in Turin and to discuss the variables that affected the visibility of women in censuses.

3. Women (and men) in the census

The war and French domination compelled many people to leave Turin, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, although the city continued to account for more than 60,000 inhabitants. Compared to Naples, which at the same time had about 320,000 inhabitants, or Rome, with about 136,000 people, Turin was a middle-size city, comparable with Florence that at the beginning of the century had about 80,000 inhabitants or Bologna with about 64,000 (Del Panta, Livi Bacci, Pinto, and Sonnino 1996: 287). In the Napoleonic census, 59,974 people were registered: 30,415 females and 29,494 males (plus 65 individuals whose gender was not identified). Table 1 shows the professions, jobs and statuses of women aged 15 and over^{vi}, compared to men: 33.3 per cent of these women recorded a job (in agriculture, crafts, trade and retail, as an employee or journeyman in different proportions) while 3.1 per cent declared another activity (student, housewife^{vii}, religious); finally 5.6 per cent gave a status (“beggars”, “poor”, “disabled” or “living on their income”). However 58 per cent of women declared neither a job, nor an activity nor a status. This of course does not mean that the half of the adult women did not work but that we do not know anything about their occupation or position in the society.

Tab. 1 Women and men in the Napoleonic census (1802)						
	Women aged 15 and over			Men aged 15 and over		
	n.	%		n.	%	
agriculture	111	0,5	33.3 per cent women declaring a job	242	1,1	75.8 per cent men declaring a job
craft and manufacturing	2651	12,2		6525	30,9	
trade, retail	722	3,3		2166	10,3	
manual services	3377	15,5		4083	19,3	
employes, professionals	57	0,3		2003	9,5	
others (artists etc)	21	0,1		197	0,9	
journeymen	311	1,4		272	1,3	
soldiers	0	0		514	2,4	
housewives	393	1,8		0	0	
students	0	0		327	1,5	
			3.1 per cent women declaring others activities			4.9 per cent men declaring others activities
religious	275	1,3		709	3,4	
poors, beggars	698	3,2		595	2,8	
			5.6 per cent women declaring a status			6.1 per cent men declaring a status
living of their income	512	2,4		694	3,3	
occupation or condition unknown	12614	58	58	2796	13,2	13,2
total	21742	100	100	21123	100	100

Source: 1802 population census

These findings clash with the data presented by Mirella Scardozzi concerning the population census of Florence conducted in 1810. Scardozzi reported out that “the percentage of women without information is limited (...). Among women aged over 9 years old, 14 per cent miss the information” (Scardozzi 1995: 134). She also notes that “housewives” are 21 per cent, while in Turin they were only 1.8 per cent (Scardozzi 1995: 134). Furthermore, table 1 shows that gender is a crucial variable in the census. Men declared a job or a status more often than women: 75.8 per cent of the male population aged 15 years and over had a job, 4.9 per cent were students or religious practitioners while 6.1 per cent gave their status (poor, beggars or living on their income). Only a little more than

one tenth (13.2 per cent) of the male population left no record.

However, a more detailed analysis shows that missing data about jobs or activities was not randomly scattered across the female population, but clustered on specific categories. Three different variables played a crucial role in the likelihood of women stating their job: a) their marital status; b) their eventual position as head of the household; c) their age at the time of the census. First, the role of marital status is crucial, since in pre-industrial societies, the identity of a woman was not determined by her professional condition but by her position in the family as a wife, a widow or a daughter. Table 2 shows that marriage – and the consequent movement of the woman to the juridical authority of the husband - was really a watershed: significantly, only 21.7 per cent of the whole group of married women declared a job against 55.7 per cent of unmarried women aged 25 and over and 48.6 per cent of widows. On the contrary, according to the Napoleonic census, marital status did not play a crucial role for men: more than 72 per cent of unmarried men, and more than 85 per cent of husbands or widowers declared a job.

Tab. 2 Women and men declaring a labor in the Napoleonic census according to their marital status (percentages calculated for each group)*		
	n.	%
unmarried women aged 25 and over	1846	55,7
married women	2221	21,7
widows	1787	48,6
<hr/>		
unmarried men aged 25 and over	3230	72,4
married men	9499	88,7
widowers	1045	85,4
* excluded housewives, students, religious, beggars, rentiers		
Source: 1802 population census		

These relatively low participation rates of married women are suspicious and needing additional investigation. The point will be further discussed; at the moment is sufficient to note that they could be either the product of a real dramatic reduction of the economic activity of married women or the product of ideological lenses privileging the male breadwinner and leading to other family members' contribution being under-evaluated.

However, in the absence of a male breadwinner, the contribution of women's work is not at all a secondary detail. Indeed, there is a great difference between women who presented themselves as "head of the household" (*capofamiglia*) and the rest. If we take this variable into account, the percentages totally change:

- 53.5 per cent of female heads of household state a job;
- only 23.2 per cent of other women (daughters, cohabitants, relatives, servants or apprentices) specify it.

This data clearly highlights that the families presented themselves only by identifying the *head of the household* (male or female), in turn considered also the *principal breadwinner*, namely the person supposed to be the responsible for the material survival and the good reputation of the family^{viii}. Among working women heads of household, marital status is still a crucial variable: 68 per cent of them are widows - women who must earn their living on their own and who must demonstrate how they did it "honestly". On the other hand, among women living in, but not heads of, the household, the categories most used to clarify their occupational positions were: servants, apprentices and/or employees of the family firm or of the craft shop.

