

Sex and Prisons: Women and Spanish Penitentiary Reform, 1787-1808

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Abstract: Whereas prisons had previously been thought of as transitory places for those awaiting trial, the new prison system aimed at the reformation of convicts. In Spain the first organisation set up to improve prison conditions was the *Señoras de las Cárceles*. This article shows how the *Señoras* attempted to erase the sexual aspect of women's prisons and create instead a morally acceptable space in which to educate female prisoners. Their practices reveal how changing ideas about punishment and education, sexuality and gender, entered the Spanish penal system, permeated civil society and facilitated the transition to a different legal regime.

Keywords: penitentiary reform, sexuality, women's prisons, *Señoras de las cárceles*, benevolence, air disinfection, education

In a disturbing pair of drawings from c.1794-7 from the Madrid Album, Francisco de Goya depicts the arrest of two women and their imprisonment in the correctional institution of San Fernando (Figs. 1 and 2). In the first drawing two soldiers escort the women, who are wrapped in shawls, while in the second we see the women in the workhouse of San Fernando with their hair cut short, wearing the institution's uniform and holding tools for spinning. Goya's intention was not to praise the diligence and repentance of the convicts; rather the contrary. Consider the second image. The central character is peeping to one side and covering her mouth as if whispering secrets. Her companions gape at her in amusement; she opens her legs wide apart while holding the thread. The sexual joke would have been unmissable to contemporary viewers: she was talking sexual business. Even the caption at the bottom of the drawing, 'How they spin!', punned on the use of 'spinning' as slang for sexual intercourse.²

The drawings play on widespread ideas about prisons as sites of corruption and lechery. Goya's critique of workhouses is enhanced by the stark contrast between the setting and the characters. The light from the large window, which was thought essential for the moral rehabilitation of prisoners, exposes the women's disruptive gossiping. Although the prison house of San Fernando had only been inaugurated in 1765, the mixture of young and old inmates and lack of proper resources had already drawn severe criticism from the reformist elite to whom Goya addressed his drawings.³ It was commonplace to think that older felons perverted young women incarcerated for minor offences and led them into prostitution.

This article examines attempts to erase the heavy sexual associations of prisons and transform them into moral and 'feminine' spaces for convicted women. In particular, it explores how a female society, the *Señoras de las Cárceles para ejercitar la Caridad con las Pobres de la Cárcel de la Galera, de la Cárcel de la Corte y de la Cárcel de la Villa* (Ladies of Prisons for the Promotion of Charity with the Poor Women in the Prisons of La Galera, La Corte and La Villa) sought to improve female prisons. The *Señoras* was the first Spanish



1. Francisco de Goya, *Pobres, ¡Cuantas lo merecerán mejor! ¿Pues que es esto?/Que ha de ser, que las llevan a San Fernando* ('Poor things! How many others deserve this more! What is going on? It is clear than that they are being taken off to San Fernando workhouse'), from Álbum B (B.82) or Madrid, c.1794-7, brush and indian ink, 234 x 148 mm. Translation and image from Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya: Drawings from His Private Albums* (London: Hayward Gallery in association with Lund Humphries, 2001), n.28 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

civil society, either male or female, devoted to the betterment of the physical and moral conditions of prisoners. It was established by ten upper-class women in 1788 to look after the female prisoners in Madrid.⁴ As such, it proved instrumental for the broader implementation of penitentiary reform in Spain. The practices of the Señoras reveal the ways in which changing ideas about punishment and education, sexuality and gender, entered the Spanish penal system, permeated civil society and facilitated the transition to a different legal regime.



2. Francisco de Goya, *San Fernando, cómo hilan!* (The San Fernando workhouse. How they spin!), from *Álbum B* (B.84) or Madrid, c.1794-7, brush and indian ink, 236 x 147 mm. Translation and image from Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya: Drawings from His Private Albums* (London: Hayward Gallery in association with Lund Humphries, 2001), n.30 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Prisons and penal reform were the subjects of passionate discussion during the long eighteenth century, especially after the publication of Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764) and John Howard's international campaigns in the 1770s.⁵ Reformers across Europe, in England, Spain, France, Germany and the Italian provinces, as well as in American cities such as Philadelphia, strongly questioned the traditional role of prisons as transitory places for the accused to await trial.⁶ Prisons and other, new systems of confinement were to serve henceforth as sites for the moral reform of convicts through work, isolation and/or religious indoctrination. This ideal of incarceration mobilised diverse specialists across society: architects, doctors, chemists and political economists alike

joined together in engineering new spaces for 'fabricating virtue'.⁷ Missing from existing narratives of penal reform, however, is one set of actors: female societies for the improvement of incarcerated women's conditions.⁸

This oversight is all the more crucial, for, unlike in male prisons, the punishment of women had long possessed a re-educational character, as is evident in the sixteenth-century Catholic houses for repentant prostitutes and Magdalene asylums in Protestant countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹ Until the 1980s female prisons were more or less ignored in the history of penal reform. When feminist historiographies finally took up their story, it was to show the injustices of a penal system that perpetuated the patriarchal order and contributed to the construction and reinforcement of normative masculinities and femininities. However, to understand the appropriation of reformist ideas while avoiding presentist interpretations, it is necessary to address the cultural logic and institutional dynamics of pre-modern legal systems. In the words of Alejandro Agüero and Marta Lorente, one of the most salient features of the Spanish pre-modern legal system was the 'inextricable and synergic relationship between religion (and its cultural agencies) and the law'.¹⁰ The practices of the Señoras should thus be seen in this framework.

This article is divided into three sections. The first gives an overview of the institutions in which Spanish women were imprisoned. The second describes the techniques and theories the Señoras used to erase the supposedly rampant sexuality in the prisons and give instead a virtuous and capable feminine identity to the prisoners. The final part examines two kinds of ward that the Señoras inaugurated: correctional ones for young offenders and secret wards for pregnant single women.

