

Commentary on Women Driving Carriages, 1875-1914

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Abstract

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Suzanne Beauvais ^a and William R. Robbins ^b

Abstract:

Stereotypes existed about women driving carriages. Perceptions reported through published commentary accentuating women's allegedly intuitive faults, weaknesses and character deficiencies inevitably consign them to a subordinate position, less capable than men. Privately owned horse-drawn carriages of the affluent middle and upper classes in urban North America, dating from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, 1875, until about 1914, are representative of embedded gender categorization. Carriage classification according to type and user is indicative of a gender profile and the intersection of gender identity contrasts between men and women. Gender prevalence becomes apparent when we understand conceptually carriages are more than mere mechanical conveyances.

Keywords: carriage, driving, women, gender, horse

Gender as an important factor is studied in transportation history in many fields: marine, aviation, railway, cycling, and of course, the automobile. The incidence of gender, however, has not been examined in the same manner with regard to horse-drawn vehicles.¹ Indeed, no matter the topic, and with a few exceptions, horse-drawn transportation, so it seems, is politely overlooked by historians in favour of the other modes.²

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1. Today, informative publications for carriage driving enthusiasts are more about the correct turnout and appointments than gender. See, for instance, the Carriage Association of America's series of standard references for traditional drivers, such as; Tom Ryder, ed., *The CAA Guide to Carriage Turnout and Appointments, No. 6, Ladies Turnouts* (Lexington, Kentucky: Carriage Association of America, ca. 2000); Barry Dickinson, "Ladies' Phaetons. An historical look at correctly turned out phaetons," *The Carriage Journal* 43, no. 5 (October 2005): 232-235.

Gender can be defined as the socially constructed roles, behaviours and activities that are attributed to men and women and considered appropriate to them which vary depending on the era and geography.

2. Fortunately, for the North American context, historians such as Thomas Kinney, Heather Robertson and a few others have produced very good studies on diverse aspects of the carriage industry. See Thomas A. Kinney, *The Carriage Trade: Making Horse-Drawn Vehicles in America* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Heather Robertson, *Driving Force: The McLaughlin Family and the Age of the Car* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995); Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); E. P. Duggan, "The education of American carriage makers, 1880-1916," *The Journal of Transport History* 11, no. 1 (March 1990): 1-11.

Land transport is a compelling sector for historians of technological change and development, economists as well as urban historians. Their investigative research of company records, the machinery and technology of manufacturing and the production of various types of transport has produced contributions which enhance the profile of transport history. The attractive lure of railways and motor vehicles has served to foster a considerable body of scholarship; the horse-drawn transportation industry, not commanding the same appeal, has been much less fortunate. Margaret Walsh contends transport history as regards to gender perspectives has been male dominated. 'For too long the subject area has had a predominately, if not exclusively, masculine appearance. Written primarily by men for a male audience, and focusing on machinery, technology and the operation of transport companies, it has become ghettoised.' 'Thus the feminine side of transport ventures has, for the most part, been ignored.'³ Carriages and sleighs, retained in private or museum collections, have been mainly the objects of studies done by curators, amateur historians, and collectors on their typology, or exploring specific themes.⁴

In contrast, horse-drawn vehicles were the subject of several important works during the 18th and 19th centuries, such as: Ezra Stratton, *World on Wheels: or Carriages, with Their Historical Associations from the Earliest to the Present Time* (New York: Ezra Stratton, 1878); Francis T. Underhill, *Driving for Pleasure, Or the Harness Stable and its Appointments* (New York: D. Appleton, 1897. Reprint, Evansville, Indiana: Unigraphic, Inc., 1980); William Bridges Adams, *English Pleasure Carriages: Their Origin, History, Varieties, Materials, ...* (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1837); William Felton, *A Treatise on Carriages: Comprehending Coaches, Chariots, Phaetons, Curricles, Whiskies & c.* (London: William Felton, 1794).

3. Margaret Walsh, 'Gendering Transport History Retrospect and Prospect,' *The Journal of Transport History* 23, no. 1 (March 2002):1.

4. For example: Don H. Berkebile, *Carriage Terminology: An Historical Dictionary* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press & Liberty Cap Books, 1978); J.-L. Libourel, *Voitures hippomobiles. Vocabulaire typologique et technique* (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2005); G.W.W. Houghton, *The Hubs Vocabulary of Vehicles: a complete dictionary of vehicle names, their origin and derivations* (New York: Trade News Pub. Co., 1892); Numerous publications by Susan Green, for example, John S. Foggett, *The Manufacture of Carriage Wheels* (Orwigsburg, PA: Susanø Books LLC, 2007); Susan Green, and Michael P. DøAmato, *Harness Racing Vehicles* (Orwigsburg, PA: Susanø Books LLC, 2008); Susan Green, *Horse Drawn Sleighs* (Mendham, NJ: Astragal Press, 2nd ed., ca. 2003); Lilian Baker Carlisle, *The Carriages at Shelburne Museum*, Museum pamphlet no. 1 (Shelburne, VT: The Shelburne Museum, 1956); Kenneth E. Wheeling, *Horse-Drawn Vehicles at the Shelburne Museum* (Shelburne, VT: Shelburne Museum, 1974); *The Carriage Collection* (Stony Brook, NY: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1986); *19th Century American Carriages: Their Manufacture, Decoration and Use* (Stony Brook, NY: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1987); Merri Ferrell, 'To supplant the body in the most Agreeable Manner. Nineteenth-Century Carriage Trimming,' *The Carriage Journal* 46, no. 4 (August 2008):199-207; R. MacKinnon, 'Carriage Making in St. John's Newfoundland: A Folkloristic Perspective on a Historical Industry,' *Bulletin d'histoire de la Culture Matérielle*, 27 (1988): 15-26; C. Corriveau, *Les Voitures à Chevaux au Québec* (Sillery, Qué.: Septentrion, 1991); P. Lambert, *Les anciennes diligences du Québec : le transport en voiture publique au XIX^e siècle* (Sillery, Qué.: Septentrion, 1998); Michael Hand, *From Wagon to Trailer: A History of Trailmobile Canada and its Forerunners* (Brantford, Ont.: Michael Hand 1997).

The presence of gender categorization was unmistakable in the decades prior to Reconstruction; evident in sermons from the pulpit, pious pamphlets, medical and scientific papers, it connected social order to the natural order, assessing the difference between men and women as established.⁵ This paper examines the array of published commentary on women driving carriages and the extension of gender categorization to carriages. Our time frame dates from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, 1875, until about 1914. Very often referred to as the Gilded Age, this period ensuing post-Civil War reconstruction witnessed exceptional industrial innovation and expansion, accompanied by a rapid increase in population and corresponding growth of urban centres. The number of carriage and wagon manufacturing firms increased from 3,841 in 1879, peaking at 7,632 in 1900. By 1904 annual production had reached 1.712 million vehicles before slowly decreasing to 1.126 million in 1914. Economic broad-based prosperity and the accumulation of wealth contributed to an upsurge of the middle and upper classes and attuned their sense of social status. Carriage ownership proliferated as did the associated weight of social implications for men and women.⁶ For Thorstein Veblen, author of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, being held in õgood reputö is a significant social factor, underpinned by õpecuniary strengthö and openly demonstrated by õconspicuous consumptionö.⁷ Being seen in fine carriages produced by builders in New York or London and Paris, who were recognized for the exceptional craftsmanship of their vehicles, conferred a certain cachet of distinction.

At its core this paper is constructed around the carriage. Publications on manners and etiquette and on riding and driving constitute our reference sources. We acknowledge that our study by design is limited in context to the urban, privately owned horse-drawn transportation present among the financially enabled middle and upper classes in North America. We studied only carriages and not sleighs, which is another vast domain in transportation history. A

5. Sue Davis, *The political thought of Elizabeth Cady Stanton: women's rights and the American political traditions* (New York, NYU Press, 2010), 99,200; William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (New York, Harper, 1883), 119-120.

6. *The Gilded Age: Perspectives on the Origins of Modern America*, ed. Charles William Calhoun (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Maryland, 2nd edition, 2007), 11-27, 101-117, 211-237; Robert J. Gordon, *The rise and fall of American growth: The US standard of living since the civil war* (Princeton University Press, 2016), 1-7, 27-31, 46-49; Charles Hirschman and Elizabeth Mogford, "Immigration and the American industrial revolution from 1880 to 1920," *Social Science Research* 38, no. 4 (2009): 897-920; Peter G. Goheen, "Industrialization and the growth of cities in nineteenth-century America," *American Studies* 14, no. 1 (1973): 49-65; Thomas A. Kinney, *The Carriage Trade: Making Horse-Drawn Vehicles in America* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 34 (Table 1.2), 114 (Table 4.1), 297 (Table 8.2); Willard Long Thorp, *The integration of industrial operation: a statistical and descriptive analysis of the development and growth of industrial establishments and of the size, scope and structure of combinations of industrial establishments operated from central offices*, Vol. 3 (US Government Printing Office, 1924), 69 (Table 27), 70 (Chart E).

7. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*, (New York: B. W. Huebsch, New Edition, 1918 ©1912), 68-101; Young Jee Han, Joseph C. Nunes, and Xavier Drèze, "Signaling Status with Luxury Goods: The Role of Brand Prominence," *Journal of Marketing* 74, no. 4 (July 2010): 18.

comprehensive examination of the material culture of carriages is beyond the scope of this paper but we acknowledge this topic deservedly warrants investigation. Gender within the carriage industry itself was not assessed. As objects of mobility, carriages convey meaning through their form, imparting societal implications of wealth, status and gender relationships. The focus of our analysis is an exploratory assessment of the users' role, that is, the socially constructed interaction of men and women and the conveyance of gender relations expressed in and through various types of carriages. Plainly, this paper concerns more than carriages as transportation technology.

To borrow a phrase from Marshall McLuhan, 'the medium is the message'; it is the vehicle as a medium which communicates status, position and the social interaction of individuals. Carriages are visual statements for owners and observers alike, conveying subjective impressions, reminders of social status and worth, outwardly serving as platforms for the display of gender role expectations.⁸

Attaining status through upward mobility provided privileges and advantages, shaping identities and finding expression through social stratification and categorization of difference. Paired with the ideological separation of men and women, gender differentiation socially defined limits, influencing relational behaviour, as well as the exercise of self-determination and power. The construction of gender categories is fundamentally social inequality which, for the period under consideration, was believed to be an extension of the natural order. Concerning women in particular, biological difference was marked by a repertoire of inferences; weakness, fragility and indecisiveness, stated as fact, exacerbated their natural order inequality.⁹

For members of the middle and upper classes, categorization of difference, social class respectability and material lifestyle became inseparable. Unlike their many other material possessions, a carriage when turned out becomes a moving statement, exposing for all to see and judge one's class and position. In their search for recognition, guidance was sought to provide structure as well as social cohesion. A proliferation of widely distributed magazines, newspapers and self-improvement books appeared in the decades following the end of Reconstruction. These supplied direction on all manner of subjects such as; values, codes of conduct, etiquette and interpersonal relationships. Among the writers and pundits were members of the middle and upper classes, who, in different ways, connected gender identity with social stratification and respectability. Neither carriages nor the drivers are exempt from their scrutiny. Adhering to social correctness is an expectation.¹⁰

8. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 7.

9. *Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Social Class: Dimensions of Inequality*, ed. Susan J. Ferguson (Sage Publications, Inc.: Los Angeles, 2012), xiii-3; Michael S. Kimmel, "Men's responses to feminism at the turn of the century." *Gender & Society* 1, no. 3 (1987): 261-283; Charles E. Rosenberg, "Sexuality, class and role in 19th-century America." *American Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1973): 131-153.

10. J. F. Kasson, *Rudeness & civility: manners in nineteenth-century urban America* (New York, Hill and Wang, 1990), 34-69; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1885-1905*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957), 1-17; Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 1-26.

Our motivation to study commentary on women driving carriages between 1875 and 1914 came about after viewing vehicle fashion plates and advertisements in *The Hub* and *The Carriage Monthly*, two widely circulated North American carriage trade journals and the contents of carriage makers catalogues. Manufacturers and builders produced an impressive array of vehicle styles. Some models were attributed feminine names or were gender specific in their definition of use. Authors of carriage driving books and writers of magazine and journal articles on the subject of horsemanship and driving perceived women as being far less capable drivers than men, invoking gender difference to bolster their arguments.

Our research on gender in carriages reveals that, as with other modes of transportation, carriages cannot be looked at simply as man-made transport objects as they carry notions of classes, uses, settings—urban or rural—but also of gender. In fact, gendered attitudes in the car culture already existed in the horse-drawn culture and seemingly may even have originated therein.

An outward manifestation of natural order identity, as well as being socially determined, driving and traveling in the nineteenth century was imbued with gender contrasts between men and women. With the development, acceptance and self-imposition of codes of conduct and social norms in Victorian society, originating from the separate spheres theory, men and women faced very different expectations as to their ways of acting, dressing, speaking, and also, traveling. Books on manners and etiquette were published in Europe, Great Britain, and North America. Some of the rules specifically concerned carriage driving. Writers of both genders, who were recognized authorities on matters of horsemanship and carriages, likewise wrote about the subject driving. These sources provide a framed perspective through which it is possible to consider the social conventions respectable ladies and gentlemen were expected to follow and how ladies driving a vehicle were perceived.

In North America, the middle and upper classes sought a social identity that was based upon non-landed wealth.¹¹ Possessing neither title nor inheritance, two defining social attributes most often associated with the gentry and aristocracy, the gender ideology of separate spheres provided a conceptual model to frame social identity and interpersonal relationships. To some extent, it is an attractive proposition to consider the theory of separate spheres as a then contemporary form of “model-dependent realism”. That is, “when such a model is successful at

11. Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge [England], New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-16. As a social development, the idea of a middle class as a distinct group formed within the larger construct of society is definably elusive. In a review of Stuart M. Blumin's, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*, Maris A. Vinovskis proposes an explanation. “Perhaps one of the main reasons why the term middle class was so ambiguous in the past as well as today is because it refers not only to one's occupational or economic circumstances but also to one's goals and life style.” Maris A. Vinovskis, “Stalking the Elusive Middle Class in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33, no. 3 (July 1991): 586; Daniel Walker Howe, “American Victorianism as a Culture,” *American Quarterly*, 27 no. 5, Special Issue: Victorian Culture in America (December 1975): 508, 513-514; Melanie Archer and Judith R. Blau, “Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: The Case of the Middle Class,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (August 1993): 17-41.

explaining events, we tend to attribute to it, and to the elements and concepts that constitute it, the quality of reality or absolute truth.ö í öIt follows that a well-constructed model creates a reality of its own.ö¹²

As a social template, separate spheres offered members of the aspiring classes rationality; a certain way of understanding gender roles. An abundance of conventional wisdom furnished reassuring principles that were explicable, inherent and logical. Though hardly objective, these ascribed values, at times phrased as common sense views, encouraged an attitude of the mind about the relational categorization of men and women.

Under the guise of a paradigm of gender relations, separate spheres, however, was not so much a form of ömodel-dependent realismö as it was an aspirational ideal that appealed to the middle and upper classes and to their sense of identity. Even as an illusory promise, separate spheres was an attractive fundamental concept, designed to influence attitudes and social behaviour; akin to social engineering ó a guiding hand directing relationships. It fostered a large body of didactic writing; interpretive conduct books, magazines and even morality sermons from the pulpit, offering both guidance and admonishment to men and women.¹³ Rules of social conduct, standards of behaviour and codes of etiquette were crafted and disseminated. However, these were unlike the rules of chess wherein each move is regulated and the hierarchical relationship between the pieces carefully defined. Separate spheres was not an unequivocal social proposition. A body of historiographical inquiry considers it to be otherwise. Gender relations, social interaction and conduct are significantly more complex. These are dynamic associations within a social group which shares commonly held values, beliefs and aspirations. The element of choice, when presented with a selection of possibilities, is also an important factor. Social group preferences and individual decisions are often different and this is further compounded by gender.¹⁴

Insofar as the advancement of separate spheres by proponents was structured as a formative argument, making use of assertions and historical validation, this concept of social positioning and relationships was unavoidably conditioned by cultural memory. The correlation between omnipresent gender and memory was select, though not without purpose. Interpreted and plagued with the vagaries of recollection; evidentiary authenticity not contested and memory, notwithstanding, collectively reinforced both individual and group social class

12. Stephen Hawking and Leonard Mlodinow, *The Grand Design* (New York, U.S.A.: Bantam Books, 2010), 42-43, 172.

13. Howe, öAmerican Victorianism,ö 521, 527-529.

14. Separate spheres and its manifest complexity has been examined from a variety of perspectives, such as: Joan W. Scott, öGender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,ö *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December, 1986): 1053-1075; Amanda Vickery, öGolden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History,ö *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 383-414; Nancy Isenberg, öSecond Thoughts on Gender and Women's History,ö *American Studies* 36, no. 1 (Spring, 1995): 93-103 and Linda K. Kerber, öSeparate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History,ö *The Journal of American History* 175, no. 1 (June 1988): 9-39.

identity. Within these identities, moreover, an inclusion of gender distinction shaped the distribution of power and status, replete with inequity and inequality.¹⁵ Memory and history is a compelling and at times a very persuasive combination. "Neither memory nor history," however, as Price and Thonemann contend, "provides an innocent account of past events: both create their own versions of the past, and both are products of their own time."¹⁶ Hardly unsullied, the separate spheres narrative of gender relations and social identity was a mindful composition, assembled from memory and history, in different places and at many points in time. Whether consciously or unconsciously, neither history nor memory remain unaffected by the influencing presence of gender.¹⁷

Separate spheres, though, was not successful in unifying the complexity of gender relations. Stereotypes were reinforced through general interest magazines; yet, the infusion of ideas about gender roles enlarged the on-going debate about the station of middle-class women. An ever changing social environment reshaped the dynamics between men and women. Robert B. Shoemaker has argued, "the impact of ideological prescriptions on day-to-day practice was limited: the spheres were never truly separate, certainly not physically."¹⁸ Taking this reasoning a little further, the two spheres were interdependent; one could not exist without the other and their relationship, a self-reinforcing necessity for the maintenance of class and gender identity.

