THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS OF PROSTITUTION: PERCEPTIONS OF PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

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Abstract

The Seven Deadly Sins of Prostitution: Perceptions of Prostitutes and Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century London

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This thesis examines perceptions of lower-class female prostitutes and prostitution in eighteenth-century London. It reveals that throughout the Hanoverian period perceptions of prostitution were shaped by sensibilities about morality, the social order, and sin. To explore attitudes towards prostitution in eighteenth-century London, this dissertation evaluates how governing elites, ecclesiastical authorities, contributors to the newspaper press, and popular commentators discussed prostitution.

This dissertation engages with two main assumptions about prostitution in eighteenth-century London. First, it demonstrates that there is more continuity in perceptions of prostitution than historians have recognized; attitudes towards prostitutes did not shift from hostility to sympathy in a straight-forward manner. Second, this dissertation reveals that prostitution was regarded by Augustan and Hanoverian Londoners as a significant social problem because it embodied and encapsulated the seven deadly sins – lust, avarice, pride, envy, gluttony, sloth, and wrath. This thesis suggests that prostitutes' excessive lust and avarice were not seen as disparate issues, but were often discussed together. Paradoxically, discussants recognized that financial considerations drove some women into prostitution, but these women were regarded as abnormally greedy and corrupt because they resorted to deceptive tactics. Pride and envy were associated with prostitution because Hanoverians believed some prostitutes bought

extravagant clothes and cosmetics to conceal their lowly status and enhance their appearance to emulate elites. Hanoverians regarded these prostitutes with trepidation because they threatened to undermine their hierarchically ordered society. Prostitutes' proclivities towards drunkenness and idleness were associated with gluttony and sloth. Commentators feared that drunken and idle prostitutes would encourage men to engage in these dissolute activities, leading to greater disorder. Wrath was closely associated with prostitution because of its association with violence. Although prostitutes were both the victims and perpetrators of assault, incidents in which prostitutes were assailants were reported more frequently, suggesting that Britons regarded prostitutes as disorderly, sinful criminals.

Each chapter also brings attention to concerns regarding prostitutes' lack of self-control and their apparent ability to cause men to lose self-control; how double standards of morality influenced discussions of prostitution; the consequences of prostitutes' criminality and ability to deceive Londoners; and the various institutions, organizations, and suggestions proposed and established to reform prostitutes and eradicate sin from society.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Of all the social problems in eighteenth-century London, prostitution presented a particularly potent threat.[1] Prostitutes were connected to, and seen to exacerbate, a variety of social problems, including fornication, idleness, drunkenness, and crime. As a result, prostitutes were regarded as agents of destruction who ought to be avoided or apprehended and reformed. This dissertation examines perceptions of lower-class female prostitutes in eighteenth-century London. Although there were male prostitutes in London, female prostitutes were more common and almost exclusively dominated discussions of prostitution. In addition, as most male prostitutes served the homosexual population, and sodomy and buggery were capital offences, male prostitution is sufficiently differentiated from female prostitution to require a separate examination.[2] Furthermore, while it would be incorrect to sharply distinguish between various types of

[1] Prostitution was a problem throughout early modern Europe, particularly in larger cities like Paris, Rome, and Amsterdam. See: Lotte van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Ibid., "The History of Policing Prostitution in Amsterdam," in Hans Krabbendam and Hans-Martien ten Napel, eds. *Regulating Morality: A Comparison of the Role of the State in Mastering the Mores in the Netherlands and the United States* (Antwerp and Apeldoorn, 2000): 97-112; Erica-Marie Benabou, *La Prostitution et la police des mœurs au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1987); Tessa Storey, *Carnal commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Susan P. Conner, "Politics, prostitution, and the pox in revolutionary Paris, 1789-1799," *Journal of Social History*. 22, 4 (1989): 713-734; Ibid., "The Pox in Eighteenth-Century France," in Linda E. Merians, ed. *Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996); Olwen Hufton, *The Poor in Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); Jill Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth century Paris.* (Ann Arbor: Princeton University Press, 1985); Richard Symansk, *The Immoral Landscape: Female Prostitution In Western Societies*. (Toronto, 1981); Ann Lewis, "Classifying the Prostitute in Eighteenth-Century France," in Markman Ellis and Ann Marie Lewis, eds. *Prostitution and eighteenth-century culture: sex, commerce and morality*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 17-32; Nina Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges: The World of Elite Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); Nickie Roberts, *Whores in history: prostitution in western society*. (London: Harper Collins, 1992).

[2] Randolph Trumbach, "Blackmail for Sodomy in Eighteenth-Century London," *Historical Reflections.* 33, 1 (2007): 23-39; Ibid., "Sodomitical assaults, gender role, and sexual development in eighteenth-century London," *Journal of Homosexuality.* 16 (1988): 407-29; Ibid., "London's sodomites: homosexual behaviour and western culture in the 18th century," *Journal of Social History*. 11, 1 (1977): 1-33; Rictor Norton, *Mother Clap's molly house: gay subculture in England, 1700-1830*. (London: GMP, 1992); Netta Murray Goldsmith, *The worst of crimes: homosexuality and the law in eighteenth-century London*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Tim Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700-1800.* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 58-75.

prostitutes because, even though there was a well-established typology of prostitutes, commentators tended to regard all female prostitutes much the same, this dissertation exclusively examines perceptions of lower class prostitutes.[3] To explore attitudes towards prostitution in eighteenth-century London, this dissertation evaluates how governing elites, ecclesiastical authorities, contributors to the newspaper press, and popular

[3] Richard King, *The new cheats of London exposed; or, the frauds and tricks of the town laid open to both sexes.* (London, 1780?), 92-99; Anon., *The countryman's guide to London. Or, villainy detected*. (London, 1775?), 32-35.

On the typology of prostitutes, see: Olwen Hufton, *The prospect before her*: *A History of Women in Western Europe. Volume One, 1500-1800*. (London: Fontana Press, 1997), 30; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth. The 'Modern Moral Subject' 1697-1732. Volume 1.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 237- 255.

In spite of these distinguishing features, it would be amiss to make blunt distinctions between each type of prostitute. Samuel Johnson's definitions of prostitute types were ambiguous, suggesting that no type of prostitute was regarded as distinct. For instance, a Harlot was "a whore; a strumpet"; a Strumpet was " a whore; a prostitute"; a courtezan was "A woman of the town; a prostitute; a strumpet"; a drab, was "a whore; a strumpet" [Samuel Johnson. *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1798), 423, 841, 567, 222, 288]. Thus, to Johnson, there was little difference between a courtesan, strumpet, drab, or harlot; they were all whores.

In addition, prostitutes' status did not necessarily remain static. Though most prostitutes remained penniless and perished on the streets of a venereal disorder, they hoped to gain acclaim, become the mistress of a wealthy nobleman, and if lucky, marry into nobility. Though such rags-to-riches stories were rare, they did exist. Nell Gwyn was an orange seller-prostitute-actress before famously becoming the mistress of King Charles II. Lavinia Fenton was a child prostitute who, after gaining acclaim as Polly Peachum in John Gay's *Beggar's Opera,* became the mistress of Charles Powlett, the Duke of Bolton. After his wife's death, they married, and Fenton died the Duchess of Bolton [*The life of Lavinia Beswick, alias Fenton, alias Polly Peachum*. (London, 1728); One of her Companions. *The whole life of Polly Peachum*. (London, 1730?); Charles Beauclerk. *Nell Gwyn: mistress to a king*. (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2005); Catharine Arnold. *City of Sin: London and its Vices*. (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010), 4, 94-7, 117; Alison Conway. "Defoe's Protestant Whore," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 35, 2 (2002): 215-233; Julie Peakman. "Blaming and Shaming in Whores' Memoirs," *History Today.* 59, 8 (2009): 33-39; Cheryle Wanko, "Three Stories of Celebrity: The Beggar's Opera 'Biographies'," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*. 38, 3 (1998): 481-498; *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle.* "Some Memoirs of Mrs. Ellen Gwynn," (May, 1752), 199-200].

Of course, most prostitutes did not live a lavish life, and those who did, were unable to maintain such a life for long. Margaret Cuyler was a courtesan-turned actress who was lived in "elegance in St Albans Street in 1784". However, her splendor was short lived and "by 1808 she was needy enough to seek help from the Drury Lane Actors' Fund." [Peter Thomson, "Cuyler , Margaret (1758–1814)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/64329 (accessed January 11, 2012)]. One-time actress Sarah Salisbury consorted with many titled and powerful men. However, her luck eventually ran out and Salisbury died in Newgate after she stabbed one of her lovers, the Honourable John Finch, during a dispute [*The genuine history of Mrs. Sarah Prydden.* (London, 1723); Charles Walker. *Authentick memoirs of the life intrigues and adventures of the celebrated Sally Salisbury.* (London, 1723); Peakman. "Blaming and Shaming," 34; Barbara White, "Salisbury , Sarah (1690x92–1724)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/67088 (accessed January 11, 2012)].

commentators discussed prostitution. By examining these moralistic discourses, this thesis seeks to explain why lower-class female prostitution has been defined as a sinful and immoral activity.

This dissertation presents two main arguments. First, there is more continuity in perceptions of prostitution than previous historians have recognized.[4] Second, throughout the eighteenth century perceptions of prostitution were shaped by sensibilities about morality, the social order, and sin. My research reveals that prostitution was not offensive to Georgian Britons solely because it involved women exchanging sexual favours for money; rather, prostitution transgressed Britons' deepest sensibilities about morality and the proper social order because it embodied and encapsulated the seven deadly sins – lust, avarice, pride, envy, gluttony, sloth, and wrath. Therefore, each chapter explores these sins and how they were connected to, and how they problematized, prostitution. The debates on what drove women to prostitution were associated with lust and avarice; fears about the luxury and proper ordering of society were associated with pride and envy; distress that prostitution would lead future generations of workers to become idle and dissolute was associated with gluttony and sloth; and the violence that often follows prostitution was seen as the product of wrath.

[4] See especially: Laura J. Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce: prostitution in eighteenth-century British literature and culture*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Sophie Carter, *Purchasing power: representing prostitution in eighteenth-century English popular print culture.* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); Tony Henderson, *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730-1830*. (London: Longman, 1999), 3; Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume One. Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century.* (Princeton: Princeton University. Press, 1989), 119-127; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: a history of the first sexual revolution.* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), 37-179; Lewis and Ellis, *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture*.

The Seven Deadly Sins

The concept of the deadly sins was formulated in the fourth century by Evagrius of Pontus and John of Cassisus.[5] However, the 'traditional seven' sins – pride, greed, lust, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth – were not established until the sixth century, when Pope Gregory I's list finally triumphed.[6] In part, the deadly sins were not codified for several centuries because they did not originate from the Bible, but from ecclesiastical authorities, who "disagreed" about which sins ought to be regarded as "deadly".[7] Consequently, by the eighteenth century, determining which behaviours were merely sinful because the level of misbehaviour was deemed tolerable as the sinners could redeem themselves, and which actions were so odious that the offender was doomed because the action was a deadly sin, varied over time, from place to place, and from person to person.[8]

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[5] Both listed eight evils. Evagrius Ponticus ' list included: Gula (gluttony), fornicatio (fornication), avaritia (avarice), superbia (hubris), tristitia (sorrow/despair), ira (wrath), vanagloria (vainglory), acedia (sloth). Cassian's list of Sins consisted of: *gastrimargia* [*gula*], *fornicatio* [*luxury*]. *Filargyria* [*avaritia*], *iras, tristitia, acedia, cenodoxia* [*inanis* or *vana gloria*], and *superbia.*" See: Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature.* (East Lansing: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1967), 69.

[6] Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 74; Elda Rotor, "Editor's Note," *Lust: The Seven Deadly Sins.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), ix, 10-11. Also see: Stanford M. Lyman, *The seven deadly sins: society and evil*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 53; William H. Willimon, *Sinning like a Christian: a new look at the seven deadly sins.* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 134.

[7] Cynthia B. Herrup, "Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past and Present*. 106 (1985): 102–23; Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins,* 78, 69, 74.

The deadly sins continue to change in accordance with cultural concerns. In 2010, the Vatican released a new list of seven "social sins' which they felt better reflected modern misbehaviour. The revises list includes: "1. ``Bioethical' violations such as birth control; 2. ``Morally dubious'' experiments such as stem cell research; 3. Drug abuse; 4. Polluting the environment; 5. Contributing to widening divide between rich and poor; 6. Excessive wealth; 7. Creating poverty." Mike Nizza. "Seven More Sins, Thanks to Vatican," New York Times. < http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/03/10/seven-more-sins-thanks-to-vatican/> accessed 2 February, 2013; Jennifer Eccleston. "Vatican official: New sins on horizon," CNN. <http://www.cnn.com/2008/LIVING/wayoflife/03/13/new.sins/index.html?iref=mpst> accessed 2 February, 2013.

[8] Herrup, "Law and Morality," 102–23; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex, social relations and the law in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London," in Michael Braddick and John Walter, eds., *Negotiating Power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and Insubordination in Britain and Ireland.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 85-101, 262-67; Laura Gowing, *Domestic dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability:*

As the seven deadly sins were primarily associated with the medieval Catholic tradition of morality, the importance of the seven deadly sins in early modern and Hanoverian 'Protestant' English society has been contested.[9] The noted historian Naomi Tadmor, for instance, has asserted that there was a shift away from the seven deadly sins over the course of the early modern period as the Ten Commandments came to replace the deadly sins as the "moral code".[10] Others, such as Dominic Erdozain, have suggested that secularization encouraged the dissolution of traditional Christian orthodoxy that was based on the deadly sins. While Erdozain places this transition in the nineteenth century, others place its occurrence beginning as early as the sixteenth century.[11]

Social Relations in Elizabethan London. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990); J.A. Sharpe, "Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: the church courts at York," *Borthwick paper, 58*. (York, 1980); Eleanor Hubbard, *City women: money, sex, and the social order in early modern London.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Ruth Mazzo Karras, "The Regulation of Sexuality in the Late Middle Ages: England and France," *Speculum.* 86, 4 (2011): 1010-1039.

[9] In spite of the long-standing importance and use of the seven deadly sins in religious works, very little scholarship exists on the seven deadly sins in their own right. Moreover, much of the existing scholarship is contained to the medieval period. For instance, see: Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*; Siegfried Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum.* 43, 1 (1968): 1-22; Richard Newhauser, ed. *The seven deadly sins: from communities to individuals*. (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Richard Newhauser. *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 2005); Richard Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, eds. *Sin in medieval and early modern culture: the tradition of the seven deadly sins.* (York: York Medieval Press, 2012); Lyman, *The seven deadly sins;* Michael Haren. *Sin and society in fourteenth-century England: a study of the Memoriale Presbiterorum*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For exceptions, see: Ronald Paulson, *Sin and evil: moral values in literature.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Solomon Schimmel, *The seven deadly sins: Jewish, classical, and Christian reflections on human nature.* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992); Giles Emerson, *Sin city: London in pursuit of pleasure*. (London: Granada, 2002); Bryon Lee Grigsby, *Pestilence in Medieval and early modern English literature*. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

[10] Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*: *scripture, society, and culture in early modern England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 25; John Bossy, "Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments," in Edmund Leites, ed. *Conscience and Casuistry in early modern Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 214-234. Also see: Paulson, *Sin and evil,* 7.

[11] Dominic Erdozain, "The secularization of sin in the nineteenth century,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History.* 62, 1 (2011): 59-88.

On discussions about secularization and the place of religion in early modern, Hanoverian and Victorian in English society, see: C. John Sommerville, *The Secularisation of early modern England: from religious culture to religious faith.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Eamon Duffy, " 'Bare Ruined Choirs': Remembering Catholicism in Shakespeare's England," in *Theatre and Religion: Lancasterian Shakespeare*, ed. R. Dutton et. al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 40-57; J.C.D. Clark, *English society, 1688-1832: ideology, social structure, and political practice during the*

However, the separation between the Sins and the Commandments may be somewhat artificial. As Richard Newhauser points out, while the Sins are often associated with Catholicism, and the Ten Commandments with Protestantism, the Commandments had a presence in Catholic Catechesis since the beginning of the thirteenth century.[12] Likewise, during the Reformation, both Protestants and Catholics used the sins "to characterize the moral failings of the opposing faction".[13] Furthermore, the Ten Commandments contain the seven deadly sins, lust and avarice explicitly, and the others implicitly.[14] It is perhaps for this reason that Newhauser astutely notes that while the seven deadly sins may no longer serve "as the most important and systematic summation of evil application to all human beings as a guide for the individual conscience … the vices are still very much with us".[15] The importance of the sins in the eighteenth century is also evidenced by the countless sermons and pamphlets that discussed each of the

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ancien regime. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Ibid., "Secularization and Modernization: the failure of a 'grand narrative'," *The Historical Journal*. 55, 1 (2012): 161-194; Jeremy Morris, "The strange death of Christian Britain: another look at the secularization debate," *The Historical Journal*, 46, 4 (2003): 963-976; B.W. Young, "Historiographical Reviews: Religious History and the eighteenth-century historian," *The Historical Journal*. 43, 3 (2000): 849-868; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: the influence of Evangelicalism on social and economic thought 1785-1865*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Callum G. Brown, *The death of Christian Britain: understanding secularisation, 1800-2000*. (London: Routledge, 2009); S.J.D. Green, *The passing of Protestant England: secularisation and social change, c.1920-1960*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Steve Bruce, ed., *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change* (New York: Longman, 1976); Sarah C. Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark, c. 1880–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Edward Royle, *Victorian infidels: the origins of the British secularist movement, 1791-1866*. (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1974); Pamela Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*. (Berkley: University of California Press, 2001), 3-5.

[12] Richard Newhauser, " 'These seaven devils': the capital vices on the way to modernity," in Richard Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, eds., *Sin in medieval and early modern culture: the tradition of the seven deadly sins,* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2012), 161-2.

[13] Ibid., 166.

[14] Ibid., 162.

[15] Ibid., 165; Ibid., "Introduction" in his *The Seven Deadly Sins: From communities to individuals*, 5

seven deadly sins.[16] This is not to say that the "seven deadly sins" were at the forefront of discussions in eighteenth century London. Nor do I contest that the Decalogue grew in importance over the course of the early modern and Hanoverian periods.

However, the concept of sin remained at the forefront of concerns in early modern and Hanoverian England, and even grew as a theme of theological discourse following the overthrow of James II during the Glorious Revolution.[17] Though sin was specifically defined as a transgression "against the known laws of God and virtue" or "An act against the laws of God; a violation of the laws of religion", sinful misconduct was not only believed to have an impact on an individuals' soul, but was also seen to have "immediate and concrete social consequences".[18] Consequently, as Donna Andrew explains, "often eighteenth-century writers used vice, sin, and crime interchangeably" because the lines between sin, vice, and crime were blurry.[19] Cynthia Herrup, for instance, explains that crimes were often considered "sins" because they "implied moral and social lapses as well as a legal fault".[20] Similarly, while vice pertained to "all sorts of disorderly actions,

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[16] While the phrase "seven deadly sins" only appeared 184 times in a search of *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* the "Ten Commandments" appeared 5,655 in the same database. However, each of the individual sins produced significantly more hits in the same database: Avarice: 39,074; Envy: 67,823; Gluttony: 7, 372; Lust: 27,155; Pride: 93,582; Sloth: 18,695; and Wrath: 51,429.

[17] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex and societies for moral reform, 1688-1800." *Journal of British Studies* 46, 2 (2007): 291; Richard Connors, "The Nature of Stability in the Augustan Age," *Parliamentary History*, 28, 1 (2009): 28.

[18] Thomas Dyche, *A new general English dictionary; peculiarly calculated for the use and improvement of such as are unacquainted with the learned languages.* (London, 1744), 768; Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language: in which the words are deduced from their originals.* Vol. 2 (London, 1786), 572; Joanna Innes, "Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movement in later eighteenth-century England," in her *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 180; Paulson, *Sin and evil,* xi-xii, 6.

[19] Donna T. Andrew, *Aristocratic vice the attack on duelling, suicide, adultery, and gambling in eighteenth-century England*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 4.

[20] Herrup, "Law and Morality," 110.

or bad practices" including "overdrinking or ingratitude, or major and serious breaches of morals, like gaming, adultery, or duelling", vices were often referred to as sins.[21]

The relationship between sin, vice, and crime was particularly close because every transgression, no matter how small, was believed to put the individuals' salvation in grave peril. As Herrup notes, "A 'domino theory' of human character permeates both the secular and the religious writings" of the period: "one sin led inevitably to other, more serious transgressions." Consequently, the "distinction between a lazy man and a dishonest one was more a matter of opportunity than of character."[22] The belief that sin begets sin, was a prominent theme in conduct literature, sermons, judicial writings, last dying speeches, popular literature, and art works, such as with William Hogarth's *The Effects of Idleness and Industry, exemplified in the conduct of two fellow-'prentices*.[23]

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[21] Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*, (1744), 852; Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice*, 4; Anon., *A help to a national reformation.* (London, 1706), 115; Gentleman at London, *The tricks of the town laid open: or, a companion for country gentlemen*. (London, 1747), 18. Also see: John Conant, *Sermons on several subjects. The fifth volume.* (London, 1708); Patrick Delany, *Twenty sermons on social duties and their opposite vices of early industry.* The 2nd ed. (London, 1747); George Whitefield, *The heinous sin of drunkenness. A sermon preached on board the Whitaker*. (London, 1739); Josiah Woodward, *A kind caution to profane swearers.* (London, 1763); Ibid., *A disswasive from the sin of drunkenness*. (London, 1748); Ibid., *A rebuke to the sin of uncleanness*. (London, 1704); Minister, *An earnest and affectionate address to the poor: More particulary [sic] in regard to the prevailing sin of drunkenness*. (London, 1770); William Broughton, *Idleness in spiritual affairs, an inexcusable sin. A sermon preach'd in the parish-church of Hartlebury, in the country of Worcester.* (London, 1726); Edmund Gibson, *An admonition against prophane and common swearing.* (London, 1725); Anon., *The Great sin and folly of drunkenness, with a particular address to the female sex*. (London, 1707).

[22] Herrup, "Law and Morality," 109. Also see: Paulson, *Sin and evil,* xii; L.M. Stretch, *The beauties of history: or Pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life; designed for the instruction and entertainment of youth.* Eighth edition. (London, 1789), 189; William Dodd, *The Beauties of History; or, Pictures of virtue and vice*. (London, 1795).

[23] Innes, "Politics and morals," 180; William Dodd, *The beauties of history; or, pictures of virtue and vice: drawn from examples of men, eminent for their virtues or infamous for their vices.* (London, 1796); L.M. Stretch, *The beauties of history, or, Pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life designed for the instruction and entertainment of youth*. (London, 1777); James Burgh, *Youth's friendly monitor or, the affectionate school-master*. (London, 1754); Anon., *The adventures of a cork-screw; in which, under the pleasing method of a romance, the vices, follies and manners of the present age are exhibited ...* (London, 1775); John Balguay, *The second part of The foundation of moral goodness; illustrating and enforcing the principles and reasonings contained in the former.* (London, 1729); Luis de Granada, *The sinners guide, from vice to virtue; giving him instructions and directions how to become virtuous.* (London, 1760); Anon., *The budget, or moral and entertaining fragments. Representing the punishment of vice, and the reward of virtue*. (London, 1799); *London Spy Revived*. Monday, October 17, 1737, #193; *Whitehall Evening Post or*

While sin, vice, and crime existed in all levels of society, women and members of the lower sorts were believed to be more likely than men or their social superiors, to sin.[24] Consequently, poor female prostitutes were regarded as being especially prone to sin. Not only did the prostitute engage in illicit fornication, but she was seen to be idle, riotous, and disorderly because she drank, swore, and endeavoured to deceive the rest of society. The prostitute was also engaged in a number of crimes such as assault and theft. Perhaps worst of all, the nature of the prostitute was that she enticed others to sin alongside her, thereby increasing sin in society. Consequently, prostitutes were seen to be at the epicentre of disorder in society. The Seven Deadly Sins, therefore, serve as a useful

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London Intelligencer. March 14, 1769 - March 16, 1769, #3583; *Parker's Penny Post*. Friday, March 18, 1726, #138; *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*. Saturday, April 28, 1716; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. Saturday, March 30, 1776, #2350; *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*. Saturday, March 30, 1776, #1095; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Tuesday, April 2, 1776, #2142; *Daily Advertiser*. Tuesday, April 2, 1776, #14130; *Daily Courant*. Thursday, March 29, 1733, #5295; *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, January 17, 1736, #593; *Old Whig or the Congistent Protestant*. Thursday, January 22, 1736, #46; *General Advertiser*. Tuesday, August 29, 1749, #4634; Andrea McKenzie. *Tyburn's Martyrs: Execution in England 1675-1775*. (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); J.A. Sharpe, " 'Last dying speeches': religion, ideology and public execution in seventeenth-century England," *Past & Present.* 107 (1985): 144-67; Leigh Yetter, *Public execution in England, 1573-1868*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009); Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, whores, and idle apprentices*. (London: Routledge, 1992).

[24] The vices and 'immoral' behaviour of elites also gained attention in the eighteenth century. In particular, commentators objected to their gambling, duelling, adultery, and suicide. See: Andrew, *Aristocratic vice;* Ibid., " 'How frail are Lovers vows, and Dicers oaths': Gaming, Governing and Moral Panic in Britain, 1781-1782," in David Lemmings and Claire Walker, eds. *Moral panics, the media and the law in early modern England*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 176-94; Ibid., " 'Adultery à-la-mode': privilege, the law and attitudes to adultery 1770-1809," *History*. 82 (1997): 5-23; Ibid., "The secularization of suicide in England 1660-1800," *Past and Present.* 119 (1988): 158-70; Ibid., "The code of honour and its critics: the opposition to duelling in England, 1700-1850," *Social History*. 5, 3 (1980): 409-34; Donna T. Andrew and Randall McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd: forgery and betrayal in eighteenth-century London*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Phyllis Deutsch, "Moral trespass in Georgian London: gaming, gender, and electoral politics in the age of George III," *The Historical Journal*. 39, 3 (1996): 637-656; Robert Shoemaker, "The taming of the duel: masculinity, honour and ritual violence in London, 1660-1800," *Historical Journal*. 45, 3 (2002): 525-45; Markku Peltonen, *The duel in early modern England: civility, politeness and honour*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jennifer A. Low, *Manhood and the duel: masculinity in early modern drama and culture*. (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Susan Staves, "Money for honour: damages for criminal conversation," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture.* 11 (1982): 279-97; David M. Turner, *Fashioning adultery: gender, sex and civility in England, 1660-1740*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Sarah Lloyd, "Amour in the Shrubbery: Reading the Detail of English Adultery Trial Publications of the 1780s," *Eighteenth-Century Studies.* 39, 4 (2006): 421-42; Joanne Bailey, "Cruelty and Adultery: Offences against the Institution of Marriage," in Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash, eds. *Histories of crime: Britain 1600-2000*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 39-59.

framework to analyze prostitution as the individual sinful behaviours associated with prostitution fall under the broad framework established under the Capital Sins.

Policing Immorality: Regulation and Reform

Concerns about the immorality generated by prostitution and its associated vices helped facilitate nation-wide movements to eradicate sin and corruption from society. This led to the establishment of several voluntary and philanthropic organizations dedicated to reforming morals and "lewd", "loose", "idle", and "disorderly" behaviour.[25] In particular, three organizations - Bridewell Prison and Hospital (c. 1553), the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (c. 1688), and the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes (c.1758) - were most involved in public efforts to reform prostitutes. Although their institutional structures and approaches differed, all three used a combination of labour and religious education to bring about a change in inmates' character. While religious concerns remained paramount in determining which behaviours were deemed illicit and sinful or acceptable and permissible, the public regulation of personal behaviour increasingly came to be regulated by the state, voluntary organizations, and philanthropic institutions. [26]

Established in 1553, Bridewell Prison and Hospital was a revolutionary institution because, unlike the pre-existing gaols, Bridewell was not created exclusively as a place of detention, but rather to bring about a reformation in the "disorderly" poor and to "correct

[25] Martin Ingram, "Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England," in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, eds. *The experience of authority in early modern England*. (London: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 54; Innes, "Politics and Morals," 201.
[26] Keith Wrightson, "The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England," in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, eds. *The experience of authority in early modern England*. (London: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 26-27; Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 85; R.B. Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiatical Courts, 1500-1860*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Gowing, *Domestic Danger;* Archer; *The Pursuit of Stability;* Sharpe; "Defamation and sexual slander"; Ingram, "Reformation of Manners," 54.

the faults of a servant class who had shown insufficient respect for some aspects of the social or moral order."[27] Special emphasis was placed "on the prevention of street disorders" such as petty thievery, vagrancy, itinerancy, having no visible means of earning a living, and drunkenness.[28] Though prostitution was not technically a crime, women suspected of being prostitutes were frequently sentenced to Bridewell for offences which denoted prostitution: "nightwalking," picking up men, not having an "honest" or "visible" means of employment, being "lewd", or demonstrating "loose, idle, and disorderly" behaviour.[29] To encourage their reformation, prisoners were subjected to traditional punishments such as whippings and hard labour, required to engage in "character-building work", and provided with religious instruction.[30]

From the beginning, Bridewell was a controversial institution. In addition to being a prison, Bridewell also possessed a court-room, enabling its governors to hear cases and operate as a court, making Bridewell "the only such institution in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England that could police, prosecute, and punish in this way without

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[27] Bridewell was also designed to house orphaned children.

Joanna Innes, "Prisons for the poor: English bridewells, 1555-1800," in Francis G. Snyder and Douglas Hay, eds. *Labour, law, and crime: an historical perspective*. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1987), 42, 47, 53. Also see: Paul Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell, 1576-1580," *Journal of British Studies*. 42 (July 2003), 283-315; Ibid., *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550-1660.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); E. G. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital, Palace, Prison, and School: From the Death of Elizabeth to Modern Times* (London, 1929); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The pattern of sexual immorality in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London," in Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner, eds. *Londinopolis: essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 100; Robert Shoemaker, "Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738," in Lee Davison, ed. *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750.* (St. Martin's Press, 1992), 99-120; A.L. Beier. *Masterless men: the vagrancy problem in England, 1560-1640.* (London: Methuen, 1987), 164.

[28] Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 69.

[29] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 76; Drew D. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the city of London in the late eighteenth century*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 127 Citing R. Burn, *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officers.* Vol. 3. (London, 1785), 97-98; Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England," *Seventeenth Century*. 12, 2 (1998): 212-38; Ibid., *Lost Londons.*

[30] Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell," 287.

reference to an external monitoring authority, like a justice of the peace."[31] Bridewell faced further difficulties in the 1740s. Increasingly, reformers argued that commitments should be based on "specific, proven charges, established through some form of legal process", rather than stemming "from the general character of offenders".[32] In addition, critics objected to its sentencing practices in which people were sentenced to Bridewell for an indeterminate length of time and "at the discretion of the committing Justice."[33] By the 1770s, Bridewell Prison gained further condemnation from prisoner reformers, such as John Howard, who argued that rather than succeeding in reforming them, the institution further corrupted inmates.[34] Nevertheless, Bridewell continued to operate until the end of the eighteenth century, and women suspected of being prostitutes were regularly sent there.

Another crucial organization "dedicated to moral reform" was the Societies for the Reformation of Manners.[35] Formed in the aftermath of the 1688 revolution, the Societies were established based on the belief that England had circumvented a disaster, but that in order to ensure the stability and security of the nation, a godly reformation of public life was needed.[36] These organizations endeavoured to bring about a general

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[31] Ibid., 286-7.
[32] Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 87-88, 92.
[33] Ibid., 87-88.
[34] John Howard, *The state of the prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary observations, and an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals*. (London, 1780); Michael Ignatief, *A just measure of pain: the penitentiary in the industrial revolution, 1750-1850*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Tessa West, *The curious Mr Howard: legendary prison reformer*. (Hook: Gardners Books, 2011); Alex Pitofsky, "The Warden's Court Martial: James Oglethorpe and the Politics of Eighteenth-Century Prison Reform," *Eighteenth-Century Life.* 24, 1 (2000): 88-102; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans by Alan Sheridan. (New York Vintage Books, 1979).
[35] Dabhoiwala, "Sex and societies for moral reform," 297; Robert Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and rural Middlesex, c. 1660-1725.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 238-272; Ibid., "Reforming the City," 99.
[36] Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex,* 52. Also see: Connors, "The Nature of Stability," 28; Ingram, "Reformation of manners"; Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform"; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "Policing Male Heterosexuality: The Reformation of Manners Societies' Campaign against the Brothels in

improvement in religious and moral standards of public and private life, punish dissolute behaviour, and when necessary, establish new laws against vice.[37] The Societies were a broad-based, grassroots, voluntary organization that relied on informers to detect and notify authorities of those who committed a variety of offences, such as profanity, gambling, Sabbath breaking, duelling, and drunkenness, or other activities that denoted immorality and irreligion. But the transgression reformers most commonly prosecuted was 'lewd and disorderly behaviour', a common euphemism for sexual misconduct in general, and prostitution in particular.[38]

Like Bridewell, the Reform Societies came under attack in the 1730s and 1740s. Although there were initially high levels of prosecutions of offenders, as Faramerz Dabhiowala points out, the Societies came to be seen as a "dangerous innovation". In spite of the fact that membership enjoyed a broad base in society, the majority of active informers were a small group of dedicated members. This group of "amateurs" quickly came to be seen as corrupt and motivated by venality because they were financially rewarded for each prosecution.[39] Opponents of the reform societies also began to complain about the selectivity of those prosecuted; the majority of offenders were members of the lower orders and commentators objected to the selective permissiveness about the same behaviours amongst elites.[40] Critics also began to question whether many

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Westmminster, 1690-1720," *Journal of Social History*. 37, 4 (2004): 1017-35; Karen Sonnelitter, "The Reformation of Manners Societies, the Monarchy, and the English State, 1696-1714," *The Historian*. 72, 3 (2010): 517-542; Craig Rose, "Providence, Protestant union and godly reformation in the 1690s," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 6th ser., 3 (1993): 151-69; Innes, "Politics and morals".

[37] Dabhiowala, "Sex and societies for moral reform," 290.

[38] Ibid., 293, 297-300; Innes, "Politics and Morals"; M.J.D. Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Shoemaker, "Reforming the City," 101-110.

[39] Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform", 301, 303-306; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment,* 240-245; Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 89-91.

[40] Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform," 310.

of the activities that the reform societies prosecuted really were prosecutable offences if they were carried out by consenting adults.[41] The Societies faced further difficulties when the accused increasingly began to file vexatious counter-law suits, which hindered the Societies' ability to sustain their efforts.[42] In spite of these criticisms, women suspected of being prostitutes continued to be harassed and arrested throughout the period. Hence, while Britons became concerned about the policing practices that emerged to detect and punish offenders, they continued to regard sexual indiscretion as wrong.[43]

Another effort at bettering the condition of the poor and improving society that emerged in the eighteenth century was philanthropic institutions. Inspired by the reform societies' goal to promote education and instil moral reform, the charitable organizations of the eighteenth century focused on specific groups, such as orphaned children, poor expecting mothers, those infected with venereal disease, and prostitutes.[44] Established in 1758, the Magdalen Charity for Penitent Prostitutes was established to relieve and reform female prostitutes and women in danger of falling into prostitution.[45] Much like the

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[41] Bridget Hill, *Women Alone: Spinsters in England*, *1660-1850.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 106-7; Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 85, 102; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment*, 168, 170, 171.

[42] Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform," 305-6.

[43] Ibid., 309.

[44] Jonas Hanway, *Motives for the establishment of the Marine Society. By a merchant.* (London, 1757); Ibid., *Reasons for an augmentation of at least twelve thousand mariners, to be employed in the merchants-service, and coasting-trade with some thoughts on the means of providing for a number of our seamen, after the present war is finished.* (London, 1759); *An account of the Lying-In Charity for delivering poor married women at their own habitations*. (London, 1769); *An account of the nature and intention of the Lock-Hospital near Hyde-Park-Corner, the proceedings of the governors and the improvements lately adopted with an abstract of its income and expenditure and the state of its finances at Lady Day 1796: to which is added, An account of the Lock Asylum for the reception of penitent female patients when discharged cured from the hospital.* (London, 1796); *An account of the institution of the Lock Asylum, for the reception of penitent female patients, when discharged cured from the Lock Hospital.* (London, 1796); *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital, for the reception of penitent prostitutes*. (London, 1770); William Dodd, *The Magdalen, or, history of the first penitent prostitute received into that charitable asylum. With anecdotes of other penitents*. (London, 1799); Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police.*

[45] The Magdalen was not the only charitable asylum designed to reform repentant prostitutes. Similar institutions flourished in continental Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well. See: Sherril

original intentions behind Bridewell, the founding governors of the Magdalen intended to reform the residents by focusing on their moral reform through religious education. However, the institution also attended to practical matters and provided vocational training in the hope that this would enable the Penitents to remake their character and build a new life based on honest labour.[46] The governors admitted only those women who were relatively young, free of venereal disease, not pregnant, regarded as truly penitent, and committed to reforming their lives.[47] While the Magdalen signified growing sympathy for the plight of prostitutes, the institution was also designed to protect society from them.[48] Though the Magdalen continued to operate until 1958, the charity was most successful in the first few decades of its operation.

In spite of these challenges, organizations continued to emerge throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to combat prostitution and its associated vices.[49] In particular, organizations dedicated to reforming morals and eradicating vice

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Cohen, *The evolution of women's asylums since 1500: from refuges for ex-prostitutes to shelters for battered women*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[46] Andrew *Philanthropy and Police*, 122-123.

[47] Ibid., 120-125.

[48] Ibid., 120-122. Also see: H. F. Compton, *The Magdalen Hospital: the story of a great charity*. (London: S.P.C.K., 1917).

[49] John Fielding, *A plan for a preservatory and reformatory, For the benefit of Deserted Girls, and Penitent Prostitutes*. (London, 1758); Ibid., *An account of the origin and effects of a police set on foot by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle in the year 1753, upon a plan presented to his Grace by the late Henry Fielding, Esq; To which is added A Plan for preserving those deserted Girls in this Town, who become Prostitutes from Necessity.* (London, 1758); Saunders Welch, *A proposal to render effectual a plan, to remove the nuisance of common prostitutes from the streets of this metropolis; to prevent the innocent from being seduced; To provide A decent and comfortable Maintenance for those whom Necessity or Vice hath already forced into that infamous Course of Life; and to maintain and educate those children of the poor, who are either orphans, or are deserted by wicked Parents.* (London, 1758); Daniel Defoe, *Some considerations upon street-walkers. With A Proposal for lessening the present Number of them. In Two Letters to a Member of Parliament.* (London, 1726); Patrick Colquhoun, *A treatise on the police of the metropolis containing a detail of the various crimes and misdemeanors by which public and private property and security are, at present, injured and endangered: and suggesting remedies for their prevention.* (London, 1797); Jonas Hanway, *Advice from farmer Trueman to his daughter Mary, upon her going to service, in a series of discourses, designed to promote the welfare and true interest of servants. With reflections Of no less Importance to Masters and Mistresses*. (London, 1792); Ibid., *Thoughts on the importance of the sabbath.* (London, 1765); *An address to the public from the Society for the Suppression of Vice, instituted,*

enjoyed a resurgence between the 1780s through to the 1820s. For instance, in 1787 the Proclamation Society was established with the goal of eradicating a variety of immoral and disorderly practices, including profanity, lewdness, cursing, gaming, drunkenness, and breaking the Sabbath. In 1802, the Vice Society was founded to combat similar social problems, followed by the Guardian Society, which was established in 1815, and the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which was organized in 1825.[50] Organizations to reform the poor by reinvigorating their morals was widely regarded as an important measure to conquer the immorality, popery, violence, and disorder that were seen to have inspired the Gordon Riots, and more disconcertingly, the French Revolution.[51] These organizations were often formed by or gained the support of parish officials, philanthropists, and reformers, such as John Fielding, Patrick Colquhoun, and William Wilberforce, who continuously discussed the seemingly inter-related problems associated with disorderly houses, gin, profanation of the Sabbath, and prostitution.[52] Prostitution

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in London, 1802. Part the second containing an account of the proceedings of the society, from its original institution. (London, 1804); Lock Asylum. *An account of the nature and intention of the Lock-Hospital near Hyde-Park-Corner*; *An account of the origin and designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*. (London, 1733); Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police;* Ibid., *Aristocratic Vice*, 4-5; Paulson. *Sin and evil*, xii; Kevin Siena, *Venereal Disease Hospitals and the Urban Poor: London's Foul Wards,1600-1800* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004); David Innes Williams, *The London Lock: a charitable hospital for venereal disease 1746-1952.* (London: Royal Society of Medicine Press, 1992); Roberts, *Making English Morals*; Innes, "Politics and Morals".

[50] Innes, "Politics and Morals," 201.

[51] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 293.

[52] Fielding, *A plan for a preservatory and reformatory;* Ibid., *An account of the origin and effects of a police;* Colquhoun, *A treatise on the police of the metropolis.* Also see: Welch, *A proposal to render effectual a plan, to remove the nuisance of common prostitutes from the streets of this metropolis*; Defoe, *Some considerations upon street-walkers;* William Wilberforce, *A practical view of the prevailing religious system of professed Christians, in the higher and middle classes in this country, contrasted with real Christianity.* (London, 1798); *Brief statement of the origin and nature of the Society for carrying into effect His Majesty's proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue: together with the report of the committee. To which is added, a list of the members of the Society*. (London, 1789); *Seventh report of the committee of the Society for Carrying into Effect His Majesty's Proclamation Against Vice and Immorality, and for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue together with a brief statement of the origin and nature of the Society, and a list of the members.* (London, 1795).

was often at the centre of discussions and efforts to eradicate sin, vice and crime because it was connected to so many types of disorderly activities.

Historiography: Continuity vs. Change

A rich body of research exists on prostitution in eighteenth-century England. Current research has extensively evaluated male authorities' opinions on prostitutes and prostitution, the double standard on sexuality, women's low wages and limited economic opportunities, literary and fictional depictions of prostitution, the experiences and lives of prostitutes as revealed through legal records, and the manner in which prostitutes were treated by public and private charitable institutions.[53] In particular, existing analyses - especially the work of Laura Rosenthal, Donna Andrew, Tony Henderson, and Randolph Trumbach - have emphasized a linear shift in attitudes towards prostitution. In the first half of the eighteenth-century, prostitutes were seen to be motivated by lust; but over the course of the second half of the century they came to be regarded as pitiable victims of

[53] Bridget Hill, *Women, work, and sexual politics in eighteenth-century England*, (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*; Rosenthal. *Infamous commerce;* Laura Rosenthal, ed., *Nightwalkers: prostitute narratives from the eighteenth century*. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2008); Carter, *Purchasing power;* Bradford K. Mudge*, The whore's story: women, pornography, and the British novel, 1684-1830*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Melissa M. Mowry, *The bawdy politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: political pornography and prostitution*. (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004); Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*; Henderson*, Disorderly women*; Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*; Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor*; Susan Staves, "British Seduced Maidens," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 14, 2 (1980-1981): 109-134; Conway, *The Protestant whore*; Dan Cruickshank. *The secret history of Georgian London: how the wages of sin shaped the capital*. (London: RH Books, 2009); G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, eds. *Sexual underworlds of the Enlightenment*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); James Grantham Turner, *Schooling sex: libertine literature and erotic education in Italy, France, and England, 1534-1685*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Ibid., *Libertines and radicals in early modern London: sexuality, politics and literary culture, 1630-1685*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Katharine Kittredsge. ed., *Lewd & notorious: female transgression in the eighteenth century*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex;* Lewis and Ellis, *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture*.

poverty or defined as commercially-minded workers who made calculated, business-like decisions.[54] Rosenthal, for instance, observes that:

> Restoration prostitute figures generally display aggressive desire and/or transgressive passion; by the end of the eighteenth century however, literary prostitutes appeal to reader sympathy on the basis of their *lack* of enjoyment. … Restoration prostitutes do not necessarily relish each encounter, yet desire – for sexual pleasure, but also for luxury, power, prestige, and wealth – drives their careers and expresses their 'true' character. In later constructions, however, prostitute figures often divide themselves between a private 'inner' self with a virtuous potential and an exterior, public practice of highly unpleasant sexual encounters undertaken for compensation.[55]

Moreover, Rosenthal argues, these later prostitutes developed "the capacity to choose calculated profit over immediate pleasure."[56]

In *Philanthropy and Police,* the historian Donna Andrew presents a detailed analysis of how Londoners' shifting national interests influenced their charitable behaviour. Andrew argues that over the course of the eighteenth-century charitable donors (particularly elite benefactors) became increasingly particular about which types of people were 'worthy' recipients of charitable aid. Prostitutes posed a particular challenge to the philanthropic community because they defied the mores that governed Georgian society. In order to make prostitutes 'deserving' of charity, how they were perceived necessarily required alteration. As a result, when the Magdalen Hospital was established at mid-century, prostitutes increasingly came to be looked at as pitiable

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[54] See especially: Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police;* Carter, *Purchasing power*; Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce*; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*; Henderson*, Disorderly women*. Also see: Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); A.D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England: attitudes and prejudices from the 1720s to the 1820s.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth-Century*: *Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 2004); Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex;* Lewis and Ellis, *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture*; Vern L. Bullough, *The History of Prostitution*. (New York, 1964).
[55] Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*. 18.
[56] Ibid., 1.

victims rather than as lusty-whores.[57] This view has been argued by such scholars as Katherine Binhammer, Jennie Batchelor, and Sarah Lloyd, who also argue that sentimental views of prostitutes were well entrenched by 1758, when the Magdalen Hospital opened, an era which produced the idea of "the prostitute as primarily an economic victim, not a sexual predator."[58]

Seeking to reveal the experiences and social characteristics of London prostitutes, as well as the changing attitudes towards prostitutes, Tony Henderson largely concurs with Andrew's assessment that attitudes towards prostitution changed around mid-century. In the first half of the eighteenth century, he asserts that the prostitute was presented as an "agent of destruction" who "had chosen her calling" to tempt and debauch men.[59] This image of the prostitute as a "predator" was "reversed" during the second half of the century when "it was innocence, rather than the appetites, of the young victims" that came to be stressed by commentators.[60] Henderson also reminds us that "condemnatory and punitive attitudes towards prostitutes" returned, as is indicated by the revival of reform campaigns in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[61]

By contrast, Trumbach provides a slightly different account of how perceptions of prostitution changed over the course of the eighteenth century because his analysis of prostitution stems from his broader thesis that a 'sexual revolution' took place in the early 1700s. Trumbach argues that the emergence of a 'third sex', effeminate sodomites, led to

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[57] Andrew, *Philanthropy*, 92-7.
[58] Katherine Binhammer, "The Whore's Love," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*. 20, 4, (2008), 507; Jennie Batchelor, " 'Industry in Distress': Reconfiguring Femininity and Labor in the Magdalen House," *Eighteenth-Century Life.* 1, 28 (2004): 1-20; Sarah Lloyd, "'Pleasure's Golden Bait': Prostitution, Poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in Eighteenth-Century London," *History Workshop Journal*. 41 (1996): 50-70; Ibid., "Pleasing Spectacles and Elegant Dinners: Conviviality, Benevolence, and Charity Anniversaries in Eighteenth-Century London," *The Journal of British Studies*. 41, 1 (2002): 23-57.
[59] Henderson, *Disorderly women*, 166, 167-177; Compton, *The Magdalen Hospital*.
[60] Henderson, *Disorderly women,* 167, 13, 179-190.
[61] Ibid., 190.

new standards of masculinity; men were encouraged to prove their masculinity by engaging in penetrative sex with prostitutes. Consequently, prostitutes played a significant role in maintaining men's masculine identity and were, therefore, a critical part of the gendered and reinvigorated patriarchal cityscape. Though there were many social and experiential continuities for prostitutes, such as violence and poverty, Trumbach also believes that "the growth of sentimentalism … began to powerfully change sexual attitudes and behavior among the landed elites and the middle class after 1750."[62] Rather than desert brothels and the prostitution industry, the sex trade became "domesticated" owing to concerns that if prostitution disappeared, men would be left without appropriate sexual channels and become sodomites.[63] Thus, though Trumbach does not consider prostitutes to have initially been regarded as lusty-whores, like Andrew, he does argue that mid- to late- eighteenth century prostitutes were envisioned as pitiable victims.

It is clear that Rosenthal, Andrew, Henderson, and Trumbach envision a clear shift to have taken place around mid-century regarding how prostitutes were perceived, with economic concerns becoming paramount. This thesis is supported by substantial evidence that generally suggests that important changes regarding gender, sexuality, and the body, occurred in this period.[64] Moreover, opportunities for 'legitimate' work for

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[62] Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 169, 135-195, see especially chapters 5 and 6.
[63] Ibid., 169, 175.
[64] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, sex, and subordination in England 1500-1800*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); A.D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England*; K. Harvey, *Reading Sex;* Hill, *Women, work, and sexual politics*; Hitchcock, *English sexualities;* Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, eds., *English masculinities, 1660-1800*. (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999); Thomas Laqueur, *Making sex: body and gender from the Greeks to Freud*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Torrid zones: maternity, sexuality, and empire in eighteenth-century English narratives*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *Sexual knowledge, sexual science: the history of attitudes to sexuality*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Robert Shoemaker,

women were few, especially as women were often objectified based on their sexuality, a concern addressed in many contemporary conduct manuals for female servants.[65] As a result, some scholars, such as Heather Shore and Tim Hitchcock, have suggested that prostitution be included in the economy of makeshifts because it can be classified as one of the "activities to which the poor might resort in times of increased hardship, or as a way of supplementing a limited income."[66] This was particularly true of unemployed female servants who were one of the groups of women who were somewhat more likely to turn to prostitution to make ends meet between jobs.[67]

While the transition from the lusty-whore to the greedy-whore is not incorrect, by prioritizing this single transition, important continuities in how prostitutes were perceived have been obscured. Furthermore, a broader examination of discourse reveals that the

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Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres? (Longman, 1998); Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and practice in English medicine, 1550-1680*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Lawrence Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England, 1500-1800*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

[65] Bridget Hill, *Servants: English domestics in the eighteenth century*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 44-63; Ibid., *Women, work, and sexual politics*; Paula Humphrey. *The experience of domestic service for women in early modern London*. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011); Carolyn Steedman, *Labours lost: domestic service and the making of modern England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Kristina Straub, *Domestic affairs: intimacy, eroticism, and violence between servants and masters in eighteenth-century Britain*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Nigel Goose, *Women's work in industrial England: regional and local perspectives*. (Hatfield: Local Population Studies, 2007); Paul Craven and Douglas Hay, *Masters, servants, and magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, work, and family*. (New York: Routledge, 1989); Jonathan Swift, *Directions to servants*. (London, 1746); Sir John Barnard. *A present for an apprentice.* (London, 1750?); Thomas Seaton, *The conduct of servants in great families*. (London, 1720); Hanway, *Advice from Farmer Trueman*; Eliza Haywood, *A present for a servant-maid.* (London, 1743); Daniel Defoe, *The Behaviour of servants in England inquired into.* (London, 1726?); Christopher Tancred, *A scheme for an act of Parliament for the better regulating servants.* (London, 1724); Hannah Woolley, *The compleat servant-maid: or, The Young Maidens Tutor.* (London, 1704); Anne Barker, *The complete servant maid: or young woman's best companion*. (London, 1770?).

[66] Heather Shore, "Crime, criminal networks and the survival strategies of the poor in early eighteenth-century London," in Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, eds., *The poor in England 1700-1850: An economy of makeshifts*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 150. Also see: Tim Hitchcock, "Begging on the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of British Studies*. 44, 3 (2005): 490-1; Olwen Hufton, *The poor of eighteenth-century france 1750-1789*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 306-318; Ruth Harris and Lyndal Roper, eds., *The art of survival: gender and history in Europe, 1450-2000: essays in honour of Olwen Hufton*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[67] Shore, "Crime, criminal networks and the survival strategies," 152.

shift from the lusty whore to the disenchanted commercial worker does not seem to be unique to eighteenth-century England, but can be seen from the medieval to Victorian eras.[68] Ruth Mazo Karras's work on *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, for instance, shows that attitudes towards men and women's sexuality was remarkably similar in the medieval period as they were during the Georgian and Victorian periods: "Women's behaviour was sinful and polluting, men's was obeying the dictates of nature."[69] Moreover, just as in the Georgian period, Karras observes an "integration of economic thinking with sexual thinking" in the medieval period, the association between "sexuality, greed, and commerce permeates the view of gender relations" in medieval literature in both England and on the Continent.[70] Thus, Karras's work reveals that the transition in how disorderly women and prostitutes were conceptualized in the medieval period is quite similar to how they were regarded in the early modern and Georgian eras.[71]

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[68] Jane Rendall, "Women and the Public Sphere," *Gender & History*. 11, 3 (1999): 475-488; Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An ordered society: gender and class in early modern England*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common women: prostitution and sexuality in Medieval England*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of dreadful delight: narratives of sexual danger in late-Victorian London*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Ibid., *Prostitution and Victorian society: women, class, and the state*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Margot Finn, "Sex and the City: Metropolitan Modernities in English History," *Victorian Studies*, 44, 1 (2001): 25-32; Trevor Fisher, *Prostitution and the Victorians*. (Stroud: Sutton, 1997). Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, race, and politics: policing venereal disease in the British Empire*. (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[69] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: doing unto others.* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3.

[70] Karras, *Common Women*. 92, 95.

[71] Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*; Walkowitz, *City of dreadful delight;* Ibid., *Prostitution and Victorian society;* Fisher, *Prostitution and the Victorians*; Amussen, *An ordered society*; Bernard Capp, *When gossips meet: women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*. (London: Routledge, 2003); Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly women and female power in the street literature of early modern England and Germany.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); Sara Mendelson and Joan Crawford, *Women in early modern England, 1550-1720*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Gowing, *Domestic dangers;* Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History in Transition: The European case Publication," *Feminist Studies*. 3 (1976): 83-103; Joan Scott, "Gender: A useful category of historical analysis," *American Historical Review*. 91 (1986): 1053-75; Ibid., *Gender and the Politics of History*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

In her study of prostitution in the nineteenth-century British empire, Philippa Levine also shows that there were important continuities in how prostitutes were perceived. Citing Miles Ogborn's analysis of eighteenth century metropolitan views on prostitution, Levine asserts that "his point is clearly pertinent a hundred and more years later … There is no simple formula of change over time at work here, and one of the values of the comparative colonial approach is to foreground questions about change and stasis."[72] Through this statement, Levine points to a fascinating paradox of continuity and change: though continuities from previous periods governed responses to prostitution, changes in perceptions regarding prostitution were neither inevitable nor uniform.[73] Hence, Karras and Levine both show that the perceived transition from lust to greed was not unique to the eighteenth century, but had a long history in helping commentators explain what drove women to prostitution.

The over-emphasis on the transition from lust-to-greed or lust-to-victim is similar to the problems Amanda Vickery, Jane Rendall, Pamela Sharpe, and Judith Bennett have found with the theory of separate spheres in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[74] In particular, Vickery and Bennett argue that historians' need to present a

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[72] Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, 10 citing Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies 1680-1780.* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998).

[73] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Lust and Liberty," *Past and Present.* 207, 1 (2010): 89-179; Joan Wallach Scott, *Only paradoxes to offer: French feminists and the rights of man*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[74] On the Separate Spheres theory see: Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18, 2, (1966): 152; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

For critiques on separate spheres see: Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history," *The Historical Journal*. 36, 2 (1993): 383-414; Rendall, "Women and the public sphere"; Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Pamela Sharpe, "Continuity and Change: Women's History and Economic History in Britain," *The Economic History Review*, New Series. 48, 2 (1995): 354; Judith M. Bennett, "Theoretical Issues: Confronting Continuity," *Feminist Studies.* 14 (1988), 269-283; Ibid., " 'History that Stands Still': Women's Work in the European Past," *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988), 269-283. Also see: Shoemaker, *Gender in English society,* 10-

central change over time in the experience of middling and upper class women is largely the result of inadequate comparative analyses between lengthy periods of time because a thorough evaluation of a particular change can often be found in multiple periods, including the early modern period.[75] Vickery argues that this misconfiguration stems from historians' need to present their own period "as the key moment of change".[76] As Keith Wrightson notes, "[s]ocial history cannot easily be contained within the walls of neat chronological compartments" since it is less beneficial to view attitudes "in terms of polar opposites" because "in expounding such schemes of change many of the complexities and variations of past realities are in effect suppressed".[77] While the period between the 1680s to 1800 witnessed significant developments in terms of social, economic and political policies, "[t]hese developments were cumulative", not "revolutionary".[78] Therefore, instead of witnessing an uniform progression in attitudes to prostitutes and prostitution inspired by sentimentality and the enlightenment, a multitude of attitudes existed which were contingent on the context of the circumstances, not the time period.[79]

11; Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Women's history: Britain, 1700-1850: an introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2005); Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760*. (Rochester: Boydell, 2002); Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 237- 282; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good wives: image and reality in the lives of women in northern New England, 1650-1750*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Rosemary O'Day, *The Family and Family Relationships, 1500-1900: England and France and the United States of America*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

[75] Vickery, "Golden Age". Also see: Bennett, "Theoretical Issues"; Ibid., "'History that Stands Still'; Shoemaker. *Gender in English society,* 10-11; Sharpe, "Women's History and Economic History in Britain," 354; Rendall, "Women and the Public Sphere".

[76] Vickery, "Golden Age"; Ibid., *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 3. Also see: Wrightson, "The Family in early modern England".

[77] Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680*. (London: Routledge, 1982), 12; Ibid., "The Family in early modern England," 12-13.

[78] Wrightson, *English Society,* 13.

[79] Attitudes towards prostitution and sin follow a pattern that seemingly parallels those recently found by R.A. Houston in his consideration of responses towards suicide in Britain between 1500 and 1830. Like Houston, rather than relying upon a single type of source, this dissertation examines diverse sources to reveal that throughout the eighteenth century prostitutes were treated in different ways, both negatively and

The perception that prostitutes came to be seen as especially greedy over the course of the second half of the century has likely been influenced by the fact that the establishment of the Magdalen Charity generated considerable discussion among social commentators, philanthropists, and the newspaper press.[80] During the same period, but for separate reasons, the newspaper press exploded. Inspired by the debates regarding prostitution and new charitable forms, as well as the need to compete in an increasingly competitive commercial market, newspapers included more stories about crime, and disorderly criminals, including prostitutes, who were notorious for their disorderly conduct.[81]

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sympathetically, but rarely consistently. In discussing attitudes to suicide, Houston states that the transformation in attitudes was "gradual" and "ambivalent" because stories about suicide were "judged situationally, not absolutely" [R.A. Houston. *Punishing the dead?: suicide, lordship, and community in Britain, 1500-1830*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 9, 12, 374, 372].

[80] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*; Lloyd, "Pleasure's Golden Bait"; Ibid., "Pleasing Spectacles"; Mary Peace, "The Magdalen Hospital and the Fortunes of Whiggish Sentimentality in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Eighteenth Century*. 48, 2 (2007): 125-148.

[81] On the press, see: Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press, c. 1780-1850*. (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1973); Karl W. Schweizer, "Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion in the Later Hanoverian Era," *Parliamentary History*. 25, 1 (2006): 32-48; Andrew and McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd;* Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 104-105; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 23; Ibid., *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855*. (New York: Longman, 2000); Ibid., "England, 1760-1815," in Hannah Barker and Simon Burrows, eds. *Press, politics and the public sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 93-112; Lucyle Thomas Werkmeister, *The London Daily Press, 1772-1792*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1963), 3-5, 8, 163-169; Wilfrid Hindle, *The Morning Post, 1772-1937: Portrait of a Newspaper*. (London: Routledge, 1937); Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press*. (London: Associated University Presses, 1987); Eunice Wead, "British Public Opinion of the Peace With America, 1782," *The American Historical Review*. 34, 3 (1929), 513; Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, eds. "Introduction" in their *Rethinking the age of reform: Britain 1780-1850.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-70.

On newspaper reports of crime and disorder, see: Peter King, "Newspaper reporting, prosecution practice and perceptions of urban crime: the Colchester crime wave of 1765," *Continuity and Change.* 2 (1987): 423-54; Ibid., "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century London," *Continuity and Change*. 22, 1 (2007): 73-112; Ibid., "Making crime news: newspapers, violent crime and the selective reporting of Old Bailey trials in the late eighteenth century," *Crime, Histoire et Societes*. 13, 1 (2009): 91-116; Esther Snell, "Discourses of criminality in the eighteenth-century press: the presentation of crime in The Kentish Post, 1717–1768," *Continuity and Change.* 22, 1 (2007): 13-47; Ibid., "Representations of criminality and victimisation in provincial newspapers: *The Kentish Post* 1717 to 1768," *Southern History*. 27 (2005): 48-75; Norma Landau, "Gauging crime in late eighteenth-century London," *Social History*. 35, 4 (2010): 396-417.

It is evident that the transition from lust to greed was not unique to the eighteenth century, but had a long history in helping commentators explain what drove women to prostitution. Instead of seeking to pinpoint one single transition to define how perceptions of prostitutes changed over a period, it is more beneficial to acknowledge, as Karras does for the medieval period, "that many different attitudes coexisted within a single culture."[82] Such an approach, as that adopted by Karras for the medieval period, to the conceptualization and re-configuration of prostitution seems equally appropriate to the eighteenth-century. Therefore, by prioritizing the transition from the lusty whore to the pitiable victim, important continuities in how prostitutes were perceived have been obscured. Furthermore, this historiography has overlooked important dynamics in discussions of prostitution, including concerns about hierarchy and the proper ordering of society, vanity and dress, theft, violence, idle and dissolute apprentices, and 'lewd behaviour' such as drinking or rioting. The attribute that was most emphasized in any particular discussion was determined more by the individual authors' perspective and the context they were addressing (indeed, some authors discussed all three issues simultaneously) than the time period itself.

Outline of Chapters

Each chapter of this dissertation examines one or two sins and how they were related to a particular social problem often linked directly to prostitution. Chapter two, "Lust and Avarice," examines the ubiquitous association between lust, greed, and poverty in relation to prostitution. This chapter first challenges the prevailing analysis that perceptions of prostitutes underwent a fundamental transformation over the course of the

[82] Karras, *Sexuality in medieval Europe*, 2.

century; it instead argues that the 'lusty whore' coexisted alongside the impoverished victim and commercial-oriented prostitute. Furthermore, this chapter argues that there was an inherent paradox regarding perceptions of prostitution because two types of lower-class prostitutes - the prostitute-thief and the trapper - were seen as unusually avaricious. The prostitute-thief was depicted as especially greedy because she picked pockets and stole petty goods and the trapper used blackmail and extortion to gain a considerable settlement from unsuspecting clients. These prostitute figures were depicted as particularly avaricious and corrupt because they not only exchanged sexual services for a fee, but also engaged in criminal practices. Finally, this chapter shows that the prostitution industry as a whole was associated with greed. In particular, bawds, pimps, and procurers were seen as greedy and dissolute because they were willing to corrupt men and innocent young girls to profit from illegal commerce.

This chapter, therefore, argues that attitudes to prostitutes did not shift in a straightforward manner because commentators recognized that there were different types of prostitutes – even among the streetwalking population – and discussed them accordingly. As a result, the relative sinfulness or acceptability of a prostitute's action was contingent on her conduct at the given moment *as well as* on the conduct of the individual with whom she was interacting. Nevertheless, as Keith Thomas noted decades ago, double standards between men and women remained pervasive.[83] In spite of the fact that current research has shown that there was a liberalization of attitudes towards sex, sexual deviance continued to be more a more damaging accusation for women than it was for men; men's sexuality continued to be prioritized over women's well-being, and men

[83] Keith Thomas, "The Double Standard," *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 20, 2 (1959): 195-216.

were not arrested for many of the same offences as were women.[84] Whereas male sexual indiscretions were excused, female promiscuity was regarded as evidence of their immorality, inferior nature, and their lack of self-control.

Chapter three, "Pride and Envy," seeks to explain why prostitutes' attempts to transgress their social standing through dress and make-up were perceived to be so nefarious. This chapter argues that when prostitutes wore sumptuous clothing and painted their faces with cosmetics they were criticized as being vain, entranced by luxuries, proud, and envious of their social and economic betters. These discussions fall into two categories: the destructive effects these activities had on prostitutes, and the damaging impact prostitutes had upon the rest of society. Commentators believed that many women in the lower orders wore elaborate clothing and cosmetics in an attempt to emulate their social betters. However, by purchasing these luxuries, many fell into debt, which in turn forced them to prostitute themselves. Hanoverians also argued that prostitutes dressed 'above their station' and used make-up to obscure their identity and deceive male admirers into thinking them honest and genteel, instead of prostitutes. This chapter suggests that concerns about order continued to be founded upon people's status; those who were seen to be transgressing their station were depicted as disruptive and disorderly. It is also apparent that commentators were deeply concerned about men being deceived by women, especially from the lower sorts, because it contradicted accepted understandings about the gender-based and hierarchical social orders. This chapter,

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[84] Dabhiowala, *Origins of Sex*; Hurl-Eamon, "Policing Male Heterosexuality," 1025; Bernard Capp, "The double standard revisited: plebeian women and male sexual reputation in early modern England," *Past & Present*. 162 (1999): 70-100; Stephen H. Gregg, "'A Truly Christian Hero': Religion, Effeminacy, and Nation in the Writing of the Society for the Reformation of Manners," *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 25, 1 (2001): 18. Also see: Jeremy Gregory, "*Homo religiosus*: masculinity and religion in the long eighteenth century," in Tim Hitchcock and Michele Cohen, eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*. (London: Addison Wesley, 1999), 85-110.

therefore, shows that double standards of morality remained entrenched as evidenced by the fact that prostitutes were depicted as being irrational, cunning, and deceitful.

The next chapter, "Gluttony and Sloth," considers how excessive sexual desire, an insatiable appetite, and indolence converged to pose what contemporaries regarded as a grave threat to the body politic. As drunkenness was an exceptionally problematic form of gluttony, in this chapter, gluttony is discussed in relation to the excessive consumption of alcohol, while sloth is examined in relation to idleness, the chief concern associated with sloth in this period. The first part of this chapter explores English understandings of gluttony and sloth and how they were related to prostitution to show that commentators believed that drunken, idle prostitutes and their clients were responsible for the corruption of morality, for a weak labour force, and for crime. The second part of this chapter considers how discussants sought to reform prostitutes' drunken idleness. Throughout the century, commentators believed that the best way to reform these prostitutes was through a religious re-education, the inculcation of an industrious spirit through labour, and by preventing her from drinking spirituous liquors. Hence, this chapter underscores Hanoverians' deep-seated concern regarding the cumulative effects of sin and vice. Not only did each sinful transgression put the individuals' salvation in peril, but the strength and vitality of the nation rested upon the morality and conduct of individual members of society. Furthermore, this chapter reveals that concerns about disorder were central to discussions of prostitution. Drunken and riotous prostitutes were seen to be out of control and a threat to the maintenance of order that was necessary to govern English society.

The fifth chapter, "Wrath," examines the violence perpetrated against prostitutes and the violence committed by prostitutes. It argues that although prostitutes were both victims and perpetrators of violence, commentators more frequently discussed prostitutes' violent actions against male clients, their neighbours, and parish officials than they did prostitutes' victimization. The greater emphasis on prostitutes' violent actions indicates that prostitutes were depicted as criminals who posed a serious threat to the peace and stability of the nation, rather than as pitiable victims. Prostitutes' proclivity towards violence was regarded as evidence of their 'beastly' nature and inability to control their impulses. This chapter also demonstrates that double standards of morality were deep-seated. Though there were movements to reform prostitutes, these efforts were predominantly aimed at the benefit of society, rather than towards the individual women.

It is apparent that diverse concerns were closely associated with prostitution. Although this dissertation is organized according to sin, a number of additional themes run through each chapter. In particular, each chapter brings attention to concerns regarding three additional concepts: the loss of self-control; the double standard; and, criminality and deception.

One of the problems thought to inherently plague prostitutes was their lack of self-control. Prostitutes were seen to be ruled by their desires and impulses rather than capable of drawing upon rational thought. The absence of prostitutes' self-control was primarily embodied by their inability to contain their appetite for sexual gratification. Prostitutes' inability to restrain their impulses was further demonstrated by their yearning for luxuries. Prostitutes were also believed to engage in criminal activities such as picking pockets, petty thievery, or committing blackmail to enhance their purchasing

power. Prostitutes' proclivity towards drunkenness further demonstrated their "loss of judgment and lack of restraint", and was widely believed to drive people to 'riotousness' and violence.[85] But, perhaps worst of all, prostitutes were reproached for causing men to lose control of their bodies and their conduct. Each chapter reveals that prostitutes were blamed for introducing otherwise honest, honourable, and rational men to illicit pleasures of fornication, luxury, and drunkenness. In turn, these vices fed a host of other social problems. Those who fornicated with prostitutes became enervated, indolent, and unable to contribute to the strength and vitality of the nation; others became quick to violence and to drawing their fists or swords. Commentators feared that if men allowed themselves to "become unbridled in their lusts, they will cowardly submit to any burden" and become "a Slave to lewd Women".[86] These circumstances were particularly worrisome because they indicated a world-turned-upside-down, in which women governed men, overturning the deeply ingrained patriarchal principles that were deemed essential to order society.[87]

The loss of self-control became a particularly damaging accusation over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Michael Heyd argues, whereas in the early modern period most people accepted "that man was sinful from birth, and

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[85] Johnson, *A dictionary.* (London, 1786), 158; Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins,* 214; Willimon, *Sinning Like a Christian;* 116; Francine Prose, *Gluttony*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9; Aviad Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins. A Very Partial List.* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008), 82. Giovanni Bona. "Of combatting gluttony and lasciviousness," *Evange[lical institutions] or, Practical rules and precepts for a truly Christian life.* (London, 1719), 93,

[86] Obadiah Hughes, *A sermon to the Societies for Reformation of Manners; preach'd at Salter's-Hall, July 1. 1728.* (London, 1728), 28; Anon., *Royal folly: or, the danger of being tempted by harlots. A sermon preached at Oxford before a Friendly Society at their annual meeting.* (London, 1740), 21.

[87] Christopher Hill, *The World turned upside-down: radical ideas during the English Revolution.* (London: 1972); John Walter, "The impact of the English Civil War on Society: a world turned upside down," in John Walter, ed. *Crowds and popular politics in early modern England*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); E.P. Thompson, " 'Rough music': le charivari anglais," *Annales*. 27 (1972): 285-312; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124-151.

lacked the free will to do any good without the help of divine grace", by the eighteenth century the belief "that human beings were in complete control of their own behaviour, and individually and morally responsible for their actions" increasingly came to be asserted.[88] Bernard Capp agrees, and explains that "in early modern England a new code of civility demanded emotional self-control."[89] Although rationality, self-control, and personal responsibility were associated with governing elites, and specifically assumed to exclude women and members of the lower order, the fact that prostitutes and their customers gave in to their temptations to satisfy their lustful urges, their greed, their desire for luxuries, for drunkenness, and gave in to their angry impulses, further

[88] Michael Heyd, "Original Sin, the Struggle for Stability, and the Rise of Moral Individualism in Late Seventeenth-Century England," in Philip Benedict and Myron P. Gutmann. *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability.* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 198. Also see: Craig Muldrew, "From a 'light cloak' to an 'iron cage': historical changes in the relation between community and individualism," in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, eds. *Communities in early modern England: Networks, place, rhetoric*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 169; Bernard Capp, " 'Jesus Wept' But did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England," *Past and Present*. 224 (2014): 75-108.

On the rise of individualism, see: Alan Macfarlane, *The origins of English individualism: the family, property, and social transition*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978); Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the individualist self: autobiography and self-identity in England, 1591-1791*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); John R. Gillis, "Affective individualism and the English poor," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 10 (1979-80): 121-8; Stephen D. White and Richard T. Vann, "The invention of English individualism: Alan Macfarlane and the modernization of pre-modern England," *Social History*. 8, 3 (1983): 345-63; Steven Pincus, "Neither Machiavellian moment nor possessive individualism: commercial society and the defenders of the English commonwealth," 103, 3 (1998): 705-36; Margaret Pelling, "Corporatism or individualism: parliament, the navy, and the splitting of the London Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1745," in Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis, eds., *Guilds and association in Europe, 900-1900*. (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2006), 57-82.

On civility and politeness, see: Anna Bryson, *From courtesy to civility changing codes of conduct in early modern England.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998); Paul Langford, *A polite and commercial people: England 1727-1783*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Ibid., *Englishness identified: manners and character, 1650-1850.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Ibid., "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 12 (2002): 311-331; Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal*. 45, 4 (2002): 869-898; John Tosh, "English Politeness: Conduct, Social Rank and Moral Virtue, c. 1400-1900," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 12 (2002): 261-266; Heyd. "Original Sin," 221.

[89] Capp, "Jesus Wept," 75.

entrenched the belief that women and members of the lower orders were not capable of governing themselves.[90]

Another important theme that emerges in each chapter is the effect of double standards of morality. Though women were regularly disparaged as the 'weaker vessel' - a punishment from God for all women for Eve's original sin - they were simultaneously seen to have an incredible capacity to corrupt men.[91] This dissertation reveals that female prostitutes were held more accountable for social problems associated with prostitution than were men. Though men were sometimes decried as seducers and debauchers, thereby leading women into a life of vice, sin, and prostitution, there were more scenarios in which women were seen to deceive, decoy, and trick men into engaging in prostitution, especially when alcohol was involved. Moreover, these prostitutes were seen to prey on vulnerable youths, foreigners, and countrymen, those who were more naïve, and perhaps less able of withstanding temptation. This suggests that Keith Thomas, Bernard Capp, and Randolph Trumbach's argument that while prostitution was derided as a terrible tragedy for women, men's promiscuity was tacitly applauded.[92]

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[90] Muldrew, "From a 'light cloak' to an 'iron cage'," 169.

[91] Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Women's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England.* (London, 1985), 1; Fletcher, *Gender, sex, and subordination*, 60-82; Ibid., "Men's Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England 1560-1660," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 4 (1994): 61-81; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modem England*; Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*.

[92] Thomas,ds "The Double Standard;" Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution;* Capp, "The Double Standard Revisited". Also see: Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage*; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers,* 1-5, Ch. 2-4; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 251. In addressing the double standard, in his address "To The Young Ladies of Great Brittain" John Brown explained: "For the generality of the World, … applaud and countenance such Actions in *Men,* instead of branding them, as they ought to do, with Infamy and Abhorrence; they are look'd upon, not as Instances of a base and corrupted Mind, but as the distinguishing Marks of a fine Gentleman, … Whereas, in your Sex, the Case is quite otherwise; the least Deviation from the strict Rules of Virtue, … is almost indelible" [John Brown, *An Essay upon modern gallantry. Address'd to men of honour, men of pleasure, and men of sense. With a seasonable admonition to the young ladies of Great Britain.* (London, 1726), 37. Also see: "An old sportsman," *The Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand*. (London, 1749), 4].

A double standard is also evident when one examines discussions of violence in relation to prostitution. In spite of the fact that research shows that men were responsible for more violence than women, prostitutes' violent actions against their neighbours, male clients, and parish officials was discussed with far greater frequency than their victimization. Moreover, even the goals and consequences of mens' angry and violent actions were depicted differently than women': whereas male assailants were often depicted as endeavouring to maintain order, "female violence" was almost always portrayed as a significant "breach" of the social order.[93] Furthermore, the limited reporting of men's violence against prostitutes suggests that men's physical and verbal aggression continued to be seen as somewhat acceptable or unexceptional.[94] It is evident that in virtually every discussion of prostitution, prostitutes were depicted as more blameworthy for the social problems and social consequences associated with the trade than were the men who sought them out.

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[93] Robert A. F. Thurman, *Anger: The Seven Deadly Sins.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 17; Elizabeth Foyster, "Boys will be boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800," in *English Masculinities*, 158; Gwynne Kennedy, *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England*. (Southern Illinois University, 2000), 3-4, 9, 12, 49, 85.

On sin as a destabilizing force, see: Susan Amussen, "Punishment, Discipline, and Power: The Social Meanings of Violence in Early Modern England." *The Journal of British Studies*. 34, 1 (1995): 1-34; Ibid., *An Ordered Society*; Anna Clark, *The struggle for the breeches: gender and the making of the British working class*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Deirdre Palk, *Gender, crime and judicial discretion*, 1780-1830. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and petty violence in London, 1680-1720*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005); Griffiths, *Lost Londons*; Innes, *Inferior politics;* Barry Coward. *Social change and continuity in early modern England, 1550-1750*. (London: Longman, 1988); Archer, *The pursuit of stability,* 238.

On prostitutes as pitiable victims, see: Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce*; Carter, *Purchasing power;* McCreery, *The Satirical gaze*, 39-79.

[94] Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches*; Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660-1800*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital violence: an English family history, 1660-1857.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ibid., *Manhood in early modern England: honour, sex, and marriage*. (New York: Longman, 1999); Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of manhood in early modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Kennedy, *Just Anger;* Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800.* (Harlow: Longman, 2001).

Another recurring theme that highlights the problems associated with prostitution is criminality and deception. Though prostitution was not a crime, many of the activities and behaviours associated with prostitution – picking up men, nightwalking, and being 'drunk,' 'loose', or 'lewd, idle, and disorderly' - were offences that justified their arrest and incarceration in Bridewell Prison. However, some prostitutes were engaged in a variety of crimes including theft, blackmail, and assault. All of these actions helped to define prostitutes as deceptive criminals intent on harming men and corrupting society. Prostitutes were also regarded as deceptive because they disguised their true identities and status through the aid of alluring outfits and cosmetics. Prostitutes were depicted as coercing men to engage in illicit sexual activity, often by first 'decoying' him with liquor so he would not realize he was being exploited. These actions challenged the accepted 'natural' order in which men were in command of their actions, and women were meek subordinates. The close association with crime and prostitution was not limited to prostitutes, but also encompassed bawds, pimps, and procurers. Bawds' reputation as criminals was further entrenched because some were also thieves, or encouraged their prostitutes to steal from male clients. Both actions further solidified the perception that prostitution was deeply embedded in the criminal underworld. Moreover, bawds and procurers were depicted as cunning because they deceived young girls into working for them by promising them honest employment; worse, others succeeded in deceiving men.

It is evident that prostitutes were depicted as sinful not only because they exchanged sexual services for monetary gain, but because they were closely connected to a variety of additional social problems. Prostitution posed a significant problem for the maintenance of order in early modern and Hanoverian England. Prostitutes publicly

fornicated in the streets; committed crimes such as theft, extortion, and assault; they were often drunk, which made them riotous, disorderly, and prone to criminal offences. Above all, each chapter shows that prostitutes were presented as 'agents of destruction' who severely threatened to undermine the peaceful, polite, and orderly nature of English society.