I. Imprisoning Women

The Señoras intervened in the prisons of La Galera, La Corte and La Villa (the latter two of which also held men).¹¹ In each of these, female prisoners lived in miserable conditions. La Corte was set up in 1634 to hold upper-class debtors, which explains the elegant façade, the working fountain in one courtyard, with windows opening onto it from the wards. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, it admitted all classes of felon, including men and women awaiting trial, convicts awaiting transportation to forced labour in state enterprises or to penitentiaries in Africa and vagrants awaiting transfer to workhouses.¹² Men could rent different lodgings according to their financial and social status, from private rooms that cost 1,500 *reales* a year, to a bed in a large dormitory called the *Sala de camas*, which cost 3 *reales* a day. Those who didn't have the means shared wooden bunks in the communal ward. Women were imprisoned together in the same ward. This was also the case with women in the much more modest prison of La Villa, situated behind the Madrid Council Hall. In 1783, when John Howard visited the Madrid prisons during his European tour, around forty women and 130 men were crammed into each jail.¹³

In addition to La Corte and La Villa, women could be sent to the all-female prison of La Galera. It dated to the early seventeenth century, when the Catholic Counter-Reformation was in its heyday and poverty was increasingly perceived as a threat to the social and moral order.¹⁴ La Galera remained notorious for its harsh treatment of its inmates well into the eighteenth century.¹⁵ The founder, Sor Magdalena de San Jerónimo, conceived it as the female equivalent to men's punishment as galley slaves.¹⁶ Sor Magdalena bemoaned the fact that, while men could be punished in the galleys, there was no such place to punish 'vagrants, thieves, procurers, witches, and other women'.¹⁷ She conceived

of work in La Galera as physical punishment. Prisoners were forced to spin and sew clothes and bedding for the Hospital General y de la Pasión. Unlike the other prisons, La Galera seems not to have been a lucrative business, and the director's salary was paid by the Junta de Hospitales.¹⁸

It is important to note that prisons did not hold the entire population of female convicts. Women were allocated to different spaces according to the class and type of offence. As feminist historians have shown, women's crimes mostly involved deviation from social norms rather than criminal offences.¹⁹ The majority of them were imprisoned for moral offences such as wandering in the streets 'without known purpose', begging, street prostitution, adultery, illegal cohabitation and shameful behaviour ('suspicious and improper conduct', 'scandal' or living a 'licentious life').²⁰ Women could be imprisoned in religious institutions, hospitals and workhouses. There was a great variety of each of these in eighteenth-century Madrid. The Casas de Recogidas sheltered prostitutes, with examples including the Casa de Arrepentidas (House for Repentant Women), in the convent of Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia, the Casa de Reclusión o Colegio de Seglares de Pinto and the Beaterio de San José de la Penitencia. A special ward in the Hospital General and the Hospital de La Pasión kept sick and pregnant convicts, while their children were received in the Foundling House and the Hospital of Desamparados. Monasteries lodged upper-class women, as did the House of San Nicolás de Bari.²¹ La Corte, La Villa, La Galera, the women's ward in the Hospicio del Ave Maria (also called Hospicio de La Corte) and the correction house of San Fernando (mentioned at the beginning of this article) all held poor women. Women could be arrested while wandering in the street by a special police brigade (the Policia de pobres), as we see in Goya's drawing, or directly accused by husbands, tutors or any other authority, although trial by jury was required for conviction.²²

Hence La Corte, La Galera, La Villa and San Fernando held needy women who were considered by the standards of the day to be of dubious moral character and uncontrolled sexuality. In a visit to the San Fernando house of correction in 1789 the priest Pedro Portillo summarised the situation thus: 'lust exceeds all measurement'. In his report to the minister of state, José Moñino y Redondo, conde de Floridablanca, Portillo stated that the governesses of San Fernando recommended that the convicted women have sex with each other ('amancebarse'), as the best way for them to 'forget about the street'.²³ Portillo's account implied that prostitutes had an insatiable lust, and betrays his concern that commerce with female prisoners could affect a man's reputation. This concern was decisive in the establishment of the Señoras. In 1785, according to a widely distributed journal, the duchess of Montemar commissioned Portillo to give religious talks to the women of La Galera. Fearing for his reputation, Portillo came up with the idea of a female society: 'seeing the delicacy of this commission, in which he had to proceed with the greatest circumspection, he conceived the idea that [...] some ladies distinguished by their virtue and circumstances [...] would be able to help the prisoners [...] without the difficulties that this presented to men'.²⁴

Whatever sexual disorders reigned in female jails, it was thought that a society of virtuous, religious ladies could deal with them. In 1788, with the full protection of the crown, a group of ten principal ladies set up the Señoras de las Cárceles para ejercitar la Caridad con las Pobres de la Cárcel de la Galera, de la Cárcel de la Corte y de la Cárcel de la Villa.²⁵ The Señoras carefully highlighted the fact that their aims were wholly charitable and pious. In their statutes they stated that they were moved by humanitarian and Christian sentiments, and that they would never interfere with judicial proceedings, or even seek to know the causes of women's imprisonment.²⁶

Charity in the eighteenth-century was a complex issue, full of contradictions. '[C]onglomerations of feeling, belief, and interest', as Sarah Lloyd has put it, reinforced the system that oppressed those that it aimed to save. The charitable acts of the Señoras should be seen in these terms.²⁷ Religious duties, humanitarian feelings, social interest and political claims blended in the Señoras' actions. But, above all, the Señoras took a novel, sympathetic and markedly practical approach to female delinquency, through which they sought to restore 'feminine' dignity to imprisoned women.²⁸

II. *Feminine Dignity*

Once the society was fully legitimised in 1788, the Señoras began an ambitious programme. To begin with, the society bought beds and mattresses to furnish the prisons, provided each woman with a bedcover and gave 'decent robes' to prisoners who lacked them. They paid a clergyman to give Catholic Mass to the women in majority male prisons. Until then, only men had been allowed to listen to Mass, as the mix of male and female prisoners in the chapel was thought indecent, and an extra Mass for women would require more funds. Regarding food, the Señoras ensured women received regular rations. Moreover, they allowed women to cook their own food – the society recognised women's sensibility to such dubious fare as the prisons' soup. They also took care of the nurseries. We know that the nursery of La Corte had five beds and its own kitchen with kitchenware. In each prison a member of the Señoras was responsible for overseeing healthcare, calling for the doctor when necessary and ensuring that remedies and cures were properly administered, and for choosing prisoners to tend the sick women. This may have created social bonds among prisoners and thereby improved communal living.

