

# Introduction

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This collection examines questions of identity and community, starting from the premise that gender mattered to early modern women and men. As concepts, both 'identity' and 'community' denote similarity or affinity, but they also connote difference as well. That is, the process of defining key characteristics or shared values implies exclusion or separation from other similar entities. Given that recognizing diversity among women has been a major concern of feminist scholarship in recent decades, how to take account of differences between individual women while looking at the groups in which they participated raises serious questions.<sup>1</sup> What patterns of gender emerge from the differences among women? How did gender interact with other parameters in women's lives, as well as with their own perceptions and experiences of embodiment, to structure female agency? In paying attention to the contexts in which women identified with other women, or were so perceived by others, this collection offers analyses of women's sense(s) of gender identity, and how the labels ascribed to them enabled different senses of affiliation and exclusion.

The essays here build upon work showing the importance of a wide range of factors affecting women's identities: social, marital and sexual status; religious and political affiliations; age and occupation, and so on.<sup>2</sup> More importantly, this collection is profoundly indebted to Patricia Crawford's inspiring scholarship, on both intellectual and personal levels. Flowing through much of her contribution to early modern English history are themes concerning women as individuals and communities, their senses of identity and their collective activities, and the overriding conviction that gender mattered to early modern women. Her research has

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1 Theoretical developments have also posed challenges for feminist scholarship. Mary Maynard, 'Beyond the "Big Three": The Development of Feminist Theory into the 1990s', *Women's History Review*, 4/3 (1995): 259–81. For concerns in feminist scholarship in the early modern field generally see, for example, Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers (eds), *Re-writing the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1986); Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (2 vols, London, 1995), vol. 2, 1500–1800; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York, 1993).

2 For example, Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2003); Amy Froide, 'Marital Status as a Category of Difference: Singlewomen and Widows in Early Modern England', in Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (eds), *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 236–69; Anne Kugler, 'Constructing Wifely Identity: Prescription and Practice in the Life of Lady Sarah Cowper', *Journal of British Studies*, 40/3 (2001): 291–323; Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane (eds), *Women and Ageing in British Society Since 1500* (Harlow, 2001); Carol L. Loats, 'Gender, Guilds, and Work Identity: Perspectives from Sixteenth-Century Paris', *French Historical Studies*, 20/1 (1997): 15–30.

shown how female identities and experiences were shaped by many variables and how the mesh of ideas about gender structured their conditions of existence.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a major focus of her work has also been women themselves: their perceptions of themselves, their experiences and responses to the world they shared.<sup>4</sup> She asks, how can we read the traces of the past so that women emerge as agents, making their own histories?<sup>5</sup> Crawford's work provides overwhelming evidence that the experiences of women can be retrieved from sources with predominantly male perspectives, and that their voices are capable of offering alternative views.<sup>6</sup>

While sensitive to differences between women, Crawford has been concerned to identify where patterns or similarities occur; in essence, what women shared. Her work considers the extent to which early modern women felt a common sense of identity, seeking to identify circumstances creating commonalities, as well as divisions, between them.<sup>7</sup> In a series of pioneering articles, for example, Crawford examined understandings and experiences of embodiment, arguing that women's shared knowledge of sexuality and reproduction contributed to a 'female culture'; an argument developed in her work with Sara Mendelson on women's friendships and female forms of cultural production.<sup>8</sup> The nature of female identities and communities, their impact on women's experiences and agency, have thus been vital questions in

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3 For example, Crawford, 'From the Woman's View: Pre-Industrial England 1550–1750', in Patricia Crawford (ed.), *Exploring Women's Past. Essays in Social History* (Sydney: 1984, 2nd edn), pp. 49–85; Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500–1720* (1993, London); Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550–1720* (Oxford, 1998).

4 For example, Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity in Seventeenth-Century England', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England. Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren* (London, 1989), pp. 3–38; 'Women's Dreams in Early Modern England', *History Workshop Journal*, 49 (2000): 129–41.

5 For example, Crawford, Review of Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), in *Parergon* 21/2 (2004): 185–8; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 6–11, 13, 74.