Sources and Methodology

Eighteenth-century England in general, and London in particular, provides an ideal setting to study prostitution and the seven deadly sins because sex scandals were rampant, the growth of London enabled a larger number of sub-cultures to flourish under the safety of anonymity, and, spurred by harsh economic conditions, a growing number of young women were willing to turn to prostitution in order to make a living.[95] Furthermore, discussions of prostitution were ubiquitous, appearing in virtually every

[95] On sex scandals, see: Anna Clark, *Scandal: the sexual politics of the British constitution*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Hallie Rubenhold, *Lady Worsley's whim: an eighteenth-century tale of sex, scandal and divorce*. (London: Chatto & Windus, 2008); Terry Castle, *Masquerade and civilization: the carnivalesque in eighteenth-century English culture and fiction*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); Matthew Kinservik, *Sex, scandal, and celebrity in late-eighteenth century England*. (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Norma Clarke, *Queen of the wits: a life of Laetitia Pilkington.* (London: Faber, 2008); Nicholas Rogers, "Pigott's private eye: radicalism and sexual scandal in eighteenth-century England," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association.* 4 (1993): 247-63.

On the economic circumstances that pushed women into prostitution and poor women's survival strategies, see: Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution;* Henderson, *Disorderly Women;* Alysa Levene and Steven King, eds., *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006); King and Tomkins, eds. *The poor in England*; Alannah Tomkins, *The experience of urban poverty, 1723-82: parish, charity and credit*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Richard Connors, "Poor women, the parish and the politics of poverty," in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Gender in eighteenth-century England: roles, representations and responsibilities*. (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), 126-47.

On the growth of London, and its associated problems, see: Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner, eds., *Londinopolis: essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London*. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000); E.A. Wrigley and Roger Schofield, *The population history of England, 1541-1871: a reconstruction*. (London: Arnold, 1981); A.L. Beier, "Social problems in Elizabethan London," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 9, 2 (1978): 203-21; Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., *Order and disorder in early modern England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Allen Lane, 1982); P.J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 66-81; M.D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

avenue of discussion in eighteenth century London, including newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, manuscripts, popular literature, sermons, and records from the Bridewell Court of Governors and the Magdalen Hospital. By carefully consulting a variety of sources, my research demonstrates that discussions about prostitution were diverse and tied to deep-seated and enduring issues of morality and social mores. In drawing upon a wide range of texts, I have endeavoured to demonstrate the range of concerns raised by prostitutes and prostitution over the course of the long-eighteenth-century.

Newspapers are a particularly effective source for understanding Britons' changing attitudes and concerns with social, economic, moral, and political problems, such as prostitution. Newspapers and magazines contained a wide variety of material, including crime reports, coverage of parliamentary debates, editorials, readers' letters, and advertisements. While the press cannot be considered equivalent to "public opinion", an ambiguous term with divergent and limited meanings in the eighteenth century, Eunice Wead argues that the press "no doubt guided it to a considerable extent, and was certainly an effective mirror of the popular conception of current affairs."[96] Yet, the press was more than a mirror of its readers; it also attempted to form, as well as reflect, opinion.[97] The editorials, letters and reports on prostitution in the press provide an opportunity to evaluate newspaper readers' concerns with the social, economic, and

[96] Wead, "British Public Opinion," 513. Barker defines 'public opinion' as "a body of argument of discussion about (amongst other things) government, but not conducted within the limits of governing institutions nor confined to a governing class". Furthermore, she explains: "These individuals were thought to have a legitimate interest in the public affairs of their nation which they could pursue and express without either challenging the broad constitutional structures within which they lived, or aspiring to take part in the direct management of those structures." [Barker, *Public Opinion*, 3-4].

[97] Aspinall argues that the questions whether "did the Press govern[ed], or … reflect[ed], public opinion? That is a question to which different answers were given [during the early nineteenth century]". Aspinall, *Politics and the Press,* 4. Also see: Barker, *Public Opinion,* 2; Ibid., *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion.*

moral implications of prostitution among those who were sufficiently concerned about these issues to comment on them in the press.

Questions regarding the reliability of the press are crucial to its utility as a source. While Wilfrid Hindle, Lucyle Werkmeister and Dror Wahrman have suggested that the biases of editors strongly influenced content, as there was considerable overlap in content between publications of differing political views, the issues that editors believed were most likely to maintain readers' interest become apparent.[98] Moreover, while newspapers and magazines were commercial enterprises concerned with making a profit, and, therefore, interested in publishing the most salacious stories, as Donna Andrew and Randall McGowen have suggested, editors were prevented from printing anything they wanted because outright lies would reduce the credibility of the publication and consequently thwart sales.[99] For these reasons, Hannah Barker has asserted that newspapers were an unlikely medium for truly subversive material and James Oldham has argued that London newspaper accounts were "largely reliable."[100]

While discussions of prostitution in the press does not provide an accurate record of the number of prostitutes in London or the nature of prostitution, it does indicate how prostitutes and prostitution were perceived and discussed among those who were

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[98] Dror Wahrman, "Virtual Representation: Parliamentary Reporting and Languages of Class in the 1790s," *Past and Present*, 136, (1992): 83-113; Werkmeister, *Newspaper history of England,* 8; Hindle, *Morning Post*, 7.

[99] Andrew and McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd,* 55, 57, 58.

[100] Barker and Burrows, *Press, politics and the public sphere,* 8, James Oldham, "Law Reporting in the London Newspapers, 1756-1786", *The American Journal of Legal History*. 31, 3 (1987): 177. Also see: Werkmeister, *London Daily Press,* 3-5, 163-169; Hindle, *The Morning Post,* 7; Schweizer, "Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion," 40; Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion,* 47; Simon Devereaux, "Reporting Crime in the North of England eighteenth-century Newspaper: a Preliminary Investigation," *London Journal*. 32, 1 (2007): 1-27; King, "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime"; Ibid., "Newspaper reporting, prosecution practice and perceptions of urban crime"; Snell. "Discourses of criminality"; Robert Shoemaker, "The Street Robber and the Gentleman Highwayman: Changing Representations and Perceptions of Robbery in London, 1690-1800," *The Journal of the Social History Society*. 3, 4 (2006): 381-405; James A. Sharpe, "Reporting Crime in the North of England eighteenth-century Newspaper: a Preliminary Investigation," *Crime, History & Societies.* 16, 1 (2012): 25-45.

sufficiently concerned about these issues to comment on them. Because the newspaper press is so voluminous, to assess perceptions of prostitution throughout the eighteenth century, I employed selective keyword searches, such as "common women", "streetwalker", "bawd", "prostituted", and "disorderly woman" in the *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers* database. This approach allowed me to identify newspaper reports that discussed prostitution over the course of the long eighteenth century.[101] This produced, for the years between 1680 and 1799, over 2600 newspaper reports, letters, advertisements, and editorials discussing prostitutes and prostitution.[102]

To study the treatment of prostitutes by governing authorities, I examined the Bridewell Royal Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governors. While these records are most voluminous between 1689 and the 1740s, because they span the period from 1689 to 1800, I was able to evaluate the treatment of female prostitutes at Bridewell throughout the entire period. Though prostitution was not technically a criminal offence, women were frequently sentenced to Bridewell for being "lewd, idle and disorderly", or demonstrating "loose, idle, and disorderly" behaviour.[103] While these terms were applied to both male and female offenders, these phrases often signified that the offender was a prostitute. To differentiate between 'lewd, idle, and disorderly' offenders who were prostitutes and those who were not, I included records where an additional signifier

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[101] While the use of selective keyword searches through the Burney Collection are tremendously helpful and enabled an examination of the discussions of prostitution to be conducted over the course of the long-eighteenth-century, this database is not always accurate. Occasionally, the search term that would be highlighted would not match the term that had been entered. For instance, though the word "sin" was entered into the database, the word "pain" was highlighted in the *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, May 24, 1774 - May 26, 1774, #805. In other instances, letters in words alongside each other would be picked up as a singular term. For instance, in the Monday, January 28, 1788, #337, in the *World*, the phrase "Ticket was in" was highlighted in place of the term "sin".

[102] For a full list of the keywords used in the *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers* database, see Appendix A.

[103] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 76; Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations*, 127.

attached to the description which indicated that she was a prostitute, such as being described as 'picking up men', a 'nightwalker', or 'common woman'. This helped ensure that the records featured discussed men and women who were engaged in prostitution and not in other 'disorderly' activities. I also made selective use of the Old Bailey Sessions Papers. Because the Old Bailey was a criminal court and prostitution was not a crime, these records were most helpful in identifying incidents in which female prostitutes committed criminal offences, such as theft or assault.[104] The Coroner's Inquests for the City of London, Middlesex, and Southwark, were also consulted in a limited capacity. Coroner's Inquests were conducted within forty-eight hours of a suspicious death, such as when a prisoner died in the custody of the parish.[105] These records were used to help shed light on the nature and frequency of assaults perpetrated by or against prostitutes.[106]

This dissertation also explores records and pamphlets from charitable institutions that sought to reform prostitutes. Records from the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, such as rule-books, by-laws, and admittance policies, provide insight into the objectives which drove the establishment of this institution. The founders of the Magdalen also produced numerous pamphlets discussing their plans to establish the hospital, and, after it was running, the progress and current state of the institution. These papers afford vital insight into why the charity was established, what these philanthropically-minded reformers thought about prostitutes, and how they could transform them from destitute and disorderly sinners into respectable, industrious wives

[104] While Recognizances and indictments may have also highlighted prostitutes' interactions with the criminal justice system, these were unable to be consulted.
[105] Tim Hitchcock, Sharon Howard and Robert Shoemaker, "Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths (IC)", *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org, version, 1.1 12 December 2013).
[106] The Bridewell Royal Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governors, Old Bailey Sessions Papers, and Coroner's Inquests are available through Londonlives.org. Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Sharon Howard and Jamie McLaughlin, *et al.*, *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 24 April 2012).

and mothers. I also consulted records from other charitable and reform-oriented organizations, such as Lock Hospital, and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. These materials were identified through the British Library database, the London Metropolitan Archives catalogue, as well as through keyword searches through Eighteenth Century Collections Online and Early English Books Online.[107]

Sermons provide critical insight into the way ecclesiastical responses to prostitution evolved over the course of the eighteenth century. Sermons were a crucial fundraising tool to fund private charitable hospitals, such as the Magdalen. Rather than focus their efforts on the Penitents, these sermons were intended to elicit financial support for the Hospital from wealthy parishioners. However, charity sermons were not the only type of sermons that circulated in Georgian London; 'regular' sermons by 'ordinary' ministers also circulated in society. While many of these sermons were for the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, others were written for a variety of Christian denominations, and addressed the vices associated with prostitution including fornication, 'uncleanness', drunkenness, luxury, pride, idleness, swearing, and anger. By examining both sermons by the clergyman employed by the Magdalen Hospital and ordinary clergymen who simply wished to address prostitution, sin, and vice in a more common setting, a better cross-section of ecclesiastical views towards prostitution emerges.[108]

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[107] For a full list of the keywords entered into Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) and Early English Books Online (EEBO), see Appendix B and Appendix C, respectively.

While selective keyword searches through ECCO and EEBO are valuable, these databases are not entirely consistent. The number of results a keyword produced sometimes fluctuated when entered on different days. For instance, on November 19, 2014, the phrase "Seven Deadly Sins" generated 184 hits, but only 181 results on November 13, 2014, and 183 results on November 11, 2014.

[108] Relevant sermons were identified through selective keyword searches in Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Early English Books Online, and through the library catalogue at the British Library and the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. For a full list of the keywords entered into the ECCO and EEBO databases, see Appendix B and Appendix C.

This study also includes manuscripts and pamphlets written by elite and anonymous commentators to assess common and elite perceptions of legislative agendas. Manuscripts and pamphlets are effective at revealing common and elite perceptions of legislative agendas. A broad range of pamphlets circulated in Hanoverian England. Pamphlets reveal what were considered some of the most pressing social, economic, political, and moral problems of the day.[109] These included the effects of gin and how to curb its consumption; the conduct of apprentices and servants; and the causes in the increase of prostitution and how to reduce the number of women working in the streets. While some pamphlets indicate elite perceptions of prostitution, policing and reformative initiatives, others were intended to be satirical. Both types provide insights into the public manner in which the debates on social problems like prostitution were discussed. These works provide insight into the perceptions and goals of those who were particularly influential in guiding and initiating policing initiatives and public and private charitable responses.[110]

This dissertation also makes use of popular literature, such *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies,* "guidebooks to London", and novels. *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies*, a directory of prostitutes which was published intermittently between 1765 and 1793, provides an alternative view to moralistic-oriented works.[111] Rather than comment on the sinfulness of the prostitute, it provided practical information about the

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[109] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[110] Pertinent pamphlets were identified through selective keyword searches in Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Early English Books Online, through the library catalogue at the British Library, Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin, and Chawton House Library. See Appendix B and Appendix C for a full list of the keywords entered into ECCO and EEBO.

[111] Editions of Harris's List between 1773 and 1793 are available through ECCO. The 1765 edition is located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Thanks to Vicki Heath for sending me a digital copy of this edition.

prostitutes in London, such as the women's names, locations, prices, and special common services that they provided. The *List* also described the womens' physical appearance, such as their hair, skin, and eye colour, and well as their demeanour and general behaviour. While it is disputed whether the women featured in the publication were genuine or fictitious, the descriptions are revealing of how men were believed to perceive prostitutes, and therefore provides considerable insight into perceptions of prostitution.[112]

"Guidebooks to London" were cautionary tales of the tricks and schemes sinister characters committed in the streets of London, and advice on how to detect these tricksters. While these works were not limited to the actions of those involved in the prostitution industry, prostitutes, bawds, and pimps loomed large, suggesting that prostitutes' activities generated considerable anxiety. Although cautionary literature cannot be taken at face value because its contents reflect the musings of unusually paranoid authors who saw rogues and tricksters in every corner of the Metropolis waiting to pounce on the unwary, these works are useful because they provide a barometer of the extent of concerns regarding prostitution, crime, and deviance.[113]

Novels are another valuable source to examine perceptions of prostitution because they often featured prostitutes, courtesans, and other prostitute figures. While works of fiction may not have been explicitly intended to depict reality, Tim Hitchcock has convincingly argued that works of fiction that featured vagrant beggars informed philanthropists and legislators about mendicants, which, in turn, influenced social

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[112] Elizabeth Campbell Denlinger, "The Garment and the Man: Masculine Desire in Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies, 1764–1793," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 11, 3 (2002), 357-394; Janet Ing Freeman, "Jack Harris and 'Honest Ranger': The Publication and Prosecution of *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies*, 1760-95," *The Library*. 7th ser.13, 4 (2012): 423-456; Hallie Rubenhold, *The Covent Garden ladies: pimp General Jack and the extraordinary story of Harris's list.* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005); Hallie Rubenhold, ed., *Harris's list of Covent Garden ladies: sex in the city in Georgian Britain*. (Stroud: Tempus, 2005).

[113] These works are available through ECCO.

policies and the infrastructure of philanthropic institutions.[114] Therefore, novels are effective when trying to ascertain perceptions of prostitutes. Because depictions of prostitutes in the works of Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson and other classic authors of the period have been well explored, these sources have been used minimally.[115] Similarly, because a vast literature on sentimentality in eighteenth-century novels already exists, it is not my intention to explore these issues here, but to use novels to discern how prostitutes were depicted by English writers.[116] These works were identified through selective keyword searches in Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Early English Books Online, and through the library catalogues at the Chawton House Library and the British Library.

Finally, art works enable a thorough examination of how representations of prostitutes, bawds, male clients, and prostitution, by artists such as William Hogarth, Isaac Cruikshank, James Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson, and works by numerous

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[114] Tim Hitchcock, "The Streets: Literary Beggars and the Realities of Eighteenth-Century London", *A Concise Companion: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, Cynthia Wall, ed., (London: Blackwell Publishing 2006), 81, 91. Also see: Robert Darnton, *The great cat massacre and other episodes in French cultural history*. (New York: Basic Books, 1984) 31, 38; Tanya Evans, " 'Blooming Virgins All Beware': Love, Courtship, and Illegitimacy in Eighteenth-Century British Popular Literature" in Alysa Levene, Thomas Nutt, Samantha Williams, eds., *Illegitimacy in Britain.* (Palgrave Macmillan. 2005), 19-20.

[115] Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*; Carter, *Purchasing Power*; Mudge, *The whore's story women;* Mary Peace, " 'On the soft beds of luxury most kingdoms have expired': 1759 and the Lives of Prostitutes," Shaun Regan, ed. *Reading 1759: literary culture in mid-eighteenth-century Britain and France*. (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 75-94; Duncan Salkeld, *Shakespeare among the courtesans: prostitution, literature, and drama, 1500-1650.* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Sian Rees, *Moll: the life and times of Moll Flanders*. (London: Chatto and Windus, 2011); Vivian Jones, "Luxury, satire and prostitute narratives," in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds. *Luxury in the eighteenth century: debates, desires and delectable goods*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 178-89; Jad Smith, "How Fanny Comes to Know: Sensation, Sexuality, and the Epistemology of the Closet in Cleland's *Memoirs," The Eighteenth Century*. 44, 2/3 (2003), 183-202; Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic;* Lewis and Ellis, *Prostitution and eighteenth-century culture.*

[116] Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce*; Carter, *Purchasing power*; Mudge*, The whore's story*; Mowry, *The bawdy politic*; Peace, "The Magdalen Hospital and the Fortunes of Whiggish Sentimentality"; Markman Ellis, *The politics of sensibility: race, gender, and commerce in the sentimental novel*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Stephen Ahern, *Affected sensibilities: romantic excess and the genealogy of the novel, 1680-1810*. New (York: AMS Press, 2007); Vivien Jones, "Placing Jemima*:* women writers of the 1790s and the eighteenth- century prostitution narrative," *Women's Writing*. 4, 2 (1997): 201-220; Martha J. Koehler, "Redemptive spaces: Magdalen house and prostitution in the novels and letters of Richardson," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*. 22, 2 (2009): 249-278.

anonymous artists, influenced public perceptions of prostitution. As cultural productions are rooted in the social culture of society, changes in the way prostitutes were depicted indicate a transformation in artistic conceptions of prostitution. By assessing how visual representations of prostitutes corresponded to the discussions in the press and other ephemeral printed material, it is evident that these changes reflected broader socio-cultural views on prostitution.[117]

This dissertation seeks to broaden the discussions of prostitution in eighteenth-century England. My research aims to demonstrate that the binary transition of the lusty-whore to the pitiable victim or disenchanted business-woman is overly simplistic. Rather, discussions on prostitution were linked to a long past about ideas about the place of women in society, the hierarchical nature of a well-ordered society, and, above all, ideas about sin, vice, and immorality. In particular, this dissertation argues that the seven deadly sins helped contemporaries frame the problems associated with prostitution. Prostitutes were defined as both lusty and greedy because they traded sex for money. Moreover, both lust and greed were seen to work together to drive women to prostitution, along with poverty and destitution. Prostitutes' pride and envy of their social and economic betters were seen to increase prostitutes' desire to conceal their lower status and enhance their appearance through the aid of extravagant clothes and paint. Hanoverians regarded these prostitutes with disdain and apprehension because they threatened to undermine the hierarchically ordered society. Prostitutes were also thought to spend their time in idleness, drinking in alehouses, and corrupting young men to do the same, activities that were thought to weaken industry, morality, and national strength.

[117] These art works were obtained through the London Metropolitan Archives, the Lewis Walpole Library, the British Museum, and the Library of Congress.

Prostitution was closely linked with violence, anger, and wrath because prostitutes were both the victims of violence and because they physically assaulted their neighbours, male clients, and parish officials. The chaos and violence that seemed to follow prostitution exemplified why prostitutes were regarded as dangerous, disorderly, and a threat to the maintenance of order. It is evident that prostitution served as the intersection between concerns about gender, status, illicit sexuality, criminality, and morality.

CHAPTER 2: LUST & AVARICE

Lust and avarice have routinely been regarded as defining characteristics of prostitution. By publically trading sex for money, something that Hanoverians believed should ideally be intimate, personal, and private, prostitutes corrupted Georgian ideals of feminine etiquette, commercial trade, and social relations in society. This chapter argues that Bridewell governors, popular commentators, philanthropists, governing elites, and contributors to the newspaper press, usually believed that a potent mixture of lust, poverty and greed drove women into prostitution. Ironically, these same commentators also recognized that certain types of prostitute-figures - prostitute-thieves, trappers, and bawds - were especially avaricious. These women were differentiated from their 'ordinary' counterparts because in addition to prostituting themselves, they profited from corrupt practices, such as deception, trickery, and stealing. This chapter suggests that prostitutes were deemed greedy not simply when they traded sex for money, but when they were willing to resort to other sinful and deceptive actions.

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section, "Lust, Poverty, and Avarice," examines the debates on which of these three factors was most responsible for driving women into prostitution. After assessing Hanoverian understandings of lust and avarice, as well as the existing literature on prostitutes, this chapter argues that commentators did not view prostitutes as lusty sinners in the first half of the eighteenth century, and then come to see them as pitiable victims of poverty or greedy businesswomen in the second half of the period. Rather, these commentators recognized that lust, poverty, and greed could explain why women became prostitutes.

The second part of the chapter, "Avarice," offers a closer examination of greed. It argues that there was an inherent paradox in perceptions of prostitution. Though commentators believed that 'ordinary' prostitutes were driven to prostitute themselves due to a combination of lust, poverty, and greed, three prostitute figures, the prostitute-thief, trapper, and bawd, were seen as unusually avaricious. The prostitute-thief was depicted as greedy because she picked the pockets of her customers, stole petty goods, and robbed the various places she frequented. The trapper blackmailed men by pretending he impregnated her and that a bastard child would be his. Bawds were reviled because they were willing to corrupt men and innocent young girls to profit from illegal commerce. These figures differed from 'ordinary' prostitutes because they resorted to trickery, lies, and deception in order to profit beyond the sum they had negotiated. Hence, throughout the eighteenth century commentators recognized the existence of diverse types of prostitutes and circumstances which led women to prostitution.

I. LUST, POVERTY, AND AVARICE

Lust

Lust is often regarded as "the most well known" deadly sin.[1] However, lust has not always been considered a deadly sin; in early lists, *luxuria*, or luxury, was instead listed.[2] Definitions of lust were broad; while most authorities agree that lust is any intense desire, which is usually carnal in nature, it can refer to the desire for anything in abundance or excess. For instance, neither Augustine, Aristotle, nor Thomas Aquinas believed that lust was limited to sexuality. In *Confessions,* Augustine asserts: "lust affects

[1] Stanford M. Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Society and Evil*. (New York: General Hall Inc, 1989), 53.
[2] Simon Blackburn, *Lust*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 22; Elda Rotor, "Editor's Note," in Blackburn, *Lust*, 10-11; Lyman*, The Seven Deadly Sins*, 53; William H. Willimon, *Sinning like a Christian: a new look at the seven deadly sins.* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 134.

to be called surfeit and abundance", meaning meat, drink, and riches.[3] Hence, like *luxuria,* lust reflected contemporaries' concerns with the excessive nature of a behaviour.[4] Lust continued to be broadly characterized throughout the eighteenth century. In 1758, Thomas Dyche defined lust as "the irregular love of pleasure, riches, and honours; a strong desire or appetite after any thing; but is commonly applied to an inordinate desire after copulation".[5] Samuel Johnson's 1792 definition further elucidates Hanoverian understandings of lust. While lust was firstly "Carnal desire", it was secondly, "Any violent or irregular desire".[6] As "carnal" desires were "Fleshly; not spiritual", lust caused both men and women to lose control over their actions.[7]

The lack of self-control inherent in lust was a principal reason Hanoverian authorities were concerned about this sin. According to *The Ladies Dictionary,* published in 1694, fornication was deemed "a Sin against the *Dictates of right Reason*, and tending to the Confounding of all Human Societies, the destruction of the increase, and prevention of the Multiplication of Mankind against Human Charity, and Christian Purity."[8] Similarly, in 1785, preacher Richard Cobden asserted that "this Sin [lust] is so

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[3] Aristotle similarly addresses sexual appetite as "the desire for pleasure" or "the pleasure resulting from its satisfaction". [Juha Sihvola, "Aristotle," in Alan Soble, ed., *Sex from Plato to Paglia: A Philosophical Encycolpedia. Vol.1: A-L.* (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), 56-62]. Likewise, according to Aquinas, "the matter of lust is not only venereal desires and pleasures" but "the desire of wanton pleasure". Hence, while "lust applies chiefly to venereal pleasures, … secondarily it applies to any other matters pertaining to excess." [*The collected works of St. Thomas Aquinas*. Q 153 A 1 Rp 1]. Thomas Hobbes primarily asserted that lust was an "appetite" for "sensual pleasure." [Thomas Hobbes, "Human Nature" Chap. 9, sec. 15; 47-48 cited in Alan Soble, "Thomas Hobbes," in Soble, *Sex from Plato to Paglia,* 456]. Blackburn, *Lust,* 21.

[4] Concerns about luxury will be examined in more detail in chapter 3, "Pride and Envy".

[5] Thomas Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1758), 487.

[6] Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1792), 540.

[7] Ibid., 147.

Thomas Dyche similarly included "leacherous" as a defining term in his definition of "lustful": "very desirous, or longing after any thing; also lascivious or leacherous." Dyche, *A new general English dictionary.* (1758), 487.

[8] N. H., *The ladies dictionary, being a general entertainment of the fair-sex a work never attempted before in English.* (London, 1694), 194. Also see: John Disney, *Fleshly lusts inconsistent with the character, and the safety of a Christian. A sermon preached in the parish-church of St. Austin, in London, February the 18th, 1721.* (London, 1722), 21; Josiah Woodward, *A rebuke to the sin of uncleanness*. (London, 1704), 3;

abominable in its own Nature, and so tragical in its Consequences, that there is no thinking of it without Horror; nor is it possible to paint it in Colours black enough to shew its Deformity."[9] Hence, lust was considered a sin because it corrupted men and women's virtuous nature, leading them away from divine and virtuous actions.[10]

Hanoverian authorities were particularly concerned about lust because it was seen to undermine and destroy women's virtuous qualities – chastity, piety, domesticity, and modesty – and instead cause her to embrace "unfeminine" behaviors such as promiscuity, impiety, disorderliness, and lewdness.[11] The virtuous behaviors women were expected to follow - especially chastity - were contrasted with lust, and regarded as a pillar of good order. For instance, in 1731 preacher Anthony Holbrooke regarded chastity as a bulwark against disorder: "All the Ways of Chastity are peaceable, pleasant, and beautiful;

J. Ovington, C*hristian chastity: or, A caveat against vagrant lust. A sermon preach'd at Lee in Kent, May 18th. 1712*. (London, 1712).

[9] Edward Cobden, *A persuasive to chastity: a sermon preached before the King, at St. James's, on the 11th of December, 1748*. (London, 1749), 13.

[10] To contrast the seven deadly sins, seven virtues were conceptualized. However, just as the seven sins changed over time, so did the virtues. Nevertheless, the seven virtues are generally accepted as: chastity (lust), charity, (avarice), humility (pride), kindness (envy), temperance (gluttony), diligence (sloth), and patience (wrath). On the seven virtues see: Richard Newhauser. "Preaching the 'contrary virtues'," *Mediaeval Studies*. 70 (2008): 135–62.

[11] On the qualities associated with femininity see: Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good wives: image and reality in the lives of women in northern New England, 1650-1750*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760*. (Rochester: Boydell, 2002); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850.* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Jane Rendall, "Women and the public sphere," *Gender & History*. 11, 3 (1999): 475-488; Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Amanda Vickery, "Historiographical Review: Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *The Historical Journal.* 23, 2 (1993): 383-414; Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 237-282; Bridget Hill, *Eighteenth-Century Women. An Anthology.* (London: Routledge, 1993), 25-44.

On the sinfulness of 'unfeminine behaviours' in women, see: Anon. *Look e're you Leap: Or, A History of the Lives and Intrigues Of Lewd Women: with the Arraignment of Their several Vices. To which is added, The Character of a Good Woman.* 10th edn. (London, 1720); Anon. *An explanation of the vices of the age: shewing the knavery of landlords, the imposition of quack doctors, the roguery of petty-lawyers. The cheats of bum-bailiffs, and the intrigues of lewd women*. (London, 1795?); Edward Ward. *The insinuating bawd and the repenting harlot*. (London, 1699); Anon. *The modern Christian; or, practical sinner.* (London, 1738); Anon. *Vertue's triumph at the suppression of vice: being a discourse occasioned by His Majesty's royal proclamation against prophaneness and debauchery*. (London, 1688); Anon. *Whoredom, fornication, and adultery, detected and laid open*. (Bath, 1749).

Fitness, Conveniency, and Order attend it on every Side: Whereas all the Paths of irregular Lust, are rough, unquiet, and disorderly; Bitterness, Clamour, Wrath, Immodesty and Trouble are in all its Ways."[12] Writing to the *Carleton-House Magazine* in 1792, "Diana Dodson" explained that she "consider[ed] chastity as a quick sense of female honour implanted in the heart, … Under proper regulations, it renders the sex, to which it more particularly belongs, truly estimable and amiable".[13] Thus, throughout the century, commentators argued that female chastity facilitated the maintenance of order in society, and remained a central feature of femininity.

The prostitute, the embodiment of a lustful woman, was regarded as so unfeminine, that she became a "beastly", "shameless", and "wicked" "creature".[14] The author of the 1725 *Conference about Whoring* asserted that when you "Separate a Woman from Modesty, she becomes quite another Creature than God made her. Her Strength lies in her Virtue, Purity, Chastity; without these, she is a Monster and

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[12] Anthony Holbrooke, *A letter to the author of Christianity as old as the creation, upon the immorality of fornication.* (London, 1731), 6. Also see: Richard Steele, *The Ladies Library.* Vol 1. (London, 1714), 154; Reformed Rake, *A congratulatory epistle from a reformed rake, to John F------g, Esq; upon the new scheme of reclaiming prostitutes.* (London, 1758?), 11.

[13] "*Free Observations on Chastity. In a Letter to the Editor of the Carlton-House Magazine,*" *The Carlton-House Magazine: or, Annals of taste, fashion,* Vol. 1. (January 1792), 15.
Also see: James Bland, Professor of Physic. *The charms of women: or, a mirrour for ladies.* (London, 1736), 20-41, 70-110.

[14] The term "creature" in reference to prostitutes primarily indicated that streetwalkers were demonized to the extent that they were denied an identity as a woman, but were instead given animalistic or Amazonian qualities. See: Dror Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self: Identity and culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 15.

The term "creature" was occasionally used sympathetically by reformers and other concerned commentators. For instance, in *The History of Miss Sally Johnson, or, the Unfortunate Magdalen,* Sally is considered "a lost abandoned creature" but is saved by the Magdalen Hospital. [*The History of Miss Sally Johnson, or, the Unfortunate Magdalen*, (London. 17-?)]. The term "creature" was also used in *The rule and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use*. 4th ed. London, 1769. Also see: *Entertainer*, Tuesday, Sept, 17, 1754, III; *London Daily Advertiser*. Saturday, September 30, 1752, #486; "An old sportsman." *The Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand*. (London, 1749), 3; Saunders Welch. *A proposal to render effectual a plan*. (London, 1758), 11; Jonas Hanway. *A plan for establishing a charity-house, or charity-houses, for the reception of repenting prostitutes. To be called the Magdalen charity*. (London, 1758), xix; Jonas Hanway. *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House*. (London, 1759), 28.

Dunghill".[15] In his 1754 letter to *Entertainer,* "Timothy Soberful" described street-walkers and strumpets as "engaging amazons", indicating that such women were unnatural.[16] Lusty women, like prostitutes, were dehumanized and compared to livestock; in Thomas Dyche's *A new general English dictionary*, "Cattle" was said to refer to "all sorts of beasts for labour;" but was "also a term of reproach for a rogue, whore".[17] Since prostitutes surrendered to their lustful urges, they were regarded as uncivilized, more akin to beasts than women.

Hanoverian authorities also considered uncontrollable lust to be deeply problematic in men, perhaps even more so than in women. Bernard Capp and Jennine Hurl-Eamon argue that historians have underestimated the degree to which chastity was associated with male respectability and that men were eager to establish a reputation which did not include sexual excess.[18] Stephen H. Gregg explains that manliness was

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[15] Anon., *Conference about Whoring.* (London, 1725), 4.
[16] *Entertainer*. Tuesday, September 17, 1754, III.
[17] Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1744), 137.
[18] Bernard Capp, "The double standard revisited: plebeian women and male sexual reputation in early modern England," *Past & Present*. 162 (1999): 70-100; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "Policing Male Heterosexuality: the Reformation of Manners Societies' Campaign Against the Brothels in Westminster, 1690-1720," *Journal of Social History* 37, 4 (2004), 1025.

On the qualities associated with masculinity, see: Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Ibid., "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500–1700," *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (April 2005), 281–95; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); J. A. Allen, "Men Interminably in Crisis? Historians on Masculinity, Sexual Boundaries and Manhood," *Radical History Review*, 82 (2002): 191-207; Karen Harvey, "The History of Masculinity, circa 1650–1800," *Journal of British Studies*. 44 (2005): 296–311; J. Jordan, "*Her*-Story Untold The Absence of Women's Agency in Constructing Concepts of Early Modern Manhood," *Cultural and Social* History. 4, 4 (2007): 575–83; Susan D. Amussen, " 'The Part of a Christian Man: The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England," in Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky, eds. *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 213-33; Anthony Fletcher. *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Tim Hitchcock and Michele Cohen, eds. *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*. (London: Addison Wesley, 1999); Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman,1999); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain, 1660–1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); Stephen H. Gregg, " 'A Truly Christian Hero': Religion, Effeminacy, and Nation in the Writing of the Society for the Reformation of Manners," *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 25, 1 (2001): 18; Jeremy Gregory, "*Homo religiosus*: masculinity and religion in the long eighteenth century," in Hitchcock and Cohen, eds. *English Masculinities*, 85-110.

associated with "restraint and self-control"; consequently, lust was "imagined as a loss of control that brings the man closer to the attributes of femininity."[19] Moreover, he suggests that "the ideal of manliness encompassed rationality, excesses in bodily pleasures, or even religious delusion and superstition, compromised it."[20] These perceptions are evident throughout the eighteenth-century. For example, in 1728 preacher Obadiah Hughes warned: "When men become unbridled in their lusts, they will cowardly submit to any burden".[21] Similarly, the author of *Royal Folly: or, the danger of being tempted by Harlots* warned that the lustful man "became a Slave to lewd Women, and was led like an Ox to the Slaughter."[22] Josiah Woodward was concerned that lust and fornication "sadly sullies … the rational Faculties of Men. Their Reason becomes a Pander and Procurer for their Lusts, and the Man is turned into a Beast".[23] Writing in 1763, Sir John Fielding similarly asserted:

> Nature has implanted in us [men] two very strong desires, hunger, for the preservation of the individual, and lust, for the support of the species; … rational creatures correct these incentives, and improve them into elegant motives of friendship and society. A satyr, which is half man and half beast, is the emblem of lust; to shew that its followers prostitute the reason of man, to gratify the appetites of a best. He that give himself up to lust, will soon find that to be his least fault.[24]

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[19] Gregg, "A Truly Christian Hero," 18. Also see: Gregory, "*Homo religiosus"*.
[20] Ibid., 20.
[21] Obadiah Hughes, *A sermon to the Societies for Reformation of Manners; preach'd at Salter's-Hall, July 1. 1728.* (London, 1728), 28.
[22] Anon., *Royal folly: or, the danger of being tempted by harlots. A sermon preached at Oxford before a Friendly Society at their annual meeting.* (London, 1740), 21.
[23] Woodward, *A rebuke to the sin of uncleanness*, 8-9.
[24] Sir John Fielding. *The universal mentor; containing, essays on the most important subjects in life*. (London, 1763), 119. Also see: Cobden, *A persuasive to chastity*; *Royal folly*; Holbrooke, *A letter to the author of Christianity*, 5; Thomas Gouge, *The young man's guide through the wilderness of this world.* (London, 1719), 87; Joseph Porter. *A caution against doubtful lusts, in two discourses.* (London, 1708), 2-3; Thomas Robinson. *Youthful lusts inconsistent with the ministry*. *A sermon preach'd before the University of Oxford on St. Stephen's day 1729.* (Oxford, 1730); Charles Horne, *Serious thoughts on the miseries of seduction and prostitution.* (London, 1783), 3; Thomas Scott, *Thoughts on the fatal consequences of female prostitution; together with the outlines of a plan proposed to check those enormous evils*. (London, 1787), 4.

These commentators all agreed that when men fell prey to lust, they became effeminate slaves who were unable to control their appetites.

Avarice

Unlike lust, in traditional medieval Christian thought, avarice was always regarded as a deadly sin. Augustine, for instance, repeatedly "warned about the dangers of avarice".[25] Thomas Aquinas similarly regarded covetousness, the inordinate love of wealth, and the power that wealth can produce, to be a deadly sin. He considered greed as the root of all other sins because it did not necessarily need to be confined to material gain, but could apply to other sins such as lust or gluttony.[26] Hence, understandings of avarice were broad; like lust, avarice was not strictly limited to one function, such as wealth, but could refer to any "inordinate desire" or "an insatiable longing for the possession of something."[27] The expansive definition of avarice was maintained in the eighteenth century. For instance, Dyche asserted that "coveting more than is sufficient" was the act of being "greedy", while Johnson defined avarice as "Covetousness; insatiable desire". [28] As a result of its wide-ranging meaning, satirist Thomas Gordon described avarice as the "most wicked of all the Passions and Vices".[29] Moreover, moralistic commentators were concerned that "the dire Effects of its [avarice] having

[25] Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 233.
[26] Gabriele Taylor, *Deadly Vices.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 31; Thomas Acquinas, *Summa Theologiae*. 2a2ae q. 118 art 2, as cited in Taylor, *Deadly Vices*, 40, 32, 121-2. Also see: Derrick G. Pitard, "Greed and Anti-Fraternalism in Chaucer's 'Summoner's Tale'" in Richard Newhauser, ed., *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals.* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 209; Phyllis A. Tickle, *Greed: The Seven Deadly Sins. New York Public Library Lectures in Humanities Series.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 14-15, 23.
[27] Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 232.
[28] Thomas Dyche, *New general English dictionary; Peculiarly calculated for the use and improvement of such as are unacquainted with the learned languages*. (London, 1748), 360; Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language.* (London, 1797), 95.
[29] Thomas Gordon, *The humourist: Being essays upon several subjects, viz. news-writers.* (London, 1720), 138.

engrossed the Minds of almost this whole Nation, from the greatest Post and Estates, to the lowest and least".[30] Avarice was seen to be a problem endemic to all of England.

Despite these concerns, over the course of the eighteenth century, perceptions of greed became increasingly ambiguous as to whether the sin should be regarded as having some beneficial qualities for society. Eighteenth-century England experienced commercial, consumer, and financial revolutions, and Britons established a fiscal-military state upon the rationale that profits, consumption, and wealth were positive developments.[31] Historians, such as Linda Colley, argue that as more Britons became involved in trade and distribution, "profits and commerce were seen to be positive features of society because it led to stability, power, the preservation of law, order and domestic peace."[32]

Important social and political thinkers, such as Bernard Mandeville, John Locke, William Petty, Francis Brewster, and, later Adam Smith, asserted that greed could benefit a society because it led to wealth and profits.[33] Mandeville was the most vocal and

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[30] Anon., *The groans of Britons at the gloomy prospect of the present precarious state of their liberties and properties, compared with what it has been.* (London, 1743), 4-5.

[31] P.G.M. Dickinson, *The Financial Revolution in England: a study in the development of public credit, 1688-1756*. (London: St Martin's Press, 1967); John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Colley, *Britons,* 60-66; Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J.H. Plumb, eds., *The birth of a consumer society: the commercialization of eighteenth-century England*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods*. (London: Routledge, 1993); Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and luxury: consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Liz Bellamy, *Commerce, Morality and the Eighteenth-century Novel.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 13-38.

[32] Colley, *Britons*, 56, 66.

[33] David Hume, *Essays and treatises: on several subjects. Containing Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary.* Volume 1. (London, 1776), 83-87; Adam Smith, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*. (London, 1791); John Locke, *Several papers relating to money, interest, and trade, &c*. (London, 1696); William Petty, *Essays in political arithmetick*. (London, 1711); Francis Brewster, *Essays on trade and navigation*. (London, 1695); Ibid., *New essays on trade*. (London, 1702); Bernard Mandeville, *The fable of the bees: or, private vices publick benefits*. (London, 1714); Colin Nicholson, *Writing and the Rise of Finance. Capital Satires of the Early Eighteenth Century*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 127; Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of trade: international competition and the nation-state in historical perspective*. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Istvan Hont and Michael

controversial in his views on avarice. Though Mandeville called avarice "The root of evil", he also asserted that it is "very necessary to the Society".[34] Moreover, Mandeville linked latent benefits arising from vice and greed for society. He argued that though they may be harmful to the individual person, drinking and whoring had benefits for the public, and endeavored to "shew that those very Vices of every Particular Person by skilful Management were made subservient to the Grandeur and worldly Happiness of the whole."[35] Thus, according to Mandeville, greed and sinful vices were good for society.

However, as Sophie Carter notes, " 'the birth of the consumer society' was "not perceived as an entirely felicitous event."[36] Anxieties about greed and proper commercial transactions were rife during the Hanoverian period, especially following financial crises such as the South Sea Bubble in the 1720s.[37] Though many commentators recognized that luxury and commerce had positive benefits for society, its outgrowth, greed, did not. David Hume and Immanuel Kant, for instance, recognized various negativities of greed. Hume asserted that "we find no vice so irreclaimable as avarice", while Kant despised those "who love their money itself, rather than that which it enables them to acquire." [38]

Ignatieff, *Wealth and virtue: the shaping of political economy in the Scottish enlightenment.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[34] Bernard Mandeville, *The fable of the bees: or, private vices publick benefits*. (London, 1724), 100-101.

[35] Mandeville, *The fable of the bees*. (London, 1714), preface.

[36] Sophie Carter, *Purchasing power: representing prostitution in eighteenth-century English popular print culture.* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); 63. Also see: Neil McKendrick, "The Birth of a consumer Society," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society,* 3; John Brewer, "The Most polite age and the most vicious: attitudes towards culture as a commodity, 1600-1800," in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds., *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 358; James Grantham Turner, " 'News from the New Exchange': Commodity, erotic fantasy, and the female entrepreneur', in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds. *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 421.

[37] Malcolm Balen, *The secret history of the South Sea Bubble: the world's first great financial scandal*. (London: Fourth Estate, 2003); Ross B. Emmett, *Great bubbles*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000); Richard Dale, *The first crash: lessons from the South sea bubble*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[38] Hume, *Essays and treatises,* 83-87; Taylor, 33; Kant, *Lectures on Ethics.* "The Attachment to the Mind to Wealth (Greed and Avarice)' and *Metaphysical First Principles of the Doctrine of Virtue*, i. *Doctrine of the Elements of Ethics*, pt. 1. Ch. 2. Para. 10, tr. Mary Gregor. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

It is apparent that during the eighteenth-century, public and polemical discussions about whether certain behaviours were inherently sinful were challenged. However, as evidenced by the metaphors used to discuss sins, the way sins were conceptualized remained largely unchanged over the course of the eighteenth century; metaphors linked commerce and illicit sexuality to women in general, and 'disorderly women' in particular.[39] As Marcia Pointon explains, "ideas of wealth and gender took on strikingly similar burdens … the progress of women, like the advancement of trade, was regarded as an index of refinement or an incitement to luxury."[40] Whig writers, such as Daniel Defoe and Joseph Addison, criticized most forms of property as an inconstant female.[41] For instance, in Addison's famous parable which appeared in the *Spectator* in 1711, he described public credit as a "beautiful virgin, seated on a Throne of Gold" in a Great Hall with contained all of the great acts of Parliament, such as the Magna Carta, The Act of Uniformity, and the Act of Toleration, which ensured the maintenance of order in society.[42] Similarly, Defoe linked greed directly to prostitution. Defoe believed that girls'

1993). Also see: Newton Ogle, *A sermon preached at the anniversary meeting of the governors of the Magdalen Charity, on Thursday May 1, 1766*. (London, 1766), 10.

[39] Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Sin*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); Gary A. Anderson, *Sin: A History*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 4-6, 135. Also see: Taylor, *Deadly Vices,* 7-9.

Anderson suggests that since the Second Temple period, a biblical period with strong allusions to sin and immorality because it is the same period when the Jewish peoples were exiled to Babylon, the principal metaphor for sin was debt. [Anderson, *Sin.* 27]. Also see Lyman, *The seven deadly sins*, 231-268. On the relationship between character and credit, see: Margot Finn, *The character of credit: personal debt in English culture, 1740-1914.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Deidre Lynch, *The economy of character: novels, market culture, and the business of inner meaning*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[40] Marcia Pointon, "The Lives of Kitty Fisher," *The British journal for eighteenth-century studies*. 27, 1 (2004), 81; Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and sentiment: genres of historical writing in Britain, 1740-1820*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 147.

[41] Nicholson. *Writing and the Rise of Finance*, 45, citing: J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 452.

[42] *Spectator.* Saturday, March 3, 1711, III; Colley. *Britons*, 67.

greed for luxury items led these girls to over-value their own worth.[43] Falling "out of place" because they were not willing to perform their duties, many turned to prostitution to feed their desire for "Silks and Satins".[44] Defoe's comments reveal that concerns about greed were deeply tied to concerns about the disintegration of the proper hierarchically structured social order that governed society.[45] Even more directly, "commodity" was slang for the vagina.[46] These diverse examples show that concerns about greed and disorderly women were inextricably linked.

Historiography

In spite of the fact that debates about greed, commerce, and lust were ambiguous, paradoxical, and constantly evolving throughout the eighteenth century, historians such as Laura Rosenthal, Sophie Carter, Donna Andrew, Tony Henderson, and Randolph Trumbach, have argued that "fundamental changes in society's conceptions of

[43] On debates on luxuries see: John Sekora, *Luxury: the concept in Western thought, Eden to Smollett*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth-century Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the eighteenth century: debates, desires and delectable goods*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Berg and Clifford, eds., *Consumers and luxury;* Brewer and Porter, eds. *Consumption and the world of goods*; McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, eds., *The birth of a consumer society*; Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism, 15th-18th century*. Siân Reynolds, trans., (New York: Harper & Row, 1981); Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990); Thorstein Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class*. Martha Banta, intro and ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc., 2007); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760*. (New York: Routledge, 1988); Christopher Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual andn Historical Investigation.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[44] Daniel Defoe, *Every-Body's business, is no-body's business*. (London, 1725): 4-8.
[45] Richard Connors, "The Nature of Stability in the Augustan Age," *Parliamentary History*. 28, 1 (2009): 27-40; Gary De Krey. *A fractured society: the politics of London in the first age of party, 1688-1715*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Paul Halliday. *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650-1730.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Geoffrey Holmes. *Augustan England: Professions, state and society, 1680-1730*. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982); Geoffrey Holmes, with H.T. Dickinson. "The achievement of stability: the social context of politics from the 1680s to the age of Walpole," in John Cannon, ed. *The Whig ascendancy: colloquies on Hanoverian England*. (London: E. Arnold, 1981), 1-27.
[46] Carter, *Purchasing Power,* 63.

prostitution" can be seen over the course of the period.[47] Collectively, they argue that at the beginning of the period, the stereotype which dominated perceptions of prostitutes was of the 'lusty-whore', but, over the course of the second half of the period, they came to be regarded as pitiable victims of poverty or defined as commercially-minded workers who made calculated, business-like decisions.[48] Rosenthal, for instance, argues that during the Restoration, "Whores constantly seek sexual encounters to fulfill their burning desires" and "embody desire." Yet, by the end of the eighteenth century, "the economic meanings of the transaction of prostitution becomes increasingly prominent" and "prostitutes often become so profoundly associated with the sacrifice of some part of the core self to the demands of the marketplace".[49] Sophie Carter agrees. Though her examination of art works demonstrates that depictions of prostitutes often reveal contradictory anxieties about women and sexuality, Carter ultimately posits that "social attitudes towards prostitution underwent a distinct shift during the second half of the eighteenth century". In the period after 1750, philanthropists "described the prostitute

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[47] Tony Henderson, *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730-1830*. (London: Longman, 1999), 2, 166-167.

[48] Laura J. Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce: prostitution in eighteenth-century British literature and culture*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume One. Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Carter, *Purchasing power*; Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); Melissa M. Mowry, *The bawdy politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: political pornography and prostitution*. **(**Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004**).** Also see: Susan Staves, "British Seduced Maidens," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 14, 2 (1980-1981): 109-134; Dan Cruickshank, *The secret history of Georgian London: how the wages of sin shaped the capital*. (London: RH Books, 2009); G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, eds., *Sexual underworlds of the Enlightenment*. **(**Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); James Grantham Turner, *Schooling sex: libertine literature and erotic education in Italy, France, and England, 1534-1685.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Ibid., *Libertines and radicals in early modern London: sexuality, politics and literary culture, 1630-1685.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Bradford Keyes Mudge, *The whore's story: women, pornography, and the British novel, 1684-1830.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Katharine Kittredsge. ed., *Lewd & notorious: female transgression in the eighteenth century*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution*. (Allen Lane, 2012); Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis, eds., *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality*. (Pickering & Chatto, 2011).

[49] Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce, 2*.

with a dramatically new vocabulary revolving around the victimization and miserable loss to these 'unhappy females'." [50] While the transition from the lusty-whore to the greedy-whore is not incorrect, the remainder of this chapter will show that its evolution has been overestimated and that by prioritizing this single transition, important continuities in how prostitutes were perceived have been obscured.

Lust, greed, or poverty?

To an extent, all prostitutes were seen as both lustful and avaricious because they traded sex for money. The debased nature of a prostitute is evidenced by Samuel Johnson's definition of prostitute in the 1785 edition of his *Dictionary*: "Vicious for hire; sold to infamy or wickedness; sold to whoredom."[51] Thomas Dyche similarly defined a prostitute as "A vile, dissolute woman or common whore, &c." or "to sacrifice a person's honour, chastity, and body, to gratify the vicious inclinations of others, for the sake of gain, or a mean reward; also the submitting to, or complying with any mean, base action or office."[52] Social commentators, religious authorities, and conduct experts similarly attributed a combination of lust, greed, and poverty in compelling women to become prostitutes. The author of the 1694 edition of the *Ladies' Dictionary* explained that lust and profit led women to prostitute themselves: *"*Of *Wantons* there be two sorts, *Meretrices* and *Scorta*, that is, Whores and common Women, such as either for Lust or Gain, prostitute themselves*"*.[53] According to Jean Ostervald, in his 1708 dissertation *The*

[50] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 24.
[51] Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language: in which the words are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers*. The sixth edition. Volume 2. (London, 1785), 406.
Johnson also defined a prostitute as: "A prostitute was also defined as "A hireling; a mercenary; one who is set to sale." [Johnson*, A dictionary.* (1785), 406].
[52] Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (1744), 678.
[53] *The ladies dictionary,* 421-422.

Nature of Uncleanness Considered, the indiscriminate love of one type of pleasure led the unwary to indiscriminately love other pleasures: "Sensuality and the Love of Pleasures have ever been the Ruine of Virtue, and particularly of Chastity", but that living a life of "uncleanness" these women "are almost all vicious and addicted to Luxury."[54] The author of the 1742 edition of *The World Explain'd* echoed the same sentiment: "A wanton or loose woman runs herself into all sorts of extreams; prodigality accompanies all her expences, and covetousness attends all her frugality; for virtue having no share in her conduct, she can never entertain a just medium in any thing."[55]

The uniformity of these authors' comments shows that there was a general agreement throughout the first half of the century that because one vice naturally followed another, lust fed a woman's greedy desire for luxury, spurring her to sin in other ways. Although Faramerz Dabhiowala has convincingly shown that the belief that an individuals' personal sins no longer endangered the entire community, Georgian commentators continued to believe that sin fed sin, which, in turn, undermined an already weakening morality in society.[56] L.M. Stretch explained this process clearly: "The gratification of one inordinate pursuit, paves the way for another; and no sooner is the present vain wish indulged, than a future imaginary necessity arises, equally importunate."[57] However, at no point in the Hanoverian period were prostitutes thought to be only motivated by greed, lust, or poverty. Instead, social commentators, governing elites, religious authorities, conduct experts, and the newspaper press debated which of

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[54] Jean Ostervald, *The Nature of Uncleanness Consider'd.* (London, 1708), 114.
[55] Anon., *The World Display'd: Mankind painted in their proper Colours.* (London 1742), 105.
[56] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Lust and Liberty," *Past and Present.* 207. (2010): 89-179.
[57] L.M. Stretch, *The beauties of history: or Pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life; designed for the instruction and entertainment of youth.* Eighth edition. (London, 1789). 189. For similar sentiments, also see: W. Dodd, *The Beauties of History; or, Pictures of virtue and vice*. (London, 1795).

these factors was most responsible for initiating women into prostitution. Frequently, authors attributed a combination of at least two, if not all three, forces to have compelled these women to become prostitutes.

Prostitutes were regularly prosecuted at Bridewell Prison and Hospital for offering to have sex with a man for a particular sum of money. For example, in 1698, Ruth Gibson was indicted for "offering to lye with" Thomas Jackson "for 1s. & he knowing her to be a comon night walker."[58] In 1709, Sarah Cantell was sent to Bridewell "For offering to lye wth Thomas Gregory for one Shilling which he gave her and had the Carnal knowledge of her body Etc."[59] Although prostitution in itself was not an illegal activity, and prostitutes were not supposed to be arrested for exchanging sexual favours

[58] Bridewell Royal Hospital, Minutes of the Court of Governors. *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org). BR/MG. BBBRMG202020227, 12th August 1698.

[59] BR, MG, BBBRMG202030494, 1st January 1709. Also see: Elizabeth Chapman was "Charged on Oath of Tho. Webb to be a Comon night Walker offering to lye with him in a publick house for halfe a Crown" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202020039, 15th November 1695]; Margaret Frankland was "charged by John Runwell for being a Lewd disorderly woman and night walker and offering to lye with him for halfe a Crown" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202010435, 12th October 1694]; Mary Peters, als Floyd was "accused" of being "a Comon night walker and for offering man to her un brown to have carnall knowledge of her body for 18d. to by a pair of Glowes She being an incorrigible tole Lewd and disorderly p[er]son" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202010436, 12th October 1694]; Margtt. Smallman was punished for "being Lewd and idle P[er]sons " and "for picking him [Mr. Herne Const] up in the Streets & carrying him to a Taverne & offering him to lye with him for the Value of Six Guineys" [BR, MG. BBBRMG202010450, 18th January 1695]; Mary Gale was "Charged to be a Comon Night Walker and agreeing to lye wth: a strange man for Five Shillings" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202020037, 15th November 1695]; Rebecca Middleton was "charged by Thomas Jackson for being A loose Idle P[er]son & for being tooke late last night & drewe him into an Alley & offered to lye wth: him for A Shilling." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202020103, 18th December 1696]; Mary Jones was prosecuted for being "pickt up late last night by a strange man wth: whome she agreed to lye for halfe a Crowne". [BR/MG, BBBRMG202020111, 29th January 1697]; Susan Rosom was charged with "being A loose idle and disorderly person and For Picking up a Strange man wth: whome she agreed to Lye for halfe a crowne on oath" [BR/MG**,** BBBRMG202020111, 29th January 1697]; Mary Burdew was charged with being "an idle person being took in company wth. a strange man wth. Whom she offered to lye for halfe a crown" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202020177, 10th December 1697]; Anne Broad was "accused by Mr. Marshall Constable for a Comon night Walker taken by him in the Company of a person to her Unknown whom She Offened to Lye with for half a Crowne" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202010388, 29th June 1694]; Elizabeth Seed and Ann White were "being took up two paire of wth. a Strange Man in an ill houseWhite For offering to comitt Lewdness wth. Mr Fox for 1s." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202020386**,** 31st May 1700]; Dorothy Wells was "charged by the Oath of Edwrd Dimsdale Watchman of Farringdon within for Shilling in the Street in Company with a Strange man who had his hands under her Coats and of whom She received money and being a Comon night walker" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202040480. 10th March 1721]; Anne Williams. BR/MG, BBBRMG202020095, 6th November 1696.

for money, this seems to be exactly what happened. While the sums most prostitutes negotiated or received can hardly be considered evidence of their greed, this fact was beside the point to Bridewell officers, who were fixated by the nature of the economic exchange. These women were condemned as greedy because they profited from the sale of something that was not supposed to be for purchase because it was intimate, personal, and private.[60]

Although references to the specific sum prostitutes received in exchange for having sex was seldom recorded after the early 1720s, it is possible that by the 1720s fewer prostitutes were caught receiving money, or that when being questioned about their activities, authorities no longer asked how much money the woman received. This time-frame works well with the difficulties the Societies for the Reformation of Manners faced in the early eighteenth century.[61] However, the decline of references to the money prostitutes received in the Bridewell records seems to contradict Rosenthal's argument that in the latter half of the century prostitution was regarded as "the sacrifice of pleasure to business" and that "prostitutes appear to embody a new kind of commercial identity".[62] If governing elites were increasingly anxious about the money prostitutes received, we would expect Hanoverian authorities to have been more interested in recording how much they collected. Instead, commentators seem to have become less fixated on the money prostitutes received. However, the recorder continued to be concerned about the broader consequences of prostitutes' dissolute conduct.

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[60] According to Randolph Trumbach, the fee most commonly cited for prostitution was one shilling. See: Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 163. Also see Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 35-6.
[61] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex and societies for moral reform, 1688-1800." *Journal of British Studies* 46, 2 (2007): 301, 303-306, 310; Robert Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and rural Middlesex, c. 1660-1725.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 240-245; Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 89-91.
[62] Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*, 2.

Prostitutes' unbridled lust was deeply disconcerting to officials at Bridewell Prison and Hospital. Throughout the century many women were indicted for "constantly", "offering", or "endeavoring to pick up men".[63] For instance, in 1714, Elizabeth Kindner and Mary Thompson were charged "for being very disorderly woman constantly plying in Fleetstreet in the night time picking up man".[64] Twenty-seven years later, Ann Hoskins, a "Comon Night Walker," was similarly prosecuted for "endeavouring to pick up men.[65] Penelope Patterson was charged with "being a loose idle Disorderly Person and Common Street Walker plying the Streets at unseasonable Hours at Night to Pick up Men after having been frequently warned", in 1752.[66] While not

[63] BR/MG, BBBRMG202020212, 10th September 1731; BR/MG, BBBRMG202040496**,** 9th June 1721; BR/MG, BBBRMG202080751, 27th January 1780.
[64] BR/MG, BBBRMG202040089, 25th June 1714.
[65] BR/MG, BBBRMG202060129, 15th July 1741.
[66] BR/MG, BBBRMG202070118, 24th November 1752. Similarly, Mary Walden was punished "for being a Lewd woman and Pick up by him [Mr. Rouse and a Constable] and offering to lye with him" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202010389, 29th June 1694]; Mary Price and Eliz: Dancer were "charged by John Billingsley Const to be lewd disorderly Women and comon night walkers haveing pickes up a man in the Street a Stranger to them & goeing wth: him to a publick house and offering him to lye wth: them" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202020029, 13th September 1695]; Martha Vaugham, "an Old offender", was charged for "plying above the Streets and offering to pick up men" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202030471, 3rd September 1708]; Elizabeth Chapman was charged for "Strolling up & down att 12 o clock att night & endeavouring to pick up men" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202030458, 9th July 1708]; Eliz. Richardson was charged with "being a Night Walker-endeavouring to pick up men" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202030699, 12th September 1712**]**; Hannah Salisbury was "being Charged by Mr Watts ye Citty Marshall & Thomas Funge Constable for Strolling ye Streets last night endeavouring to pick up men and appearing to be idle & disorderly p[er]sons" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202040053, 20th November 1713]; Mary Spencer was "charged … for Strolling about the Streets last night & this morning endeavouring to pick up men & Known to be an Old offender and often reproved & punished, without amendment" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202040496, 9th June 1721]; Ann Williams and Ann Smith were sentenced to labour "for being loose idle disorderly persons stroling about the Street endeavouring to pick up Men" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202050176, 5th April 1728]; Mary Maccarty and Katherine Chambers were charged "for being comon night walkers & in the Streets last night picking up men and being loose idle disorderly P[er]sons having no visible way of living." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202050256, 25th September 1730]; Ann Stewart was "chargd by the Oath of Joseph Moses a Watchman of St. Brides for being taken in the Streets last night & picking up Man and being a loose idle and disorderly P[er]son." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202050311, 27th April 1732]; Martha Corbiston and Catherine Wilcox were "charged by the Oath of John Box & Chas. Woolnoth his Watchman for being taken up in the Streets this morning at an unseasonable time picking up Men & otherwise Misbehaving being known Common Night Walkers" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202060220, 2nd June 1743]; Hannah Wigmore were "being charged by the Oath of Edmond Sharrock for bring taken this Morning at the Corner of George Alley in Fleetstreet picking up Men & for being a notorious and old Offender & a Comon Night Walker sea loose idle & disorderly person." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202060232, 13th October 1743]; Mary Smith was "Comitted" to Bridewell "for being a loose Disorderly person not Appearing to have any Visible way of

outright indicating lust, the use of these terms suggests that these women were perceived to be exchanging sex for money not because they were destitute or greedy, but that they were willing, and perhaps even enthusiastic, about the transaction. This language suggests that Bridewell Governors believed that both lust and gain motivated prostitutes, making them doubly dangerous.

The Bridewell Court of Governors also recognized that prostitutes were driven by poverty. Although nightwalkers were only identified as being "poor" in two instances between 1690 and 1799, they were frequently labeled as having "no Visible way of living" or indicted because "she can give no account of her way of living".[67] These phrases were powerful to Hanoverians because it suggested both idleness and poverty.[68] For example Elizabeth Harringdon was "charged" for being "a Comon Night Walker &

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living and picking up a Man at 12 o'Clock last Night" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202070180, 14th June 1754]; Eleanor Williams and Ann Stipping were prosecuted for "loitering about Fleetstreet & the Old Bailey in Order to pick up Men and being Comon Street Walkers" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202070336, 15th February 1759]; Sarah Smith was prosecuted "for being a loose Idle & disorderly Person & Comon Night Walker Apprehended Stroleing About Ludgate Street & Fleet Ditch in Order to Pick Up Men they Haveing No Visible Way of living Nor giving a good Account of themselves" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202070396, 4th June 1761]; Mary Dodd was charged "for loitering abt Honey Lane Market , Attempting to Pick up Men & for being a Common Street Walker & an Idle disorderly Person & having no Visible Way of Living nor giving any Account of herself" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202080151, 13th February 1765]; Mary Smith, Elizth Bagnell, and Ann Holford were prosecuted "for being Severally Common Prostitutes and particularsfor Attempting to Pick up Men in Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202080365, 1st August 1771].

[67] Jane Thomas was "Charged … for being a loose Idle disorderly Poor & Comon Night Walker" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202060492, 6th September 1750]; Mary Cowley was also "charged … for being a Coman Nightwalker" and the recorder noted that she is "a poor Girl" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202070184, 24th July 1754]. Also see: Mary Packer, Mary Green and Eliza Allen. BR/MG, BBBRMG202070366, 18th April 1760; Lydia Leach. BR/MG, BBBRMG202050245, 2nd July 1730; BR/MG, BBBRMG202060492, 6th September 1750; BR/MG, BBBRMG202070184, 24th July 1754; Elizabeth Martin. BR/MG, BBBRMG202050143, 10th February 1727; Ann Graham, Sarah Smith, Elizabeth Stewart, Rose Solomon, and Charity Burgelo. BR/MG, BBBRMG202080047, 8th April 1762. Also see: Margtt. Kerridge. BR/MG, BBBRMG202010327, 3rd November 1693; Hannah Edwards. BR/MG, BBBRMG202050245, 2nd July 1730; Mary Benson. BR/MG, BBBRMG202050297, 1st December 1731; Sarah Eliza Mahone, Mary Dearing, and Anne Stevens. BR/MG, BBBRMG202060111, 5th June 1740; Sarah Terry. BR/MG, BBBRMG202060180, 18th June 1742; Susannah Surman. BR/MG, BBBRMG202060347, 6th March 1747; Sarah Thornten and Sarah Scott. BR/MG, BBBRMG202080136, 7th November 1764; Mary Cadman. BR/MG, BBBRMG202080752, 27th January 1780; Ann Wild. BR/MG, BBBRMG202090234, 6th September 1785; Susannah Johnson. BR/MG, BBBRMG202080320, 12th April 1770.

[68] The perceived links between idleness and prostitution will be further discussed in chapter 4, "Gluttony and Sloth".

an Incorigible Strumpett that will follow noe honest Civill way of Living" in 1694.[69] In 1727, Elizabeth Martin was prosecuted "for being a loose disorderly Person & Comon Night Walker & Comon Vagrant having no Visible way of Living."[70] Likewise, in April of 1770, Susannah Johnson was said to be "a loose idle disorderly Person and a Common Night Walker not having a Visible Way of Living nor giving any good Account of herself".[71] In suggesting idleness, poverty, and vagrancy, phrases that were powerful to Hanoverians because it was a society where every moral transgression compounded upon one another and put the individuals' salvation at an escalating degree of peril, the poor, lewd, idle, prostitute was believed to be in certain mortal danger. Furthermore, it is clear that throughout the century, Bridewell administrators believed that lust, poverty, and

[69] BR/MG, BBBRMG202010420, 12th October 1694.
[70] BR/MG, BBBRMG202050143, 10th February 1727.
[71] BR/MG, BBBRMG202080320, 12th April 1770. Also see: Margtt. Kerridge was charged for "being a Lewd Woman and one that can give noe Account of herself honest way of Living and for want of Sureties" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202010327**,** 3rd November 1693]; Eliz. Harringdon was charged as "a Comon Night Walker & an Incorigible Strumpett that will follow noe honest Civill way of Living" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202010420, 12th October 1694]; Ann Edwards was "Charged by Benja Pariss far picking up men in Streets and being an old offender and haveing no visible way of maintenance" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202040054, 20th November 1713]; Ann Hapey was charged after "being taken shouting in the Streets late last night and going to a disorderly house in Fleet Lane and by the Oath of Moses Levy for being back idle Vagrant and disorderly Persons Old Offenders and not drew Nightwalkers having no Visible way of Maintenance" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202050061, 26th June 1724]; Elizabeth Martin was "Charg'd … for being a loose disorderly Person & Comon Night Walker & Comon Vagrant having no Visible way of Living." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202050143, 10th February 1727]; Eliza Mahone, Mary Dearing, and Anne Stevens were "taken in a house of ill fame in love Court this Morning about three o'Clock making a Noise & Disturbance & greatly misbehaving themselves & being loose disorderly persons & Comon Night Walker having no vizible way of living." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202060111, 5th June 1740]; Anne Hoskins was charged "for being a loose disorderly person & Comon Night Walker having no vizible way of living taken up on Saturday Night last at an unseasonable time of Night endeavouring to pick up men." [BR/MG, BBBRMG202060129, 15th July 1741]; Mary Smith was prosecuted "for being a loose Disorderly person not Appearing to have any Visible way of living and picking up a Man at 12 o'Clock last Night" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202070180, 14th June 1754]; Ann Taylor was prosecuted "for being a loose Idle and Disorderly P[er]son and Comon Night walker & having in Visible way of living" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202070338, 15th February 1759]; Susannah Collett was charged with "being a loose Idle & disorderly person Apprehended in a house of Ill Fame in Leadenhall Street & appearing to be an Idle & disorderly Person & having no Visible way of living" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202080124, 26th July 1764]; Catherine Dunbar and Elizth. Hartshorn were prosecuted for "being Idle disorderly Persons & and Common Street Walkers having no Visible way of Living and Picking up Men on Ludgate Hill" [BR/MG, BBBRMG202080146, 13th February 1765].

commercial gain were all factors which led women to prostitute themselves and which they were willing to prosecute them for.

The descriptions of prostitutes in *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies*, a directory of prostitutes which was published intermittently between 1765 and 1793, is also revealing of how prostitutes were perceived.[72] Unsurprisingly given the objectives of the publication, prostitutes' sexual desire was emphatically highlighted. For instance, "Miss W-lk-n-on" had an "insatiable appetite to venery", "Mrs. Bu—e" was considered a "spirited nymph", and both "*Miss* Th-m-s," and "Miss Poll K—n—dy" were described as "rather too lusty". [73] "Mrs. M-xfi-ld" was supposedly so insatiable, that "money seems to be of no other use to her than the means of supplying the necessary recruits of Nature with their former vigor"; consequently, "unless the cash runs very low," she was willing to "welcome" her "favourite … to her bed whenever she is not particularly engaged".[74]

Yet, the *List* also acknowledged that poverty drove many of the prostitutes in their pages. We learn that "Miss Pat L-e" and "Miss Alb---tini" had turned to prostitution

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[72] *Harris's List* was not the only publication to provide a guide to London prostitutes. There were several similar publications that produced lists and descriptions of Londons' prostitutes. For instance, see: Anon. *A catalogue of jilts, cracks, prostitutes, night-walkers, whores, she-friends, kind women, and others of the linnen-lifting tribe: who are to be seen every night in the cloysters in Smithfield, from the hours of eight to eleven, during the time of the fair, viz* (London, 1691); "A List of Covent Garden Cyprians," in *The Ranger's Magazine: or the Man of fashion's companion For the year 1795*, Vol. I. (London, 1795); Anon. *Intrigue a-la-mode*. (London, 1767).

[73] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 20. Also see: *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies.* (London, 1790), 66; *Harris's List of Govent-Garden Ladies; or, New Atalantis For the year 1765.* (London, 1765), 24; *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies.* (London, 1789), 28. Also see: *Harris's list of Covent Garden ladies*. (London, 1793, 1982), 21, 76, 80; *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies.* (London, 1790), 34, 101, 102, 110, 113; *Harris's List of Govent-Garden Ladies; or, New Atalantis For the year 1765.* (London, 1765), 8-9; *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 71. Also see: *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies.* (London, 1789), 59, 65, 69, 83, 125; *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies.* (London, 1790), 5, 11, 30.

[74] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 22-23. Also see pages 48, 71 and 79. Similarly, "*Miss* St-le, of *Green Street, Leicester Fields* "is rather too fond of variety to know the value of money, as she sets no bounds to her generosity when disposed to gratify her passions." [*Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies; or, New Atalantis For the year 1765.* (London, 1765), 19]. Also see: *Harris's List of Govent-Garden Ladies; or, New Atalantis For the year 1765.* (London, 1765), 31, 34-35.

because they had "ran in debt".[75] The situation of "Miss Bro—n," was described as "truly pitiable", for she was "betrayed by a young gentleman".[76] "Miss Les---r" was also apparently "debauched, and soon after deserted by her betrayer. The consequence of which was, having lost her place, and being destitute of a character, she was obliged to have a recourse to her beauty for a subsistence."[77] Hence, a variety of circumstances led to these womens' impoverishment, which, in turn, compelled them to turn to prostitution.

Readers were also warned that many of the women they featured charged "an extravagant price" or were otherwise greedy.[78] For example, "Mrs. E-m-nds" was apparently "fond of money, so very fond, that she never was known to turn even half a crown away", while "Mrs. Gr—es" was said to "stick at nothing to get money".[79] The "principle defect" of "Miss M—ms" was said to be her "love of money, which she seems to prefer to everything" due to her "mercenary disposition".[80] "Betsy W-lf-n" was said to be "intolerably mercenary: the money or present you are to give, engrosses her whole thought whilst she is in the very act."[81] Though lustfulness was, not surprisingly, the most common description given of the prostitutes, the fact that the publication even included economic necessity and greed in their descriptions of prostitutes is particularly interesting given that the *List* was meant to be an erotic guide, not a social commentary.

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[75] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 74, 77. Also see: *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1789), 56.
[76] *Harris's list of Covent Garden ladies*. (London, 1793, 1982), 7.
[77] *Harris's list of Covent Garden ladies*. (London, 1793, 1982), 24. Also see *Harris's list of Covent Garden ladies*. (London, 1793, 1982), 30-31, 36; *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies; or, New Atalantis For the year 1765.* (London, 1765), 6-7, 50-51.
[78] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 19, 28-9.
[79] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 19; *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 52-3. Also see: *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 78; *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1789), 74. Also see: *Harris's List of Govent-Garden Ladies; or, New Atalantis For the year 1765.* (London, 1765), 39-40.
[80] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1790), 110-111.
[81] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 32.

Guidebooks to London, which warned readers of all the pernicious characters who lurked in the streets and alleys of the metropolis, also emphasized what has been shown as a common refrain that prostitutes were compelled by lust, poverty, and greed. These tracts cautioned unwary countryman of the dangerous characters in the metropolis, but also provided tantalizing details about the characters a traveller to London might encounter, and often times they even made dangerous wenches out to be pitiable. Using the example of the Hackney Whore or Strumpet, *The Countryman's Guide to London* and Richard King's *The new cheats of London exposed* explained that prostitutes are wretched creatures, whose insatiable desire, greed, and poverty, led them to force themselves on men for small sums of money. Both publications drew readers' attention to the Hackney Strumpets' "heated lust", but also noted that "Necessity compel them … for the sake of bread" to commit "flagitious" acts. Worse, these characters were willing to use "force" and "tricks" to gain what they wanted from men."[82] The similarity of language in these tracts suggests that throughout the period, poverty, lust, and avarice all played a role in how commentators understood prostitutes' actions.

Perhaps the most common explanation of what led women to prostitution was neither lust nor greed, but poverty. While the important role poverty played in leading women to prostitution grew in the second half of the eighteenth century, as we have seen, commentators recognized its role throughout the period. Although these commentators focused more on the inadequate employment opportunities that afflicted women, and on 'unscrupulous' men who debauched and then abandoned innocent women, they also

[82] Anon., *The Countryman's Guide to London: OR Villainy Detected.* (London, 1775?), 32-34; Richard King, *The new cheats of London exposed.* (London, 1780?), 466.

recognized the role vice, sinful inclinations, and the social mores which prioritized men over women played in leading women to prostitution.[83]

Limited employment options were widely recognized as a push factor in leading women to prostitution, especially in the eyes of charity governors, magistrates, and philanthropists. In sermons supporting the Magdalen Charity, preachers such as William Dodd, Geroge Henry Glasse, Richard Pococke, and Joseph Massie addressed the problems caused by "a *Want of Employment"*.[84] Similarly, in Martin Madan's *An Account of the Triumphant Death of F.S. A Converted Prostitute*, he emphasized that "Various were the ways by which F.S. was endeavoring to maintain herself" including

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[83] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*; Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her. A History of Women in Western Europe. Volume One, 1500-1800*. (London: Fontana Press, 1997); Ibid., *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974); Ibid., "Women in History. Early Modern Europe," *Past and Present*, 101, 1 (1983): 125-141; Merry Wiesner, *Women and gender in early modern Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); R.B. Outhwaite, ed., *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage.* (London: Europa, 1981); Fletcher, *Gender Sex and Subordination;* Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*; Ralph Houlbrooke. *The English family, 1450-1700*. (London: Longman, 1984); Martin Ingram, *Church courts, sex, and marriage in England, 1570-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and love in England: modes of reproduction, 1300-1840*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977); David Cressy, *Birth, marriage, and death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Ibid., "Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England," *Past & Present*,113 (1986): 38-69; Phyllis Mack, "Women and Gender in Early Modern England," *The Journal of Modern History*. 73, 2 (2001): 379-392; Naomi Tadmor, "The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past & Present*, 151 (1996): 111-140; Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Louise Tilly and Joan Wallach Scott, *Women, Work and Family.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978); Linda E. Merians, ed., *The secret malady: venereal disease in eighteenth*-century *Britain and* France. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996); Susan P.Conner, "Public Virtue and Public Women: Prostitution in Revolutionary Paris, 1793-1794," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28, 2 (1994-1995): 221-240; Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850.* (London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1930).

[84] Joseph Massie, *A plan for the establishment of charity-houses for exposed or deserted women and girls, and for penitent prostitutes*. (London, 1758), especially. 4, 14-17, 50-60. Also see: Richard Pococke, *The happiness of doing good: A sermon preached before the Right Hon. the Earl of Hertford, president; the vice-presidents, treasurer, and governors of the Magdalen-House Charity, on Thursday the 12th of March, 1761, at the Parish Church of St. Brides, Fleet-Street*. (London, 1761) 17; William Dodd, *A sermon on Zechariah iv. 7. preached in Charlotte-Street Chapel, July the 28th, 1769, before the president, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Governors of the Magdalen Hospital, on laying the first stone of their new building, in St. George's-Fields, Southwark, for the reception of penitent prostitutes.* (London, 1769), 4, Rev. George Henry Glasse, "A Sermon Preached before the Governors of the Magdalen Hospital, London: On Wednesday the 28th of May, 1788," *In General State of the Magdalen-Hospital*. 26th April, 1786. (London, 1786).