As an abstract analogy, separate spheres implied the presence of a discretely ordered structure. This neatly constructed arrangement did not reflect the complexity of the actions of men and women which, in practice, were much more dynamic and traversed these idealized divisions. Considered from another perspective, spheres for men and spheres for women are synonymous with the distinction of gendered spaces. These are most often conceived as some form of structured entity, such as a home or building or a space within a building in which there are individualized or personal spaces that provide gender separation. As a defining proposition, gendered space is not entirely dependent on four tangible walls. To the same degree, as

15. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender, and the Social Order* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), xi-xiii, 2-11; Jenéa Tallentire, "Strategies of memory: History, social memory, and the community," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 34, no. 67 (2001): 197-200, 208, 10.

16. Simon Price and Peter Thonemann, *The Birth of Classical Europe – A History from Troy to Augustine* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2010), 7; *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-4, 10-13.

17. Ann Rigney, "Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory," *Journal of European Studies* 35, no. 1 (March 2005): 11-28; Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105-140; Sylvia Paletschek, "Opening up Narrow Boundaries: Memory Culture, Historiography and Excluded Histories from a Gendered Perspective," in *Gendering Historiography: Beyond National Canons*, eds. Angelika Eppele and Angelika Schaser (Frankfurt, Germany, New York, U.S.A: Campus Verlag, 2009), 163-177.

18. Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 318.

individual objects infused with gender based inferences, carriages are likewise gendered spaces, albeit perceived and experienced differently by men and women.¹⁹

The discourse on separate spheres allocated the private space to women and the public space to men. Management of domestic life fell under the women's responsibilities and for those who were a member of an upper social class this included social networking, a very important task for the social establishment of the couple or family. It was the ladies' duty to make social calls which took the form of parties, dinners, and morning visits (call or card leaving), which we can define as their domestic public sphere.²⁰

Urban parks were developed during the 19th century and recreational promenades in the park, although a form of leisure was also a socially and geographically defined activity. Whether walking or driving, promenades were socially expressive with driving the latest carriage style being the more significant. Francis T. Underhill dryly notes:

The more eccentric the type, the shorter lived it is and the sooner it must be supplanted. This quality is just what is wanted by our rapidly growing class of nouveaux riches. They wish their acquaintances to know that they buy a new carriage every year, so the more noticeable the change the better they are suited. Who can blame the coachbuilders for catering to this class, who form really their best-paying patrons? ²¹

The park as a venue brought together individuals and families of the middle and upper classes; here they publically interacted with their peers and exhibited their status.

19. Andrea J. Merrett, "From separate spheres to gendered spaces: the historiography of women and gender in 19th century and early 20th century America." *The Proceedings of Spaces of History/Histories of Space: Emerging Approaches to the Study of the Built Environment* (A Conference at the University of California, Berkeley, April 30 & May 1, 2010), 1-23; *Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on Gender Transformations: From Private to Public*, ed. Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012), 1-20, 231-275; Jessica Ellen Sewell, *Women and the everyday city: Public space in San Francisco, 1890-1915* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xi-xxxiii, 1-14, 127-168.

20. Andrew St. George, *The Descent of Manners: Etiquette, Rules & the Victorians* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993); *Manners and Rules of Good Society: or Solecisms to be Avoided* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 29th edition, 1906); *The Home Treasury of useful and entertaining knowledge on the art of making home happy, and an aid in self-education; the laws of etiquette and good society; home amusements;* (Toronto, London, Brockville, St. John: J.S. Robertson & Bros, 1883); John H. Young, *Our Deportment or the Manners, Conduct and Dress of the Most Refined Society* (Detroit, Michigan and Hamilton, Ontario: F. B. Dickerson & Co., 1880).

21. Francis T. Underhill, *Driving for Pleasure: or The Harness Stable and its Appointments* (New York, D. Appleton: 1897; reprint, Evansville, IN: Unigraphic, Inc., 1980), 135; David Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade: The Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth Century New York," *Social History* 17, no. 2, (May 1992): 203-227; Kevin Coffee, "The Material Significance of Carriage Drives to the Design of Central Park," *The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 38, no. 1 (2012): 75-92.

To accomplish these social obligations and formal outings, proper etiquette limited ladies in their choice of carriage and appointments, the corresponding appropriate dress for the time of day, and the accepted accompaniment:

For formal ladiesøtraps, such as Phaetons, it is perfectly permissible to wear a large hat of the prevailing fashion and an afternoon or calling gown. Where the owner is driving a trap of this kind on a formal occasion, the costume should not be tailor-made, and her costume should produce the effect that she is out for a pleasure drive. With sporting traps and carts of all kinds, on the other hand, the costume should be strictly tailor-made and the hat small and not inclined to blow off. This is particularly so for tandem driving, and in that case the general effect should be mannish, and particular care should be taken to have everything securely fastened so that undivided attention may be given to the horses and reinsí ²²

The lady became part of a harmonious ensemble consisting of herself, the carriage, the servantsô coachman and groomô the horses, and their harness. Customarily used to describe music, works of art and more frequently womenø fashions, a harmonious ensemble is a general notion of something which was aesthetically pleasing, appealing to one or more of the five senses. Concerning the lady who is part of a harmonious ensemble, the six single elements, each distinguishable on the basis of their merits, are fused to form a composite of complementary qualities and which are then viewed as one entity. Having a carriage which was harmonious was critically important. Internally, the carriage trade sought to produce vehicles that realized a proper balance encompassing design, colour, trimming and appointments, ôthus forming a certain harmonious combination which, without attracting attention to any one part, pleases and gives satisfaction as a wholeö.²³ Otherwise, ôif the practical eye of experienced men be not satisfied that every part which makes up the whole is distinguished for superior excellence, it will stand a fair chance of being left out in the coldö.²⁴

Carriage driving as experienced by men and women is described by etiquette and equestrian writers in accordance with gender. Gentlemen, though less so than women, were also subject to rules of etiquette when going out on formal business. Unlike the lady, who is an integrated part of a harmonious ensemble, the gentleman is not similarly viewed. Relative gender difference is a factor. Undoubtedly, both expected and required their respective carriages

22. Belle Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (New York: Charles Scribnerø Sons, 1912), 259-260: Carriage driving allowed ladies to be more elegant if driving to calls instead of walking, *Home Treasury*, 245; *Manners and Rules of Good Society...*, 29-39, 189, 193-195; ôIn the carriage a lady may dress as elegantly as she pleases.ö *Routledge's Manual of Etiquette* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1886), 12. For a socially active lady, whether going for a carriage drive, making a morning call or undertaking a promenade; ôTo dress well requires good taste, good sense and refinement.ö *Our Deportment or the Mannersí*, 313, 320-322.

23. ôPurity of Taste as Applied to Carriage Building,ö *The New York Coach-Maker's Magazine* 2, no. 8 (January 1860): 145.

24. ôOur London Letter. Long-Acre, London, February, 1873,ö *The Hub* 15, no. 1 (April 1, 1873): 20; ôArt In Carriage Building,ö *The Hub* 35, no. 6 (September 1893): 480.

to be harmonious throughout and when driven, properly turned out. The gentleman is not assessed, however, in relation to the carriage, as one of the ensemble's complementary elements. He is differentiated from the carriage; thereby two discernable entities are evident. The carriage is a subordinate entity, serving as a platform or medium advantageous to the gentleman, which he uses to validate his individuality, social position and demonstrable driving skills.²⁵ As for the lady, her identity is subsumed by the harmonious ensemble, a circumstance which is comparably unfavourable.

The first difference lies with the carriages themselves. Certain vehicles are indeed defined as being more feminine than others. In *Driving for Pleasure*, Francis T. Underhill, enumerates vehicles appropriate for ladies.²⁶ These vehicles are: George IV Phaeton, Petersø Ladyø Phaeton, Ladyø Phaeton, Ladyø Brougham, Ladiesø Trap, Panel-Boot Victoria (So-Called Cabriolet), Vis-à-Vis, and Paris Ladyø Chaise, for a total of nine. The George IV Phaeton and the Petersø Ladiesø Phaeton are considered by Underhill as the standard ones for park work for ladies.²⁷ Looking at the vehicles appropriate for ladies, there are three broad groups: those that are driven by a lady without any provision for a servant, those that are driven by a lady and turned out with a groom, and lastly those wherein the lady is a passenger and the carriage is turned out with a coachman or a coachman and a groom. See Table 1 below which breaks down the vehicles appropriate for ladies into three broad groups.

Table 1
Carriages Appropriate for Ladies

Driven by a lady without a groom	Driven by a lady with a groom	Lady as a passenger turned out with a coachman or a coachman and a groom
Paris Ladyø Chaise	George IV Phaeton	Ladyø Brougham
Ladyø Phaeton	Petersø Ladyø Phaeton	Cabriolet (Panel-Boot Victoria)
Ladyø Country Trap		Victoria
		Vis-à-Vis

The majority are formal carriages, low-hung for easy access. The Victoria, named in honour of Queen Victoria, was ideally suited for fashionable ladies making formal calls or promenades. As a park carriage, it is described as belonging to the class of 'grand carriages,'

25. 'Future Possibilities,' *The Hub* 34, no. 1 (April 1892): 7; 'Riding and Driving,' *The Hub* 34, no. 7 (October 1892): 239.