The third factor to be considered is age. Table 3 shows individuals – sons and daughters of the head of the household – in an age range of 0 to 35 years. Except for the age cohort in which children are too young to work (up to 6 years old), recorded participation for children - both girls_ and boys - from 7 to 14 are probably *too low* and not fully *credible*, according to other sources.

Indeed this was the age at which children took their first steps into the labor market. The *Ospedale di Carità*, for example, accepted the admission of children aged 7 and over when they were initiated into a craft and put into apprenticeship; in addition the same institution considered children over 14 capable of earning their living. Similarly, the *Albergo di Virtù* hosted children aged from 11 to 16 and introduced them to craftwork. While the labor contribution of children up to 14 seems to remain hidden, differences between men and women become evident in the adult age cohorts. Daughters of 15 years old and over were less encouraged to state their occupation than their brothers.

Tab. 3 Daughters and sons of the head of the household declaring a job in the Napoleonic census (1802) (percentage calculated for each cohort age)*		
	daughters	
	n.	%
from 0 to 6 years old (100=2647 individuals)	20	0,8
from 7 to 14 years old (100=2840)	144	5,1
from 15 to 25 years old (100=2087)	313	15
from 26 to 35 years old (100=441)	108	24,5
	sons	
	n.	%
from 0 to 6 years old (100=2665)	23	0,9
from 7 to 14 years old (100=2735)	220	8
from 15 to 25 years old (100=2088)	859	41,1

from 26 to 35 years old (100=618)	402	65
* excluded housewives, students, religious, beggars, rentiers		
Source: 1802 population census		

Thus preliminary analysis suggests that, although the mayor of the city declared that the census had to be carried out “with the greatest accuracy” (Muttini Conti 1951: 7-8), and families were given the opportunity to self-describe, they did so by emphasizing the *principal* breadwinner (supposed to provide the most for the family) and underlining her/his occupation. The question arises whether these findings are particular to a specific historical context – namely Turin at the end of the eighteenth century – or if they are structural and persistent, pertinent also for other population censuses of Turin. I will discuss this possibility briefly in the next section.

4. *Continuity and change across other population censuses of Turin*

Between the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the politics of alliances of Vittorio Amedeo II involved the Dukedom in a long military mobilization. From 1690 to 1696 and from 1703 to 1713 the French army invaded Piedmont and, in 1706, the city of Turin itself came under siege. The long period of war and the dangers to which the city was exposed encouraged the ministers of the Duke to conduct several population surveys in order to establish number available for possible conscription. A population census, certainly one of the most important and almost completely preserved to date - was carried out in August 1705 on the eve of the siege. It had three aims : 1) to inform the military authorities about the number of men potentially available to the army; 2) to provide a preliminary estimate of the numbers who might need relief and provision during the siege; 3) to present specific information about the number of

healthy men and boys who could contribute to the protection of the city during the siege (for example in case of fire or bombing), to ensure the distribution of foodstuffs, as well as the construction or repair of military installations and equipment. I will base my conclusions on a significant sample of the census, accounting for 17,435 individuals, representing more than the half the population^{ix}. We know the names of all members of the families, their age, place of birth, and sometimes their occupation or job and their position in relation to the head of the household (wife, daughter etc.) (Casanova 1909; Zucca Micheletto 2006).

The second census in this comparison was carried out in Turin in 1857, on the eve of Italian unification, on a very different social, economic and political context. At that moment Turin and its surrounding suburbs were growing quickly, manufacturing was developing and the city accounted for more than 100,000 inhabitants. I will use here a sample of 32,466 individuals, equal to about one third of the total census^x.

The two samples show that gender and marital status remained crucial factors for the apparent determination of the female labor force participation rate, but with important differences among the censuses. According to the 1705 census, only one fifth of the female population aged 15 and over gave an occupation (22.5 per cent) while men stating a job were far more numerous (77.3 per cent). In addition, once again, women at the head of the family (*capifamiglia*) had a job more frequently than married women (44.9 per cent of the former against 3 per cent of the latter). On the contrary, in the census of the mid-nineteenth century, women's work is more visible, since 61.6 per cent of them (aged 15 and over) gave an occupation compared to 89 per cent of men. Marital status also had less effect on the declaration of a job: 52.1 per cent of wives stated a job as against 66.4 per cent of women who declared themselves to be heads of the household.

The meaning and the reasons of the variation of the female labor force participation rates over time clearly raise a historiographical question. These rates are likely the result of a mix of variables that merit investigation (such as the political and military motivations to carry out the censuses, changes

in economic or cultural environment, or in the juridical condition of women). Nevertheless, it remains probable that women were encouraged (or not encouraged) to state their occupation according to their marital status or their position as head of the household from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of nineteenth century and that, therefore, their economic contribution is strongly under-represented. With this in mind, what research should be carried out in order to reach a better evaluation of this hidden labor force? In the next chapters two complementary solutions will be explored : 1) to take into account non-principal breadwinner oriented sources and 2) to contextualise the women's work, namely to analyze how the female life-cycle interacts with some cultural, social and economic factors of the historical period under analysis.