"work at her needle: this expedient too failed her: after which she went upon the town, and turned prostitute."[85] Newspaper commentators were also aware of the employment problems many women faced and linked this problem to prostitution. In 1758, a contributor to the *Public Advertiser* recognized that "Women have but few Trades and fewer Manufacturers to employ them: Hence it is, that the general Resource of young Women is to go to Service, and it is for this Reason that there is always in London an amazing Number of Women Servants out of Place".[86] In his 1799 letter to the *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, and obviously writing under a pseudonym, "Truth" asserted that "[t]he want of employment for those who might be otherwise virtuously inclined" was a significant factor in forcing women to prostitute themselves.[87]

The greedy and sinister actions of libertines and rakes were widely seen to be responsible for turning many innocent and unwary women into prostitutes. For instance, the notable philanthropist Jonas Hanway remarked, paradoxically, that "the woman is treated as incorrigible, whilst the offence lies most frequently at the door of the *man*".[88] It was perhaps for this reason that the preacher and a significant contributor to the Magdalen Hospital, William Dodd referred to the debaucher as "the selfish, sordid, low-minded being".[89] Preacher James Townley echoed these sentiments when he declared that

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[85] Martin Madan, *An account of the death of F. S. who died April 1763, aged twenty-six years. In a letter to a friend*. London, 1763), 1-3.
[86] *Public Advertiser.* Friday April 7, 1758, #9793.
[87] *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*. Tuesday September 24, 1799, #22098. Also see: *Public Advertiser*. Thursday December 24, 1789, #17297.
[88] Jonas Hanway, *Letters written occasionally on the customs of foreign nations in regard to harlots*. (London,1761), 4-5. Similarly, Sir John Fielding pondered, "Who can say that one of these poor Children had been Prostitutes through Viciousness? No. They are young, unprotected, and of the female Sex; therefore become the Prey of the Bawd and Debauchee." Sir John Fielding, *A plan for a preservatory and reformatory, for the benefit of Deserted Girls, and Penitent Prostitutes*. (London, 1758), 6.
[89] William Dodd, A *sermon on Job, chap.xxix. ver. 11-13. Preached at the anniversary meeting of the governors of the Magdalen Charity, on Thursday, March 18, 1762*. (London, 1762), 7. Also see: Dodd, *A sermon on Zechariah,* 4.

because the "World abounds with mischievous Men", the need for religiously-devoted charitable institutions would persist.[90]

In the popular press and works of fiction, commentators also identified men as culprits in the downfall of many women. Intent on reforming the manners and sensibilities of Londoners, Joseph Addison lamented the "Villainy of the Practice of deluding Women."[91] This sentiment was echoed in *The Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand*, which stated: "these unhappy creatures, who are wretched by our means, and despicable only because we, by the blackest art of cunning, deceit, and treachery, have seduced from their natural innocence, and cruelly abandoned them after we have gratified our base ends".[92] *The Histories of some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House* condemned the man "who seduces a woman into guilt and shame, and abandons her to disease and poverty".[93] As we have already seen, even erotic works like *Harris's List* noted that some prostitutes were seduced by men, and then forced to turn to prostitution to support themselves. "MRs Pr—ch—d" "was seduced by a son of Mras, and coming up with him to London, … With him she lived till within these two years, and the fault why

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[90] James Townley, *A sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Holborn, on Wednesday, April 19, 1769, before the governors of the Magdalen Charity*. (London, 1769), 17, 9. Also see: Massie, *A plan for the establishment of charity-houses,* 4; Samuel, Lord Bishop of Rochester, *The Enjoyments of the Future Life, and the True Notion of Christian Purity, A Sermon Preached in the Chapel of the Magdalen Hospital, on Wednesday, April 22, 1795*. (London, 1795); Richard Harrison, *A sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. Bride, Fleet-Street, on Wednesday, June 29.1768, before the governors of the Magdalen-Charity.* (London, 1768).

[91] *Spectator.* Friday, September 28, 1711, CLXXXII.

[92] *Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand*. Letter IV, 3. Also see: *Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand*. Letter IV, 19; *Spectator.* Friday, September 28, 1711, CLXXXII. Infamous novelist John Cleland asserted that "these fallen Angels, … would be found infinitely more deserving of Compassion than of Blame" because "they are exposed to the Seduction of Men" [John Cleland, *The case of the unfortunate Bosavern Penlez.* (London, 1749), 13].

[93] Magdalen Hospital, *The Histories of some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House.* Vol. 1. (London, 1760), xv. Also see: *The History of Miss Sally Johnson;* J.B. *Laura: or, the fall of innocence: a poem*. (London, 1787), 21.

she did not remain with him longer seems to have been her own."[94] These commentators recognized that once debauched, these women were left with few alternatives but become 'women for hire'.[95]

Though men were widely regarded as debauchers, and a significant part of what drove the prostitution industry, as Keith Thomas, Bernard Capp, and Randolph Trumbach have argued, because men's sexuality was prioritized over womens', men may have even needed to have sex with prostitutes to prove their masculinity. Therefore, it is probable that while prostitution was derided as a terrible tragedy for women, it was also accepted.[96] This sentiment was exemplified in *The Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand* when Henry Rakewell tries to convince his friend George to "come to town and sin like a gentleman".[97] Therefore, discussions regarding libertines present us with a further paradox; these men were both demonized and tacitly applauded.

Nevertheless, in the context of social mores and a double standard, the broader moral responsibility for sexual propriety fell upon women.[98] As a result, women's own

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[94] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies.* (London, 1773), 32-34.
[95] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser.* Tuesday August 27, 1782, #4143; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday September 4, 1782, #4150; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Thursday September 5, 1782, #41451; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Tuesday September 3, 1782, #4149; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser.* Saturday January 1, 1763, #10543. Also see: *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Thursday September 5, 1782, #41451; *Evening Mail*. Monday August 1, 1791, #380.
[96] Keith Thomas, "The Double Standard," *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 20, 2 (1959): 195-216; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution;* Capp, "The Double Standard Revisited". Also see: Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage*; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1-5, ch. 2-4; Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 251. In addressing the double standard, in his address "To The Young Ladies of Great Brittain" John Brown explained: "For the generality of the World, … applaud and countenance such Actions in *Men,* instead of branding them, as they ought to do, with Infamy and Abhorrence; they are look'd upon, not as Instances of a base and corrupted Mind, but as the distinguishing Marks of a fine Gentleman, … Whereas, in your Sex, the Case is quite otherwise; the least Deviation from the strict Rules of Virtue, … is almost indelible". John Brown. *An Essay upon modern gallantry. Address'd to men of honour, men of pleasure, and men of sense. With a seasonable admonition to the young ladies of Great Britain.* (London, 1726), 37.
[97] *The Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand*, 4.
[98] Brown, *An Essay upon modern gallantry,* 37.

sinful inclinations were given as another reason why women supposedly became prostitutes. Magistrates, philanthropists, and popular commentators recognized that while men may have debauched these women, prostitutes were at least partially at fault too. For instance, Charles Horne may have placed considerable blame on procuresses and men who introduced women to prostitution, but he also acknowledged that female vanity had a role in leading them to prostitution as well.[99] The author of *Satan's Harvest Home* believed that "the Cause of her Ruin was not more owing to the Pride, Negligence, or Indiscretion of those that undertook to pilot her thro' the early Part of Life, than to any evil Inclinations of her own."[100] "Sinful Sally", a character in one of Hannah More's *Cheap Repository* tracts, recounted how she entered "a Life of Sin" and a "life of pleasure" when she "Enter[ed] on a state unholy, Turn[ed] a Mistress to a Rake."[101] In *Free Grace Displayed,* the author recited the well accepted chronology of the 'innocent country girl' who may have been "of great understanding, but made an improper use of it;" for she allowed "a young nobleman" to seduce her. Unfortunately, he then abandoned her, leaving her "destitute of all support;" afterwards, "she was obliged to go upon the town, and become a common Street-walker".[102] Though perhaps less culpable than their debauchers, these women were nonetheless partly responsible for their downfall because they were insufficiently virtuous and had failed to guard their chastity. Hence, poverty led these women to prostitution, but only after men debauched them.

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[99] Horne, *Serious Thoughts on the Miseries of Seduction and Prostitution*, 51. Also see: Defoe, *Every-Body's business,* 4-8.
[100] Anon., *Satan's Harvest Home: or the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy, and the Game of Flatts.* (London, 1749), 6.
[101] Cheap repository. *The story of sinful sally.* (London, 1796) 5, 4. Also see: *Observator*. March 13, 1703 - March 17, 1703, # 94.
[102] M.F., *Free Grace Displayed*: *in the conversion of two unhappy prostitutes*. (London, 1798), 4-5.

Nevertheless, not all commentators were sympathetic to prostitutes' plight and analyses of the causes of prostitution were far from uniform. Many reformers took a broader perspective in their analyses, and asserted that poverty, dissolute libertines, employment options, and immorality worked together to drive women to prostitution. For instance, though Daniel Defoe asserted that "Man's Solicitation tempts them to Lewdness, Necessity succeeds Sin, and Want puts an End to Shame", we have already seen that he also believed that domestic servants fell "out of place" because they would not perform their duties after they came to over-value their own worth.[103] Defoe believed that unable to obtain a more desirable occupation or marry rich, many then were forced to turn to prostitution to feed their desire for "Silks and Satins".[104] Likewise, Sir John Fielding regarded the picture to be more complicated than a simple tale of innocent women being seduced by rakes and libertines: "What must then become of the Daughters of such Women, where Poverty and Illiterateness conspire to expose them to every Temptation? … they often become Prostitutes from Necessity, even before their Passions can have any Share in their Guilt."[105] Thus, Fielding recognized that poverty led women to prostitute themselves, but he also believed that women's lust became part of what kept women as prostitutes. Similarly, in his 1780, *Thelyphthora,* Martin Madan defined whoredom as "a woman *giving* her person to a man, without any intent of *marriage,* but either for the mere gratification of *lust*, or for *gain* or *hire,* and departing from that man to others for the *same* purposes", a statement which reveals the perception that sexual desire, poverty, and greed led women to prostitute themselves.[106] Concerns about vice,

[103] Daniel Defoe, *Some considerations upon street-walkers.* (London, 1726), 8.
[104] Defoe, *Every-Body's business,* 4-8.
[105] Fielding, *A plan for a preservatory,* 5.
[106] Martin Madan, *Thelyphthora; or, a treatise on female ruin*. (London, 1780), 50.

sin, and prostitution did not only exist between the 1690s and 1730s, when the Campaigns for the Reformation of Manners was active, but throughout the entire period.[107]

In the newspaper press, too, we see mixed analyses of the causes and consequences of prostitution. In 1782, an author who signed his letter "A Liveryman" instigated a lengthy exchange of letters regarding prostitution in *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. "A Liveryman" asserted that prostitutes tempted the youths of the city, and, as a result, these youths become "ruined in property and constitution" and were no longer "useful to the state".[108] In effect, he complained that prostitutes' sensuality had a negative impact on morality, as well as national productivity and strength.

Though the newspaper contributor who identified himself as "Decent" misquoted Madan's definition, his assertion that a Harlot "is a Woman, who from a Principle of Lust, Idleness, or Avarice, bestows or sells her Favours promiscuously to all Men Alike" echoes Madan's sentiment [*St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post.* March 17, 1781 – March 20, 1781, #3128]. Responding to "Decent's" letter, "Decentior" asserted that "the author's definition of an harlot, marks the just descrimination betweixt her …. According to the laws of God and nature: for when it is lust, idleness, or avarice which induce the woman to either *sell* the favours of her person, or to grant them *promiscuously* to all men alike," similarly reveals the perception that lust, greed, and poverty contributed to prostitution [*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser.* Thursday August 2, 1781, #3810. Also see: Anon. *Thoughts on means of alleviating the miseries attendant upon common prostitution*. (London, 1799)].

[107] Martin Ingram, "Reformation of manners in early modern England," in Paul Griffith, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, eds. *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 47-88; Joanna Innes, "Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movement in later eighteenth-century England," in her *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 179-226; Robert Shoemaker, "Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738," in Lee Davison, Lee, ed. *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 99-120; Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: public welfare in early modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Hurl-Eamon, "Policing Male Heterosexuality;" Dabhoiwala, "Sex and societies for moral reform," 290-319; M.J. D. Roberts, *Making English morals: voluntary association and moral reform in England, 1787-1886*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Karen Sonnenlitter, "The Reformation of Manners Societies, the Monarchy, and the English State, 1696-1714," *The Historian*. 72, 3 (2010): 517-542; Shelley Burtt, "The societies for the reformation of manners: between John Locke and the devil in Augustan England," in Roger D. Lund, ed. *The Margin of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660-69*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 149-69.

[108] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Monday, August 19, 1782; #4136.

"A Liveryman's" comments sparked numerous responses. First "Mary Penitent", an author posing as a former repentant prostitute, replied, and asserted that it was men who seduce women, leaving them with no other alternatives but to become prostitutes. The author also reminded readers that as men increasingly entered a broader range of traditional female trades, there were simply fewer jobs available to women, so they turned to prostitution. "Mary Penitent" complained that because men were increasingly entering women's trades – such as hair dressers and milliners – women had fewer trades they could enter.[109] "T.P." agreed and asserted that women were, in part, vulnerable due to few employment options available to them: "Necessity, then, it is, that introduces females into that scene of wretchedness; and this necessity, sometimes, the consequence of their own indolence or misconduct, but, generally, the effect of the baseness of some vile seducer."[110] These comments support the same phenomenon that historians have recognized, that as a profession became re-defined as skilled, such as in brewing, dairying or midwifery, women were pushed out of the industry by men.[111] Moreover, we see that lust, poverty, and greed were presented as the central causes of prostitution.

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[109] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser.* Tuesday August 27, 1782, #4143.
[110] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Friday August 30, 1782, #4146. Also see: *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. January 3, 1792, #4801.
[111] Judith M. Bennett, "The village ale-wife: women and brewing in fourteenth-century England," in Barbara Hanawalt, ed. *Women and work in preindustrial Europe*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 20-36; Deborah M. Valenze, "The art of women and the business of men: women's work and the dairy industry, c.1740-1840," *Past & Present.* 130 (1991): 142-69; Jean Donnison, *Midwives and medical men: a history of inter-professional rivalries and women's rights*. (London: Heinemann Educational, 1977); Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Hilary Marland, *The Art of Midwifery. Early Modern Midwives in Europe.* (London: Routledge, 1993); Adrian Wilson, *The making of man-midwifery: childbirth in England, 1660-1770.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Lisa Forman Cody, *Birthing the Nation: Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth-Century Britons*. (Oxford University Press, 2005); Ibid., "Sex, Civility, and the Self: Du Coudray, d'Eon, and Eighteenth-Century Conceptions of Gendered, National, and Psychological Identity." *French Historical Studies*. 24, 3 (2011): 379-407; Mary E. Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 32-33; Caroline Bicks, *Midwiving Subjects in Shakespeare's England.* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003); Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England*. (Rochester:

Yet, just as with learned commentators, not everyone was sympathetic. Although "G.A." felt bad for seduced females, he asserted that "sad experience serves to evince that ruined females … are often so totally abandoned, that murder and rapine are but too commonly the characteristics of their disposition". He also complained about their greed, which was evidenced by the fact that "common prostitutes, dressed up in silk trappings".[112] These debates lasted for several weeks and generated thirteen letters in total, revealing how contentious and topical prostitution was as a topic of debate. But these letters also show that there was little consensus about the causes of prostitution. Instead, authors blamed social problems on prostitutes' lust, on their greed, and on the social and economic circumstances that made women more likely to become destitute.

The comments found in the popular press, novels, and by philanthropists and preachers allude to William Hogarth's famous prints, *A Harlot's Progress,* which illustrated the destruction of innocence and which were based on literary texts, including Steele's defense of prostitutes in *The Spectator,* Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, as well as newspaper accounts of prostitutes and their debauchers.[113] In the first plate of *A Harlot's Progress* (Fig. 1)*,* we see Mother Needham, an infamous brothel keeper, approaching the still-innocent Moll Hackabout. In the doorway, Colonel Francis Charteris, "The Rape-Master General of Britain" is eagerly awaiting the opportunity to debauch Moll. In the second plate (Fig. 2) Moll has become a mistress to a wealthy Jew. Her greedy impulses are underscored by her fine cloths, the lavish furnishings surrounding her, and her snapping fingers demanding more money. By the third plate of *A Harlot's Progress* (Fig.

University of Rochester Press, 2002); Valerie Fildes, ed., *Women as Mother in Preindustrial England*. (London: Routledge, 1990).

[112] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser.* Wednesday August 28, 1782, #4144.

[113] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth. The 'Modern Moral Subject' 1697-1732. Volume 1.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 237-8, 241.

3), Moll has fallen from the status of a kept mistress to that of a common prostitute in Covent Garden. After Moll has returned from Bridewell Prison in the fifth plate, (Fig. 4), any remnants of innocence have further crumpled; Moll is decaying from venereal disease and she is the mother of an illegitimate son, further suggesting that she is not innocent, but accustomed to a life of sin and vice.[114]



Fig. 1. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress,* plate 1. London, 1732. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr22337).

[114] Charlotte Grant, "Visible prostitutes: Mandeville, Hogarth, and 'A Harlot's Progress', in Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis, eds., *Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Culture.* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 102-104, 109-113; Lucy Inglis, "Plate One of Hogart's Harlot's Progress," <http://www.georgianlondon.com/plate-one-of-hogarths-harlots-progress> (accessed December 12, 2011); Ibid., "Plate Three of Hogart's Harlot's Progress," <http://www.georgianlondon.com/plate-three-of-hogarths-harlots-progress>. (accessed December 12, 2011); Ibid., "Plate Five of Hogarth's Harlots Progress," <http://www.georgianlondon.com/plate-five-of-hogarths-harlots-progress>. (accessed December 12, 2011); Paulson. *Hogarth, The 'Modern Moral Subject' 1697-1732. Volume 1*, 237- 255.



Fig. 2. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress,* plate 2. London, 1732. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr22338).



Fig. 3. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress*, plate 3. London, 1732. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr22340).



Fig. 4. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress*, plate 5. London, 1732. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr22237).

It is clear from these discourses that neither poverty, lust, nor greed were ever the dominant explanation regarding what drove women to prostitution. Instead, throughout the period various explanations operated in concert because commentators recognized that depending on the situation, lust, poverty, and greed could all explain why women became prostitutes. Even pitiable prostitutes, those who were driven to prostitution because they were destitute or debauched, were often seen as partially responsible for their downfall because any moral transgression, no matter how minute, was believed to

compound upon itself, making further transgressions more likely to follow. These discussions further show that eighteenth century London continued to be governed according to deeply held pious concerns and principles. Such continuities in the ideologies, principles, and values which regulated the social order help explain why there were also strong continuities influencing perceptions of prostitutes.

II. AVARICE

Thus far this chapter has shown that prostitutes were often seen as lustful or as victims of poverty, but only sometimes as greedy. Therefore, it is necessary to determine in what circumstances prostitutes were deemed avaricious. This section will show that only certain types of lower-class prostitutes and former prostitutes – prostitute-thieves, trappers and bawds – were seen as unusually greedy. The prostitute-thief was distinguished from the 'ordinary' prostitute because she was a criminal who stole, picked pockets, and distracted men with her sexuality to enhance her profits. The trapper threatened to expose a clients' illicit rendezvous with her by pressuring him to give her a considerable settlement after pretending he impregnated her with a bastard child. Bawds were reviled as greedy because in the process of profiting from the sale of sex, they ruined innocent young girls and tricked men. Hence, these prostitute figures were seen to pose a deeper threat to the peace and order of society than 'ordinary' prostitutes because they were more deliberate in their avaricious actions; they stole, lied, plotted, and extorted the unwary.[115]

[115] Kept-women and courtesans were regarded as quintessentially greedy prostitutes. However, these prostitute figures will be excluded from this chapter because this dissertation exclusively examines lower-class prostitutes. On kept-women and courtesans see: Julie Peakman, "Blaming and Shaming in Whores' Memoirs," *History Today.* 59, 8 (2009): 33-39: Catharine Arnold, *City of Sin: London and its Vices*. (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010), 116-7; Nickie Roberts, *Whores in history: prostitution in western*

The Prostitute-Thief

Prostitutes gained a reputation for being greedy because some of them stole from men by picking their pockets, robbing their personal items, or stealing from taverns, alehouses, and other places they frequented. In seeking to enhance her profits through duplicitous conduct by pretending to be a 'honest whore' but then duping her customer and stealing from him, the prostitute-thief embodied greed. While Britons recognized that not all prostitutes were also thieves, numerous terms existed to distinguish between 'ordinary' prostitutes and prostitute-thieves. For instance, a "Bloss" was "a Thief or Shop-lift; … [and] also a Whore."[116] Those who "are dexterous in picking of pockets" and were willing "for good Victuals, or a small Piece of Money, [to] prostitute their Bodies," were either referred to as "Doxies" or "Jades".[117] The emphasis on dexterity is particularly intriguing, as it is the same adjective that was used to describe pickpockets in cautionary literature.[118] Even when acknowledging those prostitutes who were not thieves, commentators drew attention to the ubiquitous association between prostitution and theft. For instance, the *New Canting Dictionary* explained that a "Buttock *and Twang*" was "a common Whore, but no Pickpocket".[119] While this definition indicates that Britons believed that at least some prostitutes refused to steal, the fact that a term emerged to distinguish non-stealing prostitutes from their counterparts also suggests that prostitute-thieves were believed to be common.

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society. (London: Harper Collins, 1992), 177; Alison Conway, *Private interests: women, portraiture, and the visual culture.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 36-7; Pointon, "Kitty Fisher," 84-85; Frances Wilson, *The courtesan's revenge: Harriette Wilson, the woman who blackmailed the Kin*g. (London: Faber, 2003).

[116] Anon., *A new canting dictionary.* (London, 1725), 23.

[117] *The ladies dictionary,* 421-422; *A new canting dictionary*, 45-6. Also see: King, *The new cheats of London exposed*, 62.

[118] King, *The new cheats of London exposed*, 62.

[119] *A new canting dictionary*, 28.

The perception that most prostitutes were also thieves has led to a debate among historians about how to characterize the prostitute: was she primarily a 'sex-worker' or was she predominantly a thief? Because historians have recognized that prostitutes were amongst the poorest members of urban society, many, including Paul Griffiths, Heather Shore, Garthine Walker, and Tim Hitchcock, have sought to determine whether prostitutes' theft ought to be included among the 'economy of makeshifts' because such activity was a survival strategy.[120] On the other hand, Mary Clayton and Tony Henderson have suggested that at least some women who operated as thieves used prostitution to get close to their victims, and hence, they were not really prostitutes, but thieves.[121] This

[120] Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550-1660*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 153-4; Heather Shore, "Crime criminal networks and the survival strategies of the poor in early eighteenth century London," in King and Tomkins, eds. *The Poor in England*, 137-65*;* Garthine Walker, "Women, theft and the world of stolen goods," in Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker, eds. *Women, crime and the courts in early modern England*. (London: University College, London, 1994), 81-105; Tim Hitchcock, *Down and out in eighteenth-century London*. (London: Hambledon, 2004), 50, 80-81, 87, 88; J.M. Beattie, *Policing and punishment in London 1660-1750: urban crime and the limits of terror.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 63-72; Peter King, "Customary rights and women's earnings: the importance of gleaning to the rural labouring poor, 1750-1850," *Economic History Review.* 2nd ser., 44, 3 (1991): 461-76; Richard Connors and Lynn A. Botelho, "London Calling," *Social History* . 43, 85 (2010): 213-19; Tim Hitchcock, "Sare .... Ghamidh," *Social History.* 43, 85 (2010): 219-24; Ian Archer, "Losing Bridewell in Lost Londons," *Social History.* 43, 85 (2010): 224-9; Patricia Fumerton, "Found Londons?" *Social History.* 43, 85 (2010): 229-33; Paul Griffiths. "Lost Londons: Reprise," *Social History* . 43, 85 (2010): 233-40.

On the 'economy of makeshift' see: Hufton, "Women in History"; Ibid., "Women without men: widows and spinsters in Britain and France in the eighteenth century," *Journal of Family History*. 9, 4 (1984): 355-76; Ruth Harris, Lyndal Roper, and Olwen Hufton, eds., *The art of survival: gender and history in Europe, 1450-2000: essays in honour of Olwen Hufton*. (Oxford: Oxford Journals, 2006); Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, eds., *The poor in England, 1700-1850: an economy of makeshifts*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "The fiction of female dependence and the makeshift economy of soldiers, sailors, and their wives in eighteenth-century London," *Labor History*. 49, 4 (2008): 481-501.

On survival strategies for prostitutes and other precarious women see: Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of nightwalking in early modern England," *Seventeenth Century*. 12, 2 (1998): 221; Richard Williams. "Stolen Goods and the Economy of Makeshifts in Eighteenth Century Exeter," *The British Records Asociation.* 31, 112 (2005): 85-96.

[121] Mary Clayton, "The Life and Crimes of Charlotte Walker, Prostitute and Pickpocket," *London Journal*. 33, 1 (2008): 15, Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 25. Also see: Heather Shore, " 'The Reckoning': disorderly women, informing constables and the Westminster justices, 1727-33," *Social History*. 34, 4 (2009): 409-427. Some evidence supports this thesis. For instance, one prostitute who robbed the "well dressed" man at the King's Arms apparently "procured two other Common Women of her Acquaintance to watch for him when he came out, … [who] picked him up again, … plundered him, stole off his Fingers a

debate raises the question of how we should regard prostitutes' thievery: as a crime or as a strategy in the 'economy of makeshifts', and whether we should regard prostitutes primarily as thieves or as 'sex workers'.[122] These important questions provide helpful clues as to whether Britons believed that greed or necessity drove prostitutes.

It is more likely that most prostitutes opportunistically chose to supplement their income by picking pockets or stealing small, relatively petty items from people and places to which they had easy access. These activities have been widely acknowledged as the type of theft women most commonly committed.[123] For instance, Griffiths has situated prostitutes' theft as an indication of a broader rise in "unsavoury characters" in London that grew in the period after 1600.[124] The prostitute-thiefs' activities, therefore, presents us with a paradox: the type of theft committed by prostitutes suggests necessity and opportunity to historians, but to eighteenth-century commentators, they were guilty of committing property crimes, and should be punished. Moreover, to Hanoverians, the

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Gold enameled Family Ring, a Diamond Ring, his silver Knee Buckles, and about 3d 10s. in Money". *London Spy Revived*. Monday October 18, 1736, #36.

[122] On prostitutes as sex workers, see Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce.*

[123] John Beattie, "The criminality of women in eighteenth-century England," *Journal of Social History*. 8 (1975): 80-116; Ibid., "The pattern of crime in England, 1660-1800," *Past & Present*. 62 (1974): 47-95; Ibid., *Crime and the courts in England, 1660-1800*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985); Ibid., *Policing and punishment in London*; Peter King, *Crime and law in England, 1750-1840.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Ibid., *Crime, justice, and discretion in England, 1740-1820*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Ibid., "Female offenders, work and life-cycle change in late-eighteenth-century London," *Continuity and Change*. 11, 1 (1996): 61-90; Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ibid., "Women, theft and the world of stolen goods"; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence in London 1680–1720* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005); L. MacKay, "Why They Stole: Women in the Old Bailey, 1779–1789," *Journal of Social History*. 32, (1999), 623–639; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment*; Dierdre Palk. *Gender, crime and judicial discretion, 1780-1830*. (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society/Boydell Press, 2006); Hitchcock, *Down and Out;* Griffiths, "Meanings of nightwalking," 221; Ibid., *Lost Londons;* Gwen Brewer and Vern Bullough, "Women Pornography, and Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Sexuality & Culture*. 9, 1 (2005), 20; Joanna Innes and John Styles, "The Crime Wave: Recent Writing on Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies*. 25 (1986): 380-435; Clayton, "The Life and Crimes of Charlotte Walker".

[124] Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 72, 199-203.

strong links between prostitution and theft solidified prostitutes' reputation as greedy, as well as cunning, duplicitous, and a threatening source of disorder.

The Bridewell Court of Governor records and newspaper accounts show that throughout the century prostitutes were often indicted for theft. Publications for popular consumption were keen to include examples of unusual greed, such as how "Mary Nicholls, a Street-walker, was committed to the New Gaol in Southwark, for privately picking a gentleman's pocket of seventeen guineas" and then "swallowed the money, guinea after guinea," to try to prevent the authorities from taking her bounty. Unfortunately for Nicholls, she was nevertheless arrested and sent to New Gaol in Southwark.[125] More commonly, newspapers published straightforward stories about simple theft: the *Daily Journal* reported that "two common Women of the Town were committed to Newgate, by Justice Salt and Justice Lambert, for picking a Gentleman's Pocket of about 4 l."[126] This report echoes the thievery noted in the Bridewell Court of Governors' records, which usually gave a brief description of the prostitutes' demeanor and the offense she committed. For instance, in 1697, Katherine Evans was charged "For being a lewd woman & comon night walker & picking his [Jno. Mathews]-pockett

[125] *London Chronicle*. Tuesday, April 29, 1760, #522; *Public Advertiser*. Wednesday, April 30, 1760, #7951.
[126] *Daily Journal*. Friday, March 28, 1729, #2565. Also see: *Daily Gazetteer,* Saturday, October 22, 1743, #3011; *Daily Gazetteer*. Saturday, October 22, 1743, #3011; *Public Advertiser*. Tuesday, August 21, 1753, #5870; *Parker's Penny Post.* Monday, December 12, 1726, #251; *British Journal or The Censor*. Saturday, August 2, 1729, #83; *Fog's Weekly Journal.* Saturday, August 2, 1729, #45; *British Journal*. Saturday, October 31, 1730, #148; *London Evening Post*. November 28, 1734 - November 30, 1734, #1097; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser.* Monday, December 2, 1734, #25; *General Evening Post*. March 29, 1735 - April 1, 1735, #234; *Grub Street Journal*. Thursday, August 28, 1735, #296; *Daily Gazetteer.* Monday, November 29, 1736, #445; *London Evening Post.* March 14, 1745 - March 16, 1745, #2708; *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*. March 15, 1745 - March 18, 1745, #295.

Etc."[127] Jane Hayes, "an Idle and Disorderly Person & Comon Night Walker" was similarly "Apprehended" for picking John Holdway's pocket in December 1760.[128]

Prostitutes-thieves also stole small items that were easy to sell, such as watches, rings, tobacco boxes, mugs, clothing, pistols and other personal belongings.[129] For instance, in 1739 "Anne Roberts, a noted Night-Walker, was committed to the Gatehouse, Westminster, by Thomas Lediard, Esq. for robbing John Johnson of his Silver Watch and Tobacco-Box, in a Street not improperly call'd Thieving Lane."[130] Similarly, in 1752, the *General Advertiser* reported that "a young Gentleman lately come from India," had his pocket picked "of his Gold Watch and four Pistoles."[131] Prostitutes-thieves also stole from bawdy houses, taverns and alehouses, the places where they often looked for or took clients, as "Anne March, a notorious Street-Walker," did at "the Ram's Head Tavern in Tooley-Street".[132] Other women used taverns and shops as covers to rob

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[127] BR/MG, BBBRMG202020170**,** 12th November 1697.
[128] BR/MG, BBBRMG202070383, 10th December 1760. Also see: Ann Murray. BR/MG, BBBRMG202080579, 30th January 1777; Elizabeth King. BR/MG, BBBRMG202040534**,** 9th February 1722; Katherine Chedwick. BR/MG, BBBRMG202050269, 25th February 1731; Terry Frances. BR/MG, BBBRMG202070119, 24th November 1752; Mary Dulwick. BR/MG, BBBRMG202080072, 21st October 1762; Martha Gwin. BR/MG, BBBRMG202060374, 10th December 1747;
[129] *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Tuesday, October 4, 1750, #726. Tuesday, December 3, 1751, #5342, *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Saturday October 19, 1751, #889, *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*. May 8, 1770 - May 10, 1770, #173; *General Evening Post*. Thursday, August 2, 1739, #914; *London Evening Post.* Thursday, August 2, 1739, #1829; *Daily Post.* Friday, August 3, 1739, #6209; *Country Journal or the Craftsman.* Saturday, August 4, 1739, #682, *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*. Saturday, June 6, 1772, #498; *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, June 1, 1717; *Weekly Journal with Fresh Advices Foreign and Domestic.* Saturday, March 12, 1715; *Country Journal or The Craftsman*. Saturday, March 29, 1729, #143; *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*. Wednesday, October 10, 1798, #21788; *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*. Saturday, December 21, 1723. Also see: Beverly Lemire. "The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies.* 24, 2, (1990): 255-276.
[130] *London Evening Post,* Tuesday, June 12, 1739, #1807, *Common Sense or the Englishman's Journal*, Saturday, June 16, 1739, #124. For other examples of thefts see: *General Evening Post.* Saturday, December 13, 1735, #345; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser.* Tuesday, December 16, 1735, #350; *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, January 7, 1727, #87; *Daily Post.* Tuesday, October 19, 1736, #5336; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Tuesday, December 16, 1735, #30.
[131] *General Advertiser.* Thursday, January 30, 1752, #5392.
[132] *General Evening Post*. Thursday, August 2, 1739, #914; *London Evening Post.* Thursday, August 2, 1739, #1829; *Daily Post.* Friday, August 3, 1739, #6209; *Country Journal or the Craftsman.* Saturday, August 4, 1739, #682. Also see. *General Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 25, 1743, #1576; *Penny London*

their clients.[133] Many of these prostitutes-thieves were sent to Bridewell, Newgate, or executed for their crimes.[134]

Because 'disorderly women' were seen to pose such a significant threat to the maintenance of order, prosecuting suspected prostitutes who were caught stealing may have been a convenient way for authorities to remove 'disorderly women' from the streets because while prostitution was not a crime, theft was.[135] Prostitutes needed only to be "suspected" of stealing to be charged at Bridewell.[136] For instance, in 1695, Elizabeth Perry was "charged to be an ill woman & a Comon night walker, & on Suspicon of being a Pick pocket".[137] In 1721, Elizabeth Bennett and Katherine Baxter were "charged … on Suspition of being concerned together in picking 2 Guineas and some Silver out of her pockett being in a disorderly house".[138] Twenty-two years later, another "common Street Walker", Ann Duck, was merely a "reputed pick pockett".[139] The fact that some prostitutes were merely 'suspected' or 'reputed' pickpockets reveals that contemporaries regarded prostitutes as particularly threatening characters and authorities were keen to

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Post or the Morning Advertiser, Friday, August 17, 1750, #1303; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*. Tuesday, July 14, 1736, #530; *General Advertiser.* Friday, August 17, 1750, #4933; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*. Wednesday, October 26, 1743, #2791; BR/MG, BBBRMG202060244, 7th March 1744. Also see: BR/MG, BBBRMG202060347, 6th March 1747; BR/MG, BBBRMG202070069, 17th January 1752.

[133] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*. Tuesday, July 13, 1736, #530, *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*. Saturday, June 6, 1772, #498.

[134] Mary Elliot was sentenced to death "for privately Stealing from the Person of Benjamin Crow , a Cornelian Ring value 25 s. and 20 s. in Mony". *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org), Mary Elliot, 2nd March 1709. (t17090302-12); "Sarah Kingman was indicted for privately stealing three Shillings from the Person of Moses Wheeler", having taken him to a "disorderly house". OBSP. Sarah Kingman, 18th July 1739 (t17390718-18); "Margaret Murray was indicted for feloniously stealing, on the 6th of December , a canvas bag, value 1d. a guinea, a seven-shilling piece, and three shillings and sixpence in monies numbered, the property of John Powell , privily from his person." OBSP. Margaret Murray, 10th January 1798 (t17980110-2).

[135] Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 76; Drew D. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the city of London in the late eighteenth century*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 127 citing R. Burn, *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officers.* Vol. 3. (London, 1785), 97-98.

[136] Jane Hayes, BR/MG, BBBRMG202070383, 10th December 1760.

[137] BR/MG, BBBRMG202020025, 23rd August 1695.

[138] BR/MG, BBBRMG202040515, 13th October 1721.

[139] BR/MG, BBBRMG202060238, 18th November 1743.

remove them from the streets. Hence, in these circumstances, thievery became the focus of the charge, and the woman's status as a prostitute was used to buttress the prosecutors' evidence of her 'bad character'.

The strong concerns about prostitute-thieves and the association of all disorderly conduct with violence can also be discerned in the strong language the Bridewell Court of Governors used; prostitutes were not merely prosecuted on the supposition that they were also thieves, but they were "Violently Suspected" of these scandalous and illegal activities. For instance, Elizabeth Briggs was "Charged by Robert Tullington on a Violent Suspition of Picking his Pocket of half a Guinea and some Silver being a Notorious Idle lewd disorderly Person" in 1722.[140] Sixteen years later, Ruth Jurgis was "charged by the Oath of William Fielder on a violent Suspicion of pilfering from him two Shillings and being a loose disorderly person and common Night Walker".[141] Phillis Sheppard was "Violently Suspected of Pilferring some Money … and being a loose Idle and Disorderly Person and a Comon Night walker" in 1759.[142] Thus, even though neither Briggs, Jurgis, nor Sheppard, used violence, the recorder insinuated that their actions were violent and brutal. Although some prostitute-thieves used violence to rob men, the use of the term 'violently' in these scenarios does not refer to physical assault, but the sense of violation these men experienced by being conned and robbed by a prostitute.[143]

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[140] BR/MG, BBBRMG202040545, 8th June 1722.
[141] BR/MG, BBBRMG202060035, 12th January 1738.
[142] BR/MG, BBBRMG202070338, 15th February 1759. Also see: Catherine Crane and Ann Allick, BR/MG, BBBRMG202050205, 17th April 1729; Anne Hall. BR/MG, BBBRMG202050210**,** 18th July 1729; Anne Hall, BR/MG, BBBRMG202050205, 17th April 1729; Margaret Hill. BR/MG, BBBRMG202060063, 14th September 1738; Kennerth Bronf and Mary Myres, BR/MG, BBBRMG202060163, 23rd December 1741.
[143] *Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany*. Saturday, July 23, 1743, #69; *Parker's Penny Post*, Monday, December 12, 1726, #251; Mary Harris, BR/MG, BBBRMG202070154, 8th August 1753; Susannah Porter, BR/MG, BBBRMG202070184, 24th July 1754; Mary Kempton, BR/MG, BBBRMG202070304, 22nd December 1757; Elizabeth Holloway, BR/MG, BBBRMG202060145, 22nd

Prostitute-thieves exacerbated concerns about the maintenance of order because they not only 'seduced' men, but regularly stole from them as well.[144] Their actions undermined and overturned English society and values by causing men to fall under the power of women.[145] Newspapers and the Bridewell Court of Governors frequently noted that a prostitute "seduced" or "decoyed" the gentleman prior to "pilfering", "stealing" or picking his pocket. For instance, Elizabeth Webb was "charged" for "being a disorderly woman & Seduceing" George Hale and John Wright's apprentices before "haveing taken 3 Sheets 2 Aprons and other things".[146] According to the *General Advertiser*, Mary Glover and a "common Woman" were involved "in decoying a young Country Fellow into a notorious bad House in Gravel-lane, and picking his Pocket of Six Pounds."[147] Another unidentified "Gentleman" was "decoy'd into a most notorious Bawdy-house" where "a common Woman of the Town, … pick'd his Pocket of 28s. and 3d."[148]

Prostitutes-thieves were further portrayed as cunning schemers because some seem to have specifically preyed on well-dressed men, foreigners, or countrymen. For instance, Richard King stated that prostitutes "draw the countryman and inexperienced cit

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October 1741; Sarah Shide, BR/MG, BBBRMG202080061, 3rd August 1762; Susannah Gray, BR/MG, BBBRMG202060495, 27th September 1750: *General Advertiser*. Saturday, August 4, 1750, #4924; Penelope Pennally, BR/MG, BBBRMG202060088, 17th July 1739; Frances Terry, BR/MG, BBBRMG202070119, 24th November 1752; Elizabeth Tuckington, BR/MG, BBBRMG202040496**,** 9th June 1721.

[144] Carter, *Purchasing power,* 64. Also see: Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce,* 49; Brewer, "The most polite age and the most vicious," 341-360.

[145] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 63-4. Also see: Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce,* 49. Also see: Brewer,"The most polite age," 357.

[146] BR/MG, BBBRMG202040338, 1st November 1717.

[147] *General Advertiser.* Friday, August 17, 1750, #4933.

[148] *General Evening Post.* Tuesday, October 25, 1743, #1576; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*. Wednesday, October 26, 1743, #2791. Also see: *London Evening Post*. Thursday, September 8, 1743, #2471; *General Advertiser*. Saturday, January 25, 1752, #5388; *Daily Courant.* Wednesday, January 24, 1733, #5240; *Daily Gazetteer*. Wednesday, November 23, 1743, #3035; *London Evening Post*. Thursday, September 8, 1743, #2471; *Daily Gazetteer.* Saturday, September 10, 1743, #2575; BRH, MCG, BBBRMG202050269, 25th February 1731; BR/MG, BBBRMG202060267, 1st November 1744; BR/MG, BBBRMG202040515, 13th October 1721. Also see: Ann Allen. BR/MG, BBBRMG202070371, 22nd May 1760.

into their clutches."[149] While it is possible that provincial countrymen and foreigners were merely depicted as naïve and less capable of avoiding cunning women to add intrigue to the story or even for comedic effect, it is also possible that prostitute-thieves hoped these travelers would have a greater sum of money on them than the average Londoner or that these men were easy targets. We have already seen that "a young Gentleman lately come from India, was decoyed into a Tavern in the Strand by a Street-Walker who pick'd his Pocket".[150] Several other papers reported that "a young Gentleman lately arrived from France, was decoy'd into a most notorious Bawdy-house in Bishopsgate-street, by a common Woman of the Town, where she and another pick'd his Pocket of 28s. and 3d."[151] The *London Spy Revived* reported that "A Gentleman well dressed … was picked up on Thursday Night last by a Common Woman of the Town, and carried into the King's Arms in Leadenhall-street, and there robbed of several Guineas".[152] The Bridewell recorder also noted when prostitutes targeted seemingly vulnerable men. Katherine Chedwick and Sarah How, two "comon Women" were prosecuted for "picking up … Joseph Setling a Country Boy whereby be lost some money out of his pockett".[153] In each of these cases we see an example of a traveler who was taken advantage of by a scheming prostitute who 'decoyed' him.

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[149] King, *The new cheats of London exposed*, 40. Also see: Alexander Oldys, *The London jilt, or, The Politick whore shewing the artifices and stratagems which the ladies of pleasure make use of for the intreaguing and decoying of men, interwoven with several pleasant stories of the misses ingenious performances*. (London, 1683).

[150] *General Advertiser.* Thursday, January 30, 1752, #5392.

[151] *General Evening Post.* Tuesday, October 25, 1743, #1576; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*. Wednesday, October 26, 1743, #2791.

[152] *London Spy Revived*. Monday, October 18, 1736, #36. Also see: *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser.* Friday, January 12, 1776, #1003; *London Evening Post*. Thursday, September 8, 1743, #2471; *General Advertiser*. Saturday, January 25, 1752, #5388; *Daily Courant.* Wednesday, January 24, 1733, #5240; *Daily Gazetteer*. Wednesday, November 23, 1743, #3035; *London Evening Post*. Thursday, September 8, 1743, #2471; *Daily Gazetteer.* Saturday, September 10, 1743, #2575; *General Advertiser.* Friday, August 17, 1750, #4933; *London Evening Post*. Thursday, September 8, 1743, #2471.

[153] BR/MG, BBBRMG202050269, 25th February 1731.

Art works regularly depicted prostitutes as using their femininity to seduce men. For instance, Thomas Rowlandson's *Progress of Gallantry, or Stolen Kisses Sweetest* [Fig. 5] shows a prostitute standing next to a man who is so distracted by the lewd activity surrounding him, he does not realize that the prostitute is picking his pocket. The third plate of William Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*, "Revelling with Harlots" [Fig. 6] portrays two prostitutes successfully distracting their customer to steal his watch. Other art works depicted prostitutes using their stealth to steal from men; their sexual prowess was implied by the circumstances surrounding their actions. Plate VII of *Industry and Idleness*, "The idle 'prentice return'd from the sea and in a garret with a common prostitute," [Fig. 7] portrays a prostitute taking possession of Tom Idle's valuables unbeknownst to him.[154] These images illustrate *The Ladies Dictionary*'s definition of Jades, those who "are dexterous in picking of pockets, which they mind most when they find the mans thoughts most imployed on somewhat else".[155] By demonstrating how prostitute-thieves deliberately seduced and distracted men to enhance their profits, these representations confirm and enhance commentators' fears about the destruction caused by prostitutes.

[154] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth. High Art and Low, 1732-1750. Volume 2.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 294-307.
[155] *The ladies dictionary*, 421-422.



Fig 5. Thomas Rowlandson. *Progress of Gallantry, or Stolen Kisses Sweetest*. London, 1814? Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library (lwlpr11767).



Fig. 6. William Hogarth. *A Rake's Progress*. Plate III Revelling with Harlots. London, 1735. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library (lwlpr22208).



Fig. 7. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness.* Plate VII. The idle 'prentice return'd from sea & in a garret with a common prostitute. London, 1747. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library. (ID:lwlpr22411).

Although some commentators recognized important differences between 'ordinary' prostitutes and prostitute-thieves, Britons were advised to be cautious around all prostitutes. *The Countryman's Guide to London*, *The tricks of the town laid open*, and *The new cheats of London exposed* deemed it "necessary to warn all my readers from frequenting these petty brothels" because they were "filled with … pickpockets" and by entering them, you would be joining "into the company of rogues, thieves, and whores".[156] As historian Jennine Hurl-Eamon notes, this attention to virtue, religion, and manners highlighted the fact that "the normal rules of civil conduct could not be expected

[156] *The Countryman's Guide to London,* 25; *The tricks of the town laid open.* (1747), 75-76. Also see: King, *The new cheats of London exposed*, 40.

in these dark and dangerous alleys" which prostitutes inhabited because these "fallen women" had transgressed standards of both feminine conduct and conventional commercial practices.[157] Though these warnings cannot be taken at face value because its contents reflect the musings of unusually paranoid authors who saw rogues and tricksters in every corner of the Metropolis waiting to pounce on the unwary, these works are useful because they provide a barometer of the extent of concerns regarding crime and its apparent links to prostitution.

Moral reformers were also anxious about thieving prostitutes. Saunders Welch asserted that "Little needs to be said to prove that these wretches, who are lurking at every corner of our streets," spent their time "wandering up and down the streets to make a prey of the unwary apprentice, and intoxicated husband."[158] So concerned were some philanthropists with theft, that even when Jonas Hanway was promoting the Magdalen Charity, he let potential donors know that any inhabitants caught stealing "cloaths and furniture, … will be considered as robbers" and prosecuted.[159] By including this statement in *A plan for establishing a charity-house,* Hanway openly acknowledged the problem and attempted to reassure potential donors that there would be no tolerance for criminal behaviour. These remarks suggest that commentators were less concerned with prostitutes' morals than with protecting propertied men from these devious characters. Authorities' superseding concern for men over women further supports Keith Thomas' original thesis regarding sexual double standards.[160]

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[157] Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence,* 82-83.
[158] Welch, *A proposal to render effectual a plan*, 15. Also see: *The ladies dictionary,* 303-305.
[159] Hanway, *A plan for establishing a charity-house,* 23. Also see: William Dodd, *A sermon on St. Matthew, chap. IX. ver. 12, 13.* (London, 1759), 14-15.
[160] Thomas, "The Double Standard". Also see: Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*; Capp, "Double Standard Revisited".

Although the prostitute-thief was similar to 'ordinary' prostitutes because her overt sexuality denoted her as a threat, she was also regarded as cunning and duplicitous because she developed a scheme to allow her to profit in excess of the agreed terms. Prostitute-thieves were regarded as distinct from 'ordinary' prostitutes because they were also criminals. The prostitute-thief overturned the accepted norms regarding how orderly business should be conducted *and* corrupted ideals of proper feminine conduct. These behaviours led the prostitute-thief to become an icon of fear in the Hanoverian mind. Although commentators recognized that prostitution was primarily driven by poverty, lust and only in certain scenarios, greed, the prostitute-thief was something of an outlier and her actions were used as evidence of prostitutes' greed. The prostitute-thief was regarded as supremely unnatural and a devious figure because she embodied the opposite of how both orderly business should be conducted and how women should conduct themselves. Accordingly, these prostitutes elicited less sympathy from commentators because they raised the level of concern about order in society. The prostitute-thief's actions confirmed to Hanoverians that sin begot sin because she was not only a disorderly and lewd prostitute, but also a coarse thief.

Trappers

Considered particularly sinister, cunning, and greedy, "trappers" endeavoured to extort men by pretending pregnancy; to avoid ruin, these men would pay the trapper a considerable sum of money to support their presumed bastard child, or risk being exposed as a rake. Trappers were disconcerting figures because they were willing to ruin men's reputations for their own private gain. Worse, they perverted one of the central feminine

ideals Hanoverians assumed to be natural to women – motherhood – by manipulating men into giving them a large payout.

Authors of cautionary "guidebooks for London" were especially concerned about warning men about trappers and outlined their tactics in detail. After convincing a gentleman to engage in 'illicit commerce' with her, she would pick his pocket of "all necessary Information" to gain "an inlet into your [his] affairs".[161] If he was worth anything, several months later the trapper would get her bully or pimp to pretend they were the Churchwarden or Overseer, and "swear a Bastard Child to the Party".[162] The faux overseer would assert that the woman was a "person of credit and honesty, and must be satisfied for the injury done her, or they will not only expose you to the world, but bring an action against you for seduction".[163] Fearing for his wife, family, and reputation, the duped man would be "will[ing] do every Act in his Power to conceal the Affair".[164] As a result, the trapper's extortion was successful, and she made off with cash while her duped victim was made to look a fool.

Although it may be somewhat difficult to believe that these women would be able to carry out a plot that took several months to execute, there is evidence that some prostitutes extorted or blackmailed men. In 1716, Katherine Tanner, alias Stout, was sent to New Prison after Benjamin James petitioned the Middlesex Justices of the Peace and explained that she had been "endeavouring to Extorte Money … under pretence of being

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[161] *Satan's Harvest Home,* 25; Gentleman at London, *The tricks of the town laid open.* (1746), 72. 72-74, Lover of his country. *Villainy unmask'd*. (London, 1752), 32-34.
[162] *Villainy unmask'd,* 32-34; *Satan's harvest home,* 25; *The tricks of the town laid open,* 67.
[163] King, *The new cheats of London exposed,* 89-90; *Villainy unmask'd*, 32-34; *The Countryman's guide to London,* 22-23.
[164] *Villainy unmask'd*, 32-34.

big with Child by him of a Bastard Child".[165] In 1728, Mary Howard was similarly "charged by the Oath of Robert Storward Horster at Blossoms Inn for endeavouring to extort money from him pretending she would swear a Bastard Child to him being a loose idle disorderly person."[166] The following year, "Deborah Jones … a loose lewd idle & disorderly person [was] … chargd by the Oath of Francis Dalby for endeavouring to extort money from him under pretence of Swearing a Bastard Child upon his".[167]

Although there were not many cases of bastardy related extortion in the Bridewell Court of Governors Minutes or the Middlesex Sessions Papers, it is likely that many cases did not come to light because men were concerned about protecting their reputations and therefore chose note to report their victimization to policing authorities.[168] Concerns about loss of reputation were strong for men because a man's reputation signified honour and credit, which had important implications for business,

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[165] Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents. *London Lives, 1690-1800*, (www.londonlives.org), LM LL ref: LMSMPS501790020. 15th January 1716. Thanks to Tim Hitchcock for pointing out this case.

[166] BR/MG, BBBRMG202050176, 5th April 1728. Thanks to Tim Hitchcock for pointing out this case. For similar examples, see: On February 8, 1699, Roger Newham was acquitted of the "false and scandalone" charge that he was the Father of Elizabeth Dealeme's Bastard Child, an allegation she made to avoid being a "Burthen to the said p[ar]ish". [City of London Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents. *London Lives, 1690-1800*, (www.londonlives.org), Currently Held: LM LL ref: LMSLPS150100153 Image 153 of 173, 8th February 1699.

[167] BR/MG, BBBRMG202050219, 9th October 1729.

[168] Cases pertaining to accusations of blackmail in response to illegitimacy can be found in the bastardy records. Bastardy examinations from St Clement Danes Parish are available from Londonlives.org. While bastardy cases would provide further illumination on illegitimacy, an examination of these records lies beyond the parameters of this study.

On bastardy see: Peter Laslett, "The bastardy prone sub-society," pp. 217-46 in Peter Laslett, K. Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith, eds. *Bastardy and its comparative history: studies in the history of illegitimacy and marital nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press:, 1980); Ibid., "Long-term trends in bastardy in England," pp. 102-159 in his *Family life and illicit love in earlier generations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); David Levine and Keith Wrighton, "The social context of illegitimacy in early modern England," pp. 158-75 in Laslett, Oosterveen and Smith, eds. *Bastardy and its comparative history;* Steven King, "The bastardy prone sub-society again: bastards and their fathers and mothers in Lancashire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, 1800-1840," pp. 66-85 in Alysa Levene, Samantha Williams, and Thomas Nutt, eds. *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700-1920*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Patricia Broomfield, "Incidences and attitudes: a view of bastardy from eighteenth-century rural North Staffordshire, c.1750-1820," *Midland History*. 27 (2002) 80-98; Tim Hitchcock and John Black, *Chelsea settlement and bastardy examinations, 1733-66*. (London: London Record Society, 1999).

apprenticeship, and the marriage market.[169] In order to protect their reputation, some men were willing to lose considerable sums of money. According to the *London Journal*, after an unnamed man had his pocket picked by "a Woman of the Town", "he sent for a Constable" to bring his assailant to justice; "but the next Day, when he should have appear'd, he sent a Letter, importing, that he had rather put up with the Loss of his Money, than expose himself".[170] The fact that he decided a considerable sum of money was worth less to him than the loss of his reputation indicates how powerful reputation was to eighteenth-century Britons.

It is unlikely that James, Dalby, Horster, or the anonymous man described by the *London Journal* were the only men blackmailed by prostitutes. The dearth of blackmail cases at Bridewell and Middlesex Sessions can perhaps be explained by the fact that complaints of extortion and blackmail did not usually appear before the Bridewell Governors or the Middlesex Sessions Justices. It is also possible that unlike other men, Dalby was more willing to risk the loss of his reputation than be forced to pay Jones.

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[169] On this important and expanding subject, see, for example, Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The construction of honour, reputation and status in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser., 6 (1996) 201-13; J.A. Sharpe, "Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: the church courts at York," *Borthwick paper,* 58 (York, 1980); Bernard Capp, *When gossips meet: women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Ibid., "The double standard revisited"; Robert Shoemaker, "Male honour and the decline of public violence in eighteenth-century London," *Social History*. 26, 2 (2001): 190-208; Shepard, *Meanings of manhood;* Ibid., "Honesty, worth and gender in early modern England, 1560-1640," in Henry French and Jonathan Barry, eds. *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1640.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 87-105; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Mervyn James, *Family, lineage and civil society: a study of society, politics and mentality in the Durham region, 1500-1640*. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974); Foyster, *Manhood in early modern England,* 31-38; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination,* 104-5, 126-53; Thomas, "The Double Standard"; Garthine Walker, "Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, Vol. 6 (1996): 235-245.

On the importance of reputation for men, see: *Spectator.* Friday November 9, 1711 in Erin Mackie, ed., *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and the Spectator.* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 220-222.

[170] *London Journal.* Saturday, November 3, 1722, #CLXXI. Also see: King, *The new cheats of London exposed,* 89-90; *Villainy unmask'd*, 32-34; *The Countryman's Guide to London,* 22-23; *Satan's Harvest Home,* 25; *The tricks of the town laid open,* 67.

Perhaps because Dalby felt he would be able to present convincing character witnesses, which was critical to a cases' success or failure, he was not willing to be blackmailed. As Nicola Lacey explains, "the overwhelming bulk of evidence was either eye-witness testimony or evidence as to the defendant's or complainant's character and reputation. Such evidence was focused on the accused's reputation and social position".[171] The incident reported in the *London Journal* and the examples of James, Dalby, Horster, and suggest that blackmail was likely under-reported.

The lengths to which trappers were willing to lie, dupe, and deceive their suitors in order to profit defined them as vicious, and a dangerous threat to the social order. Commentators were particularly concerned about the manner trappers gained money: they were able to dupe otherwise rational men, thereby reversing the norms of suitabley gendered behaviour by turning English society and values upside-down.[172] Moreover, in blackmailing men, trappers imbedded themselves in what Iain McCalman has described as a practice that, while certainly not considered "respectable", was "a tacitly accepted and widely practiced political mode. Blackmailing and threatening letters were used by the 'inarticulate' eighteenth-century rural labourer to register social protest or outrage against his rulers."[173] The fact that men were manipulated by women of low birth and

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[171] Nicola Lacey, *Women, crime, and character: from Moll Flanders to Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008),14; J.M. Beattie, "Scales of justice: defense counsel and the English criminal trial in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," *Law and History Review*. 9 (1991) 221-267; Dana Rabin, *Identity, Crime and Legal Responsibility in eighteenth-century England*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 18.

[172] Davis, "Women on Top"; Carter. *Purchasing power,* 64.

[173] Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 41. On blackmail and extortion also see; Leon Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750:* Vol. 1. (London: Stevens, 1948), 49-79; E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act.* (London: Allen Lane, 1975).

circumstances added further derision to the situation. As Donna Andrew argues, the prostitute

> combined in her person two categories for whom chastity was especially important – the poor and the woman. As one of the labouring classes, she should have been reconciled to her station, and the fruits of hard work and honest matrimony. As a woman she should have preserved her sole and only virtue, her chastity. The prostitute, thus, was unnatural and entirely dysfunctional; she did not undertake those roles … others saw as the proper functions for women[174]

Hence, even more than 'ordinary' prostitutes, trappers generated considerable anxiety because they not only rejected the "pleasures of motherhood" in an era when maternal "duty and domesticity reigned supreme" but perverted the ideals of maternity and motherhood – the pinnacle of womanliness and femininity – by feigning pregnancy.[175]

According to Dror Wahrman, it was during the eighteenth-century when maternity went "from … a general ideal, broadly prescriptive but allowing for individual deviations, to maternity as inextricably intertwined with the essence of femininity"; a woman who was not maternal "was now most likely to be branded 'unnatural'."[176] Linda Colley agrees, and adds that those women who "practiced birth control… endangered the polity and violated their own natures."[177] Although Jennie Batchelor has shown that motherhood and prostitution were not necessarily contradictory, such examples were exceptional because they were designed to elicit sympathy, and perhaps convince the

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[174] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police,* 121 referencing: Defoe, *Street-Walkers,* 6; Hanway, *Reflections,* 315-16; Paul Langford, *A polite and commercial people: England 1727-1783*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). 115; Rosenthal*, Infamous Commerce*, 45.
[175] Conway, *Private Interests,* 37; Langford, *A polite and commercial people*, 66. Also See Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*, 112.
[176] Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, 13. Also see: Dror Wahrman, "Percy *prologue: from gender play to gender panic in eighteenth-century England," Past & Present*. 159 (1998): 113-60.
[177] Colley, *Britons,* 239.

governors of the Magdalen Hospital to change admittance policies and allow prostitutes who were also mothers to enter into the asylum.[178]

While it is clear that some prostitutes were willing and able to blackmail men, the paucity of accounts in the records make it difficult to determine how widespread this practice actually was. Given that the trapper was described as a poor, common streetwalker, it is difficult to believe that many women would be able to carry out a plot that took several months to execute.[179] Moreover, the trapper would have been operating at considerable risk as such an act challenged contemporary power dynamics and gendered relations. Most Hanoverians would not have carried information about their financial affairs or residence with them, making it difficult for trappers to acquire the information they needed to execute their scheme. This suggests that trappers may have targeted specific men who they knew to frequent areas most heavily frequented by prostitutes, such as Covent Garden. Nevertheless, the fear of the "trapper" was sufficient to elicit and stoke widespread concerns about avaricious prostitutes. Trappers were regarded as the epitome of the avaricious whore because they were willing to ruin the reputations of otherwise honest men merely to satisfy their avarice. Trappers truly embodied the threat posed by deadly sins because their principal sin, greed, led them to commit other sins as well – lust, pride, envy, and wrath. Trappers' willingness to dupe

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[178] Jennie Batchelor, "Mothers and Others: Sexuality and Maternity in *The Histories of Some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House* (1760)," in Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis, eds. *Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Culture.* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 157-169. Also see Rosenthal*, Infamous Commerce*, 118.

[179] Hitchcock, *Down and Out,* 50, 80-81, 87, 88; Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, 63-72; Griffiths. "Meanings of nightwalking,"; Ibid., *Lost Londons***,** 153-4; Harris, Roper, and Hufton, eds., *The art of survival;* King and Tomkins, eds., *The poor in England, 1700-1850.*

and deceive men not just to meet their basic survival needs but to exceed their basic needs defined them as avaricious and as a threat to the social order.[180]

Bawds

Another important figure in the world of prostitution was the bawd. Often older, former prostitutes, bawds operated brothels or acted as procurers. Like prostitutes, bawds were depicted as sinister characters because they took advantage of men by compelling them to give into their lustful urges. However, in many ways bawds were thought to be worse than prostitutes because they also ruined young, innocent girls by turning them into prostitutes merely for the sake of profit. As a result, everything about bawds – their age, physical appearance, and general conduct – was intended to indicate that they were avaricious and dissolute. Examining perceptions of prostitutes in relation to bawds is helpful because it clearly demonstrates that perceptions of prostitutes and prostitution was not uniform, but dependent on the context of the discussion. Rather than be portrayed as predators, prostitutes were almost always regarded as victims when discussed in relation to bawds.

Although early modern and Hanoverian scholarship has devoted considerable attention to illicit sex and prostitution, surprisingly little analysis has been devoted to bawds.[181] The limited consideration given to madams, bawds, pimps, and procurers is

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[180] Conway, *The Protestant whore*.

[181] Examples of scholarship devoted to bawds include: Robert A. Erickson, *Mother Midnight: Birth Sex, and Fate in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (*Defoe, Richardson, and Sterne)*. (New York: AMS Press, 1986); Carter, *Purchasing power,* especially chapter 4 "Women are by women ruin'd most': the role and representation of the bawd", 105-128; Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic,* especially "Monstrous mothers: property and the common law"*;* Ibid., "Thieves, Bawds, and Counterrevolutionary Fantasies: The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies.* 5, 1 (2005): 26-48; Fergus Linnane, *Madams: bawds & brothel-keepers of London*. (Stroud: Sutton 2005); Ibid., *London The Wicked City: A Thousand Years of Vice in the Capital.* (London: Robson Books, 2003), 71-124; Cruickshank, *The secret history of Georgian London.*

surprising in light of Laura Rosenthal and Sophie Carter's works because bawds provide a clear example of the commercial nature of the sex trade. Arguing that prostitutes came to be regarded as commercial workers over the course of the eighteenth-century, Carter and Rosenthal identify bawds as presenting "a key to the significant shift in conceptualizations of prostitution that occurred during the eighteenth century"; they further suggest that Hanoverians' understanding of prostitutes shifted from being a predator to a victim over the course of the eighteenth-century.[182] Yet, throughout the eighteenth-century, when prostitutes were discussed in relation to bawds, they were almost always presented as pitiable casualties.[183]

For the purposes of this study, bawds, bullies, madams, pimps, panders, procurers, and setters will all be treated as a single entity because they worked together for personal profit to turn women into prostitutes. Although their roles differed, bawds, pimps, bullies, and procurers formed partnerships in the debauching and entrapment of young women. The similarities between numerous types of madams and pimps can be seen in popular publications, newspaper discussions, and various definitions of the diverse types of procurers. Samuel Johnson, for instance, defined a bawd as a "procurer or procuress"; a pander was a "pimp; a male bawd; a procurer"; a pimp as "One who provides gratifications for the lust of others; a procurer; a pander"; and, a procuress was "A bawd."[184] Hence, Johnson's definitions were ambiguous and circular because bawds, pimps, and procurers were regarded similarly.

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[182] Carter, *Purchasing power***,** 118. For similar analyses, see: Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*; Henderson. *Disorderly women*, 189-90; Tim Hitchcock, *English sexualities, 1700-1800*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 99-107.

[183] Carter, *Purchasing Power*; Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*; Erickson, *Mother Midnight*; Cruickshank, *The secret history of Georgian London,* 8-9, 42-50; Hitchcock, *English sexualities*.

[184] Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (1778), 109, 134, 164, 202. Also see: Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (1744), 90; *The ladies dictionary,* 45-46; King, *The new cheats of London*

Like 'ordinary' prostitutes, prostitute-thieves, and trappers, bawds corrupted men by compelling them to spend their time and money on illicit sexual activities rather than on meaningful pursuits, such as industry, matters of state and politics, or their family.[185] In emphasizing the consequences of the vast sums of money that were being misspent on sinful vices, a contributor to the *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty* remarked that "people are so exasperated at the frequent repetition of Masquerades in Soho-square, where more money is squandered away in one night, upon wh—s, pimps, and bawds, than would employ and maintain, for a week many thousands of industrious mechanics".[186] Reporting on "Sir John Fielding's Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury," several newspapers lamented that "disorderly houses, [and] bawdy-houses … make footpads, highwaymen, and housebreakers of those who might otherwise have been useful, nay, perhaps honourable members of society".[187] Thus, to critics of profligacy, bawds, pimps, and prostitution threatened to overwhelm matters of national progress and prosperity because they encouraged men to ignore proper priorities in favour of licentiousness, immorality, and lust.[188]

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exposed, 15-18, 55-61, 79-82; *The countryman's guide to London,* 15-16, 24-26, 37-44; Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language.* (1792), 104, 629, 655, 688; *A new canting dictionary,* 19, 27, 79-80, 93, 107; John Disney, *A view of ancient laws, against immorality and profaneness*. (Cambridge, 1729), 13-28. Also see: *The countryman's guide to London*, 24, 37; Anon. *The London-Bawd: With her Character and Life. Her Character: Or what she is.* Third Ed. (London, 1705); *The ladies dictionary*, 45; *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*. Saturday, April 11, 1730, #264.

[185] Anon., *The polite road to an estate, or, fornication one great source of wealth and pleasure*. (London, 1759). Also see: Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police,* 54-58*,* 76-134, 240; Colley, *Britons,* 59, 240; Paul Langford, *Public life and the propertied Englishman, 1689-1798*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 145. See more generally, Langford, Chapter 4, "Industry and Idleness", 123-182; D.V. Glass, "The population controversy in 18th-century England, 1: The background," *Population Studies.* 6,1 (1952): 69-91; Ibid., *Numbering the people: the 18th century population controversy and the development of census and vital statistics in Britain.* (Farnborough, Hants, 1973).

[186] *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*. Thursday, June 4, 1772, #497.

[187] *General Evening Post*. Saturday October 16, 1773, #6243; *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*. Saturday October 16, 1773, #2630; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 19, 1773, #8045; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post.* Saturday, October 16, 1773, #711.

[188] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police,* 59, 240; Langford, *Public life*; Ibid., *A polite and commercial people,* 145. See more generally Chapter 4, "Industry and Idleness", pp. 123-182.

Echoing discussions of prostitution, commentators were deeply concerned that "bawds … prey upon unwary youth" and "poison the moral springs of our youth".[189] Targeting young men was seen to pose dire consequences to society because they were the future generation of workers, masters, preachers, and magistrates, and therefore represented 'the hope of manhoode'; if they were disorderly and sought out illicit sex, commentators feared for the future of the nation.[190] Commentators emphasized that it was particularly unfair for bawds to target young men because they employed tricks to gain their attention and money. Both *The Countryman's Guide to London* and *The new cheats of London exposed*, warned that the "common ploy" of many bawds was "to watch the motions of young heirs, to draw and trapan them into mean and unequal matches, and impose upon them jilts and whores for women of character and fortune."[191] Further showcasing bawds deception and trickery, newspapers often included incidents which

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[189] *Public Advertiser*. Saturday, December 24, 1791, #17931; *General Evening Post*. Saturday, October 16, 1773, #6243; *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*. Saturday, October 16, 1773, #2630; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 19, 1773, #8045; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post.* Saturday, October 16, 1773, #711.

Commenting on "Sir John Fielding's Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury," several newspapers asserted that "disorderly houses, [and] bawdy-houses" were "seminaries of vice" and that "these polluted fountains, that first poison the moral springs of our youth" [*General Evening Post*. Saturday, October 16, 1773, #6243; *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*. Saturday, October 16, 1773, #2630; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 19, 1773, #8045; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post.* Saturday, October 16, 1773, #711]. An anonymous contributor to *The Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty* noted that "the bawdy houses in town [do harm] … to the morals of the vulgar" [*Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*. Saturday, March 21, 1772, #465]. Another author complained: "Our youth are in these infernal places [brothels and bawdy-houses] enticed to dissipation of their money, and the ruin of their constitutions." [*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday, January 6, 1773, #1131].

[190] Pauls Griffiths, *Youth and authority formative experiences in England, 1560-1640*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 207-8; Anon., *Tales for youth, or the high road to renown, through the paths of pleasure; being a collection of tales illustrative of an alphabetical* (London, 1797); R. L.*, The friendly monitor*. (London, 1795); Anon., *The apprentice's faithful monitor.* (London, 1700); Sir John Barnard, *A present for an apprentice: or, a sure guide to gain both esteem and an estate. With rules for his conduct to his master, and in the world*. (London, 1740).

[191] *The Countryman's Guide to London,* 15, 2-3; King, *The new cheats of London exposed,* 18, 7. In *The description of a bawdy-house*, Richard Brown explained how the bawd kept delaying him; as a result, "I continued spending my Money upon the old Bawd and young whore so extravagantly, that in twelve Months I has spent all the fifteen Thousand Pounds my Father had left me, then mortgaged by Estate for a Thousand Pounds more." [Richard Brown, *The description of a bawdy-house.* (London, 1776?), 4.]

demonstrated bawds tricking young men into brothels.[192] For instance, the *Old England's Journal* reported: "an old Woman was taken up by the Watch … for attempting to delude a young Boy into a Bawdy-House". The contributors triumphantly reported that on "Monday she was sent to Bridewell."[193] Hence, bawds were presented as disconcerting figures because they regularly employed trickery to enhance their gain.[194]

Bawds were portrayed as especially avaricious, devious, and cunning if they outfitted their prostitutes with a fake maidenhead so they could claim to still be virgins. This scheme denoted greed because men would pay more to have sex with a virgin because of the high value placed on womens' chastity and virtue. While some men believed that sex with a virgin would cure them of venereal disease, others simply relished the idea of deflowering a virgin.[195] Popular publications such as *The London-Bawd* and *The constables hue and cry after whores & bawds,* warned that the bawd is "a great Preserver of Maiden-heads; for tho' she Exposes 'em to every new Comer, she takes care that they shall never be lost: And tho' never so many get it, yet none carries it away,

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[192] A contributor to the *Public Advertiser* similarly lamented: "Christmas week is the idlest week in the year; … [because] it is the jubilee week of sharpers, bawds, and pickpockets, who prey upon unwary youth". [*Public Advertiser*. Saturday, December 24, 1791, #17931].
[193] *Old England's Journal*. Saturday, March 17, 1753, # 4.
[194] Ward, *Satyrical reflections*, 302-3; *Penny London Post or the Morning Advertiser.* Friday, March 8, 1751, #1392; *The Tricks of London laid open.* (London, 1799?), 28, 33, 35; *The tricks of the town laid open.* (1746) 65; King, *New cheats of London exposed,* 15.
[195] John Dunton, *The night-walker, or, Evening rambles in search after lewd women*. (New York: Garland Pub, 1985); John Marten, *A treatise of the venereal disease*. (London, 1711), 176, 304-5, 335-6, 872; Tassie Gwilliam, "Female Fraud: Counterfeit Maidenheads in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 6, 4 (1996), 518-548; Ann Louise Kibbie, "Sentimental Properties: Pamela and Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure," *ELH*. 58, 3 (1991): 563, 570; Kevin Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals, and the Urban Poor*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 194; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution,* 210-218; William B. Ober, *Boswell's clap and other essays: medical analyses of literary men's afflictions* . (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979); W.F. Bynum, "Treating the Wages of Sin: Venereal disease and Specialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy, 1750-1850*, ed. Bynum and Roy Porter, (London: Croom Helm, 1789), 5-22; Mary Hewlett, "The French Connection: Syphilis and Sodomy in Late-Renaissance Lucca," in *Sins of the flesh: responding to sexual disease in early modern Europe*. Kevin P. Siena, ed., (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 255.

but she still has it ready for the next Customers."[196] Similarly, the author of *The Humours of Fleet-Street* noted that the use of fake maidenheads was a purely mercenary tactic because after employing a "new vamp'd … maidenhead," the "young prostitute … made more money on her trade in one night than she had done in her own country for a year".[197] These descriptions show that a bawds' goal was to make profits beyond what could be regarded as fair or an equal exchange. Desperate to enhance her gains, bawds', "carefully assist[ed] with all the artificial Helps that are usually apply'd to recover lost Virginity".[198] Bawds valued maidenheads, whether real or fake, because they offered a higher market value.[199]

Although bawds were depicted as menacing because they tricked men, thereby reversing the gender-based hierarchical order, bawds were further regarded as sinister and avaricious because they did not just dupe and ruin men, but also their own sex.[200] Bawds'

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[196] Anon., *THE London-Bawd;* Anon. *The constables hue and cry,* 6.

[197] *The humours of Fleet-Street: and the Strand*. 11. According to *Satyrical reflection*, a bawd was to "Candidly T[each] all Arts and Subtilties that properly belong to the Business of Intrigue, and the dark Misteries of Harlotry; [including] how to … pass … a Maidenhead upon a loose Quaker, or an Old Letherous *Non-Con*". [Ward. *Satyrical reflections,* 302-3].

[198] Anon., *The History of intriguing*. (London, 1738), 52.

[199] Lorraine Helms, "The Saint in the Brothel: Or, Eloquence Rewarded," *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 41, 3 (1990): 331

[200] Davis, "Women on Top"; Carter, *Purchasing power,* 64.

Although bawds were almost as likely to be male as they were to be female, bawds were overwhelmingly portrayed as female. For instance, Philip Church, Edward Austen, and William Rymell were "tried and convicted of keeping a lewd and notorious Bawdy-House". *General Advertiser*. Monday, January 27, 1752, #5389; *London Evening Post.* Thursday, January 23, 1752, #3786; *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*. Saturday, June 6, 1772, #498; *London Evening Post*. Thursday, January 10, 1751, #3624.

In other instances, a husband and wife teamed up to operate as bawds, as did such as Martha Sharpe and her husband, William Thomas and his wife Lucreria, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Thomas and Sarah Atkins, Thomas and Rose Burne, and Thomas Thompson and his wife Elizabeth [*London Evening Post*. Saturday January 19, 1754, #4087; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Thursday January 24, 1754, #1241; *Grub Street Journal*. Thursday December 27, 1733, #209; *Lloyd's Evening Post*. Friday October 21, 1791, #5354; *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser.* Friday, January 4, 1751, #1365; *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser.* Monday, March 18, 1751, #1396; *Public Advertiser*. Tuesday, January 22, 1754, #6002; *Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, December 29, 1733, #458; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Thursday, January 24, 1754, #1241].

On male bawds, see: *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser.* Thursday, December 23, 1773, #740; *General Evening Post*. Thursday, January 10, 1771, #5813; *General Evening Post.* Thursday,

actions against young women were considered especially despicable because women were considered naïve, fragile, and in need of protection; as Pam Morris notes, "the cult of sensibility did not put an end to stereotypical thinking about women's role and nature … women remained the weaker vessels."[201]

Bawds were believed to prey on naïve young girls who had just arrived from the countryside by promising them employment.[202] Saunders Welch, for instance, believed that it was "well known that agents are constantly employed by bawds to attend the coming into town of wagons and other carriages;" if the "young creature" was considered youthful and to have sufficiently desirable and shapely features "to raise desire, she is accosted by some agent of corruption, with questions concerning her country, and

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January 10, 1751, #2669; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Tuesday, June 9, 1772, #13503; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertise*r. Wednesday, October 31, 1792, #19 935; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser.* Saturday, January 12, 1771, #13064; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser.* Wednesday, October 31, 1792, # 19 935*; London Daily Advertiser*. Tuesday, July 21, 1752, #434; *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*. Saturday, June 6, 1772, #498; *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*. Thursday, December 23, 1773, #740; *London Journal.* Saturday, June 26, 1731, #622; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, July 2, 1751, #3699; *London Morning Penny Post*. Wednesday, July 3, 1751; Carter. *Purchasing power*, 108; Randolph Trumbach. "Modern Prostitution and Gender in Fanny Hill: Libertine and Domesticated Fantasy," in *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment*, 81.

[201] Pam Morris, ed., *Conduct Literature for Women 1770-1830.* Vol. 2. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), 2; Fielding, *A plan for a preservatory,* 6, 7; *Satan's Harvest Home,* 33.

[202] Prostitutes were often between the ages of twelve to eighteen, though some were reportedly as young as eight or nine. For example, the *Whitehall Evening Post* reported that Redgrave and Brackney, two constables from Clerkenwell, prosecuted a bawd who had "seduced" "a young creature, about thirteen years of age … from a boarding school, for prostituting her to a wretch who had employed the prisoner for that purpose." [*Whitehall Evening Post*. May 11, 1786-May 13, 1786, #6085. Also see: *Sun*. Thursday March 6, 1794, #448]. The *London Morning Penny Post* reported that "four young Girls, all under twelve Years of Age, were taken up by the Watch, … They all belonged to the same Brothel and under the Direction of the same Bawd." [*London Morning Penny Post*. Wednesday, July 24, 1751.] *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer* complained about how early young Girls are introduced into Prostitution by the Machination of old Bawds"; the paper reported that four young girls, the eldest "not above Twelve Years of Age, yet it appeared that they had been noted Street-Walkers for upwards of two Years" [*Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Tuesday, November 19, 1751, #907]. In *The Caution of Miss R-, a young lady, to all young women not to be drawn in by an old bawd,* the author states: "Not fifteen years of age was I When I was first trepanned," [Anon. *The Caution of Miss R-, a young lady, to all young women not to be drawn in by an old bawd.* (London?, 1780?)]; *Sun*. Tuesday June 25, 1793, #230; *True Briton*. Wednesday June 26, 1793, #152; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Tuesday, July 2, 1751, #842; *Morning Post*. Wednesday, February 19, 1794, #6500; *Public Advertiser*. Monday, August 23, 1790, #17512; Fielding, *A plan for a preservatory,* 6. Also see: Cruikshank, *The secret history of Georgian London*, 52; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution.*

cautions to be very careful of herself in this wicked town."[203] Bawds' attempts to turn new arrivals to London into prostitutes was depicted in several art works and works of fiction. In the first plate of Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* [Fig. 1] (p. 79), Moll, naïve and newly arrived from the countryside, is seduced by Mother Needham. We know Moll planned to earn her living honestly because she has her seamstress tools. However, Mother Needham whisks her off to turn a quick profit.[204] Similarly, in *The old goat and young kid - or the Queensborough novelist* [Fig. 8] the bawd assures the country bumpkin that she will secure a place for his daughter, while really intending to prostitute her. Short novels also described how bawds picked up and subsequently deluded young girls into working in their service. In *The True and interesting history of William Owen and Polly Morgan*, the "old Lady" who assists Polly by providing her with a good place to stay. Later, the old Bawd convinces Polly to engage with the men who frequent her house.[205]

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[203] Welch, *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan,* 11. Also see: *A congratulatory epistle from a reformed rake,* 35; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, July 2, 1751, #3699; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*. Tuesday, November 16, 1773, #724; Anon. *Drury-Lane in tears: Or, The ladies of pleasure in mourning*. (London, 1740?), 2.
[204] Inglis, "Plate One of Hogart's Harlot's Progress".
[205] Anon., *The True and interesting history of William Owen and Polly Morgan, both of Monmouth Town*. (London, 1782), 19, 22-23. Also see: *The Honest London Spy*. (London, 1725), 4-6.



Fig. 8. *The old Goat and young Kid – or the Queensborough novelist*. London, 1798. Courtesy of The British Museum (1868,0808.6705).