26. Francis T. Underhill was a judge at horse shows. Underhill, *Driving for Pleasure*, 139-140, 143, 147-151.

27. *Ibid.*, 140: 'While there are several other phaëtons for ladies' use, there seem to be none suited to park work, and which may be considered standard, except these two.'

surpassing the Cabriolet.²⁸ Observing the small number of carriages allocated to women, Underhill notes that in fact many women have been driving men's carriages to compensate: "The field (carriages for lady's use) in this instance is a very narrow one, and in consequence a great many women have been inclined to affect the driving of a man's carriage."²⁹ Underhill's noteworthy remark is an informed opinion, based upon two lines of reasoning. The first is derived from the carriages included in *Driving for Pleasure*. Only nine vehicles out of a total of 52 vehicles were for ladies. Secondly, he is apparently aware, through observation, women are evidently dissatisfied with such a limited selection and by recourse, choose "carriages appropriate to a gentleman's driving" ³⁰ Having arrived at an understanding of what is taking place, Underhill goes no further, nor does he question or reconcile why only certain vehicles "are suitable for a lady's use". Contrary to the social expectations of the separate spheres theory, women are making decisions and different choices about what type of vehicle they wish to drive. The action of women driving carriages, regarded as for men, is more than an outward sign of discontent. It is a tangible appropriation of male gendered space.

Underhill also presents vehicles directly identified as being suited to men. They are: Mail Phaeton, Demi-Mail Phaeton, Stanhope Phaeton, Spider Phaeton, T-Cart, Four-Wheeled Dog-Cart (or Gamecart), Bachelor Brougham, Curricule, Cabriolet, and Hansom Cab, for a total of ten. A good number are driven by the owner himself, some require the presence of a groom and/or a coachman. Initially, the number of vehicles categorized for men appears not to be very different than the number of vehicles for women. There is, however, another group of vehicles included in *Driving for Pleasure* that moves this numerical relationship significantly in favour of men. When describing this group of vehicles, Underhill refers to "men," "gentlemen," and "the coaching man." These are vehicles used for coaching; the Road Coach and the Park Drag and those employed for four-in-hand driving; the Body Break with and without a perch, Roof Seat Break, Char-a-Banc, Skeleton Break and the Omnibus. Within the context of the society at the time he was writing, it was understood these vehicles were to be driven by men. Other carriages, two-wheelers, subtly gendered by the author, are; the Very Spicy Gig, Park Gate Gig, Hooded Gig, Stanhope Gig and the Tilbury. For these vehicles, Underhill mentions the master, not the mistress: "In all these carriages the servant, when carried, should be a smart, dapper, young, top-booted groom, who should sit beside his (sic) master with his arms folded."³¹ The servant, in effect, is harmonious to the vehicle, akin to the trimming, sitting impassively and ready to attend to his master. In terms of their design, the bodies of most of these carriages are placed higher above ground level than vehicles intended for women and therefore more difficult to enter. Sporting vehicles such as the Sulky, Skeleton Wagon, and Side-Bar Road Wagon were also built for men.

28. Ibid., 149-150.

29. Ibid., 139.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 142.

In summary, Underhill allocates directly nine vehicles for ladies and ten for gentlemen. These are exemplary carriages, acutely gender aligned with defining social standards. Through further analysis, looking at additional vehicles assigned to men, such as those used for coaching, four-in-hand driving as well as several two-wheelers and sporting vehicles, men have significantly more types of vehicles available to them than women. For his part, Underhill overlooks this disparity.

Six years later, in 1903, another author, Belle Beach, in a chapter of James A. Garland's book, *The Private Stable*, also specifies vehicles considered as appropriate for women. In this chapter, entitled *Riding and Driving for Women*, she identifies the George IV Phaeton and PetersøLady's Phaeton as two carriages appropriate for a lady for park work or the show ring and the Basket Phaeton for the morning or casual driving, errands, and shopping. In addition, Beach mentions other vehicles: "Of course there are many kinds of small, low carts, buckboards, and runabouts that are very handy, but the ones I speak of are the most correct."³² Some years later, she published her own book and touched on this subject once again. The number of correct carriages for ladies has grown and is now: the Basket Phaeton, George IV Basket Phaeton, Cut-Under Lady's Trap, George IV Phaeton, PetersøLady's Phaeton, and the Runabout.³³ The vehicles determined by Beach are mostly the same types as Underhill's, with the exception of the Cabriolet, Brougham, and a "newcomer" the Runabout, a vehicle of general purpose and seemingly not gender specific.

In 1905, an English writer, Sir Walter Gilbey in his book, *Modern Carriages*, attributes feminine gender to the Victoria and the LadiesøPhaeton, describing both vehicles as "easy to enter and leave, and í comfortable."³⁴ It is interesting to note the differences, as reported by him, between gendered vehicles in England and those in North America. For example, the Sociable is adopted by ladies in England when it became fashionable again around 1895.³⁵ As to the Basket Phaeton, recognized by Beach as a feminine vehicle, it seemed merely according to Gilbey, a popular vehicle for country clergy and others of modest means because of its low cost and maintenance.³⁶ Also, he relates in detail the Governess Cart which, curiously, neither Underhill nor Beach includes among their selection, though this pony size vehicle was used by the family governess, a woman, to convey the children of an affluent household who were under her care.³⁷ As had Underhill, Gilbey describes all the typical male vehicles, the Mail Phaeton, Spider Phaeton, etc., though he did not attribute a gender to them. Only the Beaufort Phaeton,

32. Belle Beach, "Riding and Driving for Women," in James A. Garland, *The Private Stable. Its Establishment, Management and Appointments* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1903), 571.

33. Belle Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 209.

34. Sir Walter Gilbey, *Modern Carriages* (London: Vinton & Co., 1905), 49, 51, 53.

35. Ibid., 60.

36. Ibid., 59.

37. Ibid., 101-102; Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 129-130.

“strictly a carriage for gentlemen to the exclusion of ladies,” and the Break are expressly identified as being for men.³⁸

In *Carriage Terminology: An Historical Dictionary*, Don Berkebile, former curator at the Smithsonian, traces in his sources references to gendered carriages. For example, there are for men; the Gentleman’s Phaeton, Spider-Phaeton, Mail Phaeton, Break, Dog-Cart, Coal-Box Wagon, Stanhope Phaeton, Stanhope Gig, Sulky, and the Whitechapel Cart. Intended for women, there are; the Ladies’ Phaeton, Ladies’ Brougham, George IV Phaeton, and the Queen’s-Body Ladies’ Phaeton. Suffice it to say; through gender analysis of the carriages included in Berkebile’s book, the list of vehicles identified above for men and those for women expands. Again, it is even more obvious the small number of vehicles socially suitable for women.³⁹

Etiquette not only limits ladies in their choice of carriages, but also in the appointments. It is recommended formal ladies’ carriages be very plain—dark colours for the body and running gear; trimming of the owner’s colour, matched by subtle striping and the servants’ liveries. Square plain lamps and square buckles for the harness are also suggested.⁴⁰ In other publications though, dark colours seem more a matter of the type of vehicle than a gender related consideration. Dark colours are deemed to be sedate, an expression of quiet dignity. Within the milieu of like-minded peers, such colours made a statement at a distance, communicating social standing and values.

The Brougham constitutes a specific example of how gender differentiation is interpreted. Underhill makes a distinction between a Lady’s Brougham and a Bachelor’s Brougham, drawing attention to how these two vehicles are turned out. For a Lady’s Brougham turned out with a pair, two servants are required. By way of comparison, a Bachelor’s Brougham is turned out with only one servant. A further difference is specified with regard to the harness. Whereas the “loin straps are dispensed with” for a Bachelor’s Brougham, these are retained for a Lady’s Brougham. Accessories, described as “femininities” or “masculinities,” could also be used to differentiate gender, but, according to Underhill, these are not essential.⁴¹ In the carriage trade, the items euphemistically referred to by Underhill, were known as interior fixtures, consisting of “card boxes, looking glasses, toilet boxes, fan and parasol holders, package boxes, call bells, cane and cigar holders, and cigarette and cigar boxes.”⁴² Intended to appeal to the personal needs of ladies and gentlemen, these fixtures became part of their respective carriage ensemble. The presence of

38. Ibid., 57, 67.

39. Don H. Berkebile, *Carriage Terminology: An Historical Dictionary* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press & Liberty Cap Books, 1978).

40. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 245, 248, 273.

41. Underhill, 148.

42. William N. FitzGerald, *The carriage trimmers' manual guide book and illustrated technical dictionary, a practical treatise for the carriage trimmer* (New York, 1881), 286-288; “Horses, Carriages and Appointments,” *The Rider and Driver* 10, no. 17 (December 21, 1893): 10; “Visiting Cards and Card Cases,” *Carriage Museum of America Library, Annual Newsletter* (Winter 2002): 1-5; *The Hub* 32, no. 1 (April 1890): 1012.

which Underhill dismisses as being unnecessary as there are enough technical details, in his mind, to tell the difference between the two Broughams.

