Household & Family Session 3 – A Woman's Place

"Did the woman's position in the household change?"

Changing attitudes to women

The Protestant Reformation reinforced the authority of the husband and father and the subordination of women in the household and family.

(Quote 1) Some Elizabethans, like **Bishop Aylmer**, doubted whether women were reasoning creatures:

"Women are of two sorts: some of them are wiser, better learned, discreeter, and more constant than a number of men; but another and worse sort of them are fond, foolish, wanton, flibbergibs, tattlers, triflers, wavering, witless, without council, feeble, careless, rash, proud, dainty, tale-bearers, eavesdroppers, rumour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and in everyway doltified with the dregs of the devil's dunghill."

(Quote 2) The **Homily on Marriage**, which from 1562 was ordered by the Crown to be read in Church every Sunday, stated: *"The woman is a weak creature not endued with like strength and constancy of mind; therefore, they be the sooner disquieted, and they be the more prone to all weak affections and dispositions of mind, more than men be; and lighter they be, and more vain in their fantasies and opinions."*

(Quote 3) In 1675, **Hannah Woolley** responded to the view that women were less rational than men**:** *"Vain man is apt to think we were merely intended for the world's propagation, and to keep its human inhabitants sweet and clean, but, by their leaves, had we the same literature, he would find our brains as fruitful as our bodies... most in this depraved age think a woman learned enough if she can distinguish her husband's bed from another's."*

However, by the 18th century, the attitudes among some educated men were beginning to change.

(Quote 4) In 1762, **Dr John Gregory** published a popular advice book in which he showed some men, at least, were holding women in higher regard intellectually: *"I have always considered your sex, not as domestic drudge, or as the sharer of our pleasures, but as our companions and equals."*

By the end of the 18th century, English women seem to have gained a certain level of equality within marriage, which was noted particularly by foreign visitors to England.

IMAGE – 18th Century Couple

(Quote 5) A Prussian, **Baron von Archenholz**, remarked about this peculiarly English trait: *"Husband and wife are always together and share the same society. It is the rarest thing to meet them one without the other. They pay all their visits together. It would be more ridiculous to do otherwise in England than it would be to go everywhere with your wife in Paris."*

Education of women

IMAGE – PRINCESS ELIZABETH

For a brief period between 1520 and 1560, aristocratic women like the young princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey had tutors teaching them a wide range of subjects including grammar, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, arithmetic, theology, history and foreign languages. These tutors were chosen by Elizabeth's step-mother, Katherine Parr, who had a great love of learning.

IMAGE – BOOK SHOWING KATHERINE PARR'S SIGNATURE

But, by the end of the 16th century, education for women of the "better sort" was restricted to the social graces such as music, dancing, needlework and learning French.

IMAGE – MARY SIDNEY WROTH

Puritans, in particular, considered a woman's education should be limited to the basics necessary for them to serve their husbands and bring up their children as good Christians.

IMAGE – PURITAN WOMAN WRITING

(Quote 6) Nine days before her own death in 1662, the puritan **Elizabeh Josselin** told her husband Ralph how she wished her daughter to be educated: *"I desire her bringing up may be learning the Bible as my sisters do, good housewifery, writing and good work; other learning a woman need not."*

(Quote 7) Attitudes in some circles were changing by the 1690s when the philosopher **John Locke** proposed that women should be involved in educating their children. He wanted them to: *"read English perfectly, to understand ordinary Latin and arithmetic, with some general knowledge of chronology and history."*

However **he acknowledged** that there was: *"an apprehension that, should daughters be perceived to understand any learned language or be conversant in books, they might be in danger of not finding husbands, so few men relishing these accomplishments in a lady."*

Even as late as 1754, only one woman in three could sign the marriage register compared with two thirds of men.

Women and the Law

In marriage husband and wife became one person in the eyes of the law. *"The husband and wife are one, and the husband is that one."* (Blackstone).

The husband gained absolute control over his wife's personal property, including full rights in his lifetime over her real estate. Wives could hold no freehold land except through their husbands and could not make wills without their husbands' agreement.

In law, the children also belonged solely to the husband. Even after his death the widow had no rights over them unless she was made guardian in his will.

The 17th century saw a sharp rise in the size of marriage portions (or dowries), which enhanced the attractiveness of a rich wife.