Bawds' actions against their own sex were regarded as particularly wicked because in addition to being described as "old" and beyond childbearing age, more

importantly, they were "*always* a former whore".[206] As a result, commentators expressed shock and disgust when Bawds deceived young girls, they were seen to "basely betray'd" their own sex "to the Purposes of Lewdness" and for their own financial benefit.[207] For instance, while the infamous bawd Elizabeth Burn was described as "a Disgrace to human Nature" because she was a bawd, she was especially reviled because she "first walked the Streets" in London and eventually "took to the more gainful Profession of a Bawd".[208] The anonymous author of *The London-Bawd* explained that a bawd was "the Refuse of an Old Whore". The fact that bawds were former prostitutes was significant and signified that a bawd is "a true Daughter of Eve, who having undone herself, tempts others to the same Destruction".[209] As a result, bawds and procuresses were denounced as

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[206] Horne, *Serious thoughts on the miseries,* 17-18; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, July 2, 1751, #3699; *General Evening Post*. Thursday, September 5, 1751, #2771; *English Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*. Tuesday, April 6, 1790, #1646; *London Morning Penny Post*. Friday, October 11, 1751; *London Morning Penny Post*. Friday, September 6, 1751; *London Morning Penny Post*. Wednesday, July 3, 1751; *London Morning Penny Post*. Wednesday, October 2, 1751; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*. Thursday, October 21, 1773, #713; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*. Tuesday, November 16, 1773, #724; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Tuesday, August 10, 1773, #1315; *Morning Post*. Wednesday, February 19, 1794, #6500; *Old England's Journal*. Saturday, March 17, 1753, # 4; *Public Advertiser*. Monday, August 5, 1771, #11440; *Public Advertiser*. Saturday, August 15, 1772, #11079; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Saturday, October 19, 1751, #889; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Tuesday, July 2, 1751, #842; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Tuesday, October 15, 1754, #1313; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Tuesday, September 24, 1751, #878; Anon. *The London-Bawd;* Erickson. *Mother Midnight,* 24. Edward Ward described a bawd as a "wither'd Lady, … in the *Autumn* of her Debauchery" [Ward. *Satyrical reflections*, 301]. In *The Whores Rhetorick,* Mother Cresswell is described as someone who "seemed so loaden with years" [Ferrante Pallavicino, *The whore's rhetoric: calculated to the meridian of London, and conformed to the rules of art: in two dialogues*. (London, 1683), 10-12 in Erickson, *Mother Midnight,* 23]. Only one exception was found of bawds being described as "old" or as grotesque: "Mary Davenport, a very handsome young woman, was tried for keeping a common bawdy house". *Whitehall Evening Post*. Tuesday, January 11, 1791, #6615.

[207] *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, July 2, 1751, #3699; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Tuesday July 2, 1751, #842; Fielding. *A plan for a preservatory*, 7; *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*. Monday, June 11, 1750, #1275; *Morning Post*. Wednesday, February 19, 1794, #6500. Also see: Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 28; Cruickshank, *The secret history of Georgian London,* 8-9, 36 in *The insinuating bawd and the repending harlot*, we learn that "my own base sex seduc'd me first to Sin." [Edward Ward, *The insinuating bawd and the repending harlot.* (London, 1758), 5].

[208] *Covent-Garden Journal*. Saturday, October 21, 1752, #67; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 17, 1752, #3896. Also see: *The London-Bawd.*

[209] *The London-Bawd;* Anon., *The constables hue and cry after whores & bawds, &c.: With a pleaseant disruption of their habits, ... as also a list of some of the chief of their names, and usual places of rendizvouz [sic] in about [sic] the city of London.* (London, 1701?), 6; Erickson, *Mother Midnight*, 24.

"mercenary hell-hounds", "mercenary wretches", "mercenary Wantons", or "Mercenary Harlots" because "the nature of a Bawd is to make all fair Women as foul as her self … for Money".[210]

To emphasize their greedy and dissolute nature, bawds' physical appearance was routinely depicted as fat, disfigured, older women. Bawds' physical attributes are important because throughout the early modern period peoples' features were believed to reveal their inner character; therefore "low characters should have low stature."[211] While the idea that a person's external appearance revealed their inner soul was at least as old as the *Canterbury Tales*, as links between the natural body, the body politic, and commerce became progressively stronger over the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth, the significance of a fat or hideous bawd would have been regarded as an increasingly deep threat to society because her girth came to represent a deeper threat to the well-being of the economy, commerce, and the social order more generally.[212]

To illustrate their avarice and corruption, bawds were regularly described as repulsive, a by-product of age, hard-living, venereal disease, and debauchery.[213] For instance, the bawd in *The constables hue and cry* and *The London-Bawd* were described in an identical manner: "Her Teeth are all fallen out; at which her Nose and her Chin are so much concern'd, that they intend to meet about it in a little time, and make up the

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[210] Anon. *The Tricks of London laid open.* (London, 1799?), 28; *The Tricks of London laid open.* (London, 1746), 67, 72; *The countryman's guide to London,* 43; Ward. *Satyrical reflections,* 304, 306; Cruickshank, *The secret history of Georgian London,* 42-50; *The ladies dictionary,* 45-46. Also see: *A congratulatory epistle from a reformed rake*, 32. Also see: Disney, *A view of ancient laws,* 13; *Public Advertiser*. Monday, August 23, 1790, #17512; Ward. *Satyrical reflections*, 304, 306; *Spectator*. Friday, January 4, 1712, #CCLXVI; *The Caution of Miss R-*; Hanway, *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House*, 21; *The London-Bawd.* Also see: *Covent-Garden Journal*. Saturday, October 21, 1752, #67; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 17, 1752, #3896; Cruikshank, *The secret history of Georgian London*, 49

[211] Pat Rogers, "Fat is fictional issue: the novel and the rise of weight-watching," in Roy Porter and Marie Roberts, eds. *Literature and medicine during the eighteenth century.* (London: Routledge, 1993),180.

[212] Constantine George Caffentzis, "Medical Metaphors and Monetary Strategies in the Political Economy of Locke and Berkeley," *History of Political Economy*, 35, Annual Supplement, (2003), 204, 205, 206.

[213] Erickson, *Mother Midnight,* 23.

difference".[214] In *The midnight rambler; or, new nocturnal spy, for the present year*, one woman is described as having a "fiery face, double chin, and corpulent carcase", features which "were admirably adapted to the united characters of bawd".[215] In *Harris's List*, "Mrs. Bi-d", who had "become keepers" was described as having "a dead eye and flattish nose".[216] So great was the need to depict bawds as grotesque that some commentators presented bawds contrary to their actual appearance; even though Mother Needham was supposedly beautiful, William Hogarth depicted her as wretched in *A Harlot's Progress* [Fig. 1] (p. 79).[217] These women were repulsive because they have led a life of sin exploiting men and women for gain.

The fact that bawds were former prostitutes was meant to serve as a warning of the fate for all prostitutes. However, rather than allowing their repugnant appearance to function as a forewarning, bawds instead told young recruits that time and looks fade and that they ought to use their best attributes to make their living before it was too late and they ended up old and deformed.[218] For instance, in *The insinuating bawd and the repenting harlot,* the bawd compels the young girl to turn prostitute by suggesting: "Consider, Child, what pity it would be, / That Fruit, like yours, should wither on the tree: / Those *Ruby Cheeks,* that look so fresh and gay, / Will in short time, if not enjoy'd, decay."[219] Art works further suggested that time was of the essence. In the first plate of Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress,* the watch hanging off Mother Needham subtly suggests to

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[214] *The constables hue and cry,* 6. Also see: J.D. Breval, *The Lure of Venus*. (London, 1733), 7-8; Pallavicino, *The whore's rhetoric.* 10-12 in Erickson, *Mother Midnight,* 22-23.
[215] Anon., *The midnight rambler; or, new nocturnal spy, for the present year.* (London, 1772?), 34.
[216] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies*. (London, 1793), 6-7.
[217] Inglis, "Plate One of Hogart's Harlot's Progress."
[218] Carter, *Purchasing power*, 115.
[219] Ward, *The insinuating bawd and the repending harlot*, 6.

both Moll and the viewer that time is money and that both are running out.[220] In Thomas Rowlandson's *A Bawd on her Last Legs* [Fig. 9] an old, ruddy bawd is leaning back in a chair. On her bare leg, there are open sores, an indication of venereal disease and a life of sin. The young, pretty prostitute attending her is equally shocked by the state of the bawd and of her impending future. In another of his works, *Launching a Frigate*, [Fig. 10] Rowlandson juxtaposes the old, decaying, syphilitic, grotesque, bawd with the young, beautiful prostitute to emphasize just how wretched bawds were.[221] For all of these older, former prostitutes, time is expiring, making their need to quickly generate income a particularly pressing concern.

Along with *A Harlot's Progress* (p. 79) and *The old goat and young kid* (p. 113), these images portray prostitution as a relationship thoroughly based upon commodification, objectification, and exploitation. While the youth and beauty of the prostitute were depicted as desirable and profitable, the bawd was presented as aged, decayed, and diseased. As bawds were routinely believed to be former prostitutes, the bawds' ghastly appearance served as a reminder of the inevitable fate of prostitutes. Moreover, though the bawds' girth suggests her success, because it came at the expense of the prostitute, it functioned as a reminder that individual prostitute was sacrificed to satisfy men's lust and bawd's profits.

[220] Inglis, "Plate One of Hogart's Harlot's Progress."
[221] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 115-8.



Fig. 9. Thomas Rowlandson. *A Bawd on her Last Legs.* London, 1792. Courtesy of the British Museum. (1868,0808.1239).



Fig. 10. Thomas Rowlandson. *Launching a Frigate.* London, 1809. Courtesy of the British Museum. (1935,0522.9.35).

Bawds were typically depicted "Of size unwieldy", a potent representation because their girth was not necessarily caused by their gluttonous over-indulgence, but because they were engrossed in a greedy life of high living, luxury, and over-consumption.[222] According to "AMICUS", a contributor to the March 1751 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine,* "the bully and the bawd … fatten on their [prostitutes']

[222] Breval, *The Lure of Venus*, 7-8 in Erickson, *Mother Midnight,* 22. Also see: Rogers, "Fat is fictional issue," 180-1, 172, 176, 179.

misery".[223] In *The Lure of Venus*, the bawd is described as "a venerable Matron … Of size unwieldy, with a waddling Pace."[224] As Gordon Williams astutely suggests, bawds' obesity was "an embleme of plentie" and luxury because they were "crammed with riot".[225] Bawds were also portrayed as obese in art works. In the first plate of *A Harlot's Progress* [Fig. 1] (p. 79), Mother Needham is a large, domineering figure; her commanding presence and considerable size indicates her greed. In both Rowlandson's *A Bawd on her Last Legs* [Fig. 9] and *Launching a Frigate* [Fig. 10], a corpulent bawd is being attended to by a young, thin prostitute. Likewise, in *The old Goat and young Kid* [Fig. 8], the presence of the large bawd similarly dominates the image. In all these images, the bawds' large girth suggestive of success, is contrasted with the thin, unworldly prostitute next to her. These images suggest that the bawd is feeding off of the girl, depriving her of any chance to make an honest living while profiting beyond their basic subsistence needs.

Bawds did not just rely on their slick tongues to delude girls by falsely promising them honest employment, but they also relied upon deceptive tricks. A common gimmick bawds used was to disguise the brothel as a reputable institution. According to the *London Packet,* "Over the door of a shew house near this metropolis is inscribed: *A Boarding School for Young Ladies.* Over the windows of the same house appear the words: *Genteel Lodgings for Single Gentlemen.*"[226] The bawd sought to discreetly

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[223] *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle.* "Prostitutes objects of pity," (March 1751), 128. Likewise, in *Mars stript of his armour*, Ward explains that "the Devil, who manages the Affairs of Hell … grows as plump as an over-grown bawd" [Edward Ward, *Mars stript of his armour: or, The army display'd in all its true colours.* (London, 1709), 1 in Gordon Williams, *A dictionary of sexual language and imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart.* (London: Atlantic Highlands, 1994), 79].
[224] Breval, *The Lure of Venus*, 7-8. in Erickson. *Mother Midnight,* 22.
[225] Williams, *A dictionary of sexual language*, 79. Quoting Taylor, *Bawd*. (1630; II.98) Lee. *Theodosius* (1680) II.i.89. Also see: Carter, *Purchasing power,* 114, 216-17.
[226] *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*. Wednesday, July 30, 1794, #3894.

indicate her services to potential customers while maintaining a veneer of respectability. In *The History of intriguing*, we are told that the Bawd "furnishes a close Shop, or rather Warehouse, … and writes over her Door, in great golden Letter, something that may signify the foreign Nick-nacks that she deals in; but not a world of those Commodities, which she hopes to get most by". This bawd trivialized her actions by refusing to acknowledge that she was exploiting women; instead, she asserts that she can "dispose" of "Commodities … according to her own Will".[227] Bawds were considered greedy not only because economic motives superseded moral imperatives, but also because they referred to people as "commodities", thereby denying them an individual identity.[228]

Bawds' greed was further demonstrated by their frequent withholding of prostitutes' wages. Disputes over money between prostitutes and bawds were common and frequently described in the press to reveal bawds as mercenary wretches. John Disney described "the vile practices of Bawds, in seeking out young Women that are necessitous, & with promises of Cloaths and Victuals perswading them to live with them, under Obligations and Securities given for … the purposes of Prostitution".[229] Bawds commonly provided clothes for their prostitutes as collateral, so that if they tried to abscond, the bawd could prosecute them for theft.[230] The *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer* and *London Morning Penny Post* reported that "A few Days ago a Woman of the Town, who was going to quit her Lodgings, had her Stays stopp'd by the old Bawd for Debt, … the old Bawd swore to a Debt against the Girl for Board-

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[227] *The History of intriguing,* 50.
[228] Helms, "The Saint in the Brothel," 331. Also see: *The Caution of Miss R-.,* 1; Fielding, *A plan for a preservatory*, 6; O*bservator*. March 13, 1703 - March 17, 1703, # 94.
[229] Disney, *A view of ancient laws,* 21.
[230] Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 29-30.

Wages".[231] In 1796, an "infamous bawd" named Mrs. Browne, "was charged … with defrauding her of money, the wages of her prostitution, turning her out of doors, and detaining her *paraphernalia.*"[232] Elizabeth Maddocks, a brothel keeper was prosecuted in 1793. When one of the girls, Hannah Newman, testified against Maddocks, Newman explained that "the Defendant always took from her the wages of her prostitution".[233]

By withholding their wages, bawds were seen to turn innocent girls into slaves. Jonas Hanway bemoaned that: "these unhappy women … become the *slaves, the abject slaves* of an abandoned bawd".[234] Saunders Welch agreed and explained that the prostitutes who worked in brothels were enslaved: after being "hired", the girl "became a prisoner, either by persuasion, or force".[235] According to John Disney, "a Bawd … makes it *his professed Business,* either to keep Slaves, or harbour Freewomen, for the gain of their prostitution".[236] These descriptions of the conditions under which prostitutes were held reinforced the perception that in relation to bawds, prostitutes were regarded as the innocent victims of devious and greedy wicked characters.

Just as prostitutes were thought to chose gain over the traditional milestones of love, marriage, and motherhood, bawds incited deep concern of a world turned upside-down because they reversed important familiar roles that were supposed to maintain an orderly society, bawds were habitually referred to as 'mothers', 'aunts', or 'abbesses'.[237]

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[231] *London Morning Penny Post.* Wednesday October 2, 1751; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Tuesday, October 1, 1751, #881. Also see: *The midnight rambler*, 14; *A congratulatory epistle from a reformed rake,* 31-32.
[232] *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. Saturday, January 23, 1796, # 19 224. Also see: *Sun*. Saturday, October 25, 1794, #648. Also see: *Sun.* Saturday, October 25, 1794, #648.
[233] *Sun*. Tuesday, June 25, 1793, #230; *True Briton*. Wednesday, June 26, 1793, #152.
[234] Hanway, *plan for establishing a charity-house*, xix; Ibid., *Thoughts on the plan,* 28.
[235] Welch, *A proposal to render effectual a plan*, 12.
[236] Disney, *A view of ancient laws,* 15. Also see: *Daily Advertiser*. Saturday, January 14, 1744, #4054.
[237] Humphrey Humdrum, *Mother midnight's comical pocket-book.* (London, 1754?); *A new canting dictionary*, 15, 28, 36, 51, 79, 83, 107; Dyche, *A new general English dictionary.* (1744), 539, 374, 493,

Rather than be caring figures looking out for the best interests of their daughters, these "mothers" "follow[ed] the detestable trade of keeping and encouraging young women to prostitute themselves to any body for money".[238] In some cases, mothers were exceptionally greedy and played bawd to their daughter.[239] For instance, in *A ramble through London*, a True-born Englishman describes a 'world turned upside-down' scenario in which "Father pimp for their Sons, and Mothers bawd for their Daughters".[240] In other instances, bawds purchased daughters directly from their own desperate mothers. According to the *General Evening Post*, "One of the fashionable *procuresses* at the West end of the town, lately purchased a young female for the worst of purposes, from her *mother*; the sum paid was *forty pounds*".[241] The literary scholar Jennifer Panek suggests that in works of fiction where mother-turned-bawd stories usually occurred, the mothers' actions were constructed as a perversion of a mother's natural duty to properly negotiate her daughters' marriage. These works reveal anxiety about mothers' potential ability to misuse their authority over their children. It especially reiterates the importance of maintaining male authority through the fact that these women – like all fictional bawds – are single women in positions of power.[242]

Bawds' unrestrained greed was also indicated by their involvement in thievery. Sometimes bawds, bullies, and prostitutes worked together to steal from clients, further

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487; James Cauflied, *Blackguardiana: or, a dictionary of rogues, bawds, pimps, whores, pickpockets, shoplifters.* (London, 1793?), 14, 20, 32, 48, 112, 122, 174; Williams, *A dictionary of sexual language,* 79, 837, 875, 838-9, 1031; Anon., *Jack Puddings Disappointment, or A General Lamentation Amongst Cooks, Players, Rope-dancers and Fidlers, Whores, Lottery-men, Pickpockets and Juglers for the Lord Mayors Order for a discontinuing of Bartholomew Fair*. (London?, 1708?), 2.

[238] Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (1744), 539.

[239] Brown, *The description of a bawdy-house,* 3; Horne. *Serious thoughts*, 35; Disney, *A view of ancient laws*, 13-14; *London Evening Post*. June 19, 1736 - June 22, 1736, #1341; *Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazetteer*. Saturday, June 26, 1736, #616.

[240] True-born Englishman, A *ramble through London*. (London, 1738), 27.

[241] *General Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 26, 1790, #8905

[242] Jennifer Panek, "The Mother as Bawd in the Revenger's Tragedy and a Mad World, My Masters," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*. 43, 2 (2003): 415, 416.

solidifying the perception of a criminal underworld and between prostitution and avarice.[243] According to John Fielding, "Bawds" were simply "Thieves, Receivers of Stolen Goods".[244] Newspapers often included stories about prostitutes and bawds caught stealing together. For instance, the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* reported that a woman "who keeps a most scandalous House in White-Fryers, was committed to Newgate, with one Irish Kate, an infamous Night-Walker, for robbing a Gentleman of a Watch".[245] The *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser* noted that "a girl of the town decoyed a countryman into a house of ill-fame in St. Giles's, as soon as he entered the house, he was set upon by three bullies, who took from him the greatest part of his cloaths, and then thrust him to the door".[246] The assumption that bawds and their prostitutes colluded together was also asserted in *Jack Puddings Disappointment.* The prostitute tried to reassure the now impoverished bawd that she would still be able to financially help support her by explaining that: "*as long as I can life a Shop, pick a Pocket, move my B---- Flog, Hussie, or by manual dexterity procure a Penny, thou shalt not want it, for thou hast bred as many Artists of our Professions … under your management…".*[247] These incidents reveal the solidification between prostitution and theft in the popular imagination.

Throughout the eighteenth century, bawds were consistently depicted as corrupt and mercenary. Bawds' greed was indicated by their aging, corpulent, and disfigured bodies, as well as by their duplicity. Like prostitutes, bawds exploited men by convincing

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[243] Anon., *The Devil and the strumpet, or, The old bawd tormented*. (London, 1700?), 3; *Observator.* March 13, 1703 - March 17, 1703, # 94; Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 28.
[244] Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 29 citing. *C.J.* (17770), Vol. XXXII, *Report from the Committee to enquire into the Several Burglaies and Robberies that of late have been committed in and about the Cities of London and Westminster,* 881.
[245] *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, June 1, 1717.
[246] *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser.* September 13, 1774-September 15, 1774, #853.
[247] Anon., *Jack Puddings Disappointment,* 2.

young, unwary youths, who were likely to be overcome with lust, to engage in illicit sex. However, bawds were thought to be more cunning than most prostitutes because they often tricked men into thinking they were going to have sex with a virgin by outfitting their prostitutes with a fake maidenhead. Bawds were also depicted as corrupt because they tricked young innocent girls into becoming prostitutes by promising them honest employment and a place to stay.

Conclusions

Lust and greed have long been characteristics associated with prostitution in eighteenth-century London. However, commentators did not regard lust or greed as the sole or dominant explanation for what drove the prostitution industry. Instead, it is apparent that multiple perceptions co-existed in tandem. Discussants recognized that depending on the situation, lust, avarice, and poverty could all explain why women became prostitutes because several factors could drive women to prostitution. However, commentators believed that particular circumstances and people – the shrewd bawd or dissolute libertine - led young women towards prostitution. Only particular types of prostitutes were depicted as so extraordinarily avaricious that they deliberately used prostitution to advance their gains beyond normal parameters. The prostitute-thief was differentiated from 'ordinary' prostitutes because she was a criminal who stole, devised schemes revolving around her sexuality to distract men, all to enhance her profits. Trappers blackmailed men, after pretending he impregnated her with a bastard child. These women were regarded as cunning, making them a threat to the social order that governed English society. They differed from 'ordinary' prostitutes because they devised menacing schemes to enhance their gains beyond the sum they negotiated. Bawds, pimps,

and procurers were also regarded as unusually greedy. Bawds employed deceptive tricks to lure and entrap both men and women, making them even more greedy and corrupt than the prostitutes they ruined. Perceptions of prostitution in eighteenth-century London were complex and diverse, rather than dominated by one single perspective at any given time.

CHAPTER 3: PRIDE & ENVY

Pride, an inordinate amount of self-esteem, and envy, an excessive jealousy brought on by the success of others and the urge to have what they possess, also prove to be critical forces which help explain why Hanoverians were so concerned about prostitution.[1] During the eighteenth century, women and members of the lower sorts were believed to be more likely than men or their social superiors to commit sin. Consequently, poor female prostitutes were regarded as being especially prone to the sins of pride and envy. One of the principal ways pride and envy were seen to reveal themselves in prostitutes was through the emulation of the elites. Throughout the Hanoverian period, social and moral commentators, religious authorities, charity governors, and contributors to the newspaper press interpreted prostitutes' efforts to conceal marks on their face with make-up and the wearing of elaborate clothing as evidence of their excessive pride and that these women were envious of their social betters. These commentators habitually objected to the multitude of prostitutes in the streets "dressed up in silk trappings" and indulging in the "wicked Trade and practice of painting".[2]

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[1] Aviad Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins. A Very Partial List*. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008), 46; Joseph Epstein, *Envy. New York Public Library Lectures in Humanities Series*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-7; Michael Eric Dyson, *Pride: The Seven Deadly Sins. New York Public Library Lectures in Humanities Series*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 9; John Conant, "The First Sermon." *Sermons on several subjects.: Viz. Of pride, luxury, idleness, unmercifulness. Of Uncleanness. Of future Punishments and Rewards. Of Education. Of the Knowledge of God. Of the Service of God, and of Sincerity and Cheerfulness therein. Of God's Omnisciency. Of seeking God. Of Apostacy, and of the Sin against the Holy Ghost. The fifth volume.* (London, 1708), 5; Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language.* (London, 1794), 308, 665; Ibid., *A dictionary of the English language*. (London. 1770), 350; Thomas Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1744), 668-669; Norbert Elias, *The civilizing process*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Norbert Elias and Stephen Mennell, *On the process of civilization*. (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2012).

[2] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday August 28, 1782, #4144; N. H., *The ladies dictionary being a general entertainment of the fair-sex: a work never attempted before in English: licens'd and enter'd according to order*. (London, 1694), 361.

Divided into two main parts, this chapter reveals that when prostitutes wore sumptuous clothing, they were criticized for being vain, entranced by luxuries, full of pride, and envious. To show how prostitutes' appearance were tied to discussions of pride and envy, the first part explores contemporaries' debates and understanding of pride and envy, as well as the existing literature on prostitutes, clothing, and make-up. The second section explores the impact of the belief that external appearances should reflect and indicate a persons' status and role in society. As a result, commentators believed that women who concealed or altered their appearance through cosmetics or dress posed a significant threat to the proper order of society.

There were three central issues that Hanoverians particularly focused on when discussing prostitutes' appearance. First, women's desire for luxuries was regarded as a central cause of prostitution. Commentators believed that women's efforts to emulate their social betters' appearance led them to purchase luxuries beyond their means, causing them to fall into debt. In order to continue to buy these extravagances, many turned to prostitution. Rather than emulate the positive qualities associated with genteel women - being good wives, mothers, and house managers - these prostitutes were accused of squandering their meager income on frivolous extravagances, such as cosmetics and clothing. Prostitutes' failure to manage their finances entrenched their identity as profligate sinners.[3] Second, Hanoverians believed that a prostitute who wore

[3] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998); Karen Harvey, *The little republic: masculinity and domestic authority in eighteenth-century Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

On the ideal characteristics women were supposed to exhibit, see: Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good wives: image and reality in the lives of women in northern New England, 1650-1750*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760*. (Rochester: Boydell, 2002); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850.* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Jane Rendall, "Women and the public sphere," *Gender & History*. 11, 3 (1999): 475-488; Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth

make-up and fine clothes in an effort to conceal their true status as a lower-class prostitute and convince onlookers that she was genteel. While some discussants asserted that prostitutes could never properly emulate elites, most were anxious that some prostitutes would deceive male admirers; thinking the woman honest instead of a prostitute, they would pursue her, and ultimately their health and finances would be ruined. As a result, ornate clothes and make-up were regarded as visible markers of dishonesty. Finally, this chapter discusses the policies implemented to control prostitutes' appearance. As appearances were thought to influence personal conduct, reformers endeavoured to regulate the dress of the penitent prostitutes residing in the Magdalen Hospital as a means of both restoring the natural order and reforming prostitutes' character. Regulating prostitute's appearance was particularly important in a world where people of all stations lived in close proximity to one another – those who asked for relief often lived nearby those who provided relief.[4] It was also a world where to be seen was to be measured; as Roy Porter explains, "[d]ifferentiation was the key to society, and it was endlessly echoed by accent and idiom, dress, address, and addresses."[5] Crucially, these discussions reveal the double standards that perpetuated perceptions of prostitution. While discussions about the problems associated with prostitutes' desire for fine clothes and use of make-up noted the harmful outcome these activities had on prostitutes, they were far more concerned about the detrimental effects prostitutes had upon society.

Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) 3; Amanda Vickery, "Historiographical Review: Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *The Historical Journal.* 23, 2 (1993): 383-414; Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 237-281.

[4] Tim Hitchcock, *Down and out in eighteenth-century London*. (London: Hambledon, 2004), 3.

[5] Roy Porter, *English Society in the eighteenth Century*. (London: Allen Lane, 199), 16.

Pride

According to traditional Christian thought, pride was "the deadliest of all sins."[6] There are biblical, ecclesiastical, and scholastic explanations for why pride is considered the "chief" deadly sin. The Book of Proverbs declares that "Pride goes before destruction, a haughty spirit before a fall."[7] This proverb emphasizes that pride is damaging because it will bring about the downfall of those who are proud, as well as the rest of society. Medieval authorities, such as Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, John Cassian, and Pope Gregory I, regarded pride as the worst sin because it is first in intention and because it stems from placing love or esteem in ones' self, instead of in God.[8]

Eighteenth century philosophers, and preachers, social and moral commentators, including Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, Richard Steele, and William West Green, "viewed pride as a vice because it is rooted in a deceitful fabrication and ignorance".[9]

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[6] Dyson, *Pride,* 9-10, 15, 162-3; Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the history of a religious concept, with special reference to medieval English literature.* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 69; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 132-133; Sir Richard Steele, *The ladies library.* Vol. 1. (London, 1732), 332; Conant, "The First Sermon," 5; According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "Pride … [is] the first of the seven deadly or capital sins". OED; pride, n.1" Third edition, March 2007; online version March 2011. <http://www.oed.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/Entry/151185>; accessed 05 May 2011.

[7] Book of Proverbs, 16:18.

[8] Dyson, *Pride,* 9-10, 12, 15; Stephen J. Pope, "Overview of the Ethics of Thomas Aquinas," in Stephen J. Pope, ed. *The Ethics of Aquinas*. (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 45; Eileen Sweeney, "Vice and Sin" in The *Ethics of Aquinas*. Stephen J. Pope, ed. (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 159, 163; Jean Porter, *The Recovery of Virtue: The Relevance of Aquinas for Christian Ethics.* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), 110; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 138. According to Bloomfield, "John Cassian (d. c. 435) is an important figure in the history of monasticism in the West. … states that it [pride] is the root and origin of all sins." [Bloomfield. *The Seven Deadly Sins,* 69, citing Translation in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, XI, 281. For the original, see Petschening, XVII, 210].

[9] Dyson, *Pride,* 17.

Alexander Pope asserted that "In Pride, in reas'ning Pride, our error lies". [Alexander Pope, *An Essay On Man*. (London, 1748), Ep. I, 123. P 7]. Furthermore, Pope explained: "Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes, Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods. Aspiring to be Gods, if Angels fell, Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel; And who but wished to invert the laws Of ORDER, sins against th' Eternal Cause." [Pope, *An Essay On Man*, Ep. I 13]. Richard Steele similarly noted that "Pride proceeds from a mean and narrow view of the little Advantages about a Man's self," [Richard Steele, *The Christian Hero: an argument proving that no principles but those of religion are sufficient to make a great man.* (London, 1712), 36]. In the *Tatler,* Steele noted how pride injures people, and by extention the nation: "Folly is the

Hanoverians pointed to Psalm X.4 to highlight their belief that "The Wicked through the Pride of his Countenance, will not seek after God: Neither is God in all his Thoughts."[10] Echoing traditional religious views, preacher John Conant explained that pride led to countless other destructive behaviours and vices:

> Pride is a Mother-Sin, the Parent and the Nurse of many other Sins. From Pride comes Stubbornness, Disobedience, Rebellion against our Superiours, Undervaluing and Contempt of Equals and Inferiors. From Pride comes our Unteachableness, Untractableness, Obstinacy. From our Pride comes our Discontent with our Condition, our Unthankfulenss, Murmering, and Repining. From Pride comes our Domineering and Insulting over others; our reproachful, contumelious and injurious Carriage towards them. From Pride comes all our Maligning and Envying, our inward Disquiet and Regret at the good Things of others. … Pride is a Captain, a leading Sin, that is evermore attended with a Troop of other Sins at the Heels of it.[11]

Thus, Conant explained that pride led to countless destructive behaviours, so it was necessary to consider pride a root sin.

However, over the course of the eighteenth century, just as with greed, perceptions of pride became increasingly ambiguous. The question arose whether the sin

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Foundation of Pride, the Natural Super-structure of it is Madness. … The most remarkable of the Persons whose Disturbance arises from Pride, and whom I shall use all possible Diligence to cure, are such as are hidden in the Appearance of quite contrary Habits and Dispositions." [*Tatler.* January 28, 1710 - January 31, 1710, #127]. Jonathan Swift's poem *The beasts confession to the priest, on observing how most men mistake their own talents*, addressed "the universal Folly in Mankind, of mistaking their TALENTS; … So great is the PRIDE of MAN." [Jonathan Swift, *The beasts confession to the priest, on observing how most men mistake their own talents.* (London, 1738), advertisement]. Preacher William West Green regarded Pride as one of the principle "causes of Unbelief". [William West Green, *Pride and superstition causes of unbelief: A sermon, preached before the Reverend the Archdeacon and clergy of the Archdeaconry of Berks, at the visitation holden at Abingdon, May XIII*. (Oxford, 1794), 6]. Likewise, he attributed "Pride and Ambition" as characteristics of Satan. [Green. *Pride and superstition causes of unbelief,* 7].

[10] John Harris, *Immorality and pride, the great causes of atheism a sermon preach'd at the cathedral-church of St. Paul, January the 8th 1697/8: the first of the lecture for that year, founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq.* (London, 1698), 1. Also see: John Butler, *A sermon preached in the chapel of the Magdalen-Hospital*: *on occassion of the anniversary meeting of the President, Vice-Presidents, And Governors of that Charity; on Thursday, May 11, 1786*. (London, 1786), 11.

[11] Conant, "The First Sermon," 5.

had some beneficial qualities.[12] In his 1714 *The Fable of the Bees*, for instance, Bernard Mandeville argued that pride could be a virtue:

> Pride is that Natural Faculty by which every Mortal that has any Understanding over values, and imagines better things for himself than any impartial Judge, thoroughly acquainted with all his Qualities and Circumstances could allow him. We are possess'd of no other Quality so beneficial to Society, and so necessary to render it wealthy and flourishing as this, yet it is that which is most generally detested.[13]

Less controversially, in 1751, David Hume suggested: "Pride … may be either good or bad, according as it is well or ill founded, and according to the other Circumstances, that accompany it."[14] Likewise, writing in 1765, George Lord Savile, Marquis of Halifax stated that "*Pride*… is an *ambiguous Word;* one kind of it is as much a *Virtue* as the other is a *Vice*".[15]

However, most commentators continued to view pride as a deadly sin. A central reason Hanoverians considered pride a principal sin is because it motivated people to think too highly of themselves, which, in turn could potentially lead to rebellion and social instability, as was argued to be a cause of the English Civil War.[16] Pride generated

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[12] Lester K. Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *The American Historical Review*. 76, 1 (1971): 16-49.

[13] Bernard Mandeville, *The fable of the bees: or, private vices, publick benefits*. (London, 1714), 98.

[14] David Hume, *An enquiry concerning the principles of morals*. (London, 1751), 106. Also see: Anthony Brewer, "Luxury and Economic Development: David Hume and Adam Smith," *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*. 45, 1 (1998): 78-98; M.G. Marshall, "Luxury, Economic Development, and Work Motivation: David Hume, Adam Smith, and J. R. McCulloch," *History of Political Economy.* 32, 3 (2000): 631-648; Daniel M. Gross, *The secret history of emotion: from Aristotle's Rhetoric to modern brain science*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007): 113-156.

[15] Right Honourable George Saville, Lord Late Marquis and Earl of Halifax, *The lady's new-year's gift: or, advice to a daughter.* (London, 1765), 105.

Lester K. Little questions whether pride really should be considered the chief sin during the commercial revolution, instead arguing that during this transformation avarice replaced pride as the predominant moral offence as England became a money society. [Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice," 20, citing Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 74-75].

[16] *The reasons of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, why they cannot agree to the alteration and addition in the articles of cessation offered by his Majesty. With his Maiesties gracious answer thereunto. April 4, 1643*. (Printed by his Majesties command, at Oxford, 1643); Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, *A most worthy speech spoken by the Right Honourable Robert Earle of Warwicke in the head of his army, November, 22 when he tooke his leave of them, and delivered them under the command of his Excellence*

particular anxiety in early modern England because it was a period in which, as Keith Wrightson explains "Englishmen were deeply preoccupied with the problems of order and degree", but paradoxically, the lines dividing the orders were becoming "a permeable membrane."[17] Though he was specifically addressing the Middle Ages, Morton W. Bloomfield explains that pride was regarded as

> the sin of rebellion against God, the sin of exaggerated individualism. In a disciplined and corporate society … exaggerated individualism, rebellion against the will of God, was considered particularly heinous. … A civilization in which order and balance were the chief ideals could not look upon the vice of pride lightly: it struck at the roots of society, both human and divine.[18]

These views continued to be held during the eighteenth century. Writing in 1744, Thomas Dyche defined pride as "that haughty disposition of mind that makes a man think more worthily of himself, and manner of others, than he ought; disdain, loftiness of mien, behaviour, or carriage."[19] Samuel Johnson agreed. In the eight characteristics he ascribed to pride in his *Dictionary,* the first was "Inordinate and unreasonable self-esteem."[20] Added to this primary characteristic, Johnson added "Insolence; rude treatment of

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the Earle of Essex: wherein is contained all the duties of a christian souldier, both toward God and man, with many religious advertisements, to deterre them from swearing and taking the name of the Lord in vaine: whereunto is annexed a caveat for the cavaliers, being a true example of Gods iudgement against one of that crew which tooke a pride in blaspheming against God, and cursing the Roundheads. (London, 1642); Humphrey Crouch, *A godly exhortation to this distressed nation Shewing the true cause of this unnaturall civill war amongst us*. (London, 1642); Henry Wilkinson, *Miranda, stupenda. Or, The wonderfull and astonishing mercies which the Lord hath wrought for England, in subduing and captivating the pride, power and policy of his enemies. Presented in a sermon preached July 21. 1646. before the honorable House of Commons in Margarets Church Westm. being the day appointed for thanksgiving for the surrender of Oxford.* (London, 1646).

[17] Keith Wrightson, *English society, 1580-1680*. (London: Routledge, 2003, 1982), 18, 23.

[18] Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 75, citing R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study.* (Holland Memorial Lectures, 1922), 231.

[19] Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1744), 668-669.

[20] Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1794), 665. Patrick Delany similarly explained that "The true nature of Pride consists in overvaluing our own worth, and thinking meanly and contemptuously of others, in comparison of ourselvesL it ariseth from self-love, and is the utmost abuse and corruption of that blind principle." [Patrick Delany, "The True Nature of Pride: How foolish and ill-founded it is in all its pretenses," *Five sermons on the following subjects*. (London, 1747), 79.

others".[21] Thus, pride was deeply offensive because it created the grounds for incivility and insubordination and caused man to place himself before his family, community, or God.

Pride was especially seen to cause discord when exhibited by female members of the lower orders.[22] Commentators believed that women were especially prone to pride, which they often expressed through an excessive preoccupation with appearances. Edward Ward regarded pride in women to be deeply problematic:

> Nothing shows the want of Judgment more than Female Pride, which is (doubtless) nourish'd by the vain Conceits of their own Perfections, and begets such a Self-Love, grounded upon Self-Opinion, that they look upon their whole Sex beside with Envy and Contempt, and like *Narcissus,* daily dote on the Reflection of their own imaginary Excellencies.[23]

Similarly, in *The Spectator,* Joseph Addison suggested:

> When Women are … filling their heads with nothing but Colours, it is no Wonder that they are more attentive to the superficial Parts of Life, than the solid and substantial Blessings of it. … Lace and Ribbons, Silver and Gold Galloons, with the like glittering Gew-Gaws, are so many Lures to Women of weak Minds or low Educations, and, when artificially displayed, are able to fetch down the most airy Coquet from the wildest of her Flights and Rambles.[24]

Hence, not only was female pride regarded as unseemly, it was considered antithetical to the natural social order and an inversion of social norms.

Crucially, the association between pride and prostitution was indivisible in the Hanoverian mind. For instance, in his definition of pride, Johnson asserted that pride is

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[21] Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1794).
[22] Sara Mendelson, "The Civility of Women in Seventeenth-Century England" in *Civil Histories: essays presented to Sir Keith Thomas.* Peter Burke, et. al. Eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 116.
[23] Edward Ward, *Female policy detected. Or, The arts of a designing woman laid open*. (London, 1695), 27-28.
[24] "Addison on Women Taken In by Shows and Appearances," *The Spectator.* Saturday March 17, 1711. No. 15. in Erin Mackie, ed., *The Commerce of Everyday Life*: *Selections from the Tatler and The Spectator.* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 492. Also see: Thomas Brown. *Love given o're, or, A Satyr against the pride, lust, and inconstancy &c. of woman*. (London, 1682).

"The state of a female beast soliciting the male".[25] In guides to prostitutes, such as *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies,* prostitutes were often denigrated for their pride. For instance "Miss W-ll-ms "was said to be embodied by "a certain innate pride … Had she less pride, she would gain more admirers".[26] Though "Miss Ch—tte M—th-s" had a "beautiful countenance," her "pride and haughtiness" ultimately made her "disagreeable".[27] The description of "Mrs. C—ss-l" likewise focused on her pride: "she is proud from an opinion of her irresistible charms, which by the bye are but *mediocre,* and she is haughty to those visitors who do not pay her that deference, to which she thinks herself intitled from being Mistress of the house wherein she resides."[28] "Mrs. C—ss-l" was also described as exceptionally proud. The description of her in *Harris's List* was preceded by a couplet: "Though fair, she's proud, / Imperious her, and loud."[29] These descriptions reveal that pride was considered a frequent trait of prostitutes. Commentators regarded pride in streetwalkers as problematic because they refused to acknowledge that they were subordinate to the upper classes. Yet, as the author of *Harris's List* revealed, most were really "mediocre".[30] Pride was therefore offensive because it encouraged prostitutes to become "haughty" and "rude".[31]

Envy

Envy is closely related to pride because it arises from the mistaken belief that we are equal to, or better than, the focus of our jealousy. As religious historian Aviad

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[25] Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1794), 665.
[26] Anon., *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies* (London, 1789), 16.
[27] Anon., *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies* (London, 1790), 66-67.
[28] Anon., *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies.* (London, 1789), 82-3.
[29] Ibid., 82.
[30] Ibid., 83.
[31] Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1744), 668-669; Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1794), 665.

Kleinberg suggests, envy can be considered "pride once removed".[32] This view had medieval and scholastic precedents. For example, Thomas Aquinas explained:

> envy arises from pride: for the reason a man is especially sad about another's good is that it impeditive of his own excellence. But because envy has a special end in its movement, namely to flee from good, therefore it is designated as a capital vice separate from pride.[33]

Commentators continued to hold this view in the Georgian period. For instance, the anonymous author of *Sin Punished and Vertue Rewarded* asserted that "Pride begetteth Envy; for all such as are Proud, repine and grieve to see others excel them in Honours, Riches, Pleasures, or in Moral Vertues, or Spiritual Graces."[34] In 1763, another observer insisted: "Envy is a compound of pride, ill-nature, and covetousness."[35]

Like pride, envy was a sin closely associated with women. In particular, lower-class women, such as prostitutes, were accused of enviously trying to emulate their social superiors by mimicking their fine dress and appearing as if they belonged to a higher social station, making them untrustworthy. As an anonymous contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* proclaimed: "This disposition [envy] is particularly predominant among the fair Sex. Were we to form a Judgment of them by the Characters they give one

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[32] Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 134.

[33] *The Collected Works of St. Thomas Aquinas*. Electronic edition. "On evil. On the Capital Vices." Q 8 A 1 Rp 5. (Charlottesville: InteLex Corporation, 1993).

[34] Anon., *Sin punished,: and Vertue Rewarded; or, a monitor for old and young*. (London, 1713), 97.

[35] Anon., *Essays and letters on the following various and important subjects: viz. On religion in general. Of Happiness. Of Honesty. Of Affability and Complaisance. Of Envy. Of Idleness. Of Luxury and Extravagance, Temperance and Frugality. Of arbitrary Government by a single Person. Of the Pride of Men as a Species. With many others on very Interesting Subjects*. (London, 1763), 160; *Gentleman's Magazine*. (October 1731), 428. Similarly, "Well-wisher to Great-Britain" noted: "The Consequence of this Pride is envying all above him, and despising those who are his Inferiors, in Point of Splendor and Circumstance; and in Neighbourhoods, where there is one Family above the rest, we shall see what a Piece of Work it creates in the Envy and Pride of others, who cannot bear the Thoughts of seeing another make a better Appearance than themselves." [Well-wisher to Great-Britain, *The ten plagues of England, of worse consequence than those of Egypt*. (London, 1757), 36.] Likewise, according to preacher Patrick Delany, "Proud men also are remarkably subject to this vice [Envy], especially if their pride be founded upon wealth, beauty, birth, or any other consideration distinct from real merit, if they have no real and valuable advantages to pride themselves upon" [Patrick Delany, "Sermon XVIII. PROV. XIV. 30. A Sound heart is the life of the flesh, but envy the rottenness of the bones." *Twenty sermons on social duties and their opposite vices of early industry.* The 2nd ed. (London, 1747). 377].

another, we should not entertain so good an Opinion of them as they deserve."[36] Anxiety about members of the middling and lower orders' desire to appear more genteel and honest than they actually were widespread because they were regarded as seeking to supersede or surpass the natural hierarchical, divinely ordained social order.[37] Isaac Cruikshank's satirical print *The quality ladder* (Fig. 1) clearly illustrates these concerns; on each level of the ladder, a woman is chasing her direct superior, trying to catch up with her. The woman on the lowest rung, likely a prostitute, is falling off the ladder. Moreover, she is upside down and with her legs spread apart, insinuating that she is anything but genteel and respectable. Cruikshank seems to have been suggesting that upwards social ambitions were in vain, as the woman falling off the ladder of quality is saying "whenever I try's to mount I always myss my hold".

[36] *Gentleman's Magazine*. (October 1731), 428.
[37] Paul Langford, *A polite and commercial people: England 1727-1783*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 113, 600-607.



Fig. 1. Isaac Cruikshank. *The quality ladder*. London, 1793. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr07759).

While envy could be interpreted as the host of malicious words used to slanderously defame others, as had been interpreted in the wake of the reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Hanoverian understandings of the meaning of envy mutated, and therefore had less to do with insults, slander, and libel, but increasingly addressed concerns about status.[38] In *Essays and letters on the following various and important subjects,* the anonymous author asserted that "an envious person repines at any excellence he observe in others, and sickens at the sight of good that happens to them."[39] Supporting this view, Samuel Johnson defined envy as "pain felt and malignity conceived at the sight of excellence or happiness" or "to feel pain at the sight of excellence or felicity."[40] Sir John Fielding similarly asserted that "Envy is the worst part of hatred, for it is a secret indignation towards any one, that enjoys more fortune than herself, or than she thinks they deserve."[41] Thus, eighteenth-century men and women regarded envy as an action which fueled their jealousy of their social and economic superiors.

Even though Hanoverians did not consider slander to be about envy, the words used to describe prostitutes are illuminating in seeing why prostitution was offensive.[42]

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[38] Christopher Haigh, *English reformations: religion, politics, and society under the Tudors*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Nicholas Tyacke, *England's long reformation, 1500-1800*. (London: UCL, 1998).

[39] *Essays and letters on the following various and important subjects,* 157. Also see: *Gentleman's Magazine*. (October 1731), 428.

[40] Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1765), 710; Ibid., *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1792), 354; Ibid., *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1770), 350. Correspondingly, Thomas Dyche defined envy as "a malicious uneasiness at the prosperity of other people" or "to grudge, repine, or be unease at the success of another." [Thomas Dyche, *A new general English dictionary.* (London, 1768), 270].

[41] Sir John Fielding, *The universal mentor: containing, essays on the most important subjects in life; composed of observations, sentiments, and examples of virtue, selected from the approved ethic-writers, biographers, and historians both antient and modern.* (London, 1763), 65.

[42] The most common insult used among women was 'whore'. However, while some people used the word in its more precise definition to refer to someone who exchanges sexual favours for money, the term was more frequently used to suggest that a woman was dishonest. See: Bernard Capp, *When gossips meet:*

Prostitutes were not merely referred to as 'prostitutes' but as 'common women', a phrase often used by preachers, philanthropists, and Bridewell officials, and found in the newspaper press.[43] For instance, the Bridewell recorder regularly described prostitutes as "common women", "a common prostitute", " a common nightwalker", "common strumpet," "a common streetwalker", or "a common whore".[44] These phrases were also

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women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 192; Laura Gowing, *Common bodies: women, touch, and power in seventeenth-century England.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), especially chapters 3 and 4.

There is extensive literature on defamation and insults. Gowing, *Common bodies;* Ibid., "Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 6 (1996): 225-234; Robert Shoemaker, *The London mob: violence and disorder in eighteenth-century London.* (London: Hambledon & London, 2004), especially chapter 3; Capp, "The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England," *Past and Present*, 162 (1999): 70-100; Garthine Walker, "Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series. 6 (1996): 235-245; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ibid., "Shame and Pain: Themes and Variations in Tudor Punishments," in Simon Devereaux and Paul Griffiths, eds. *Penal practice and culture, 1500-1900: punishing the English.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 36-62; Ibid., "Sexual manners: the other face of civility in Early Modern England," in Burke, Harrison, and Slack, eds. *Civil Histories*; J.A. Sharpe, "Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: the church courts at York," *Borthwick paper, 58*. (York, 1980); Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An ordered society: gender and class in early modern England*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The construction of honour, reputation and status in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996) 201-13; Elizabeth Foyster, "Male honour, social control and wife beating in late Stuart England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 6th ser., 6 (1996) 215-24; Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550-1660*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Ibid., "Bodies and Souls in Norwich: Punishing Petty Crime, 1540-1700," in Devereaux and Griffiths, eds. *Penal Practice and Culture,* 85-120.

[43] Sophie Carter, *Purchasing power: representing prostitution in eighteenth-century English popular print culture.* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 13-15, 23, 29, 33, 50, 112, 145; Laura J. Rosenthal*, Infamous commerce: prostitution in eighteenth-century British literature and culture*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 22, 35, 59; Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume One. Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 37, 50-52, 74, 112, 130, 142; Cindy McCreery *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 11, 40, 43, 59, 80, 83, 89, 96-99, 113-114; Ruth Mazzo Karras, *Common women: prostitution and sexuality in Medieval England.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), Ibid., *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: doing unto others*. (New York: Routledge, 2005). "Common" was understood to mean "Belonging equally to more than one" or "Having no possessor or owner" in the eighteenth-century. [Samuel Johnson, *Harrison's edition, with his life of the author. A dictionary of the English language.* (London, 1786), 250-1; Ibid., *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1755), 436].

[44] For examples, see: Kath: Ryley, Bridewell Royal Hospital, Minutes of the Court of Governors. *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org). BR/MG. BBBRMG202010200, 2nd April 1692; Mary Chapman, alias Cambridge, BR/MG. BBBRMG202010200, 22nd April 1692; Mary Adamson and Anne Castle. BR/MG. BBBRMG202010471, 5th April 1695; Sarah Kenniday, BR/MG. BBBRMG202030574, 21st April 1710; Katherine Fowler. BR/MG. BBBRMG202040322, 13th September 1717; Rachell Stoke, BR/MG. BBBRMG202040520, 3rd July 1721; Jane Barrett, BR/MG. BBBRMG202050291, 14th October 1731; Mary Brooks. BR/MG. BBBRMG202050411, 6th May 1736; Ruth Jurgis, BR/MG.

ubiquitous in the newspaper press.[45] Joseph Massie, a philanthropist and supporter of charitable institutions for women prone to prostitution, addressed the "cause of common Prostitution" in his charitable pamphlet.[46] William Dodd similarly referred to prostitutes as "common" in his sermons.[47] Saunders Welch's pamphlet, *A proposal to render effectual a plan, to remove the nuisance of common prostitutes from the streets of this metropolis*, also addressed prostitutes as "common".[48]

The term 'common' was not just intended to identify the offending woman as a prostitute, but also to mark her as someone who was ordinary - that is *not* extraordinary, *not* exceptional, and most importantly, someone who was *not* elite. Samuel Johnson explained that commoners were "mean; not distinguished by any excellence; … Of no

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BBBRMG202060035, 12th January 1738; Elizabeth Howard, BR/MG. BBBRMG202060328, 16th July 1746; Elizabeth Holloway. BR/MG. BBBRMG202060145, 22nd October 1741; Penellope Bignall, BR/MG. BBBRMG202060486, 18th July 1750; Mary Brown, BR/MG. BBBRMG202070294, 27th July 1757; Mary Smith, BR/MG. BBBRMG202070367, 18th April 1760; Margaret Hill, BR/MG. BBBRMG202080124, 26th July 1764; Susanna Turner, Mary Wale, Mary Davis, BR/MG. BBBRMG202080375, 19th December 1771; Mary Pearce, Mary Newman, Mary Harvey, BR/MG. BBBRMG202080661, 13th May 1778; Mary Wild and Sarah Lowe. BR/MG. BBBRMG202080750, 27th January 1780; Margaret Waldon, BR/MG. BBBRMG202080750**,** 27th January 1780; Elizabeth Dove, BR/MG. BBBRMG202090158, 29th January 1784.

[45] See for instance: *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Monday, August 19, 1782, #4136; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday, August 28, 1782, #4144; C*ommon Sense or The Englishman's Journal*. Saturday, March 24, 1739, #112; *Country Journal or The Craftsman*. Saturday, September 20, 1735, #481; *Daily Journal*. Friday, March 28, 1729, #2565; *English Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*. Tuesday, April 6, 1790, #1646; *Evening Mail*. Wednesday, July 25, 1798; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Monday, September 17, 1764, #11 083; *Lloyd's Evening Post*. Friday, October 26, 1781, #3800; *London Evening Post*. Saturday, March 17, 1739, #1770; *London Evening Post*. Thursday, July 18, 1771, #6802; *Public Advertiser*. Thursday, November 10, 1768, #10619; *World*. Thursday, January 7, 1790, #942; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Thursday, September 21, 1769, #3662; *Public Advertiser*. Thursday, November 10, 1768, #10619; *Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazetteer*. Thursday, August 9, 1753, #1482; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Tuesday, October 20, 1747, #264; *General Advertiser*. Tuesday, December 31, 1751, #5396; *London Evening Post*. Thursday, March 14, 1745, #2708; *Public Advertiser*. Tuesday, June 11, 1765, #9604; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. Saturday, February 26, 1774, #2034; *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*. Friday, September 21, 1750, #1320; *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*. Wednesday, March 20, 1745, #297.

[46] Joseph Massie, *A plan for the establishment of charity-houses for exposed or deserted women and girls*. (London, 1758), 1, 2.

[47] William Dodd, *A sermon on St. Matthew*, chap. IX. ver. 12, 13. (London, 1759), ii; Ibid., *A sermon on St. Matthew*, 9.

[48] Saunders Welch, *A proposal to render effectual a plan, to remove the nuisance of common prostitutes from the streets of this metropolis*. (London, 1758), 2, 7, 14, 15, 24, 25, 28, 30, 56.

rank; mean; … Frequent; usual; ordinary."[49] Authorities' decision to emphasize that prostitutes were 'common', helped them to maintain authority over prostitutes and assisted in the maintenance of order in society because these terms denigrated and degraded prostitutes.

Hence, pride and envy were closely associated with lower-class women, such as prostitutes, who wanted to emulate their social betters because they deemed themselves worthy of greater status, luxuries, and riches than was accessible or appropriate for women of their station. These women's desire for fineries and beauty threatened to undermine and destroy the hierarchical order that regulated society, making it a dangerous concept.

Historiography

In spite of the fact that pride and envy were closely associated with prostitution, these concerns have not been well integrated into discussions of prostitution. The

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[49] Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1755), 436; Ibid., *Harrison's edition, with his life of the author. A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1786), 250-1.

Although J.M. Neeson focuses on rural populations, her work further clarifies how Hanoverians comprehended commoners: "Eighteenth-century writers said that commoners were small farmers, artisans, tradesmen, and the labouring poor," [J.M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common right, enclosure and social change*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 1995), 55].

The term 'common' or 'commoner' invoked multiple meanings, including common land, and its associated use rights; private versus common property; common rights; the "lower orders' who made up the plebeian masses, the rioters, and "the rabble"; and the 'common women' who walked the streets and alleys of London. For instance, see: E.P Thompson, *Customs in Commons*; Neeson, *Commoners*; H.R. French, "The Common Fields of Urban England: Communal Agriculture and the "Politics of Entitlement", 1500–1750," in *Custom, Improvement and the landscape in early modern Britain.* Richard W. Hoyle, ed., (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 149-174; 149-174; Steve Hindle, " 'Not by bread only'? Common right, parish relief and endowed charity in a forest economy, c. 1600-1800," Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, eds., *The Poor in England*, 1700-1850: *an economy of makeshifts.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 39-75; K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Ironically, contested understandings and uses of the term can be seen in the fact that the Elder William Pitt was referred to the "great commoner". See: Peter David Garner Thomas, " 'The Great Commoner': the Elder William Pitt as parliamentarian". *Parliamentary History*. 22, 2 (2003): 145 -63; Carol Lyyn H. Knight, "A Certain Great Commoner: The Political Image of William Pitt, First Earl of Chatham, in the Colonial Press," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. 123, 2 (1979): 131-42; Peter Douglas Brown, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham: The Great Commoner*. (1978).

extensive literature which exists on prostitution in eighteenth century England, especially work by Sophie Carter, Laura Rosenthal, and Randolph Trumbach, have primarily focused on the conversion of the prostitute from a lust-driven whore to an impoverished victim or mercantile wage earner. Collectively, these historians have argued that a significant transformation of attitudes towards prostitutes occurred over the course of the eighteenth century, which was centered around the growth of sentimentality and emerging economic beliefs.[50] While the debates about prostitutes' nature and failure to contribute to the commercial world is constructive, these historians have overlooked the fact that discussion about prostitutes was not limited to the causes and consequences of prostitutes' ruin, but also included discussions about prostitutes' appearance. This omission is problematic because eighteenth-century commentators were deeply concerned about the consequences of prostitutes' vanity and luxury on society and because discussions about the prostitute's appearance helped shape responses to prostitution.[51] However, Hanoverians also worried about being able to correctly identify people according to their status and role in society.[52] Consequently, anyone who was able to successfully disguise themselves or their identity through cosmetics or dress posed a

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[50] Carter, *Purchasing power*; Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce*; Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution.* Also see: Tony Henderson, *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730-1830.* (London: Longman, 1999); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution*. (Allen Lane, 2012); Ibid., "Lust and Liberty," *Past and Present.* 207 (2010): 89-179; Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis, eds., *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality.* (Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Vivien Jones, "Placing Jemima: women writers of the 1790s and the eighteenth- century prostitution narrative," *Women's Writing,* 4, 2 (1997): 201-220.

[51] For instance, see: John Earle, *The World Display'd; Or, Mankind painted in their proper Colours.* (London, 1742); Anon. *The Friendly monitor: laying open the crying sins of cursing, swearing, drinking, gaming, detraction, and luxury or immodesty.* (London, 1692); Conant, *Sermons on several subjects;* John Dennis. *Vice and luxury public mischiefs.* (London, 1724); Person of quality, *The young lady's companion; or, beauty's looking-glass.* (London, 1740); Saville. *The lady's new-year's gift*.

[52] Wrightson, *English society*, 18, 23.

threat to the maintenance of order in society.[53] Many of these issues are central to discussions of cosmetics and dress.

A growing historiography on make-up in medieval, early modern, and eighteenth century England and Europe reveals the social meanings attached to cosmetics. Rather than focusing on the ingredients that comprised cosmetics and how cosmetics were applied, scholars such as of Eileen Ribeiro, Frances Dolan, and Lynn Festa, are increasingly exploring the significance early modern commentators attributed to 'painted women'.[54] Ribeiro, for instance, has shown that moralists were concerned about the ability of cosmetics to alter appearances, which originated from the Platonic belief that physical beauty was tied to spiritual virtue.[55] The ability of cosmetics to obscure the identity of an individual was worrisome because, as Festa explains, a person's face was

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[53] On concerns about disguise and impersonation in Hanoverian England, see: Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "The Westminster Impostors: Impersonating Law Enforcement in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Eighteenth-Century Studies.* 38, 3 (2005): 461-483; Guyonne Leduc, "The Adventure of Cross-Dressing: Hannah Snell (1723-1792), a Woman Soldier," in Serge Soupel, et. al. *Adventure: an eighteenth-century idiom: essays on the daring and the bold as a pre-modern medium*. (New York: AMS Press, 2009), 145-70; E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and hunters: the origin of the Black Ac*t. (London: Allen Lane, 1975).

On disguise and impersonation in early modern England and Europe, see: David Cressy, *Travesties and transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: tales of discord and dissension*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Ibid., "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies.* 35, 4 (1996): 438-465; Cristine M. Varholy, " 'Rich like a Lady': Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies.* 8, 1 (2008): 4-34; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Susan Baker, "Personating Persons: Rethinking Shakespearean Disguises," *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 43, 3 (1992): 303-316; Bernard Capp, "Playgoers, Players and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern London: The Bridewell Evidence," *Seventeenth-Century*. 18, 2 (2003): 159-71.

[54] Richard Corson, *Fashions in Makeup: From Ancient to Modern Times.* (London: Peter Owen, 2003); Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama;* Patricia Phillippy, *Painting Women*: *Cosmetics, Canvases and Early Modern Culture.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Maggie Angeloglou, *A history of make-up*. (London: Studio Vista, 1970); Sally Pointer, *The artifice of beauty: a history and practical guide to perfumes and cosmetics*. (Stroud: Sutton, 2005); Edith Snook, Wo*men, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England. A Feminist Literary History*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Ibid., " 'The Beautifying Part of Physic': Women's Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England," *Journal of Women's History*. 20, 3 (2008): 10-33; Caroline Palmer, "Brazen Cheek: Face-Painters in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Oxford Art Journal*. 31, 2 (2008): 195 -213; Aileen Ribeiro, *Facing beauty: painted women & cosmetic art.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Frances E. Dolan, "Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand: Art, Nature, and the Face-Painting Debate in Early Modern England," *PMLA*. 108, 2 (1993): 229-230; Lynn Festa, "Cosmetic Differences: The Changing Faces of England and France," *Studies in eighteenth century culture.* 34, (2005): 25-54.

[55] Ribeiro, *Facing beauty*, 9, 13, 107-109; 224-226, 237-238.

considered "a porous border," which indicated their identity.[56] As a result, moralists referred to women who used cosmetics as "blasphemers and counterfeiters who challenge the cosmic and social order by redefining their own value."[57]

Concerns about cosmetics and their ability to obscure identity were most disconcerting with regard to lower class women, because, while toilette was important for upper class women, cosmetics had a dubious reputation because they were expensive, contained dangerous additives, and, worst of all, could create false beauty and conceal defects.[58] As Festa further argues, "[t]he ease with which detachable signs of rank might be procured leads to a dangerous leveling of both social and natural differences and draws into question the correlation between the two." Not surprisingly, these tensions about changing social status arose "at a moment when traditional hierarchies [we]re in flux".[59] Dolan concurs and argues that a woman who used paint was accused of undue pride and even "presented as competing with and opposing her maker." As "the female 'creatrisse' " was "[p]ortrayed as defying God rather than as ingeniously transcending the limits of nature, creative women risk damnation."[60] Hence, concerns about status and the maintenance of the social order were often expressed as discussions about how people in various classes appeared.

While it is apparent that considerable attention has been given to the problems associated with painted women, with the exception of some work on the Magdalen Hospital, the Lock Hospital, and Hogarth's portrayal of venereal diseased prostitutes in his art works, few works have considered debates on prostitutes' use of cosmetics.

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[56] Festa, "Cosmetic Differences," 28.
[57] Dolan, "Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand".
[58] Ribeiro, *Facing beauty*, 96-98, 140, 159-166; Dolan, "Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand," 229-230.
[59] Festa, "Cosmetic Differences," 30.
[60] Dolan, "Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand," 230.

Moreover, scholarship on cosmetics and prostitutes have predominantly examined how ideas about beauty were represented in art works or on prostitutes' use of cosmetics is in relation to female artists, rather than on prostitutes in their own right.[61] Other works on prostitutes' appearance have primarily focused on responses from charities and hospitals.[62] Consequently, we still require a comprehensive analysis of why prostitutes who wore make up or employed these treatments were condemned.

Considerable attention has also been given to questions regarding the clothing trade, sumptuary laws, and whether the purchase of consumer goods was inspired by the desire to emulate social betters.[63] However, except for the consumer revolution, much of

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[61] Ribeiro, *Facing beauty*, 2.

[62] Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, distress and desire: clothing and the female body in eighteenth-century literature*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), especially 120-150.

On the Lock Hospital, see: Kevin Siena, "The "foul disease" and privacy: the effects of venereal disease and patient demand on the medical marketplace in early modern London," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. 75, 2 (2001) 199-224; Donna T. Andrew, "Two medical charities in eighteenth-century London: the Lock hospital and the lying-in charity for married women," in Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, eds. *Medicine and charity before the welfare state.* (London: Routledge, 1991), 82-97; Linda A. Merians, "The London Lock Hospital and the Lock Asylum for Women," in Linda A. Merians, ed. *The secret malady: venereal disease in eighteenth-century Britain and France.* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 128-48; David Williams, *The London Lock: a charitable hospital for venereal disease 1746-1952.* (London: Royal Society of Medicine Press, 1992).

On Hogarth's depiction of venereal disease and prostitutes, see: N.F. Lowe, "The meaning of venereal disease in Hogarth graphic art," in Merians, ed. *The secret malady*, 68-82; Ibid., "Hogarth beauty spots, and sexually transmitted diseases," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 15 (1992) 71-79; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's harlot: sacred parody in enlightenment England*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Ibid., *Hogarth. Vol.1, Modern moral subject, 1697-1732. Vol.2, High art and low, 1732-50. Vol.3, Art and politics, 1750-64.* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1992-3); Ronald Paulson, ed., *The analysis of beauty*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

[63] On sumptuary laws see: Wilfrid Hooper, "The Tudor sumptuary laws," *English Historical Review*. 30 (1915): 433-49; N.B. Harte, "State control of dress and social change in pre-industrial England," in Donald Coleman and A.H. John, eds., *Trade, government and economy in pre-industrial England: essays presented to F.J. Fisher*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 132-65; Alan Hunt, "Moralizing luxury: the discourses of the governance of consumption," *Journal of Historical Sociology*. 8, 4 (1995): 352-74; Herman Freudenberger, "Fashion, Sumptuary Laws, and Business," *The Business History Review*. 37, 1/2, Special Illustrated Fashion Issue (Spring- Summer, 1963).

On the debates on emulation and the clothing trade, see: Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. (New York: MacMillan, 1899); John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); J.F. Fisher, "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Fourth Series, 30 (1948): 46; Helen Berry, "Women, Consumption and Taste," in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds. *Women's History: Britain 1700-1850,* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and*

this research has been focused on medieval and early modern England, as well as in early modern and eighteenth-century Europe.[64] Similarly, although extensive research exists on Hanoverians' attitudes towards fashion and luxury, these discussions have predominately focused on elite men and women's behaviours, not on 'ordinary' plebeian people's choices.[65] Consequently, with the notable exceptions of work by Beverly Lemire, John

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Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760. (New York: Routledge, 1988); Ibid., "The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late Seventeenth- and Early eighteenth-century England," in *Consumption and the world of Goods;* Carole Shammas. *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America.* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990), 206 -217; Ibid., "The Decline of Textile Prices in England and British America Prior to Industrialization," *The Economic History Review*, New Series. 47, 3 (1994): 483-507; John Styles and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, taste, and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); T.H. Breen, "The Meaning of Things: Interpreting the Consumer Economy in the Eighteenth-Century," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 249-260; Cissie Fairchilds, "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 228; Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 162-173; Beverly Lemire, "Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes," *The Journal of British Studies*. 27, 1 (1988): 1-24; Sheryl Kroen, "Historiographical Reviews. A Political History of the Consumer," *The Historical Journal*, 47, 3 (2004): 709–736; Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999)*;* Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods*. (London: Routledge, 1993), 274-301; Maxine Berg, "Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of Social History*, 30, 2 (1996): 415-434; Ibid., "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Economic History Review*, *New Series.* 55, 1 (2002): 1-30.

[64] On the consumer revolution, see above, and: Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730.* (London: Methuen, 1989).

On consumption in the middle ages and the early modern period in England and Europe, see: Catherine Richardson, ed., *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650.* (Aldershot: Ashgae, 2004); Christopher Dyer, "The Consumer and the market in the later Middle Ages," *Economic History Review*, 2 nd ser., 42, (1989): Ibid., Standards of living in the *later* middle ages*: social change* in *England, c.1200-1520.* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), 305-27; Jane Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I.* (London: Batsford, 1988); Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*. (Manchester University Press, 1995); Francoise Poponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle ages.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passion: A History of Sumptuary Law*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Penelope Walton Rogers, *Cloth and clothing in early Anglo-Saxon England, AD 450-700*. (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007); Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England.* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2004); Jane E. Burns, *Courtly love undressed: reading through clothes in medieval French culture*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Klaus Oscherna, et. al., eds., *Fashion and clothing in late medieval Europe.* (Riggisberg: Schwabe Verlag, 2010).

[65] On women and clothing see: Styles and Vickery, eds., *Gender, taste, and material culture*; Aileen Ribeiro. *Dress and Morality*. (London: B T Batsford, 1986); Elizabeth Ewing, *Everyday dress, 1650-1900.* (London: B T Batsford, 1984); Anne Buck, *Dress in eighteenth-century England*. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979); Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in early modern England*. (New York: Berg, 2003); Wendy Parkins, *Fashioning the body politic: dress, gender, citizenship.* (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Christine Boydell, "Fashioning Identities: Gender, Class and the Self," *Journal of Contemporary History*. 39, 1 (2004): 137-146; Bruno Blondé, Peter Stabel, Jon Stobart & Ilja Van Damme, eds., *Buyers & sellers:*

Styles, and John Barrell, analyses of the clothing worn by ordinary people in general, and prostitutes in particular, has not been sufficiently considered.[66] This oversight is regrettable because eighteenth-century commentators were deeply concerned about the consequences of prostitutes' vanity and luxury on society.

However, both Tim Reinke-Williams and Jennie Batchelor have considered the moralistic judgments made about women based on their dress in general, and attitudes to prostitutes' dress in particular. In *Dress, Distress and Desire*, Batchelor "investigates the intersection of the discourses of dress and female virtue".[67] Batchelor asserts that dress held a "contradictory status" in eighteenth-century England: while clothing was recognized as "a means of self-expression" it was simultaneously regarded as "a potential facilitator of false self-creation".[68] Commentators were aware that appearances could easily be manipulated, and therefore could represent artifice, degradation, immorality, and vice. Hence, Batchelor convincingly suggests that dress generated so much

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retail circuits and practices in medieval and early modern Europe. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

On luxury see: John Sekora, *Luxury: the concept in Western thought, Eden to Smollett*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); E.J. Clery, *The feminization debate in eighteenth-century England : literature, commerce and luxury*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth-century Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds. *Luxury in the eighteenth century: debates, desires and delectable goods.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Berg and Clifford, eds., *Consumers and luxury;* Christopher J. Berry, *The idea of luxury: a conceptual and historical investigation*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[66] Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture, and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660-1800.* (Basingstocke: Macmillan Press, Ltd. 1997); Ibid., *Fashion's favourite: the cotton trade and the consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*. (London: Pasold Research Fund, 1991); Ibid., "Consumption in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes," *Journal of British Studies.* 27 (1988) 1-24; John Styles, *The dress of the people: everyday fashion in eighteenth-century England.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 11; Ibid., "Custom or Consumption? Plebeian Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England," in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds. *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 103-118; Ibid., "Clothing the north: the supply of non-elite clothing in the eighteenth-century north of England," *Textile History*. 25, 2 (1994): 139-66; Ibid., "Involuntary consumers? Servants and their clothes in eighteenth century England," *Textile History*. 33, 1 (2002): 9-21; John Barrell, *The dark side of the landscape: the rural poor in English painting, 1730-1840*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[67] Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire,* 3.

[68] Ibid.

discussion because the metaphors surrounding dress were contradictory and constantly evolving. For this reason, Batchelor argues that the governors of the Magdalen Hospital closely regulated the clothes worn by the repentant prostitutes.[69]

Similarly, Reinke-Williams argues that "[c]ontemporaries believed that opulent female attire facilitated whoredom, and that the expensive finery of whores concealed bodies that were frail, disfigured and diseased, or conversely beautiful and enticing."[70] Consequently, he asserts that all "Plebeian women wearing luxurious clothes were suspected of prostitution" and that "any woman considered to be dressed above her station was viewed with suspicion and had to explain how she came to possess such attire."[71] Though Reinke-Williams provides important insights about how moral judgments about clothing helped determine people's identities in early modern London, he spends much of his work assessing how clothing influenced the marriage and labour markets.

Overall, discussions about prostitutes, clothing, and make-up have taken place in isolation. Debates about prostitutes have been restricted to considerations about the causes of, and responses to, prostitution, while discussions about make-up and clothing have predominantly explored elites' appearance. Although there is an emerging analysis of the meanings attributed to clothing, the clothing worn by plebeians, and the meanings attributed to 'painted women', the perceived consequences of prostitutes' vanity on society is not yet fully realized. Therefore, in order to understand why prostitutes'

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[69] Ibid., 120-150.
[70] Tim Reinke-Williams, "Women's clothes and female honour in early modern London," *Continuity and Change*. 26, 1 (2011): 70.
[71] Reinke-Williams, "Women's clothes and female honour," 70.

appearances were regarded with so much apprehension, an examination of the confluence of concerns about prostitution, cosmetics, and clothing is needed.

The Role of Pride and Envy, Luxury and Vanity in Leading Women to Prostitution

Throughout the eighteenth century, Hanoverians believed that exterior appearances should reflect their character, status, and role in society. As a result, anyone, especially lower-class women like prostitutes, who dressed above their station by adorning their skin with cosmetics or dressing in fine clothes, were believed to pose a threat to the proper ordering of society.[72] Bernard Mandeville, for instance, explained that clothing was an important signified of status and morality:

> People where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their Cloaths and other Accoutrements they have about them; from the richness of them we judge of their Wealth, and by their ordering of them we guess at their Understanding. It is this which encourages every body, who is conscious of his little Merit, if he is any ways able to wear Cloaths above his Rank,[73]

Similarly, an anonymous contributor to *Gentleman's Magazine* similarly explained: "To dress in a Manner inconsistent with our Condition … is to throw away our Money and Time, purely to make ourselves ridiculous."[74] Therefore, men and women who dressed above their station created chaos and disorder. These concerns were not limited to plebeian women like prostitutes, but extended to anyone who engaged in cross-class dressing, including elites who wore bawd or strumpet costumes at masquerades.[75]

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[72] Pat Rogers, "Fat is fictional issue: the novel and the rise of weight-watching," in Roy Porter and Marie Roberts, eds., *Literature and medicine during the eighteenth century.* (London: Routledge, 1993), 180; Constantine George Caffentzis, "Medical Metaphors and Monetary Strategies in the Political Economy of Locke and Berkeley," *History of Political Economy*, 35, Annual Supplement, (2003), 204, 205, 206; Varholy, "Rich like a Lady".
[73] Mandeville, *The fable of the bees*, 103.
[74] *Gentleman's Magazine.* (May 1731), 196.
[75] *General Evening Post*. Tuesday, December 3, 1776, #6697; *Public Advertiser*. Wednesday, December 4, 1776, #13150; O. Sedgewick, *The world turn'd inside-out; or, humankind unmask'd. Vol. I.* (London, 1737); Ibid., *The universal masquerade: or, the world turn'd inside-out.* (London, 1742); Ibid., *The*

Dressing in clothing associated with another class was regarded as crude, inappropriate, and a threat to the social order.[76]

Concerns about people dressing above their station in order to emulate the rich were particularly rife when exhibited by women in the lower orders in general, and prostitutes in particular. Many commentators believed that a woman's pride, vanity and desire for luxuries were triggered by her desire to emulate her mistress. As Saunders Welch suggested, women's passion for extravagant attire was sometimes instigated when mistresses gave employees her cast-off clothing. Welch asserted that many women from the lower orders

> are ruined by the false good-nature of their superiors; how often is the lady's woman seen flaunting in her mistress's left-off cloaths, and ridiculously affecting the airs of a woman of quality? Thus, the mind is puffed up by vanity; that distinction and respectful distance which should always subsist, is weakened if not destroyed.[77]

Daniel Defoe was equally appalled by the fact that servants dressed in the same fashion as their mistresses; consequently he was not surprised that servants were unduly proud: "Women Servants … are so puf'd up with Pride, now a Days … It is a hard Matter now to know the Mistress from the Maid by their Dress, nay very often the Maid shall be much the finer of the two. … to support which intolerable Pride".[78] Accordingly, Defoe and Welch believed that the upper classes also held a responsibility to demonstrate good

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universal masquerade: or, the world turn'd inside-out. (London, 1743); Anon. *Truth on all sides.: A new Masquerade Ballad,* (London, 1750); C.R. of C.C.C., *The danger of masqueradess and raree-shows, or the complaints of the stage, against masquerades, opera's, assemblies,* (London, 1718); Terry Castle. *Masquerade and civilization: the carnivalesque in eighteenth-century English culture and fiction*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); Ibid., *The female thermometer: eighteenth-century culture and the invention of the uncanny.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Gillian Russell, *Women, sociability and theatre in Georgian London.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Dror Wahrman, *The making of the modern self: identity and culture in eighteenth-century England*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[76] On cross-class dressing, See: Varholy, "Cross-Class Dressing".

[77] Welch, *Plan to Remove,* 4-5.

[78] Daniel Defoe, *Every-Body's business, is no-body's business.* (London, 1725), 4.

economical behaviour for the lower orders in order to encourage their moral development.

Commentators believed that when combined with pride, envy led to vanity, which in turn, increased woman's desire for extravagant clothes and ornaments and encouraged them to become prostitutes. Edward Ward explained:

> few [Women] … can stand against the powerful Charms of Gold, fine Dresses, Coach and Horses, and Attendance. It is Grandeur influences Pride, and leads Ambition by the Nose through the worst of Vices; for there are many who are honestly Poor by constraint, who would willingly commit any Evil to be Rich.[79]

Jean Ostervald similarly believed that women's "Vanity" caused them to want to "shew themselves", a quality which defined them as "whorish" and sinful.[80]

As Hanoverians saw a strong link between pride, envy, vanity and prostitution, they criticized women's vanity and love of luxuries, which were seen to contradict Godly ideals of feminine modesty and demeanor. Consequently, discussants regularly admonished women not to take pride in their appearance, but in their virtuous conduct. *The Ladies Dictionary* advised women not to be concerned with their appearance, but with being godly: "A glorious Soul is above *dresses*, and despiseth such as have no higher".[81] An illustrative adage similarly reveals this perspective well: "she who is parton

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[79] Ward, *Female policy detected,* 29-30.

[80] Jean Ostervald, *The Nature of Uncleanness Consider'd: Wherein is discoursed of the Causes and Consequences of this Sin, and the Duties of such as are under the Guilt of it. To which is added, a discourse concerning the nature of Chastity, and the means of obtaining it.* (London, 1708), 114-115.

[81] N. H., *The ladies dictionary*, 240.