The Señoras intended female prisons and wards to resemble domestic spaces rather than dungeons. Sexual hazards were controlled as much as possible. The Señoras appointed personnel in the same careful manner that servants were sought out for private homes. Choosing intermediaries – who acted as a bridge between prisoners and the exterior world by carrying messages, notes and goods – was a delicate matter. As in families, such intermediaries could damage the honour of their employers and cause mischief, which included facilitating indecent sexual behaviour.²⁹ Thus, the Señoras contracted an old widow of good reputation and, in the same spirit, appointed a 'protector lady' (*Protectora*) to organise the marriages of poor brides and daughters whose parents were imprisoned.

Finally, the Señoras organised what were thought to be virtuous occupations for women: needlework and its related disciplines, spinning and weaving. They did not see work in prisons primarily as a punishment or a disciplinary measure. On the contrary, the Señoras approved of such work as practical (allowing women to earn some money and learn a useful skill for future employment) but also, above all, as a means of alleviating the unhappiness of incarceration. Both the emblem and motto of the society accorded with Christian philosophy, as well as the Bourbon political economic discourse, and could apply to women of all social situations.³⁰ In the emblem the notorious symbol of feminine sloth, the fan, is belted by hawthorns and chains, while the spindle, the symbol of feminine industriousness, is wrapped with flowers, suggesting that idleness enslaves while diligence and industry emancipate. The motto ('*La labor mitiga la pena*') played with the double meaning of *pena*. In one sense, *pena* meant legal punishment; in the other, it meant woe and sorrow: work lightens punishment and sadness.³¹ In tune with these ideas,

women's labour in La Corte and La Villa was voluntary and paid, while in La Galera, although prisoners still sewed for the hospital, conditions were easier and prisoners could engage in other work, to be sold in the market.

In all three jails the profits obtained through the sale of crafts – stockings, fingerless gloves, silk laces and jackets, among other items – were given to the women. The ladies visited the prisoners in La Galera every Sunday, and La Corte and La Villa every Thursday, to read the Catechism with them and distribute the money earned through the week's work. With their emphasis on needlework, religious rituals and education the Señoras showed the public how to transform prisons into sites for recuperating 'capable and virtuous women'.

The accomplishments of female convicts were advertised in widely read journals, and the society published an account of prisoners' labours every six months.³² Reports were an important part of the new charitable economy. The biannual account of how the Señoras dispensed alms served to encourage further donations and the establishment of new societies. As charity was now construed, enlightened benevolence needed to target the 'deserving poor' and encourage virtue and economy rather than breed laziness and corruption.³³ Charity was seen as an act of public interest, and donors needed to consider carefully where to invest in order to serve their society and country properly. The ideas of political economists and philanthropists such as Cesare Beccaria, John Howard and Manuel Lardizábal y Uribe on the necessity of reforming prisons were thus disseminated in a practical manner.³⁴ The Señoras were central to this process. They inspired the setting up of female societies in other cities: Oviedo (1792), Valencia (1796) and Zaragoza (1802). In 1799 the first male society for dealing with men's prisons was established in Madrid. According to one of its members, it too was inspired by the Señoras, who demonstrated the 'compassion and generosity of the fair sex'.³⁵

The reports of the Señoras also enhanced the charitable image of the crown, which supported the society with a monthly pension of 3,000 *reales* (a journeyman earned 3 *reales* a day). The Señoras wisely acknowledged this and other royal support in their publications.³⁶ But above all, the reports showed how elite women successfully applied their gendered skills to recover 'lost women' and incorporate them into the labouring population. However, penal reform was only one area of these upper-class women's activities. Rather than an isolated charitable Catholic association, the Señoras belonged to a network of active, learned women keen to participate in contemporary campaigns for national improvement.³⁷ Although the statutes of the Señoras set out that members should be 'indifferent to worldly affairs' ('desengañadas del mundo'), most were central actors in the political and cultural life of the city. They patronised savants and artists, hosted salons and literary *tertulias* and were relatives of politicians and savants. Many of the members of the Señoras also belonged to the prestigious Junta de Damas de Honor y Mérito (Committee of Ladies of Honour and Merit).³⁸ The Junta was set up in 1787 (a year before the Señoras) as the female branch of the Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País, the Madrid Economic Society. As is well known, these societies enabled the local elite to pursue national improvement through education and circulation of scientific novelties. The aim of the Junta was specifically to promote 'education and diligence' in the female population. Among other tasks, it was responsible for the schools for poor girls in Madrid – the so-called charitable schools, spinning schools, lace schools or mistress schools, which played an important role in constructing feminine identities.³⁹ Between 1788 and 1805, of the thirty-four members of the Señoras that had named roles (treasurers, presidents or directors of nurseries), ten belonged to the Junta.⁴⁰

The close relationship of the Junta and the Señoras with contemporary science, as well as with discourses of penal reform, is evident from their efforts in 1790 to address the alarmingly fetid smell of the air in the prisons. Physicians believed that the stinking prison air caused diseases, such as the *fiebres carcelarias* ('prison fever'). There were concerns not only about the health of prisoners but also that sickness would spread and infect the general population. In 1790 a commission of the Señoras, along with the aforementioned priest Portillo and Pedro Gutiérrez Bueno, professor of chemistry and director of the Real Laboratorio de Madrid (Royal Chemical Laboratory), devised a chemical test to decide the best method of dispelling the odour. As the level of oxygen was supposed to indicate the purity of air, the Señoras took air samples from different rooms in the prisons of La Villa and La Corte and had the Real Laboratorio measure oxygen content. It was surprisingly low.⁴¹