The portion had traditionally gone into the pocket of the groom's father but from the late 17th century it was common for the portion to be invested in land for the benefit of the marrying couple.

Marriage contracts usually allowed the wife "pin money", which provided her with some limited financial independence. However, the majority of women remained totally dependent upon their husband.

The law treated men and women differently in many ways.

For example, a man convicted of murdering his wife would be hanged as a common murderer, but a wife killing her husband was considered to be committing petty treason and would be burned at the stake.

(Quote 8) One of the last cases was reported in the **Kentish Gazette** on 22nd July 1769:

"On Wednesday came on the trial of Susannah Lott, for the murder of her husband, John Lott, of Hythe in this County; after a long hearing she was found guilty and condemned to be drawn upon a hurdle on Friday, the 21st, to the usual place of execution and there to be burnt till she was dead. At the same time, Benjamin Buss, convicted also of the murder of the said John Lott, was condemned to be hanged and his body to be afterwards delivered to the Surgeon, to be dissected and anatomized."

In fact, this woman was mercifully strangled before her body was burnt.

Witches

Belief in witchcraft was widespread in England during the the first half of our period, though from the late 17th century it became confined to the less educated rustic poor.

A woman with particular skills in midwifery, healing or the use of medicines may gain a local reputation as a "wise woman", or practiser of white magic. However, a woman living alone who had a scolding or blasphemous tongue may be branded as a witch, and any misfortunes suffered by her neighbours may be put down to her use of the black arts. Accusations were rarely made against rich or powerful women: it was those subsisting on the margin of the community who were most at risk.

IMAGE – "WITCH" AND TOADS

Though several thousands of women were brought before the courts accused of witchcraft, probably less than 1,000 were actually executed between 1542, when witchcraft entered English common law and 1736 when the witchcraft statutes were finally repealed. This compares with over 4,000 executions in Scotland, a country with less than one fifth of England's population.

Contrary to popular imagination, witches in England were rarely tortured, and they were never burned. Hanging was the prescribed penalty for witchcraft.

At the height of the puritan period in the mid-17th century there were some local panics.

IMAGE – MATTHEW HOPKINS' ERNCOUNTER WITH WITCHES AND THEIR FAMILIARS

The most intense was in Essex in 1645, when the notorious witchfinder Matthew Hopkins succeeded in having 19 women hanged, the largest number ever executed at one time in England.

The small number of prosecutions suggests that the more educated parish elite who operated the courts were cautious in their attitudes towards witchcraft cases. In fact the number of women prosecuted for witchcraft is far exceeded by women coming to court to complain of the slander of being called a witch by a neighbour.

(Quote 9) In 1656, after one Goody Naylor complained that her neighbour Goody Wilding had called her a witch. **The mayor and chief magistrate of Coventry** recorded: *"Upon hearing both sides, I advised them to be friends, or to bring better proof of the words."*

Scolds

Between 1560 and 1650 there was a considerable increase in the number of "unruly" women brought before the courts for adultery, bearing an illegitimate child, keeping unlicensed alehouses, petty theft, brawling or scolding their husbands.

A scolding wife convicted in the manor court might be forced to wear a "scolding cap",

IMAGE – SCOLD's BRIDLE

And many parishes had ducking, or cucking-stools to punish scolds and whores.

IMAGE - DUCKING STOOL

(Quote 10) In 1600, **Mary Taylor of Auckland** came before the Archdeacon's court in Durham because: *"she by her evil and raging temper formeth dissension among her neighbours."*

(Quote 11) A domineering or scolding wife, in particular, was a symbol of the "world being turned upside down" – a reversal of the regular order of things. In 1639, **John Taylor** wrote:
"Ill fares the hapless family that shows
A cock that's silent and a hen that crows.
I know not which live more unnatural lives,
Obedient husbands, or commanding wives."

A husband who suffered a scolding or domineering wife might suffer the public humiliation of a charivari procession or "Skimmington ride"

IMAGE – SKIMMINGTON RIDE

The man was dragged from his house by people from the local community and carried through the streets, or made to ride backwards on a donkey, holding a distaff in his hand. Meanwhile a neighbour, perhaps dressed in woman's clothes, would beat the unfortunate husband with a skimming ladle, used in cheesemaking – which was the origin of the term "Skimmington".