L.M. Stretch similarly declared that: "modesty is the handmaid of virtue". [L.M. Stretch, *The beauties of history: or Pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life: designed for the instruction and entertainment of youth.* Eighth edition. (London, 1789), 85].

full of pride is empty of virtue".[82] The Right Honourable George Lord Saville rebuked those women who vainly focused on their appearance instead of developing their morals:

> A Woman is not to be proud of her fine Gown; nor when she hath less Wit than her Neighbours, to comfort herself that she hath more Lace. Some Ladies put so much Weight upon *Ornaments*, that if one could see into their Hearts, it would be found, that even the Thoughts of *Death* is made less heavy to them by the Contemplation of their being laid out in State, and *honourably attended* to the *Grave.*[83]

Hanoverians were deeply concerned by women's decisions to alter their appearance either by paint or by extravagant dress because, they argued, it came at the cost of their morality; the "ungodly practice" caused women to lose their virtue, modesty, and become shameless.[84]

Governing authorities believed that pride, envy, and vanity were so interconnected with prostitution that only if these inclinations were eliminated could prostitutes be reformed. Consequently, governors of the Magdalen Hospital included a prayer, "For Grace to resist Anger, Pride, and Unquietness" in *The rule and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity*.[85] The Governors also included a prayer "For humility, meekness, and purity of heart": "*O Father Almighty!* Have mercy on me a miserable sinner! … Remove from me *all proud looks,* and haughtiness of spirit. Let no *vain hopes* deceive, nor *evil desires pervert my heart*".[86] These authorities hoped prayer would help

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[82] A Tinclairan Doctor, *The First and Second Parts of the New Proverbs on the Pride of Women; OR, The Vanity of WOMEN Displayed. With their High Heads, Hoops, and Gezies.* (Edinburgh, 1780?), 2
[83] Saville, *The lady's new-year's gift,* 105. Also see: *The young lady's companion,* 62; Erasmus Jones, *Luxury, pride and vanity, the bane of the British nation.* (London, 1736), 3.
[84] Gauden, *Several letters between two ladies,* 2. Also see: Anon. *Three excellent new songs.: I. The pride and vanity of young women. II. Pretty Peggy's humble petition for marriage. III. The king and the miller. Entered according to order.* (Glasgow?, 1790?), 2-3.
[85] "Prayers. *For Grace to resist Anger, Pride, and Unquietness" The rule and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use.* 4th ed. (London, 1769), 60.
[86] "Prayers. *For humility, meekness, and purity of heart." The rule and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity*, 60-61.

penitent prostitutes combat their pride and vanity, and encourage them to reform themselves into 'ideal' women, suitable wives and mothers.

Reformers were concerned that womens' predisposed weakness for fine clothing would lead them to purchase luxury items beyond their financial reach. Extravagant purchases drove women into poverty and debt, which, in turn, led them to prostitute themselves. Daniel Defoe, for instance, asserted that "heedless" female servants' turned to prostitution to satisfy their desire for "Silks and Satins".[87] Saunders Welch similarly explained: "[t]heir finery induces them to insist upon high wages," which they entirely "spend in cloaths". This situation was problematic because "if by accident they are thrown out of place, what recourse have they for support, but first to pawn or sell their cloaths, and then to prostitute their persons?"[88] Writing under the alias "Farmer Truman", Jonas Hanway warned that women's "childish … passion" for clothes "hath been the ruin of thousands". Accordingly, Hanway lamented "[w]hat numbers of young women, without any other inclination to wickedness, have been undone by the immoderate love of dress and pastime."[89] Hence, philanthropically-minded reformers believed that women's desire for finery was a significant cause of prostitution.

Popular commentators also expressed concerns about the financial costs of pride, envy, vanity, and luxury. N.H., the author of *The Ladies' Dictionary* advised young women to live within their means, or else they could end up impoverished and prostitutes: "if you will Cloath at another Man's rate, you may be a Begger, when he fools not the charge. But how many have run themselves out of their Estates into Debt, and

[87] Defoe, *Every-Body's business,* 4-8.
[88] Welch, *Plan to Remove,* 5.
[89] Thomas Trueman [Jonas Hanway]. *Advice from Farmer Trueman, to his daughter Mary, upon her going to service.* (London, 1796), 181.

from the heighth of Gallantry sunk to the depth of Poverty".[90] In *The enormous abomination of the hoop-petticoat,* "A W Esq." complained about "the *vast foolish Expence* of so much *Silk* and other costly materials, three times more than is *necessary,* or *convenient".*[91] A contributor for the *Gentleman's Magazine* likewise sought "to expose the Vanity of Dress, that is, when it exceeds the Bounds of Decency and good OEconomy".[92] In expressing concern for prostitutes' financial well-being, discussants argued that extravagancies ought to be discouraged because they exacerbated the problems of poverty, one of the leading social issues in London.[93] Yet, many of these same reformers recognized that prostitutes were not entirely to blame for falling into prostitution because they were either enticed into prostitution by a bawd, or their vanity was accidentally exacerbated by their employers, or their own parents.[94]

The perception that prostitutes used their wages primarily for clothing, which impoverished them, was clearly portrayed in *The Whore's Last Shift* [Fig. 2]. In this

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[90] *The ladies dictionary,* 212; Jones, *Luxury, pride and vanity*, 4.

[91] A W Esq., *The enormous abomination of the hoop-petticoat,: as The Fashion Now is, And has been For about these Two Years Fully Display'd: In some Reflexions upon it, Humbly offer'd to the Consideration of Both Sexes; especially the Female.* (London, 1745), 7.

[92] *Gentleman's Magazine*. (September 1731), 386.

[93] On poverty in the metropolis, see: Tim Hitchcock, *Down and out in eighteenth-century London*. (London: Hambledon and London, 2004); Tim Hitchcock, Peter King, and Pamela Sharpe, eds. *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Steven King, *Poverty and welfare in England, 1700-1850: a regional perspective*. (Manchester: Manchester University, 2000); Alannah Tomkins, *The Experience of Urban Poverty, 1723-82: Parish, Charity and Credit*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Joanna Innes, "Managing the Metropolis: London's Social Problems and their Control, c. 1660-1830" in *Two capitals London and Dublin 1500-1840 Proceedings of the British Academy*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 53-79; Alysa Levene et. al. ed., *Narratives of the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006).

[94] On Parents' responsibility for encouraging their daughters' vanity see: Ostervald, *The Nature of Uncleanness Consider'd.* 92; Anon., *Satan's Harvest Home: or the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy, and the Game of Flatts.* (London, 1749), 11; Anon., *A trip through the town: Containing observations on the humours and manners of the age*. (London, 1735), 42; Conant, "The First Sermon," 9-10; J. Girrard. *Practical lectures on education, spiritual and temporal; Extracted from the most eminent Authors on that Subject.* (Exon, 1756), 60-61.

On Mistresses' role in advancing girls' pride and vanity, see: Welch, *Plan to Remove,* 4-5; Defoe, *Every-Body's business,* 4.

On bawds, see: pages 105-126 in chapter 2, "Lust and Avarice".

work, a prostitute dresses in a squalid room. Standing only in tattered stockings, the prostitute washes 'her last shift'. In spite of her poverty, the woman's hair is done up and she is clearly making every attempt to appear respectable in order to solicit potential male customers. However, rather than be alluring, the prostitute stands towards the back of the room, facing away from the viewer, concealing her nakedness. Both these actions indicate shame, rather than pride. The poverty of the prostitute in *The Whore's Last Shift* has often been used to buttress the argument that over the course of the eighteenth century, prostitutes were increasingly regarded as pitiable victims, rather than as lusty whores.[95] However, few note that several artists also made reproductions of this print, but poverty was not necessarily the key theme in the replicas. For instance, in *The Last Shift* [Fig. 3] a similar prostitute stands at a tub, washing her last remaining shift. Like the original print, the room is shabby. However, unlike in *The Whore's Last Shift,* in this image, a small gin tankard is on the table, suggesting that the woman has indulged in sin and vice. The second prostitute has done up her hair, rouged her cheeks, and coloured her lips in a bold attempt to allure men. Also in contrast to *The Whore's Last Shift*, the prostitute in *The Last Shift* is clothed in bright colours, drawing the viewers attention directly to her. Though she is also washing her shift in a basin, this woman is not nearly as destitute as woman in the first image. These two images indicate that changes in perceptions of prostitutes were neither linear nor complete. Nevertheless, they bring attention to the association between the poverty brought on by a life of prostitution and the desire for fine clothes and cosmetics.

[95] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*; Carter, *Purchasing power*; Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce*; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution.*

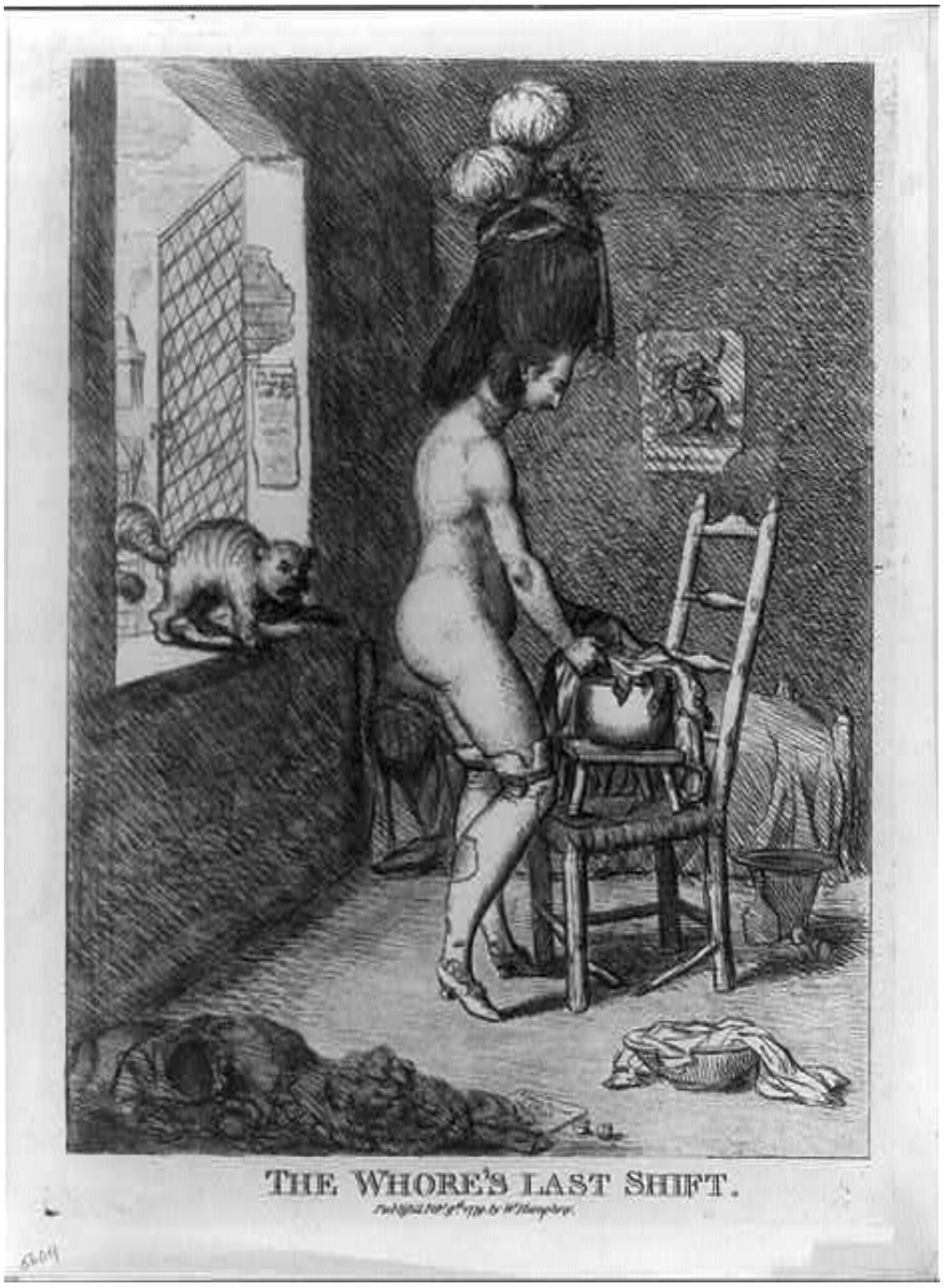


Fig. 2. *The Whore's Last Shift.* London, 1779. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. (LC-USZ62-85713). <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b32238> accessed February 17, 2012.



Fig. 3. *The Last Shift*. London, 1791-1793. Courtesy of the British Museum (1935,0522.1.108).

Hence, lower class women's desire for luxuries in general and the opulent clothes worn by elites in particular was seen by contemporaries to have significant consequences. Not only was the desire to dress above one's station regarded as a contributing factor to women's immorality, but when it became excessive and uncontrollable, it led many to prostitution and a life of sin. However, while commentators were concerned about women's pride and envy leading them to prostitution, they were more often concerned about the consequences of lower-class women wearing expensive clothes because it concealed their status.

Dress, Cosmetics, and Status

Throughout the eighteenth century, popular commentators, philanthropists, and reformers regarded make-up and cosmetics as visible markers of dishonesty. This section examines discussions of prostitutes' use of cosmetics and dress to determine how it was correlated to their character and status. Hanoverians condemned prostitutes who used paint and cosmetics because they were seen to indicate a prostitutes' desire to rise above their station and that dressing above one's station, using ornaments or other accruements to conceal the true nature of one's body or status were seen as forms of deception.

Newspaper contributors regularly criticized prostitutes who wore cosmetics because paint was seen to create a false appearance. Writing for the *London Evening Post*, "Observator" commented on prostitutes' deception by comparing it to the polluted nature of the slums in the metropolis: "our noble City, with all its stately Buildings, elegant Ornaments, and smooth Pavements, appears to me only as a great Harlot, a fair outside, and foul within, dress'd up and decorated only to dazzle our Eyes, and allure us

further into Pride, Lust, Luxury and ruin."[96] "Britannicus" similarly explained that bestowing unearned titles "would no more make a Person honourable, than Paint and dress could make a wither'd Harlot beautiful and virtuous".[97] Hence, these discussants believed that prostitutes' false appearances were simply a cheap façade, and their character remained dishonest.

Cosmetics, ointments, and tinctures were sometimes used to mask the effects of venereal disease, a further reason why anyone – and especially prostitutes - who used cosmetics were associated with deception.[98] Edward Ward warned men that "Paint, [and] Patches, … are to hide Defects" and therefore conceal the women's genuine appearance.[99] According to a contributor to several newspapers, "A painted woman imitates when moderately coloured, one that is in good health and in good condition. But when she is painted two grossly, she resembles one that is enraged with passion, inflamed with a fever, or whose blood is corrupted with impurity."[100] A short poem which preceding the description of "Mrs. Bi-d," a featured prostitute in the 1793 edition of *Harris's List* indicated that her use of paint and patches to enhance her appearances was "in vain": "For 'tis in vain to guess / At women by appearances; / They paint and patch their imperfections / Of intellectual complexions, / And daub their tempers o'er with washes, / As artificial as their faces."[101]

The use of paint was considered evidence of a tainted body and tainted morality. In one of his sermons to benefit the Magdalen Hospital, William Dodd lamented the

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[96] *London Evening Post.* September 8, 1767-September 10, 1767, #6218.
[97] *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, November 28, 1758, #4847.
[98] *Gentleman's Magazine*. (January 1731), 14-15.
[99] Ward, *Female policy detected,* 2.
[100] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Wednesday, August 8, 1787, #18 303; *Public Advertiser*. Thursday, August 9, 1787, #16606.
[101] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies Or man of pleasure's kalender for the year 1793*. (London, 1793), 6.

paradox that people see prostitutes "cloath'd in health and neatness," but in reality they are "languishing under disease, and cover'd with foulness and filth".[102] According to "Censor", a contributor to *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, "the victims of seduction" were "lurking under the artifical varnish of beauty".[103] Commentators were concerned that paint was used to conceal a foul reality; a body riddled with disease. "Humphrey Humdrum" explained that prostitutes used beautifying products to conceal their disgusting bodies:

> AH! Heavens! how she stinks, her body's tainted,
> Witness, ye gods – her tallow face is painted;
> Her little thatch of hair – is just consum'd;
> Oh! curse the jilting b----h, her breath's perfum'd;
> Rank is her soul – polluted is her mind;
> Esteem'd by none – abhor'd by all mankind.[104]

"Humphrey Humdrum" also drew attention to the fact that early modern and Hanoverian commentators saw a corresponding link between a person's external appearance and their inner soul.

Women who wore cosmetics and paint were accused of committing 'fraud' because they tried to represent themselves differently from who they really were. The accusation of fraud carried great weight during the eighteenth-century, as evidenced by the vast numbers of people who were imprisoned or executed for forgery.[105] Angered by

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[102] Dodd, *A sermon on St. Matthew,* 12-13.
[103] *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. Saturday November 12, 1791, #4780.
[104] Humphrey Humdrum, "The first [song] is wrote by Madam Belinda, that notorious Jilt, by Mary Midnight," in Humphrey Humdrum. *Mother Midnight's Comical Pocket-book.* (London, 1753), 14. Further on in *Mother Midnight's Comical Pocket-book* another song about a prostitutes' disgusting, hidden nature appeared: "To smell Belinda in the morn, / Before the goddess does adorn, / With patch, perfume and paint, / God! What a nausceous frowzy strench; / Zounds! who'd but think a cinder-wench, / Might make a sweeter faint." [*Mother Midnight's Comical Pocket-book,* 35].
[105] On Forgery, see: Donna T. Andrew and Randall McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd: forgery and betrayal in eighteenth-century London.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Randall McGowen, "Forgery and the Twelve Judges in Eighteenth-Century England," *Law and History Review.* 29, 1 (2011): 221-257; Ibid., "Forgers and Forgery: Severity and Social Identity in Eighteenth-Century Justice," in David Lemminds and Claire Walker, eds., *Moral panics, the media and the law in*

an advertisement for cosmetics that appeared in *The Carleton-House Magazine,* "Felix Fairplay" insisted that anyone who made assurances that their product could alter someone's appearance was anything but faultless: "Can that composition be *innocent* which represents a countenance different form what it really is? Can that wash or lotion be *innocent,* which is calculated only for the purposes of deception?"[106] "Felix Fairplay" insisted that anyone who sold or produced cosmetics was guilty of "larceny" and "swindling" because his objective was to assist in the establishment of "a fraudulent bargain" by helping ladies manufacture a deceptive appearance.[107] Likewise, ointments and paint were sometimes referred to as "Jezabel's Cosmetics", implying that only false women painted their skin.[108]

In spite of the strong condemnations of paint and women who used cosmetics, make-up, occupied an ambiguous place in Hanoverian society. Cosmetics were widely available for purchase, and many recipe and cookery books included instructions on how every woman could assemble beautifying ointments.[109] Moreover, there were countless

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early modern England. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009),157-75; Ibid., "The Bank of England and the Policing of Forgery 1797-1821," *Past & Present*. 186, 1 (2005): 81-116; Ibid., "From Pillory to Gallows: The Punishment of Forgery in the Age of the Financial Revolution," *Past & Present*. 165, 1 (1999): 107-140; Ibid., "Making the "bloody code"? Forgery legislation in eighteenth-century England," in Norma Landau, ed. *Law, crime and English society, 1660-1830.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 117-38; Paul Baines. *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Jack Lynch. *Deception and detection in eighteenth-century Britain*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

[106] *The Carlton-House Magazine: or, Annals of taste, fashion*. Vol. 1. (January 1792), 11-12.

[107] Ibid.,

[108] *Tomahawk Or Censor General*. Friday, November 27, 1795, #XXVII.

[109] See: Pierre-Joseph Buc'hoz, *The toilet of Flora: or, a collection of the most simple and approved methods of preparing baths, essences, pomatums, Powders, Perfumes, and Sweet-Scented Waters. with receipts for cosmetics of every kind, that can smooth and brighten the Skin, give Force to Beauty, and take off the Appearance of Old Age and Decay. For the use of the Ladies.* (London, 1784, 1787); Hannah Woolley, *The accomplish'd ladies delight in preserving, physick, beautifying, and cookery.* (London, 1685); Anon., *In Surry-street, in the Strand, at the corner-house with a white-balcony and blue-flower pots, liveth a gentlewoman,: who hath a most excellent wash to beautifie the face, which cures all redness, flushings, or pimples*. (London, 1690?); Anon., *A new collection of the most easy and approved methods of preparing baths,: essences, pomatums, powders, perfumes, sweet-scented waters: and opiates.* (London, 1787); Anon. *Princesses Powder.* (London, 1695); Anon., *The only delicate beautyfying cream, for the face, neck, and hands.* (London, 1716); Hugh Smith, *Medicamentorum formul: in varias medendi intentiones concinnat?*

advertisements for cures for venereal diseases, which promised to conceal and cure marks associated with them.[110] The easy access and wide availability of paint and cosmetics suggests that many women, not just whores, used or could use cosmetics.

(Londini, 1763); Physician, *Letters to the ladies, on the preservation of health and beauty.* (London, 1770); Antoine Le Camus, *Abdeker: or, the art of preserving beauty.* (London, 1754); Joseph Spence, *Crito, or, A dialogue on beauty*. (London, 1752); Amelia Chambers, *The ladies best companion: or, A Golden Treasure for the Fair Sex.* (London, 1775?); Henry Howard, *England's newest way in all sorts of cookery: pastry, and all pickles that are fit to be used. Adorn'd with copper plates, setting forth the manner of placing dishes upon tables; and the newest fashions of mince-pies.* (London, 1710); Anon. *The second part of Whipping-Tom : or, a rod for a proud lady.* (London, 1722); Mary Evelyn*, The ladies dressing-room unlock'd, and her toilette spread: together, with a fop-dictionary, and a rare and incomparable receipt to make pig, or puppidog-water for the face.* (London, 1700); Maximilian Hazlemore, *Domestic economy: or, a complete system of English housekeeping*. (London, 1794), 405-408.

Advertisements for beautifying recipes were also commonly found in newspapers. For instance, see: *Public Advertiser*. Saturday, June 6, 1772, #11028; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Thursday, June 4, 1772, #946; *London Evening Post*. June 4, 1772 - June 6, 1772, #6930; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday, May 27, 1772, #939; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Monday, June 8, 1772, #949; *London Evening Post*. June 9, 1772 - June 11, 1772, #6932; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Tuesday, June 9, 1772, #950; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*. July 21, 1772 - July 23, 1772, #517; *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*. July 25, 1772 - July 28, 1772, #519; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday, March 29, 1775, #1825; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. Monday, April 3, 1775, #759; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday, April 5, 1775, #1831; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Friday, April 7, 1775, #1833; *London Evening Post*. March 31, 1753 - April 3, 1753, #3968; *Public Advertiser*. Saturday, March 31, 1753, #5740; *Public Advertiser*. Thursday, April 5, 1753, #5752; *Public Advertiser*. Monday, April 9, 1753, #5755; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. October 22, 1761 - October 24, 1761, #2435; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. October 27, 1761 - October 29, 1761, #2437; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. November 8, 1764 - November 10, 1764, #575; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Tuesday, November 6, 1764, #11 130; *London Chronicle*. November 3, 1764 - November 6, 1764, #1229; *World.* Thursday, November 20, 1788, #591; *London Chronicle*. October 27, 1772 - October 29, 1772, #2478; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Monday, November 9, 1772, #1081; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Saturday, December 26, 1772, #13673; *World.* Thursday, November 20, 1788, #591; *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. Thursday, November 27, 1794, #18862.

[110] Advertisements for beautifying tonics, remedies, and attire were frequently found in newspapers or as broadsheets. See for example: *Old England.* Saturday, June 4, 1748, #214; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. October 15, 1761 - October 17, 1761, #2432; *World.* Tuesday, December 7, 1790, #1227; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. Monday, December 28, 1789, #5207; *World.* Tuesday, December 7, 1790, #1227; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. Monday, December 28, 1789, #5207; *World.* Monday, December 14, 1789, #917; Lewis Hendrie. *Lewis Hendrie, at his perfumery shop and wholesale warehouse, Shug-Lane, near the top of the Hay-Market, St. James's, London, sells the following and all other articles in the perfumery way, on remarkably low terms, and warrants them as good in quality as any shop or warehous in Great Britain*. (London, 1778).

On advertisements for venereal cures, see: Lisa Forman Cody, "No cure, no money", or the invisible hand of quackery: the language of commerce, credit and cash in eighteenth-century British medical advertisements," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture.* 28 (1999): 103-30; Roberta Mullini, " 'Gull'd by the enchanting Tongues of Quack and Zany': The Rhetoric of Nostrum Marketing in Speech and Print in Early Modern London," in *The language of public and private communication in a historical perspective.* Nicholas Brownlees, Gabriella Del Lungo, and John Denton, eds., (Newcastle: Cambridge

As a result of the ambiguous place of paint and cosmetics in society, there was an ongoing debate as to whether it was possible for honest women to use cosmetics. As we have seen, most commentators believed that any woman who wished to present herself as different than her true self was deceptive and false. However, *The Ladies Dictionary* suggested that honest women could use make-up: "*Beautifying* for honest purposes (then) not being proved a sin, we see no reason to forbid it when God and Nature has allowed it".[111] *The Ladies Dictionary* also argued that beautifying could be seen as an example of upholding the natural and providential social order if honest women employed cosmetics to please their husbands, for if God created woman for man, women should seek to please their husbands:

> if it be granted, that by being the Lord's Servants we cannot please Men: Then *Wives consequently may not please their Husbands, Children their Parents, Subjects their Prince, Servants their Masters, nor Trades-men their Customers*. … There is a comely Decency in adorning and attiring the Body, and we do not find it any where forbid where it does not reach to pride…[112]

However, N.H. was careful to distinguish between the objectives of "virtuous Ladies and Harlots":

> that which really makes the difference is, the end and design of them. The Harlot dresses her self up to allure and ensnare the Unwary into her Embraces, the virtuous Lady for Decency, and the Credit of her Family; … The Harlot beautifies her Face to attract lascivious wandring Eyes, and the virtuous Lady to gain and keep the Love of a Chalt Husband …[113]

Thus, it is questionable how forward-thinking the publication actually was because the it wavered between expressing both conservative and progressive views.[114] Moreover, it is

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Scholars, 2010), 359-376; Hannah Barker, "Medical advertising and trust in late Georgian England," *Urban History*. 36, 3 (2009): 379-98; Siena, "The 'foul disease' and privacy".

[111] *The ladies dictionary,* 57.

[112] Ibid., 54-55. Also see: Corson, *Fashions in Makeup,* 173-174, 187.

[113] Ibid.,

clear that the author was uneasy with condoning paint as innocent since it was routinely associated with prostitution. Nevertheless, it was acceptable for women to use paint when they were already regarded as honest, decent, and pious.

Cosmetics were widely condemned when women used these objects to conceal their natural identity and present themselves as members of a higher station. These concerns were amplified when prostitutes purchased luxuries and ornaments and wore elaborate outfits. Hanoverians believed that prostitutes wore tawdry outfits, fine clothing, and fancy apparel, which conflicted with the proper ordering of society and of Britons' ability to correctly identify people according to their station. As explained by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, dressing in an appropriate manner was deemed necessary "As Dress has a strong Influence on the Mind, so it shews the Temper and Disposition of the Person wearing it; those who appear fondest of a *shewy and glittering Outside*, are commonly of weak Minds, vain, empty, and effeminate."[115]

Women's willingness to "commit any evil to be rich", and lower-class women's desire for fine clothes were portrayed in art works.[116] William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* clearly illustrates the belief that external appearances reflected a person's character and changed alongside their status, as demonstrated by the alteration in a Moll Hackabout's appearance and demeanour from an innocent country girl to a kept-woman and common prostitute. When Moll first arrives in London seeking an honest living in the first plate (Fig. 4), she is dressed in a modest frock; her skin is clear; and her demeanour

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[114] *The Ladies Dictionary* denounced cosmetics as "*Artificial Beauty"* and asserted that "*washing* and *painting* is condemn'd in *Holy Writ*, as the practice of *loose, licentious* and *lascivious Women*; who with the deforming of their *Souls*, and polluting their *Consciences*, do use the *Art* for embellishing their *Countenances*." N. H., *The ladies dictionary,* 38].
[115] *Gentleman's Magazine*. (September 1731), 387.
[116] Ward, *Female policy detected,* 30.

humble. While we know Moll will be quickly corrupted by fashionable society, as evidenced by her original seducer ogling her from the doorway and the bawd approaching her, still innocent at this point, Moll's plain dress and unadorned face reflects her status and demenour.[117]

However, in the second plate, Moll has become the kept-woman of a wealthy gentleman (Fig. 5). Not only does Moll's dress becomes more extravagant, but her character changes too; no longer meek and modest, Moll is haughty and greedy, as indicated by her snapping fingers, the fact that she is carelessly kicking over the table, and her breasts are falling out of her dress. However, while Moll may be living in a lavish lifestyle, because she has not earned this wealth through honest industry, but through illicit commerce, her downfall is imminent. In the third plate (Fig. 6), Moll's moral and physical decline starts to become apparent; Moll's face is pock-marked, which is evidence of venereal disease. Though not as fashionable, Moll's dress remains extravagant and designed to allure men into her company, demonstrating the importance she attributes to fine clothes. Moreover, gone is any evidence of Moll's innocence; her seamstress' tools have been replaced by a witches hat and broom, likely a costume she wears to masquerades to attract customers without their knowing her true nature and morality. Moll's continuing desire to be a fashionable lady is evident by the pictures she has hung on the walls of her ramshackle room in plate three, an imitation of the manners of her keeper from the time when she was a kept-woman. Moreover, even after she has been arrested and is beating hemp in Bridewell Prison (Fig. 7), Moll's pride does not

[117] Ronald Paulson, *Sin and evil: moral values in literature.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 90-91.

dissipate and she continues to wear fine clothes and portray herself as a lady instead of a whore.[118]



Fig. 4. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress,* Plate 1. London, 1732. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr22337).

[118] Ibid., 85.



Fig. 5. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress*, Plate 2. London, 1732. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr22338).



Fig. 6. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress*, Plate 3. London, 1732. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (lwlpr22340).



Fig. 7. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress,* Plate 4. 1732. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library (lwlpr22341).

Hence, lower class women's desire for luxuries in general and the opulent clothes worn by elites in particular was seen to have significant consequences. Not only was the desire to dress above one's station regarded as a contributing factor to women's immorality, but when it became excessive and uncontrollable, it led many to prostitution and a life of sin. However, while commentators were concerned about women's pride and envy leading them to prostitution, they were more often concerned about the consequences of lower-class women wearing high end clothes because it concealed their actual status.

The Consequences of Luxury and False Appearances

Throughout the Hanoverian period, two contradictory ideas coexisted regarding prostitutes' appearance and their effect on men. On the one hand, commentators insisted that it was easy to identify a prostitute by her tawdry attire and make-up; in desperately trying to emulate elite fashions and appear genteel, she wore too much make-up and over-dressed herself, thereby creating a comical effect. Yet, on the other hand, commentators were concerned that prostitutes were able to deceive men into thinking they were genteel ladies, rather than disorderly whores. Both of these paradoxical views were expressed by reforming authorities, preachers, philanthropic elites, and in the popular press.

Some commentators, such as Jean Ostervald, insisted that it was easy to identify a prostitute by her tawdry attire cited that "the whorish Woman" was represented as "one that is adorn'd, deck'd, and perfum'd."[119] Moralist John Gauden agreed, and explained that *"Painting the face* [is] … the practice of lewd and wicked women".[120] In "Adventures of a Rake", an anonymous author suggested that it was easy to identify "what sort of man he is" based only on someone's attire: the author compared courtesans with other easy-to-identify characters: "The fop has his solitare, the Quaker has her pinched cap and a little black hood, the courtesan is decked with every tawdry ornament to allure."[121] Thus, 'tawdry ornaments' were associated with prostitutes and all women who were "adorn'd" and painted were assumed to be prostitutes.[122] Following the Reformation, ornaments and decorations also became increasingly controversial in

[119] Ostervald, *The Nature of Uncleanness Consider'd.* 114-115.
[120] Gauden, *Several letters between two ladies.* 17-18.
[121] "Adventures of a Rake," *The Rambler's Magazine; or, the Annals of gallantry*. (December, 1786), 427.
[122] *Public Advertiser*. Friday November 18, 1785, #16064; *Morning Herald*. Monday September 1, 1788, #2452.

relation to church decorations; authorities debated whether aesthetics impeded or enhanced parishioners' appreciation of godly ideals. Preachers were particularly concerned whether ornaments would encourage popery or devotion to the Church of England. Like prostitutes, popery was deeply associated with artifice, falsity, and insincerity, leading the Church of Rome to be portrayed as the Whore of Babylon. Thus, concerns about prostitutes' deception reflected broader anxieties of the age.[123]

While some commentators argued that it was easy to identify prostitutes based on their outfits because their attire served as a form of advertisement, more were concerned that prostitutes were so good at concealing their true identity that they could deceive men into thinking they were genteel. Observers warned that this latter scenario had a more dire outcome because it not only led to negative consequences for the individual prostitute, but for male suitors as well. As a result, men were warned not to fall for a woman based on her appearances. Edward Ward, for instance, admonished men to "Be careful how you conceive too good an Opinion of a Woman at first Sight, for you see not

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[123] Jeremy Gregory, "Anglicanism and the arts: religion, culture, and politics in the eighteenth century," in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory, eds. *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 82-109; Ibid., "The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of Anglican clergy after 1689," in John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England, c. 1689-1833*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 67-85.

On the Whore of Babylon, see: Anon. *An Answer to the pamphlet called the Loyal feast, or, A true description of His Majesties deep-dy'd scarlet Protestants, the true begotten sons of the whore of Babylon* **(**London, 1682); Jeremy Taylor, *The last speech, and confession of the whore of Babylon, at her place of execution, on the fifth of November last whereunto is added, the famous story of the Bell, used by the Irish papists, taken out of the Bishop of Down and Conner's epistle to his perswasive against popery.*(London, 1673); Anon., *The Whore of Babylon's pockey priest, or, A true narrative of the apprehension of William Geldon alias Bacon a secular priest of the Church of Rome now prisoner in Newgate, who had just before been above two months in cure for the French pox: wherein is inserted a true copy of the apothecaries bill found in his chamber, containing the whole process of that reverend fathers venereal cure: with several other remarkable relations and proofs of the debaucheries and villanies of the popish clergy in general*. (London, 1679/80); Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, gender, and seventeenth-century print culture*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Alison Conway, *The Protestant whore: courtesan narrative and religious controversy in England, 1680-1750*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Laura M. Stevens, "Healing a Whorish Heart: The Whore of Babylon and Protestant Interiority in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *European Studies: A Journal of European Culture, History and Politics.* 31 (2013): 71-84.

the Woman truly, but her Ornaments. Paint, Patches, and fine Dresses, are to hide Defects; for Beauty, like Truth, is always best when plainest."[124]

The concern that women could conceal their true identity and status by dressing in elaborate outfits and ornamentation to seduce men was reflected in several literary works. The author of *William Owen and Polly Morgan,* suggested that prostitutes disguised their "hagged" appearance as "they constantly made Use of a little Art, and put on a fresh Complexion every Day."[125] Likewise, in *The Life and Adventures of Benjamin Brass, an Irish Fortune-Hunter,* Brass picks up a lady at Vauxhall who he assumes is a lady of fortune based on "the richness of her dress" and the fact that she ordered expensive champagne.[126] Shortly after accompanying her back to her lodgings, Brass discovers that the girl was a "woman of the town, and that he was in a bagnio."[127] Even though Brass' greed leads to his downfall, it is also the ability of the prostitute to conceal her identity that causes Brass to be duped. Similarly, in John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, Fanny Hill discusses "The care of dressing, and tricking me out for the market"; after she is fully painted and dresses in 'appropriate' clothing, Fanny states:

> When it was over, and I view'd myself in the glass, I was … too artless, to hide my childish joy at the change; a change in real truth for much the worse, since I must have much better become the neat easy simplicity of my rustic dress, than the aukward, untoward, taudry finery, that I could not conceal my strangeness to.[128]

These works show that commentators believed prostitutes were capable of tricking men into thinking they were wealthy merely by dressing the part, making them a threat to the

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[124] Ward, *Female policy detected,* 2.
[125] Anon., *The True and interesting history of William Owen and Polly Morgan, both of Monmouth Town*. (London, 1782), 21-22.
[126] John Oakman, *The Life and Adventures of Benjamin Brass, an Irish Fortune-Hunter,* (London, 1765), 30-38.
[127] Ibid., 47.
[128] John Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*. (London, 1749), 37.

maintenance of order in society. These discussants focused on the danger prostitutes posed to men by deceiving them through the use of ornaments, elaborate costumes, and make-up. As E.P Thompson points out, those who faced economic hardship commonly used disguises, such as blackface, throughout the eighteenth-century during the periods of profound economic change and unrest. Thompson further argues that the reaction to blacking was the response of men who "had formed habits of mental distance and moral levity towards human life".[129] Accordingly, it is not surprising that prostitutes' use of disguise was similarly interpreted as a precursor to criminality.

Commentators were concerned that prostitutes wore lascivious outfits and tawdy ornaments to entice men. According to John Cleland: "they [prostitutes] are rigged out in some flaunting, tawdry, patch'd up Dress, … [to] catch at every Man that passes, and will hardly part with their Prey."[130] The author of *The World Display'd* noted that "She dresses herself, and not with an intention to be more charming, but to charm more men".[131] Writing for *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, "An OLD RAKE" was livid that prostitutes quickly "learn all the cunning arts that can entice those that are *void of understanding*". "An OLD RAKE" was astonished that "Multitudes of women, … decked out like duchesses, and beckoning every man in tolerable dress that happens to cast an eye towards them" continued to "walk our streets" so freely.[132] If prostitutes seduced these men, it would lead "to their own destruction; by leading them into all Sorts of evil, and leaving them in Rags."[133]

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[129] Thompson, *Whigs and hunters*, 197.
[130] John Cleland, *The case of the unfortunate Bosavern Penlez.* (London, 1749), 12-13.
[131] Earle, *The World Display'd*, 103.
[132] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. Friday, September 1, 1775, #889.
[133] *Conference about Whoring.* (London, 1725), 5.

Popular images of prostitutes emphasized that they commonly wore elaborate and colourful clothing to attract, pick up, and seduce men. For instance, James Gillray's *A corner, near the Bank; - or - an example for fathers* [Fig. 8] shows two young prostitutes on a street corner having gained the attention of an elderly man, who ironically, has a book in his pocket entitled "Modest Prints". The women are dressed in alluring, though tawdry, outfits in order to attract attention. While one raises her skirt to expose her leg, the other flirts with a fan. Likewise, in *An Evening's Invitation with a wink from the bagnio*, [Fig. 9], two prostitutes dressed in lavish and alluring, though tawdry, outfits have grabbed the attention of a passing gentleman. Hence, in both popular literature and art works prostitutes were commonly depicted as dressing themselves up to signal to the men passing by in the streets that they participated in the sex trade.



Fig. 8. James Gillray. *A corner, near the Bank; - or - an example for fathers.* London 1797. London Metropolitan Archives, Satirical Print Collection (p5384732).



Fig. 9. Carington Bowles, pub. *An evenings invitation, with a wink from the bagnio.* London, 1773. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library (lwlpr03558).

Clothing and Reform

It is evident that Hanoverians were deeply concerned about lower-class women's desire to appear genteel. As a result, over the course of the medieval, early modern, and Hanoverian periods, a variety of reform-oriented laws and strategies were implemented. Many of these policies, such as sumptuary laws and the regulation of clothes at the Magdalen Hospital were specifically aimed at prostitutes. These guidelines were partly based upon the belief of the benefits of making sure people were recognizable according to their status, as well as the presumption that external appearances had a significant impact on people's conduct and their social interaction with others.

To encourage honesty in their appearance, throughout the medieval and early modern period, sumptuary laws were put in place to prevent people from presenting themselves as belonging to a higher station. The underlying assumption behind sumptuary laws has been that by regulating the clothing that each station could wear, the social order would be upheld.[134] Although sumptuary laws ceased to be enforced after 1604 after an attempt to introduce a new regulation was stymied due to the ongoing constitutional conflicts between the Crown and parliament, throughout the Hanoverian period many commentators advocated reinstating them to keep prostitutes' pride in check and to reinstate more honesty in appearances.[135] For instance, in a letter addressed to Jonas Hanway in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, "An Invisible Spy" implored Hanway to support a sumptuary law because "[i]f a sumptuary law was enforced, it would prevent the prostitute from dressing in that extravagant, gay, and tempting manner

[134] Hooper, "The Tudor sumptuary laws"; Harte, "State control of dress"; Hunt, "Moralizing luxury"; Freudenberger, "Fashion, Sumptuary Laws, and Business"; Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and personal regulation in England*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 1926); Vincent, *Dressing the elite*.
[135] Hunt, "Moralizing Luxury," 353.

which is so ensnaring to youth."[136] Further on in his letter, "An Invisible Spy" argued: "a sumptuary law … would give a check to [prostitutes'] pride."[137] In agreement with the need for sumptuary laws, Defoe insisted that "Servant-Maids [should be] … obliged to go in a Dress suitable to their Station."[138] Defoe also suggested that "The Apparel of our Women-Servants should be next regulated, that we may know the Mistress from the Maid."[139] Some advocates of sumptuary laws also thought that limiting what clothing could be worn by each class would directly impact prostitution. For instance, "Hortensia", a newspaper pundit, believed that "a reform in dress and expensive fashion … would … thin the streets of unhappy Prostitutes."[140]

By the eighteenth century, efforts to regulate prostitutes' attire were taken by the Magdalen Hospital. Owing to the power attributed to external appearances to affect personal conduct, the governors of the Magdalen required the Penitents to "wear an uniform of light grey, and in their whole dress are plain and neat."[141] As external appearances were believed to influence personal conduct, Jennie Batchelor argues that by regulating the clothing the penitent prostitutes wore, the Governors of the Magdalen hoped to inspire a "symbolic reformation" in which the Penitents' new attire would encourage them to become humble, pious, and industrious.[142]

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[136] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Wednesday December 3, 1766. #1777.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Defoe, *Every-Body's business,*15-16.
[139] Ibid.
[140] *Sun*. Tuesday December 29, 1795, #1016.
[141] William Dodd, *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Charity*. (London, 1761), 134.
[142] Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire*, 140, 147.

On the qualities associated with femininity see: Ulrich, *Good wives*; Tague, *Women of Quality*; Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*; Rendall, "Women and the public sphere"; Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*; Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres"; Colley, *Britons*; Bridget Hill, *Eighteenth-Century Women. An Anthology.* (London: Routledge, 1993), 25-44.

Dodd's *account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Charity* [Fig. 10] and the 1769 edition of *The rules and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity* [Fig. 11] included illustrations of the appearance of successfully reformed Penitents. Both images depict a neat, humble, orderly woman wearing plain clothing. The conduct and dress of the Magdalen's was presented as the composite opposite of popular images of streetwalkers. As we see in *A corner, near the Bank* [Fig. 8] (p. 176) or *An Evening's Invitation with a wink from the bagnio* [Fig. 9] (p. 177), the women in the streets are dressed in extravagant clothing and with a haughty demeanour, both actively flirt with the men they encounter. In contrast, the Magdalens are alone, and their dress and deportment suggests they are focused on a pious reformation. Hence, not only did clothes exemplify character and intentions, they were also believed to influence conduct and morality.



Fig. 10. William Dodd. "Portrait," *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Charity*. London, 1761.



Fig. 11. Magdalen Hospital. "Title Page," *The rules and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use*. London, 1769.

It is also clear that the governors of the Magdalen Hospital were concerned about prostitutes' pride and their unrelenting desire to appear genteel. According to the 1758 and 1760 *Plan of the Magdalen House,* Saunders Welch's proposal for the Magdalen hospital, and William Dodd's *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital*, incoming prostitutes' clothes needed to be tagged, cleaned, and returned to them upon the successful completion of their reform. It is apparent that the governors believed it was necessary to regulate the clothing the penitents wore because items deemed "too fine for their station," would "be Sold, and the Produce brought to their Account."[143] While this clause reveals how much elites believed that clothing influenced people's behaviour, it also allowed the governors to emphasize their social distance and assert power over the penitents, just as masters and mistresses were able to with their servants.[144] Interestingly, the clause that items deemed "too fine for their station," would "be Sold, and the Produce brought to their Account" was removed from *The Rules* in 1787.[145] At first glance, this change could be looked upon as support for the analysis put forward by Rosenthal, Carter, Andrew, and Trumbach, that over the course

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[143] Magdalen Hospital. *The Plan of the Magdalen House for the reception of Penitent Prostitutes, &c.* (London, 1758), 17; *The Rules, Orders and Regulations of the Magdalen House, Magdalen Hospital* (London, 1760), 19; Dodd, *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital.* (London, 1770), 405-6; Ibid., *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital, for the reception of penitent prostitutes.* (London, 1776), 323; Welch, *A plan, to remove,* 40. Also see: Dingley, *Proposals for establishing a Public Place of Reception for Penitent Prostitutes.*

The 1760 edition of *The Rules, Orders and Regulations of the Magdalen House* also asserted that "If, upon their admission, their apparel is in any tolerable condition, it is *cleaned, ticketed,* and laid by, in order to be returned to them whenever they leave the house: but if such apparel is too fine for their station, the same may be sold, and the produce brought to their account." Magdalen Hospital. *The Rules, Orders and Regulations of the Magdalen House.* (London, 1760), 19.

[144] On social distance, see: Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life c.1754-1790.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); Clarissa Campbell Orr, "Countesses and Courtesans," *History Workshop Journal*. 62, 1. (2006): 278-292; Amy Louise Erickson, "What shall we do about the servants?" *History Workshop Journal*. 67, 1 (2009): 277-286; Kristina Straub, *Domestic affairs; intimacy, eroticism, and violence between servants and masters in eighteenth-century Britain*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*.

[145] The new instructions simply read: "Upon their admission, their apparel is ticketed, and laid by, in order to be returned to them where they leave the house." [*Rules, Orders and Regulations of the Magdalen Hospital* (London, 1787), 20].

of the eighteenth century, prostitutes were increasingly regarded as pitiable victims.[146] However, the elimination of this clause was more likely triggered by the realization that hardly any women entering the charity actually wore "fine" cloths, thereby making the regulation superfluous. Perhaps, only after the charity had been operating for many years did the governors recognize that few, if any, of the prostitutes entering the charity arrived in clothing "too fine for their station". Hence, by enforcing simple, plain, and neat dress, the governors hoped to reform these repentant prostitutes' dress and character.

Conclusions

Throughout the eighteenth-century, prostitutes were regarded as predisposed to the sins of pride and envy. Pride was a characteristic commonly attributed to prostitutes because they were seen as haughty and trying to seduce wealthy men. Pride also drove women to become overly preoccupied with their appearance, diverting them from appropriate domestic pursuits, God and religion, and their morality. Furthermore, pride led prostitutes to become envious of their social betters. Rather than seeking to emulate elites' best qualities, prostitutes endeavoured to emulate elite fashions, entice and seduce men, and acquire material luxuries, even at the cost of prostituting their bodies. Moreover, envy was frequently associated with prostitutes as whores were seen to be jealous of elites. In trying to compete with their social betters, commentators insisted that prostitutes sought to emulate elites by purchasing luxuries, and enhancing their appearance with paints, ornaments, and fine clothing. Hanoverian commentators regarded these prostitutes with disdain and apprehension because they believed these prostitutes wanted to 'rise above their station' and become elite.

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[146] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*; Carter, *Purchasing power*; Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce*; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution.*

Social and moralistic commentators, Bridewell administrators, religious authorities, charity governors, and the newspaper press interpreted prostitutes' efforts to entice men with elaborate clothing, ornaments, and cosmetics as evidence of their excessive pride and as evidence that these women were envious of their social betters. Recognizing that most prostitutes could not afford the latest fashions, commentators were concerned about young women accumulating debt. However, commentators were more concerned about common prostitutes seeking to present themselves as elites. Commentators were convinced that prostitutes dressed up in elaborate attire and utilized make-up for nefarious purposes, primarily to conceal their identity and seduce men. Concerned discussants were anxious that these forged identities would deceive male admirers, who would believe the woman was honest and virtuous, instead of common. Thus, commentators were concerned about prostitutes pride and envy because they believed it led these women to invert the social order, social norms, and expected social mores.

CHAPTER 4: GLUTTONY & SLOTH

Gluttony and sloth were fundamental sins, reflective of unacceptable behaviour which was often associated with prostitution, that explain, in part, why Hanoverians were anxious about prostitution. As drunkenness was a particularly problematic form of gluttony, in this chapter, gluttony will be discussed in relation to the excessive consumption of alcohol, while sloth will be examined in relation to idleness, the central concern associated with sloth during the eighteenth century. This chapter examines how Augustan and Hanoverian men and women addressed, and often directly associated the problems of drunkenness and idleness with prostitutes and their male customers. The first part of this chapter will explore English understandings of gluttony and sloth, and how they were related to prostitution to show that commentators believed that drunken, idle prostitutes and their clients were responsible for the corruption of morality, for a weak labour force, and for crime. This chapter will then consider the perceived consequences of alcohol on men who consorted with prostitutes to show that when men drank and fornicated with whores, authorities believed such behaviours contributed to greater levels of disorder and crime.

The second part of this chapter evaluates how discussants sought to reform prostitutes' drunken idleness. Throughout the eighteenth-century, philanthropists, reformers, and concerned commentators believed that the best way to reform the idle, drunken prostitute was through a religious re-education, the inculcation of an industrious spirit through labour, and by preventing her from drinking spirituous liquors. Authorities hoped these initiatives would reform the loose, lewd, idle, drunken prostitute into a productive member of society, and ideally into a potential wife and mother. An

examination of how prostitutes were perceived in relation to ideas about gluttony and sloth is useful because prostitutes were thought to spend their time in idleness, drinking in alehouses, and corrupting young men to do the same. Moreover, discussions about prostitutes were not limited to the causes and consequences of prostitutes' ruin, but also addressed the effects of prostitutes' mode of living and overindulgence.

Gluttony

In the eighteenth century, gluttony was regarded as "a riotous, immoderate, or extravagant living," which revealed itself either in overeating food or through drunkenness.[1] All forms of gluttony were problematic because it signified an unrestrained appetite. During the early modern period, 'appetite' referred not only to hunger, but as Samuel Johnson explained, could also suggest sexual voraciousness, or an "immoderate appetite for power".[2] An excessive appetite was seen to be especially common in the lower orders and women.[3] Prostitutes, therefore, combined fears of two disorderly groups

[1] Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language.* (London, 1794), 392; Thomas Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1750), 352; Susan E. Hill, " 'The ooze of gluttony': attitudes towards food, eating, and excess in the Middle Ages," in Richard Newhauser, ed., *The Seven Deadly Sins*: *from communities to individuals*. (Boston: Brill, 2007), 61; Mireille Vincent-Cassy, "Between Sin and Pleasure: Drunkenness in France in the Late Middle Ages," in Richard Newhauser, ed., *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 393; Stanford M. Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Society and Evil*. (New York: General Hall Inc., 1989), 214.

[2] Johnson, *A dictionary.* (London, 1786), 158.

An excessive appetite, whether for food or pleasure were seen to be related and caused by a humoural imbalance. For instance, according to *A rational account of the natural weaknesses of women,* "Greensickness in virgins" was signified by "loss of Appetite". [Physician, *A rational account of the natural weaknesses of women, and of the secret distempers peculiarly incident to them.* (London, 1716), 3]. Thomas Laqueur similarly points out that "*The Secrets of Women,* compiled from ancient lore during the later Middle Ages and still popular in the eighteenth century, speaks of the appetite for intercourse" in women. [Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: body and gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 43].

[3] Gentleman, *The gentleman's library: containing rules for conduct in all parts of life. The fourth edition.* (London, 1744), 166; William Agutter, *The sin of wastefulness: a sermon preached ... on January 17, 1796, after reading the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., recommending a reduction in the consumption of wheat*. (London, 1796), 6; Josiah Woodward, *A disswasive from the sin of drunkenness.* (London, 1722), 9; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800*. (New

who had voracious appetites and required regulation: women and the disorderly poor. As we have already seen in chapter three, prostitutes were accused of being 'disorderly' and living 'extravagant' lives, stemming from their vanity and immoderate desire for luxuries. In addition, prostitutes were regarded as idle and unproductive members of society. Rather than engage in legitimate labour, they exchanged sexual favours for goods or money. Accordingly, prostitutes were deemed gluttonous because they allowed base bodily pleasures to dictate their lives, rather than moderately, measured, and naturally engage in these activities.

Drunkenness was a particularly problematic form of gluttony because it denoted a "loss of judgment and lack of restraint".[4] Consequently, gluttony was contrasted with temperance and moderation, defining qualities of honourable and productive members of society.[5] Thus, it is not the over-consumption of food or drink that defined gluttony as a sin; rather gluttony was a sin because, like lust, it is a "fleshly sin" that stems from

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Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 4; Also see: Sarah Jordan, "From grotesque bodies to useful hands: idleness, industry, and the laboring class," *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 25, 3 (2001): 64-65.

Josiah Woodward proclaimed that "The poor senseless Brutes may by Accident be overcome with strong Liquors, because they have no Reason to govern their Appetites, no Sense of Duty or Shame, no Foresight of Danger, nor fear of a future Judgment" [Woodward, *A disswasive from the sin of drunkenness,* 3]. Sir John Fielding similarly noted that "Nature has implanted in us two very strong desires, hunger, for the preservation of the individual, and lust, for the support of the species; according as men behave in these appetites, they are above or below the beasts of the field, which are incited by them without choice or reflection; but rational creatures correct these incentives, and improve them into elegant motives of friendship and society." [Sir. John Fielding, *The universal mentor; containing, essays on the most important subjects in life.* (London, 1763), 119].

[4] Johnson, *A dictionary.* (London, 1786), 158.

[5] Aviad Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins. A Very Partial List*. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008), 82; Paul Langford, *A polite and commercial people: England, 1727-1783*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), especially chapter 4, "Industry and Idleness"; Steve Hindle, "Civility, Honesty, and the Identification of the Deserving Poor in Seventeenth-century England," in Henry French and Jonathan Barry, eds. *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 38-59. Also see: James Bland, Professor of Physic. *The charms of women: or, a mirrour for ladies.* (London, 1736), 91-110.

insufficient self-control.[6] This lack of restraint was believed to inevitably lead to other vices and sins, making gluttony worrisome to governing elites.

Concerns about gluttony most closely resemble anxieties about lust. Like lust, gluttony was seen to differ from the other seven deadly sins because the root of the action is "allied with behaviours required for the survival of the individuals and the species."[7] Gluttony becomes sinful when an element of pleasures emerges from them and the individual in question allows their base "bodily addictions", rather than reason, to govern their actions.[8] Furthermore, gluttony causes the individual to become a "slave to his body" and worship his belly, instead of God, thereby emulating the sin of pride.[9] The religious scholar Aviad Kleinberg explains that for this reason, the Church regarded "the pursuit of corporeal happiness, whether derived from sexual organs, the palate, or the stomach" as equally problematic: "[i]n the cosmic conflict between God and Satan, the mind is allied with God; the body often does the work of Satan."[10] The absence of self-control associated with gluttony and lust became an increasingly significant problem in the eighteenth century because all forms of "uncivilized excess" were contrasted with civility, a crucial signal of politeness.[11] Accordingly, the author of the 1767 *Moral and religious instructions intended for apprentices* asserted: "He that gets drunk with liquor is

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[6] Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins,* 214; William H. Willimon, *Sinning Like a Christian: A New Look at the Seven Deadly Sins*. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 116; Francine Prose, *Gluttony*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 82.
[7] Prose, *Gluttony*, 8.
[8] Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins,* 214; Willimon, *Sinning Like a Christian,* 116; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 82; Prose, *Gluttony*, 13.
[9] Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 82; Prose, *Gluttony*, 13; Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins,* 220; Hill, "The ooze of gluttony," 62.
[10] Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 82.
[11] Elena Levy-Navarro, *The culture of Obesity in Early and Late Modernity: body image in Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, and Skelton*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 151; Paul Langford, "The uses of eighteenth-century politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 6th ser., 12 (2002): 311-31; Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the culture of politeness: moral discourse and cultural politics in early eighteenth-century England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Ibid., "Politeness and the interpretation of the British eighteenth century," *Historical Journal*. 45, 4 (2002): 869-98.

no longer a master of his actions."[12] Consequently, Christians were commanded to "Be *sober*".[13]

However, the consequences of alcohol extended beyond the loss of reason or self-control. Drunkenness was often referred to as a "Great Sin" and "a most odious Vice" because alcohol was an addictive substance that led to countless additional sins, including "uncleanness" and fornication, poor health, a weakened population, reduced productivity, blasphemy, and crime.[14] Drunkenness in women was seen to be especially perilous. As moralist Eliza Fowler Haywood asserted, "the pernicious Custom of Drinking, which prevails amongst Women at present," is "the great Source of that Corruption and Degeneracy".[15] Commentators were especially anxious about the consequences of drunkenness on women because of their childbearing abilities. Moralists were concerned that drunken women would neglect their children and any future children they may bear

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[12] Anon., *Moral and religious instructions, intended for apprentices, and also for parish poor*. (London, 1767), xxxi.
[13] Edward Buckler, *The sin and folly of drunkenness considered.* (London, 1682), 5.
[14] Tomas Wilson, *Distilled spirituous liquors the bane of the nation: being some considerations humbly offer'd to the Hon. the House of Commons*. (London, 1736); Richard Baxter, *A dreadful warning to lewd livers: or, God's revenge against drunkards, swearers, whoremongers, blasphemers, and prophaners of the Lords Day.* (London, 1682?); Adam Holden, *The trial of the spirits, or, Some considerations upon the pernicious consequences of the gin-trade to Great Britain*. (London, 1736); Isaac Maddox, *An epistle to the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, aldermen and common-council, of the City of London, and Governors of the several Hospitals; with an appendix, containing the most material extracts from the sermon, &c. concerning the pernicious and excessive Use of spirituous liquors. The third edition, with additions.* (London, 1751); Stephen Hales, *A friendly admonition to the drinkers of gin: Brandy, and other Distilled Spirituous Liquors. With an Humble Representation of the Necessity of restraining a Vice so destructive of the Industry, Morals, Health, and Lives of the People.* (London, 1751); Samuel Ward and Samuel Clarke, *A Warning-piece to all drunkards and health-drinkers.* (London, 1682); John Dod, Lover of ale, *An extempore sermon, preached upon malt, by a way of caution to good fellows*. (London, 1691); Minister. *An earnest and affectionate address to the poor: More particulary [sic] in regard to the prevailing sin of drunkenness.* (London, 1770); Anon., *The drunkard's legacy.* (London, 1760?); John Wesley, *A word to a drunkard*. (London?, 1780?); William Burkitt, *The poor man's help, and young man's guide.* (London, 1712); Josiah Tucker, *An impartial inquiry into the benefits and damages arising to the nation from the present very great use of low-priced spirituous liquors*: (London, 1751); Anon., *An Elegy on the much lamented death of the most excellent, the most truly-beloved and universally-admired lady, madam Gineva.* (London, 1736).
[15] Eliza Fowler Haywood, *A present for women addicted to drinking*. (London, 1750), 5.

would be weak, and in turn, be ineffectual as future generations of workers.[16] These commentators were distressed that alcohol was such an addictive substance that otherwise honest women would turn to prostitution to enable them to pay for their vice, even at the expense of their children. William Hogarth clearly illustrated all of these fears in his 1751 print *Gin Lane* [Fig. 1]. At the forefront of the image a half-naked drunken mother is so intoxicated that she is unaware that her infant is about to fall to its death. To her right, another mother is compelling her infant to be quiet by pouring alcohol down his or her throat. All around them riot, disorder, and sin abounds.[17] These perceptions persisted. A little more than half a century later, a similar image of disorder is depicted in William Heath's *A midnight go of Daffy's Elixir* [Fig. 2]. On the left hand of the image, a mother finishes another drink while holding her ragged, crying child and another small child protests his empty bowl, suggesting that he is going hungry so his mother can get drunk. Both of these images highlighted the perception of the disorder that would ensue if women consumed alcohol without restraint.

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[16] James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 40 citing: Anon., *The Trial of the Spirits, or Some Considerations Upon the Pernicious Consequences of the Gin-trade to Great-Britain* (London, 1736), 9; Anon., *A Dissertation on Mr Hogarth's Six Prints Lately Publish'd.* (London, 1751), 14; Wilson, *Distilled Spirituous Liquors*, 39; Daniel Defoe, *Augusta Triumphans Or, the Way to Make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe.* (London, 1729), 45; Henry Fielding, *An enquiry into the causes of the late increase of robbers, &c. With some proposals for remedying this growing evil.* (London, 1751), 90; Hales, *Friendly Admonition*, vi, 20.

[17] Ronald Paulson. *Sin and evil moral values in literature*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 136-137, 139-140.



Fig. 1. William Hogarth. *Gin Lane.* London, 1751. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library (lwlpr22325).



Fig. 2. W. Heath. *Fashion and folly*, "'A midnight go of Daffy's Elixir". London, 1822.
London Metropolitan Archives, Main Print Collection (q8034872).

Drink was also widely seen to lead to fornication, especially because women supposedly lacked the same levels of self-control as their male counterparts. For instance, the author of *The Great sin and folly of drunkenness* believed that the treatise needed to be directed "*with a particular address to the female sex*" because "Drunkenness it self (all other proofs or grounds of Suspicion laid aside) is enough to render her Unchastity".[18] As suggested by the *Supplementary Journal to the Advice from the Scandal Club*, any unchaste woman was liable to be accused of being a whore because "a Woman that will be Drunk, will be a W---re, … since how can she be suppos'd to deny a Man the liberty of her Body, that will venture it out of her own Government."[19] These

[18] Anon., *The Great sin and folly of drunkenness, with a particular address to the female sex*. (London, 1707), 82-3, 87. Also see: Fielding, *Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers*, 15.
[19] *Supplementary Journal to the Advice from the Scandal Club*. Friday, December 1, 1704, #4. Also see: Prose, *Gluttony*, 14, 91.

commentators agreed that alcohol reduced women's inhibitions, leading them to promiscuity, which defined them as whores. Though 'whore' was a vague term of derision used to insult any woman who violated social conventions, the term did not necessarily denote a prostitute. Rather, as Laura Gowing, Martin Ingram, and Bernard Capp have shown for the seventeenth century, 'whore' was intended to damage a woman's sexual reputation by signifying illicit sexuality, the defining conduct of prostitutes.[20]

In men, drunkenness was equally disturbing. Despite the fact that alcohol consumption had traditionally played an important role in male rituals, eighteenth century moralists increasingly emphasized the problems associated with drunkenness.[21] As reason progressively became a significant feature that defined masculinity, eighteenth century moralists came to regard the loss of self-control and self-awareness that accompanied drunkenness to be worrisome in men.[22] For instance, in 1707, an anonymous contributor to the *Observator* asserted: "A Man drunk, either with Passion or Wine, cannot be properly said to be a man, the Brutal part having overcome the Human."[23] In 1739, the

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[20] Laura Gowing, *Domestic dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 59-138; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 292-320; Bernard Capp, *When gossips meet: women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker, eds., *Women, crime and the courts in early modern England*.)London: University College, London, 1994).

[21] Gina Bloom, "Manly drunkenness: binge drinking as disciplined play," in Amanda Bailey and Roze Hentshell, eds., *Masculinity and the metropolis of vice, 1550-1650*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 21-44; Alexandra Shepard, ""Swil-bols and tos-pots": drink culture and male bonding in England, c.1560-1640," in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, Miri Rubin, eds., *Love, friendship and faith in Europe, 1300-1800.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 110-130; Valerie Burton, "Whoring, drinking sailors: reflections on masculinity from the labour history of nineteenth-century British shipping," in Margaret Walsh, ed. *Working out gender: perspectives from labour history*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 84-101; Anna Bryson, *From courtesy to civility: changing codes of conduct in early modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[22] Elizabeth Foyster, "Constructing Manhood," in her *Manhood in early modern England: honour, sex, and marriage*. (London: Longman, 1999), 28-54; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of manhood in early modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 152-185.

[23] *Observator.* January 22, 1707- January 25, 1707, #90.

preacher George Whitefield similarly explained that "What renders Drunkenness more inexcusable, is, that it robs a Man of his Reason. Reason is the Glory of Man; the chief Think whereby God has made us to differ from the Brute Creations."[24]

Hence, in women, drunkenness led to corruption, degeneracy, and idleness. Weakened by debilitating liquor, drunken women became unproductive as workers and ineffectual as mothers. Prostitutes were not only drunken and disorderly, but they were scheming criminals who debauched and stole from 'otherwise honourable gentlemen'. Thus, drunkenness and idleness posed a profoundly disorderly threat to society. When men became intoxicated, they lacked proper judgment and made poor decisions, leading them to become the prey of the thieving prostitute. Moreover, as we shall see, drunkenness was seen to encourage idleness and sloth in both men and women, further making it an odious vice.

Sloth

Derived from the Latin phrase *acedia*, meaning 'indifferent" or "careless", sloth could be defined in two ways: sloth was considered a deadly sin because it led people to become "spiritually indifferent", and also because it was considered an "aversion to work", both of which were grave offences against God.[25] The perception that sloth

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[24] George Whitefield, *The heinous sin of drunkenness. A sermon preached on board the Whitaker*. (London, 1739), 10. Similarly, *A Help to a National Reformation* asserted that "DRUNKENNESS is a Sin which hath long been called a *Voluntary Madness,*" [*A help to a national reformation.* (London, 1706), 115. Also see: Woodward, *A disswasive from the sin of drunkenness,* 15-16; Nathaniel Wanley, *The wonders of the little world: or, a general history of man, in six books.* (London, 1791), 360; Thomas Seaton, *The conduct of servants in great families.* (London, 1722), 265.

[25] Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 32; Willimon, *Sinning Like a Christian,* 79-80; Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins,* 5, 6, 9, 14; Johnson. *A dictionary.* (London, 1794), 787; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 32; Sarah Jordan, *The anxieties of idleness: idleness in eighteenth-century British literature and culture*. (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 18-9.

Sloth was regarded as a problematic behaviour because it encompassed, as Thomas Dyche explained, "that sluggish, heavy disposition of mind that renders a person unwilling to act, stir, or do anything; idleness, laziness, dronishness." [Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1740),

produced both idleness and religious apathy defined sloth as a sin that would quickly lead to further transgressions. As a result, in 1747, a "Gentleman at London" explained that idleness was "*a very dangerous Thing, and the fertile Seminary of almost all other Vices"* and in 1782, M. Dawes contended that "Idleness is the root of all evil".[26] Not being properly occupied, moralists believed the idle would succumb to disorderly pursuits such as cheating, thieving, gaming, drinking, and promiscuity, because sin always begat further sin.[27]

During the early modern period, idleness was commonly contrasted with industry and industriousness. Sarah Jordan persuasively argues that industry was so important that she asserts that the "social cement" that bound society together "was work itself or, more specifically, the virtue of industriousness." Jordan goes on to assert that "[i]f industriousness was seen, then, as not only central to the wealth and power of the nation, but as the very glue that held society together, then idleness had to be a terrible danger, a threat to the social order."[28] Industry was regarded as an especially important quality for the lower orders and women. Governing elites were concerned that the lower orders were

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778]; Samuel Johnson simply defined sloth as "1. Slowness; tardiness. 2. Laziness; sluggishness; idleness." [Johnson. *A dictionary.* (London, 1794), 787].

[26] Gentleman at London, *The tricks of the town laid open: or, a companion for country gentlemen*. (London, 1747), 18; M. Dawes, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments.* (London, 1782), 81. Also see: Anon. A*n Essay Upon Idleness: Or, Chusing To Live without Business.* (London, 1707).

[27] John Conant, *Sermons on several subjects. Viz. Of pride, luxury, idleness, unmercifulness. Of Uncleanness. Of future Punishments and Rewards. Of Education.* (London, 1708), 17; Jean Ostervald, *The Nature of Uncleanness Consider'd: Wherein is discoursed of the Causes and Consequences of this Sin, and the Duties of such as are under the Guilt of it. To which is added, a discourse concerning the nature of Chastity, and the means of obtaining it.* (London, 1708), 109-110; Andrea McKenzie, *Tyburn's martyrs: execution in England, 1675-1775*. (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); Peter Linebaugh, *The London hanged: crime and civil society in the eighteenth century.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Francis Martin Dodsworth, "Habit, the Criminal Body and the Body Politic in England, c. 1700-1800," *Body & Society*. 19, 83 (2013): 83-106; Ibid., "Police and the prevention of crime: Commerce, temptation and the corruption of the body politic, from Fielding to Colquhoun," *British Journal of Criminology*. 47 (2007): 439–454; P. Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the 18th Century*. (London: Routledge, 1992); J. Sharpe, " 'Last dying speeches': Religion, ideology and public execution in seventeenth-century England," *Past and Present.* 107 (1985): 144–167.

[28] Jordan, *The anxieties of idleness*, 15; Also see: Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, chapter 4 "Industry and Idleness"; Hindle, "Civility, Honesty, and the Identification of the Deserving Poor".

becoming increasingly idle, slothful, and corrupted by luxury, extravagance, and drink. Moreover, as scholars such as Steve Hindle and Alysa Levene have shown, those defined as 'idle" were regularly denied poor relief because industriousness, diligence, sobriety, honesty, and civility were regarded as defining features of worth.[29] Moral authorities, political oeconomists, and governing elites repeatedly asserted that an essential quality of the poor is that they "must be kept constantly laboring or they will be constantly idle."[30] Bernard Mandeville, for instance, noted that

> Every body knows that there is a vast number of [labourers] … who, if by four Days Labour in a Week they can maintain themselves, will hardly be perswaded to work the fifth … When Men shew such an extraordinary proclivity to Idleness and Pleasure, what reason have we to think that they would ever work, unless they were oblig'd to it by immediate Necessity?[31]

As Linda Colley and others have shown, throughout the eighteenth century, a great deal of effort was made to assist the poor "to foster orderly and industrious" spirit because this would, in turn, help foster a "a more powerful Britain". Charities like the Marine Society, the Troop Society, and other patriotic organizations sought to transform the idle into industrious members of society, or at least for them to stop "obstructing other people's industry."[32] Hence, those who were not industrious, such as prostitutes, were seen to be a

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[29] Hindle, "Civility, Honesty, and the Identification of the Deserving Poor," 42; Alysa Levene, "'Honesty, sobriety and diligence': master-apprentice relations in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England," *Social History*. 33, 2, (2008):184; Dana Rabin, "Drunkenness and Responsibility for Crime in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of British Studies*. 44, 3 (2005): 463, citing: Bernard Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*. (London, 1714), 91–92.

The place of alcohol in the British army is explored by Paul E. Kopperman, "'The Cheapest Pay': Alcohol Abuse in the Eighteenth-Century British Army," *Journal of Military History.* 60 (1996): 445–70; Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers*.

[30] Jordan, *The anxieties of idleness*, 37. For instance, see: James Granger, *The nature and extent of industry, a sermon, preached before his Grace, Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, the 4th of July, 1773, In the Parish Church of Shiplake, in Oxfordshire.* (London, 1773); George Fothergill, *The condition of man's life a constant call to industry. A sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's Church, on Sunday, June 19. 1757*. (Oxford, 1757).

[31] Mandeville, *The fable of the bees,* 173-4.

[32] Linda Colley, *Britons*: *forging the nation, 1707-1837*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 97-98. Also see: Andrew*, Philanthropy and Police*.

burden on the rest of the nation. Accordingly, John Conant explained that "The idle Person is a useless Person; he is a Burthen to the Common-wealth" and ultimately become "the Pests, the very Plagues of the Places where they are."[33] In 1736, the preacher William Broughton agreed, and added that "God has appointed us to work out our Salvation in a way of Diligence and Duty: All such then as fail in this Point, can have no good Hope that is shall go well with 'em hereafter."[34]

Early modern commentators believed that drunkenness was a significant cause of idleness and poverty. For instance, in his treatise, *distilled spirituous liquors the bane of the nation,* Thomas Wilson reminded readers that "we often hear great complaints from the Country of want of Hands to cultivate," and asserted that "This must proceed either from the *Idleness*, *Inability,* or *Decrease* in the bulk of the common People," which "can be very naturally accounted for, from the *Vile* practice of drinking these *Spiritous Liquors.*"[35] In 1704, Daniel Defoe similarly suggested that earnings of the labouring classes be limited to discourage "slothfulness" and the poor labourer from drinking until his money runs out.[36] At mid-century, Charles Townsend concurred; he argued that labourers' wages ought to be restricted and credit denied "as a means to prevent the

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[33] Conant, *Sermons on several subjects,* 15-16. Also See: John MacGowan, *A rod for the sluggard; or the great evil of idleness represented.* (London, 1772), 9; William Broughton, *Idleness in spiritual affairs, an inexcusable sin. A sermon preach'd in the parish-church of Hartlebury, in the country of Worcester.* (London, 1726), 9.

[34] Broughton, *Idleness in spiritual affairs,* 9.

[35] Thomas Wilson, *Distilled spirituous liquors the bane of the nation: being some considerations humbly offer'd to the Hon. the House of Commons,* 10. Also see: Philanthropos, *The trial of the spirits: Or, Some considerations upon the pernicious consequences of the gin-trade to Great-Britain.* (London, 1736), 7.

An anonymous contributor to the *London Chronicle* similarly expressed great concern for the future of the nation if the lower orders continued to spend their time in drunken idleness, and fear that it would weaken the nation, making England vulnerable to foreign invasion: "There is no Nation on Earth where the common People and Servants are so insolent, audacious, idle and drunk as in this; and whilst we are afraid of becoming Slaves to a foreign Enemy, and of reducing ourselves to Beggary". [*London Chronicle*. March 10, 1757 - March 12, 1757, #31].

[36] Daniel Defoe, *Giving alms no charity, And Employing the poor A Grievance to the nation*. (London, 1704), 27. Also see: Clayton, *Friendly advice to the poor,* 7.

frequent drunkenness among the poor". Townsend believed that "By this means the poor will be unable to spend their time in Alehouses so frequently as they do; where their money, and often more than they are worth, is consumed in idleness and drunkenness, and their time and health are entirely thrown away".[37] Thus to Wilson, Defoe, and Townsend, idleness and drunkenness were inextricably connected and intertwined, and must be prevented to ensure that England remained an industrious nation.

Moralistic commentators were particularly concerned with the idleness of poor women. Sarah Jordan argues that idleness in women was regarded as an indication that "she lacked the qualities of a good woman", which was ironic because "during the eighteenth century, women above the laboring classes were increasingly relieved – or divested – of work."[38] Moreover, considerable attention focused on what working class women did with their bodies. Working class women were valued by the gentlewomen for whom they worked according to "how much labor she could perform".[39] Jordan goes on to argue that because elite women only valued working class women "for what she did with her body, for how much labor she could perform", such attitudes unintentionally resulted in "the frequent linking of employed ladies and prostitution. … yet the lady who was forced to take money for her work was also sexually suspect."[40]

Historiography

Analyses of prostitution in eighteenth century England have been dominated by the transformation of the prostitute from a lust-driven whore to an impoverished victim or

[37] Charles Townsend, *National thoughts, recommended to the serious attention of the public. With an appendix, shewing the damages arising from a bounty on corn*. (London, 1751?), 5.
[38] Jordan, *The anxieties of idleness,* 85.
[39] Ibid., 99.
[40] Ibid.

mercantile wage earner. Scholars such as Laura Rosenthal, Sophie Carter, and Cindy McCreery have collectively argued that an important shift occurred at mid-century: whereas late seventeenth century authorities simply regarded prostitutes as whores, mid-century reformers became "increasingly intrigued" by the notion of "prostitution as a form of labor" and endeavoured to reform prostitutes into productive members of society.[41] Katherine Binhammer, Mary Peace, and Donna Andrew further argue that this shift was precipitated by the emergence of sentimentality and the recognition that many women became prostitutes because they were impelled by poverty or ruined by rakes and libertines.[42] While this narrative is constructive, it overlooks the fact that perceptions of prostitution were rarely simple; throughout the eighteenth century most commentators recognized that multiple motives impelled women to become and remain prostitutes. Similarly, studies on houses of correction, the societies for the reformation of manners, and the Magdalen Charity have shown that labour was regarded as a means of generating a transformation in both primarily punitive institutions and charitable institutions throughout the eighteenth century, not just in the period surrounding the establishment of

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[41] Laura J. Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce: prostitution in eighteenth-century British literature and culture*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 4. Also see: Sophie Carter, *Purchasing power: representing prostitution in eighteenth-century English popular print culture.* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); 24; Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 71-77; Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume One. Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 169, 135-195; Tony Henderson, *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730-1830.* (London: Longman, 1999), 167-177; Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 92-7.

[42] Katherine Binhammer, *The seduction narrative in Britain, 1747-1800*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Mary Peace, "The Magdalen Hospital and the Fortunes of Whiggish Sentimentality in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain: 'Well-Grounded' Exemplarity vs. "Romantic" Exceptionality," *The Eighteenth Century.* 48, 2 (2007); Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 54–57. Also see: Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: the transformation of kinship in English literature and culture, 1748-1818*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jennie Batchelor, "'Industry in Distress': Reconfiguring Femininity and Labor in the Magdalen House," *Eighteenth-Century Life.* 28, 1 (2004): 1–20.

the Magdalen Charity.[43] A close examination of remarks by newspaper contributors, Bridewell authorities, and philanthropists reveals that commentators were concerned about the consequences of prostitution on labour throughout the eighteenth century.