6 For example, Crawford, *Women and Religion*, pp. 173–80; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 135–8, 251–4, 416–28, 435; Crawford and Laura Gowing (eds), *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England: A Sourcebook* (London, 2000).

7 Crawford, 'From the Woman's View', esp. pp. 63–80; Crawford, *Women and Religion in England*, pp. 73–97; Crawford, 'Women and citizenship in Britain, 1500–1800', in Crawford and Philippa Maddern (eds), *Women as Australian Citizens: Underlying Histories* (Melbourne, 2001); pp. 48–82; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 2–5.

8 Crawford, 'Attitudes to Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 91 (1981): 47–73; "'The Only Ornament in a Woman": Needlework in Early Modern England', in *All Her Labours. Two. Embroidering the Framework* (Sydney, 1984), pp. 7–20; 'Construction and Experience of Maternity'; 'Sexual Knowledge in Early Modern England', in Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (eds), *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 82–105, esp. 91–100; 'Love and Friendship between Women in Early Modern England', in Andrew Lynch and Philippa Maddern (eds), *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*

her work and are crucial issues for the essays in this collection. For the experiences of women, as in Crawford's work, lie at the heart of this volume.<sup>9</sup> The collection presents the insights of historians who are concerned to document the lived realities of women, as well as exploring literary or cultural meanings of gender identities.<sup>10</sup>

The essays' approaches to the themes of women, identity and community vary. Two essays examine the close inter-relationships between identity and community for early modern women. Anne Laurence considers how to integrate gender into Irish historiography, examining women's participation in the religious, national and linguistic communities of Ireland and asking, what different understandings of identity arise as a result? Laurence also makes the important distinction between individual and collective identity, noting the paucity of sources by Irish women. In contrast, she observes, historians have analyzed Irish men as though they were autonomous individuals. She argues that attention to households and families reveals the religious, political and linguistic cultures in which both women and men participated, highlighting the competing communities and identities within domestic environments. Laura Gowing also balances interactions of community and identity in a study that examines how single mothers managed to construct an urban identity and integrate into London's civic community. Her work finds instances of collective action and assistance among poor women showing that lone women could negotiate a position of belonging within contemporary understandings of poverty and the poor law. In so doing they also constructed specifically female senses of the civic community that accommodated the ambivalent place of single women.

The shifting concept of identity is the central concern of several of the essays.<sup>11</sup> Two authors examine how women's personal identities informed their connections with others. For Jacqueline Van Gent, particular elements of female identity, such as marital status, conditioned how women acted in their local communities and their access to power and agency. She explores the role of magic in women's social interactions in eighteenth-century Sweden, examining how it created a 'space' accommodating both a sense of shared values and the expression of conflicts between women. In Frances Harris's study of Elizabeth Packer, reading informed her political interests and opinions, helping to forge connections to other women with similar values. Harris shows that Packer's letters offer evidence of her sense of place as a single woman within her family networks and social circles, revealing a woman who was not only politically informed and independent in her views, but whose self-perception was shaped by her political engagement.

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(Nedlands, 1995), pp. 47–61; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 202–55.

9 Women's experiences remain a cornerstone of feminist history, despite debate about how they can or should be analyzed. Joan Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17/4 (1991): 773–97; Louise Newman, 'Critical Theory and the History of Women: What's at Stake in Deconstructing Women's History', *Journal of Women's History*, 2/3 (1991): pp. 58–68; Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenges of Feminism* (Philadelphia, 2006).

10 Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (eds) *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* (New York, 1999).