The procession was accompanied by an impromptu band of "rough music", clashing pans, and often ended with the offender being deposited in the stocks or duck-pond.

Cuckolds would be identified by having a pair of animals' horns hung outside their door.

IMAGE – CUCKOLD'S HOUSE

(Quote 12) Sometimes the community punishment was rougher. This description comes from the deposition of **Thomas Mills**, a cutler, and his wife Agnes to the Wiltshire Quarter Sessions in 1618:

"About noon came again from Caine to Quemerford another drummer named William Wiatt, and with him three or four hundred men, some like soldiers armed with pieces and other weapons, and a man riding upon a horse, having a white night cap upon his head, two shoeing horns hanging by his ears, a counterfeit beard upon his chin made of deer's tail, a smock upon the top of his garments, and he rode upon a real horse with a pair of pots under him, and in them some quantity of brewing grains, which he used to cast upon the press of people, rushing over thick upon him in the way as he passed, and he and all his company made a stand when they came just against this examinate's house, and then the gunners shot off their pieces, pipes and horns were sounded, together with cowbells and other similar bells, which the company had amongst them, and ram's horns and buck's horns, carried upon forks were then lifted up and shown.

Thomas Mills … locked the street door and locked his wife into his chamber where she lay … and presently the parties abovementioned and divers others rushed in upon him into his entry, and thence into his hall, and broke open his chamber door upon his wife … and … took her up by the arms and the legs, and carried her out through the hall into the entry, where being a wet hole, they threw her down into it and trod upon her and buried her filthily with dirt and did beat her black and blue in many places."

Women and politics

There was a commonly held belief that women could not be held responsible in law for their actions, because they were under their husbands' jurisdiction.

This might partly explain why women often played a leading role in social disturbances, such as anti-enclosure demonstrations and food riots. Among the many examples is a case in 1537 when about 400 people, mainly women and children, rioted against the enclosure of common land at Giggleswick in Yorkshire. And in 1693, a number of poor women in Oxford market pelted millers and bakers with stones, demanding lower prices for flour and bread.

Women in the Civil Wars

IMAGE – 17th CENTURY COUNTRYWOMAN

During the period of the Civil Wars, many women became involved in radical religious sects and political movements.

Early in 1642 400 female artisans, labourers and shop-girls presented petitions to the Houses of Lords and Commons regarding the decay of the nation. This was the first time in English history when women had taken political action on their own.

(Quote 13) They made it clear that they were not: *"seeking to equal ourselves with men, either in authority or wisdom .... only following the example of the men which have gone ... before us."*

In 1649, during the period of conflict between the Parliament and Leveller movement, **a mass of women** demanded the release of some of the Levellers' leaders.

(Quote 14) They claimed an equal share with the men in the ordering of Church and State:

"because in the free enjoying of Christ in his own laws, and a flourishing estate in the Church ... consisteth the happiness of women as well as men..... We have an equal share and interest with men in the Commonwealth."

(Quote 15) In response, **The Speaker** told them disdainfully: *"Go home and look after your own business and meddle with your own housewifery."*

Some women of the better sort played an active part in the Civil Wars, defending their husbands' homes against enemy forces. The sieges endured by the Royalist garrisons commanded by Lady Arundell at Wardour Castle and the Countess of Derby at Lathom House were among the hardest fought in the whole War.

IMAGE - CHARLOTTE, COUNTESS OF DERBY

(Quote 16) On the opposite side, **Lady Norton,** the wife of the Roundhead Governor of Portsmouth: *"was not only every day in person amongst the workmen (whom she encouraged by her goodly presence) but brought also with her every day 30 or 40 maids and women in a cart to dig and labour in the trenches."*

Women Holding Office

Despite the patriarchal view that women were not generally responsible for their actions, there was no law that explicitly prevented a woman from holding public office, though they rarely occupied positions in their own right.

Women who were property owners, through inheritance on the death of their husband for instance, could stand as and vote for local officers such as constable, churchwarden or overseer of the poor.

In the early 17th century, one of the two churchwardens in the Devonshire village of St Budeaux was usually a woman. At East Budleigh in the same county 21 women held the position of churchwarden in the period 1663 to 1836 and there were several women constables in Derbyshire in the 17th century. However, women often got a man to deputise for them, sometimes even one of their servants.