Over twenty days the Señoras tested different forms of disinfectant. In some rooms they used traditional domestic techniques, such as burned lavender and juniper, and sprinkling sweet-smelling waters. In others the Señoras used the new method of acid disinfection. In particular, they tried vinegar in different forms: evaporating, washing floors with pure vinegar, and watering with 50 per cent dilutions. Although the way that acids 'cleaned' contagious air was the subject of debate, Gutiérrez Bueno believed that it increased the oxygen in the air.⁴² After twenty days samples of the different rooms were again taken to the Real Laboratorio to measure the oxygen content. It was concluded that the vinegar solution at 50 per cent was the most effective method, and thus it was the one that the Señoras employed thereafter. The tests were published in the official *Gazeta* and, in 1802, in the widely distributed semi-official journal the *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes*. This latter publication emphasised that 'the ladies were aware of what had been written lately about the purification of foul air', and a footnote added that the Señoras now used nitric vapour instead of vinegar. This report was also re-published in the *Efemérides de la Ilustración* (1804).⁴³

In addition, the Señoras established new wards in La Corte in order to address two different groups: young inmates and dishonoured pregnant women. The rationale behind the first one was to separate the young convicted girls from the older offenders and thus prevent their 'corruption'. The rationale behind the *Reservadas* (the secret wards) was to prevent abortions and infanticides while protecting the honour of the women, who were of all social classes and not necessarily convicts. Neither the correctional nor the secret wards were new ideas; on the contrary, the spaces for separating and classifying older and young female offenders had a long tradition, as well as hiding shameful pregnancies.⁴⁴ What was a novelty, however, was the management of these wards by a civil society of learned women, who were aware of pedagogical and medical theories and were conscious of their social mission as educators. In the next section I will briefly highlight how the wards may have been inspired by pedagogical and medical thinking and how they ultimately affected definitions of femininity.

III. Punishment, Education and Sexuality

According to contemporary pedagogical literature, pious reflection, virtuous exemplarity and judicious conversation were the most effective methods of education.⁴⁵ Physical punishment and violent chastisement were strongly disapproved of. Consider the countess of Genlis's widely read *Les Veillées du Château* (*Tales of the Castle*). The Spanish translation, *Veladas de la quinta*, appeared in 1788 with great success.⁴⁶ The translator dedicated it

to the ladies of the Junta, who subscribed to it.⁴⁷ The *Veladas* is a collection of stories in dialogue form, in which a mother explains and discusses moral tales with her children. In 'Delfina o la curación feliz' ('Delphine, or the Happy Recovery'), a spoilt rich girl is sent to a German physician's country house for the sake of her health (her bad temper having led to loss of appetite and poor breathing). Having openly vented her dissatisfaction with her new lodgings, Delfina is punished by being made to spend the night with a maid who does not speak her language. Irate at the maid's silence, Delfina slaps her. The maid then ties Delfina's hands behind her back and keeps knitting quietly until she calms down.⁴⁸ The intended lesson for children readers is about treating servants correctly: 'if you wish your inferiors to respect you, treat them with sweetness and humanity', the doctor's wife instructs Delfina.⁴⁹ But at the same time as children learned how to behave with 'inferiors', adults learned how to behave with unruly children. In particular, they learned to avoid harsh language and violent punishment (tying hands was not considered violent) and to let children reflect in silence.⁵⁰

This same method of restraint was employed at La Corte. Although the project was conceived of in 1788, the correction house was not finished until 1794. It comprised a room that accommodated seventeen young women. The Señoras contracted a female tutor to teach the girls reading, needlework and religion.⁵¹ The inmates' individual beds were separated by curtains, a fact that was highlighted in journal publications. The *Semanario*, for instance, states that the curtains served to 'keep the necessary modesty' between the girls.⁵² However, the curtains preserved the intimacy not only of bodies but also of minds. They created spaces for individual reflection. The statutes also emphasised that the Señoras should behave with modesty and 'sweetness' (*dulzura*) with the inmates at all times. Although we cannot be certain that the Señoras read Genlis, their practices certainly echoed trends in contemporary educational thinking.

The aversion to physical punishment, either of children, servants or women convicts, also derived from its strong sexual connotations. Scholars have extensively documented the practices of flagellation in contemporary erotic literature.⁵³ In *Exhibition of Female Flagellants [...] Proving from indubitable facts that a number of ladies take a secret pleasure in whipping their own, and children committed to their care* (1777), for instance, the author compares the way uneducated women beat their children in anger to the sadistic act of whipping children and young girls for pleasure.⁵⁴ In his manuscript on education (1699) John Aubrey discusses the proper punishment of schoolboys. He states that he 'would not have such a thing as the turning up of bare buttocks for pedants to exercise their cruel lust'.⁵⁵ The doctor Tomas Mora, who worked in the Madrid Foundling House under the orders of the Junta (and thus had close contact with some of the Señoras), warned in his treatise on education not to beat children because of the 'adverse habits' this could provoke later on.⁵⁶ Rousseau confessed that his first spanking by his teacher Mlle Lambercier when he was a child significantly determined his sexuality; this experience, he says, 'disposed of my tastes, my passions, myself for the rest of my life'.⁵⁷ In the penitentiary context, where female convicts were thought to have powerful sexualities, physical punishment might be thought both counter-productive and improper for virtuous ladies, as the Señoras were supposed to be.

Virtue and honour were also at stake in the *Reservada*, or secret ward. This ward was similar to a cloister in the prison of La Corte. Opened in 1797, it received women from the third month of pregnancy through to full term. Women gave birth and recovered before coming out; their babies were sent to the Madrid Foundling House. The Señoras vigilantly concealed the women's identities, changing their names, ensuring concealed visits

by doctors and clergymen and arranging curtains and lattices to conceal women from each other when attending Mass. Women were also hidden from the exterior world and forbidden to receive visits or go outside, under the threat of expulsion.⁵⁸ The Señoras contracted a male porter, a woman for taking care of internal issues and another for running errands. These secret wards were available to women of every social status but required them to be 'innocent'. The Señoras established strict rules of admission. In particular, prostitutes were excluded, and women were only allowed to enter once in a lifetime. There was a mailbox in one of the central streets, calle de las Rosas, in which women could deposit letters of application to the Real Hermandad de la Esperanza, who took them to the Señoras for them to consider each case carefully.⁵⁹ The secret wards had three rooms: one for 'youths of distinction'; one for those who could pay 6 *reales* daily; and one for poor women, paid by the Señoras. Twenty further beds were also paid for by the queen, which indicates the social acceptance and prestige that the secret ward had.