11 R.W. Connell, *Gender* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 85–90.

Two further studies assess the construction of identities for women at court. In case studies of royal women, Judith Richards's essay investigates reputation as public identity, demonstrating its critical significance for contemporaries and modern historians. Margaret Beaufort was re-interpreted by near contemporaries as a conventional figure of virtue, overlooking her abilities and significant political role, while Katherine of Aragon's sexual identity formed the focus of her sixteenth-century reputation. Identifying a long-standing tradition of sympathy toward Katherine of Aragon, Richards suggests that Katherine's marital troubles provided the focus for many women, and some men, to unite in feelings of support. Sybil Jack also examines public figures in her analysis of the images of queen consorts created in Latin ceremonial poetry. She observes that such women did not belong to a community comprising all women since they were set apart by status, even among aristocrats of the court, but they nonetheless shared common experiences with other women. Her essay suggests that changing notions of a queen's identity shared parallels with changes in women's social position in the late seventeenth century. In these essays, Richards and Jack show the implications of queenly identities, constructed by others, for contemporary women and modern historiography.

A final essay on the theme of identity reflects upon present preoccupations, particularly debates over 'identity politics' and the value of psychoanalytical notions of identity for historians. Sarah Ferber asks whether it is appropriate for modern scholars to identify with historical people for political or other purposes, exploring the utility of clinical understandings of dissociative identity disorder in reading early modern narratives of demonic possession. Can some accounts of childhood seduction by devils be interpreted as instances of sexual abuse, she asks? Ferber is cautious about imposing modern categories on the past, noting that demonic possession might equally have offered young women a way to deal with difficulties adjusting to religious life where the community aimed to subsume individual identity within the body of Christ.

Another set of essays here take community as their starting point. The notion of 'community' in historical scholarship may be problematic, evoking a golden age of caring, consensual and participatory relationships, and masking conflict or processes of exclusion.<sup>12</sup> Yet division and conflict may be central to the creation of a sense of community, uniting people in debate about its defining values rather than agreement about core ideals.<sup>13</sup> Evidence of hostility, abuse and exploitation in women's interactions encourages us to consider how contemporary power relationships fostered or constrained the possibilities for collective action and feelings of solidarity among women.<sup>14</sup> The essays in this collection examine how

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12 Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds), Introduction, *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 2–4.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

14 For example, Lyndal Roper, "'Mothers of Debauchery': Procuresses in Reformation Augsburg', *German History*, 6/1 (1988): 1–19; Laura Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London', *History Workshop Journal*, 35 (1993), pp. 1–21; Gayle Brunelle, 'Contractual Kin: Servants and Their Mistresses in Sixteenth-Century Nantes', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 2/4 (1998): 374–94; Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, ch. 4.

early modern women could act together, share a sense of purpose, or subscribe to a set of common values, attending to processes of exclusion in the formation of female networks and recognizing the role of conflict between women.

Several essays examine how women's participation in communities contributed to their values, ideals and senses of selfhood. Sara Mendelson draws our attention to the local community in her study of one woman's sense of belonging to 'the neighbourhood'. For Anne Dormer, this provided support in the face of marital conflicts underlying her physical and social isolation. Bonds of friendship fostered through identification with the neighbourhood, revealed in her correspondence, proved stronger than divided religious and political loyalties or sexual rivalries for Dormer and her female friends. In Claire Walker's contribution, the focus is on the meaning of religious communities to their female members. Her study of English Catholic nuns shows the fragility of community, where nuns retained loyalties to family and friends outside the walls and held onto secular values, introducing hierarchy into the cloister and subverting ideals of commonality. Political affiliations also caused conflicts. All serve to highlight 'community' as a process of debating values, rather than of possession of particular collective attributes. For Dolly MacKinnon, secular communities provide a window onto overlapping groups of women identifying on the basis of piety and godliness, although often divided by social standing and wealth. Charity clothing announced the wearer's worth as a recipient of pious benefaction and was a cue for the parish community to remember the benefactor. Parish charity enabled godly women to define themselves according to a collective identity of pious women. In the convent and parish, Walker and MacKinnon show how women shared physical and ritual spaces that helped to develop their ideas about spirituality, so that a sense of community could be empowering for individual women.