Women could even technically hold the position of Justice of the Peace or Sheriff, as Lady Anne Clifford did in Westmorland in the late 17th century.

IMAGE – LADY ANNE CLIFFORD

Female householders were equally as liable to be taxed as men, though most independent women were likely to be widows with too little property to be eligible to pay any tax.

END OF PART ONE

PART TWO

The economic role of women, pre-1750

Professional men usually separated their business from their domestic life, but among the middling and the poorer sort it was usual for husband and wife to co-operate in running the economy of the household.

This partnership was closest in shops and in some crafts such as weaving, where husband and wife, and often the children too, operated as a single economic unit.

IMAGE – WEAVING AT HOME

Among the yeomen and husbandmen class, the wife's role was crucial to the family's enterprise; working in the fields, managing poultry, brewing ale in the home, selling produce in the market, spinning and weaving, as well as managing the household economy.

IMAGE - HARVESTING

(Quote 17) In his "Boke of Husbandry", written in 1523, **Anthony Fitzherbert** suggested a modest daily routine for the housewife:

"First in a morning when thou art washed and purposed to rise, lift up thy hand and bless thee, and make a sign of the Holy Cross. And if thy say a Pater Noster and a Credo, and remember the Maker, thou shalt speed much the better.

And when thou are up and ready, then first sweep thy house, dress up thy dishboard and set all things in good order within thy house.

IMAGE – MILKING COW

Milk thy cows, suckle thy calves, strain thy milk, take up thy children and array them, and provide thy husband's breakfast, dinner and supper, and for thy children and servants, and take thy part with them.

IMAGE - COOKING

Thou must make butter, and cheese when thy mayest, serve thy swine both morning and evening, and give thy poultry meat in the morning.

IMAGE – MAKING BUTTER

And when the time of year cometh, thou must take heed how thy hens, ducks and geese do lay and to gather up their eggs. And in the beginning of March, or a little before, is time for a wife to make her garden and to get as many good seeds and herbs as she can, such as be good for the pot and to eat. And as oft as need shall require, it must be weeded, for else the weeds will overgrow the herbs.

IMAGE – GARDENING

And also in March is time to sow flax and hemp. How it should be sown, weeded, pulled, watered, washed, dried, beaten, dressed, spun, would, wrapped and woven, it needeth not for me to show, for thou be wise enough. And therefore may thou make sheets, broadcloths, towels, shirts, smocks and such other necessaries, and therefore let thy distaff be always ready for a pastime, that thou be not idle.

IMAGE – WOMAN WITH DISTAFF

It is convenient for a husband to have sheep of his own, for many causes, and then may his wife have part of the wool to make her husband and herself some clothes. It is a wife's occupation to winnow all manner of corns, to make malt, to wash and wring, to make hay, shear corn, and in time of need to help her husband fill the muck-wain or dung-cart, drive the plough, to load hay, corn and such other.

IMAGE - HAYMAKING

And also to go or ride to the market to sell butter, cheese, milk, eggs, chickens, capons, hens, pigs, geese and all manner of corns. And also to buy all manner of necessary things belonging to the household, and to make a true reckoning and account to her husband of what she hath paid.

IMAGE - MARKET

And thus I leave the wives to use their occupation at their own discretion."

(Quote 18) Things had not changed much by the 1580s, when **Thomas Tusser** published his advice book for the housewife called "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry". **Tusser** listed her morning duties as: *"Cleaning the floors; spinning and carding wool; preparing ingredients for cooking and brewing; preparing breakfast; feeding the cattle; brewing; baking; dairy work; laundry; malting; and preparing dinner at noon."*

In the afternoon she should: *"chivvy her servants back to work; use up the left-overs from dinner; sew; save feathers for pillows; and make candles."*

Her evening work consisted of: *"feeding the hens and pigs; milking the cows; locking up the hens; bringing in the washing; and locking up the house"*

Then she must: *"Serve the supper; amuse her husband; tell the servants what to do the following day; wash the dishes; prepare the yeast; save the fire; and go to bed."*

Tusser recommended the woman's working day should begin at 4 am and end at 10 pm in summer, 5 am and 9 pm in winter.

The daily grind of the housewife of the middling or lesser sort continued throughout our period.