The paint colour could also be brighter for the Bachelor's Brougham.⁴³ Underhill does not make any reference to the actual size of the Brougham as a determining factor, to distinguish a Lady's Brougham and a Bachelor's Brougham. Smaller size versions of the Brougham, for ladies, were produced from time to time by builders. In the carriage trade, these are known by various names, such as Miniature, Medium, and Lady's Broughams.⁴⁴

Whereas some authors point to limitations, others suggest that women had a degree of influence over the design: "Carriage makers say that women show quite as much taste and discrimination in selecting the fittings and decorations of a carriage as they do in the matter of gowns."⁴⁵ For example, the different colours applied to carriage trimming are to be harmonious not only to the vehicle, but also compatible with the aesthetic preferences of the occupant. Trimmers, accordingly, had to be aware of fashionable colours for ladies' dresses in order to choose the right flattering colour for the trimming. It was advised by at least one writer that trimming also had to take into account the feminine occupant's hair colour and complexion.⁴⁶

Carriage fashions (designs) changed considerably over the years, as did paint colour schemes, striping and trimming. There remained throughout one recognized constant, which is the desire by builders to achieve harmony. "No matter how well shaped the body, how tasty the carriage, how finely painted or elegantly trimmed the job may be," technical writer I. D. Ware believed, "if there is no harmony in the different parts there will be no beauty in the whole."⁴⁷ Time was the nemesis of both beauty and fashion. What was once fashionable apparel in one season was easily displaced with the fashions of the next season. As observed by Underhill, a

43. Underhill, 148.

44. G.W.W. Houghton, *The Hubs Vocabulary of Vehicles: a complete dictionary of vehicle names, their origin and derivations* (New York: Trade News Pub. Co., 1892), 9; "Charles H. Palmer Jr. One Job," *The Hub* 35, no. 2 (May 1893): 112; "Hooper's Miniature Brougham," *The Hub* 18, no. 8. (November 1, 1876): 302. Miniature Broughams are mentioned in Brewster & Co. records, "Brewster Carriage Database," *Carriage Association of America* (Lexington, Kentucky), <http://www.carriageassociationofamerica.com/brewster-carriages>.

45. "Fashions in Carriages; Second-Hand Vehicles in Request by Society People," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), October 25, 1903, sec. 2, 17. Microform.

46. Henry William Herbert, *Hints to Horsekeepers* (New York: A.O. Moore & Co., 1859), 394; Henry Julian, "Art Applied to Coachbuilding," *The Builder* 46 (May 10, 1884): 664. Exuding an aura of vanity and self-gratification did not go unnoticed. "Furniture, as we all learn from novels, is often chosen with a view to the general appearance of the lady of the house; it is destined to set her off, and, so now and again a fine livery demands something exceptional in the lining and style of a carriage, and there have been cases in which a delicate satin lining has been indispensable for a complexion, but these are isolated cases." "Fashions in Carriages: The Changes Effected in One Hundred and Fifty Years," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), October, 22, 1882, sec. 1, 5. Microform.

47. I. D. Ware, *The Coach-Makers' Illustrated Hand-Book* (2nd ed., 1875. Reprint, Mendham, NJ: Astragal Press, 1995), 95. At the time this *Hand-Book* was produced, I. D. (Isaac Delaney) Ware was the editor and publisher of *The Carriage Monthly*, someone who had an intimate knowledge of carriages.

carriage by comparison would last many years.⁴⁸ This durability ensured a curious mixture of old and new vehicle styles in coach houses, on the streets and in the parks.⁴⁹

Whereas the promenade in the park was a socially demanding, formally structured presentation, informal country driving was for pleasure. The social obligations are less onerous. For women, different types of vehicles are available, such as country traps, for example, which are of lighter colours as is the trimming and striping. Light striping colours such as primrose, light red, and light green are recommended for sporting traps and Runabouts, as are round lamps, round buckles and winkers.⁵⁰ However, more often than not, sporting vehicles are driven by men. Even if the woman drives a sporting vehicle, Belle Beach suggests that the lining of the collar should be black, because russet lining, although looking smart, seemed too sporty for her.⁵¹

The social expectations of etiquette, for women driving, are also expressed through the gendered turnout of a carriage. It is very desirable to achieve 'good form'.⁵² A lady going out in a formal vehicle with a rumble is to be accompanied by a groom seated on the rumble, dressed in the appropriate livery. Proper straps and bits are essential, such as the Buxton type, which is dressier.⁵³ The groom also brought the vehicle to the lady, leaving the reins draped across the middle of the dash with the end of the reins laid on the seat, the whip placed to the left of the reins, leaning against the seat and pointing to the rear. Driving reins for women are thinner, lighter and longer than those for men, so if the lady lost control or was tired, the groom could then take over the driving from the back. The whip is also lighter and more slender than one for a man.⁵⁴ If on the contrary, the woman is driving something other than a distinctly lady's vehicle, the groom simply leaves the whip in the socket and the reins are placed in such a manner that demands more work for the lady.⁵⁵

The authors of carriage driving books both define proper carriages and appointments and describe the correct horses to be used according to gender. Indeed, as it is believed that women have a fragile constitution, certain types of horses are better suited for ladies driving. Therewith,

48. Underhill, 1, 'What constitutes Good Form in Equipage'.

49. Generally, this was not thought to be unconventional: 'Families like the Goulds, the Whitneys, the various Vanderbilts, and others keep anywhere from eight to ten styles of carriages in their city stables and as many more at each of their country places. Consequently, they are buying all the time, and still manage to keep a stock of time-worn vehicles on hand.' *The New York Times*, October 25, 1903, sec. 2, 17.

50. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 245, 248, 273, 279.

51. *Ibid.*, 276.

52. Underhill, 1, 'Each vehicle demands consistency in the choice of its horses, servants, harness, livery, etc., and simplicity in its design and treatment, resulting in that much-to-be-desired harmony of the whole.'

53. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 264. Beach advised that for a lady's carriage, like a George IV or PetersøPhaeton; 'the Buxton is the correct bit for single horses as well as pairs. For pair horse driving the Buxton is correct for the show ring and park driving and may be used for informal occasions, though personally I think it rather poor form for country driving for any kind of trap.'

54. *Ibid.*, 194, 195, 257, 276, 281.

55. *Ibid.*, 194.

recommendations are made as to horses' physical and mental qualities, sex and their breed. For instance, it is advised that women should neither ride nor drive stallions. 'The choice of a horse should therefore be confined to mares and geldings.'⁵⁶ From Beach's perspective, 'stallions, even the most tractable of them are not suitable'⁵⁷ Her concerns are for women and the temperament of the horse. A stallion is too high spirited and considered to be a fast roadster or trotting horse; a gentlemen's driving horse, suitable for Road Wagons and Skeleton Wagons.⁵⁸ As for mares and geldings, which are thought to be more docile than stallions, Beach is clear about her preference. 'The mare has a particular lightness of foot, vivacity, and *élan* which are seldom if ever found in the gelding.'⁵⁹

Good manners are also important. Earlier, in 1897, Underhill mentions that 'no horse is fit to run in a lady's carriage, or, in fact, in any park equipage, until he possesses good manners'⁶⁰ In terms of physical qualities, in 1903, Francis Ware, the respected author of *Driving*, describes ladies' horses as having to be 'sure-footed, of moderate size, as suited more perfectly to the average lady's trap' he must be of a dark color, as not defiling a dainty toilet with his hairs and he must be at least fairly good looking and stylish.'⁶¹ Then, in 1912, Beach writes that ladies' horses should not be those that kick, pull or have long-tails, the later because the tail might get caught in the reins.⁶² Regarding horse breeds, the Hackney seems to win the favour of experts as being a trustworthy companion, 'exceedingly well suited to a Lady's Phaeton or small two-wheeler.'⁶³ Thoroughbreds on the contrary are considered unpredictable.⁶⁴ As for tandem and four-in-hand driving, some authors from both sexes, writing in the 1880s, thought it inappropriate for women, particularly four-in hand. Later, Francis Ware thought otherwise, on one condition: 'Driving tandem and four-in-hand have never seemed quite appropriate for a lady's undertaking' unless she invariably has a man on the box beside her.'⁶⁵

56. Ibid., 190.

57. Ibid.

58. E. B. Abercrombie, 'Trotting Road-Teams and Their Drivers,' *Outing* 29, no. 1 (October 1896): 8-15.

59. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 190; Samuel Sidney, *The Book of the Horse: (Thorough-bred, Half-bred, Cart-bred,) Saddle and Harness, British and Foreign: with hints on horsemanship; the management of the stable; breeding, breaking and training for the road, the park, and the field* (2nd ed. London, Paris & New York: Cassel & Company, Limited, 1875), 189. Sidney's book was quite popular, going through several editions between 1873 and 1911. For harness work, he considered mares and geldings to be comparable. 'A good mare must not be rejected, although a gelding is decidedly to be preferred for harness purposes, for it can be shown, on undeniable evidence, that a number of valuable harness-horses are mares, and equally good in harness and under saddle.'

60. Underhill, 117.

61. Francis M. Ware, *Driving* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903), 108-109.

62. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 214, 242, 243, 266.

63. Underhill, 52.

64. Mrs. Power O'Donoghue, *Riding for Ladies with Hints on the Stable* (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1887), 138.