Although discussions about the effects of alcohol were common throughout the eighteenth century, scholars have not yet examined the relationship between alcohol and prostitutes. This is regrettable because prostitutes were widely associated with alcohol, alehouses, and taverns. Scholarship on alcohol and alcohol consumption has predominantly focused on two important aspects: the gin controversy and alehouses. Discussions about the gin craze have been instrumental in evaluating public policies in response to one of the first major substance abuse problems in Western Europe. These discussions have examined important questions such as why gin suddenly became so popular, and who produced and consumed gin, and how gin effected the labour force. Scholars such as Peter Clark, Jessica Warner, and Lee Davison have shown that the

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[43] Joanna Innes, "Prisons for the poor: English Bridewells, 1555-1800," in Francis Snyder and Douglas Hay, eds*, Labour, law, and crime: an historical perspective*. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1987), 42; Ibid., "Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movement in later eighteenth-century England," in her *Inferior politics: social problems and social policies in eighteenth-century Britain.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 179-226; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Summary Justice in Early Modern London," *English Historical Review.* 121, 492 (2006): 796-822; Ibid., "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform, 1688-1800," *Journal of British Studies*. 46, 2 (2007): 290-319; Paul Griffiths, "Building Bridewell: London's Self-Images, 1550-1640," in Norman Jones and Daniel Woolf, eds., *Local identities in late medieval and early modern England*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 228-48; Ibid., "Contesting London Bridewell, 1576-1580," *Journal of British Studies.* 42, 3 (2003): 283-315; Ibid., *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550-1660*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); William Hinkle, *A history of Bridewell Prison, 1553-1700*. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006); A.L. Beier, "Foucault Redux?: The Roles of Humanism, Protestantism, and an Urban Elite in Creating the London Bridewell, 1500-1560," *Criminal Justice History*. 17 (2002): 33-60; Martin Ingram, "Reformation of manners in early modern England," in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, eds., *The experience of authority in early modern England*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 47-88; Robert Shoemaker, "Reforming the city: the reformation of manners campaign in London, 1690-1738," in Lee Davison, et. al. eds., *Stilling the grumbling hive: the response to social and economic problems in England, 1689-1750*. (New York: St. Martin's, 1992), 99-120; Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*; Peace, "The Magdalen Hospital and the Fortunes of Whiggish Sentimentality"; Batchelor, "'Industry in Distress'; Sarah Lloyd, "'Pleasure's golden bait': prostitution, poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in eighteenth-century London," *History Workshop Journal*. 41 (1996): 50-70; Binhammer, *The seduction narrative in Britain*; S.D. Nash, "Prostitution and charity: the Magdalen Hospital, a case study," *Journal of Social History.* 17 (1984): 617-28.

debates on the gin laws were particularly contentious because it was during the early eighteenth century that moral concerns and economic motives first became separated, thereby testing governing elites' objectives. Moreover, the drunkenness produced by gin was thought to be unusually noxious and responsible for a rise in crime, disorder, and sin, making it deeply disconcerting to governing elites as these are the same types of problems associated with 'disorderly women'.[44]

Studies on alehouse culture have sought to determine to what extent alehouses actually constituted a threat to the social and economic order of early modern England.[45]

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[44] Rabin, "Drunkenness and Responsibility"; Jessica Warner, "Faith in Numbers: Quantifying Gin and Sin in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies*. 50, 1 (2011): 76-99; Ibid., *Craze: gin and debauchery in an age of reason; consisting of a tragicomedy in three acts in which high and low are brought together, much to their mutual discomfort.* (London: Profile, 2003); Jessica Warner and Frank Ivis, "Gin and gender in early eighteenth-century London," *Eighteenth-century Life*. 24, 2 (2000): 85-105; Jessica Warner, Carol Birchmore-Timney, and Frank Ivis, "On the vanguard of the first drug scare: newspapers and gin in London, 1736-1751," *Journalism History*. 27, 4 (2002): 178-87; Peter Clark, "The 'Mother Gin' Controversy in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 5th ser., 38 (1988): 63-84; Lee Davison, "Experiments in the social regulation of industry: gin legislation, 1729-1751," in *Stilling the grumbling hive*, 25-48; Jonathan White, "The 'slow but sure poyson': the representation of gin and its drinkers, 1736-1751," *Journal of British Studies.* 42, 1 (2003): 35-64; Patrick Dillon, *The much-lamented death of Madam Geneva: the eighteenth-century gin craze.* (London: Review, 2002); Thomas Maples, "Gin and Georgian London," *History Today*. 41 (1991): 41-7; Linda Zionkowski, "Mother Gin: Motherhood, and the Problem of Domestic Order," *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in Their Lives, Works, and Culture*. 4 (2006): 1-26; Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965): 41-55; Nicholas Rogers, *Mayhem: post-war crime and violence in Britain, 1748-53*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 131-157; Thomas Edward Brennan et. al., eds., *Public drinking in the early modern world: voices from the tavern, 1500-1800*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Mark Hailwood, " 'It puts good reason into brains': Popular Understandings of the Effects of Alcohol in Seventeenth-Century England', in Mark Hailwood and Deborah Toner (eds), *Brewery History*, 150: sump *Special Edition: Developments in the Production, Retail and Consumption* of Alcohol in Early Modern England (January 2013): 39-53.

[45] Peter Clark, *The English alehouse: a social history, 1200-1830.* (London: Longmans, 1983); Ibid., "The alehouse and the alternative society," in D.H. Pennington and Sir Keith Thomas, *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in seventeenth-century history presented to Christopher Hill.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978): 47-72; Keith Wrightson, "Alehouses, order and reformation in rural England, 1590-1660," in E. Yeo and S. Yeo, eds., *Popular culture and class conflict 1590-1914: explorations in the history of labour and leisur*e. (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981): 1-27; Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling, 1525-1700*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995); B.S. Capp, "Gender and the Culture of the English Alehouse in Late Stuart England," in Anu Korhonen and Kate Lowe, eds., *The trouble with ribs: women, men and gender in early modern Europe.* (Helsinki: Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2007): 103-27; Paul Griffiths, *Youth and authority: formative experiences in England 1560-1640*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 202; Phil Withington, "Intoxicants and the early modern city," in Steve HIndle, Alexandra Shepard and John Walter, eds., *Remaking English Society*: *social relations and social change in early modern England.* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013): 135-163; Adam Fox. "Food, Drink

Alehouses and gin shops were generally associated with disorder because they were one of the few public places where ordinary poor folks were able to gather. As a result, magistrates, reformers, and moralistic commentators described gin-shops as 'dens of vice' where "horrid scenes" of "robberies, drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and lustful practices," were 'carried on … thro' all the waking hours".[46] Furthermore, these establishments were often places where prostitutes could be readily found, as a "symbiotic relationship [existed] between the alcohol and the sex trade."[47] At the gin-shop, many prostitutes were able to persuade men to buy them drams of gins before agreeing to engage in 'illicit commerce' with them; pleased with the business prostitutes brought them, gin-shop owners turned a blind eye to prostitutes' licentious activities.[48] Moreover, brothels were often disguised as alehouses, enhancing their reputation as disorderly establishments.[49] Gin shops were especially regarded as suspect because the owners and operators were often women. Like prostitutes, operators of gin shops were perceived "as *providers* of a dubious service—selling drink or sex," which was regarded as almost interchangeable. Consequently, they were prosecuted alongside bawds, streetwalkers, and nightwalkers for being 'lewd', 'loose', and 'disorderly'.[50]

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and Social Distinction in early modern England," in *Remaking English Society,* 165-187; Beat Kümin, "Useful to have, but difficult to govern. Inns and taverns in early modern Bern and Vaud," *Journal of Early Modern History.* 3 (1999): 153-175; Ibid., *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Mark Hailwood, "Alehouses, Popular Politics and Plebeian Agency in Early Modern England," in Fiona Williamson, ed., *Locating Agency: Space, Power and Popular Politics*. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 51-76; Ibid., "Sociability, Work and Labouring Identity in Seventeenth-Century England," *Cultural and Social History*. 8, 1 (2011): 9-29.

[46] Saunders Welch, *A proposal to render effectual a plan, to remove the nuisance of common prostitutes from the streets of this metropolis; to prevent the innocent from being seduced*. (London, 1758), 13.

[47] Drew D. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the city of London in the late eighteenth century*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 119. Also see: Warner, *Craze,* 56-57; Griffiths, *Youth and authority,* 215.

[48] Warner, *Craze,* 56-57.

[49] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, 215.

[50] Ibid., 212.

Though ecclesiastical and secular authorities denounced alehouses as a breeding ground of sexual excess and subversion, Peter Clark, Keith Wrightson, and Paul Griffiths have raised questions about how problematic alehouses actually were to the maintenance of order, given that alehouses were a vital part of plebeian culture and played a central role in the communal life of the lower classes. Yet, regardless of the reality of disorder caused by alcohol, elites perceive alehouses as largely contributing to social unrest, especially because alehouses were also closely associated with prostitution.[51]

Another important area of discussion in eighteenth century English society is labour, industry, and idleness. Idleness was regarded as a serious problem throughout the early modern period. Discussions of idleness have primarily focused on poverty, the operation of the poor laws, and unemployment. Scholars such as Paul Slack, Steve Hindle, and Sarah Jordan have collectively shown that governing authorities were deeply concerned with idleness and that those identified as the 'idle poor' were habitually denied poor relief, which demonstrates how damning a label 'idleness' was, especially for the most vulnerable members of society.[52] Though prostitutes were included among the 'idle and disorderly' poor, and several historians have suggested that prostitution should be

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[51] Clark, *The English alehouse;* Ibid.,. "The alehouse and the alternative society"; Wrightson, "Alehouses, order and reformation in rural England; Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety;* Griffiths, *Youth and authority,* 202; Withington, "Intoxicants and the early modern city"; Fox, "Food, Drink and Social Distinction".

[52] Paul Slack, *From Reformation to improvement: public welfare in early modern England*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999); Ibid., *The English Poor Law, 1531-1782*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Ibid., *Poverty and policy in Tudor and Stuart England.* (London: Longman, 1988); Hindle, "Civility, Honesty, and the Identification of the Deserving Poor," 42; Ibid., *On the parish?: the micro-politics of poor relief in rural England, c. 1550-1750*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety*; Richard Dyson and Steven King, " 'The streets are paved with idle beggars': Experiences and perceptions of beggars in nineteenth century Oxford," in Beate Althammer, ed. *Bettler in der europaischen Stadt der Modern zwishcen Barmherzigkeit, Repression und Sozialreform. (Oxford: Peter Land, 2007),* 71-102; Robin F. Haines, " 'The idle and the drunken won't do there': poverty, the New Poor Law and nineteenth-century government-assisted emigration to Australia from the United Kingdom," in Jane Samson, ed., *British imperial strategies in the Pacific, 1750-1900.* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003), 183-203; John Burnett, *Idle hands: experience of unemployment, 1790-1990*. (London: Routledge, 1994); Jordan, *The anxieties of idleness*.

incorporated as part of the economies of makeshift, studies have not yet incorporated prostitutes into these discussions.[53] Yet, reformers, philanthropists, and contributors to the newspaper press regularly denounced idle prostitutes and sought to reform them into productive members of society.

Studies on idleness and alcohol consumption have revealed a great deal about the mentality of governing elites and their conflicts with those who posed problems to the maintenance of an orderly society. We now require a deeper analysis of views and attitudes towards alcohol consumption and idleness on various subgroups, such as prostitutes, to gain a better understanding of the connections and distinctions between different types of disorderly threats. By examining how the debates on alcohol consumption and idleness interacted and influenced debates on prostitution, it is evident that commentators were concerned about transforming disorderly members of society into orderly and productive members of society. Furthermore, throughout the eighteenth century authorities were concerned about the links between drunkenness, idleness, and prostitution. As Sarah Jordan explains, "[d]runkenness and idleness were constantly paired with each other, and, in a sort of circular logic, each is condemned as leading to

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[53] Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 42; Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern London," *Seventeenth Century*. 13, 2 (1998): 212, 221; Olwen Hufton, "Women in History, 1: Early Modern Europe," *Past & Present*. 101: (1983) 125-41; Ibid., "Women without men: widows and spinsters in Britain and France in the eighteenth century," *Journal of Family History*. 9, 4 (1984): 355-76; Ruth Harris, Lyndal Roper, and Olwen Hufton, eds., *The art of survival: gender and history in Europe, 1450-2000: essays in honour of Olwen Hufton*. (Oxford: Oxford Journals, 2006); Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, eds., *The poor in England, 1700-1850: an economy of makeshifts*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "The fiction of female dependence and the makeshift economy of soldiers, sailors, and their wives in eighteenth-century London," *Labor History*. 49, 4 (2008): 481-501; Garthine Walker, "Women, theft and the world of stolen goods," in Kermode and Walker, eds., *Women, crime and the courts*, 81-105; Heather Shore, "Crime, criminal networks and the survival strategies of the poor in early eighteenth century London," in *The Poor in England,* 137-65*;* Richard Williams, "Stolen Goods and the Economy of Makeshifts in Eighteenth Century Exeter," *The British Records Asociation*. 31, 112 (2005): 85-96; Tim Hitchcock, *Down and out in eighteenth-century London*. (London: Hambledon and London, 2004).

the other".[54] For instance, in 1741, moralist Thomas Gordon declared that the links between idleness and drunkenness to be simple: "An honest Fellow gets drunk, because he has nothing else to do".[55] Nearly fifteen year later, reformer John Clayton echoed this sentiment in his *Friendly Advice to the Poor* when he asserted that: "Intemperance and Excess … are such close Attendants upon Sloth, that they may fairly be esteemed Sister Sins".[56] Hence, gluttony, sloth, and prostitution were seen to be intricately intertwined.

Idleness and Drunkenness in Prostitutes

Though prostitution itself was not a crime, throughout the early modern period prostitutes were regularly arrested for other, vague reasons attributable to their sinful and "disorderly" behaviours, including being 'idle', 'drunk', 'loose', and 'lewd'. This conduct was deemed sufficient enough to arrest streetwalkers and prosecute them at a house of correction or Bridewell.[57] Paul Griffiths explains that these terms were deliberately "flexible" and "extremely broad", thereby allowing them to address a variety of "suspicious" and disorderly behaviours, including begging, vagrancy, and petty thievery. However, over the course of the early modern period these phrases became feminized and primarily applied in the policing of prostitutes.[58] Although 'loose, idle, and

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[54] Jordan, *The Anxieties of Idleness,* 69. Also see: Jordan, "From grotesque bodies to useful hands: idleness, industry, and the laboring class," *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 25, 3 (2001), 63.
[55] Thomas Gordon, *The humourist: Being essays upon several subjects, viz. news-writers.* (London, 1720), 50; Ibid., *The humourist*. (London, 1741), 50.
[56] John Clayton, *Friendly advice to the poor.* (Manchester, 1755), 17.
[57] Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations,* 127 citing R. Burn, *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officers.* Vol. 3. (London, 1785), 97-98. Also see: Griffiths, *Lost Londons;* Ibid., "Meanings of Nightwalking"; Tim Hitchcock, Adam Crymble, and Louise Falcini, "Loose, Idle and Disorderly: Vagrant Removal in Late Eighteenth-Century Middlesex," *British History in the Long 18th Century.* Historyspot.org. Podcast. <http://historyspot.org.uk/podcasts/british-history-long-18th-century/loose-idle-and-disorderly-vagrant-removal-late-eighteenth>. June 17, 2013.
[58] Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking", 212. For instance, Jane Burgis was prosecuted as "an Idle disorderly p[er]son comeing into ye: House of Robert Dixson and endeavouring to Steale his goods". Bridewell Royal Hospital, Minutes of the Court of Governors. *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org). BR/MG. BBBRMG202020347, 15th December 1699; John Birtch was "charged

disorderly' women were more frequently described as 'drunk' and charged at Bridewell for their 'crimes' during the first half of the period, streetwalkers were prosecuted for this disorderly behaviour throughout the eighteenth century.

The greater levels of prosecution in the first half of the century can be explained by the fact that until the 1740s the Societies for the Reformation of Manners were active and the laws dictating prosecutorial procedure were more ambiguous.[59] This changed in the 1740s when "the summary conviction of sexual offenders was increasingly called into question".[60] Faramerz Dabhoiwala convincingly argues that no longer was "the perception of immoral demeanor", such as being "lewd, idle, and disorderly" sufficient; by the mid-century the reach of the law "was gradually limited to particular actions, rather than a person's general character, and magistrates, judges, and Parliament were concerned in defining offenses with greater specificity."[61] As Bridget Hill suggests, 'crimes' like idleness or 'lewd behaviour' indicate "the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable forms of behaviour were notably indistinctly drawn"; 'drunk', 'idle', and 'disorderly' women were regarded as suspicious and a threat to the social order.[62]

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by Benjamin Birtch his father for being an idle and disobedient Son and Suspected to have pribed a pockett Book out of a persons pockett unknown". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202040253, 27th July 1716]; John Glower was "Charged by his Master Francis Roberts, being a very lewd Idle & Disorderly apprentice often absenting himself from his Masters Service & Pawning his Cloths which he owns & that her Spint the money." [BR/MG. BBBRMG202050099, 17th December 1725]; Edward Jones was "being charged by the Oath of Jeremiah Mascall on a suspicion of pilfering Tobacco at Botolph Where the property of Mr. Milliner Merchant in St. Martins Lane and for a Comon pilferer idle person hairing no visible way of livelihood". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202060142, 9th September 1741]; Mary Hatley was prosecuted "for being a loose idle and disorderly Women and a suspected Pilferer. [BR/MG. BBBRMG20209025, 13th April 1786].

[59] Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform," 290-319.

[60] Ibid., 312.

[61] Ibid., 314.

[62] Bridget Hill, *Women Alone: Spinsters in England*, *1660-1850.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 106-7, citing Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 85, 102; Robert Shoemaker, *Prosecution, Punishment, Petty Crime and the Law in London and rural Middlesex, c. 1660-1725.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 168, 170, 171.

Nonetheless, as the Bridewell Court of Governor's records show, drunk and idle disorderly women were regularly harassed and arrested throughout the century. Prostitutes were often indicted for these vague offences - being "in liquor", "drunk", and for being "loose, idle, and disorderly". For instance, in 1693, Anne Bayley and Mary Duppa were "taken up in the Street Drunke late last night and being Lewd idle Woman".[63] Idleness and drunkenness was clearly a reoccurring problem for Mary Duppa, and a few weeks later, she was once again "charged …for being a Lewd idle & disorderly person being drunke & taken up at 2 a Clocke in the morning & known to be a Comon Night walker".[64] The notion that idleness and drunkenness were sufficient reasons to arrest women persisted; in 1735, Mary Lane was "charged … for being found in the Street this Morning drunk in an Indecent posture with two strange Men and being a disorderly idle Common Street Walker".[65] Similarly, in 1782, Elizabeth Harris was prosecuted "for being an idle disorderly Woman getting Drunk and making a great Noise and Disturbance before his [Titus Bancroft's] House and abusing him and his Family".[66]

"Idle" women were also regularly described as having "no Visible Way of living". This phrase seems to suggest that such individuals failed to contribute to the

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[63] BR/MG. BBBRMG202010260, 17th March 1693.
[64] BR/MG. BBBRMG202010264, 7th April 1693.
[65] BR/MG. BBBRMG202050385, 21st August 1735.
[66] BR/MG. BBBRMG202090060, 1st February 1782. Also see: In 1721, Ann Mills was prosecuted at Bridewell after "being taken in a Drunken Condition and this Carelessness of herselfe and Companion Setting fore to the house they were taken in As also being a Loose idle disorderly person and a Comon night walker and haveing Several times had warning to for bear her Loose disorderly Course of life". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202040481, 10th March 1721]. In 1723, Edith Stafford was "charg'd by the Oath of Robert Penn Constable being taken at Midnight in the Streets Attempting to Pick up Men she being a drunken idle & disorderly Person" [BR/MG. BBBRMG202050036, 1st February 1723]. Similarly, in 1730, Mary Doy was charged with "being a loose idle and disorderly person frequently getting drunk and disturbing the Neighbourhood and Churchwardens." [BR/MG. BBBRMG202050244, 2nd July 1730]. In 1731, Mary Benson was likewise "taken this morning drunk in the Streets with a Man & being loose idle disorderly P[er]son." [BR/MG. BBBRMG202050268, 25th February 1731].

economy, thereby draining useful resources and weakening the economy.[67] Moreover, many of these 'idle' prostitutes were regularly drunk and "greatly misbehaving", adding to the perception that they were "disorderly". For instance, in 1730 Mary Maccarty and Katherine Chambers were "charged … for being comon night walkers & in the Streets last night picking up men and being loose idle disorderly P[er]sons having no visible way of living."[68] In 1754, Elizabeth Tidd and Mary Steward were "Charged … for being loose Idle & Disorderly P[er]sons & Comon Night Walkers not having day Honest Visible way of living."[69] In 1785 Lucy Thorpe was likewise charged with "being a loose idle and disorderly Woman and a Common Night Walker."[70]

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[67] BR/MG. BBBRMG202010382, 25th May 1694. Concerns about the strength of the economy and the labouring poor was a significant focus for those interested in 'political arithmetick' and political economy. See: William Petty, *Sir William Petty's political survey of Ireland with the establishment of that kingdom when the late Duke of Ormond was lord lieutenant*. (London, 1719); Gregory King, *Two tracts. (a) Natural and political observations and conclusions upon the state and condition of England. (b) Of the naval trade of England*. George E. Barnett, ed. (Baltimore Johns Hopkins Press 1936); John A. Taylor, *British empiricism and early political economy: Gregory King's 1696 estimates of national wealth and population*. (Westport; London: Praeger, 2005). Also see: Slack, *From reformation to improvement*; Adam Fox, "Sir William Petty, Ireland, and the making of a political economist, 1653-87," *Economic History review.* 62, 2 (2009), 388-404.

[68] BR/MG. BBBRMG202050256, 25th September 1730.

[69] BR/MG. BBBRMG202070183, 24th July 1754.

[70] BR/MG. BBBRMG202090238, 23rd September 1785. Also see: Margaret Le Matre was "being chargd by the Oath of Samuel Thomas for being a loose idle disorderly Woman & a comon Night walker and not being able to give any good account of hereself or way of living. [BR/MG. BBBRMG202050300, 28th January 1732]; Hannah Dykes was similarly "being Charged by the Oath of William Kentrey a Watchman of Saint Brides London for being found Sunday Morning in Fleet Street picking up a Strange Gentleman and being a loose idle disorderly Common Woman & having no Visible Way of living" [BR/MG. BBBRMG202050369, 29th January 1735]; Sarah Terry was similarly "charged ... for being a loose idle disorderly person a Comon Night Walker having no visible way of living." [BR/MG. BBBRMG202060180, 18th June 1742]; Eliz Tidd and Mary Steward were "Charged … for being loose Idle & Disorderly P[er]sons & Comon Night Walkers not having day Honest Visible way of living." [BR/MG. BBBRMG202070183, 24th July 1754]; Ann Walker and Susannah Beard were prosecuted after "being taken on Saturday Night in Bpsgate Street & being loose Idle & Disorderly P[er]sons & Comon nightwalkers Appearing to have no Visible way of living. [BR/MG. BBBRMG202070208, 27th March 1755]; Susanna Matthew was prosecuted "for being as loose Idle and Disorderly Person and Common Street Walker not having a Visible Way of Living nor giving any good Account of herself being apprehended wandering & picking up Men this Day on Ludgate Hill". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202080242, 27th July 1768]; Martha Moor, Sarah Gibons, Sarah Lowe, Mary Bailie were prosecuted "for being severally Idle and disorderly Persons picking up Men in the City and having no visible way of living." [BR/MG. BBBRMG202080728, 25th November 1779]; Mary Cadman was prosecuted "for wandering abroad last Night in the Streets of this City and- Attempting to pick up Men and for-being a loose idle

These prosecutions demonstrate that prostitution was offensive because it signified immoral conduct and was associated with a wide variety of disorderly activities. In addition to 'common women' and 'streetwalkers', the phrase 'no Visible Way of living' was also applied to vagrants and thieves, cementing perceived links between prostitutes and the criminal poor. As Bridget Hill, Robert Shoemaker, Peter King, and Joanna Innes have shown, being 'idle' and having 'no Visible Way of living' was especially damning for young single women. Not only did unemployment propel many women into prostitution, it was often regarded as sufficient evidence to justify their arrest. Hill has shown that one fifth of those committed to Houses of Correction were accused of being 'idle and disorderly' or 'loose, idle and disorderly'. Shoemaker adds that many of the women who were sent to a house of correction "were probably accused of little more than being poor and able-bodied and not having a job."[71]

Though 'common women' ceased to be arrested for their general disorderly conduct in large numbers after the 1740s, they continued to be described as drunk and idle in other publications. *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies*, a popular guide to prostitutes in London, noted that many prostitutes were prone to immoderate drinking, which defined them as vulgar and disorderly. For instance, the author of *Harris's List* was "happy in being able to … present our readers with as delicious a one" as Miss Elizabeth W—tk—ns, but added in brackets "that is when she does not smell of brandy", suggesting that her constant drunkenness made her unappealing.[72] Likewise, "Miss M—

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disorderly Person and Common Night Walker . not having a visible way of living." [BR/MG. BBBRMG202080752, 27th January 1780].

[71] Hill, *Women Alone,* 106-7, 109; Shoemaker, *Prosecution, Punishment, Petty Crime and the Law*, 168, 170, 171; Peter King, "Female Offenders, Work and Life-cycle Change in Late-Eighteenth-Century London," *Continuity and Change.* 11 (1996): 69-72; Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 85, 102.

[72] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalender, for the year, 1788*. (London, 1788), 64-5.

lt—n" was only recommended "To those who may wish for the society of a drinking, swearing companion, we can safely recommend her, for she will drink like a toper, and swear like a trooper."[73] Presumably, this vulgar and course conduct did not make "Miss M—lt—n" particularly alluring either. Other prostitutes were apparently prone to excessive drinking were so inebriated that they became ineffectual; Miss Bro—wn "is too fond of the brandy bottle to give that sincere delight".[74] Hence this prostitute was often so drunk that it interfered with her performance of sexual acts, demonstrating that excessive amounts of alcohol even impeded prostitutes.

Being 'lazy' or 'idle' was not an uncommon description for the women featured in *Harris's List.* For instance, "Mrs. Mac—tney,' was described as "being exceeding lazy and wicked,"[75] while "Miss Eliz---h Sm-th" was said to have a "habit and disposition, which are at all times lazy," to the extent that she was "too lazy to make a good summer

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Other popular publications noted the link between drunkenness and the absence of "modest" behaviour. The anonymous author of *A catalogue of jilts, cracks, prostitutes, night-walkers, whores, she-friends, kind women, and others of the linnen-lifting tribe who are to be seen every night in the cloysters in Smithfiel*d, explained: "Mrs. *Eliz. B---w,* a very fine Woman, … modest and pleasant enough, till after the third bottle," [Anon., *A catalogue of jilts, cracks, prostitutes, night-walkers, whores, she-friends, kind women, and others of the linnen-lifting tribe who are to be seen every night in the cloysters in Smithfield, from the hours of eight to eleven, during the time of the fair, viz.* (London, 1691), 1].

[73] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalender, for the year, 1790*. (London, 1790), 116-7.

[74] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalender, for the year, 1788*. (London, 1788), 46-7. For instance, "Miss Gods—y" was described as "a fine lively little girl… very fond of dancing, …an exceeding good bed-fellow, [who] will take brandy with any one, or drink and sware," [*Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies Or man of pleasure's kalender for the year 1793*. (London, 1793), 2]. Miss Bro—wn "is too fond of the brandy bottle to give that sincere delight, … she may, however, prove that to those that will drink a glass with her, and has no objection to become as merry as herself, a desirable piece, as she is neither extravagant in her demands, or nice in the choice of her admirers." [*Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalender, for the year, 1788*. (London, 1788), 46-7]. Though "Miss W—sl –y" was said to be "full of life, very chatty," she was also noted as "being troubled at times with disagreeable eructations, she is under the necessity of using the brandy bottle as a dispenser." [*Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalendar, for the year 1789*. (London, 1789), 64-5]. Hence, these prostitutes were presented as vulgar because they frequently consumed excessive amounts of alcohol.

[75] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies Or man of pleasure's kalender for the year 1793.* (London, 1793), 98-99.

bed-fellow."[76] The author of *Harris's List* even described prostitution as "that idle trade", emphasizing the belief that those who engaged in prostitution were not regarded as engaged in legitimate or productive labour.[77] As Paul Griffiths notes, prostitutes occupied "a world of vice, indulgence and idleness" which was a "corrupt inversion of so-called conventional society".[78] Consequently, the newspaper press regularly included stories about "Common Night-Walkers" who were "drunk" or "misbehaving themselves".[79] The comments made by the Bridewell recorder and the author of *Harris's List* suggests that a diverse range of commentators regarded the problems of prostitution, drunkenness, idleness, sin, and disorder to be connected and each vice encouraged the others, thereby perpetuating disorder in society.

Men, alcohol, and prostitution

Commentators were not only concerned about idle and drunken disorderly women but they were also alarmed about apprentices and young men becoming idle as a result of drinking and consorting with prostitutes. Young men often interacted with prostitutes at taverns and alehouses, where they were also engaged in other disorderly activities like drinking, gambling, and blaspheming. As a result, the links between prostitution, idleness, and drunkenness were particularly strong. Moreover, governing authorities were concerned about the loss of reason that often followed drunkenness, which could lead to these men being taken advantage of by disorderly women. This scenario was especially

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[76] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies Or man of pleasure's kalender for the year 1790.* (London, 1790), 103-104.
[77] Ibid., 10.
[78] Paul Griffiths, "Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London," *Continuity and Change.* 8, 1 (1993), 40.
[79] L*ondon Evening Post*. September 3, 1730 - September 5, 1730, #428.

disconcerting because it reversed the 'natural' hierarchy that sustained an orderly society.[80]

We have already seen that drunkenness was becoming increasingly frowned upon in men. However, drunkenness was especially worrisome in young apprentices, who had not yet developed their full mental faculties and were seen to be eager to enjoy leisure time in the alehouse and to gain sexual experience.[81] Paul Griffiths suggests that the activities that apprentices engaged in while at the alehouse, such as drinking, gambling, and whoring, exacerbated authorities' concerns and

> frequently brought young people into conflict with religious and secular policies, including structured work, time, order, 'place', worship, and 'fit' recreation. The terms of service were quickly forgotten … Idle hours spent away from work or necessary rest blemished the collective spirit of work, and was harmful to a master's prosperity.[82]

The concerns of elites and those in authority about young men drinking, fornicating, and developing an idle disposition is evident in a range of authors. Accordingly, moral literature advice manuals for apprentices discouraged the consumption of alcohol and warned that the tavern was "a den of disorder and vice,"

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[80] Susan Dwyer Amussen, "Turning the World Upside Down: Gender and Inversion in the work of David Underdown," *History Compass*. 11, 5 (2013): 394-404; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124-151; E.P. Thompson, " 'Rough music': le charivari anglais," *Annales.* 27 (1972): 285-312.

[81] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, 201. Also see: Gregory Durston, *Whores and highwaymen: crime and justice in the eighteenth-century Metropolis*. (Hook: Waterside Press, 2012), 64; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 195-197; Ibid., "Service and Coming of Age in Seventeenth-century England," *Continuity and Change.* 3 (1988); 41-64; Peter Earle, "The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." *Economic History Review* 2nd ser., 42 (1989); 328 -53; Dorothy Marshall, "Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century," *Economica.* 9 (1929): 15-40; Marjorie K. McIntosh, "Servants and the Household Unit in an Elizabethan English Community." *Journal of Family History.* 9 (1984), 3-23; Tim Meldrum, "London Domestic Servants from Depositional Evidence, 1600-1750: Servant-employer Sexuality in the Patriarchal Household," in Tim Hitchcock, Peter King, and Pamela Sharpe, eds., *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 47-69; Ibid., *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household*. (Harlow, 2000); Leonard Schwarz, "English Servants and Their Employers During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Economic History Review.* 52 (1999): 236-56.

[82] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, 203.

because they were places frequented by prostitutes.[83] As *The friendly monitor; or Advice to a Young Man upon coming out of his Apprenticeship* noted: "there are two temptations which may particularly assault you [apprentices] … the company of *lewd women* and the *ale-house*".[84] Sir John Fielding asserted that it is "in these Brothels, [that] the Apprentice and Journeyman first broach their Morals, … overcome with Liquor, [the tradesman] is decoyed into a Snare".[85] As these young men would form the future generation of masters and others in positions of authority, apprentices were thought of as 'the hope of manhoode'; if they were disorderly, commentators feared these men would remain unfit to take these important roles in the community and therefore feared for the future of the nation.[86] Although apprentices were often "forbidden by your indentures, to frequent taverns", as a result of the decline of apprentices residing with their masters, such proclamations were, to the dismay of authorities, increasingly unenforceable.[87]

The divergent fates of industrious and idle apprentices were illustrated by Hogarth in his 1747 series of prints, *The Effects of Idleness and Industry, exemplified in the conduct of two fellow-'prentices.* Francis Goodchild, the industrious apprentice, leads an honourable life of piety, unfaltering industry, and honesty. As a result of his sober integrity, Goodchild grows rich and earns prestigious roles in his community. By

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[83] Ibid., 201.
[84] R. L., master at the Orphan Working School. *The friendly monitor; or Advice to a Young Man upon coming out of his Apprenticeship. In Eight Letters*. (London, 1795), 11. Also see: Anon., *The apprentice's faithful monitor.* (London, 1700); Sir John Barnard*, A present for an apprentice: or, a sure guide to gain both esteem and an estate. With rules for his conduct to his master, and in the world*. (London, 1740); Clark, *The English alehouse*; Ibid., "The alehouse and the alternative society"; Wrightson, "Alehouses, order and reformation in rural England"; Capp, "Gender and the Culture of the English Alehouse"; Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, 202.
[85] Sir John Fielding, "Introduction to the Plan for preserving deserted GIRLS." In *An Account of the Origins and effects of a Police*. (London, 1758), 41.
[86] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, 207-8; Anon., *Tales for youth, or the high road to renown, through the paths of pleasure; being a collection of tales illustrative of an alphabetical* (London, 1797); R. L.*, The friendly monitor*; Anon. *The apprentice's faithful monitor*; Barnard, *A present for an apprentice: or, a sure guide to gain both esteem and an estate.*
[87] Anon., *Tales for youth,* 228; Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 311.

contrast, Tom Idle habitually chooses a life of frivolous leisure, including, irreligion, gaming, drinking, and whoring. Owing to his irresponsibility, he becomes a dissolute criminal who, after a life of sin and crime, is eventually executed. Tom Idle's criminality would have been regarded as unsurprising because drunkeness and whoring were widely seen to lead to disorder and crime.

Similarly, in Last Dying Speeches many felons cited drinking and whoring as having played a seminal role leading to "unhappy Fate". For instance, in 1716, Ralph Walker, who was condemned for theft, allegedly admitted that he "had led a very irregular vicious Life, being addicted to Whoring, Drunkenness, Swearing, and such like Crimes; which he now found to have been the Cause of his Ruin."[88] Likewise, in 1776, John Giles, Charles Underwood, and William Fitzsimmons were executed for Highway Robberies. When Giles was brought to Tyburn, he reportedly "desired all People to take Warning by him; as Card-playing, Cock-fighting, Horse-racing, Drunkenness, and keeping Company with bad Women, occasioned him to rob on the Highway to maintain it, and owned to the Justness of his Sentence." This sentiment was echoed by Underwood, who explained: "Whoring and Drunkenness were the Occasions of his unhappy Fate, desired all People to keep good Company, and take Warning by him."[89] While these speeches were often written before the actual execution, and were not in fact spoken by the convicted, they served as a trope to help further disseminate the belief that

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[88] *Weekly Journal of British Gazetteer*. Saturday September 28, 1716.

[89] *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. Saturday, March 30, 1776, #2350; *London Evening Post*. Saturday, March 30, 1776, #8430; *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*. Saturday, March 30, 1776, #1095; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Tuesday, April 2, 1776, #2142; *Daily Advertiser*. Tuesday, April 2, 1776, #14130. Also see: *London Journal*. Saturday, March 31, 1733, #713; *Daily Courant*. Thursday, March 29, 1733, #5295; *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, January 17, 1736, #593; *Old Whig or the Congistent Protestant*. Thursday, January 22, 1736, #46; *London Spy Revived*. Monday, October 17, 1737, #193; *General Advertiser*. Tuesday, August 29, 1749, #4634; McKenzie, *Tyburn's martyrs*; Leigh Yetter, *Public execution in England, 1573-1868*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009); Rawlings, *Drunks, whores, and idle apprentices*.

drinking and whoring were depicted as playing a decisive role in the downfall of these men.[90]

The perception that the overindulgence of alcohol, especially when men were accompanied by prostitutes, inevitably let to riotous disorder was clearly depicted by Hogarth in the third plate of *A Rake's Progress,* "Revelling with Harlots" [Fig. 3]. Here Tom Rakewell and his companions drink and carouse with several prostitutes in a tavern. The image is teeming with evidence of disorder. Several people gambling and drinking; at the front of the image on the left, a young woman marked by venereal disease undresses herself, and another woman steals Rakewell's watch, under the guise of seducing him. Further evidence that drunkenness led to riotous disorder is evident in the 1735 print *He and his drunken companions raise a riot in Covent Garden* [Fig. 4], which depicts a fight between several drunken rakes and the watchmen in Covent Garden, one of the central hubs of prostitution in eighteenth-century London.

In addition to producing riotous disorder, alcohol was also seen to contribute to a general sense of languor and inertia. Men's ineffectiveness was another common theme in satirical images that addressed the consequences of drunkenness. In *A midnight modern conversation* [Fig. 5], Hogarth shows a group of men idly sitting around a table in a coffeehouse. Not appearing to discuss topical matters of the day nor being engaged in industry, the men, all in different stages of drunkenness, sit around the table smoking and drinking. Hogarth's *Beer Street* [Fig. 6] likewise depicts idle men lazily drinking in the street instead of acting as productive members of society. Though Hogarth did not believe that beer produced the same lawless spirit as gin, as he illustrated in *Gin Lane* [Fig. 1] (p. 193), the consequences of either kind of drunkenness was equally problematic

[90] McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyr's*; Sharpe, "Last dying speeches".

for industry. Whereas gin sparked violence and riot, beer produced carelessness and apathy. Though these images portray different debilitating consequences of drunkenness on men, they all indicate that drunkenness is never conducive to an industrious spirit.



Fig. 3. William Hogarth. *A Rake's Progress*, "Revelling with Harlots". London, 1735. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library (lwlpr22208).



Fig. 4. Anon. *He and his drunken companions raise a riot in Covent Garden / A Rake's Progress*. London, 1735. Courtesy of the British Museum. (1880,1113.3081).



Fig. 5. William Hogarth. *A midnight modern conversation*. London, 1733. London Metropolitan Archives. Hogarth Collection (p544829x).

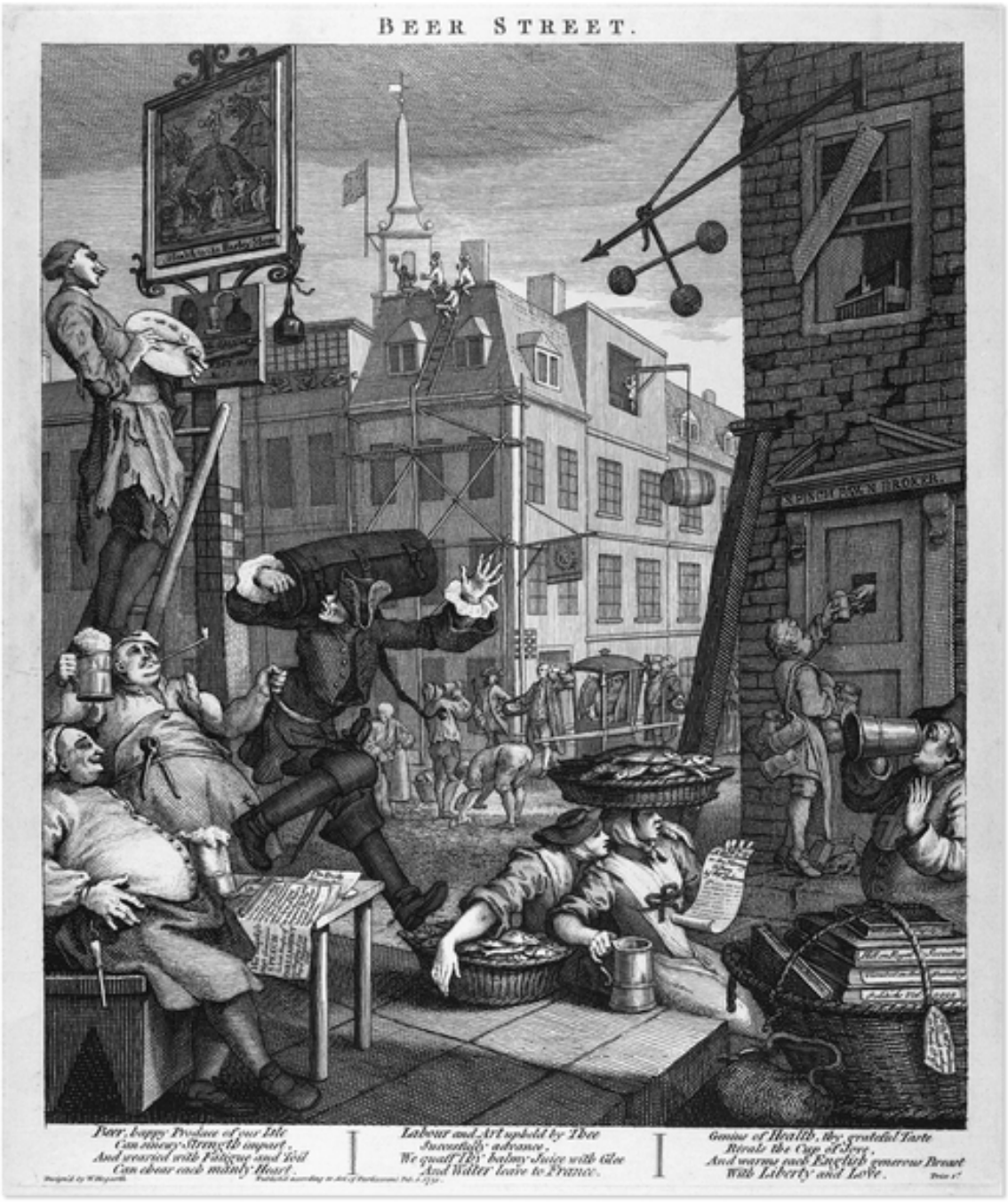


Fig. 6. William Hogarth. *Beer Street*. London, 1751. Courtesy of the British Museum. (PD 1868,0822.1593;PD 1868,0822.1595).

Excess drink was also seen to be responsible for "inflaming Mens Lusts", because it "depresses the judgment", resulting in the "Loss of the use of Reason".[91] Concerned commentators believed that when reason was compromised with drink, men would become the prey of scheming whores and would be incapable of resisting their advances. As we have already seen in chapter two, throughout the eighteenth century commentators vacillated between identifying men as sexual predators who regularly debauched young girls to satisfy their own sexual needs, thereby forcing the girls to become prostitutes, while acknowledging that men were sometimes the victims of seductive female predators.[92] However, when prostitutes were involved with alcohol, contemporary commentators often suggested that prostitutes deliberately preyed on otherwise honourable men by encouraging him to drink excessive amounts of liquor. These discussants frequently described the prostitute in an active role who "persuaded", were "deludeing and enticeing" or had "decoy'd" a gentleman by getting him 'in liquor'. As a result, countless prostitutes were charged at Bridewell for "picking up a strange man yt. was drunke & carrying him to a notorious Bawdye house", as Elizabeth Butt was in 1698.[93] Sixteen years later, Sarah Kennedy, "alewd idle and disorderly person" was charged at Bridewell for "deludeing and enticeing a Strange man in the Street she being

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[91] L.M. Stretch, *The beauties of history: or Pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life.* vol. 1. (London, 1789), 214; Buckler, *The sin and folly of drunkenness,* 5-6. Also see: *A help to a national reformation,* 116; Woodward, *A disswasive from the sin of drunkenness,* 11. Sir John Fielding similarly noted: "WINE raises the imagination, but depresses the judgment. He, that resigns his reason, is guilty of every thing he is liable to, in the absence of it." [Fielding, *The universal mentor,* 50].

[92] Hurl-Eamon, "Policing Male Heterosexuality," 1024-1026; Stephen H. Gregg, "'A Truly Christian Hero': Religion, Effeminacy, and Nation in the Writing of the Society for the Reformation of Manners," *Eighteenth-Century Life.* 25, 1 (2001): 21. See, for example: *The Prentices Answer to the Whores' Petition* (London, 1668), which described the whores as standing "at your doors...Poxed and Painted/Perfum'd with Powder.../You with your becks and damn'd alluring looks/Are unto men just like to tenter hooks." See also *The Crafty Whore: or...they ensnare and beguile youth.* (London, 1658), and Peter Aretine, *Strange News from Bartholomew-Fair, or, the Wandring Whore Discovered.* (London, 1661).

[93] BR/MG. BBBRMG202020206, 6th May 1698.

knowne to be a Comon night walker".[94] Similarly, in 1735, Mary Lane was "found in the Street this Morning drunk in an Indecent posture with two strange Men and being a disorderly idle Common Street Walker".[95] *An Account of the Institution of the Lock Asylum* also promoted the idea that prostitutes deliberately endeavoured to corrupt men: the governors complained that prostitutes "throng our streets, lie in wait for the incautious, and corrupt the rising generation"; these actions were particularly problematic because "evil habits are early contracted, ruinous connections formed, conscience and the sense of shame subdued, and our youth trained up to profligacy."[96]

Popular literature and newspaper commentators similarly asserted that sometimes these men became so drunk that the women in question had "picked up" and "carried" him into her lodgings or a House of ill Fame where she then robbed him. For instance, in 1732, *Fog's Weekly Journal* reported that "a Gentleman's Servant, who was just come to Town, being in Liquor, was pick'd up by two Women, and carried into an Alehouse in the Haymarket, where they found Means to pick his Pocket".[97] Four years later, the *London Spy Revived* informed readers that "A Gentleman well dressed, being a little in Liquor, was picked up on Thursday Night last by a Common Woman of the Town, and carried into the King's Arms Inn in Leadenhall-street, and there robbed of several Guineas". It is apparent that the publication held the prostitute responsible for the

[94] BR/MG. BBBRMG202040111, 7th October 1714.
[95] BR/MG. BBBRMG202050385, 21st August 1735. Susannah Barker was charged after "being found frequently drunk in the Street & Loytering up and down the same attempting to pick up strange Men & being a loose idle & a disorderly Comon Street Walker". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202050385, 21st August 1735].
[96] *An Account of the Institution of the Lock Asylum, for the reception of Penitent Female Patients, when Discharged Cured from the Lock Hospital*. (London, 1796), 4.
[97] *Fog's Weekly Journal*. Saturday, August 26, 1732, #199.

incident because the author explained that "the Whore made him very drunk".[98] By stressing that prostitutes were intent by their actions to make their companion "very drunk" and that she had both "picked up" and "carried" him off, these reports emphasized that prostitutes deliberately caused men harm. These accounts suggested that because these men had become drunk, they lacked sufficient reason to resist the deceitful tricks used by prostitutes. As a result, these scheming women were able to corrupt men of otherwise good character by decoying them while drunk.[99]

Some authors warned that prostitutes relied on "the dregs of adulterated wine and stupefying spirits" which made men "stupid" and "persuaded [them] to spend the evening in those schools of debauchery, to the ruin of their morals, their health and fortunes."[100] "G.A.", a contributor to the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* described "common prostitutes" as "that indolent and gaudy VICE" because they were regularly "stalking abroad like a pestilence at all hours of the day, to the destruction of the morals of our unwary sons and apprentices".[101] These discussions demonstrate that every sin was seen to compound another; idle prostitutes who drank committed additional sins by

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[98] *London Spy Revived*. Monday, October 18, 1736, #36. Similarly, "On Thursday a Commander of a Ship, being overtaken in Liquor, and reeling along Tooley-Street, Southwark, was pick'd up by a lew'd Woman, and carried into a House of ill Fame in the Neighbourhood, where he had his Pocket pick'd…" [*London Evening Post*. November 30, 1738-December 2, 1738, #1724]; "Yesterday Morning, between Two and Three o'Clock, a poor Countryman (disguis'd a little in Liquor) going down the Fleet-Market, was decoy'd into a notorious House in George-Alley, by a common Woman of the Town, where she, and two others too from him his Handkerchief, and 16s. then bound him Hand and Food, and made off." [*London Evening Post*. September 8, 1743-September 10, 1743, #2471]. Several publications reported that "two Drovers … both of them in Liquor," were feared to have "been robb'd and murdered," after "a Lady of the Town" "decoy'd" them and could not be found the following morning. [*General Evening Post*. May 14, 1743 - May 17, 1743, #506; *Daily Advertiser*. Monday, May 16, 1743, #3845; *Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany*. Saturday, May 21, 1743, #78]. The *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* similarly reported that "A Gentleman well-dressed, being a little in Liquor, was picked up, on Thursday Night last by a Common Woman of the Town, and carried into the King's-Arms Inn in Leadenhall-street". [*London Daily Post and General Advertiser*. Saturday October 16, 1736, #612].

[99] *The countryman's guide to London.* (London, 1775?), 31-33. Also see: T*he tricks of the town laid open: or, a companion for country gentlemen*, 18-20.

[100] Richard King, *The new cheats of London exposed; or, the frauds and tricks of the town laid open to both sexes.* (London, 1780?), 93.

[101] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Wednesday, August 28, 1782, #4144.

inducing others to engage in vice. Moreover, when describing these incidents, commentators depicted the prostitute in an active role, thereby reversing 'natural' gender relations in which men were meant to be the active party, while women were to be passive.[102] This inversion of the natural and providential order further confirmed commentators' belief that prostitution threatened to cause disorder and mayhem.[103]

There were strong ties linking drunkenness and idleness with prostitution throughout the eighteenth century. As evidenced by the large number of 'criminals' found with prostitutes and drunk, it is not surprising that drunkenness and idleness were seen to lead to disorder and crime. Prostitutes were frequently described as both 'drunk' and 'idle', further cementing associations between these sinful vices. Moreover, the drunken prostitute identified as someone who 'had no visible way of living', indicating that she did not contribute to the development of a strong and productive Britain.[104] Instead, it was feared that she was harming the nation by distracting young apprentices from their duties. Moreover, if she had any children, commentators feared that they would be enervated, thereby hindering the future prospects of the nation. Consequently, the drunken and idle prostitute was identified as a serious problem because she significantly contributed to difficulties in maintaining order in society.

Reform

It is apparent that governing authorities, popular commentators, contributors to the newspaper press, religious elites, and reforming philanthropists were concerned about

[102] Laqueur, *Making Sex;* Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution.*
[103] Amussen, "Turning the World Upside Down"; Davis, "Women on Top"; Thompson, "Rough music"; Rogers, *Mayhem,* 131-157.
[104] Lisa Forman Cody. *Birthing the nation sex, science, and the conception of eighteenth-century Britons*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Tim Hitchcock, "Demography and the culture of sex in the long eighteenth century," in Jeremy Black, ed. *Culture and society in Britain, 1660-1800*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 69-84.

the repercussions of drunkenness and idleness on prostitutes and their male customers. As drunkenness was regarded as a significant cause of idleness, several of the reform initiatives that addressed drunkenness were less tailored towards prostitutes and their clients specifically, than they were towards the labouring poor in general. Proposals designed to address prostitutes' drunkenness sought to prevent them from entering taverns and alehouses, and were therefore also intended as a means of curbing disorder in society. Commentators believed that if prostitutes were prevented from entering taverns and getting drunk, they would not remain idle, nor would they corrupt their male companions. However, many of these discussants recognized that this approach was impractical. As a result, alongside the interrelated problems of gin, corrupt behaviour, and illicit sex, reformers focused on tackling the problem of idleness in prostitutes.

Throughout the eighteenth century, and as discussed earlier in this thesis, there was considerable effort in transforming prostitutes from idle sinners into industrious and productive members of society. There were two revolutionary institutions that were instrumental at curbing prostitutes' proclivity towards disorder: Bridewell Prison and Hospital (c. 1553) and the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes (c. 1758). Though Bridewell was not exclusively designed to address prostitution, it was intended to reform idle and disorderly members of society, which included nightwalkers, common streetwalkers, and 'lewd, loose, and disorderly' women. In contrast, the Magdalen Charity was deliberately intended to reform prostitutes. The founding governors specifically expressed the benefits that would arise from transforming these women into

"industrious workers and productive mothers."[105] Moreover, though the efforts of these institutions differed, both regarded a religious re-education and the inculcation of an industrious spirit through labour as effective mechanisms for reforming prostitutes.

As we have already seen, drunkenness was regarded as a significant cause of idleness in the lower orders. Throughout the eighteenth century, 'notorious nightwalkers', 'common streetwalkers', and 'lewd, idle, and disorderly' women were regularly discovered drunk or 'in liquor'. As prostitution was closely associated with gin-houses, taverns, and alehouses, it is not surprising that many commentators believed that if prostitutes and 'disorderly women' were barred from entering these establishments, industry and order would be reinstated.[106] For instance, the barrister Joshua Fitzsimmonds recommended that if more alehouse licences were rejected and the laws against gaming house and brothels were better enforced, it would go a long way towards "preventing the seduction of the young into vice, or association with bad company," a significant causes of idleness, drunkenness, and disorder.[107] Similarly, in his *An account of the origin and effects of a police,* Sir John Fielding asserted that "the Peace and good Order of this Town absolutely depends" on "the Publican … who knows his Guests, [and can] prevent these Mischiefs … by keeping the Whores within Doors", rather than in their alehouse.[108]

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[105] Peace, "The Magdalen Hospital and the Fortunes of Whiggish Sentimentality," 128; Batchelor, "'Industry in Distress'; Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police,* 54–57; Nash, "Prostitution and Charity"; Lloyd, "Pleasure's golden bait".

[106] Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 96; Ernest L. Abel, "The Gin Epidemic: Much ado about what?" *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 36, 5, (2001): 401-205; Holden, *The trial of the spirits.*

[107] Joshua Fitzsimmonds, *Free and candid disquisitions, on the Nature and Execution of the laws of England, Both in Civil and Criminal affairs*. (London, 1751), 47–8; Dodsworth, "Habit, the Criminal Body and the Body Politic," 92.

[108] Sir John Fielding, *An account of the origin and effects of a police set on foot by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle in the year 1753*. (London, 1758), x-xi, 17-18. Also see: Philanthropos, *The trial of the spirits:*

Contributors to the newspaper press concurred, and suggested that order could be better enforced if taverns and alehouses ceased serving liquor to "abandoned" women. In a letter to the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* in 1764, "G. MEANWELL" asserted that the problem of disorderly women could be partly resolved by "refus[ing] licenses to those vintners and publicans, that suffer the common women and their culls".[109] Writing for the *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* thirty-five years later, "TRUTH" similarly explained that "women of this description are so abandoned, and so riotous in the streets – *drinking spirituous liquor to excess*" could be "remedi[d] in a great measure by Magistracy sending printed notices to every publican not to serve women of that description with liquor of any sort after a certain hour, under forfeiture of their licence."[110] The fact that these critics were addressing the consequences of drunkenness well after the gin craze had finished demonstrates that longevity of concerns about drunken prostitutes.

However, echoing concerns about the gin craze, other discussants acknowledged that practical tensions existed between moral imperatives and economic goals. Though "Philanthropos" blamed the production of gin and alehouses as a significant cause of disorder because gin contributed "To the filing our *Work-Houses* and *Hospitals* with an unprecedented Number of poor People, loaded with *Distempers*" and "Our *Houses of Correction* [filled] with Throngs of abandon'd, young Whores and old Bawds", he sardonically questioned: "Will this *Revenue* attone for the making us a poor ruin'd Nation?"[111] Over thirty years later, "Honestus", a contributor to the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* recognized that "the waiters [at these establishments] know

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or, some considerations upon the pernicious consequences of the gin-trade to Great-Britain. (London, 1736), 15-16.

[109] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Monday, September 17, 1764, #11 083.

[110] *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*. Monday, September 30, 1799, #22103.

[111] Philanthropos, *The trial of the spirits,* 15-16.

their own interest too well to refuse them [prostitutes and their clients] admittance;" as a result, commentators suggested that officers either be appointed "to attend at all such houses from early in the evening till it is too late to admit any company" and also to impose "a severe fine" on those who disregarded new legislation.[112] Acknowledging that prostitutes brought considerable business to these establishments, and that "symbiotic relations" often existed between prostitutes and tavern owners, many discussants suggested that the only way to compel the tavern and alehouse keepers to comply with these objectives would be to punish those who flaunted these regulations with heavy fines, send them to the pillory, and in extreme cases, if necessary, banish them.[113]

It is clear that drunken prostitutes were regarded as disorderly and a threat to the stability of society, especially because they encouraged dissolute behaviour in the men who accompanied them. We have already seen the scenes of disorder depicted in art works, such as *Gin Lane* and *He and his drunken companions raise a riot in Covent Garden*, which illustrated the consequences of revel. Commentators similarly believed that "the *Vile* practice of drinking these *Spiritous Liquors*" was responsible for idleness among the labouring classes.[114] As a result, most proposals to redress disorderly conduct among the lower orders during the early and mid-eighteenth century were not exclusively designed to address drunkenness, but idleness and corruption more broadly.[115]

Throughout the eighteenth century, reformers believed that the best way to respond to the problems caused by drunkenness and idleness was to sentence these

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[112] *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser.* Saturday, January 1, 1763, #10543.
[113] Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations,* 119; Warner, *Craze,* 56-57; Griffiths, *Youth and authority,* 215; Dabhiowala, "Sex and Societies for moral reform," 294.
[114] Wilson, *Distilled spirituous liquors the bane of the nation,* 10; Philanthropos, *The trial of the spirits,* 7; *London Chronicle*. March 10, 1757 - March 12, 1757, #31; Defoe, *Giving alms no charity,* 27. Also see: Clayton, *Friendly advice to the poor,* 7; Townsend, *National thoughts,* 5.
[115] Clark, "The 'Mother Gin' Controversy"; Warner and Ivis, "Gin and gender"; Warner, "Faith in Numbers," 76-99; Ibid., *Craze*.

sinners to hard labour. Both Bridewell Prison and Hospital and the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes regarded labour as an effective mechanism to bring about a desirable change in the behaviour of disorderly women. To be sure, important differences distinguish these institutions. While a wide variety of offenders were involuntarily sentenced to Bridewell as a means of punishment, only some prostitutes and women deemed in danger of falling into prostitution were admitted to the Magdalen after voluntarily petitioning the governors to gain admittance.[116] Though both institutions were innovative, it is also important to recognize that they perpetuated a long tradition in using labour as a tool to combat idleness and other 'lewd' behaviour.

For most of the early modern period and the eighteenth century, drunk and idle 'disorderly women' were sent to Bridewell. Established in 1553 to address the unprecedented levels of vice, sin, and crime, Bridewell differed from existing gaols because, as Joanna Innes states, they were not intended designed "to be places of detention merely, but rather sites of punishment and reformation."[117] Sentences at Bridewell were usually brief, usually lasting a week or two, intending to be a "short, sharp shock" to persuade these disorderly to reform their behaviour. Moreover, nearly all the prisoners were sentenced to hard labour.[118] Paul Griffiths similarly notes the revolutionary nature of the institution; Bridewell was

> a heavy-handed disciplinary structure, training young people to be upright citizens, as well as putting its inmates to back-breaking, character-

[116] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 124-5.
[117] Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 42. Also see: Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell"; Ibid., *Lost Londons;* E. G. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital, Palace, Prison, and School: From the Death of Elizabeth to Modern Times* (London, 1929); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Pattern of Sexual Immorality", 100.
[118] Innes, "Prisons for the poor," 42; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 7; Tim Hitchcock, Sharon Howard and Robert Shoemaker, "Houses of Correction," *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org, 4 September 2013).

> building work. On top of this, a regular routine of religious instruction from hand-picked ministers made sure that moralities were always open to the possibility of change through solid work, sound religion, and sharp correction.[119]

Thus, a religious education and labour were initially regarded as suitable and effective means of reforming the idle and disorderly to become industrious and productive.

Reformers and policing authorities targeted the 'idle', 'disorderly' 'common nightwalker' found 'drunk' or 'in liquor'. Most often these streetwalkers were sentenced "to labor" or to "hard labour" because it was believed to encourage industry. Hence, in 1691 Elizabeth Sherman, who was "taken up in Fleet Street drunk at 12 a Clock at night & being an old Night walker" was sentenced "To Labr", as was Grace Cully, "alowd idle Person & a Comon Night walker", thirty-five years later.[120] In 1762, Ann Shield was similarly prosecuted and sentenced to "hard Labour" because she was an "Idle Disorderly Persons and Common night Walkers".[121] Susanna Harvey, another "Idle disorderly and Common Night walker" was likewise condemned to "hard labour" in 1770, demonstrating that this punishment was viewed as effective during the eighteenth century.[122]

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[119] Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell".
[120] BH/MG. BBBRMG202010150, 8th May 1691; BH/MG, BBBRMG202050111, 18th February 1726.
[121] BR/MG. BBBRMG202080050, 8th April 1762.
[122] BR/MG. BBBRMG202080315, 16th February 1770. Also see: "Frances Atkinson P Warrt. of Sr . Edwd. Clarke accused by Wm. Martin Const for being a Comon Nig ht Walker taken up late by him last night very drunk To Labour till next Court" [BR/MG. BBBRMG202010150, 8th May 1691; BR/MG. BBBRMG202010434, 12th October 1694]; "Eliz: Knight To Labr. Kath: Lewis P Warrt. Lord Mayor being any idle person and Comon night walker being taken last night in a Taverne by the Constable & his watch & for want of Sureties dd" [BR/MG. BBBRMG202010150, 8th May 1691; BR/MG. BBBRMG202010264, 7th April 1693]; "Lydia Butler P Warrt. of Mr. Recorder charged to be a Lewd idle woman and for being taken in a Taverne with a gent and can give noe good Account of herselfe To Labour". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202010150, 8th May 1691; BR/MG. BBBRMG202010276, 2nd June 1693]; "Ruth Gibson P wart. of Sr Edwd. Clark For being a common night walker & being took wth. two Strange Men a drinking To Labor & have noe more yn She Earnes" [BR/MG. BBBRMG202020394, 28th June 1700]; "cont to labor Darby Mary P dobeing charged by James Gunning Warder Psh of old Jury being taken upon Midnight in the Streets Swearing and curseing & being otherwise of an idle disorderly conversation & known to haunt the Streets" [BR/MG. BBBRMG202040096, 23rd July 1714]; "Cont to Labor WalfordAnn P Sr . Richard Brocas being charged by the Oath of Jacob Gudgeon one of the Watchmen belonging to the parish of St. Martins Ludgate for being a lewd loose idle & disorderly person and a comon Nightwalker."

The newspaper press regularly included reports about drunken and idle prostitutes in their publications. Many scholars have suggested that newspaper accounts of crime were salacious and intended to increase the perception of crime and vice in the metropolis to help bolster sales.[123] However, crime reports also informed readers when constables, magistrates, and other policing authorities successfully arrested and prosecuted nightwalkers discovered 'in liquor' and noted that they were sentenced to hard labour in Bridewell. For instance, in September of 1730 the *London Evening Post* reported that "the noted Moll King, Elizabeth Trevers, Judith Harris, and Hannah Beedle were committed to Tothill-Fields Bridwell, to hard Labour" after "being takein in the Streets at One or Two o'Clock in the Morning by the Constable of the Night and his Watchmen, some of them drunk, and others misbehaving themselves and known to be Common Night-Walkers".[124] Twenty years later, the *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer,* reported that Mary Joyson had been "committed to the London Workhouse … for being a common Night-walker, and being taken up on Sunday Night, between Ten and Eleven o'Clock much in Liquor, and making great Disorders in Bishopsgate-

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[BR/MG. BBBRMG202050287, 10th September 1731]; "Cont to Labor Howard Elizth Prisoner By Sr . Robt. Ladbroke being charged by the Oath of Robert Smith aforesaid Charles Danes and Charles Weel for being a loose idle disorderly Person and common Night other and greatly misbehaving & abusing the the Watchman in my Presence". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202060328, 16th July 1746]; "Cont to labor 77 Gillingham ElizaPrisoner P Sir George Champion being Charged on the Oath of Jos Cooper Constable at St Sepulcher Workhouse and Richd. Firth Binchwood young & Robert Williams his Watchman for being a loose Disorderly P[er]son & Comon Night Walker Greatly Misbehaving this Morning & Assaulting & Abusing them in the Elecon of their Office". [BR/MG. BBBRMG202060495, 27th September 1750].

[123] Peter King, "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century London," *Continuity and Change.* 22, 1 (2007): 73-112; Ibid., "Newspaper reporting, prosecution practice and perceptions of urban crime: the Colchester crimewave of 1765," *Continuity and Change.* 2 (1987): 423-54; Esther Snell, "Discourses of criminality in the eighteenth-century press: the presentation of crime in *The Kentish Post*, 1717-1768," *Continuity and Change.* 22, 1 (2007) 13-47; Robert Shoemaker, "The Street Robber and the Gentleman Highwayman: Changing Representations and Perceptions of Robbery in London, 1690-1800," *The Journal of the Social History Society*. 3, 4 (2006): 381-405; Simon Devereaux, "From Sessions to Newspaper? Criminal Trial Reporting, the Nature of Crime, and the London Press, 1770-1800." *London Journal*. 32, 1 (2007): 1-27.

[124] L*ondon Evening Post*. September 3, 1730 - September 5, 1730, #428.

street."[125] Hence, rather than be sensational, newspaper accounts also conveyed the efforts of policing authorities to curb crime and licentiousness, showing that efforts to maintain order were robust.[126]

Though 'idle' prostitutes discovered 'in liquor' continued to be sent to Bridewell throughout the century, during the 1740s, governing elites and philanthropists increasingly began to question the efficacy of Bridewell.[127] Donna Andrew has shown that reformers complained that at best, Bridewell simply incarcerated disorderly women for a specified period of time, when they were released, they remained "spiritually unchanged and still unequipped to earn an honest living."[128] At worst, Bridewell was seen to further corrupt inmates, a criticism which grew over the course of the century.[129] Ambivalence about the efficacy of Bridewell is reflected in Hogarth's depiction of the punishment of Moll Hackabout in both versions of the fourth plate of *A Harlot's Progress* [Fig. 7 and Fig. 8]. Having been arrested in the previous plate, Moll is now shown beating hemp in Bridewell Prison. Warning her of the consequences that will follow if she does not work hard enough, a warden stands next to her holding a whip, a

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[125] *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Tuesday September 25, 1750, #722. Also see: *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*. Saturday, September 26, 1730, #CIII; *London Evening Post.* Tuesday, October 8, 1754, #4199; *London Daily Advertiser*. Saturday, September 30, 1752, #486; *London Daily Advertiser*. Tuesday, May 29, 1753, #692; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligence*r. Thursday, October 31, 1751, #899; *Public Ledger or The Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligencer.* Tuesday, April 8, 1760, #75; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Saturday, November 28, 1761, #2450; *Public Ledger*. Tuesday, December 1, 1761, #591; *Public Ledger.* Thursday, July 20, 1775, # I4861; *Public Ledger*. Thursday, December 24, 1761, #611; *General Evening Post*. Tuesday, October 25, 1748, #2356.

[126] James J. Sharpe, "Reporting Crime in the North of England eighteenth-century Newspaper: a Preliminary Investigation," *Crime, History & Societies.* 16, 1 (2012): 25-45.

[127] Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform," 314.

[128] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 122.

[129] For instance, one newspaper report in the *London Evening Post* noted: "We have many Houses of Punishment in this Land, but no Places that can be properly called Houses of *Correction*. One frequently sees in the publick Papers a Dozen or a Score of loose disorderly Women taken up, and committed to hard Labour for a Month; a Space of Time sufficient to *harden* them indeed, considered what Places our Bridewells are, but not to *correct* their evil Ways and bad Habits: They are punished, but not amended." [*London Evening Post*. Saturday, August 24, 1754, #4180].

clear indication of the corporeal punishment for idleness. However, it is evident that Hogarth considered Bridewell to be an ineffective institution and there is a great deal of corruption evident in the scene, such as the fact that Moll continues to wear fine clothes, and several inmates are sitting idly instead of working.



Fig. 7. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress*, Plate 4. London, 1732. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library. (lwlpr22341).



Fig. 8. William Hogarth. *The Harlot's Progress*, plate 4. London, 1732. London Metropolitan Archives. Satirical Print Collection. (p5448159).

Because of the growing perception that Bridewell was not successfully reforming inmates, the growth of philanthropy, and the recognition that while some prostitutes were lusty whores, others were victims of poverty and seduction, philanthropists came to believe that women could be reformed into productive members of society, provided they were afforded the opportunity to be given vocational training and inculcated with

religious ideals.[130] These new perceptions led to the 1758 establishment of the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes. The founding governors of the Magdalen House believed that a proper introduction to labour and industry would prevent the prostitute from returning to a 'wicked course of life'. Accordingly, "Each woman" was to be "employed in such household business or needle-work as is suitable to her abilities, and likely to qualify her for service." [131] Combined with religious instruction, this labour was hoped to reform the women.

Through the Magdalen was undoubtedly a revolutionary institution, important similarities in approaches to morality and reformation link it to Bridewell. Most notably, both sought to tackle the problem of idleness. In 1792, the Report of the Select Committee for Bridewell explained that "the Rules and Ordinances established by the first Governors in 1557, … declare that *Bridewell* was 'for the Suppression of Idleness, which is the Enemy of every Virtue; and for the Nourishment of Industry, the Conqueror of all Vice.' "[132] In explaining the utility of the Magdalen Charity, the governors similarly contrasted idleness and sloth with industry and honesty. Hanway, for instance, explained that the Magdalen charity would "promote virtue and industry" and went on to suggest that "If we afford them the means of *employment,* we shall instruct some in useful arts who never learned any trade before; we shall give others a *habit* of industry, as well as an opportunity of reforming their morals".[133] Hence, just as with Bridewell, the goal of the

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[130] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 120-1.
[131] The Report of the Committee Appointed by the Annual General Court of the Foundling Hospital of 12th May, 1790. *Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Magdalen Hospital*. (London, 1791), 35.
[132] The Report of the Select Committee, Appointed by a General Court of Governors of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, January 10, 1792. p. 8-9. COL/CHD/AP/05/006, London Metropolitan Archives.
[133] Jonas Hanway, *A plan for establishing a charity-house, or charity-houses, for the reception of repenting prostitutes. To be called the Magdalen charity.* (London, 1758), ix-x, xv.

Magdalen was to 'correct' and reform sinful, idle, and disorderly people through labour and religious education.[134]

Bridewell and the Magdalen also required residents to be engaged in labour, which was not only intended to reform the disorderly, but also make them useful to society. The Report of the Select Committee for Bridewell explained that the labour at Bridewell was not only intended to reform the individual, but also ensure that "the Lewd, the Sturdy Beggar, and the Idle in general," that would "serve the Common-Weal".[135] As Bridewell was also designed as a place to apprentice deserving poor children, the idea of education and labour training was not unfamiliar to philanthropists.[136] Sarah Lloyd convincingly argues that the Magdalen similarly relied upon labour and "sober industry" to remake women used to a life of sin, vice, and crime into "socially useful" members of society.[137] All the penitents were required to be engaged in labour, which was not only intended to help fund the charity, but also help teach them valuable skills so they could gain employment upon leaving the Hospital, thereby preventing their return to a life of idleness.[138] For instance, in his *Advice to the Magdalens,* William Dodd explained to the residents: "It was never intended, that you should pass your Life here; much less that you should be supported in Idleness and Sloth. …if you conduct yourselves properly, … you shall be enabled to return into life …with an habit of industry and the means to procure

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[134] Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell".
[135] The Report of the Select Committee, Appointed by a General Court of Governors of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, January 10, 1792. p. 8. COL/CHD/AP/05/006.
[136] Tim Hitchcock, Sharon Howard and Robert Shoemaker, "Bridewell Prison and Hospital," *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org, 4 September 2013); Griffiths, "Building Bridewell"; Ibid., "Contesting London Bridewell," Ibid., *Lost Londons.*
[137] Lloyd, "Pleasure's Golden Bait," 62-64.
[138] *The rules, orders and regulations, of the Magdalen house.* (London, 1759), 20; *The rules, orders and regulations, of the Magdalen house.* (London, 1760), 20. Also see: The Report of the Committee Appointed by the Annual General Court of the Foundling Hospital of 12th May, 1790. *Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Magdalen Hospital*. (London, 1791), 35; *The rule and regulations of the* Magdalen-*Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use.* 4th ed. (London, 1769), 22.

honestly your own Bread".[139] Jonas Hanway likewise noted: "whatever tends to promote, amongst the idle and dissolute, a habit of industry … will produce as great an advantage to the community".[140] Hence, labour was employed to reform dissolute sinners and benefit the nation.

The governors of the Magdalen Charity also sought to address a second type of female productivity deemed absent in disorderly women – becoming wives and mothers. According to Mary Peace the founding governors "were driven by the idea that prostitutes, whom they figured as economically and reproductively barren, could be transformed into industrious workers and productive mothers."[141] The governors believed that religion and vocational training could transform these women into marriageable young ladies. The governors of the Magdalen sought to "encourage the growth of population through marriage".[142] These maternity goals were directed at benefiting the commonwealth. As Ruth Perry notes, "[t]he social investment in saving these women came at the same time as marriage was being promoted as a national good to reproduce the population decimated in overseas wars and to settle the colonies."[143] If prostitutes could be reformed into honest women who could help increase the population and

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[139] William Dodd, *Advice to the Magdalens.* (London, 1760?), 2.
[140] Jonas Hanway, *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House for repentant prostitutes.* (London, 1759), 47.
[141] Peace, "The Magdalen Hospital and the Fortunes of Whiggish Sentimentality," 128; Batchelor, "'Industry in Distress"; Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 54–57; Lloyd, "Pleasure's Golden Bait," 52; Binhammer, *The seduction narrative in Britain,* 45.
[142] Peace, "The Magdalen Hospital and the Fortunes of Whiggish Sentimentality," 129, citing: *Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen-House for Repentant Prostitutes.* (London, 1758), 12; Saunders Welch, *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan, to Remove the Nuisance of Common Prostitutes from the Streets of this Metropolis* (London, 1758), 16.
[143] Perry, *Novel Relations*, 274. Also see Andrew, *Philanthropy.*

strengthen the nation, they would also be serving the nation not only as workers, but as women.[144]

Unsurprisingly, literature produced by, or for, the Magdalen endorsed the idea that, at least some of the time, the charity was successful in turning prostitutes into respectable women who married industrious men and were now virtuous mothers. In trying to explain the utility to prospective donors, the midcentury philanthropist Jonas Hanway stated that one of the goals of the Magdalen Charity was that those "*reclaimed persons*" who "excel in piety, industry, and a submission to a *regular oeconomy,* it will certainly prepare the way to their being married to honest and industrious men."[145] The 1769 edition of *The rule and regulations of the* Magdalen-*Charity* likewise declared: "Such are the happy effects of this Charity, that not only numbers of subjects are preserved, in a direct view, but several of the women discharged, have been married to sober and industrious persons, and are now joyful mothers of children."[146]

Sermons delivered to elicit support for the charity similarly emphasized the charity's success. In 1782, preacher W.H. Roberts asserted: "The authentic records of this house testify, that many of its inhabitants, after having expressed a real contrition for their offences, … have been received into virtuous, and reputable families; and that many have engaged in the honourable connection of marriage with men of honest, and sober conversation."[147] Popular literature also promoted the idea that penitents could marry honest men and become respectable wives and mothers. Katherine Binhammer notes that

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[144] Cody, *Birthing the nation*, 237-269; Colley, *Britons*, 237-282; Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 98-134.
[145] Hanway, *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House*, 47.
[146] *The rule and regulations of the* Magdalen-*Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use.* 4th ed. (London, 1769), vi.
[147] W. H. Roberts, *A sermon preached before the governors of the Magdalen Hospital, London: on Tuesday the 30th of April, 1782.* (London, 1782), 13.

in defiance of "conventional" logic, in several works of fiction "many prostitutes go on to lead happy, healthy lives" after they leave prostitution and are even "rewarded with marriage after their lives as prostitutes".[148] Given that these works were designed to elicit contributions in support of the charity, it is unsurprising that these works outlined the charities' accomplishments. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that any of the preachers would have intentionally falsified information simply to create propaganda, or that authors would publish stories that would have been dismissed as implausible.[149]

Hence, both Bridewell and the Magdalen sought to reform disorderly streetwalkers through labour. As a disciplinary institution Bridewell used labour to punish and reform the disorderly poor, which included streetwalkers and other 'disorderly women'. The Magdalen operated on similar principles. However, rather than punish a wide variety of the disorderly poor who were discovered committing lewd offences, the Magdalen was a charity designed to reform penitent prostitutes. Labour was not conceived as a punishment but as a means of reform and vocational training.

Conclusions

It is evident that prostitutes were frequently described as both 'drunk' and 'idle', further cementing associations between these vices. These behaviours further identified prostitutes as a serious problem because they significantly contributed to difficulties in

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[148] Binhammer, *The seduction narrative in Britain,* 46.

[149] Even though literary depictions may not have been intended to portray reality, Tim Hitchcock has convincingly argued that works of fiction that featured vagrant beggars informed philanthropists and legislators about mendicants, which, in turn, influenced social policies and the infrastructure of poor relief institutions. See: Tim Hitchcock, "The Streets: Literary Beggars and the Realities of Eighteenth-Century London", *A Concise Companion: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, Cynthia Wall, ed., (London: Blackwell Publishing 2006), 81, 91. Also see: Robert Darnton, *The great cat massacre and other episodes in French cultural history*. (New York: Basic Books, 1984) 31, 38; Tanya Evans, " 'Blooming Virgins All Beware': Love, Courtship, and Illegitimacy in Eighteenth-Century British Popular Literature" in Alysa Levene, Thomas Nutt, Samantha Williams, eds., *Illegitimacy in Britain*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 19-20.

maintaining order in society. While reformers endeavoured to prevent prostitutes from getting drunk, their concerns were primarily focused on the consequences her actions had on male customers and because drunkenness was seen to encourage idleness. Consequently, most reformers focused their efforts on transforming prostitutes from idle sinners into orderly and productive members of society. Initially, Bridewell Prison and Hospital set inmates to 'hard labour' because this punishment was believed to discourage idleness. By mid-century, reformers sought to discourage idleness in prostitutes by providing them with vocational training. The labour penitents performed in the Magdalen Charity was designed to transform them into industrious members of society and prevent them from resorting to prostitution to support themselves upon their release. The labour-schemes at both Bridewell and the Magdalen were also intended to help support the financial stability of both institutions thereby transforming sinner into potentially prosperous, 'polite and commercial' Englishmen and women.[150]

[150] Langford, *A polite and commercial people*.

CHAPTER 5: WRATH

Wrath, or "Anger; fury; rage" was regarded as a significant problem in London society because it undermined judgment and unleashed passions, which in turn, often led to violence.[1] Throughout the eighteenth century, prostitutes were routinely associated with violence because they were both the victims of violence and because they physically assaulted male clients and parish officials. However, what constituted violence in the eighteenth century was not limited to physical assaults. Prostitutes were also seen to use violence when they hurled slanderous insults. This chapter argues that although prostitutes were both victims and perpetrators of violence, the Bridewell Court of Governors' records, the newspaper press, and popular publications more frequently discussed prostitutes' violent actions against others. This greater emphasis on prostitutes' proclivity to violence suggests that commentators sought to portray prostitutes as inherently sinful and as posing a pervasive threat to the peace and stability of the nation, rather than as pitiable victims.[2] Moreover, the limited reportage of male violence against

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[1] Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language: in which the words are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers*. The sixth edition. Volume 2. (London, 1785), 1080. Also see: Thomas Dyche, *A new general English dictionary.* (London, 1765), 51, 901; Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language.* (London, 1785), 79. In this chapter, wrath and anger will be used interchangeably.