(Quote 19) Travelling in Gloucestershire in the 1660s, **Thomas Baskerville** saw at 4 o'clock in the morning: *"many women of the older sort smoking their pipes of tobacco and yet lost no time, for their fingers were all the while busy at knitting and women carrying their puddings and bread to the bakehouse lost no time but knit on the way."*

(Quote 20) **Judith Carpenter**, a servant in Norfolk, recalled how at harvest time in the 1720s she would:
"go every day with the tithe cart into the fields, and to rake after the cart, and at other times to do all the commercial business of the house, as looking after the dairy, dressing the fowls for market, and if the business of the house was over she used to spin."

The Effect of Waged Labour on the Woman's Role

An economic partnership between husband and wife was less likely when the family was dependent on its men being employed waged labourers, which became increasingly common as patterns of agricultural work and industry changed during the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions.

In 1520 only about 25% of men were waged labourers and most of the remaining 75% were employers, mainly of apprentices or servants. By 1820 the situation had been completely reversed, with up to 70% of men being labourers working for a wage.

This increasing dependence on waged work eroded the role of the family as the main unit of production, and the women in the household were reduced to purely domestic duties.

(Quote 21) At the same time, the wives of the middling and the better sort were becoming increasingly idle. **Marietta Cray** wrote in her diary *"Ladies, dismissed from the dairy, the confectionery, the store-room, the still-room, the poultry-yard, the kitchen garden and the orchard, have hardly yet found themselves a sphere equally useful and important in the pursuits of trade and art to which to apply their abundant leisure."*

Spinsters

From the mid-17th century until the end of our period, there was a rise in the cost of marriage portions, which resulted in a substantial increase in the number of spinsters among the daughters of the elite, from only about 5% in the 16th century to as many as 25% in the 18th century.

IMAGE – 18TH CENTURY SPINSTERS

Up to a quarter of the sons of the elite were still unmarried at the age of 50. The highest proportion was among the younger sons. They could not afford marriage and had to take up a profession such as the army or colonial service, while the eldest son and heir was generally married off successfully in his twenties.

(Quote 22) The Lady's Magazine of 1773 commented:
"The men marry with reluctance, sometimes very late, and a great many are never married at all."

Spinsters as Governesses

By the end of the 18th century "accomplished girls, portionless and homeless" could become governesses to young children in wealthy households.

(Quote 23) Governesses had an equivocal status. As a **contemporary observer** remarked: *"There are three classes of people in the world, men, women and governesses".*

IMAGE - GOVERNESS

Governesses were often low paid, earning between £12 and £30 a year, and they worked from 7 am to 7 pm for seven days a week.

(Quote 24) Spinsters gained a reputation for ill-temper. In 1723, **Daniel Defoe** stated:
"If an old maid should bite anybody, it would certainly be as mortal as the bite of a mad dog."

IMAGE – OLD MAID

(Quote 25) The spinster problem could not be solved because of a lack of vocational education for women and the limited occupations open to them. In the early 19th century, **John Stuart Mill** wrote:
"Women are so brought up, as not to be able to subsist in the mere physical sense without a man to keep them ... They are so brought up as to have no vocation or useful office to fulfil in this world, remaining single ... A single woman, therefore, is felt both by herself and others to be a kind of excrescence on the surface of society, having no use or function or office there."

The Romance Novel

IMAGE – ROMANCE NOVEL

The advent of the romance novel in the 18th century was disapproved of at the time for raising unachievable expectations in the minds of young women.

(Quote 26) Oliver Goldsmith remarked:

"How delusive, how destructive, are those pictures of consummate bliss. They teach the youthful mind to sigh after beauty and happiness which never existed, to despise that little good which fortune has mixed up in our cup, by expecting more than she ever gave."

(Quote 27) In 1772 **"The Universal Magazine"** reported:

"Of all the arrows which Cupid had fired at youthful hearts (the modern novel) is the keenest. There is no resisting it. It is the literary opium that lulls every sense into delicious rapture ... In contempt of the Marriage Act post-chaises and young couples run smoothly on the North Road."

(Quote 28) In the following year, a writer in **"The Lady's Magazine"** complained:

There is scarce a young lady in the Kingdom who has not read with avidity a great number of romances and novels, which tend to vitiate the taste."