65. Francis M. Ware, *Driving*, 109.

Belle Beach, writing in 1912, offers an assessment that went a little further; she believes women have a delicate touch that makes them excel in this kind of driving.⁶⁶

Gendered decorum is also present in the driving experience. As the driver of a carriage, a lady is expected to sit in a proper way, not lean on the back of the seat; nor be positioned on the edge of it. She must look as though she is driving and not being driven.⁶⁷ In 1903, Belle Beach asserts that women should drive in almost the same way and form as men, but:

they must remember they are not men, nor need they obliterate all touch of feminine from their appearance. Nothing to my mind can look worse than to see a woman affecting the mannerisms of a groom, perched on the edge of her seat, and even saluting her friends with her whip, as I have seen some women do.⁶⁸

Etiquette, customarily considered as code of behaviour which guides social interaction and deportment, is also a mode of communication to convey status within a society. It is, however, a nonmaterial idea or concept, formed in the mind, yet has reality outside the mind. The connection of etiquette to the carriage ensemble is not one of tangible substance, in and of itself, but a notion which expresses courteous social interaction by gender. The carriage in this respect is both a setting against which etiquette is actualized and which dictates the appropriate form of etiquette and by whom.

Conventional social protocol dictated that a lady making social calls and undertaking a promenade always is to be accompanied when driving, but not men. If she is accompanied by persons other than the servants, seating arrangements are by order of gender, marital status and age. Male companions are restricted to family members, husband or fiancé.⁶⁹

In some ways, men are also constrained by etiquette. Failing to respect it meant they were not gentlemen, or true men according to the Victorian definition. When traveling in a carriage with women, the accepted code of behaviour expected men to sit with their back to the horses, leaving the best seats for the ladies.⁷⁰ As gentlemen, men are also to extend a helping hand to ladies getting in and out of the carriage and while doing so, to avoid stepping on their dresses or shutting them in the door.⁷¹ The custom for greeting and meeting other people, consisted of

66. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 232; O'Donoghue, 128, 333; Underhill, 40; Captain C. Morley Knight, *Hints on Driving* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), 183.

67. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 198-199.

68. Beach, "Riding and Driving for Women", in *The Private Stable...*, (1903), 570.

69. *Manners and Rules of Good Society: or Solecisms to be Avoided*, 193-195; *The Home Treasury*, 265; *Routledge's Manual of Etiquette*, 50.

70. Other examples of etiquette that a gentleman was obligated to respect, included, being the first person to get out of the carriage and then to assist the ladies. If a lady is visiting at someone's home, the gentleman has to accompany the visitor to her carriage. Furthermore, a gentleman should not smoke in presence of ladies. *Manners and Rules of Good Society*, 194-195; *Home Treasury*, 265. Mrs. C. E. Humphry, *Manners for Men* (London: James Bowden, 1897), 12- 18, 26- 32; *Routledge's*, 36, 41, 50; *Our Deportment or the Manners...*, 174-175.

71. *Home Treasury*, 265; *Routledge's*, 51.

always introducing a gentleman to a lady and never the other way around, providing you had first received her permission to do so. "The chivalry of etiquette assumes that the lady is invariable the superior in right of her sex, and that the gentleman is honored in the introduction."⁷² There are, however, anomalies; a lady finding herself outside of the socially refined security of her public sphere could not expect to receive the same courtesy from men. If she is participating in the sport of fox hunting, for example, a male gendered activity, men had no obligation to extend, towards women, such polite considerations.⁷³

Learning to ride a horse was an important opportunity for women to better understand the animal's behaviour, something that she needed to know when driving a carriage. On this subject, a British rider, Mrs. Power O'Donoghue in 1881, suggests that girls should not begin riding before they are about sixteen years old, because of their delicate constitution. The side-saddle could deform their body frame, and also, in the event of a fall at an early age, girls could become afraid and nervous, allowing the horse, which might well sense this fear, to behave as the master.⁷⁴ Boys on the other hand, can begin riding at any time. Falling, apparently, did not affect them "if they tumble off, what matter? It does them all the good in the world. A little sticking-plaister and shaking together, and they are all right again."⁷⁵ O'Donoghue's reasoning is premised upon the physiological, emotional and physical fitness differences between boys and girls. "It is less objectionable for boys, because their shoulders are not apt to grow awry by sitting sideways, as little girls do; nor are they liable to hang over upon one side; nor have they such delicate frames and weakly fingers to bring to the front."⁷⁶ For little girls, such a fall is much more traumatic; without courage to overcome their "natural timidity" to become skilled riders.⁷⁷

The confidence with which O'Donoghue presents her view concerning the appropriate age at which boys and girls learn to ride, is a social distillation of evolutionary biological and medical thinking which stereotyped women as being naturally weak. This line of thought considers boys to be stronger and more durable; falling off a horse is not as consequential as for girls. From their early childhood, the shaping effect of the gender factor, through games and recreational activities which were intentionally safer, less strenuous than those in which boys participated, young girls experienced social conditioning to accept their weakness.⁷⁸

72. Routledge's, 36.

73. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 58.

74. Mrs. Power O'Donoghue, *Ladies on Horseback. Learning, Park-riding, and Hunting...* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1881), 5-8.

75. *Ibid.*, 7-10; O'Donoghue, *Riding for Ladies...* (1887), 9-10.

76. O'Donoghue, *Ladies on Horseback* (1881), 7.

77. *Ibid.*, 8.

78. Patricia Vertinsky, "Exercise, physical capability, and the eternally wounded woman in late nineteenth century North America," *Journal of Sport History* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 7-27; Melanie Dawson, "The Miniaturizing of Girlhood, Nineteenth-Century Playtime and Gendered Theories of Development," in *The American child: A cultural studies reader*, eds. Caroline Field Levander and Carol J. Singley (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 63-84.

By 1912, Belle Beach, challenging the conformist view of women as earlier espoused by O'Donoghue, thought riding should be part of the education of any child after the age of seven.⁷⁹ Reasoning that it is socially appropriate for girls to learn to ride at such a young age, Beach's position embraces her own experience: "The daughter of a lady who has been an instructor in riding for many New York ladies, she has of course ridden from her childhood, and has herself taught riding for several years."⁸⁰ Her thinking conveys facets of transformative social change taking place for women since about 1882; turning away from true womanhood and becoming, the "New Woman" and "insisting on their own social and sexual legitimacy."⁸¹

Beach endorses the health related benefits of riding. "For women, quite as much as and even more than for men, it is of all exercises the one best adapted to keep them in condition, to restore the glow of health and to key up the whole system to respond to all the delights of life."⁸² The constraint of gender is nonetheless present; she believes, "the average woman is not built for cross-saddle riding." ⁸³ This negative body image is a persuasive message of discouragement which exploits of women's self-esteem. "It is only women who are built like men and very young girls," in her opinion, "who look at all well aside. A woman with merely a normally developed figure looks both ridiculous and immodest in this position." ⁸⁴ Having stated her objection through gender negativity and stereotyping, Beach includes the cross saddle in her book because "many women insist on using the cross-saddle" and to "make a few suggestions about the way in which a woman can best attempt to do this, though it is something in which she can rarely, if ever, attain perfection."⁸⁵

Even as an advocate for women riders and seemingly aware of the social changes taking place, Beach is uncomfortable with women choosing to use the cross-saddle rather than the more traditional side saddle. Her counterargument though is not built on women's supposed weakness, fragility, and indecisiveness, or their riding skills. Nevertheless, the disapproval is firmly gender based, wherein women and their bodies are subjected to ridicule. For Beach, it is about limiting choice, prescribing how women should look when riding and social acceptance. The expectations are high with an allusion to the ideal woman, someone who is the perfect rider.

Writers, through their commentary on the subjects of horsemanship and driving, furnish a look at the socially accepted codes of behaviour and rules as applied to carriages, driving and turnouts. Relatedly, the representative classification of carriages according to type and user is

79. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 4.

80. *The Nation* 96, no. 2483 (January 30, 1913):111; Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), vii.

81. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne: Social Disorder and Gender Crisis, 1870-1936," in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (Knoxville and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 245-246; Sarah Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question." *The North American Review* 158, no. 448 (March 1894): 270-276.

82. Beach, *Riding and Driving for Women* (1912), 3.

83. *Ibid.*, 37.

84. *Ibid.*, 39.

85. *Ibid.*, 41.

indicative of a gender profile. Their extension of gender characteristics to horse-drawn vehicles is consistent with the scope of the separate spheres ideology. Aptly phrased by Gayle Letherby and Gillian Reynolds, 'it is about social and cultural expectations, behaviours and relationships built upon and framed around the differences of sex.'⁸⁶

Evaluating a selection of published opinion, dating from 1875 until 1912 provides the means to assess how women driving carriages are perceived by their contemporaries. In *The Coach-Makers' Illustrated Hand-Book*, issued in 1875, the author, I. D. Ware, observes: 'It is proverbial that women are reckless drivers' in reference to women coming from rural areas. They know how to drive and 'display all the courage of man, and many of them add to courage great recklessness.'⁸⁷ As for other women, who are city born and raised, they too are dangerous because they lack driving knowledge. They are a hazard to themselves and to others, and:

who, as a general thing, have not had an opportunity to become proficient horse-women, and yet desire to follow closely the fashions as they are presented, must find it difficult to overcome their natural dread of taking charge of a horse with no masculine hand and strong arm near by to check any ugliness that may be exhibited.⁸⁸

The author suggests driving schools for these ladies where they 'could be taught to manage the horse' and to gain 'confidence' and 'courage' and yet he concludes by stating: 'We are always pleased to meet the jaunty pony Phaetons at the park, with their burden of fair occupants, but at the same time have an instinctive fear that some accident may overtake them.'⁸⁹

Ware considers ladies to be passionate devotees of fashion, 'which require its votaries the sacrifice of health, and even life, if they would prove themselves true worshippers.' And he goes on to state: 'At any rate, it is quite certain that females drive out in our parks, who are not capable of managing a horse' in the attempt to appear in the drive in the latest approved mode. 'There is little doubt that Ware disapproves of 'those who drive out for mere fashion sake'.'⁹⁰ Paradoxically, he is not deterred, however, presumably in his capacity as the editor and publisher of *The Carriage Monthly*, from promoting the latest fashionable carriage intended for women:

86. *Gendered Journeys, Mobile Emotions*, eds. G. Letherby and G. Reynolds (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009), xviii.