5. The Ospedale di Carità : a non-principal breadwinner source

As shown, the Napoleonic census presents suspicious under-recording of married women in the Turin labor market and it is probably inadequate for establishing a realistic portrait of the labor participation rate of this category. To prove this and overcome the obstacle, research should mobilize additional sources such as the registers of applicants to the *Ospedale di Carità*. This latter was the most important charitable institution of Turin during the eighteenth century (Cavallo 1990, 1995). It gave relief to a range of people in economic difficulty: paupers, orphans, abandoned children, lonely and isolated people, couples and families with numerous small children, widows and widowers. Poor or elderly people who could not work, ill and isolated people and orphans were housed in the institution itself, while families received external relief (rations of bread), and their babies were cared for by wet nurses paid by the hospital. Individuals and families asking for relief registered their age, profession, place of birth, and domicile in the city in the *Libri delle Informazioni* as well as explaining their difficulties. Table 4 shows that in the second half of the century, from January 1762 to December 1792, 38 per cent of applicants were couples (5,690);

widows accounted for 20 per cent (2,979 individuals), married women “without husband/abandoned” 7 per cent (1,030) and unmarried women also 7 per cent (1,031).

Tab. 4 People asking for relief at the <i>Ospedale di Carità</i> (1762-1792)		
		%
couples	5690	38,1
widows	2979	20
widowers	1179	7,9
married women without husband	1030	6,9
married men without wife	89	0,6
unmarried women	1031	6,9
unmarried men	890	6
abandoned children, foundlings and orphans	1185	7,9
without indication	858	5,7
total	14931	100
Source: Ospedale di Carità, <i>Libri delle Informazioni per ricoveri</i>, 1762-1792		

Most of the families concerned were not beggars or vagrants; they were experiencing a temporary imbalance between resources and consumption as a result of having many small children who were not yet able to participate in the household economy, or because of the long illness or the unemployment of the adult partners. The goal was to help families to overcome these crises; aid was temporary and intended to encourage individuals to get back to work or to find another job. In surveying the condition of the families the *Ospedale di Carità* had very different ideas, aims and objectives from those which guided the enumerators of population census. Here, individuals and families were encouraged to declare exactly a job or an activity in order to demonstrate their palpable contribution to the survival of the family, their unsuccessful efforts in face of the crisis,

and finally the fact that they were worthy of receiving the charity relief^{xi}. Worthiness hinged on all family members doing their utmost to contribute to family survival, providing some clear incentive to report all efforts by all family members including more deemed peripheral or insignificant by enumerations or individuals peering at working families through the fog of male breadwinner ideology. Even more important, relief was conditioned on total family income giving the authorities an even stronger incentive to be vigilant about the contributions of wives and children.

At least, if the wife performed a job sufficiently well paid to ensure the survival of the couple, this could be a reason for refusing the aid or for suspending it, if already conceded. A few examples will illustrate the extent to which married women's work was valued by the *Ospedale*. In 1770, Giacometto Costanzo, a groom aged 43 years, reported a « strain of the femur » that did not allow to him to carry out his job. His wife, on the contrary, presented herself as a seamstress of military uniforms. Since the couple did not have children and the wife of Costanzo has a job, the administration board of the *Ospedale* did not approve his hospitalization and opted for the distribution of some rations of bread. This remained their only relief for three years, until 1773 when Costanzo was finally admitted as a permanent invalid^{xii}. Similarly, in May 1793 the administration board refused relief to the family of Nicola and Angela Isidora and their three children, since, as explained, “the parents are sufficiently able-bodied to work, and the husband earns 22 livres per month, while his wife earns 7 sous per day in the royal tobacco manufacture”^{xiii}. Therefore, from a methodological point of view, the registers of the *Ospedale di Carità* constitute a genuine *non-principal breadwinner oriented source*, capable of correcting and improving the measurement of the female labor force rate in comparison to the data available from the population census. Indeed, the records of the *Ospedale* record the work of all members of the family and not only of who is considered the “main breadwinner”. For example, the names of 510 couples who were applicants to the *Ospedale* were cross-referenced with the Napoleonic census and 18 couples were selected. Even in this restricted sample, the results demonstrate the corrective power of the

source: 16 of the 18 wives did not state any job or activity in the census, but on the contrary, in the registers of the *Ospedale* for the same years, these women declared their occupations. Rosa Balbo, for example, was registered in the census as the wife of Gio' Domenico Balbo, carpenter, and as the mother of three children. But in the register of the *Ospedale di Carità* we discover that she is also a spinner. Similarly, according to the Napoleonic census, Orsola Bertoldo is simply the wife of the porter Giuseppe, but as an applicant for poor relief she presented herself as a retailer.

The result of this relief policy is evident. Tables 5a and 5b compare female participation rates from the registers of the *Ospedale di Carità* with those of the Napoleonic census. Differences are meaningful: according to the previous, 63.2 per cent of women aged 15 and over had a paid job, while only 27.5 per cent of them did not state any activity. Moreover, the data confirms suspicions about under-representation of married women labor force rates in the census. Out of a total of 1,235 couples applying at the *Ospedale* from 1785 to 1793^{xiv}, 73.3 per cent of wives declared an employment, exactly the opposite of what emerges from the census of 1802 (21.7 per cent); there, married women appear to be a *hidden labor force*, rather than being absent from the labor market.