The secret wards dealt with sexual crimes in a distinctive way. Since the medieval period, wronged Spanish women had had recourse to the courts to obtain material restitution for their lost honour.⁶⁰ However, plaintiffs needed first to prove victims' virtue (that is, that the victim had led an honest and virtuous life before she met the man in question). Second, they had to counter the accusations of the male defendants. Although these legal processes usually ended in favour of women, they could undermine a family's public reputation. The reputation of the accused men, most of whom were of higher social status than the women, was also at stake.⁶¹ To mitigate this, the secret wards concealed the whole relationship. The identity of the victims and of their assailants was not publicly known.

The secret wards may be usefully compared with the private Magdalene asylum in late eighteenth-century London. Run solely by men, it ceased admitting prostitutes in the 1780s and only admitted 'seduced' (and never pregnant) young women. In contrast to the secrecy and silence of the Spanish wards, the Magdalene asylum staged a complex interplay between visibility and invisibility, between the outspoken and the evasive. The inmates on the first floor could be glimpsed by members of the public attending Mass on the ground floor; the pastor's sermons were shaped to gratify attendants' taste for scandal; and narratives of the inmates, closely resembling sentimental novels, were published as purportedly 'real' stories. According to Sara Lloyd, the ways in which the figures of the female seduced and the male seducer were construed helped to shape a unified idea of 'feminine victimhood' across all social classes. Such an idea may also have been in operation in the Spanish prisons. Although in different wards, women of different social classes and their children were ultimately treated in the same manner, their 'faults' were the same and so was their solitary treatment. It is thus tempting to suggest that the practices of the Señoras helped to establish the necessary groundwork for the modern legal penal system, which requires stable categories of innocence and guilt and a uniform legal frame.

The crucial distinction between the two institutions is, of course, the emphasis that the Spanish one put on saving the children. In addition to religious reasons, humanitarian concerns about infanticide and a pragmatic approach to the protection of women's honour, there was a political obsession with increasing the population. Although infant mortality rates in the Foundling House were extremely high – more than 90 per cent – which the women of the Junta were very conscious of and attempted to reduce, the rationale behind the secret wards was that 'illegitimate' children would have a better chance of survival.⁶² Thus, the secret wards epitomised the blend of aspirations that drove the

Señoras' activities: religious sentiment, charitable feeling, feminine identity and patriotic service.

IV. Conclusion

From 1788 onwards the Señoras furnished the Madrid prisons. They installed infirmaries, changed the food regime, established textile workshops, opened wards for the education of young inmates, organised a network for protecting the honour and the children of pregnant women and spent Sunday and Thursday afternoons educating prisoners in religious and moral matters. They instructed inmates in needlework, hygienic practices and religious rituals, in accordance with contemporary pedagogical, medical and scientific ideas.

And yet, evaluation of the practices of the Señoras raises several ambiguities. Most of the documentary sources come from the society itself or from contemporary journals and pamphlets: printed sources that are certainly biased towards the hegemonic elite of the time, such as the crown, the Church and dominant scientific figures. We have no testimonies of the prisoners or their families in regard to the new regime imposed by the Señoras. We do not know if it was as oppressive as, or even more oppressive than, the previous one. Did the Señoras perpetuate the patriarchal order? Certainly, they sought to reincorporate women into an economic system that favoured men; they instructed women in a religion that traditionally subordinated women to men; and they eventually subjected prisoners to a sexual regime that punished women more harshly than men. Moreover, in the case of the secret wards, the Señoras spared male offenders from public disgrace and from having to compensate the women they abused. One could argue that women were protected only insofar as they were considered reproductive bodies.

It is interesting to reflect on how the historiography has treated the charitable activities of men and women differently. In her comparison of female and male charitable societies in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, Lori D. Ginzberg describes an asymmetry in evaluations of the contributions of women and men: 'the ideology of a peculiar form of benevolence', she notes, 'obscured women's complex identities'. In response, she encourages us to look at the intertwining of class, identity and political ideology in women's acts of benevolence.⁶³ The example of the Señoras shows how female philanthropy provided a model for women's public activity. The Señoras responded to a particular political situation, which allowed them to intervene through their feminine identities and skills.

The panorama shown here reveals the complexities of the Señoras' practices. Religious sentiment, charitable feelings, utilitarian goals, science, gender and political ambition were thoroughly interwoven and reinforced one another. The function of prisons went far beyond social control and the buttressing of social hierarchies.⁶⁴ They were also spaces in which upper-class women involved themselves in the development of a 'modern' country.

NOTES

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1. Álbum B (B.82 and B.84) or Madrid. In fact, the drawings belong to what Juliet Wilson-Bareau called 'Goya's moral tale' about prostitution and its effects, which was told over consecutive drawings. Wilson-Bareau called attention to the *pentimenti* in B.84 and the suggestion of naked limbs beneath the apron of the nearest figure. Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya: Drawings from His Private Albums* (London: Hayward Gallery in association with Lund Humphries 2001), p.177; Alfonso E. Pérez Sanchez and Eleanor A. Sayre (eds), *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment* (Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts 1989); and Fundación Goya en Aragón: <https://fundaciongoyaenaragon.es/obra/san-fernando-como-hilan/1124> and <https://fundaciongoyaenaragon.es/obra/pobres-quantas-la-mereceran-mejor-pues-que-es-esto-que-ha-de-ser-que-las-llevan-a-san-fernando/1032> [accessed 15 August 2019].