87. I. D. Ware, *The Coach-Makers' Illustrated ...*, 364; Hilary Strauch, *Carriages and Mobility in Jane Austen's Novels*. Senior Capstone Projects, Paper 116 (Poughkeepsie, New York, Vassar College, 2012), 18-19. Perhaps it was someone like Mrs. Croft from Jane Austen's novel, *Persuasion* that I. D. Ware had in mind as he admonished the driving habits of rural women. What he overlooks are the men whose erratic driving habits are not consistent with the expected standards and present a danger to one and all. To this extent, Ware's comments about women are best described as intentionally biased. See also, Jane Austen, *Persuasion* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc.; Dover Thrift Edition, 1997), 68.

88. I. D. Ware, *The Coach-Makers' Illustrated ...*, 364.

89. *Ibid.*, 365.

90. *Ibid.*, 364.

The introduction of that cosy, convenient and showy little article known as the Pony Phaeton, has given to the fashionable class of females a comparatively new, and we suppose, delightful means of taking their airings and attracting the attention of the dashing fellows⁹¹

In a few sentences Ware identifies a problem and proposes a solution. Women are not capable drivers; they do not have enough knowledge to gauge the temperament of a horse or the skills to manage and control it. Attending a driving school would be beneficial, where they would learn to become experienced drivers, and by inference, avoid inflicting unnecessary harm upon themselves or others. But for Ware even this seems insufficient. He has an instinctive fear that some accident may overtake them. This reaction correlates to the ambivalence of Ware's opinion about women as carriage drivers. There is this lingering, gut-feeling, conceivably socially conditioned by historical memory, that in spite of being taught to drive, a woman when suddenly confronted with having to take firm control of a horse, will fail to do so, whereas as a male would not hesitate.⁹²

Disapproval of women as carriage drivers is not confined to Ware's gender alone. Writing under the pseudonym of Di Vernon for the *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, Eliza D. Keith in 1892, states: "Generally speaking a woman is neither a good nor a safe driver."⁹³ She doubts a woman's fitness to hold the reins.⁹⁴ Fitness was muscular, as well as a state of mind. "Few women," Vernon accepts, "have enough strength in their wrists to be able to hold in a horse." ⁹⁵ In those situations requiring clear headed thinking to control the horse, a woman is likely to scream, jump or "clutch the reins."⁹⁶

To support her reasoning, Vernon cites evidence from a livery stable proprietor and recounts two accidents; one involving a stagecoach and the other a buggy. The livery stable operator is convinced that renting a vehicle to a woman is not good for business:

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., 365.

93. Di Vernon, "When a Woman Holds the Reins," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser* 45, no. 15 (October 8, 1892): 9. Two months later, a revised version of this article, with a different title was published in *Current Literature*. See Di Vernon, "Women as Drivers," *Current Literature – A Magazine of Record and Review* 11, no. 4 (December 1892): 479; Articles and columns written by Eliza D. Keith under the name of Di Vernon, "appeared in all the leading newspapers of the Pacific coast as well as in many Eastern publications." "Gossip of Authors and Writers," *Current Literature – A Magazine of Record and Review* 8, no. 1 (September 1894): 25. See also, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Volume II* (New York: James T. White & Company, 1895), 425.

94. Vernon, "When a Woman Holds the Reins," 9.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid. I. D. Ware called for a "masculine hand and strong arm" to take control. Vernon, without actually using these words, admitted that, "a strong firm hand may so control and guide a runaway horse as to keep the rig right side up on the road."

Women are careless, apt to wreck the rig, lose the robes; and it gives a place a bad name to have the horses running away and going to smash. No; there's more money in refusing them than in renting to them.⁹⁷

A root cause for each of the accidents is traced to the actions of a woman. As the stage driver is navigating down a steep mountain road, a woman, sitting next to him, thinking that the driver wanted her help, "suddenly seized the rein nearest to her and pulled with all her might. The horses swerved, the stage was overturned" ⁹⁸ Concerning the second accident, this involves a runaway horse and an overturned buggy, all because, "women haven't much horse sense."⁹⁹ Vernon's censure goes further than the lack of understanding about horses. It is more about the want of common sense; undoubtedly, road sense, knowing how to not have an accident.

In a manner not unlike I. D. Ware, Vernon contrasts the driving habits of women from the country and those from the city, though she is much more positive about the former. "City women," Vernon asserts, "cannot hope to equal the country girl in the art of driving."¹⁰⁰ It is intimated that a woman from the city is too distracted and does not pay enough attention to the business of driving. For these women, the prospects for improvement are bleak: "The average city woman should not be encouraged in the idea that she might even learn to drive."¹⁰¹ Attending a driving school is apparently not a pathway to redemption.

The fate of the average city women, so named, who drives a carriage; it is providential that accidents are to be expected, injury and possibly even death. It is because they are imperfect, not knowing how to drive or handle a horse. Vernon is rather content to portray the error of their ways, without either seeing or suggesting, as did I. D. Ware, a remedy. Their predicament, so it seems, is inescapable.

Mrs. Humphry from England, in 1897, makes two astute observations about women driving carriages. One being that a woman driving a man is not uncommon: "It is not unusual, nowadays, to see a man driven by a lady."¹⁰² This implies that women had progressed to the point where they are now seen in public driving a carriage with the man as a passenger. Then she adds: "In such a case he must be on the alert to afford her every assistance in his power."¹⁰³ This second observation self-consciously suggests, there is still a persistent perception that somehow a woman is less capable than a man when it comes to driving a carriage in public. As carriage drivers, women are being defined not by their capability, but by their weaknesses.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid. City women have little knowledge of horses. The woman from the country has grown up around horses and "driven them in the buckboard as she grew older" ⁹⁸

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. Mrs. C.E. Humphry, *Manners for Men*, 46.

103. Ibid.

Then in 1902, Francis M. Ware, from United States, voices his views on women driving carriages in a book, titled, *First Hand Bits of Sable Lore*.¹⁰⁴ Drawing upon his extensive knowledge of horses, Ware advises:

There are three very excellent reasons why no woman, unaccompanied by a man, should drive any horse; that is, the average woman who "sometimes used to drive old Nellie and the carryall when a girl," and who, now that Henry is able to afford a turn-out, wants to take the family out behind the new horse because the dealer said "a woman could drive him." A woman has never been taught to shut her hands (and has no strength when they are shut) ; she wears gloves generally much too small for her, or, if large enough, they button tight around the wrist, which is as bad, so far as cramping the muscles goes, and she does not "make allowances;" everything the new horse does must be the identical thing that old Nellie did, and that respected and defunct family treasure is the coat which the cloth of the new horse must fit, or woe to his former possessor - the dealer.¹⁰⁵

It is the "average woman" who bears the brunt of his criticism, for she has not been taught how to properly hold the reins (besides a woman has no strength in her hands), her gloves are inappropriate and her expectations about horses are not realistic. Francis Ware, an acknowledged authority figure, was someone highly regarded for his knowledge of horses, his insights mattered. He employs plausible anecdotal evidence to build a circumstantial argument which is then applied to women who drive. To his readers, the description of the "average woman" driver resonates with popular characteristics associated with women. In this manner the "average woman" becomes a typical woman, a reductive term and a form of stereotyping which deals with women simplistically, drawing attention to only their faults and weaknesses. Ware's depiction of a woman driving a carriage, which he certainly embellished for effect, cast aspersions not just on one individual, but all women who drive.

104. Francis M. (Morgan) Ware and I.D. Ware, although sharing the same surname, were not related to one another. Whereas I.D. Ware was the editor and publisher of *The Carriage Monthly*, Francis M. Ware was the author of three equine books. The first, *Our Noblest Friend the Horse* was published in November 1902 and second, *First Hand Bits of Sable Lore*, in December 1902. These were followed by a third book, titled, *Driving*, in November 1903. He was a knowledgeable horseman and a judge at horseshows. A book review column in the New York Times described Francis M. Ware as follows. "Mr. Ware is well known as the manager of the American Horse Exchange, New York, and has been identified with the leading horseshow organizations throughout the country." "Two Books for Horsemen," *The New York Times*, 15 November 1902, sec. 3, 2. Microform.

105. Francis M. Ware, *First Hand Bits of Sable Lore* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1903), 17-18. In the preface, Ware states the basis of his knowledge. "The chapters epitomize thirty years' active personal experience with every kind of horse for every conceivable purpose, and the deductions drawn are in no sense theoretical." Ware's standpoint respecting women driving and their horse sense, are counter to those he had previously conveyed in his first book, *Our Noblest Friend the Horse*. "A woman," he remarked, "when she drives really well, is a better driver than any man. She lets her horse alone more; gives them more freedom; takes it for granted that they know their business." Francis M. Ware, *Our Noblest Friend the Horse* (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1903), 130.