Tab. 5a Female labor force participation rates according to the registers of the <i>Ospedale di Carità</i> compared with those of the Napoleonic census (only women aged 15 and over)			
	Ospedale di Carità		Napoleonic census
	n.	%	%
women declaring a job	1261	63,2	33,3
women declaring other activities (housewives, students)	170	8,5	3,1
women declaring a status	17	0,9	5,6

occupation or condition unknown	548	27,5		58
total	1996	100		100
Tab. 5b Women declaring a job in the registers of the <i>Ospedale</i> compared with the Napoleonic census according to their marital status (percentages calculated for each group)				
	Ospedale di Carità		Napoleonic census	
	n.	%		%
unmarried women aged 25 and over	38	64,4		55,7
married women	905	73,3		21,7
widows	252	59,2		48,6
Sources: Ospedale di Carità, <i>Libri delle Informazioni per ricoveri</i>, 1785-1793; 1802 population census				

This rate of female participation – specifically married women - occurs also in other Italian cities, for example in four parishes of eighteenth-century Bologna, where, according to research by Maura Palazzi, (1990: 364) 63 per cent of wives declared a job. Significantly, Palazzi's source is a partial census of Bologna inhabitants in 1796, which like the Turin *Ospedale di Carità*, was carried out with the aim of organizing charity relief. As a consequence, men's and women's work were carefully registered in order to evaluate their contributions to the domestic economy.

In conclusion, it is correct that the notion of the male breadwinner remained to be formally elaborated during the nineteenth century (Humphries 1977, Morris 1990, Janssens 1997); nevertheless, a comparison between a conventional source (the Napoleonic census) and an alternative source (the registers of the *Ospedale di Carità*) proves that the idea of a household economy based on the *only/main breadwinner* – male or female - was already well established in the eighteenth century and not only among the officials of the town but also among common people

who had to describe themselves, as was the case with the Napoleonic census^{xv}. Especially, there is evidence that the Napoleonic census seriously undercounts married women labor force rates. Cultural and ideological preconceptions meant that the work or contribution of married women was considered of residual importance to the household economy and that the male head of the household or the owner of the house charged to fill up the census form was not motivated to declare it. Such ideas were endemic in Early Modern Europe, where it was taken for granted that paid work was not central in a woman's life and that it should be limited to specific life-phases, particularly before marriage and during the widowhood. Paid work was regarded as less important than unpaid domestic activities and housekeeping; taking care of the children and of the house were considered the "natural" duties of a married woman who, in theory, was placed under the protection and care of her husband, who was the main breadwinner. The persistence of this cultural element in conventional sources caused in the research a major devaluation of the labor contribution of the members of the family who did not hold the role of "head of household" and, at least, the role of "principal breadwinner", as was the case with work performed by married women, by young girls and also by children of both sexes. In other words, their invisibility in the population census has encouraged researchers to deem their underpaid and paid activities residual and marginal in the family economy. For this reason, the use of alternative sources such as the registers for poor relief is a useful methodological tool to overcome the obstacle.

6. The impact of the court system and the migration flows on the Turin labor market

Let us now turn our attention to the second purpose of the paper: to highlight the role of some economic and cultural factors as determining the presence of women in the labor market. In this section the socio-economic composition of the city and migration will be shown to be crucial variables, while in the next section domestic service and two silk manufacturing activities will be analyzed in detail to show how economic context and migration operated in practice and shaped

female occupational patterns. These case studies provide evidence that the women participation rate in the labor market is (also) strictly connected to the local demand for labor, that is the “opportunities to work for a pay” (Humphries, Sarasúa, 2012).

Since the end of the sixteenth century, Turin had been the capital of the Dukedom of Savoy, later part of the Kingdom of Sardinia. It housed the royal court, the officers of the state, as well as the religious hierarchies. In a city of court and aristocracy, service activities of various prestige and rank naturally played an important role in the local labor market. According to the Napoleonic census, 42 per cent of the working female population (aged 15 and over) and more than 38 per cent of the working male population were employed in occupations such as domestics, waiters and waitresses, cooks, coachmen, grooms, porters, laundresses and ironers. At the same time, Turin had a strong artisanal and manufacturing sector: about 33 per cent of women with a job and 38 per cent of men with a job (aged 15 and over) worked in craft workshops or in fabric manufacture. They mostly produced and sold luxury goods to the upper classes, from the aristocracy at the royal court to the wealthy merchants and bankers, from the religious hierarchies to the royal army. In addition, like other Italian and European regions, Turin and the Piedmont were centres of the silk industry. Taking inspiration from the principles of mercantilism developed by Colbert in France, the King of Sardinia and his ministers pursued a policy that aimed to support the production and manufacturing of silk. During the eighteenth century, Piedmont was one of the most important producers and exporters of raw silk (known as *organzino*) while the Turin economy was mostly based on the production of silk goods, precious fabrics decorated with gold or silver yarns, trimmings, clothing, and lingerie (Chicco 2002)

Migration was another important feature of the city. People were attracted by the numerous labor opportunities that Turin offered. Migrants arrived, from the mountain areas and from the countryside around, as well as from small Piedmontese cities. Migration flows remained consistent through the century and migrants constituted a reservoir of labor crucial for economic development.

According to the marriage registers of the most populous Turin parishes, in the first half of the eighteenth century non-native grooms comprised about 60 per cent of all grooms, and that sometimes this rose to 70 per cent (Levi 1985). More than fifty years later, in 1802, after a period of war and the French annexation, about 60 per cent of male inhabitants between 26 and 60 years old were not born in Turin; similarly, more than 40 per cent of Turin's female population between 15 and 40 years old was non-native. Similar migration rates are also seen in other Italian and European cities, such as Rome, Lyon or Amsterdam (Garden 1970: 108; De Vries 1984: 185; Gemini 1998).