Other authors explore communities in which women participated as disadvantaged, peripheral or symbolic members. Susan Broomhall argues, in a study of women's contribution to honour culture at the Burgundian ducal court, that noblewomen could derive a strong sense of identity as founts of knowledge for the elaborate rituals of the court community. Yet in practice women could rarely exercise the same forms of power through honour conduct as their elite male counterparts. Philippa Maddern, on the other hand, demonstrates how servant marriages challenged medieval political ideas about proper gender relations and associated authority structures in the household. Her essay sheds light on the potential for independent identities of female servants and subordinates in the domestic community. Being identified by others as at the margins of communities raised beneficial and challenging possibilities for women. Women could be symbolically central to communities even when they were marginalized. Lyndal Roper explores how feminine figures like that of the witch could symbolize communal identity for Augsburg's male citizens, and represent the city while excluding women from participation in the political arena. Her essay highlights the rich lode of associations connected with female figures in Augsburg's history, raising questions about the relationships between civic discourses, the experiences of the city's women and their sense of participation in the civic community.

It is clear, then, that analysis of women's negotiation of identities and contributions to communities cannot be disconnected from key questions of power and social

politics. To what extent did women have the power to contest the workings of gender in their lives, creating new understandings of personal and collective identity? How could collective experiences create space for women to exercise power? Early feminist historiography that concentrated on relations between women and men often formulated questions and answers about power in terms of oppression and victimization. More recent work has concentrated on relations among women, having less to say about their power relations with men. Patricia Crawford's work shows us the value of analyzing women's agency in conjunction with considering broader mechanisms of power. For example, she demonstrated that despite formal exclusion from political participation, early modern women engaged in collective political action, laid claim to political rights and responsibilities and defined an expanded notion of citizenship.<sup>15</sup>

This collection shows both how women engaged with formal political processes and also the value of an expanded notion of 'politics' for investigating the dynamics of women's social interactions. Thus, Richards makes a compelling case for the political acumen and significance of Margaret Beaufort, while Harris, Mendelson and Walker reveal women's concerns and involvement with national political upheavals. Female figures could be right at the heart of political communities, as Roper and Gowing demonstrate. While Roper explores the contradictions and ambiguities inherent in the symbolic female figures central to Augsburg's civic history and identity, Gowing suggests that mutual assistance among women helped them to cope with the disorderly, vagrant identities imputed by civic authorities. Other essays suggest how women's social interactions can be read as forms of political engagement, broadly defined, as recent work by social historians has shown.<sup>16</sup> Van Gent, MacKinnon and Broomhall all consider how some women were able to construct forms of public authority for themselves and their actions by exploiting aspects of female identity, often with the result of reinforcing existing social and gender hierarchies and producing divisions between women.

Perhaps more surprising, as Richards remarks in relation to the strong, continuing current of sympathy for Katherine of Aragon, are the possibilities for female aid, friendship and even solidarity emerging in a number of the essays here. As Van Gent argues, conflict and hierarchy are readily apparent in witch trials, but magic also provided ways for women to support and help each other in times of trouble

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15 Crawford, 'Public Duty, Conscience and Women in Early Modern England', in J.S. Morrill, P. Slack and D. Woolf (eds), *Public Duty and Private Conscience* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 201–34; "'The Poorest She": Women and Citizenship in Early Modern England', in Michael Mendle (ed.), *The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers and the English State* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 197–218; 'Women and Citizenship in Britain, 1500–1800'.

16 Michael Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge and New York, 2001), see esp. Introduction and Gowing, ch. 1; Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, chs 5–7; Gowing, 'Language, Power and the Law: Women's Slander Litigation in Early Modern London', in J. Kermodé and G. Walker (eds), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), pp. 26–47; Steve Hindle, 'The Shaming of Margaret Knowsley: Gossip, Gender and the Experience of Authority in Early Modern England', *Continuity and Change* 9/3 (1994): 391–419.

or difficulty. Mendelson's analysis of Anne Dormer's letters shows the strength of respect and affection within her network of friends, despite serious differences of political and religious outlook and tensions caused by her husband's pursuit of younger women in her social circle. Gowing traces how female networks provided knowledge and assistance for single mothers in the unwelcoming physical and social spaces of London. In a number of examples, as with the religious women analyzed by Walker, women found common cause in the face of conflicts with or hostility from men. Such insights elucidate the webs of relationships among women and those between women and men, sharpening our view of women as a group with shared interests but changing, and often divided, agendas.