[2] On sin as a destabilizing force, see: Susan Amussen, "Punishment, Discipline, and Power: The Social Meanings of Violence in Early Modern England." *The Journal of British Studies*. 34, 1 (1995): 1-34; Ibid., *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); Anna Clark, *The struggle for the breeches: gender and the making of the British working class*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Deirdre Palk, *Gender, crime and judicial discretion*, 1780-1830. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and petty violence in London, 1680-1720*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005); Keith Wrightson, *English society, 1580-1680*. (London: Routledge, 2003); Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550-1660*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Joanna Innes, *Inferior politics: social problems and social policies in eighteenth-century Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Barry Coward, *Social change and continuity in early modern England, 1550-1750*. (London: Longman, 1988); Ian Archer, *The pursuit of stability: social relations in Elizabethan London*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 238.
On prostitutes as pitable victims, see: Laura Rosenthal, *Infamous commerce: prostitution in eighteenth-century British literature and culture*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Sophie Carter, *Purchasing*

prostitutes suggests that men's physical and verbal aggression continued to be seen as somewhat acceptable. Hence, though prostitutes' sexual transgressions already defined them as deviant, those who also resorted to acts of violence were seen to be particularly unruly and sinful.

Though there were degrees of anger, and not all anger resulted in violence, nor did all violence emanate from wrath, anger was closely associated with assault during the eighteenth century.[3] In his *Justice of the Peace, and Parish Officer,* Richard Burn explained that assault was "an attempt or offer, with force and violence, to do a corporal hurt to another; as by striking at him with or without a weapon … or by any other such like act, done in an angry threatening manner."[4] Similarly, battery "seemeth to be, when any injury whatsoever … is actually done to the person of a man in an angry, or revengeful, or rude, or insolent manner, as by spitting in his face, or any way touching him in anger, or violent jostling him out of the way, and the like."[5] Hence, though the definition of assault was vague and open-ended, both of these common forms of assault were believed to stem from anger.[6]

Threats of violence and the use of obscene language were likewise defined as angry, violent actions. Burn regarded swearing to be so objectionable that "if any offend their brethren by swearing, the churchwardens shall present them; and such notorious

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power: representing prostitution in eighteenth-century English popular print culture. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical gaze: prints of women in late eighteenth-century England* (Oxford, 2004).

[3] Elizabeth Foyster, "Boys will be boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800," in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, eds., *English Masculinities*, *1660-1800*. (London: Longman, 1999),153.

[4] Richard Burn, *The justice of the peace, and parish officer.* Vol. 1. (London, 1810), 173.

[5] Ibid., Blackstone similarly explained battery to be: "the unlawful beating of another. The least touching of another's person willfully, or in anger, is a battery; for the law cannot draw the line between different degrees of violence, and therefore totally prohibits the first and lowest state of it:" [Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the laws of England.* Vol. 3 (Oxford, 1765-1769), 120].

[6] Gregory Smith, "The state and culture of violence in London, 1760-1840," Doctoral Thesis. University of Toronto. (1999), 42-50.

offenders shall not be admitted to the holy communion, till they be reformed."[7] Cursing, swearing, and obscene language were each defined as a sinful "form of action" that would bring God's wrath onto the entire nation, and, therefore remained a legitimate reason to prosecute offenders.[8] Moreover, these actions were defined as "violence", because they were made in an "angry" way. Though much of the violence associated with prostitution can be classified by what Jennine Hurl-Eamon calls 'petty violence', relatively minor physical and verbal assaults, these actions were nonetheless considered unacceptable.[9]

While it is not possible to determine the full extent of violence in early modern English society because we are limited by how much crime was reported, we can

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[7] Burn, *The justice of the peace, and parish officer*. Vol. 5, 395. Also see: Saunders Welch, *Observations on the office of constable. With cautions for the more safe execution of that duty. Drawn from experience.* (London, 1754), 23-24.

[8] Burn, *The justice of the peace, and parish officer.* Vol. 1, 174; John Disney, *A view of ancient laws, against immorality and profaneness.* (Cambridge, 1729), 194.

Saunders Welch agreed, and explained that "Profane swearing and cursing is a fourth nuisance, and scandal it is to a christian country." [Welch, *Observations on the office of constable,* 23-24]. Josiah Woodward similarly noted that "Nothing can be more piercing to the Heart of a *Christian,* than to hear the Multitudes of Oaths and profane Speeches which proceed out of the Mouths of many People, without any Sense of the Evil they do, or Fear of any Thing they must suffer for so doing." [Josiah Woodward, *A kind caution to profane swearers.* (London, 1763), 3]. Also see: Josiah Woodward, *A kind caution to profane swearers*. (London, 1780?); Samuel Wright, *A discourse against profane swearing*. (London, 1723?); Edmund Gibson, *An admonition against prophane and common swearing.* (London, 1725); George Whitefield, *The heinous sin of profane cursing and swearing a sermon preached at the parish church of St. Nicholas Cole-Abby*. (London, 1738); William Gearing, *A bridle for the tongue, or, A treatise of ten sins of the tongue*. (London, 1663); Shani D'Cruse and Louise A. Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 61; Garthine Walker, *Crime, gender, and social order in early modern England*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); 99-100; David Cressy, *Dangerous talk: scandalous, seditious, and treasonable speech in pre-modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous tongues: speech and gender in late medieval England*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Carla Mazzio, "Sins of the Tongue in Early Modern England," *Modern Language Studies*. 28, ¾ (1998): 95-124; Laura Gowing, *Domestic dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, 1996); Ibid., "Language, power and the law: women's slander litigation in early-modern London," in Jennifer Kermone and Garthine Walker, eds. *Women, crime and the courts in early modern England*. (London: University College, London, 1994), 26-47.

[9] Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 2; Peter King, "Punishing assault: the transformation of attitudes in the English courts*," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 26, 1 (1996): 43.

determine how this violence was perceived and discussed.[10] Such an approach will help us develop a better understanding of perceptions of prostitutes and the relationship between gender, violent crime, and prostitution. The first part of this chapter explores Hanoverians' understandings of wrath and its relationship to prostitution. This discussion will be followed by an assessment of the current debates about the relationship between gender, crime, and prostitution. Next, reports on incidents in which prostitutes were the victims of violence at the hands of male clients will be assessed.[11] Finally, the nature and extent of prostitutes' violence against male clients and local governing officials, respectively, will be considered.

Wrath

Wrath is often considered one of the most "dangerous", yet "paradoxical" of the seven deadly sins because anger can be defined one of two ways: 'just anger' and 'illegitimate anger'.[12] Just anger, the retributive action of a state or individual following injustice, is often regarded as "righteous", "socially legitimate", and even necessary to

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[10] J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the courts in England, 1660-1800*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 75; Peter King, "Punishing assault: the transformation of attitudes in the English courts," *Journal of interdisciplinary History*. 27 (1996): 43; Drew D. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the City of London in the late eighteenth century*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 95.

For a recent discussion of the early modern European context, see: Alexandra Shepard, "Violence and Civility in Early Modern Europe," *The Historical Journal*. 49, 2 (2006), 593-603.

[11] Though prostitutes were also victims of violence at the hands of male clients, bawds, pimps, and bullies, this chapter will exclusively focus on prostitutes' violent physical and verbal assaults on male clients, their neighbours, and local officers of the parish.

[12] Octavio Javier Esqueda, "Sin and Christian Teaching," *Christian Education Journal*. 8, 1 (2011): 167; William H. Willimon, *Sinning Like a Christian: A New Look at the Seven Deadly Sin*s. (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 2005), 76; Stanford M. Lyman, *The seven deadly sins: society and evil*. (New York: General Hall Inc., 1989), 110, 114; Linda A. Pollock, "Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal*. 47, 3 (2004): 569-570; Gwynne Kennedy, *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England*. (Southern Illinois University, 2000), 10; Richard E. Barton, "Gendered Anger: *Ira, Furor,* and Discourses of Power and Masculinity in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in Richard Newhauser, ed. *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Age.* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 371-2; Robert A.F. Thurman, *Anger: The Seven Deadly Sins.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 17.

maintain order in society.[13] In contrast, anger was illegitimate when it was the product of "blind rage" or "fury".[14] Because this type of wrath resulted in the violation or injury of a person or state, it is seen to be "sinful", arbitrary, and as posing a significant threat to the maintenance of order in society.[15]

The dualistic nature of wrath led ancient and medieval philosophers, theologians and clerics, and moralists to have difficulty deciding whether there were some beneficial qualities to wrath. Some, such as Thomas Aquinas, asserted that anger was not necessarily a fatal transgression, but could be "virtuous" when it was founded upon "a desire for vengeance regulated by reason."[16] Likewise, while Aristotle is often described as "the great believer in temperance," he was also said to be "not unsympathetic to the angry."[17] However, most ancient philosophers emphasized the negative qualities of wrath. For example, Seneca referred to anger as a "temporary madness" because it leads to the destruction of both individuals and communities.[18] Likewise, Cassian regarded anger as "an extension of one's' desire to control the world around one – to be greater and more godlike", and Gregory believed anger became "devastating because one no

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[13] Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 12.
[14] Willimon, *Sinning Like a Christian,* 76; Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 10; Esqueda, "Sin and Christian Teaching," 167; Lyman, *The seven deadly sins: society and evil*, 110, 114; Pollock, "Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships"; Barton, "Gendered Anger," 371-2; Thurman, *Anger,* 17.
[15] Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 110-111; Aviad Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins. A Very Partial List*. (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2008), 117; Thurman, *Anger,* 19-20; Amussen, "Punishment, Discipline, and Power"; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*; Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, *Order and disorder in early modern England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Walker, *Crime, gender, and social order;* Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 12; King, "Punishing assault," 43; Stephen Pender, "Subverting Disease: Anger, Passions, and the Non-Naturals," in *Rhetorics of bodily disease and health in medieval and early modern England*, Jennifer C. Vaught, ed., (Ashgate: Farnham, 2010), 198-199; John Wilder, "The Sin of Rash Anger," *Fifteen sermons preach'd before the University of Oxford, on the following subjects.* (Oxford, 1741), 254.
[16] Eileen C. Sweeney, "Aquinas on the Seven Deadly Sins: Tradition and Innovation," Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, eds. *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*. (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2012), 92; Pender, "Subverting Disease," 204-5.
[17] Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 120-121.
[18] Seneca, *De ira.* 1.107, 1.111 as cited in Pender, "Subverting Disease," 200.

longer clings to God to find satisfaction in him". As a result of this rejection, the "sinner looses control, becoming more irrational as he departs from the stability found in God."[19] For these reasons, most philosophers believed that wrath created significant problems in society because, much like the sin of pride, it caused people to over-step the natural limits of their place in the world and take matters into their own hands.[20]

Conflicting ideas about anger persisted into the eighteenth century. In the 1758 edition of *Characteristicks of men*, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, asserted that "ANGER in a manner becomes necessary" because " 'Tis by this passion that one creature offering violence to another, is deter'd from the execution". However, the Earl of Shaftesbury also warned that "what is done in *fury*, or *anger*, can never be plac'd to the account of *courage*."[21] Though John Fawcett similarly noted there were situations when anger was not only justified, but necessary, the majority of his 1788 *Essay on Anger* discussed the many more circumstances "When our anger is sinful".[22] Accordingly, many commentators stressed that even when someone's wrath was theoretically warranted, because a wrathful person "will admit of no Restraints of Reason", their actions quickly

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[19] Carol Straw, "Gregory, Cassian, and the Cardinal Vices," in Richard Newhauser, ed. *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Age.* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 51. Also see: Esqueda, "Sin and Christian Teaching," 168-169.

[20] Lyman, *The seven deadly sins*, 111; Dwight D. Allman, "Sin and the Construction of Carolingian Kingship," in Newhauser. *Seven deadly sins: from communities to indiviuduals,* 39; Pender, "Subverting Disease," 198-200.

[21] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of men, Manners, Opinions, Times. In four volumes*. Vol. II. (Glasgow? 1758), 95, 81.

On the earl of Shaftsbury and politeness see: Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Ibid., "Sociability, politeness, and aristocratic self-formation in the life and career of the second Earl of Shelburne," *Historical Journal*. 55, 3 (2012): 653-677.

[22] John Fawcett, *An Essay on Anger*. (Leeds, 1788), 48.

According to Patrick Coleman, J.J. Rousseau's writings similarly indicate "two diametrically opposed positions on the subject [of anger]." [Patrick Coleman, *Anger, Gratitude, and the Enlightenment Writer*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1].

become "immoderate".[23] Consequently, most preachers and philosophers argued that anger is "the source or cause for crime, rebellion, and revolution, the disintegration or destruction of the social order", leading them to insist that anger is "the first passion that must be domesticated" if the "social order is to be secured and maintained".[24]

The growing association of wrath with violence supports the argument made by several historians, including, Paul Langford, Lawrence Klein, Robert Shoemaker, and Anna Bryson, that the place of anger and violence shifted over the course of the early modern era, and especially during the eighteenth century.[25] While violence and anger

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[23] L.M. Stretch, *The beauties of history; or, pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life; designed for the instruction and entertainment of youth.* Vol. II. (London, 1780), 231; Wilder, "The Sin of Rash Anger," 254, 255-256.

[24] Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 110-111. For instance, in 1694, the preacher Lancelot Blackburne referred to anger as an "unruly Passion" that "pervert[s] our Judgments" [Lancelot Blackburne, *The unreasonableness of anger a sermon preach'd before the Queen at White-hall, July 29, 1694*. (London, 1694), 5]. John Gilbert similarly asserted that "the natural Fruits of an angry, hasty Temper" was that "it, destroys the Harmony, and Chearfulness, and Good-Humour, in short, all the Comfort of the little Societies of the World" in his 1742 sermon. [John Gilbert, *A sermon preached before the House of Lords, in the Abbey-Church of Westminster, on Saturday, Jan. 30, 1741-2. Being the Day appointed to be observed as the Day of the Martyrdom of King Charles I. By John Lord Bishop of Landaff.* (London, 1742), 9]. Also see: Samuel Chandler. *The original and reason of the institution of the sabbath, in two discourses, Preached at Salter's Hall, Dec. 17, 1760.* (London, 1761), 1-2; John Conder, *A sermon preached before the Society for the Reformation of Manners. at Salters-Hall, August 3, 1763*. (London, 1763), 4-5, 20.

[25] Paul Langford, *A polite and commercial people: England 1727-1783*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Ibid., "The Uses of Eighteenth-century politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 311-331; Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness;* Helen Berry, "Rethinking politeness in eighteenth-century England: Moll King's Coffee House and the significance of flash talk," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 11 (2001): 65-81; Robert Shoemaker, "The decline of public insult in London, 1660-1800," *Past & Present*. 169 (2000): 97-131; Ibid., "The taming of the duel: masculinity, honour and ritual violence in London, 1660-1800," *The Historical Journal*. 45, 3 (2002): 525-545; Ibid., "Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738," in Lee Davison, et. al. eds. *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750.* St. Martin's Press, 1992), 99-120; Ibid., "Reforming Male Manners: Public Insult and the Decline of Violence in London" in *English Sexualities, 1600-1800*; Tim Hitchcock, and Michele Cohen, eds. *English Masculinities*. (London: Longman, 1999), 133-150; Ibid., "Male honour and the decline of public violence in eighteenth century London," *Social History.* 26 (2001): 190–208; Ibid., *The London Mob: violence and disorder in eighteenth-century England.* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2004); G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century.* (London: Routledge, 1996); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800.* (Harlow: Longman, 2001); Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of manhood in early modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: changing codes of conduct in early modern England*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners.* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); M. E. James, *Society, Politics and Culture:*

were regarded as legitimate expressions at the beginning of the period, they progressively became intolerable as Britons came to value civility, politeness, and commerce. As a result, violence and public disorderliness of any sort, such as duels, public insults, and even state-sanctioned public punishments were increasingly regarded as offensive, objectionable, and sinful.[26]

Nevertheless, the place of anger and violence was never simple because the legitimacy of violence was partly determined by status and gender, which are central to any understanding of the workings of early modern communities and family life.[27] Status (rank, or class) was crucial to the ordering of early modern English society because, as Cynthia Herrup notes, the "social structure was based on deference and hierarchy" and those in the lower classes owed obedience and deference to those of greater status.[28] Susan Amussen explains that as status determined legitimacy in expressions of anger and

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Studies in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Ibid., *English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485–1642*. (Oxford: Past and Present Society, 1978).

[26] Donna Andrew, "The code of honour and its critics: the opposition to duelling in England, 1700-1850," *Social History*. 5 (1980): 409-34; V. G. Kiernan, *The duel in European history: honour and the reign of the aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1988), chs. 6-10; Pieter Spierenburg, "Knife Fighting and Popular Codes of honour in Early Modern Amsterdam," in Pieter Spierenburg, ed. *Men and Violence: Gender, Honour, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America.* (Ohio State University Press, 1998): 103-127; Greg T. Smith, "Civilized People Don't Want to See that Kind of Thing: The Decline of Public Physical Punishment in London, 1760-1840," in *Qualities of Mercy: Justice, Punishment and Discretion*, Carolyn Strange, ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996): 21-51; David Nash and Anne-Marie Kilday, *Cultures of shame: exploring crime and morality in Britain 1600-1900*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); J.M. Beattie, et. al. eds., *Criminal justice in the old world and the new: essays in honour of J.M. Beattie*. (Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, 1998); Lawrence Stone, "Interpersonal Violence in English Society 1300-1980," *Past & Present.* 101 (1983): 22-33; Ibid., "The History of Violence in England: Some Observations: A Rejoinder," *Past & Present.* 108 (1985): 216-224; J.A. Sharpe, "The History of Violence in England: Some Observations," *Past & Present.* 108 (1985): 206-215; J. S. Cockburn, "Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent 1560-1985," *Past & Present*, 130 (1991): 70-106; Shoemaker, *The London mob,* 61, 64, 100, 153-176, 292-298.

[27] Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, 3; Wrightson, *English Society*, 17-38; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins,* 127.

The acceptable limits of anger are also determined by race. However, due to limits of space, the intersection of race, violence, and prostitution will not be discussed in this dissertation.

[28] Cynthia Herrup, "Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past and Present*, 106. (1985), 105. Also see: Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, 3; Wrightson, *English Society,* 17-38; Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. (London: Allen Lane, 1990), 48-97; Douglas Hay and Nicholas Rogers, *Eighteenth-century English society: shuttles and swords.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 17-36, 188-208; Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* 40; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and petty violence,* 65; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins,* 120-121.

violence, "authority figures … were entrusted with maintaining order in their households" and permitted to "correct" inferior members of the household, so long as their correction did not breach the bounds of acceptable levels of violence.[29] Hence, just as violence was often considered a reasonable response to slights to someone's status, husbands could legitimately correct their wives, parents could discipline wayward children, and masters and mistresses could correct errant servants or apprentices. However, subordinates, including youths, apprentices, and women, were not permitted to act out on their anger towards those in positions of greater authority.[30]

Gender was also crucial in determining the legitimacy of expressions of anger and violence. Throughout the early modern period 'just anger' was almost always "either explicitly or implicitly gendered masculine" because "[p]atriarchal ideas imbued early modern culture with multiple ways of justifying or excusing men's violence against women."[31] As historian Garthine Walker asserts, female violence, especially when directed towards men, was seen as a significant breach of the social order because it embodied both "the subversion of gender and social order."[32] Accordingly, the violent wife was considered rebellious and a traitor, even if her violence was in self-defense because these actions jeopardized "male order and reason" and the unruly, violent women was seen as a "destructive [force] that must be mastered."[33] The violence of prostitutes,

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[29] Susan Dwyer Amussen, " 'Being Stirred to Much Unquietness': Violence and Domestic Violence in Early Modern England," *Journal of Women's History*. 6, 2 (1994): 75.
[30] Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 120-121; Griffiths. *Youth and Authority*, 147-69, 324-47; Keith Thomas, "Age and authority in early modern England," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 62 (1976): 1–46; Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* 40, 49, Citing William Heale, *An Apologies for Women: Or an Opposition to Mr Dr G. His Assertion that Men shold Beat their Wives* (London, 1608), 2, 13; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and petty violence,* 65.
[31] Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 12; Thurman, *Anger,* 17; Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 118-119; Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* 49.
[32] Walker, *Crime, gender, and social order*, 49.
[33] Ibid., 9.

who were predominantly lower-class women and already defined as disorderly because they were promiscuous, was especially unacceptable because they breached both the gender and status hierarchies. Therefore, prostitutes' assaults not only presented a profound threat to order in society, but represented an inversion of the social order.

In spite of the strict gendering of legitimacy in expressions of physical 'correction', early modern and Hanoverian authorities vacillated in determining if anger was predominantly a masculine or feminine quality. On the one hand, Galenic humoural theory alleged that anger was a 'hot and fiery' quality, presumably making men more prone to anger because their humoural constitution was 'hotter' than womens'.[34] On the other hand, anger was often depicted as a woman with a sword, and many commentators believed women to be "much more Subject to this Passion [anger] than Men".[35] However, even more important than which sex was believed to be more easily roused to anger was the nature and consequences of their anger. Though men committed more acts of violent assault, Kennedy argues that their anger and violence was habitually seen to be less severe and explained as "a momentary lack of self-restraint".[36] By contrast, women

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[34] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* Part 1. Of Man Chapter 2. Of Imagination. Para. 6/10 p. 7 mp. 91 in *British philosophy 1600-1900. Past Masters.* (Charlotseville: InteLex Corp., 1995).

According to Aristotle, "anger is the result of fiery heat," *Aristotle: The Complete Works. Electronic edition.* Bollingen Series LXXI. 2 Volume II Book VIII. Problems Connected with Chill and Shivering. 887b10-887b14 p. 1372; Andrew Wear, *Health and healing in early modern England: studies in social and intellectual history*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Ibid., *Knowledge and practice in English medicine, 1550-1680*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ibid., "Place, Health, and Disease: The Airs, Waters, Places Tradition in Early Modern England and North America," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies.* 38, 3 (2008): 443-65; Roy Porter, "The body politic: diseases and discourses," *History Today*. 51, 10 (2001): 23-29; Ibid., "Medicine, politics, and the body in late Georgian England," Kevin M. Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, eds., *Refiguring revolutions: aesthetics and politics from the English revolution to the romantic revolution*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 217-37.

[35] Lyman, *The seven deadly sins*, 111; Edward Ward, *Female policy detected. Or, The arts of a designing woman laid open.* (London, 1695), 22. For instance, David Hume believed that though "Revenge is a natural passion to mankind", it "seems to reign with the greatest force in … women". [David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*. Part 1. Essay 21: Of National Characters. In *British philosophy 1600-1900. Past Masters.* (Charlotseville: InteLex Corp., 1995)].

[36] Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 4, 16. Also see: J.M. Beattie, "The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-century England," *Jorunal of Social History*. 8, 4 (1975), 80, 82; Peter Lawson, "Patriarchy, Crime, and the Courts:

were "believed to get angry *more* often and *more* easily than men because of their physiological, intellectual, and moral inferiority to men."[37] Owing to these 'intrinsic' differences, George Lord Savile, Marquis of Halifax asserted that "*Men*, who were to be the Law-givers, had the larger share of *Reason* bestow'd upon them [than women]".[38] Hence, anger in women was deemed "groundless" and "a more serious character flaw" which justified their subordination.[39]

Wrath was believed to be so antithetical to "the construction of femininity" that anger in a woman was regarded as an indication that "she lacked the qualities of a good woman" or had forfeited her feminine and virtuous qualities – meekness, humility, modesty, and passivity – and instead embraced "unfeminine" behaviors such as "Malice, Anger, Revenge, Envy, Fury, and such like."[40] For instance, according to the 1694 edition of *The Ladies' Dictionary,* "Anger in Ladies, … [is] discommendable and hurtful, and by what means to be avoided and remedied."[41] Similarly, Richard Allestree advised women to "Never let the Passion of Anger get the better of your Reason; for by it, the external Part, are not only deform'd, but the whole Frame of the internal Constitution is disordered. … It is a Vice that carried with it neither Pleasure, Profit,

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The Criminality of Women in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England," in Greg T. Smith, Allyson May, and Simon Devereaux, eds., *Criminal Justice in the Old World and the New*: *Essays in Honour of J.M. Beattie.* (Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, 1998), 16-57.

[37] Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 3.

[38] George Lord Savile, Marquis of Halifax, *The lady's New-year's gift, or, Advice to a daughter: under the following heads: viz. religion, husband, house and family, servants, behaviour and conversation, friendship, censure, vanity and affectation, pride, diversions, dancing*. 3rd Edition (London, 1688), 26.

[39] Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 3-4, 16.

[40] Foyster, "Boys will be boys," 155, 157, 158; Sarah Jordan, *The anxieties of idleness*: idleness in eighteenth-century British literature and culture. (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 85; Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order*, 85; Kennedy, *Just Anger,* 4, 16; Richard Allestree, *The ladies calling in two parts. By the author of The whole duty of man, &c.* (Oxford, 1727), 92-93, 192.

On the qualities associated with femininity see: *The Tatler.* Saturday, August 26 – Tuesday August 29, 1710. No. 217; Allestree. *The ladies calling*, 31.

[41] N. H., *The ladies dictionary, being a general entertainment of the fair-sex a work never attempted before in English.* (London, 1694), 15.

Honour, or Security" in his 1727 *The Ladies calling.*[42] Writing in 1799, Mrs. Mary Pilkington echoed these sentiments when she asserted: "Passion and anger are propensities so contrary to that softness which is a female's greatest ornament, …to the destruction of gentleness, the banishment of peace, and the total overthrow of domestic comfort."[43] It is apparent that throughout the eighteenth century, moralists depicted female anger as sinful and deeply disturbing.

Angry women were often portrayed as "shrewish and hysterical", "beastly", "creatures", and "monsters", terms that negated women's feminine identity and were frequently extended to prostitutes.[44] Prostitutes were so closely associated with anger and creating discord that a hymn "For Grace to resist Anger, Pride, and Unquietness" was included in 1769 edition of *The rules and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity*.[45] Other hymns the Magdalens were supposed to sing emphasized the importance of gratitude and forgiveness, qualities often identified as the contrasting virtues to the sin of wrath.[46] It is,

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[42] Allestree, *The ladies calling,* 92-93, 192.

[43] Mrs. Mary Pilkington, *A mirror for the female sex. Historical beauties for young ladies. Intended to lead the female mind to the love and practice of moral goodness.* (London, 1799), 215-216.

On the consequences of anger on women see: John Essex. *The young ladies conduct: or, rules for education, under several heads; with instructions upon dress, both before and after marriage.* (London, 1722); Richard Allestree, *The ladies' calling.* (London, 1787), 54, 73.

[44] Thurman, *Anger,* 17; Foyster, "Boys will be boys," 158; *The rule and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use.* 4th ed. London, 1769]. Also see: *Entertainer*, Tuesday September 17, 1754, III; *London Daily Advertiser*. Saturday, September 30, 1752, #486; *Humours of Fleet Street and the Strand*. Letter IV. (1749), 3; Saunders Welch, *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan, to Remove the Nuisance of Common Prostitutes for the Streets of his Metropolis.* (London, 1758) 11; Jonas Hanway, *A plan for establishing a charity-house, or charity-houses, for the reception of repenting prostitutes. To be called the Magdalen charity.* (London, 1758), xix; Ibid., *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House for repentant prostitutes, with the several reasons for such an establishment the Custom of other Nations with regard to such Penitents; and the Great Advantages which Must necessarily arise from the good Conduct of this Institution, upon Political and Religious Principles*. (London, 1759), 28; Anon., *Conference about Whoring.* (London, 1725), 4.

[45] *The rules and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use*. (London, 1769), 60.

[46] *The rules, orders and regulations, of the Magdalen House, for the reception of penitent prostitutes. By order of the governors*. (London, 1760), 26; *Psalms and Hymns, for the use of the Magdalen-Charity, 1797.* (London, 1797), 33.

perhaps, for this reason that in his *Advice to the Magdalens*, William Dodd explained that the women were to "avoid all quarrelling, reproach, and upbraiding one of another".[47] In order to overcome their sinful ways and gain acceptance in mainstream society, they needed to first learn to resist anger and be grateful for what they received.

Popular publications and works of fiction also noted the close association between violence and prostitution. Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones,* and John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* feature several incidents of assault, abuse, and violence, both at the hands of prostitutes, and at the expense of their safety and well-being.[48] *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies*, the infamous guidebook of streetwalkers for men, likewise indicates that some prostitutes had a vicious temper, which sometimes led them to commit acts of violence. For instance, "Miss M-th-m," of Spring-Gardens was said to have a "natural propensity to quarrel" which made her "extremely riotous".[49] "Mrs. B---r," was similarly known to have a "perverse temper", which caused her to be "very apt to quarrel".[50] The "disagreeableness of her [Mrs. H—rr—s] temper" was described as problematic because "she allows [it] to run riot upon

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On hymns on gratitude for the Magdalen, also see: *Psalms and Hymns, for the use of the Magdalen-Charity, 1797.* (London, 1797), 35. Similarly, in a prayer "*For Purity and Good Habits"* the penitents were also instructed to "Let not envy, hatred, or malice, nor any uncharitable thought find place in my heart." ["*For Purity and Good Habits,*" *The rule and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use.* 4th ed. (London, 1769), 56].

[47] William Dodd, *Advice to the Magdalens.* (London, 1760?), 3-4. Also see: Thomas Scott, *Thoughts on the fatal consequences of female prostitution together with the outlines of a plan proposed to check those enormous evils. Humbly addressed to the consideration of the nobility and gentry in general*. (London, 1787), 14.

[48] Daniel Defoe, *The fortunes and misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders*. (London, 1722), 115, 258-268; John Cleland, *Memoirs of a woman of Pleasure*. (London, 1749), 48-51; Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones* (1749, reprinted New York: Norton Critical edition, 1995), Book IV, chapter VIII, 119 as cited by Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 68.

[49] *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies; or, New Atalantis for the Year 1765.* (London, 1765), 6.

[50] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalendar, for the year 1789*. (London, 1789), 19-20. Also see: *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalender, for the year, 1788.* (London, 1788), 34-35.

almost every occasion."[51] These prostitutes were seen to have a quick temper, which made them undesirable and quarrelsome.

Historiography

In spite of the fact that prostitutes were widely depicted as violent and full of anger, discussions of the relationship between prostitution and violence have been limited.[52] Works on policing, prosecution, and punishment have focused more on the rise and decline of voluntary organizations, such as the societies for the reformation of manners, and the emergence of professional police forces, than they have on the nature of altercations between these officers and disorderly offenders.[53]

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[51] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalender, for the year, 1790*. (London, 1790), 4.

[52] Gregory Durston, *Victims and Viragos: Metropolitan Women, Crime and the eighteenth-century justice system*. (Bury St Edmunds: Arima Publishing, 2007), 98; Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Tony Henderson, *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730-1830*. (London: Longman, 1999); Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations,* 126-7; Anna Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence*: *sexual assault in England, 1770-1845*. (London: Pandora Press, 1987), 33.

Although there has been some discussion of specific incidents of unusual violence, such as the bawdy-house riots of 1668, this incident was unusual because they caused an uncharacteristic amount of damage to property, lasted an unusually long period of time, and the riot was regarded as "a political and religious protest against the policies of the Court." [Tim Harris, "The bawdy house riots of 1668," *Historical Journal*. 29 (1986): 537-8]. Also see: James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630–1685*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 164-196; Melissa Mowry, "London's Bridewell: Violence, Prostitution, and Questions of Evidence," in Joseph P. Ward, ed. *Violence, politics, and gender in early modern England*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 207-222; Ibid., *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004*);* Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce,* 42-9; Edward J. Bristow, *Vice and vigilance: purity movements in Britain since 1700*. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977).

[53] Clive Emsley, *Crime and society in England, 1750-1900*. (New York: Longman, 2010); Clive Emsley and Haia Shpayer-Makov, eds., *Police Detectives in History, 1750-1950*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); J.M. Beattie, *Policing and punishment in London 1660-1750: urban crime and the limits of terror*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Ibid., *The First English detectives: the Bow Street Runners and the policing of London, 1750-1840*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Ibid., *Crime and the Courts*; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform, 1688-1800," *Journal of British Studies.* 46 (2007): 290-319; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "Policing Male Heterosexuality: The Reformation of Manners Societies' Campaign against the Brothels in Westmminster, 1690-1720," *Journal of Social History.* 37, 4 (2004): 1017-35; Shoemaker, "Reforming the city"; Ibid., *Prosecution and punishment*: *petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex, c. 1660-1725*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 241-244; Joanna Innes, "Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movement in later eighteenth-century England," in her *Inferior politics: social problems and social policies in eighteenth-century Britain.*

Though scholars such as Paul Griffiths, Faramerz Dabhoiwala, and Drew Gray note that the policing of the streets often led to altercations between local policing authorities and individuals they sought to remove, most analyses have focused on these challenges in general rather than on specific disputes they had with particular groups of offenders, such as prostitutes.[54] For instance, in *Crime, prosecution and social relations*, Drew Gray examines the nature and workings of the summary courts, and how citizens used them to resolve disputes, theft, and violence. Though Gray notes that prostitutes were both assaulted by, and assaulted, male customers and that prostitutes resorted to violence when trying "to resist attempts of the watch to arrest them or move them on", he only briefly discusses assaults related to prostitution.[55] Additionally, Gray focuses more on the altercations between prostitutes and parish officials, than on those between prostitutes and those who sought out their services, thereby omitting a significant amount of assault in the streets. However, because he is primarily concerned with examining the nature of these courts, rather than with prostitution, Gray does not provide a detailed analysis of how perceptions of prostitution and violent crimes either influenced the policing of the streets, the treatment of assault in the courts, or perceptions of prostitutes.

Moreover, discussions of prostitution have primarily focused on the conversion of the prostitute from a lust-driven whore to an impoverished victim or mercantile wage

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 179-226; Heather Shore, " 'The Reckoning': disorderly women, informing constables and the Westminster justices, 1727-33," *Social History*. 34, 4 (2009): 409-27.

[54] Griffiths, *Lost Londons;* Faramerz Dabhoiwala. "Sex, social relations and the law in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London," in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, eds. *Negotiating power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 85-101, 262-67; Ibid., "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform"; Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations*; Shoemaker, "Reforming the city'; Shore, "The Reckoning'; Hurl-Eamon, "Policing Male Heterosexuality; Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and police: London charity in the eighteenth century*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989); Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in early modern Europe, 1500–1800*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Beattie, *Policing and Punishment,* 238; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment,* 241.

[55] Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations,* 126.

earner, and they have only noted links between prostitution and violence in passing.[56] For instance, Randolph Trumbach acknowledges that "Prison, contempt, and violence were all common parts of prostitute's life" and that this disdain was expressed in a number of manners, such as assault, murder, rape, and forced confinement.[57] However, he does not delve into issues of violence and prostitution in as much depth as he does rape and violence in marriage. Instead, Trumbach's primary focus is to trace the transformation of sexual behaviour and sexual identities in eighteenth-century England, and, as a result, his discussion of prostitution is embedded in the context of the revolutionary shifts in ideas of gender.[58] Similarly, while Tony Henderson notes that prostitutes' encounters with ordinary people in the streets and parish officers contained the potential for conflict, including violent confrontations, like Trumbach, he does not examine these incidents in great detail.[59] Neither Trumbach nor Henderson provide much detail about the meanings of this violence or how it affected perceptions of prostitution or crime in the metropolis. Instead, these discussions have been relatively brief because they were part of much larger accounts of prostitution and sexuality.

The absence of discussions of prostitutes' criminality is, perhaps, partly due to the long-standing association of interpersonal violence as "a masculine category" of crime, in which male criminality was "normalised" while "female criminality was seen in terms of dysfunction, and aberration of the norms of feminine behaviour."[60] This bias was not

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[56] Carter, *Purchasing power*; Rosenthal*, Infamous commerce;* Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution;* Henderson, *Disorderly women*.
[57] Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 164.
[58] Ibid., Also See: Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex*: *a history of the first sexual revolution.* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).
[59] Henderson, *Disorderly women,* 30, 108, 110.
[60] Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* 4. Also see: Greg T. Smith, "Violent crime and the public weak in England, 1700-1900," in Richard McMahon, ed., *Crime, Law and Popular Culture in Europe, 1500-1900*. (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2008), 191.

limited to violence and assault, but extended to virtually all types of crimes. For instance, in his seminal 1975 study, J.M. Beattie argued that though "women participated in the same range of crimes as men … women not only committed fewer offences than men, but committed them less violently and less aggressively."[61] Moreover, studies of female criminality and violence have tended to be centered around 'female specific' crimes such as slander,[62] infanticide[63] and witchcraft,[64] or violence that mostly affected women, such as domestic abuse[65] and rape.[66]

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[61] Beattie, "The Criminality of Women," 80, 82.

[62] Cressy, *Dangerous talk*; Paul Griffiths, "Punishing Words: Insults and Injuries, 1525–1700," in Angela McShane and Garthine Walker, eds., *The extraordinary and the everyday in early modern England: essays in celebration of the work of Bernard Capp*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 66-85; Martin Ingram, "Law, litigants and the construction of "honour": slander suits in early modern England," in Peter R. Coss, ed., *The moral world of the law*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 134-60; Gowing, *Domestic dangers*; Ibid., "Language, power and the law"; J.A. Sharpe, "Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: the church courts at York," *Borthwick Paper*. 58. (York, 1980); Bernard Capp, *When gossips meet: women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Steve Hindle, "The shaming of Margaret Knowsley: gossip, gender and the experience of authority in early modern England," *Continuity and Change.* 9, 3 (1994): 391-419.

[63] Anne-Marie Kilday, *A History of Infanticide in Britain, c. 1600 to the Present*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Ibid., "Desperate Measures or Cruel Intentions? Infanticide in Britain since 1600," in Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash, *Histories of crime: Britain 1600-2000*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 60-79; Ibid., " 'Monsters of the vilest kind': Infanticidal women and attitudes to their criminality in eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Family & Community History*. 11, 2 (2008): 100-16; Mark Jackson, *Infanticide: historical perspectives on child murder and concealment, 1550-2000.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Jennifer Thorn, *Writing British infanticide: child-murder, gender, and print, 1722-1859*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003); Marilyn Francus, "Monstrous Mothers, Monstrous Societies: Infanticide and the Rule of Law in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Life.* 21, 2 (1997): 133-156; Martin Ingram, "Infanticide in Late Medieval and Early Modern England," in Laurence Brockliss and Heather Montgomery, eds. *Childhood and violence in the Western tradition*. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 67-74.

[64] Brian P. Levack, *The witch-hunt in early modern Europe*. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2006); Garthine Walker, "The Strangeness of the Familiar: Witchcraft and the Law in Early Modern England," in Angela McShane and Garthine Walker, eds. *The extraordinary and the everyday in early modern England: essays in celebration of the work of Bernard Capp*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 105-24; Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchcraft and Evidence in Early Modern England*. *Past & Present*. 198 (2008): 33-70; Ibid., "Witchcraft, politics, and memory in seventeenth-century England," *Historical Journal*. 50, 2 (2007): 289-308; Ibid., "Masculinity and Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century England," in Alison Rowlands, ed. *Witchcraft and masculinities in early modern Europe*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 171-90; J.A. Sharpe, et. al. eds., *English witchcraft, 1560-1736*. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003); Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts, eds., *Witchcraft in early modern Europe: studies in culture and belief*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[65] Amussen, "Being stirred to much unquietness"; Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet lives: marriage and marriage breakdown in England, 1660-1800.* (Cambridg: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Clark, *The struggle for the breeches;* Ibid., *Women's Silence, Men's Violence;* Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital violence: an English family history, 1660-1857.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Ibid., "Creating a Veil of

It is only recently that historians have sought to better understand the relationship between gender, criminality, and the criminal justice system. No longer are women seen as moralistic, law-abiding Britons confined to the separate sphere in the domestic realm or as accomplices to male-mastermind criminals, but as criminals in their own right.[67] Jennine Hurl-Eamon and Garthine Walker have shown that though men committed more crime than women, the disparities between male and female criminality are less substantial than historians initially believed.[68] For instance, Hurl-Eamon finds that discrepancies regarding weapon use is not as gendered as previously assumed, and there was only a "slightly smaller likelihood of women to be depicted with a weapon in comparison with men", while men were almost as likely to use slander as a weapon.[69] As

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Silence? Politeness and Marital violence in the English Household," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 12 (2002): 395-415; Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous familiars: representations of domestic crime in England, 1550-1700.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Margaret Hunt, "Wife Beating, Domesticity and Women's Independence in Eighteenth century London," *Gender & History*, 4, 1 (1992): 10-33; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "I Will Forgive You if the World Will": Wife Murder and Limits on Patriarchal Violence in London, 1690-1750," in Joseph P. Ward, ed., *Violence, politics, and gender in early modern England.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 223-248; Ibid., "Female Criminality in the British Courts from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Women's History.* 21, 3 (2009): 161-169.

[66] Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence;* Jocelyn Catty, *Writing rape, writing women in early modern England: unbridled speech.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Jennie Mills, "Rape in Early Eighteenth-Century London: A Perversion 'so very perplex'd'," in Julie Peakman, ed. *Sexual perversions, 1670-1890*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 140-166; Gregory Durston, "Rape in the Eighteenth-Century Metropolis: Part 1," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28, 2 (2005) 167-79; Ibid., "Rape in the Eighteenth-Century Metropolis: Part 2," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 29, 1 (2006) 15-31; Antony E. Simpson, "Popular Perceptions of Rape as a Capital Crime in Eighteenth-Century England: The Press and the Trial of Francis Charteris in the Old Bailey, February 1730," *Law and History Review*. 22, 1 (2004): 27-70; Laurie Edelstein, "An accusation easily to be made?: rape and malicious prosecution in eighteenth-century England," *American Journal of Legal History*. 42, 4 (1998): 351-90; Garthine Walker, "Rereading rape and sexual violence in early modern England," *Gender & History*. 10 (1998) 1-25; Cynthia B. Herrup, "The patriarch at home: the trial of the 2nd earl of Castlehaven for rape and sodomy," *History Workshop Journal*. 41 (1996) 1-22; Roy Porter, "Rape - does it have a historical meaning?," in *Rape.* S. Tomaselli and R. Porter, eds. (Oxford, 1986): 216-36.

[67] Peter King, "Female offenders, work and life-cycle in late eighteenth-century London," *Continuity and Change.* xi (1996), 61-90; Ibid., *Crime, justice and discretion in England, 1740-1820*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Emsley, *Crime and society in England*; Kermode and Walker, *Women, crime and the courts;* Walker, *Crime, gender and social order*; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence;* Beattie, "The Criminality of women". Also see: Peter King, *Crime and law in England, 1750-1840: remaking justice from the margins*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 165-220.

[68] Hurl-Eamon*, Gender and Petty Violence*, 70-73; Walker. *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* 4, 75, 79-80; D'Cruse and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice*, 47.

[69] Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 72.

Walker asserts "neither women nor men committed acts solely in line with the prescriptions" of their gender.[70]

Nevertheless, the absence of discussions of prostitutes' violence is surprising given the growing awareness of, and concern about, crime in eighteenth century London.[71] Many historians have argued that over the course of the eighteenth century, Londoners believed there to be a crime wave. The apparent increase in crime was partly caused by the widespread distribution of crime news in print in the Old Bailey Sessions Papers, Last Dying Speeches, and most importantly, the newspaper press, which enabled information to be disseminated more widely and led to 'moral panics' about crime.[72] For, whereas before 1700 most people's understanding of crime was based on any personal

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[70] Walker, *Crime, gender and social orde*r, 4; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 66.

Hurl Eamon agrees, and adds: "In many ways, then, petty violence does not seem to have been distinctly gendered. Men assaulted in much grater numbers, according to these records, but when women *did* assault, they were seen to be almost as violent and as dangerous as male assailants." [Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 70].

[71] David Lemmings, *Law and government in England in the long eighteenth century from consent to command*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 81; Robert. Shoemaker, "Print and the Female Voice: Representations of Women's Crime in London, 1690–1735," *Gender & History*. 22, 1 (2010), 76.

[72] Elizabeth Foyster, "Introduction: Newspaper reporting of crime and justice," *Continuity and Change.* 22, 1 (2007): 9-12; Simon Devereaux, "From Sessions to Newspaper? Criminal Trial Reporting, the Nature of Crime, and the London Press, 1770-1800," *London Journal*. 32, 1 (2007): 1-27; Peter King, "Making crime news: newspapers, violent crime and the selective reporting of Old Bailey trials in the late eighteenth century," *Crime, Histoiire et Societes.* 13, 1 (2009): 91-116; Ibid., "Moral panics and violent street crime 1750-2000: a comparative perspective," in Barry s. Godfrey, Clive Emsley and Graeme C. Dunstall, eds. *Comparative histories of crime*. (Cullompton: Willan, 2003), 53-71; Richard Ward, "Print Culture, Moral Panic, and the Administration of the Law: The London Crime Wave of 1744," *Crime, Histoiire et Societes*. 16, 1 (2012): 5-24; David Lemmings and Claire Walker, eds., *Moral panics, the media and the law in early modern England*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Jan Bonderson, "Monsters and moral panic in London," *History Today.* 51, 5 (2001): 30-37; Norma Landau, "Gauging crime in late eighteenth-century London," *Social History*. 35, 4 (2010): 396-417; Joanna Innes and John Styles, "The crime wave: recent writing on crime and criminal justice in eighteenth-century England," *Journal of British Studies.* 25 (1986): 380-435; Robert Shoemaker, "The "crime wave" revisited: crime, law enforcement and punishment in Britain, 1650-1900," *Historical Journal*. 34 (1991): 763-68; Nicholas Rogers, "Confronting the crime wave: the debate over social reform and regulation, 1749-1753," in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive,* 77-98; Andrea McKenzie, *Tyburn's martyrs: execution in England, 1675-1775*. (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); J.A. Sharpe, " 'Last Dying Speeches': Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past & Present*. 107 (1985): 144-167.

Peter King asserts that though it is "unclear whether their increased reporting of crime-related issues was mainly a reflection of the growth of offending on the ground or was largely due to their need to fill the columns", the result was increased anxiety about crime. [King, "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century London," *Continuity and Change*. 22, 1 (2007): 83].

experiences they, or their friends' and family had, or from comments in sermons and quarter sessions, by the middle of the century, information about crime was rapidly broadcast throughout the country in print media, such as newspapers.[73] Moreover, over the course of the eighteenth century, crime reports comprised an increasingly significant portion of newspapers.[74]

Given that the newspaper publishing industry was competitive, newspapers publishers and editors did not seek to accurately present the nature of crime; rather crime reports were selectively "manufactured" based on which items were seen to be most "newsworthy" and would compel readers to continuing purchasing their papers.[75] Accordingly, Peter King and David Lemmings argue that newspapers in the eighteenth century were significantly more likely to include crimes that were particularly violent; involved those who were of a higher status, such as celebrities, elites, or otherwise infamous criminals; pertained to a sexual subject matter; or, involved an incident in which the poor perpetrated crimes against their social and economic betters.[76] Therefore, not only were "female offenders … slightly more likely to be reported than those of males", but the involvement of "aberrant sexuality" and the perpetration of a crime by someone in the lower orders against an elite, such as when a prostitute assaulted a

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[73] Lemmings, *Law and government,* 82.

On the impact of the press on public opinion see: Karl W. Schweizer, "Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion in the Later Hanoverian Era," *Parliamentary History*. 25, 1 (2006), 40; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, politics, and public opinion in late eighteenth-century England.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Hannah Barker and Simon Burrows, eds., *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8; James Oldham, "Law Reporting in the London Newspapers, 1756-1786," *The American Journal of Legal History*. 31, 3 (1987): 177.

[74] King, "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime," 75-76.

[75] King, "Making Crime News," 93, 94.

[76] Ibid., 99, 100; Lemmings. *Law and government*, 86, 90.

gentleman, would have been exceptionally newsworthy.[77] Therefore, the violence associated with prostitution, and in particular, prostitutes' assaults, was exceptionally newsworthy. Prostitutes were already regarded as disorderly because they transgressed socially accepted standards of sexual decorum; moreover, as both victims and perpetrators of assault, prostitutes remained on the periphery or orderly society.

Prostitutes as Victims of Violence

Although prostitutes are widely associated with being the victims of violence in literary accounts and especially after the late nineteenth century Jack the Ripper case, the Bridewell Court of Governors' records, the newspaper press, governing elites, and popular publications seem to have more frequently reported on violence perpetrated by prostitutes, than they did of prostitutes' abuse.[78] The greater emphasis on prostitutes' proclivity towards violence suggests that commentators sought to portray prostitutes as fundamentally sinful criminals, not as pitiable victims.[79] Likewise, the limited reportage of men's violence against prostitutes suggests that men's aggression remained relatively acceptable, especially with regard to lower-class women's violence.[80]

However, it is difficult to assess the extent, nature, or frequency of assaults perpetrated against prostitutes because we also limited by how much crime was reported to authorities. There are very few records noting this violence in the Old Bailey Sessions

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[77] King, "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime," 90; David Lemmings, "Introduction: Law and Order, Moral Panics, and Early Modern England," in *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law*, 3.
[78] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 115, 258-268; Cleland, *Memoirs of a woman of Pleasure*, 48-51; Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 119; Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of dreadful delight: narratives of sexual danger in late-Victorian London.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Also see: Drew D. Gray, *London's shadows: the dark side of the Victorian city*. (London: Continuum, 2010); Paul West, *The women of Whitechapel and Jack the Ripper*. (New York: Random House, 1991); Miriam Rivett and Mark Whitehead, *Jack the Ripper.* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2012).
[79] Andrew, *Philanthropy*; Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce,* 18, 92-7.
[80] Kennedy, *Just Anger*; Amussen, "Punishment, discipline, and power"; Ibid., " 'Being Stirred to Much Unquietness'; Ibid., *An ordered society,* 3; Shepard, *Meanings of manhood*.

Papers, the Bridewell Court of Governors' records, or in the 4000 Coroner's Inquests available through Londonlives.org.[81] In addition, the vague language used to signify the character of offenders meant that it is not always clear when the assailant or victim was a prostitute. Many of the common terms which indicated that a woman was a prostitute, such as 'lewd, idle, and disorderly', were also used to describe other disorderly people – both male and female – and therefore cannot be regarded as sufficient evidence that a woman was a prostitute.[82] Moreover, as John Beattie notes, "the trouble and the expense involved in going to a magistrate to make the complaint and then, several weeks or months later, travelling with witnesses to appear before the quarter sessions or assizes must have discouraged all but the most determined prosecutors."[83] These problems were compounded for poor women without good characters, such as prostitutes, because "a woman bringing a charge and giving evidence in court opened herself to an investigation into her life, for if the defense could show that she was not of good character, doubt might be thrown into the accusation."[84] Furthermore, it is unlikely that most prostitutes would have wanted to spend their money or time to privately prosecute an assailant. Given that most prostitutes were poor women who lacked the necessary resources to prosecute offenders, we can assume that a considerable amount of the violence that prostitutes endured went unreported. But, even those who would have been interested in

[81] Recognizances and indictments are most likely to include these records, but were unable to be consulted.
[82] Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking in early modern England," *Seventeenth Century*. 13, 2 (1998): 212-38.
[83] Beattie, *Crime and the courts*, 124; King, "Punishing assault," 43; Gray, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations*, 95.
[84] Beattie, *Crime and the courts*, 126.

prosecuting their assailant, their reputation as a prostitute would have all but assured the case to have been dismissed or settled against them.[85]

Nevertheless, the newspaper press occasionally reported on the murder or assault of a prostitute at the hands of a potential male client. Although most incidents of violence tended to be exceptionally vicious, simple incidents of violence against prostitutes were sometimes reported in the press. For example, both *Lloyd's Evening Post* and the *London Evening Post* reported that "one of the common women was found murdered in Fleet-street" in June of 1764.[86] Likewise, in 1734 the *Daily Courant* reported that Sarah Albrass (or Alorass), "a reputed common Woman of the Town, was found murdered in Shor-lane, near the Nag's-head Alehouse" with "several Stabs in her Body, and [was] much bruised."[87]

However, most reports of the murder or assault of a prostitute tended to involved considerable violence or unusual circumstances, or atypical circumstances surrounding the discovery of the body. The death of Highworth Moll, a "common Woman" who "was shot on the Bath-Road, near Langley-Broom, by four Footpads" is exemplary of the type of violence that was particularly newsworthy. Highworth Moll was known to be "a common Woman on that Road some Years" and "It is thought that she had given some of them [her assailants] the foul Disease, which caused them to commit that rash Action."[88] Another 'newsworthy' incident was reported by the *Sun* in 1796: some men were trying

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[85] There are several cases in which a prostitute's testimony was disregarded because "she appearing to be a common Prostitute, her denial weighed not with the Jury". [*Old Bailey Proceedings Online* [OBSP] (www.oldbaileyonline.org), 9 December 1685, trial of Elizabeth Herd (t16851209-32). Also see: OBSP, 14 September 1763, trial of Adam Baldwick (t17630914-29).

[86] *Lloyd's Evening Post*. Monday, June 11, 1764, #1080; *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, June 12, 1764, #5713.

[87] *Daily Courant.* Monday, September 2, 1734, #5745; *Weekly Miscellany*. Saturday, September 7, 1734, XCI; *Grub Street Journal*. Thursday, September 5, 1734, #45.

[88] *British Spy or New Universal London Weekly Journal*. Saturday, March 6, 1756, #211; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser.* Tuesday, March 2, 1756, #4531.

to reclaim a bucket that had fallen into a well; instead, however, "they drew up, by means of their grapplehooks, … the body of a young women in a very putrid state. This unfortunate young creature was well known at Brighton, where she had for some time past subsisted on the precarious and sorry wages of prostitution." Giving further evidence of the violence the woman endured, the authorities "believed that she was stabbed with a bayonet and drown into the well … on her head there was a large contusion."[89]

While all incidents involving the murder of a prostitute could be considered salacious because they were related to the sex trade and involved murder, the incidents involving Highworth Moll and the prostitute from Brighton were particularly newsworthy because the violence linked to the murder of these women was extreme.[90] Though historians Hurl-Eamon and Walker suggest that weapons were used in only a fraction of all cases involving violence, each of these incidents noted the use of a gun or bayonet, suggesting that incidents involving weapons were more newsworthy than deaths caused by fists and feet, or strikes and kicks.[91] Moreover, even the more brief reports noted that each woman was discovered with "several stab wounds", "much bruised" or with a "large contusion". By including this type of murder in their papers, the perception that all crime was violent was enhanced, as was the notion that prostitutes were part of a violent criminal underground.[92]

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[89] *Sun*, Thursday May 26, 1796, #1144.
[90] King, "Making Crime News," 99, 100; Ibid., "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime," 90; Lemmings, *Law and government,* 86, 90; Ibid., "Introduction," in *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law,* 3.
[91] Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 72-73; Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* 79.
[92] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Prostitution and police in London, c. 1660 - c. 1760," Doctoral Dissertation. University of Oxford. (1995), 44; Daniel Defoe. *An Effectual scheme for the immediate preventing of street robberies, and suppressing all other disorders of the night*. (London, 1731); Anon., *The countryman's guide to London. Or, villainy detected*. (London, 1775?); Richard King, Esq., *The new cheats of London exposed; or, the frauds and tricks of the town laid open to both sexes.* (London, 1780?); Lover of his country, *Villainy unmask'd*. (London, 1752).

The murder of Highworth Moll and the woman found in the well also reveal other important perceptions about prostitutes. Though these women were the victims of violent crime, sympathy for them is generally absent. Instead, these prostitutes were depicted as being at least partly to blame for their demise. For instance, the death of the woman found in the well was depicted as the inevitable fate of every woman who "subsisted on the precarious and sorry wages of prostitution", while the shooting of Highworth Moll was justified by the fact that she had presumably "given some of them [her assailants] the foul Disease, which caused them to commit that rash Action."[93]

Also revealing of attitudes towards prostitutes, witnesses do not seem to have been willing to intervene on prostitutes' behalf, raising the question of how sympathetic prostitutes actually were in the eyes of 'ordinary' Britons. The case of Winnifred Jones is especially revealing of the lack of concern extended to prostitutes. According to *London Evening Post* and the *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*, the authorities "confined" Daniel Bishop to Newgate for Jones' murder. However, unlike the other murdered women, Jones was not in fact a prostitute. Rather, she was to have been married to Bishop later that year and they were having a heated argument. When Bishop reportedly exclaimed "*You B---ch of Destruction, I'll use you worse, and kill you this Night*", the spectators who witnessed the scene "imagined she had been a common Woman, and were unwilling to do any Thing, lest a further Mischief might ensue."[94] Hence, even though people witnessed the incident, no one was willing to help a woman they assumed to be a prostitute. The lack of concern extend towards this woman is

[93] *Sun*. Thursday, May 26, 1796, #1144; *British Spy or New Universal London Weekly Journal*. Saturday, March 6, 1756, #211; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser.* Tuesday, March 2, 1756, #4531.
[94] *London Evening Post*. Saturday, March 30, 1751, #3658. Also see: *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*. Monday, April 1, 1751, #1402.

notable as many historians have argued that over the course of the eighteenth century, attitudes towards prostitutes became increasingly one of pity and sympathy.[95] This clear example of social distance suggests that during the eighteenth century people continued to regard prostitutes as 'lowly creatures' who were unworthy of assistance, even when their life was at stake. Hence, though the prostitute was the victim, she was simultaneously presented as somewhat blameworthy.[96]

There is one other type of violence against prostitutes that was sometimes reported in the newspaper press: self-violence. A small number of prostitutes reportedly committed suicide.[97] For instance, in 1774, the *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser* reported that "a disorderly woman was taken up and put into St. Margaret's roundhouse, where she found the means to hang herself with her ribbon".[98] This apparent suicide was so unusual that the City of Westminster conducted a coroner's inquest, as was the common practice for uncommon sudden deaths such as those caused by accidents, homicides, potential suicides, and deaths without obvious causes.[99]

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[95] Andrew, *Philanthropy,* 92-7; Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce,* 18; Carter, *Purchasing power,* 24; Henderson, *Disorderly women,* 166-177; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution,* 169, 135-195.
[96] Shoemaker, *The London Mob*; Tim Hitchcock, *Down and out in eighteenth-century London*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
[97] Paul Seaver and Kelly McGuire, eds., *The history of suicide in England, 1650-1850*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012); Jeffrey Watts, ed., *From sin to insanity: suicide in early modern Europe.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Donna T. Andrew, *Aristocratic vice: the attack on duelling, suicide, adultery, and gambling in eighteenth-century England.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 83-126; Ibid., "The secularization of suicide in England 1660-1800," *Past & Present*. 119 (1988): 158-70; Michael MacDonald, "The secularization of suicide in England, 1660-1800," *Past & Present.* 111 (1986), 50-100; R. A. Houston, *Punishing the dead? suicide, lordship, and community in Britain, 1500-1830.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[98] *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser.* Saturday, September 10, 1774, #852.
[99] Westminster Coroners. (WACWIC652140396), 12th September 1774. *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org); Westminster Coroner. (WACWIC652140397), 12th September 1774; Westminster Coroner. (WACWIC652140398), 12th September 1774.
On the coronoer's inquests, see: Carol Loar, "Medical Knowledge and the Early Modern English Coroner's Inquest," *Social History of Medicine.* 23, 3 (2010): 477, 478.

In spite of the limited reporting on violence perpetrated against prostitutes, it is apparent that newspaper reports of this violence tended to note extraordinary violence. In each of these cases reported in the newspaper press, the violence perpetrated against these women resulted in their death. Although there is some evidence of sympathy for these victims, in general, each incident seems to serve as a moralistic warning of the dangers of falling into a life of sin, vice, and prostitution. Accordingly, each prostitute was described as being partially at fault for her circumstances. In this scenario, their deaths could be constructed as the result of retributive wrath, rather than the blind rage closely associated with the anger that produced unmerited violence.[100]

Prostitutes' Assaults on Male Clients

More commonly reported in the newspaper press and Bridewell Court of Governors' records were prostitutes' assaults on potential male clients, those they encountered in the streets, and parish officers. The Bridewell Court of Governors' records demonstrate that prostitutes were regularly prosecuted for physically assaulting male clients. For example, in 1698 Elizabeth Osborne was charged by Richard Peirce as "a comon night walker abusing him & being of ill behaviour".[101] Thirty-three years later, Mary Benson was punished for "assaulting and stricking" Samuel Robert and "being a loose idle disorderly Woman and not able to give any good account of herself or way of living".[102] Sarah Shide, another "loose Idle and Disorderly" and "Comon Night Walker" was "Charged" for "Assaulting" Edward Hodges in 1762.[103] While these records noted

[100] Nevertheless, further research is needed on this topic before firm conclusions can be drawn.
[101] Bridewell Royal Hospital, Minutes of the Court of Governors. *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org). BR/MG. BBBRMG202020212, 3rd June 1698.
[102] BH/MG. BBBRMG202050297, 1st December 1731.
[103] BH/MG. BBBRMG202080061, 3rd August 1762.

that the women were charged with 'assaulting', 'striking' and 'abusing' these men, the particular nature of their assaults, such as what part of the body the assault was made upon, was unstated. This suggests that the actual nature of the assault was less important than the fact that she was 'insolent' and attacked someone.

As is consistent with other moral panics in the eighteenth century, reports about prostitutes' assaults in the newspaper press habitually included more salacious details about the incident, especially when the prostitutes' violence had been extreme or unusual in some way.[104] Prostitutes' violence seems to have been depicted as especially heinous in two scenarios: if she used a weapon or if she attacked a comparatively vulnerable victim. The use of a weapon by a prostitute seems to have signified that she was not a pitiable victim but a hardened criminal. For instance, in 1751, several newspapers reported that "a common Street-walker," who was only identified as "a Black girl" was prosecuted "for offering to stab a Gentleman in the Temple". By further describing the prostitute as a "most hardened Wretch" who responded to questions "in the obscenest Manner", she was further portrayed as disorderly, deviant, and ungovernable.[105]

In 1693, Alice Wilson, "an idle loose P[er]son & a Constant night walker" was "charged" for "Assaulting John Morrell" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202010281, 23rd June 1693]; Elizabeth Franklyn, "A Comon nigth Walker", was sentenced "To Labor" for "abusing St. Robt. Geffery". [BH/MG. BBBRMG202030066, 29th August 1701]; Jane Ashten was "being Charged by the Oath of John Brown for Assaulting him in the Street last Night and being a disorderly Common Woman of the Town." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202050349, 13th December 1733]; "Elizabeth Osborne, "a comon night walker" was punished for "abusing him [Sr. Edwd Clark] & being of ill behaviour before Sr. Edwd Clark." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202020212, 3rd June 1698].

[104] Occasionally, more mundane descriptison of prostitutes' abuse was included in the newspaper press. For instance, the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* reported: "Yesterday three common women were committed, by the Sitting Alderman at Guildhall, to the Compter, for assaulting and ill treating a gentleman the preceding night, near St. Dunstan's church, in Fleet Street." [*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. Thursday, August 21, 1766, #11 683].

[105] *Old England or The National Gazette.* Saturday, August 24, 1751, #21. Also see: *Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazetteer*. Saturday, August 24, 1751, #1408; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Saturday, August 17, 1751, #862; John Brewer and John Styles. *An Ungovernable People: The English and their law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980).

Demonstrating an even greater proclivity towards violence, Elizabeth Want, alias Bessow, "a common Nightwalker," was prosecuted "for her obscene Behaviour in the Street," which included her "attempt[] to stab her Accuser", an unidentified man, with a penknife. However, Want did not just try to stab her victim, but she had "aim'd at his Throat", suggesting an intention to murder him. The victim asserted that he "prevented, in all Probability, his being murder'd upon the Spot;" because he had "lift up his Hand to ward off the Blow". Nevertheless, "she struck at him with such Force, that the Penknife went quite through his Hand. She also cut his Ear, and continued in her desperate Attempt till she was by main Force prevented from doing further Mischief".[106] Not only did Want use a knife to attack her victim, but she did not readily stop her attack, even after she inflicted damage. By bringing attention to her use of a weapon and the sustained efforts of her attack, Want was depicted as being rebellious, having a beastly nature and being out of control, qualities that were closely associated with anger and disorder.

Prostitutes' attacks were also depicted as usually violent and sinister when they had an unfair advantage, such as if they attacked someone who was older and weaker than themself, or if several women 'ganged up' against one man. For example, in 1766, the *London Evening Post* reported that "some common Women" violently assaulted "a Man, upwards of 60 Years of Age" when they "put him into a three Pair of Stairs Window at the Sugar-Baker's", leaving him with three fractures in his head.[107] By emphasizing the unequal advantage several women had over one older gentleman, this incident grew attention to the prostitutes' cruelty and violent nature. A prostitutes' attack could also be defined as ferocious and unmerited based on which part of the body she

[106] *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*. Saturday, February 16, 1723.
[107] *London Evening Post*. Tuesday, January 19, 1762, #5338. Also see: *Daily Gazetteer.* Saturday, February 4, 1738, #808.

assaulted. Several newspapers complained about "the practice of the common women violently striking men over the tender parts," which an anonymous author complained has "become of late a common method of assault" among "common Women".[108] Maiming a man on his "tender parts" would have been seen as an attack on his masculinity, and therefore particularly humiliating.

Generally absent from these records is an indication as to why the prostitutes assaulted the men in the first place. This depicted the assailant as unreasonably vicious and the victim as blameless.[109] Thus, while 'ordinary' prostitutes were already depicted as disorderly and unruly, the violent prostitute was further depicted as dangerous because she violently attacked the innocent. As we have already seen, throughout the eighteenth century it remained more acceptable for men to use physical force to 'correct' women. Even when acting in self-defense, women's violence was problematic. As a result, violent prostitutes exemplify why prostitutes were regarded as disorderly, dangerous, and rebellious miscreants who ought to be avoided.

When a context was given to explain why a prostitute assaulted someone, it usually enhanced the perception that she was 'beastly' and deviant. The two most common scenarios given to explain violent attacks was in the course of robbing them or while trying to pick them up in the streets. As we have already seen, prostitutes were so closely associated with theft that many people assumed that most prostitutes were also

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[108] *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer.* Thursday, October 19, 1769, #3674. Also see: *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. Thursday, October 19, 1769, #1349; *Lloyd's Evening Post*. Friday, October 20, 1769, #1919.

[109] Amussen, " 'Being Stirred to Much Unquietness', 75; King, "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime," 93.

thieves.[110] Robberies were also closely associated with assault, and many prostitutes resorted to violence while robbing their victim, or perhaps to distract him from noting that she was picking his pocket.[111] For instance, Jane Crommy, "a Night Walker" who spent time in Fleet-street, was indicted "for assaulting and robbing *John Shaw*, in the Street of *1 l. 18 s.*"[112] In a particularly violent attack, three prostitutes, Millicent Hoskins, Elizabeth, Holben, and Sarah Oakley were sent to Newgate Prison for robbing George Read. The three women reportedly dragged him to Oakley's House, which was "a notorious Brothell, … shut to the Doors upon him, and demanded of him a Shilling a piece, threatening to cut his Throat, unless he complied, which he accordingly did." However, still not satisfied with what Read gave them, "they still insisted upon more". Read managed to escape, "by which Means he did, in all probability, save his Life."[113] Hence in these scenarios, violence was used as a means of intimidation to gain the victims' compliance.

Other prostitute-thieves seem to have resorted to violence only when their robbery did not go smoothly. According to the *Daily Gazetteer*, with the assistance of two others, "a Common Woman of the Town" robbed "a poor Countryman" of his Handkerchief, and 16 s." To prevent him from calling the watch on them, the prostitute-thieves "bound him

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[110] Anon., *A new canting dictionary* (London, 1725), 23, 28, 45-6; N. H., *The ladies dictionary,* 421-422; Defoe, *An Effectual scheme for the immediate preventing of street robberies, and suppressing all other disorders of the night*, 11-12.

[111] Hurl-Eamon, Gender *and Petty Violence,* 88.

[112] *Parker's Penny Post.* Monday December 12, 1726, #251.

Likewise, in 1735, Mary Caswell was Charged for "picking his [William Saunders] Pockett of three pence, and for assaulting & Striking him on the face in the Office in my presence and being a disorderly Comon Street Walker." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202050393, 13th November 1735].

[113] *Daily Gazetteer.* Saturday, February 4, 1738, #808.

The nature of these attacks was also confirmed by records from the Bridewell Court of Governors. [For example, in 1692, Jane Pretious, "a Lew'd idle woman" was "charged by Cha. Jemmett for assaulting him in the Streete and running him into an Alley, and there Picking his pockett". [BH/MG. BBBRMG202010200, 22nd April 1692]. Likewise, Mary Caswell, "a disorderly Comon Street Walker" was "Charged by the Oath of William Saunders for picking his Pockett of three pence, and for assaulting & Striking him on the face" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202050393, 13th November 1735].

Hand and Foot, and made off undiscover'd."[114] Though these women were caught, and seem to have only bound their victim as a last resort, they nevertheless resorted to violence. Moreover, by noting that these assaults took place in the context of robbery, these reports enhanced the perception that prostitutes were not only disorderly thieves, but violent criminals. In combining two distinct types of disorder, these prostitutes were depicted as especially sinister.

Prostitutes were widely believed to engage in aggressive conduct in the process of picking up male clients. While solicitation defined prostitutes as loose, lewd, and disorderly, and served as legitimate grounds to prosecute them at Bridewell, when their solicitation was unusually aggressive and involved unwanted physical contact or obscene language it could be defined as 'assault'. For instance, in 1716, Ann Freeman was "charged by Mr. William Berkes at ye three Anchors in Cheapside for assaulting him ye street endeavouring to pick him up & takeing him by the Coller".[115] Rebecca Matthews, "a loose lewd idle and disorderly P[er]son" was likewise charged for "picking up Men in the Street and also on the Oath of James Herd for assaulting him by striking him on the head with her Pattin and being a comon Stroller in the Street."[116] Ann Afflick, "a comon Night Walker & a loose idle strolling & disorderly person" was sentenced "to Labor" after she was "charged by the Oath of Mr. Bennet Perkins Gent for picking him up East Night in the Street & for insulting and abusing him" in 1740.[117] In all of these instances

[114] *Daily Gazetteer*. Saturday, September 10, 1743, #2575.
[115] BH/MG. BBBRMG202040261, 31st August 1716.
[116] BH/MG. BBBRMG202050245, 2nd July 1730.
[117] BH/MG. BBBRMG202060111, 5th June 1740. Also see: Elizabeth Tuckington was "charged by the Oath of Wm. Peverell Cooper on Addlehill for picking him up & takeing him to a house of ill same where he was assaulted & threatend with a naked Knife & where she tempted him to Lewdness & being a Loose idle and disorderly person" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040496, 9th June 1721]; Mary Harris was "Comitted … on the Oath of James Bryant and Joseph Taylor for being a Disorderly Person & Comon Night Walker taken up this Morning about 12 o'Clock in the Streets for Picking the sd. Bryant up & abusing him & also

the prostitute physically assaulted a man while soliciting him to engage in sexual services with her.

Of course, not all men were willing to passively accept prostitutes' solicitations or aggression. The *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* reported that after Joseph Baretti an "Author of the Letters upon Italy, and well known in the literary World, was attacked the End of Panton Street, near the Hay-Market, by a Street-Walker, who rudely and indecently accosted him". Unwilling to tolerate such abuse, "he pushed her Hands from him". Perhaps not expecting the gentleman to retaliate, the prostitute "cried out … gross Terms of Reproach" which led "one of her Company", presumably a pimp or bully, to come to her aid, resulting in the formation of a riotous mob.[118] While many men likely avoided being abused by prostitutes, this particular incident was deemed newsworthy Baretti was somewhat famous and his because his defensive actions led to the accidental death of someone in the mob, which resulted in Baretti being prosecuted for manslaughter.[119]

The perception that prostitutes resorted to violence was widely reported in so-called 'guidebooks' to London. Many of the authors of these cautionary works warned readers that prostitutes used "force" to compel men to "embrace" them. For instance, in both *The new cheats of London exposed* and *The countryman's guide to London*, readers were warned about Hackney Strumpets, who "endeavour to haul men by force to their disgustful embraces."[120] Rather than tempt these men by seducing them, these prostitutes were believed to use force, suggesting that violence, not lust, was the problem. "Lover of

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assaulting & abuseing the Sd. Prosecutor and otherwise Misbehaving in my Presence." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202070154, 8th August 1753].

[118] *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post.* Thursday, October 5, 1769, #1343.

[119] *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. October 19, 1769 - October 21, 1769, #1349.

[120] *The countryman's guide to London,* 32. Also see: King, *The new cheats of London exposed,* 92.

his country," the anonymous author of *Villainy unmask'd* even insisted that "common lewd Strumpets … sometimes commit Murder." [121] Hence, through little or no fault of their own, these men were portrayed as victims.

Prostitutes' violence was not always in the form of a physical attack. Another common form of violence closely associated with prostitution was slander and verbal abuse. Though many historians have argued that the power of insults, slander, and verbal threats were declining over the course of the eighteenth century,[122] cursing, swearing, and obscene language continued to be defined as "a form of action" and a sin that would bring God's wrath onto the entire nation into the early nineteenth century.[123] In part, slander remained prosecutable because, as Garthine Walker compellingly suggests,

> verbal utterance was understood absolutely to be a form of action, not merely its weak, binary other. …. Offensive or threatening speech could constitute a criminal breach of the peace, and the speaker dealt with by recognizance to keep the peace or good a bearing or by indictment for assault.[124]

Richard Burn regarded swearing to be so objectionable that he asserted: "if any offend their brethren by swearing, the churchwardens shall present them; and such notorious

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[121] Lover of his country, *Villainy unmask'd*, 9-10.
[122] Shoemaker, "The decline of public insult," Ibid., "The taming of the duel"; Ibid., "Reforming Male Manners"; Donna T. Andrew, "The press and public apologies in eighteenth-century London," in Norma Landau, ed. *Law, crime and English society, 1660-1830.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 208-29; Martin Ingram, *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570-1640.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Ibid., "Law, litigants and the construction of 'honour'," Sharpe, "Defamation and sexual Slander"; Gowing, "Language, power and the law"; Ibid., "Gender and the language of insult"; Ibid., *Domestic dangers*, 59-110.
[123] Burn, *The justice of the peace, and parish officer,* Vol.1, 174. Also see: Disney, *A view of ancient laws,* 194. Saunders Welch agreed, and explained that "Profane swearing and cursing is a fourth nuisance, and scandal it is to a christian country." [Welch, *Observations on the office of constable,* 23-24]. Josiah Woodward similarly noted that "Nothing can be more piercing to the Heart of a *Christian,* than to hear the Multitudes of Oaths and profane Speeches which proceed out of the Mouths of many People, without any Sense of the Evil they do, or Fear of any Thing they must suffer for so doing." [Woodward, *A kind caution to profane swearers.* (London, 1763), 3].
[124] Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order*, 99-100.

offenders shall not be admitted to the holy communion, till they be reformed."[125] As a result, Saunders Welch instructed constables to "banish swearing and horrid imprecations from our streets."[126] From a moral, religious, and civil standpoint, this made profanity, swearing, and cursing objectionably because it led to disorder.

Lewd and obscene language was often part of prostitutes' solicitation and obscene language was sometimes accompanied by physical assault. For instance, Mary Wiggin and Frances Terry were "Charged on the Oath of Richard Shell for being loose Disorderly P[er]sons and Comon night Walkers Cursing Swearing & Abusing him in Bishopsgate Street at three o'Clock this Morning" in 1751.[127] Nevertheless, profanity on its own, or in the context of solicitation, was sufficient to define a prostitute as 'loose, idle, and disorderly, and prosecute her at Bridewell. For example, in 1712, Mary Philpott was charged "For endeavouring to Pick up Men in the Street at night and talking obscenely & being an Idle disorderly P[er]rson."[128] In 1731, Thomas Conlett, a Watchmen in Bishopsgate, "charged" Anne Tooley, Sarah Nicholson, Martha Bradgate, Martha Barrett, and Esther Scott "for being comon lewd notorious Night walkers swearing & curseing in the Streets and talking obscue language." [sic.][129] Mary Scott was likewise prosecuted "for being a Notorious lewd idle & disorderly Person a Common Prostitute and … using obsene Language & otherwise Misbehaving herself" in 1765.[130]

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[125] Burn, *The justice of the peace, and parish officer*, 5, 395.
[126] Welch, *Observations on the office of constable,* 23-24.
[127] BH/MG. BBBRMG202070054, 13th September 1751.
[128] BH/MG. BBBRMG202030718, 12th December 1712.
[129] BH/MG. BBBRMG202050288, 10th September 1731.
[130] BH/MC. BBBRMG202080145, 13th February 1765. Likewise, Mary Johnson was prosecuted by Thomas Goodwyn, a Constable on Snow hill, for "meeting him in the Street inviteing and haveing him in a private room in a notorious house to Comit Lewdness wth her, useing obscene discourse with him" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040542, 20th April 1722]; Elizabeth White was "Charged by John Wheeler Watchman in St. Sepulchres for being a Common Idle Night Walker taken Strolling last night at an Unseasonable hour and talking Obscenely in the Streets" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040549, 20th July 1722];

Hence, while the ideal qualities of femininity included meekness, modesty, humility, and passivity, these prostitutes were aggressive and used obscene language, thereby signified that they were 'lewd, idle, and disorderly'.

Prostitutes' use of lewd language was noted in popular publications such as *Harris's List*. Rather than being enticing, prostitutes' crude language helped define them as "unruly", "disorderly", and undesirable. For example, "Miss Emma Ell—tt" was said to have "a very pretty mouth, when her tongue is inactive, but when once she give a loose to that unruly member, she pour forth such a torrent of blackguardism that shall destroy every attrackting feature, and spoil one of the most desirable looking girls in the *Cyprian market.*"[131] The behaviour of "Mrs Cor—ish" was described as "very genteel when she has mind," but readers were warned that she "can upon an occasion let fly a volley of small shot".[132] Hence, lewd language and aggressive solicitation continued to be part of actions deemed illegitimate, disorderly, troublesome, and violent. It also enhanced the perception that prostitutes were vulgar and violent women who ought to be avoided. As

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Ann Godfrey was "found in a disorderly house in Duck Lane late last night Swearing and cursing and being a Comon night walker and a disorderly person." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040479, 10th March 1721]; Elizabeth White was "Charged by John Wheeler Watchman in St. Sepulchres for being a Common Idle >Night Walker taken Strolling last night at an Unseasonable hour and talking Obscenely in the Streets" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040549, 20th July 1722]; Mary Armstrong was "taken late in the night, endeavouring to pick up a Stranger man, being a notorious Cursing, Swearing idle disorderly person & a Comon nightwalker" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202080145, 13th February 1765]; Sarah Holloway, a "disorderly person & Comon Notorious Night Walker" was "taken up this Morning about one o'Clock Cursing swearing & making a great Noise & insulting and abusing the [w]atchmen on their duty." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202060143, 9th September 1741]; Mary Bran was prosecuted "for being a Comon Night Walker taken up last Night between Eleven & Twelve o Clock swearing & making a great Noise & disturbance" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202060210, 25th March 1743]; Ann Afflick, "a comon Night Walker & a loose idle strolling & disorderly person" was sentenced "to Labor" after she was "charged by the Oath of Mr. Bennet Perkins Gent for picking him up East Night in the Street & for insulting and abusing him" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202060111, 5th June 1740]. Prostitutes' "seditious words" were also noted in the Old Bailey Sessions Papers. For instance, Elizabeth Herd, alias Racket, "was Tryed for uttering divers Irreverent, Scandalous and Seditious Words against His most Sacred Majesty … and she appearing to be a common Prostitute". [OBSP, 9 December 1685. Trial of Elizabeth Herd, (t16851209-32)].