How did geographical mobility, clearly long lasting structured feature of the Turin population, affect female occupational opportunities? In recent years numerous studies have argued that, depending on local demand, migrants occupied specific niches of the labor market, were in turn excluded from some others and shared others with people born in the city. They were also able to take advantage of their position as "strangers" to get around the restrictions and limitations imposed by guilds or other urban regulations. But what about Turin? Table 6 shows the most important occupations of female inhabitants according to their birthplace, even the presence of women is underestimated in the Napoleonic census. Migrants were concentrated in manual services, such as domestic servants and cooks (more than 46 per cent), or in silk manufacturing such as raw silk spinning (*filatoiere*). On the other hand, native women were mostly in high-skill textile crafts – such as bonnet makers (*cuffiaie*), silk weavers (*vellutiere*), trimming makers and seamstresses. Native women also shared a few activities with not-natives – for example in food retail – but in contrast, their presence in manual services was more limited: they were less frequently servants and cooks but they were predominant in occupations such as laundresses and ironers (which meant that they controlled some strategic natural resources in the city, such as pits and fountains).

Tab. 6 Female jobs in 1802 in Turin according to their birthplace (only individuals with a job aged 15 and over*)				
	non native	% non native	native	% native
servants	1863	46,4	641	19,1
seamstresses	203	5,1	494	14,7
cooks	153	3,8	23	0,7
laundresses, ironers	123	3,1	202	6
foodstuff retailers	114	2,8	90	2,7
silk weavers (<i>vellutiere</i>)	101	2,5	188	5,6
raw silk spinners (<i>filatoiere</i>)	97	2,4	15	0,4
other silk workers	100	2,5	56	1,7
bonnet makers	67	1,7	179	5,3
trimming makers	18	0,4	52	1,5
others jobs and activities	1180	29,3	1478	42,3
total	4019	100	3362	100
*Percentages calculated respectively for non native and native group				
Source: 1802 population census				

7. Skilled and unskilled jobs: occupational patterns in domestic service and silk manufacturing activities

Let us turn now to the analysis of two specific case-studies: domestic service and silk manufacturing activities. There the long and fruitful debate about life-cycle servanthood is relevant. Hajnal (1983) and Laslett (1965) showed that the life-cycle service was a crucial feature of the European marriage pattern. In pre-industrial north-western Europe, boys and girls left their families at a young age and went to spend several years in servanthood, until marriage. Research findings about Italian servanthood are much debated because of the complexity and variability of local situations from north to south of the peninsula, and also from city to countryside (Viazzo 2003, Zucca Micheletto 2011). Moreover, research reveals a specific Italian urban pattern: since the sixteenth century servants and domestics were concentrated in cities where they worked for noble

families and for the socio-economic elites. They were mainly unmarried women and men, more than 30 years old, with a long experience of loyal service and long co-residence with the master, a situation that discouraged marriage (or compelled its postponement) (Arru 1990; 1992). In North-West Europe life cycle servanthood was an important source of female wage labour: during this period girls amassed money and goods with a view to future marriage (De Moor and Van Zanden 2010: 11-15). In contrast, as shown by other research, in many Italian contexts – such as in Renaissance Tuscany or in seventeenth and eighteenth century Italy (Brown 1986; Klapish-Zuber 1986; Lombardi and Reggiani 1990; Da Molin 1990) – female servanthood was the object of social condemnation since it endangered the girl's honour. For these reasons therefore domestic service in Italy was for both men and women usually a lifelong situation and not a transitory one destined to be abandoned at marriage.

Data for eighteenth century Turin also reflects this specific pattern. Women were more numerous than men: of the 5,154 servants registered in the census, about 60 per cent (3,081 individuals) were women. These covered a wide range of age groups: those between 15 and 30 accounted for 35 per cent, while more than 54 per cent was concentrated in the 31 to 60 year cohort^{xvi}; in addition, 63.7 per cent were unmarried^{xvii} and more than 80 per cent were co-resident servants, living in the same house as the master (equal to 2,490 female servants). The remarkable presence of unmarried women over 30 years old (about 38 per cent of unmarried servants were between 31 and 50 years old) means that, as in other Italian cities, female service was a life-long condition. Since the average age of women at marriage at the beginning of the nineteenth century was 28.7^{xviii}, older servants were probably on their way to permanent celibacy and a lifetime of service. In addition, as explained in the previous chapter, immigrant female servants were far more numerous than their Turinese counterparts: more than 75 per cent as against about 24 per cent. At the same time, since service was an important way of raising money for a dowry, which was indispensable for getting into the marriage market, it is possible that, for many girls, their arrival in

Turin coincided with the beginning of life-cycle servanthood. After a certain period, of course, many of them went back to their communities and got married there. For those who settled in Turin, on the other hand, the goal of getting married was not always attained. Therefore, too old to easily find a husband and too unskilled to find another job, they were obliged to stay in servanthood for the rest of their lives. These dynamics were strongly reinforced in the nineteenth century, when in many Italian cities the presence of women in domestic service increased and the image of the young girl arriving in the city to save for a dowry and to find a husband became commonplace (Pelaja 1988).

The factors so far analysed – marital status and migration experience - combined in different configurations in two important sectors of the silk industry, namely spinning and weaving, in which women were particularly numerous. Silk spinning was a low-skill job, very common among non-native girls (Chicco 1995: 195). On the other hand, silk weaving was a high-skill craft and also involved native women. But, in both cases, as table 7 shows, these activities were common among women of different marital status and, since they were not affected by the female life-cycle phases, they were lifelong activities.