Attending to women's experiences and views of identities and communities has consequences for writing history and our understanding of present as well as past.<sup>17</sup> Following the example of Patricia Crawford's scholarship, several essays raise methodological issues for communities of historians. Anne Laurence and Judith Richards caution us not to rely on categories or assumptions that obscure women, such as politics as a masculine sphere of activity. As both Laurence and Maddern show, attending to female identities also has the potential to disrupt received ideas about political order and agency. Laurence further suggests that concepts such as community or identity may not always be the most useful categories for comprehending women in the past, arguing instead for a focus on Irish families and households. Scrutinizing both modern and early modern subjectivities, Ferber reflects sensitively on when it may be appropriate for feminist historians to identify with women in the past, in the interest of understanding their experiences. She observes that historians can occupy subject positions characterized by *both* empathy and distance, enabling new approaches to evidence of women's experiences without abandoning critical traditions of history.

Other essays seek to identify new ways to read known sources in ways that accommodate the experiences and actions of women. Women rarely controlled the production of sources,<sup>18</sup> but their voices and actions come to us through the mediation of legal records such as wills and court proceedings. Ferber and MacKinnon, in particular, offer imaginative, innovative readings of this kind of evidence to reflect on ways of retrieving women's experiences and perceptions. Others take a fresh look at women's writings as evidence. Walker and Broomhall enhance our perception of women's political action by re-examining texts such as convent histories and courtly conduct manuals,<sup>19</sup> while Harris and Mendelson highlight the significance of correspondence as a key source for elite women's political engagement.<sup>20</sup> Where Crawford argued that early modern women were able to shape the political spectrum

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17 See Crawford's observation about the importance of taking gender seriously, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2004), pp. 12–13.

18 Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 9.

19 See also, Peter Matheson, *Argula von Grumbach: A Women's Voice in the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1995); Katherine Crawford, 'Catherine de Medicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31/3 (2000): 643–73.

20 See also Corinna Heipcke, 'Landgrafen Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt: Epistolary Politics and the Problems of Consort Biography', *Biography*, 27/3 (2004): 535–53.

through pamphlet publications,<sup>21</sup> the authors here show how women's political interests surface in writings more commonly associated with personal, domestic and religious concerns.

We have arranged the essays according to the contexts they accentuate as most significant for their individual analyses of communities and identities. We begin our investigation with essays by Laurence and Ferber that problematize how scholarly communities read the early modern. Both authors encourage feminist historians to reflect on their scholarly practice in seeking women's experiences in the past. Two further essays, by Maddern and Walker, focus on the politics of households and their implications for historians: how two distinct types of domestic communities, secular households and religious enclaves, sheltered members with disparate views and agendas disruptive to ideals of order and harmony. These essays insist that visions of unified household communities need revision in the light of evidence of female agency within them.

The following sections consider geographically defined communities. Within the setting of local parish and village, MacKinnon and Van Gent explore the workings of female social networks through magical rituals and material culture, respectively. For MacKinnon and Van Gent, processes of exclusion and social demarcation within women's communities, coexist with common values and shared experiences. In the next section, the contributions of Roper and Gowing turn attention to women in urban environments, showing the symbolic importance of feminine stereotypes in the constitution of male civic communities. Where Roper shows the complexity of the relationship between cultural beliefs about women and their lived historical experiences, Gowing's essay suggests how women's collective actions could help to resist identities not of their own making.

The final group of essays examine women of the social elite. In the section on gentry communities, Mendelson and Harris each offer perceptive case studies of female identities and friendships, as seen through women's letters. Both authors suggest the significant role assumed by epistolary connections and emotional alliances when other circumstances restricted direct social contacts between women. Finally, turning to the world of the court and the monarch, where aristocratic women might fashion and wield political power, three essays explore the limiting effects of gender norms upon queens and female courtiers. Richards and Jack concentrate on the reputations of royal women, examining how representations of powerful women served political and ideological purposes. Broomhall's examination of the courtly household of Burgundy, argues that noble women worked to establish a recognized female community of honour of their own, but their interpretations of ceremonial conduct could not subvert conventions of gender.