There is a dichotomy present. Directly, it is the ðaverage womenö who receives Ware's blunt rebuke, for she knows not how to drive or control a horse. At the same time, though, she is someone that is negatively impacted by the decisions and actions of others who escape culpability:

The man who unreservedly places his family at the mercy of any horse under feminine guidance courts disaster, which is almost certain sooner or later to arrive; and the dealer who sells a horse with a warranty that it is safe for a woman to use, does a most reprehensible thing, and carelessly exposes to danger thousands of innocent lives.¹⁰⁶

A deceitful horse dealer and the thoughtless man, so identified, would surely merit Ware's condemnation. Outwardly, his comments would appear to be so, yet they are superficial. Despite their obvious involvement, logically, as Ware infers, it is the woman who is responsible. In an unforeseen emergency, when action is required, her ðweak arms, slender hands, and tight gloves play their useless parts, and Mary and the children are sprinkled over the country-side as victims to man's folly.ö¹⁰⁷ For these reasons women are denounced. Clearly in need of more knowledge and training to avoid such dire consequences, so graphically imagined by Ware, they are then neglected; forsaken without masculinity's preventive intercession. No constructive resolution is made available. All the while women are abandoned to their fate; Ware turns his attention to their children.

A danger that is appreciated is half prevented, and if those who realize their own shortcomings in such matters will but see to it that their boys and girls are from childhood accustomed to, and properly instructed in, the methods of managing successfully horses and other animalsí they will add incalculably to the safety of traffic in all thoroughfares in town and country.¹⁰⁸

With the publication of a third book in 1903, simply titled, *Driving*, Francis Ware, once more, shares his comments on women driving carriages. Ware recognizes that:

í it is perfectly true that the highways and byways are full of living demonstrations to the effect that horses *are* driven safely by women daily, perpetually and amid all kinds of varying and terrifying traffic, but these incidents must be classed with those marvels of nature with which Providence provides us glimpses on every hand, and are material additions to those ðseven wonders of the worldö of which we have heard so much and seen so little.¹⁰⁹

106. Francis M. Ware, *First Hand Bits of Sable Lore*, 18.

107. *Ibid.*, 18-19.

108. *Ibid.*, 19.

109. Francis M. Ware, *Driving* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1903), 107. In *Driving*, Ware allots a short chapter, 105-110, called, ðDriving for Ladiesö to declare that women who drive carriages are a problem. A good portion of this argument was adapted from his previous book, *First Hand Bits of Sable Lore*, from I. D. Ware's, *The Coach-Makers' Illustrated Hand-Book* and Di Vernon's article.

A New York Times journalist reviewing his previous book, *First Hand Bits of Stable Lore*, concurs: "We agree with Mr. Ware that there is nothing more generally dangerous than to have a woman drive. Of course, there are exceptions. Dobbin on the farm is not Diablo in Central Park. But then women are very ambitious." ¹¹⁰ From Ware's perspective, these women are "marvels of nature" who know how to drive yet are hardly ever seen. It is his opinion that women did not know how to drive, to dress appropriately, or how to use a whip:

Helpless children not unusually form a portion of her accompaniment in her meanderings, and to these, even if not to their foolhardy elders, some measure of protection is due; or to the general public, to whom she may bring injury or death, if the worst happens and some runaway or smash-up occurs. ¹¹¹

Ware paints a fault-finding picture of a woman, who does not know how to drive, as someone who is irresponsible, reckless, and endangers the lives of her own children and those of the public. To resolve this dire situation, the solution is training and education, acquiring the requisite driving knowledge and skills; enhancing their ability and inclination to take care of themselves, "to form habits of quick decision, and to assist in learning patience and the control of the temper." ¹¹² Thus, women of "average health, nerve and self-possession," can be taught in a safe environment, "within reasonable limits." ¹¹³ Overall, the impression is that he thought of women as children who cannot be left unattended and absolutely need men's assistance, whether a brother, husband or even a servant. In many respects, Ware's statements are cynical; by denigrating women carriage drivers, he is endeavouring to maintain the dominance of men in the social hierarchy.

Various articles appearing in the monthly magazine *Outing* between 1890 and 1905 also convey some of the same negative ideas about women driving carriages, particularly American women, though a few writers are much less subjective than Francis Ware. In 1890, for example, Margaret Bisland wrote an article entitled "Driving for Women." She compares the growing experience of young boys with young girls. While from their early childhood boys are in direct

Francis Ware's remarks about women who drive are anecdotal. For instance, in the two years, 1902 and 1903 which correspond to the publication dates of his three books, the driving habits of women were not specifically cited in the New York Times as a cause for accidents involving carriages. Elizabeth F. Loftus, "Planting Misinformation in the Human Mind: A 30-year Investigation of the Malleability of Memory," *Learning and Memory*, 12, no. 4 (July 2005): 361-366. Exaggeration is a form of misinformation, which left unchallenged with the passage of time, acquires an aura of credibility.

110. "Stable Lore. First Hand Bits of Stable Lore." *The New York Times*, 3 January 1903, sec. 6, 24. Microform.

111. Francis M. Ware, *Driving*, 106.

112. *Ibid.*, 105.

113. *Ibid.*; Sidney, *The Book of the Horse*, 374: "Ladies have much more need of a driving tutor than gentlemen." In this respect, Sidney concurs with Ware, but then added a note of caution. "They must bear in mind that many family coachmen - safe, steady men - are ignorant of the first principles of their business."

contact with horses, riding and driving, girls on the other hand, do not or did not, in general, have the same experience. Consequently, as young ladies: 'They sincerely believe that reposing luxuriously among the cushions in an open victoria is the best and only method of enjoying the handsome equipage' ¹¹⁴ The author then writes about young ladies who, on the contrary, realize the pleasure of riding a horse or carriage driving, and in the United States are now clever 'whips,' driving tandems and four-in-hands. This is accomplished through learning from an experience horseman. In another article, 'The Horse of Society,' published in *Outing* in 1896, E. B. Abercrombie proclaims, 'Society ladies have always been good drivers.' ¹¹⁵ James H. Tuckerman, writing in 1905, was not quite so flattering. He compared London horsewomen with those in New York. Tuckerman concludes that in London, women are much better drivers than those in New York. Furthermore, he estimates that only 10 per cent of the women driving carriages in New York's Central Park had more than a basic knowledge of driving. ¹¹⁶

On the whole, stereotypes clearly existed about women driving carriages. They are described as delicate nervous beings, with a temper, incapable of acting quickly, and are generally a danger on the road, for themselves and for others. Women, therefore, needed unwavering assistance from men.

Gender prevalence becomes apparent when we understand that conceptually carriages are more than mere mechanical conveyances. Writers of magazine and journal articles on the subject of horsemanship and driving and the authors of carriage driving books time and again attribute gender to horse-drawn vehicles. Prominent authorities like; I. D. Ware, Francis T. Underhill and F. M. Ware, repeatedly affirm socially constructed gender roles. Not surprisingly, carriages for them are a powerful extension of gender differences. The stance taken by the authors is not so much simply an affirmation of the separate spheres theory; it is a gendered interpretation of expectancies, something that Joan W. Scott describes as a 'way of signifying relationships of power.' ¹¹⁷ Behavioural expectations for women and their conduct are dimensions of male hegemony.

Two writers, Margaret Bisland and Bell Beach, each impart a distinctive view on the intersection of women, carriages and driving. By dissenting from the culturally-predominant connection between men and driving, Bisland and Beach firmly situate women in a context in which they had always featured prominently. In doing so, Bisland and Beach, without resorting to gender negativity to target men, promote the accomplishments of women who are actively engaged in driving. They reason that becoming a competent driver is really no different for a woman than for a man. Neither writer takes a position dispelling the relationship between one's gender and the type of carriage, but do imply the gender neutrality of the knowledge which makes for a good driver. Male detractors, notwithstanding the logic of that argument, are undeterred in their prejudicial convictions towards women.

114. Margaret Bisland, 'Driving for Women,' *Outing* 26, no. 5 (August 1890): 405-406.

115. E.B. Abercrombie, 'The Horse of Society' *Outing* 27, no. 4 (January 1896): 324.

116. James H. Tuckerman, 'Park Driving' *Outing* 46, no. 3 (June 1905): 260.

117. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' 1067.

On manners and Victorian social hierarchy, commentators characterize women's status as being both secondary to and dependent upon men. Both struggle with etiquette-imposed limitation, but for women, the restrictions are greater. The literature of the period reveals that women's options are limited by the small number of socially-sanctioned carriages, appointments, and horses, as well as the expectation that they should never drive alone. With regard to their actual driving habits, the perception is that women are far less capable than men. The focused emphasis on women's allegedly intuitive faults, weaknesses and character deficiencies, inevitably consigns them to a subordinate position. Consequently, ability and behaviour ascribed according to gender significantly delineate their choice and use of carriages.

Among the middle and upper classes in North America, during the mid-Victorian period until about 1914, carriages personify a constructed gender relationship, of class, use and social implications. Gender is distinction. Gender is conformity. For women, carriages embody an unequal constructed relationship infused with deference to men.¹¹⁸

118. Myra Marx Ferree, "Beyond Separate Spheres: Feminism and Family Research," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52, no. 4 (November 1990): 869.

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