Tab. 7 Non-native silk spinners and marital status according to the Napoleonic census (1802)		
	n.	%
unmarried women	32	28,8
married women	37	33,3
widows	31	27,9
unknown marital status	11	9,9
total	111	100
Native silk weavers and marital status		
	n.	%
unmarried women	63	29,2
married women	102	47,2

widows	47	21,8
unknown marital status	4	1,9
total	216	100
Source: 1802 population census		

Silk weaving also required the development of a certain degree of skill technical ability and training experience - even we can not establish a specific comparison with the level of male skills in the same job, as assessed for the Renaissance Florence (Brown 1986: 213-4). However, this was a crucial factor for female occupational opportunities. In eighteenth-century Turin women were excluded from urban guilds but they were trained informally, by learning in the family workshop, from the mother or the father, or from a member of the kinship network^{xix}. These informal educational paths mostly started when the girl was young. As a consequence, native girls had more opportunities to enter a skilled artisanal occupation than migrant girls, as testified by the high percentage of natives among the silk weavers. On the contrary, non-native girls more frequently entered low-skilled or unskilled activities, such as the spinning of silk and domestic service; but, this was not always the destiny of migrant women. Their opportunities were improved if they arrived in the city at a very young age. According to the census of 1802, non-native girls who settled in Turin before the age of 15 became silk weavers (but also seamstresses or bonnet makers) as frequently as their native peers. However, these career possibilities decreased quickly if they arrived at an older age and, in this case, they more frequently became servants (Lamberti 2003: 189-191). In addition, since while acquiring training young women remained in an artisanal environment and socialised with other silk workers, they often married into the occupation. In the civil marriages registered in Turin from 1803 to 1814, about 33 per cent of silk weavers brides married a silk weaver and about 70 per cent of brides working in craft married an artisan. Thus, in practice, female artisans did not change their job with their marital status. Furthermore, although married women were likely compelled to accommodate their working rhythms and the nature of

their paid work to their duties in housekeeping and in taking care of children, in the long run this did not require women to stop or leave work.

Access to skills also affected the occupational patterns of widows. Skilled work, learned in youth and continued during married life, allowed women to earn their living during widowhood. On the contrary, women who were unable to learn a skill during their youth or after their marriage, had restricted opportunities to improve their position. Therefore unskilled women were also the most disadvantaged in widowhood: lack of resources to support an independent occupation as well as social isolation could lead them toward service or retail.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that in recent years the literature on women's work has grown quickly, historical research to investigate the presence of women in the labor market remains still rare and must inevitably tackle methodological difficulties imposed by the partiality and incompleteness of preindustrial sources. The present paper is a first effort to evaluate the female labor force participation rates in preindustrial Turin by discussing two complementary approaches. The use of sources that were intended to capture the economic contributions of all members of the family, together with an analysis of the local context in which women performed their jobs and the factors related to the local demand for labor are the most useful methodological tools for improving the quality of the research by identifying women workers missing from analyses based on more conventional sources which were politically, ideologically and sociologically inclined to overlook the economic contributions of women and children. The analysis of the Napoleonic census of Turin exposes which categories of women workers understand in detail which categories of women workers are better represented or under-represented in conventional source. The marital status of the women and their position as "head of the household" strongly influenced the likelihood of stating or not stating their occupation. If we consider the first variable, data shows that only 21.7 per cent of

married women declared their job, less than widowers (48.6 per cent) or unmarried women over 25 (55.7 per cent). Yet the data shows that women who identified themselves as the head of the family specified more frequently than others members their occupational position (53.5 per cent of all female heads of household). These female participation rates are suspiciously low and might be conditioned by the ideology of the *main breadwinner*. Members of the families that did not hold the role of principal breadwinners were not encouraged to declare their occupation, or the heads of the household charged with filling up the census form were not motivated to declare their paid work, and that consequently their efforts were the most under-represented. This point is proved using non conventional sources, such as registers of applicants for charity reliefs. In this paper, the evidence of the *Ospedale di Carità* allows to point out that 63.2 per cent of all applicant women aged 15 and over stated a job – and over than 73 per cent of married women did it - data that clashes with the findings of the Napoleonic census. For these reasons, therefore, the exploitation of non-principal breadwinner orientated sources, which had the explicit goal of incentivising *all* members of the family to declare an occupation, is a crucial methodological choice.

Finally, to better evaluate the female labor force participation rates, it is also necessary to take into account the socio-economic and cultural variables operating in the local and historical context of the society under analysis, able to influence the employment possibilities for women. In the case of eighteenth-century Turin, for example, the range of female occupational opportunities seems to be strongly affected not only by supply labor factors (marital status and age, already well known to researchers) but also by three contextual factors connected to the local demand for labor: the dual role of the city as a political and as a silk manufacturing center, the important migration flows that reached Turin all through the century, as well as the possibility of obtaining training rather than working as part of an unskilled or low-skilled labor force.

Archives and database

Municipal Archives of Turin (ASCT), Coll. XII, *Censimento del 1802*, vol. 173-178.

ASCT, Coll. XII, *Statistica della popolazione*, vol. 57-158.

ASCT, *Atti di matrimonio 1802-1813*, vol. 1-16. Transcription of the marriage acts carried out by Prof. M. C. Lamberti and her team and by Prof. L. Allegra.

ASCT, *Censimento del 1857*. Partially transcribed on a database by a team of students coordinated by Prof. M. C. Lamberti ; stored at the Department of Economic History, at the University of Turin.