The romance novel played a part in changing social attitudes towards the idea of marrying for love, rather than money or preferment.

The move towards companionate marriage

As an introduction to our closer look at marriage next week, this session finishes with the story of Mary Granville.

Mary was born in 1700, the daughter of a junior member of an impoverished family with close court connections. A Mr. Twyford asked to marry her when she was only 15 years of age, but his parents flatly refused their permission, probably because she had no fortune.

Twyford was apparently driven to collapse by the rebuff and by Mary's marriage three years later. **She** recorded in her autobiography:

"His mother's cruel treatment of him and absolute refusal of consent for his marrying me affected him so deeply as to throw him into a dead palsy. He lost the use of his speech, though not of his senses, and when he strove to speak, he could not utter a word or two, but he used to write perpetually and I was the only subject of his pen. He lived in this wretched state about a year after I was married. When he was dead, they found under his pillow a piece of cut paper, which he had stolen out of my closet."

At the age of 17, while Mary was staying with her uncle, Lord Lansdowne, at Longleat, she was brought into the company of Alexander Pendarves, a rich 60 year old Cornish landowner. Pendarves found Mary attractive and her uncle and aunts set about arranging a marriage, paying no regard to her personal feelings:

"I thought him ugly and disagreeable; he was fat, much afflicted with gout, and often sat in a sullen mood, which I concluded was from the gloominess of his temper."

One day, Mary's uncle: *"took me by the hand, and after a very pathetic speech of his love and care of me and of my father's unhappy circumstances, my own want of fortune, and the little prospect I had of being happy if I disobliged those friends that were desirous of serving me, he told me of Pendarves' passion for me, and his offer of settling his whole estate on me; he then, with great art and eloquence, told me all his good qualities and vast merit, and how despicable I should be if I could refuse him because he was not young and handsome.*

I had nobody to advise with; every one of the family had persuaded themselves that this would be an advantageous match for me - no one considered the sentiments of my heart; to be settled in the world, and ease my friends of an expense and care, they urged that it was my duty to submit, and that I ought to sacrifice everything to that one point."

They were married in 1717. Mary conceded Pendarves was a kindly old gentleman, but he never won her affection. Worried by debts, and his

failure to earn his wife's love, Pendarves took to drinking. This state of affairs was aggravated by the attentions shown to Mary by some of her husband's younger friends. The Earl of Clare, who was married to Mary's aunt, wrote to her deploring: *"my unhappy situation in being nurse to an old man and declared most passionately his admiration for me."*

Mary's autobiography recorded her husband's deterioration: *"As to his person he was excessively fat, of a brown complexion, negligent in his dress, and took a vast quantity of snuff, which gave him a dirty look: his eyes were black, small, lively and sensible; he had an honest countenance, but altogether a person rather disgusting than engaging. He was good-natured and friendly, but so strong a Tory "party man", that he made himself many enemies.... He was very sober for two years after we married, but then he fell in with a set of old acquaintance, a society famed for excess in wine, and to his ruin and my misery was hardly ever sober. This course of life soured his temper, which was naturally good, and the days he did not drink were spent in a gloomy sullen way, which was infinitely worse to me than his drinking; for I did not know how to please or entertain him, and yet no one ever heard him say a snappish or cross thing to me."*

Pendarves died in 1726, without signing his will, so Mary did not become a wealthy heiress as her parents had intended. Despite this news, **Mary** admitted her husband had been: *"very obliging in his behaviour to me, and I have often reproached myself bitterly for my ingratitude (if it can be so called) in not loving a man who had so true an affection for me."*

One of her potential suitors during her husband's declining years had been the young Lord Baltimore. Three years after Pendarves' death, Baltimore met Mary at the opera and confessed that he: *"had been in love with me for five years."* Although she was very much attracted to him, she put him off for the moment and soon afterwards he married an enormously rich heiress.

This event turned **Mary** violently against men: *"Every day my dislike strengthens; some men I will except, but very few, they have so despicable an opinion of women and treat them by their words and actions so ungenerously and inhumanly."*

Mary's story is an introduction to the complexities of marriage in the Early Modern period and reflects the disastrous results of pure romantic love for Mr. Twyford, the classic arranged marriage to Pendarves, adulterous attempts on the chastity of married women, and Lord Baltimore's final choice of marriage for money rather than for love.