2. The idea of spinning (*hilar*) and its semantic field (*hilados, hilo, huso*) was related to the sexual act and the phallus (symbolised by the spindle) in informal speech and literary productions such as *La Celestina*, *La Lozana Andaluza*, *El Lazarillo de Tormes* and erotic and humorous poems. Jacques Bril, *Origines et symbolisme des productions textiles: de la toile et du fil* (Paris: Clancier-Guéraud, 1984); Francesca de Santis, 'Sátira e Intertextualidad en la poesía erótica de frailes del siglo de oro', *Hispanófila* 166 (2012), p.39-56, p.47-8; Santiago López-Ríos, *Estudios sobre la Celestina* (Madrid: Ediciones Itsmo, 2001), p.371.

3. Rafael Salillas, *Evolución penitenciaria en España* (Madrid: Imprenta clásica Española, 1918), p.62-73. The correction house of San Fernando was meant for a thousand people. In 1768 there were 325 women; in 1789 there were about 500 women and about 300 men.

4. Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Consejos, L.5359: 'Constituciones de la Asociación de Señoras para ejercitar la caridad con las pobres de la Galera, de la Cárcel de Corte y de la Cárcel de Villa' (1788).

5. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Colin Jones and Roy Porter (eds), *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine, and the Body* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), esp. Chapters 7 and 8; Helen Rosenau, *Social Purpose in Architecture: Paris and London Compared, 1760-1800* (London: Studio Vista, 1970); Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, *The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

6. Roy Porter, 'Howard's Beginning: Prisons, Disease, Hygiene', *Clio Med* 34 (1995), p.5-26. A comprehensive summary of the literature is in Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, 'Justice and Prisons', in Michael Delon (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p.745-9.

7. Robin Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture (1750-1840)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Richard Creese, W. F. Bynum and J. Bearn (eds), *The Health of Prisoners: Historical Essays* (Amsterdam: ClioMedica, 1995).

8. Nicole Hahn Rafter, 'Prisons for Women, 1790-1980', *Crime and Justice* 5 (1983), p.129-81. On how women negotiated power in prisons, see Candace Kruttschnitt and Rosemary Gartner, 'Women's Imprisonment', *Crime and Justice* 30 (2003), p.1-81; on construing gender and consolidating gender stereotypes in contemporary prisons, see Sarah Pemberton, 'Enforcing Gender: The Constitution of Sex and Gender in Prison Regimes', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 39 (2013), p.151-75.

9. Elisabet Almeda 'Pasado y presente de las cárceles femeninas en España', *Sociológica* (2003), p.75-106; José Luis de Pablo Gafas, *La Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte (1583-1834): justicia, gobierno y policía en la corte de Madrid* (Madrid: ACCI, 2017), p.912.

10. Alejandro Agüero and Marta Lorente, 'Penal Enlightenment in Spain: From Beccaria's Reception to the First Criminal Code', *Forum Historiae iuris* (5 November 2012), p.238. A suggestive approach on the history of rules in general is in Lorraine Daston, 'Rules: A Short History of What We Live By,' Lawrence Stone lecture series (29 April 29-1 May 2014): <http://blog.press.princeton.edu/tag/lorraine-daston/> and <https://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/research/projects/rules-short-history-what-we-live> [accessed 15 August 2019].

11. The prisons were all governed by different institutions. La Galera was linked to the Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte and the Junta de Hospitales: Gafas, *La Sala de Alcaldes*, p.273.
12. Isabel Ramos Vázquez, 'La administración civil penitenciaria: militarismo y administrativismo en los orígenes del Estado de Derecho', *AHDE LXXXII* (2012), p.471-520.
13. On the architecture of the prisons of La Corte and La Villa, see Pedro Fraile and Quim Bonastra, 'Sharing Architectural Models: Morphologies and Surveillance from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century', *Asclepio: Revista de Historia de la Medicina y de la Ciencia* 69 (2017), p.1-22. On La Galera, see Victoria López Barahona, *El cepo y el torno* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2009), and Isabel Ramos Vázquez, 'Galeras y casas de corrección de mujeres (Siglos XVII a XIX)', in Rosalía Rodríguez López and María José Bravo Bosch (eds), *Experiencias jurídicas e identidades femeninas* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2011), p.495-514.
14. On changes in the Spanish social perception of the poor from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth through a careful analysis of contemporary texts and in particular of Sor Magdalena's see Darlene Muzquiz, 'Charity, Punishment, and Labor: The Textualization of Poverty in XVII and XVIII Century in Spain', PhD diss., University of California, San Diego (1994), especially Chapters 2 and 5.
15. Muzquiz, 'Charity, Punishment and Labour', p.28-9.
16. Ramos Vázquez, 'Galeras y casas de corrección', p.500.
17. Magdalena de San Jerónimo, *Razón y forma de la Galera y Casa Real que el rey, nuestro Señor, manda hacer en estos reinos para castigo de las mujeres vagantes, y ladronas, alcahuetas, hechiceras y otras semejantes* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba, 1608). See also Muzquiz, 'Charity, Punishment and Labour', p.24, on the influence of the physicist Cristobal Perez de Herrera's *Amparo de los legítimos pobres* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1598) in Sor Magdalena de San Jeronimo.
18. AHN Consejos, lib. 1.389, fol. 627: Foundation of La Galera.
19. Christine Benavides, *Les Femmes délinquantes à Madrid (1700-1808): justice et société en Espagne au XVIIIe siècle (II)* (Toulouse: CRIC; and Paris: OPHRYS, 2001), p.262; Francisco Tomás y Valiente, 'Delincuentes y pecadores', in Francisco Tomás y Valiente et al. (eds), *Sexo barroco y otras transgresiones premodernas* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1991), p.11-31; Almeda, 'Pasado y presente', p.75.
20. The proportion of detained women accused of vagrancy changed after the royal orders of 1778, which allowed all people arrested for vagrancy to be released if they could show ways of earning a living. Most of the women imprisoned from then onwards were related to sexual offences. López Barahona, *El cepo y el torno*, p.116-21. Prostitution in brothels was legal and subject to taxes and other regulations. Gafas, *La Sala de Alcaldes*, p.377. See, for instance: AHN, Consejos/Libro/1358 (1770), fol. 614: 'Lista de mujeres que se hallan en la Cárcel de la Corte: Bernarda López, natural de Segovia, de edad 20 años, por vaga y sospechosa: 4 años; Josefa López, natural de la misma ciudad, su edad 17 años, por vaga y sospechosa: 4 años; Thomasa Cavañas, 21 años, por vaga y sospechosa: 4 años; Josefa Gómez, natural de membrilla, de edad 27 años, por vaga y sospechosa: 4 años; María Joseph, natural de Valladolid, 26 años, por vaga y sospechosa: 4 años.' These women were later moved to the San Fernando hospital.
21. Gafas, *La Sala de Alcades*, p.375-82, explains the regime in La Galera in the regulations of 1778 (up at five or six, lunch from twelve till three, work from three to seven) and the duties of the Alcalde.
22. Victoria Lopez Barahona, 'La caza de vagabundas: trabajo y reclusión en Madrid durante la edad moderna', in Pedro Oliver Olmo and Jesus Carlos Urda Lozano (eds), *La prisión y las instituciones punitivas en la investigación histórica* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2014), p.43.
23. Letter of Portillo to Floridablanca, 22 May 1789: 'La abominación en materia de lujuria excede toda ponderación'; 'Luego que entra una mujer, le dicen estas palabras: mira, escoge la que mejor te parezca y amancébate que así no te acordarás de la calle'. Quoted in Salillas, *Evolucion penitenciaria*, p.74.