National Archives of Turin (AST, Sez. Riun.), *Consegna bocche 1705*. Transcribed by a team of researchers and students of the Universities of the California and of Turin, (coord. by Prof. G. Symcox and Prof. D. Balani); stored at the Department of History, the University of Turin.

Reference list:

Arru, Angiolina. 1990. "The distinguish features of domestic service in Italy". *Journal of Family History*, 15(4): 547-66

Arru, Angiolina. 1992. "Servi e serve: le particolarità del caso italiano", in Marzio Barbagli and David Kertzer, eds. *Storia della famiglia italiana 1750-1950*, pp. 273-306. Bologna: Il Mulino

Brown, Judith. 1986. "A Women's Place was in the home: women's work in Renaissance Tuscany", in Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers, eds. *Rewriting the Renaissance. The discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 206-24. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press

Casanova, Eugenio. 1909. *Censimento di Torino alla vigilia dell'assedio*. Torino: Bocca

Castiglioni, Pietro. 1862. "Relazione generale con una introduzione storica sopra i censimenti delle popolazioni italiane dai tempi antichi sino all'anno 1860", in *Statistica del Regno d'Italia, Popolazione. Censimento degli antichi stati sardi (1 gennaio 1858) e censimenti di Lombardia, di Parma e di Modena (1857-1858)*, vol. I. Torino: Stamperia Reale

Cavallo, Sandra. 1990. "Patterns of poor relief and patterns of poverty in eighteenth-century Italy: the evidence of the Turin Ospedale di Carità". *Continuity and Change*, 5: 65-98

Cavallo, Sandra. 1995. *Charity and power in early modern Italy. Benefactors and their motives in Turin, 1541-1789*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Chicco, Giuseppe. 1995. *La seta in Piemonte, 1650-1800. Un sistema industriale d'ancien régime*. Milano: F. Angeli

Chicco, Giuseppe. 2002. *Alla periferia della moda. Mercanti e tessitori nel Settecento*, in Giuseppe Ricuperati, ed. *Storia di Torino. La città fra crisi e ripresa (1630-1730)*, pp. 911-38. Torino: Einaudi

Da Molin, Giovanna. 1990. "Family Forms and Domestic Service in Southern Italy from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century". *Journal of Family History*, 15(4): 503-27

De Moor, Tine and Van Zanden, Jan Luiten. (2010). "Girl power: the European marriage pattern and labour markets in the North Sea region in the late medieval and early modern period". *The Economic History Review*, 63(1): 1-33

Del Panta Lorenzo, Livi Bacci Massimo, Pinto Giuliano, Sonnino Eugenio, eds. 1996. *La popolazione italiana dal Medioevo a oggi*. Roma-Bari: Laterza

De Vries, Jan. 1984. *European urbanisation 1500-1800*. London: Methuen & co. Ltd.

Garden, Maurice. 1970. *Lyon et les Lyonnais au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Flammarion

Gemini, Fiorenza. 1998. "Immigrati e romani in San Lorenzo in Damaso nel '700", in Eugenio Sonnino, ed. *Popolazione e società a Roma dal medioevo all'età contemporanea*, pp. 151-69. Roma: Il Calamo

Gutton, Jean-Pierre. 1971. *La société et les pauvres, l'exemple de la Généralité de Lyon 1534-1789*. Paris: les Belles Lettres

Hajnal, John. 1983. "Two kinds of pre-industrial household formation system", in Richard Wall, Jean Robin, Peter Laslett, eds. *Family forms in historic Europe*, pp. 65-104. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Horrell, Sarah and Humphries, Jane. 1995. "Women's Labour Force Participation and the Transition to the Male Breadwinner Family, 1790-1865". *Economic History Review*, 48(1): 89-117

Hufton, Olwen. 1974. *The Poor of eighteenth-century France 1750-1789*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Humphries, Jane. 1977. "Class Struggle and the Persistence of the Working-Class Family". *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 1(3): 241-258

Humphries, Jane. 2010. *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Humphries, Jane and Sarasúa, Carmen. 2012. "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past". *Feminist Economics*, 18(4): 39-68

Janssens Angélique, ed. 1997. "The Rise and Decline of the Male Breadwinner Family?". *International Review of Social History*, 42, Suppl. 5

Klapish-Zuber, Christiane. 1986. "Women servants in Florence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", in Barbara Hanawalt, ed. *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, pp. 56-80. Bloomington-Indianapolis: Indiana University Press

Lamberti, Maria Carla. 2002a. "Immigrazione e mercato del lavoro in una città di antico regime: Torino all'inizio dell'Ottocento". *Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino*, C: 583-629

Lamberti, Maria Carla. 2002b. "Una fonte "vecchia" per nuovi problemi: i censimenti per lo studio della mobilità in età preindustriale". *Quaderni Storici*, XXXVII: 545-52

Lamberti, Maria Carla. 2003. "Immigrate e immigrati in una città preindustriale: Torino all'inizio dell'Ottocento", in Angiolina Arru, and Franco, Ramella, eds. *L'Italia delle migrazioni interne. Donne, uomini, mobilità in età moderna e contemporanea*, pp. 161-205. Roma: Donzelli

Laslett, Peter. 1965. *The world we have lost*. London: Methuen

Levi, Giovanni. 1974. "Gli aritmetici politici e la demografia piemontese negli ultimi anni del Settecento". *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXXVI 1: 201-41