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21 Crawford, 'Women's Published Writings, 1600–1700', in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society, 1500–1800* (London, 1985), pp. 211–82. Cf. Hilda L. Smith (ed.), *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition* (Cambridge, 1998); Broomhall, 'In my opinion': Charlotte de Minut and Female Political Discussion in Print in Sixteenth-Century France', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31/1 (2000) 25–45; Ulrike Zitzlsperger, 'Mother, Martyr and Mary Magdalene: German Female Pamphleteers and their Self-Images', *History*, 88/3 (2003) 379–92.

Women, identities, communities, and power are the touchstones of this collection, which offers the fruits of an international and intergenerational community of feminist scholars, stimulated by the scholarship and personal example of a groundbreaking early modern historian. The insights resulting from Crawford's work have implications beyond early modern England, as essays here demonstrate for medieval and continental European contexts, but these are by no means the only fields that have been enhanced by her work. Crawford has also raised important questions for early modern social history more broadly, in addition to Australian, local and environmental history.<sup>22</sup> The patterns in the forces shaping women's senses of self and belonging, their experiences and social interactions, their political agency and authority, which we see emerging in these essays, owe a great deal to her influence. Despite differences, gender mattered to women right across the broad geographical and broad chronological scope of this collection. As she once observed, in early modern England, 'women's political agency and the cultural category of gender were in a dynamic relationship. Gender was an important part of social identity ... [and] other categories that affected women, such as class and religious affiliation, were themselves inflected by gender'.<sup>23</sup> In this collection, we respond to Trish's challenge to acknowledge the complexity of women's lives, recognizing the critical power of gender to structure identities and communities both in the historical sources we treat and in our experiences as historians today.<sup>24</sup> We are grateful to have participated in the collective enterprise of attending to women and to feminist scholarship that Trish has enabled.

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22 For example, Crawford (ed.), *Women in Western Australian History*, Studies in Western Australian History, Vol. VII (Nedlands, 1983); Crawford, 'Republics, Citizens and Women: Some Reflections from a Feminist Historian', in Dennis Haskell (ed.), *Tilting at Matilda: Literature, Aborigines, Women and the Church in Contemporary Australia* (Fremantle, 1994), pp. 110–23; 'Group Settlers and Land in the Northcliffe Region, South-west Western Australia 1924–1939', in Andrea Gaynor et al. (eds), *Country: Visions of Land and People in Western Australia* (Perth, 2002), pp. 125–45; Crawford, with I. Crawford, *Contested Country: A History of the Northcliffe Region, Western Australia* (Nedlands, 2003); cf. *Belongings: Women, Family and Place: A Symposium to Celebrate the Work of Professor Patricia Crawford* (convenors Susan Broomhall, Philippa Maddern, Pamela Sharpe, Stephanie Tarbin, Terri-ann White), University of Western Australia, 30 June and 1 July 2006, [http://www.ias.uwa.edu.au/activities\\_and\\_programs/programs\\_2006/belongwomen\\_famandplace](http://www.ias.uwa.edu.au/activities_and_programs/programs_2006/belongwomen_famandplace)

23 Crawford, "'The Poorest She'", p. 198.

24 On women's experiences in the present, see Crawford with Myrna Tonkinson, *The Missing Chapters: Women Staff at the University of Western Australia 1963–1987* (Nedlands, 1988); Stephanie Tarbin (interviewer), 'Limina Interview: Professor Trish Crawford, May 1995', *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 1 (1995): 77–84; Crawford, 'Not an "Ivory Tower": Learning and Teaching in a University', in Joan Eveline and Lorraine Hayden (eds), *Carrying the Banner: Women, Leadership and Activism in Australia* (Nedlands, 1999), pp. 168–76; A. Broertjes et al. (interviewers), 'Limina Interview: Professor Patricia Crawford, March 2004', *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 10 (2004): 6–15.