24. *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes* 285 (1802), p.356: 'sin las dificultades que presentaba esto para los hombres'.

25. These were: the countess of Cassasola, Doña Isabel Martínez de Bongars, Doña Gertrudis Pereda de Asensio, the marchioness of Alameda, the marchioness of Peñafloreda, the marchioness of San Andrés, Doña Antonia Clara Molina de Montoya, Doña Marina Adrea Moreno Daoiz, Doña Rita López de Porras and the countess of Montijo. Quoted in *Mercurio Histórico y Político* (June 1788), p.161.

26. The complete name was Asociación de señoras para ejercitar la caridad con las pobres de la cárcel de la Galera, de la Cárcel de la Corte y de la Cárcel de la Villa. AHN, Consejos, L.5359: 'Constituciones de la Asociación de Señoras para ejercitar la caridad con las pobres de la Galera, de la Cárcel de Corte y de la Cárcel de Villa' (1788).

27. Sarah Lloyd, "'Pleasure's Golden Bait": Prostitution, Poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in Eighteenth-Century London', *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996), p.53.

28. It was known that the salaries that women could earn as laundresses or spinning, sewing or wet-nursing rarely served to earn a living, but did contribute to families' economies. See López Barahona, *El cepo y el torno*, Chapter 10.

29. In Spain women who went from home to home selling knick-knacks were looked on as suspicious and even called 'celestinas', an allusion to the character Celestina in the famous Renaissance novel *The Tragicomedy of Calisto y Melibea*.

30. On the Christian logic of work as a source of happiness see, for instance, the contemporary Pedro Joaquín de Murcia, *Discurso político sobre la importancia y necesidad de los hospicios, casas de expósitos* (Madrid: Imprenta Viuda de Ibarra, 1798), p.50-51.

31. AHN, Consejos, L.5359, 'Constituciones de la Asociación de Señoras para ejercitar la caridad'.

32. See, for instance, the official journal de *Gaceta de Madrid* (24 May 1790), p.179-80: '36 pares de medias, 292 de calcetas, 1396 varas de trencilla fina de seda, 160 bolsillos, 14 pares de mitones, 47 trencillas para relojes, 519 camisas finas, hilando 34 libras de estambre and 1026 de lino.' Other journals also published these reports: see *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes* 285 (1802), p.364.

33. See, for instance, the reports that won awards from the Real Sociedad Económica on the advice of the bishop of Salamanca: Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País, *Colección de las memorias premiadas [...] tratan del ejercicio de la caridad [...], correccion de los ociosos, destierro de la mendicidad voluntaria, y fomento de la industria y aplicacion* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1784); Felipe Beltrán, *Carta pastoral, que el ilustrísimo Señor Don Felipe Bertran obispo de Salamanca inquisidor general [...] proponiendo medios de socorrer a los verdaderos pobres* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1779).

34. Manuel Lardizábal y Uribe, *Discurso sobre las penas contraídas a las leyes criminales de España para facilitar su reforma* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1782).

35. Ramon Giraldo, *Extracto formado por D. Ramon Giraldo [...], de la Asociación de Cárceles de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1803), p.2. The explicit acknowledgement of the Señoras' inspiration is on p.2.

36. Salillas, *Evolucion penitenciaria*, p.92. 'Memorial dirigido al rey en 19 de Agosto de 1815, by the marchioness of Fuerte Híjar'.

37. For the use of reports and other paper technologies in other activities of the Junta, see Elena Serrano, 'Bookkeeping for Caring: Notebooks, Parchment Slips, and Enlightened Medical Arithmetic, in Madrid's Foundling House', in Carla Bitte, Elaine Leong and Christine von Oertzen (eds), *Working with Paper* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019).

38. The bibliography on the Junta is large. A comprehensive review of the bibliography, including a list of its members is in Theresa Anne Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003). Some of the more active

members were the duchess of Osuna (1750-1834), the countess of Montijo (1754-1808), Rosario Cepeda (1756-1816), the countess of Trullas (fl.1819), the marchioness of Fuerte Híjar (1768?-1817) and the marchioness of Espeja (fl.1805). On the relationship of economic societies with politics, see Jesús Astigarraga, 'Economic Societies and the Politicisation of the Spanish Enlightenment', in Jesús Astigarraga (ed.), *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), p.63-81.

39. Carmen Sarasúa, 'Aprendiendo a ser mujeres: las escuelas de niñas en la España del siglo XIX', *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 24 (2002), p.281-97. On the importance of these schools in the overall economy see Victoria López Barahona, 'Las trabajadoras madrileñas del siglo XVIII: familias, talleres y mercados', PhD diss., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (2015), esp. Chapter 11. For women's labour, a primary source is Eugenio Larruga y Boneta, *Memorias políticas y económicas sobre los frutos, comercios, fábricas y minas de España* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Espinosa, 1788), vols. I, III, VII and IX, quoted in López Barahona, 'Las trabajadoras madrileñas'.