Levi, Giovanni. 1985. “Come Torino soffoco' il Piemonte” in Giovanni Levi, ed. *Centro e periferia di uno stato assoluto. Tre saggi su Piemonte e Liguria in età moderna*, pp. 11-69. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier

Lombardi, Daniela and Reggiani, Francesca. 1990. “Da assistita a serva; Circuiti di reclutamento delle serve attraverso le istituzioni assistenziali (Firenze-Milano XVII-XVIII secolo)”, in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed. *La donna nell'economia La donna nell'economia sec. XIII-XVIII, Atti della Ventunesima Settimana di Studi dell'Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica “F. Datini”*, pp. 301-19. Firenze: Le Monnier

Morris, Lydia. 1990. *The working of the household. A Us-Uk comparison*. Oxford: Polity Press

Muttini Conti, Germana. 1951. *Un censimento torinese nel 1802*. Torino: Giappichelli

Palazzi, Maura. 1990. “«Tessitrici, serve, treccole». Donne, lavoro e famiglia a Bologna nel Settecento”, in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed. *La donna nell'economia sec. XIII-XVIII, Atti della Ventunesima Settimana di Studi dell'Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica “F. Datini”*, pp. 359-376. Firenze: Le Monnier

Pelaja, Margherita. 1988. “Mestieri femminili e luoghi comuni. Le domestiche a Roma a metà Ottocento”. *Quaderni Storici*, XXIII: 497-518

Prato, Giuseppe. 1906. “Censimenti e popolazione in Piemonte nei secoli XV, XVI, XVII e XVIII”. *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, X: 308-76

Sarasúa, Carmen. 2008. “Technical innovations at the service of cheaper labor in pre-industrial

Europe. The Enlightened agenda to transform the gender division of labor in silk manufacturing”.

History and Technology, 24(1): 23-39

Scardozi, Mirella. 1995. “Mestiere e famiglie a Firenze : un sondaggio sul censimento del 1841”.

Passato e presente, 34: 123-137

Viazzo, Pierpaolo. 2003. “What's so special about the Mediterranean? Thirty years of research on household and family in Italy”. *Continuity and change*, 18(1): 111-37

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2006. “La città. Popolazione e gruppi sociali”, in Donatella Balani, and Stefano Benedetto, eds. *Torino 1706*, pp. 133 -51. Torino: Archivio Storico del Comune

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice. 2011. “Contextualizing the southern model : dowry, women’s work and marriage patterns in pre-industrial urban Italy (Turin, second half of the 18th century)”. *The History of the Family*, 16(4): 354-370

ⁱ The “tithe” was a contribution asked from the parishioners in order to support the Church and the priests. At its origin, it was equivalent to the tenth part of the harvest.

ⁱⁱ Since the 16th century Turin and the Piedmont were part of the Dukedom of Savoy. After the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession and as a consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the Dukedom of Savoy became firstly the Kingdom of Sicily and some years later, in 1720, the Kingdom of Sardinia.

ⁱⁱⁱ During his domain, from 1799 to 1815, Napoleon carried out a large reform of the French public administration with the aim to create a pyramidal and centralized nation. His collaborators enacted the Civil Code that reformed the family law and organized France in departments, and in many of them economic and demographic surveys were carried out. During his rule, Napoleonic armies's conquered the Italian and the Iberian peninsulas and extended the reforms to these territories.

^{iv} During the eighteenth century, in Turin, only wealthy families, aristocracy and institutions owned palaces and houses. In contrast, most of families rented a room or some rooms in these palaces.

-
- v For a discussion about methodology see: Lamberti 2002b.
- vi According to the registers of the *Ospedale di Carità* children aged more than 14 years old were considered capable of earning their living.
- vii We considered “housewives” women declaring “I take care of my family/of my house”.
- viii Indeed, as previously explained, the census forms were filled up by the families themselves or by the owner of the house in which the family lived.
- ix The sample is based on the records of central quarters of the city.
- x The sample is based on the records of central quarters of the city.
- xi According to the image of the ‘the deserving poor’, very common in Old Regime societies (Gutton1971; Hufton 1974).
- xii ASCT, *Ospedale di Carità*, cat. VI, *Libri delle Informazioni per i ricoveri*, vol. 40, f. 470.
- xiii ASCT, *Ospedale di Carità*, cat. VI, *Libri delle Informazioni per i ricoveri*, vol. 49, f. 340.
- xiv I refer here to two samples collected by students for their graduation thesis at the Department of Economic History, at the University of Turin. I organized and standardize the samples in a unique database.
- xv The importance of ideological and institutional factors in restricting women work in nineteenth-century England has been discussed also by Sarah Horrell and Jane Humphries. (Horrell and Humphries 1995; Humphries 2010).
- xvi This is a feature of the urban Italian model, such is also observed in other research. In Reggio Emilia, for example, in 1708 female servants aged over 30 accounted for 56 per cent of servants; in Rome, in the parish of San Damaso, in 1765 they made up 48 per cent. (Arru 1992: 276).
- xvii Percentages are calculated on the whole population of female servants registered in the 1802 census – excluding those of unknown age and unknown marital status.
- xviii According to the marriage acts of the Napoleonic age (1803-1814).
- xix In Turin women were officially excluded from guilds (with the exception of the taffeta weavers and the buttons-makers and generally with the exception of daughters and widows of masters). This means that women artisans – and especially wives – although skilled, were never seen as real workers and, as a consequence, the probability of their work have not being declared was high.