40. Paula Demerson, *María Francisca de Sales Portocarreño, Condesa del Montijo: una figura de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975), p.384, Apéndice X: 'Lista de las damas de la Asociación de Caridad encargadas de velar por las presas de las tres cárceles de Madrid que tuvieron un papel determinante de 1788 a 1805'. See also Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison, WI, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). See also AHN/Consejos/Libros 1385 (1795), fol. 506: 'Cuadernillo de las socias de la Asociación de Caridad el día 1 de diciembre de 1795' and the *Libros de la Sala de Alcaldes* for these years.

41. *Gazeta de Madrid* (28 December 1790), p.857-8.

42. After a great fire in Madrid in September 1790, Gutierrez Bueno recommended that vinegar should be burned in order to increase the content of oxygen of several streets. See 'Informe de D. Pedro Gutiérrez Bueno', *Memorial Literario Instructivo y Curioso* XXI September (1790), p.76. In the same article, it was mentioned that a Fontana eudiometer was used to analyse the oxygen content, probably the same one used in December in the measurements of the Señoras. On the relationship of oxygen to air quality, see Simon Schaffer, 'Measuring Virtue: Eudiometry, Enlightenment and Pneumatic Medicine', in Andrew Cunningham and Roger French (eds), *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.281-318; Trevor H. Levere, 'Measuring Gases and Measuring Goodness', in Frederic L. Holmes and Trevor H. Levere (eds), *Instruments and Experimentation in the History of Chemistry* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), p.105-35; and Jan Golinski, *Science as Public Culture: Chemistry and Enlightenment in Britain, 1760-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.117-28. On the proliferation of human testing, see Larry Stewart, 'His Majesty's Subjects: From Laboratory to Human Experiment in Pneumatic Chemistry', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 63 (2009), p.231-45.

43. *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes* 284 (1802), p.363: 'Deseando evitar lo que los médicos llaman las fiebres de las cárceles, se enteraron las señoras de lo que se ha escrito estos últimos tiempos sobre la purificación del aire infecto y tomando una botella de aire, la llevaron al Real Laboratorio de Química [...]'.
 44. Sherrill Cohen, *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500: From Refuges for Ex-Prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.142-64.

45. See, for instance: Michel Manson, *Les livres pour l'enfance et la jeunesse sous la Révolution* (Montreuil: INRP, Bibliothèque Robert-Desnos, 1988); Penelope E. Brown, *A Critical History of French Children's Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore (eds), *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013); Jean Glénisson, 'Le livre pour la jeunesse', in Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (eds), *Histoire de l'édition française* (Paris: Promodis, 1986), vol. III; Mary V Jackson, *Engines of Instruction, Mischief and Magic: Children's Literature in England from Its Beginning to 1839*

(Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989); and Matthew O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

46. Caroline-Stéphanie-Félicité Du Crest, comtesse de Genlis, *Veladas de la quinta* (Madrid: M. Gonzalez, 1788). In French: *Les Veillées du château, ou Cours de morale à l'usage des enfants* (Paris: M. Lambert et F.-J. Baudouin, 1782). I quote from the Spanish edition of 1834.

47. Fernando de Guilleman in the Preface to *Las Veladas de la quinta*: 'Dedico estas novelas con el mayor afecto y veneración a la Respetable Sociedad de Señoras unidas a la Sociedad Matritense, como representantes de todo el Cuerpo de Señoras del Reino', *Las velada de la quinta*, vol. 1.3. In the second volume the list of subscribers was included.

48. Genlis, *Veladas*, p.21.

49. Genlis, *Veladas*, p.22: 'Si no quiere que sus inferiores nunca la falten al respeto, trátelos siempre con dulzura y humanidad'.

50. This penalty is reminiscent of the finger stocks used in boys' schools as an alternative to beating. See the commentaries on the different punishment in J. E. Stephens (ed.), *Aubrey on Education: A Hitherto Unpublished Manuscript by the Author of 'Brief Lives'* (Boston, MA, and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p.29.

51. Project of 1788, realised in 1794: nursery, four wards for prisoners, one ward for 'reservadas', and one for 'corrección'. Special regulation in AHN, Consejos, L. 1379, fols 555r-594, and L. 1384, fols 183r-194r.

52. *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes* 285 (1802), p.3.

53. Julie Peakman, *Amatory Pleasures: Explorations in Eighteenth-Century Sexual Culture* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p.108-12.

54. *Exhibition of Female Flagellants in the Modest and Incontinent World: Proving from indubitable facts that a number of ladies take a secret pleasure in whipping their own, and children committed to their care* (London: G. Peacock, 1777).

55. Stephens (ed.), *Aubrey on Education*, p.29.

56. Tomas Mora, *El hombre en la primera época de su vida*, 3 vols (Madrid: Martínez Dávila, 1827), vol. 1.217: 'practica para fortificar unos habitos funestos, a los cuales hubieran estado sujetos'.

57. See the discussion of the passage in E. S. Burt, 'Developments in Character: Reading and Interpretation in "The Children's Punishment" and "The Broken Comb"', in J. T. Scott (ed.), *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p.441-61.

58. *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes* 284 (1802), p.356-68.

59. However, as a provision to safeguard their children, those not admitted could be received in the nursery of the prison or, if the women were close to delivery, in the Hospital of Desamparados or to the Real Hermandad de la Esperanza.

60. A thorough discussion of how women litigated for their honour and the social consequences is in Renato Barahona, *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain: Vizcaya, 1528-1735* (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), especially p.120-56.

61. Barahona, *Sex Crimes*, p.121.

62. Serrano, 'Bookkeeping for Caring', p.149-75.

63. Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), p.37.

64. See the discussion of the legacy of early modern women's asylum in Cohen, *The Evolution of Women's Asylums*, p.142-64.

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