[131] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies: or, man of pleasure's kalender, for the year, 1788*. (London, 1788), 132.

[132] *Harris's list of Covent-Garden ladies Or man of pleasure's kalender for the year 1793*. (London, 1793), 37.

Garthine Walker argues, it should not be unsurprising that women's profanity was regularly noted because these vague offences helped "to downplay women's physical prowess and to highlight alternative forms of feminine disorder, such as women's abusive words". In turn, profane and offensive words allowed male victims to invoke the scold, the common stereotype of unacceptable female conduct. By referring to this common, even 'normal' form of female misrule, the seriousness of the women's physical violence was diminished while nevertheless still emphasizing the "verbal, physical and sexual disorder that was contained" in her physical assault.[133]

While some prostitutes' assaults took place in bawdy houses or alehouses, assaults were more frequently reported as taking place while prostitutes were picking up men in the streets.[134] The public nature of these incidents often meant that these assaults did not just harm to the individual victim, but disturbed the entire neighbourhood. As a result, in addition to assault, many prostitutes were sent to Bridewell for making a "Comon Disturbance of ye Peace" or for "being a frequent Disturber of the Neighbourhood".[135] For instance, in December of 1710, Mary Shakespear was prosecuted

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[133] Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* 81.

[134] For instance, Jane Pretious, "a Lew'd idle woman" was "charged by Cha. Jemmett for assaulting him in the Streete and running him into an Alley" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202010200, 22nd April 1692]; Ann Meers was prosecuted for "assaulting" Richared Botoler "in the Street at Midnight & makeing a disturbance in the Street & being a very disorderly person." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040152, 11th March 1715]. Likewise, Mary Harris was "Charged on the Oath of James Bryant and Joseph Taylor for being a Disorderly Person & Comon Night Walker taken up this Morning about 12 o'Clock in the Streets for Picking the sd. Bryant up & abusing him & also assaulting & abuseing the Sd. Prosecutor …" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202070154, 8th August 1753]; Elizabeth Perrier, who was "tooke out of a Disorderly house", was charged by Nicholas Ledger for "abusing him" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202020149, 30th July 1697]; In 1765, "upon the Oaths of Thos Hartley & Stephenson Kitchen", Sarah Welch was charged "for being a loose Idle and disorderly Person & Common Night Walker apprehended loitering on Ludgate Hill with Intent to Pick up Men & there making a great Disturbance and abusing said Kitching She not giving any Account of herself" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202080145, 13th February 1765].

[135] BH/MG. BBBRMG202040529, 22nd December 1721; BH/MG. BBBRMG202050052, 18th October 1723.

"For being a Comon Night Walker and Raiseing a Tumull in ye Streets".[136] Similarly, in 1721 William Huggins, the Constable at Exchange alley, charged Katherine Crump, "a Loose idle & disorderly Person & an Old offender" for "abusing and disturbing the Neighbors there".[137]

Not only did these prostitutes harm single individuals, but their violence led to broader disturbances for the entire community. As a result, when prostitutes engaged in violent assaults they were further defined as disorderly women who inverted the accepted social order and, therefore, posed a looming threat to the peace and stability of the nation.[138] When prostitutes' violence was inflicted upon ordinary men and women in the neighbourhood, this type of violence was seen to be especially unacceptable because it was random, unprovoked, and resulted in the assault and injury of those who were otherwise uninvolved with the sex trade. For instance, in 1721 Jane Stubbs was "being charged by the Oath of Robert Cock for assaulting him and Ann his wife last night in the Streets and being a Drunken disorderly person and known to be Comon night walker".[139] Likewise Sarah Welch was prosecuted "for being a loose Idle and disorderly Person & Common Night Walker apprehended loitering on Ludgate Hill with Intent to Pick up

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[136] BH/MG. BBBRMG202030621, 15th December 1710. Only a few months earlier, Mary Shakespear and Ann Freeman were sentenced "to Labour … For being Lewd disorderly Women Comon Night Walkers & being abuse full & Swearing sewall Oathes" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202030570, 22nd March 1710].

[137] BH/MG. BBBRMG202040480, 10th March 1721. Also see: Ann Meers was "charged by Richd. Botoler at Mr. Knights Threadneddle Street for assaulting him in the Street at Midnight & makeing a disturbance in the Street & being a very disorderly person." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040152, 11th March 1715]. Likewise. "Elizabeth Plunkett bound Elizabeth Minchell, spinster "for assaulting her & being a Lewd woman of the town..." [MJ/SR 2275, f124, August 22, 1716]; "Esther William als [a.k.a.] Beard was bound to answer "Mary knight for assaulting and beating her, and being a Common Lewd woman of the Town." [MJ/SR 2330 f139, June 8, 1719]. Thanks to Jennine Hurl-Eamon for these references.

[138] Amussen, "Punishment, Discipline, and Power"; Ibid., *An Orderly Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); Clark, *The struggle for the breeches;* Palk, *Gender, crime and judicial discretion*; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and petty violence in London;* Wrightson, *English society;* Griffiths, *Lost Londons*: Archer. *The pursuit of stability,* 238.

[139] BH/MG. BBBRMG202040509, 3rd August 1721.

Men & there making a great Disturbance and abusing said [Stephenson] Kitching" in 1765.[140]

Prostitutes' assaults were especially offensive if their violence effected women or elites.[141] When the *Public Advertiser* reported that "a Gentlewoman and her Daughter, were assaulted in the Piazza, Covent Garden; without the least Provocation, by several disorderly Women," this incident would have been particularly disturbing. To emphasize the damage caused by the prostitute, the newspaper added that the Gentlewoman's wrist was dislocated and fractured, and "otherwise bruised her in such a Manner that it is feared her Arm must be cut off."[142]

The close association between solicitation and assault led some commentators to complain about the safely of the streets in general and prostitutes' aggression in particular.[143] In a letter sent to the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser,* "G.A." asserted that "sad experience serve to evince that ruined females, who can descend to solicit the most common fellow that walks the street, … and are often so totally abandoned that murder and rapine are but too commonly the characteristics of their disposition."[144] Moralists also objected to prostitutes' "impudence". For instance, Daniel Defoe complained that he had "been put to the Halt; sometimes by the full Encounter of an audacious Harlot, … at other times, by Twitches on the Sleeve, lewd and ogling

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[140] BH/MG. BBBRMG202080145, 13th February 1765.
[141] Amussen, " 'Being Stirred to Much Unquietness', 75. For instance, Mary Humphrys, Hannah Bond, and Margarett Raven were "chargd by Dorothy Brady on Oath for assaulting her in the Street and being loose and idle comon night walkers" [BH/MG, BBBRMG202050170, 24th January 1728].
[142] *Public Advertiser*. Friday, October 31, 1766, #9984.
[143] *World,* Saturday, October 11, 1788, #558; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. Thursday, September 5, 1782, #4151; *Public Advertiser*. Friday, April 2, 1789, #17071; *Public Advertiser*. Thursday, May 23, 1765, #9588; *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty.* March 7, 1772-March 30, 1772, #459; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. Thursday, October 5, 1769, #1343; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser.* Monday, August 19, 1782, #4136; John Fielding, *Account of the origins and effects of a Police.* (London, 1758), xii; John Condor, *A Sermon preached before the Society for the Reformation of Manners at Salters-Hall, August 3, 1763.* (London, 1763), 27.
[144] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser.* Wednesday, August 28, 1782, #4144.

Salutations; and not infrequently by the more profligate Impudence of some Jades, who boldly dare to seize a Man by the Elbow, and make insolent Demands of Wine and Treats before the let him go."[145]

Prostitutes were associated with violent crime that even when they had not physically assaulted anyone, their mere presence was thought to encourage otherwise peaceful men to attack one another. This association further enhanced prostitutes' reputation for being violent and causing disorder. For example, in 1749 several newspapers reported how "John Parry, a Coach-Harness-Maker, was "barbarously" murdered by a Brazier, at a little House of ill Fame in Silver-street, near Bridewell-Lane." Though the quarrel was allegedly caused by "one of the common Women of the Town, the reporter did not explain how the prostitute was involved.[146] Nonetheless, by noting her presence, the reporter suggested that she was somehow responsible for, or complicit in, the violence that ensued.

Other reporters more directly implicated the prostitute because her arrival caused the men to fight over her. For example, in August 1765, the *Public Advertiser* noted that Ellis, a marine, and Jordan, a sailor, fought "about a Strumpet they had been in Company with," resulting in Ellis stabbing "Jordan in the Breast with a large Knife, and mortally wounded him".[147] Similarly, the *London chronicle* and *Public Advertiser* asserted that "two dragoons … having some disputes about a common women of the town," got into a fight, resulting in "one of them gave the other a stab in the body and laid him dead upon a stab in the body and laid him dead upon the place." The papers sadly noted that they "had

[145] Daniel Defoe, *Some Considerations upon Street-walkers.* (London, 1726), 2.
[146] *Remembrancer*. Saturday, October 21, 1749, #98. Also see: *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertise*r. Monday, October 16, 1749, #1174; *London Evening Post*. Saturday, October 14, 1749, #3426.
[147] *Public Advertiser*. Saturday, August 10, 1765, #9601.

been comrades for several years, and bravely served their King and Country in several campaigns, … till this unhappy act."[148] In many of these incidents, the men were depicted as been congenial until the prostitute arrived; deadly violence quickly followed. Though the specific role of the prostitute in these disputes was vague, nonetheless these reporters suggested that the prostitute in question caused the conflict.

Prostitutes were closely associated with wrath and violence and many were prosecuted for assaulting male clients. While some prostitutes resorted to violence in the course of robbing a man, many assaulted them, verbally or physically, while seeking to pick them up. As a result, prostitutes' violence was depicted as random and unprovoked. The apparent arbitrary nature of their violence enhanced prostitutes' reputation as disorderly women who were unconstrained by conventional social restraints. These prostitutes were depicted as riotous and unruly. Yet, because battery and assault were so vaguely defined, assault could also constitute threats of violence, cursing, or "obscene" language. The most violent, vicious, and hardened prostitutes, those who used weapons or ganged up on more vulnerable men, were probably overrepresented in the newspaper press. Accordingly, these women were depicted as more typical than they actually were, thereby enhancing prostitutes' reputation as disorderly, vicious women. Other prostitutes were depicted as violent because they became aggressive while seeking to pick up men in the streets.

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[148] *London Chronicle*. Thursday, June 10, 1762, #853. *Public Advertiser.* Saturday, June 12, 1762, #8614. Both the *Weekly Miscellany* and *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* reported that around four o'clock on Sunday morning, "Mr. Adminson, an Apothecary, and another Person, well dres's, but much in Liquor, coming down Fleet-Street, agreed to give a Pot of Beer to the Watchman who stands at the Door of the Goldsmith's near Bride-Alley, and while they were drinking, some common Women of the Town, who constantly ply about there at all Hours, fell into Discourse with the Gentlemen, who soon had some Words about them, and the one hit the other with his Fist a Blow on the Side of his Head, of which he dropt down dead on the Spot." [*Weekly Miscellany.* Saturday, August 7, 1736, #CLXXXIX; *Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, August 7, 1736, #622].

Prostitutes' Abuse of Parish Officers

In addition to assaulting and verbally attacking would-be male clients, prostitutes were regularly prosecuted for physically and verbally assaulting constables, watchmen, and other local officials of the parish. Though the position of watchmen was not necessarily considered a high-status position, he was nevertheless an official representative of the state and entrusted with maintaining order.[149] Accordingly, this misconduct most exemplified the violence and disorderliness embodied by prostitutes: not only was she a lower-class woman assaulting a man, but an official representative of the state in the "execution of his office". Hence, a prostitutes' assault of a parish official – whether in the form of scandalous words, threats of assault, or actually striking an officer – constituted a deep violation of both the gender and status hierarchies that ordered early modern English society.

In the course of their duties, constables and watchmen were verbally abused, threatened with violence, and habitually received "blows" to the head, were knocked down, or otherwise assaulted.[150] Prostitutes' encounters with parish officers always contained the potential for conflict, especially when these authorities tried to arrest or remove the woman from the streets.[151] Though constables and watchmen regularly

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[149] Herrup, "Law and Morality," 106. Also see: Joan Kent, "The English Village Constable, 1580-1642: The Nature and Dilemmas of the Office," *Journal of British Studies*. 20, 2 (1981), 26, 28; Clive Emsley, "Detection and Prevention: The Old English Police and the New 1750-1900," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*. 37, (1986): 69, 70. Also see: Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 291-323; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 92-102.

[150] Emsley, "Detection and Prevention," 70. Also see: Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 317, 321; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence,* 92, 98-100.

[151] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 105,108, 110; Gray, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations*,126; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 98-99.

encountered violence, "they were not expected to tolerate any maltreatment," a fact Saunders Welch clearly explained in his *Observations on the office of constable.*[152]

Prostitutes were frequently prosecuted at Bridewell for "assaulting", "striking", and "abusing" constables and watchmen. For instance, in 1698, Ann Knottley was punished for being "a lewd person & a comon night walker & for Assaulting Henry prosser Constable in the Execucon of his Office."[153] In 1711 Anne Chantler was similarly prosecuted "For being a Comon Night Walker and picking up men in the Streets & Assaulting the Constable … Being in a Miserable Condicon with the fowle disease."[154] Twenty-four years later, Jane Tyrrell, "a disorderly Common Street Walker", was "charged … for Assaulting and Striking" William Powell, one of the watchman, in Fleet Street.[155] Elizabeth Savage, "a loose Idle and Disorderly Person a Comon Night Walker" was charged by David Lombrose, the "Constable of Portroken Ward and William Gunn one of the Watchmen for … abusing them in the Execution of their Office" in 1763.[156]

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[152] Gray, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations*, 105; Welch, *Observations on the office of constable,* 6; Jenninne Hurl-Eamon, "Voices of Litigation; Voices of Resistance: Constructions of Gender in the Records of Assault in London, 1680-1720." Doctoral Dissertation. York University (2001), 290-291 citing: Joseph Keble, *An Assistance to Justices of the Peace for the Easier Performance of their Duty*. (London, 1683), 223.

[153] BH/MG. BBBRMG202020210, 20th May 1698.

[154] BH/MG. BBBRMG202030641, 13th April 1711.

[155] BH/MG. BBBRMG202050380, 13th June 1735.

[156] BH/MG. BBBRMG202080095, 16th November 1763. Elizabeth Peacock was "charged by Nicholas Collier one of the Constables of St. Buttolph Aldersgate for that the was found at Midnight in the Streets disorderd wth Liquor & abusing the Watch and reported to be idle & given to Walk late a nights" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040460, 9th September 1720]; Ann Godfrey was "charged by James Hill Watchman in Fleet Street on Oath being taken Strolling & plying in the Streets and assaulting and abusing the said Watchmen and being a notorious Comon night walker and been punished and admonished for the same diverse times but still Continues to pursue her Lewd and wicked Courses." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040486, 21st April 1721]; Jane Tyrrell was "charged by the Oath of William Powell a Watchman in Fleet Street London for Assaulting and Striking him on his duly and abusing him" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202050380, 13th June 1735]; Lucy Hamilton was "Charged on the Oath of Mathew Thorne Watchman with being an Idle disorderly P[er]son and Comon Night Walker and also Abusing him" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202080096, 16th November 1763]; Ann Willet was charged "for being a Comon Night Walker" and assaulting William Perry, the Watchman, "in the Execution of his Office" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202060481, 22nd June 1750]; Penelope Peterson was "Charged on the Oath of John Carpenter Constable and Edward Bellamy Watchman of St. Andrew Holborne for being a loose disorderly P[er]son & Common night Walker making a

Prostitutes' assaults of parish officials was also depicted in art works. *The Guards of the Night Defeated* [Fig. 1] depicts a group of prostitutes beating back the watchmen who are trying to enter the brothel to arrest them and restore order. These prostitutes' violent and disorderly nature is particularly well highlighted. Each of them carry a staff, which they use to beat and hold back the guards. Most threateningly, the prostitute at the forefront of the image stands on top of a man, about to strike him with her muscular arms. Another prostitute behind her appears to be checking if the man passed out in the chair has any valuables on him, while another prostitute is prone to smash a chair over him. The large tankards in the room further highlight the links between drunkenness and violence. Further depicting that the world has been turned-upside-down, a shabby man cowers in the corner, fearful of these monsterous women.

Disturbance & Assaulting the Watchman" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202070060, 11th October 1751]; Eliza Gillingham was Charged by Constable Cooper and Robert Williams, the Watchman, "for being a loose Disorderly P[er]son & Comon Night Walker Greatly Misbehaving this Morning & Assaulting & Abusing them in the Elecon of their Office" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202060495, 27th September 1750]; Anne Hussey was "Charged by John Wheeler Watchman of St: Sepulchres for being a Comon Night Walker who Assaulted him on his Duty last night and has no Visible means of a Livelyhood" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040549, 20th July 1722]; Elizabeth Savage was "Charged on the Oath of David Lombrose Constable of Portroken Ward and William Gunn one of the Watchmen for being a loose Idle and Disorderly Person a Comon Night Walker and abusing them in the Execution of their Office [BH/MG. BBBRMG202080095, 16th November 1763]; Eliz. Clarke was "being Charged on the Oath of Raymond Barbe Constable & William Holmes his Wakeman for being a Disorderly P[er]son & Comon Night Walker taken up this Morning about two o' Clock picking up a Man & Greatly abusing the sd Constable & otherwise Misbehaveing" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202060497, 1st November 1750].



Fig. 1. Anon. *The Guards of the Night Defeated*. London, 1774. Courtesy of the British Museum. (1860,0623.1).

Just as with their assaults of male clients, verbal abuse often accompanied their abusive physical attacks. Swearing at or insulting a parish officer were considered so odious that Richard Burn asserted that "If such person shall swear in the presence and hearing of a justice (or mayor) he shall convict him without other proof."[157] As a result, many "Common Night Walkers", like Frances West, were prosecuted "for Insulting & Abusing" a Watchman of St. Brides "on his Duty".[158] In 1693, Jane Glover was

[157] Burn, *The justice of the peace, and parish officer,* Vol. 5, 395.
[158] BH/MG. BBBRMG202050334, 5th April 1733. Also see: Eliza Gilbert was "Charged by the Oath of Francis Reason a Watchman on Snow Hill for insulting and Abusing him last night on his duty in a gross manner and being a loose idle & a disorderly Comon Stroller & Street Walker." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202050380, 13th June 1735].

prosecuted for "Swearing at the Watch and Spitting in their faces".[159] Elizabeth Edmands was likewise "Charged on the Oath of Samuel Jones Constable in Cripplegate within and Charles Boyes a Watchman with being a Disorderly Person & common Night Walker Swearing at the sd. Constable and greatly Misbehaving".[160] Penelope Pennally, "a loose disorderly person & common Night Walker "was "charged" for "picking up Men and abusing and threatning to beat the said Price a Watchman".[161] The Coroner's Inquest of the death of the prostitute who hanged herself also noted that she was brought to the watch house because when John Barton, the watchman, endaevoured to move her along because she was making a "Norse and Disturbance in said Street at the Corner of little

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[159] BH/MG. BBBRMG202010297, 28th July 1693.
Similarly, Thomas Chivers, the constable, bound Mary Shipperd "for keeping a lewed idle and disorderly house and for assaulting & spitting in the face of Thomas Chivers a Constable of the sd parish of St. Margtt in the Execucon of his office..." MJ/SR 2260, f230, October 13, 1715. Thanks to Jennine Hurl-Eamon for this reference.

[160] BH/MG. BBBRMG202070047, 24th July 1751.

[161] BH/MG. BBBRMG202060088, 17th July 1739. Also see: In 1731, Mary Jones, "a loose disorderly Woman", was "charged by the Oaths of George Doughly Constable & Thomas Giles a Watchman of the pish of St. Martin Ludgate for insulting & grossly abusing the said Constable in the execution of his office" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202050297, 1st December 1731]; Sarah Holloway, a "disorderly person & Comon Notorious Night Walker" was "charged by the Oaths of Wm. Kingsley & Charles Tutell & Thomas Dubbellow Watchman for … Cursing swearing & making a great Noise & insulting and abusing the Watchmen on their duty." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202060143, 9th September 1741]; Susannah Porter was charged by Luke Martin, the Watchman for Farringdon without "for being a loose Idle & Disorderly P[er]son being a Comon Night walker threating to Strike the Watchman in the presence of the Justice & Swearing & behaving in a very Insolent manner before him." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202070184, 4th July 1754]; Susanna Phillips was "Comitted" to Bridewell "for being a loose idle & Disorderly Person making a Great Riot & Disturbance last Night & insulting Abuseing & Endeavouring to Strike the Constable in my Presence and otherways behaving in every Outrageous & Insolent manner" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202070197, 29th November 1754]; Mary Bardell and Mary Peachmn were "Comitted: to Bridewll "for being loose Idle & Disorderly Persons & Comon Night Walkers & for Insulting & Abuseing him [Edwd. Johnson a Watchman] in the Executions of his Duty." [BH/MG. BBBRMG202070357, 13th December 1759]; Elizabeth Newton was "charged by Timothy Roberts Constable of Walbrooke ward for Strolling the Streets at two o Clock this morning and being a Lewd idle person and Comon night walker & abuseing him with reproach full words and endeavouring to Strike him" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202040169, 23rd June 1715].

When male prostitutes threatened the constable, they were similarly charged at Bridewell: in 1725, John Fryer was "Charged by William Turr Constable of the Ward of Cripplegate without and Fire Street Precinet on his Oath for being loose idle Vagrant persons Strolling about the Streets in the night time Attempting to pick up strange men having had frequent Warning to for bear the like practises and frequently abusing the Constables and Watch" [BH/MG. BBBRMG202050074, 8th February 1725].

Bridge Street", she "called the [..] Dept. [Barton] many Names and abused him … and would slap her face if he offered to touch her".[162]

Like the accounts of prostitutes' violence against potential male clients, the newspaper press tended to include the most sordid confrontations between prostitutes and officers of the parish. These accounts often focused on the subsequent severe punishment of the offending woman to demonstrate that the policing officials were working hard to punish and reform the worst offenders. For instance, according to the *London Daily Advertiser*, in 1752 an unnamed "notorious Street Walker and Pickpocket, was taken up in Bow-street Covent Garden". She was reportedly "so obstinate, that it required no less than five Watchmen to drag her to the Roundhouse." Because of her insolence, and in addition to being sentenced to two months hard labour in Tothill-fields Bridewell, she was also "to undergo the Discipline of Whipping during that Time."[163] The following year, *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* reported that an unnamed "common Street-Walker" was reportedly sentenced to "hard Labour for six Months" in Bridewell as punishment "for abusing the Constable who secured her, and when brought before his Lordship, for insulting him in the Execution of his Office." The paper noted that while this "Punishment … may appear severe … her Insolence was carried to such a Height, that no other was looked upon as sufficient to bring her to a proper Sense of Duty."[164] Some prostitutes were so violent and disorderly that they were sentenced for their

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[162] Westminster Coroner. (WACWIC652140397), 12th September 1774; Westminster Coroner. (WACWIC652140396), 12th September 1774.

[163] *London Daily Advertiser*. Thursday, October 26, 1752, #508.

[164] *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.* Thursday, August 9, 1753, #1482.

The *London Evening Post* similarly reported that "several disorderly women of the town were taken up by the constables in the Dutchy liberty, amongst whom was a notorious woman, well known by the name of the Royal Sovereign," who, along "with several more, were committed to Bridewell … for profane swearing, and obstructing the constables in the execution of their office." [*London Evening Post*. Thursday, October 7, 1762, #5448].

'riotous' conduct while serving a sentence in the workhouse. Elizabeth Clarke (or Clerke), a notorious riotous Night Walker, was about to be released from the London Workhouse, "but before she had got out of the Hall, she assaulted the Constable, could not be got along, and behaved so insolent and outrageous, the Magistrate ordered her back again, and committed her to Bridewell."[165]

It is, of course, impossible to know how many prostitutes committed violent offences. As Beattie asserts, the "level of indictments … cannot be taken to reflect the actual level of violent confrontations in society, nor their full range and character."[166] Moreover, men may have been reluctant to report their own victimization, especially at the hands of a woman.[167] Mens' hesitancy in reporting their own victimization was acknowledged by an anonymous contributor to the *Telegraph*: "a man who is robbed by a strumpet chuses to suffer the loss, rather than expose himself in a court."[168] Nevertheless, it is apparent that it was not uncommon for female prostitutes to assault men, even those

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[165] *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*. Tuesday, September 25, 1750, #722. Also see: *London Evening Post,* Tuesday, September 25, 1750, #3578.

Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer reported that "Eleanor Evans was publickly whipt at the Stocks in Fleet Street, for being a notorious Street Walker, … and striking the said [William Wotton, Constable] Wotton before the Lord Mayor, and threatening to stab him." [*Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.* Saturday, November 23, 1751, #1421]; "Barbara Hurstell, a very notorious Street-walker, was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell, by Thomas Lediard to hard Labour for one Month;" because "she behaved … in a most audacious manner, threatening him, the Constable, and all present who assisted in taking her up with Vengeance" [*General Advertiser.* Monday, October 14, 1751, #5299].

[166] Beattie, *Crime and the Courts,* 75. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations*, 95. Also see: King, "Punishing assault," 43; Ibid., "Moral panics and violent street crime," Ibid., "Newspaper reporting, prosecution practice and perceptions of urban crime: the Colchester crimewave of 1765," *Continuity and Change*. 2 (1987) 423-54; Ibid., "Making crime news"; J.A. Sharpe, "Reporting Crime in the North of England eighteenth-century Newspaper: a Preliminary Investigation," *Crime, Histoire et Societes*. 16, 1 (2012): 25-45; Devereaux, "From Sessions to Newspaper?"; Esther Snell. "Discourses of criminality in the eighteenth-century press: the presentation of crime in *The Kentish Post*, 1717-1768," *Continuity and Change*. 22, 1 (2007): 13-47; Robert Shoemaker, "The Street Robber and the Gentleman Highwayman: Changing Representations and Perceptions of Robbery in London, 1690-1800," *The Journal of the Social History Society*. 3, 4 (2006): 381-405; Landau, "Gauging crime".

[167] Gray, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations*, 96; Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 70. Moral panics continued throughout the nineteenth century. See especially: Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: a study in the relationship between classes in Victorian society.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: a history of respectable fears*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

[168] *Telegraph*. Saturday, January 28, 1797.

in positions of authority. Prostitutes committed a wide variety of violent offences, both against potential male clients, their neighbours and people they encountered in the streets, and officers of the parish. Therefore, we need to reconsider the nature of gendered assault.

Conclusions

Wrath was regarded as a significant problem in eighteenth century English society because it often led to violence. Though both men and women's violence were considered problematic, when women committed violent assaults, it was far more distressing and socially disruptive than men's violent actions. Although prostitutes were both the victims and perpetrators of violence, the newspaper press and Bridewell recorder more frequently reported on incidents in which prostitutes were assailants, rather than victims of violence. The uneven reporting of these incidents suggests that that Britons continued to regard prostitutes as disorderly, sinful criminals who ought to be held accountable for causing disorder in society, rather than as pitiable victims. Reports about prostitutes' victimization tended to include extreme violence; the prostitutes were all discovered dead, often with evidence of stab wounds or gun violence. Although there is some evidence of sympathy for these victims, each incident seems to have served as a moralistic warning of the dangers of falling into a life of sin, vice, and prostitution. Each victim was described as being somewhat at fault for becoming a victim of violence. Accordingly, their deaths could be constructed as the result of retributive wrath, rather than the blind rage closely associated with the anger that produces unmerited violence.

Prostitutes' physical and verbal attacks on male clients, their neighbours, and parish officials were reported regularly. Though much of this violence can be classified

as 'petty violence' because these assaults were relatively minor, these actions nonetheless disturbed the peace and order in society and were therefore considered unacceptable.[169] Though some prostitutes resorted to violence in the course of robbing a man, the cause of most assaults was unstated, and probably occurred while she was too enthusiastically soliciting a man. As a result, this violence was depicted as random and unprovoked, which enhanced prostitutes' reputation as riotous and unruly. However, prostitutes' assaults were regarded as far more aggressive and serious when they committed homicide, used weapons, or attacked relatively vulnerable members of society. Though both types of violence were noted by the Bridewell recorder, the latter incidents were more frequently reported in the newspaper press in part because this violence was considered more salacious and newsworthy, but also because it confirmed prostitutes' reputation as incorrigible. Hence, wrath and expressions of violence by female prostitutes were regarded as especially problematic and offensive because they overturned both the social and gendered hierarchies established and embraced by Hanoverian men and women.

[169] Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and Petty Violence*, 2; King. "Punishing assault," 43.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The preceding pages have portrayed the complexity and diversity of perceptions of lower-class female prostitutes and prostitution in eighteenth century London. It has done so by examining the Bridewell Court of Governors' records, the newspaper press, sermons and other writing by ecclesiastical authorities, records produced by, and for, the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, the writings of governing elites, philanthropists, and social reformers, popular literature, novels, and art works. Each of these sources provide different, if overlapping, insights into how diverse segments of society – from governing elites to popular commentators with a penchant for bawdy humour – discussed, regarded, and understood prostitutes and prostitution.

This dissertation has argued that discussions about prostitutes encompassed a broader range of issues than is usually recognized. In addition to questions about lust and economic imperatives, commentators also analyzed the impact prostitution had on the maintenance of the gender-based and socio-economic hierarchies, crime, the economy, productivity, the maintenance or order, luxury, and women's place in society. Although many of these issues have been ignored or regarded as auxiliary concerns, a thorough examination of the vast literature that addresses prostitution reveals that these issues were central to why prostitution was regarded as sinful and offensive. Furthermore, this study has shown that rather than witnessing a significant rupture in perceptions of, and approaches to, prostitution over the course of the eighteenth century, there is considerable continuity from the preceding periods. Many of the central concerns and debates surrounding prostitution – such as the belief that "[w]omen's behaviour was sinful and polluting, men's was obeying the dictates of nature" - were not unique to the eighteenth

century, but had a long history in helping commentators explain what drove women to prostitution.[1] Likewise, the establishment of new institutions, such as the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, relied upon many of the ideas and models that had already existed for centuries. Thus, rather than observing radically new innovations in approaches to reforming prostitutes or perceptions of prostitutes in the eighteenth-century, deeper levels of continuity are apparent.

This dissertation has also argued that many of the issues and discussions surrounding prostitution were often paradoxical, contradictory, and thoroughly dependent on the context of an individual's actions at any given moment – such as whether the prostitute aggressively accosted a man on the streets, or was petitioning to get into the Magdalen Hospital. The highly contextualized nature of discussions of prostitutes and prostitution helps explain why attitudes to prostitutes and prostitution remain stable throughout the period; commentators recognized that diverse circumstances brought women to the trade. Some were pitiable victims. Others deceptive sinners. Each group were viewed and treated according to their own specific characteristics.

This thesis has drawn upon the seven deadly sins to showcase the diverse concerns that arose during discussions of, and related to, prostitution in eighteenth century London. Although some historians have questioned the importance and place of sin in Hanoverian society, fears about sin intensified in the era following the Glorious Revolution, and, as Joanna Innes states, remained "a persistent theme in English thought, engaging the attention of people at many different social levels throughout the eighteenth

[1] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: doing unto others.* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3. On attitudes towards female prostitutes in nineteenth century England, see: Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, race, and politics: policing venereal disease in the British Empire*. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 10; Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies 1680-1780.* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998.)

century."[2] Because of the enduring anxieties about sin and immorality, the seven deadly sins remained a central guide in helping people identify which behaviours and actions should be considered permissible or illicit.

Sin is a particularly useful way to discuss prostitution because both women and members of the lower sorts – the two groups from whom prostitutes emerged – were believed to be more likely than men or their social superiors to commit sin. Moreover, Hanoverians continued to believe that once a sinner indulged in one transgression, he or she would inevitably participate in others. The belief that the "gratification of one inordinate pursuit, paves the way for another" was illustrated in art works, novels, sermons, cautionary and conduct literature, and in the newspaper press.[3] As a result, those who chose, or fell into, a life of frivolous leisure, irreligion, gaming, drinking, illicit fornication, luxury, and crime, quickly became further dissolute and became engaged in more serious offences, until, as William Hogarth's prints routinely depicted, they were eventually caught and brought to justice. It is also clear that Hanoverians' central anxieties about the causes and consequences of prostitution were directly linked to each of the seven deadly sins. Accordingly, each chapter explored the association between prostitution and one or two sins.

In examining questions about the role lust and avarice played in Britons' perceptions of prostitution, this thesis argued that sexual desire and economic considerations – stemming from both necessity and greed – were seen to play a role in

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[2] Joanna Innes, "Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movement in later eighteenth-century England," in her *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 180.

[3] L.M. Stretch, *The beauties of history: or Pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life; designed for the instruction and entertainment of youth.* Eighth edition. (London, 1789). 189. Also see: W. Dodd, *The Beauties of History; or, Pictures of virtue and vice*. (London, 1795).

leading women to prostitution throughout the entire eighteenth century. Rather than be seen as disparate or conflicting issues, prostitutes' excessive desire and financial motives were often discussed together; the attribute commentators emphasized depended more upon the context of their discussion than on the time period. While there may have been a growing awareness that women turned to prostitution out of sheer necessity, commentators consistently asserted that at least some women consciously chose to become prostitutes because they were "nymphs" whose carnal desires could not otherwise be satisfied. Rather than being forced into a life of prostitution, these women were seen to be responsible for their choice to become a prostitute. Therefore, these women were seen as inherently sinful.

Discussants also recognized that financial considerations drove women into prostitution. However, most commentators recognized that only certain types of women – such as prostitute-thieves, trappers, and bawds - became or remained prostitutes because they saw it as the most beneficial means of accumulating wealth. These women were regarded as abnormally greedy, but were also viewed as corrupt because they resorted to trickery, lies, and deception in order to profit more than the fee they negotiated with their client. As a result, such women were not seen as pitiable, but agents of destruction who threatened to undermine and destroy order in society. Hence, throughout the eighteenth century commentators recognized diverse types of prostitutes existed and that all types needed to be treated and addressed according to their particular qualities.

Prostitutes' greedy nature and desire for luxuries were further intertwined with ideas about how their pride and envy produced further sinful transgressions. Hanoverians regularly asserted that at least some, rather misguided, women chose to operate as

prostitutes because they desired the fine clothes and beauty exhibited by their social and economic betters and believed that the money they could make through prostitution would enable them to obtain luxuries. Such desires were seen to stem from both excessive pride and envy of elites. While the desire for these luxuries is usually associated with courtesans, not streetwalkers, it would be incorrect to sharply distinguish between various types of prostitutes because prostitutes' status did not always remain static and definitions of various prostitute-types were fluid and ambiguous.[4]

Commentators were primarily concerned about prostitutes' desires for luxuries because they assumed that womens' efforts to appear as if they were elites by dressing in expensive cloths and applying cosmetics often impoverished them, thereby forcing them into prostitution. Prostitutes' inability to properly manage their finances entrenched their identity as profligate sinners. Those who sought to climb the socio-economic ladder created a deep sense of unease because they were regarded as seeking to supersede or surpass the natural hierarchical, divinely ordained social order. These commentators were also concerned that women who were successful in feigning elite status might attract male admirers. They feared these men might not realize these women were whores, pursue them, and quickly become "ruined" in terms of their finances, physical health, and morality.

Prostitutes sinfulness was further evidenced by their apparent proclivities towards drunkenness and idleness, the two vices most closely associated with gluttony and sloth. Moralistic commentators believed that drunken, idle prostitutes encouraged their male companions to engage in these same sinful vices, which would inevitably lead to the corruption of morality, a weak labour force, and crime. In particular, commentators were

[4] Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1798), 222, 288, 423, 567, 841.

anxious that upon being made drunk, these men could easily be taken advantage of by scheming whores, who deliberately preyed on those whose rationality and moral integrity had been compromised through liquor and desire. This scenario was especially disconcerting because it reversed the 'natural' hierarchy that sustained an orderly society.

A prostitute's wrath was also seen as a significant problem in English society because it drove people to lose their judgment and unleash their passions, which, in turn, often led to violence and disorder. Although prostitutes were both perpetrators and victims of violence, there was a greater emphasis on prostitutes' proclivity towards violence than there was on their victimization. The belief that prostitutes lacked control over their temper and readily assaulted their neighbours, male clients, and parish officials further buttressed the perspective that prostitutes and prostitution was sinful. Prostitutes' violence was depicted as especially heinous when she used weapons, attacked a comparatively vulnerable victim, assaulted an official of the parish, or battered someone in the course of a robbery. These actions suggested to Hanoverians that prostitutes were not helpless victims, but hardened, professional criminals, and, therefore, deserving not of sympathy and empathy, but of condemnation and punishment.

While this thesis has adopted the seven deadly sins as a means to cast light upon the vast and variegated discussions surrounding prostitution, the sins themselves were, in the eyes of Hanoverian Britons, interconnected and each transgression seemingly led the weak willed to others. As a result, the definition of each sin was often broad and routinely overlapped with the others. For instance, while lust "is commonly applied to an inordinate desire after copulation", it was primarily recognized as "the irregular love of

pleasure, riches, and honours; a strong desire or appetite after any thing".[5] Similarly being "greedy" was vaguely defined as "Covetousness; insatiable desire".[6] Gluttony, too, was understood as "immoderate, or extravagant living," which could present itself in excessive consumption of food or drink.[7] Thus, these three sins derived from an excessive and unregulated appetite, which threatened to overturn rationality, politeness, and order in society.

Gluttony and lust were also closely related to pride because the sinner placed his physical desires before his duty to God and fellow man. Wrath, too, was regarded as a sin of pride because it signified the sinners' desire to exert control over the world and be "more godlike".[8] Envy similarly stemmed from the ill-gotten notion that one is equal to, or better than, the focus of his jealousy, while sloth, an "aversion to work" or spiritual indifference, was also linked to pride because it resulted in the sinner avoiding his responsibilities to himself, his family, nation, and God.[9] Not surprisingly, pride, "[i]nordinate and unreasonable self-esteem", is often considered the "Mother-Sin, the Parent and the Nurse of many other Sins", because it is seen to lead to virtually every sin and immoral transgression.[10] These sins were seen to be embodied by prostitutes who

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[5] Thomas Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1758), 487 .
[6] Dyche, *New general English dictionary.* (London, 1748), 360; Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language.* (London, 1797), 95.
[7] Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language.* (London, 1794), 392; Dyche, *A new general English dictionary*. (London, 1750), 352.
[8] Carol Straw, "Gregory, Cassian, and the Cardinal Vices," in Richard Newhauser, ed., *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Age.* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 51.
[9] Aviad Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins. A Very Partial List*. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008), 134. 32; William H. Willimon, *Sinning like a Christian: a new look at the seven deadly sins.* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 79-80; Stanford M. Lyman*, The Seven Deadly Sins: Society and Evil*. (New York: General Hall Inc, 1989), 5, 6, 9, 14; Johnson, *A dictionary.* (London, 1794), 787; Sarah Jordan, *The anxieties of idleness: idleness in eighteenth-century British literature and culture*. (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003), 18-9.
[10] Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*. (London, 1794), 665; John Conant, "The First Sermon." *Sermons on several subjects. The fifth volume.* (London, 1708), 5.

sought to usurp money, status, and power not deserving to them because it had not been granted to them through birth or honest industry, but by deception, or by the pursuit of idle leisures and luxuries not suitable for their station. Replacing the habits of idleness, irreligion, illicit fornication, violence, the excessive consumption of liquor, and the purchase of luxuries with piety, honesty, industry, sobriety, and chastity, were precisely the goals of organizations such as the Societies for the Reformation of Manners and the Proclamation Society.[11]

Discussions of prostitution in eighteenth-century London also powerfully reveal the inherent double standards in morality that pervaded English society. Although women were regularly disparaged for being less rational, less able to control their desires, and morally weaker than men, prostitutes were blamed for turning men into powerless slaves to the seductive lures of the prostitute. Female prostitutes were also held more accountable for the problems associated with the trade than their male companions, including illicit fornication, irreligion, drunkenness, an idle workforce, and violent crime. Moreover, women, not men, were seen to be responsible for the hoards of prostitutes in London. Though some commentators recognized that male rakes and libertines seduced women and all but forced them into a life of prostitution, discussants more regularly provided examples of prostitutes who preyed upon and seduced vulnerable and naïve men. Bawds, pimps, and procurers, often depicted as women, were similarly blamed for the proliferation of prostitution in London. Seldom did commentators acknowledge that most Hanoverian Britons believed it was more acceptable for men to gain sexual

[11] Robert Shoemaker, "Reforming the city: the reformation of manners campaign in London, 1690-1738," in Lee Davison et. al. eds., *Stilling the grumbling hive: the response to social and economic problems in England, 1689-1750*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 99-120; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex and societies for moral reform, 1688-1800," *Journal of British Studies*. 46, 2 (2007), 290-319; Innes, "Politics and morals," 179-226.

experience than it was for women, or that women became prostitutes in response to men's willingness to exchange money or goods for sex.

Prostitutes' criminality and ability to deceive men further defined prostitutes as sinful women who needed to be better regulated in a male dominated and patriarchal world. While prostitution was not a crime in eighteenth century England, most of the activities surrounding prostitution, such as picking up men, 'nightwalking', or being 'lewd, idle, and disorderly', justified their arrest and incarceration. Moreover, some prostitutes committed property crimes or assault. Prostitution, was therefore, not merely sinful because it involved women exchanging sexual services for gain, but because it threatened to overturn the gender and status-based orders in which women were subordinate to men. Prostitution provided examples in which women made men irrational because these women deceived, tricked, and sometimes brutalized them. This Hogarthian image of the entire world collapsing represented the idealized social, moral, and gendered orders turned upside-down.

The power attributed to prostitutes to corrupt men and cause mayhem in society suggests that there was a moral panic about prostitution in eighteenth century London. Moral panics, which David Lemmings has defined as "episodes in which public anxieties, especially as expressed and orchestrated by the press and by government actions, served to 'amplify deviance' and to promote new measures for its control' " were common in eighteenth century London.[12] Unlike other moral panics, the substantial concerns about

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[12] David Lemmings, "Introduction: Law and Order, Moral Panics, and Early Modern England," *Moral panics, the media and the law in early modern England*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 2.

A number of moral panics erupt throughout the century, including, violent street crime, the gin craze, forgery, sexual assault, and gaming. See especially: Claire Walker and David Lemming, eds., *Moral panics, the media and the law in early modern England*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Richard Ward, "Print Culture, Moral Panic, and the Administration of the Law: The London Crime Wave of 1744," *Crime, histoire & sociétés*. 16, 1 (2012): 5-24; Peter King, "Moral panics and violent street crime 1750-

prostitution in London were not brought on by a sudden rise in crime, violence, or other disturbance, but by the persistent presence of throngs of prostitutes in the streets of London. The perennial discussion of prostitutes in the newspaper press, in popular literature, by ecclesiastical authorities, governing elites, social reformers, and as evidenced by the establishment of institutions designed to remove prostitutes from the streets and reform them, suggests that prostitution generated considerable anxiety throughout the era.

Owing to the significant anxieties generated by prostitution, over the course of the long-eighteenth century, a variety of approaches to reforming prostitutes were proposed, put into practice, disparaged, and discarded. While most schemes focused on reforming the sinners' character, a few endeavoured to prevent the women from falling into a life of sin and corruption, or preventing them from entering places where they were likely to corrupt others. While three organizations – Bridewell Prison and Hospital, the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, and the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes – dominated efforts to reform prostitutes and the consequences of their actions, a number of other charitable groups, such as the Proclamation Society and the Society for the Suppression of Vice, also emerged to address the problems associated with prostitution and disorder. While the tactics of these organizations differed, they were united in their goal to establish a more orderly society by eradicating sinful misconduct.

2000: a comparative perspective," in *Comparative histories of crime*. Barry R. Godfrey, Clive Emsley, Graeme C. Dunstall, eds. (Cullompton: Willan, 2003), 53-71; Jan Bonderson, *The London Monster: a sanguinary tale*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Ibid., "Monsters and moral panic in London," *History Today*. 51, 5 (2001): 30-37; Neil Guthrie, " 'No truth or very little in the whole story'? - a reassessment of the Mohock scare of 1712," *Eighteenth-century Life.* 20 (1996): 33-56; Daniel Statt, "The case of the Mohocks: rake violence in Augustan London," *Social History*. 20 (1995): 179-99; Jessica Warner, *Craze: gin and debauchery in an age of reason; consisting of a tragicomedy in three acts in which high and low are brought together, much to their mutual discomfort*. (London, Profile, 2003); Patrick Dillon, *The much-lamented death of Madam Geneva: the eighteenth-century gin craze*. (London: Review, 2002).

This dissertation addresses both perceptions of prostitution as well as the nature and practices of commercial illicit sexual activity. However, it is also important to consider the areas where further research would be beneficial. Although this study has focused on lower-class female prostitutes, courtesans and mistresses were also prevalent in English society. The comparative acceptance or abhorrence of these women in relation to lower-class prostitutes would provide insight into the extent to which class and status influenced ideas about illicit sex. Likewise, given that prostitutes' and courtesans' status often varied over time, an analysis of the links between their worlds and experiences would be illustrative of the social world of prostitutes, the extent to which stigmas effected these women, and the ways that upward and downward social mobility affected people's social, economic, and personal lives.

Similarly, while male and female prostitution are usually discussed independently of each other, a joint discussion would better highlight some of the similarities and differences between the experiences of male and female prostitutes. Further examination of prostitutes' victimization would also be beneficial. While it appears that violence against prostitutes was predominantly reported when the violence was so extreme that it resulted in death, more research is needed on this topic before firm conclusions can be drawn. Moreover, although there has been considerable research on the diverse meanings and uses of the slanderous term 'whore', the varied ways that the term 'prostitute' was used has not garnered adequate consideration.[13] Yet, far from exclusively referring to a

[13] On the language of accusation see: Laura Gowing, "Gender and the language of insult in early modern London," *History Workshop.* 35 (1993) 1-21; Ibid., "Language, power and the law: women's slander litigation in early-modern London," in Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker, eds. *Women, crime and the courts in early modern England.* (London: University College, London, 1994), 26-47; Ibid., *Domestic dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 60-138; Capp, *When gossips meet*; J.A. Sharpe, "Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: the church courts at York," *Borthwick paper, 58.* (York, 1980); Martin Ingram, "Law, litigants and the construction of

"woman for hire", the terms 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' were regularly employed by politicians who accused their opponents of misbehaviour. As a result, it is clear that like the accusatory term 'whore', calling someone a 'prostitute' also had powerful political, personal, social, and economic consequences.

Most importantly, this dissertation has endeavoured to expand the discussions of prostitution in eighteenth-century England by demonstrating that discourses about prostitution encompassed a wide variety of issues, including excessive sexual desire, poverty, greed, prostitutes' appearance, concerns about status, anxieties about maintaining the hierarchically-structured social order, idleness, drunkenness, national strength, and violence. Although commentators recognized that diverse circumstances and expectations brought different types of women to prostitution, and that these women did not all conduct themselves in a similar manner, London commentators nevertheless regarded prostitutes with trepidation because it, and the women it employed, represented the composite and stark opposite of the ideal virtuous woman. Stereotypically, she was seen as neither chaste nor modest, neither pious nor passive, neither confined to the private domestic sphere nor virtuous. Instead, burdened with all seven deadly sins, prostitutes publically fornicated, stole, purchased luxuries, sought to emulate elites, were often drunk, idle, and aggressive, and seemingly shameless. As a result, female prostitutes embodied disorder in an age, and for a people, who prided themselves of their self-referential and self-righteous image of the masculine, rational, virtuous, polite, and protestant 'free-born' Briton.

'honour': slander suits in early modern England," in Peter R. Coss, ed., *The moral world of the law*. (*Cambridge*: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 134-60; Tim Meldrum, "A women's court in London: defamation at the bishop of London's Consistory Court, 1700-1745," *London Journal*. 19 (1994): 1-20.

Appendix A: Newspaper Keyword Search Terms: 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers, with number of results each term produced for London Newspapers, January 1, 1680 - December 31, 1799

Bagnio – 2, 393
Bawd* – 3, 415
Bawd – 1, 155
Bawds - 284
Bawdy – 1, 312
Brothel – 802
Bully – 3, 217
Bullies – 958
Common woman – 88
Common women – 154
Corruption of morals – 77
Courtesan – 45
Covent Garden Ladies - 77
Debatch* – 23
Disorderly woman – 7
Disorderly women– 36
Fallen angel – 80
Fornicat* – 983
Harlot –1, 503
Harris List - 2
Harris's List - 38
Lasciv* – 74
Lewd – 2, 423
Libertine –2, 090
Loose woman - 3
Loose women - 26
Lust / idle – 94
Lust / prostitute – 6
Lust/ whore - 55
Magdalen Hospital – 483
Misericordia – 104
Nightwalker - 13
Night walker - 79
Nymph – 10, 203
Park walker - 5
Penitent / prostitute - 8
Pimp – 1, 001
Pimp* - 17, 655
Promisc* - 441
Prostitut* - 1, 053
Prostitute - 294
Prostituted - 225

Prostitution – 255
Prostitute/ Moral - 20
Prostitute/ Want - 56
Society for the reformation of
manners – 92
Street walker – 190
Streetwalker – 15
Strumpet – 252
Park Walker – 3
Whore – 28,928
Whoredom – 299
Whoring – 260
Woman of fashion – 58

Appendix B: Pamphlet and Sermon Keyword Search Terms: Eighteenth Century Collections Online, with number of results each term produced

Anger* - 68, 002
Avarice – 39, 074
Bawd* - 11, 246
Bully - 7, 807
Bullies – 3, 599
Chast* - 45, 072
Common Woman - 776
Common women – 1, 116
Cosmetic* - 1, 007
Covent garden ladies – 22
Disorderly women - 50
Disorderly woman – 38
Drink* - 92, 003
Drunk* – 54, 574
Envy – 67, 823
Fornic* - 15, 275
Gin – 25, 582
Gluttony –7, 372
Greed –4, 615
Harlot* - 14, 805
Idle* – 81, 605
Immodest* - 4, 619
Indust* - 56, 468
Jilt* - 9, 309
Lady of pleasure – 1, 564
Ladies of pleasure – 1, 052
Lewd - 18, 359
Lewd, idle and disorderly - 120
Libertine – 11, 180
Lock asylum - 6
Loose woman - 203
Loose women – 419
Lust - 27, 155
Magdalen Charity - 150
Magdalen Hospital - 267
Magdalen House - 160
Nightwalker - 32
Night walker – 322
Paint* - 77, 142
Pimp* - 13, 512
Pride – 93, 582
Prostitut* - 14, 047
Prostitute – 8, 151

Prostitutes – 2, 987
Prostituted – 240
Prostitution – 4, 817
Seven deadly Sins – 184
Sin – 69, 751
Sloth – 18, 695
Society for the reformation of manners -263
Street walker* - 244
Streetwalker* - 25
Strumpet – 5, 395
Ten Commandments – 5,693
Uncleanness – 7, 764
Vain – 12, 1342
Vanity – 67, 048
Vice – 98, 220
Wanton* - 48, 878
Whor* - 46, 377
Woman of fashion – 1, 168
Woman of pleasure – 1, 127
Wrath – 51, 429

Appendix C: Pamphlet and Sermon Keyword Search Terms: Early English Books Online, with number of results each term produced between 1600-1850

Anger* - 50,152
Avarice – 6,966
Bawd* - 5,962
Bully – 876
Bullies – 338
Chast* - 20,809
Common Woman – 58
Common women – 137
Cosmetic* - 402
Disorderly women – 1
Drink* - 123,639
Drunk* - 55,387
Envy – 37,329
Fornic* - 14,034
Gin – 1,134
Gluttony – 3,567
Greed - 392
Harlot* - 9,328
Idle* - 42,319
Immodest* - 2,734
Indust* - 36,515
Jilt* - 915
Lady of pleasure - 94
Ladies of pleasure - 51
Lewd – 10,018
Lewd, idle and disorderly - 4
Libertine – 1,161
Loose woman - 14
Loose women - 27
Lust – 36,670
Magdalen Hospital – 1
Nightwalker - 9
Night walker - 115
Paint* - 38,139
Pimp* - 3,729
Pride – 70,590
Prostitut* - 3,677
    Prostitute – 2,169
    Prostitutes - 374
    Prostituted – 1,111
    Prostitution - 536
Seven deadly Sins - 241
Sin – 520,409

Sloth – 5,427
Society for the reformation of Manners - 5
Street walker* - 7
Strumpet – 2,590
Ten Commandments – 3,920
Uncleanness – 11,609
Vain – 118,887
Vanity – 39,228
Vice – 45,354
Wanton – 14,177
Whor* - 33,668
Woman of Fashion – 6
Woman of Pleasure – 4
Wrath – 74,332

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Mary Shipperd, MJ/SR 2260, f230, October 13, 1715.
Esther William als [a.k.a.] Beard, MJ/SR 2330 f139, June 8, 1719.

Foundling Hospital

The Report of the Committee Appointed by the Annual General Court of the Foundling Hospital of 12th May, 1790. Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Magdalen Hospital. London, 1791.

Lock Asylum

An Account of the Institutions of the Lock Asylum for the Reception of Penitent Female Patients. London, 1796.

An account of the nature and intention of the Lock-Hospital near Hyde-Park-Corner, the proceedings of the governors and the improvements lately adopted with an abstract of its income and expenditure and the state of its finances at Lady Day 1796: to which is added, An account of the Lock Asylum for the reception of penitent female patients when discharged cured from the hospital. London, 1796.

An account of the nature and intention of the Lock-Hospital near Hyde-Park-Corner; An account of the origin and designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London, 1733.

An account of the institution of the Lock Asylum, for the reception of penitent female patients, when discharged cured from the Lock Hospital. London, 1796.

Lying-In Charity

An account of the Lying-In Charity for delivering poor married women at their own habitations. London, 1769.

Magdalen Hospital

A plan for establishing a charity-house, or charity-houses, for the reception of repenting prostitutes to be called the Magdalen Charity. London, 1758.

General state of the Magdalen-Hospital in St. George's fields for the reception of penitent prostitutes instituted 1758. (Incorportaed by act of Parliament, 9 King George III.) Published by order of the general court, 30th April, 1777. London, 1777.

General state of the Magdalen-Hospital, for the reception of penitent prostitutes, ... Published by order of the General Court, 27th April, 1785. London, 1785.
Hymns selected from different authors for the use of the Magdalen-Chapel. London, 1790.
Psalms and Hymns, for the use of the Magdalen-Charity. London, 1797.
The histories of some of the penitents in the Magdalen-House, as supposed to be related by themselves. In two volumes. London, 1760.
The rules, orders and regulations, of the Magdalen House, for the reception of penitent prostitutes. By order of the governors. London, 1760.
The rules and regulations of the Magdalen-Charity, with instructions to the women who are admitted, and prayers for their use. London, 1769.
Rules, orders, and regulations, of the Magdalen Hospital, for the reception of penitent prostitutes, in St. George's Road, Surry. Instituted at London, anno domini 1758. Incorporated by act of Parliament, 9th George III. 1769. And supported by voluntary benefactions [sic], with a list of the governors. London, 1787.
To enable the public to judge of the real good effected by this Institution, and of the great proportion the women reclaimed bear to the whole number, the following correct statement has been extracted from the books of the charity. Table of admissions and discharges, from the first institution, August 10, 1758, to January 1, 1795. London, 1795.

Society for Giving Effects to His Majesty's Proclamation Against Vice and Immorality.
Brief statement of the origin and nature of the Society for carrying into effect His Majesty's proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue: together with the report of the committee. To which is added, a list of the members of the Society. London, 1789.
Seventh report of the committee of the Society for Carrying into Effect His Majesty's Proclamation Against Vice and Immorality, and for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue together with a brief statement of the origin and nature of the Society, and a list of the members. London, 1795.

Society for the Suppression of Vice
An address to the public from the Society for the Suppression of Vice, instituted, in London, 1802. Part the second containing an account of the proceedings of the society, from its original institution. London, 1804.

King James Bible
Book of Proverbs, 16:18

Bridewell Royal Hospital, Minutes of the Court of Governors London Lives, 1690-1800 (www.londonlives.org)

BBBRMG20201, 6th January 1689 - 8th August 1695.
BBBRMG20202, 23rd August 1693 - 2nd May 1701.
BBBRMG20203, 16th May 1701 - 19th June 1713.
BBBRMG20204, 26th June 1713 - 2nd August 1722.

BBBRMG20205, 26th December 1722 - 15th December 1737.
BBBRMG20206 12th January 1738 - 4th April 1751.
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Courier and Evening Gazette
Covent-Garden Journal
Daily Advertiser
Daily Courant
Daily Gazetteer
Daily Journal
Daily Post
English Chronicle or Universal Evening Post
Entertainer
Evening Mail

Fog's Weekly Journal
Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser
Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser
General Advertiser
General Evening Post
Grub Street Journal
London Chronicle
London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post
London Daily Advertiser
London Daily Post and General Advertiser
London Evening Post
London Journal
London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post
London Spy Revived
Lloyd's Evening Post
London Daily Post and General Advertiser
London Morning Penny Post
Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle
Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff.
Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser
Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post
Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty.
Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser
Morning Herald
Morning Post
Morning Post and Daily Advertiser
Morning Post and Fashionable World
Observator
Old England
Old England's Journal.
Old England or the National Gazette
Old Whig or the Consistent Protestant
Oracle and Daily Advertiser
Oracle and Public Advertiser
Owen's weekly chronicle or universal Journal
Parker's Penny Post
Penny London Post or the Morning Advertiser
Poor Robin's intelligence, or, News from city and country.
Post Man and the Historical Account.
Public Advertiser
Public Ledger
Public Ledger or the Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligencer
Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer
Remembrancer.
Scourge
Spectator

St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post
Sun
Supplementary Journal to the Advice from the Scandal Club
Tatler
Telegraph
Tomahawk Or Censor General
True Briton
Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal
Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer
Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post
Weekly Journal with Fresh Advices Foreign and Domestic
Weekly Miscellany
Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany
Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer
World
World and Fashionable Advertiser

Periodicals

Cheap Repository. *The story of sinful sally. Told by herself. Shewing how from being sally of the green she was first led to become sinful sally, and afterwards drunken sal, and how at last she came to a most melancholy and almost hopeless end; being therein a warning to all young women both in town and country. Price one halfpenny.* London, 1796?

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--------*Twenty sermons on social duties, and their opposite vices. Viz. I. On the Necessity of Absolute Righteousness to Social Honesty. II. III. The Duties of the Married State. IV. V. VI. Vii. The Duty of Parents. Viii. IX. The Duty of Children. X. The Duty of Servants. XI. The Duty of Masters. XII. XIII. Duty of Paying Debts. XIV. The Duty of Rulers. XV. The mutual Duty of Prince and People. XVI. Avarice inconsistent with Religion and Social Duty. XVII. The Importance and Wisdom of Early Industry. XVIII. The Nature and Character of Envy. XIX. XX. The true Nature of Pride.* London, 1747.

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Dingley, Robert. *Proposals for establishing a Public Place of Reception for Penitent Prostitutes, &c*. London, 1758.

Disney, John. Fles*hly lusts inconsistent with the character, and the safety of a Christian*. *A sermon preached in the parish-church of St. Austin, in London, February the 18th, 1721*. London, 1722.

-------- *A view of ancient laws, against immorality and profaneness: Under the following Heads; Lewdness; Profane Swearing, Cursing, and Blasphemy; Perjury; Prophanation of Days devoted to Religion; Contempt or Neglect of Divine Service; Drunkenness; Gaming; Idleness, Vagrancy, and Begging; Stage-Plays and Players; and Duelling. Collected from the Jewish, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Lombard, and other laws, down to the middle of the eleventh century*. Cambridge, 1729.

Dod, John Lover of ale. *An extempore sermon, preached upon malt, by a way of caution to good fellows*. London, 1691.

Dodd, William. *Advice to the Magdalens*. London, 1760?

--------- *A sermon on Job, chap.xxix. ver. 11-13. Preached at the anniversary meeting of the governors of the Magdalen Charity, on Thursday, March 18, 1762, in the parish church of St. George's, Hanover-Square. By William Dodd, M. A. Chaplain to the Bishop of St. David's, and Lecturer of West-Ham, in Essex.* London, 1762.

--------*A sermon on St. Matthew, chap. IX. ver. 12, 13. Preach'd at the parish church of St. Laurence, near Guild Hall, April the 26th, 1759, before the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Governors of the Magdalen House for the reception of penitent prostitutes. By William Dodd, M. A. Lecturer of West-Ham, Essex, and St. Olave's Hart-Street, London. Published at the Request of the President, &c.* London, 1759?

-------- *A sermon on Zechariah iv. 7. preached in Charlotte-Street Chapel, July the 28th, 1769, before the president, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Governors of the Magdalen Hospital, on laying the first stone of their new building, in St. George's-Fields, Southwark, for the reception of penitent prostitutes. Published at the Request of the President, &c. B William Dodd, LL. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty*. London, 1769.

-------- *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Charity*. London, 1761.

-------- *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital, for the reception of penitent prostitutes. Together with Dr. Dodd's sermons, preached before the president, vice-presidents, governors, &c. Before his Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. and i the Magdalen Chapel, Jer. xiii. 23. (now first printed): To which are Added. The Advice to the Magdalens; with the Psalms,*

Hymns, Prayers, Rules, List of Subscribers; and an Abstract of the Act for Establishing the Charity. London, 1770.

-------- *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Charity. To which are added, the Rev. Mr. Dodd's sermons, preached before the president, vice-presidents, and governors, &c. His Sermon preached before His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. and the advice to the Magdalens; with the hymns, prayers, rules, and list of subscribers.* London, 1763.

-------- *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital*: *for the reception of penitent prostitutes. Together with Dr. Dodd's sermons. To which are added, the advice to the Magdalens; with the psalms, hymns, prayers, rules, and list of subscribers*. London, 1776.

-------- *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Charity*: *To which are added the Rev. Dr. Dodd's sermons, preached before the president, vice-presidents, and governors, &c. His sermon preached before his Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. And the advice to the Magdalens; with the hymns, prayers, rules, and list of subscribers.* London, 1766.

-------- *The Beauties of History; or, Pictures of virtue and vice.* London, 1795.

-------- *The beauties of history; or, pictures of virtue and vice: drawn from examples of men, eminent for their virtues or infamous for their vices.* London, 1796.

-------- *The Magdalen, or, history of the first penitent prostitute received into that charitable asylum. With anecdotes of other penitents*. London, 1799.

Dunton, John. *The night-walker, or, Evening rambles in search after lewd women*. New York: Garland Pub, 1985.

Earle, John. *The World Display'd; Or, Mankind painted in their proper Colours.* London, 1742.

Essex, John. *The young ladies conduct: or, rules for education, under several heads; with instructions upon dress, both before and after marriage.* London, 1722.

Evelyn, Mary. *The ladies dressing-room unlock'd, and her toilette spread: together, with a fop-dictionary, and a rare and incomparable receipt to make pig, or puppidog-water for the face.* London, 1700.

Fawcett, John. *An Essay on Anger*. Leeds, 1788.

Fielding, Henry. *An enquiry into the causes of the late increase of robbers, &c. With some proposals for remedying this growing evil. In which the present reigning vices are impartially exposed; and the laws that relate to the provision for the poor, and to the punishment of felons are largely and freely examined.* London, 1751.

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Fielding, Sir John. *An Account of the Origin and Effects of a police set on food by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle in the Year 1753, upon a plan presented to his*

Grace by the late Henry Fielding, esp.; to which is added a plan for preserving those deserted girls in this Town, who become Prostitutes from Necessity. London, 1758.

-------- *A Plan for a preservatory and reformatory, for the benefit of Deserted Girls, and Penitent Prostitutes.* London, 1758.

-------- *The universal mentor: containing, essays on the most important subjects in life; composed of observations, sentiments, and examples of virtue, selected from the approved ethic-writers, biographers, and historians both antient and modern.* London, 1763.

Fitzsimmonds, Joshua. *Free and candid disquisitions, on the Nature and Execution of the laws of England, Both in Civil and Criminal affairs*. *Wherein the End of Laws in general, and how far our Laws are agreeable, or opposite thereto, is impartially considered; the present Inconveniencies attending the municipal Laws of this Country, both as to Theory and Practice, are freely examined, and some Methods are proposed to make them more useful to the Public, and more easy to the Subject. With a postscript relating to Spirituous Liquors, and the Execution of the present Excise Laws. Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto. Cic. de Leg. l. iii. c. 3. By Joshua Fitzsimmonds, Esq; Barrister at Law.* London, 1751.

Fothergill, George. *The condition of man's life a constant call to industry. A sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's Church, on Sunday, June 19. 1757*. Oxford, 1757.

Gauden, John. *Several letters between two ladies wherein the lawfulness and unlawfulness of artificial beauty in point of conscience, are nicely debated. Published For the Satisfaction of the Fair Sex.* London, 1701.

Gearing, William. *A bridle for the tongue, or, A treatise of ten sins of the tongue ... shewing the nature of these sins ... with the causes and aggravations of them, and remedyes against them : together with many considerations, rules, and helps for the right ordering of the tongue*. London, 1663.

Gentleman. *The gentleman's library: containing rules for conduct in all parts of life. The fourth edition.* London, 1744.

Gentleman at London. *The tricks of the town laid open or, a companion for country gentlemen: being the substance of seventeen letters from a gentleman in London to his friend in the country, to dissuade him from coming to town. Wherein is contain'd, The Humorous Frauds, Tricks, and Cheats of Tennis-Courts, Bowling-Greens, Play-Houses, Gaming-Houses, Bawdy-Houses, Cock-Matches, Horse-Races, Foot-Matches, &c. With the Characters of a Beau, Gamester, Bully, Setter, Spunger, and a Sot. Also, General Reflections on the Manners and Humours of the Town, with a Description of the present State of it.* London, 1747.

Gibson, Edmund. *An admonition against prophane and common swearing.* London, 1725.

Gilbert, John. *A sermon preached before the House of Lords, in the Abbey-Church of Westminster, on Saturday, Jan. 30, 1741-2. Being the Day appointed to be observed as the Day of the Martyrdom of King Charles I. By John Lord Bishop of Landaff.* London, 1742.

Girrard, J. *Practical lectures on education, spiritual and temporal; Extracted from the most eminent Authors on that Subject.* Exon, 1756.

Glasse, Rev. George Henry. "A Sermon Preached before the Governors of the Magdalen Hospital, London: On Wednesday the 28th of May, 1788" *In General State of the Magdalen-Hospital*. 26th April, 1786. London, 1786.

Glasse, Samuel. *A sermon preached in the chapel of the Magdalen-Hospital* : *before the right honourable Francis, Earl of hertford, &c. President; The Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, And Governors, &c.* London, 1777.

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-------- *The humourist. Being essays upon several subjects; treating of news-writers. Enthusiasm. Spleen. Country entertainment. Love. History of Miss Manage. Ambition and pride. Idleness. Fickleness of human nature. Prejudice. Witchcraft. Ghosts, &c. Weather. Female disguises. Art of modern conversation. Use of speech. Punishment of staying at home on Sunday, &c. Criticism. Art of begging. Anger. Avarice. Death. Grief. Keeping the ten commandments. Travel misapply'd. Flattery. Abuse of words. Credulity. Eating. Love of power. Expedients to get rid of time. Retirement. Story of W. Hacket the enthusiast. With a dedication to the man in the moon*. London, 1741.

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Granger, James. *The nature and extent of industry, a sermon, preached before his Grace,*

Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, the 4th of July, 1773, In the Parish Church of Shiplake, in Oxfordshire. London, 1773.

Green, William West. *Pride and superstition causes of unbelief.: A sermon, preached before the Reverend the Archdeacon and clergy of the Archdeaconry of Berks*. Oxford, 1794.

Hales, Stephen. *A friendly admonition to the drinkers of gin: Brandy, and otherDistilled Spirituous Liquors. With an Humble Representation of the Necessity of restraining a Vice so destructive of the Industry, Morals, Health, and Lives of the People.* London, 1751.

Hanway, Jonas. *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House for repentant prostitutes, with the several reasons for such an establishment the Custom of other Nations with regard to such Penitents; and the Great Advantages which Must necessarily arise from the good Conduct of this Institution, upon Political and Religious Principles. Addressed to the promoters of this charity.* London, 1759.

--------*Motives for the establishment of the Marine Society. By a merchant.* London, 1757.

-------- *Reasons for an augmentation of at least twelve thousand mariners, to be employed in the merchants-service, and coasting-trade with some thoughts on the means of providing for a number of our seamen, after the present war is finished.* London, 1759.

-------- *Advice from farmer Trueman to his daughter Mary, upon her going to service, in a series of discourses, designed to promote the welfare and true interest of servants. With reflections Of no less Importance to Masters and Mistresses*. London, 1796.

-------- *Advice from farmer Trueman to his daughter Mary, upon her going to service, in a series of discourses, designed to promote the welfare and true interest of servants. With reflections Of no less Importance to Masters and Mistresses. Abridged by consent of the author, from the works of Jonas Hanway, Esq*. London?, 1792.

--------*Thoughts on the importance of the sabbath, with a caution not to trespass on the design of it: also on the use and advantages of music, as an amusement to the polite part of mankind. Likewise on the Abuse of Music in Churches as practised by many Organists. With several religious, moral, and political reflections on modern inattention to the true art of living, with regard to some of our most fashionable amusements. In nine letters.* London, 1765.

--------*A Plan for establishing a charity-House, or Charity-Houses for the Reception of Repenting Prostitutes to be called the Magdalen Charity*. London, 1758.

--------*Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House for repentant prostitutes, with the several reasons for such an establishment the Custom of other Nations with regard to such Penitents; and the Great Advantages which Must necessarily arise from the good Conduct of this Institution, upon Political and Religious Principles*. London, 1759.

--------*Letters written occasionally on the customs of foreign nations in regard to harlots the lawless commerce of the sexes: the repentance of prostitutes: the great*

humanity and beneficial effects of the Magdalene charity in London: and the absurd notions of the Methodists: with prayers and meditations on the most interesting circumstances and events of life. London, 1761.

Harris, John. *Immorality and pride, the great causes of atheism a sermon preach'd at the cathedral-church of St. Paul, January the 8th 1697/8 : the first of the lecture for that year, founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq.* London, 1698.

Harrison, Richard. *A sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. Bride, Fleet-Street, on Wednesday, June 29.1768, before the governors of the Magdalen-Charity. By Richard Harrison, lecturer St. Peter's, Cornhill, and joint-lecturer of St. Martin's in the Fields.* London, 1768.

Haywood, Eliza. *A present for a servant-maid*. London, 1743.

Haywood, Eliza Fowler. *A present for women addicted to drinking. Adapted to all the different stations of life, from a lady of quality to a common servant*. London, 1750.

Hazlemore, Maximilian. *Domestic economy: or, a complete system of English housekeeping*. London, 1794.

Hendrie, Lewis. *Lewis Hendrie, at his perfumery shop and wholesale warehouse, Shug-Lane, near the top of the Hay-Market, St. James's, London, sells the following and all other articles in the perfumery way, on remarkably low terms, and warrants them as good in quality as any shop or warehous in Great Britain*. London, 1778.

Hobbes, Thomas Hobbes. *Leviathan* Part 1. Of Man Chapter 2. Of Imagination. Para. 6/10 p. 7 mp. 91. In *Brtish philosophy 1600-1900. Past Masters.* Charlotseville: InteLex Corp., 1995.

Holden, Adam. *The trial of the spirits, or, Some considerations upon the pernicious consequences of the gin-trade to Great Britain*. London, 1736.

Horne, Charles. *Serious thoughts on the miseries of seduction and prostitution: with a full account of the evils that produce them; Plainly Shewing, Seduction and Prostitution to be contrary to the Laws of Nature. And a Method pointed out, whereby these two dreadful Evils may be totally exterminated; Fairly deduced from the Laws of God and Nature.* London, 1783.

Holbrooke, Anthony. *A letter to the author of Christianity as old as the creation, upon the immorality of fornication. With remarks upon Jephthah's vow; and upon Israel's borrowing jewels of Egypt.* London, 1731.

Howard, Henry. *England's newest way in all sorts of cookery: pastry, and all pickles that are fit to be used. Adorn'd with copper plates, setting forth the manner of placing dishes upon tables; and the newest fashions of mince-pies.* London, 1710.

Howard, John. *The state of the prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary observations, and an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals*. London, 1780.

Hughes, Obadiah. *A sermon to the Societies for Reformation of Manners; preach'd at Salter's-Hall, July 1. 1728.* London, 1728.

Hume, David. *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*. Part 1. Essay 21: Of National Characters. In *British philosophy 1600-1900. Past Masters.* Charlotseville: InteLex Corp., 1995.

--------*Essays and treatises: on several subjects. Containing Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary.* Volume 1. London, 1776.

--------*An enquiry concerning the principles of morals*. London, 1751.

Humdrum, Humphrey. *Mother Midnight's comical pocket-book: or, a bone for the criticks. Being a sure and certain cure for the hip. Containing the nicest and largest Dish of Novelties, That ever was Seen-Heard-Smelt-or Tasted; Carefully Cook'd-up by Mother Midnight's merry Grandson; Containing Nothing but Originals, all very Humorous, prodigious Satyrical, and quite Uncommon; Informing the Publick, that this Dish of Dishes Was wrote in an uncommon Place, at an uncommon Time, by an uncommon Hand, Humphrey Humdrum, Esq*. London, 1753; London, 1754?

J.B. *Laura: or, the fall of innocence: a poem*. London, 1787.

Jones, Erasmus. *Luxury, pride and vanity, the bane of the British nation.: Wherein is shewn the prodigality and profuseness of all ranks, and conditions.* London, 1736?.

King, Gregory. *Two tracts. (a) Natural and political observations and conclusions upon the state and condition of England. (b) Of the naval trade of England*. George E. Barnett, ed. Baltimore Johns Hopkins Press, 1936.

King, Richard. *The new cheats of London exposed; or, the frauds and tricks of the town laid open to both sexes Being a warning-piece against the inquitous practices of that metropolis. Containing a new and clear Discovery of all the various Cheats, Frauds, Villainies, Artifices, Tricks, Seductions, Stratagems, Impositions and Deceptions, which are daily practised in London, by Bawds Bullies Duffers Fortune Tellers Footpads Gamblers Gossips Hangers-on Highwaymen House-Breakers J[o]lts Intelligencers Jew Delauiters Insolvents Kidnappers Lottery-Office-Keepers Mock Auctioners Money Droppers Ring Droppers Pimps Pretended Friends Procurers Pr[o]scuresses Pickpockets Quacks Receivers of*

stolen Goods Spungers Sharpers Swindlers Smugglers Shop-Lifters Street-Robbers Trappers way-layers Waggon-Hunters Whores, &c. &c. &c. Interspersed With Useful Reflections and Admonitions, salutary Hints and Observations, whereby Rogues and Cheats are not only exposed, but may be avoided, by the Instructions herein contained. The whole laid down in so plain and easy a Manner, as to enable the most innocent Country People to be completely on their Guard how to avoid the base Villainies of those vile and abandoned Wretches, who live by Robbery, and deceiving the Young and Innocent of both Sexes. Written from experience and observation, by Richard King, Esq. Author of The New London Spy, also published by Mr. Hogg. Embellished with emblematical copper-plates, entirely new. London, 1780?

Le Camus, Antoine. *Abdeker: or, the art of preserving beauty.* London, 1754.

Locke, John. *Several papers relating to money, interest, and trade, &c*. London, 1696.

Lover of his country. *Villainy unmask'd*. London, 1752.

M.F. *Free grace displayed, in the conversion of two unhappy prostitutes*. London, 1798.

MacGowan, John. *A rod for the sluggard; or the great evil of idleness represented.* London, 1772.

Madan, Martin. *An account of the death of F. S. who died April 1763, aged twenty-six years. In a letter to a friend*. London, 1763.

--------*Thelyphthora; or, a treatise on female ruin, in its causes, effects, consequences, prevention, and remedy*. London, 1780.

Maddox, Isaac. *An epistle to the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, aldermen and common-council, of the City of London, and Governors of the several Hospitals; with an appendix, containing the most material extracts from the sermon, &c. concerning the pernicious and excessive Use of spirituous liquors. The third edition, with additions.* London, 1751.

Mandeville, Bernard. *The fable of the bees: or, private vices publick benefits*. London, 1714.

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--------A *modest defence of publick stews: or, an essay upon whoring, as it is now practis'd in these kingdoms*. London, 1724.

Marten, John. *A treatise of the venereal disease*. London, 1711.

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Minister. *An earnest and affectionate address to the poor: More particulary [sic] in regard to the prevailing sin of drunkenness.* London, 1770.

N. H. *The ladies dictionary, being a general entertainment of the fair-sex a work never attempted before in English.* London, 1694.

Oakman, John. *The Life and Adventures of Benjamin Brass, an Irish Fortune-Hunter,* London, 1765.

Ogle, Newton. *A sermon preached at the anniversary meeting of the governors of the Magdalen Charity, on Thursday May 1, 1766*. London, 1766.

Oldys, Alexander. *The London jilt, or, The Politick whore: shewing the artifices and stratagems which the ladies of pleasure make use of for the intreaguing and decoying of men, interwoven with several pleasant stories of the misses ingenious performances.* London, 1683.

One of her Companions, *The whole life of Polly Peachum*. London, 1730?.

Ostervald, Jean. *The Nature of Uncleanness Consider'd: Wherein is discoursed of the Causes and Consequences of this Sin, and the Duties of such as are under the Guilt of it. To which is added, a discourse concerning the nature of Chastity, and the means of obtaining it.* London, 1708.

Ovington, J. C*hristian chastity: or, A caveat against vagrant lust. A sermon preach'd at Lee in Kent, May 18th. 1712.* London, 1712.

Pallavicina, Ferrante. *The whore's rhetorick: calculated to the meridian of London, and conformed to the rules of art: in two dialogues*. London, 1683.

Person of Quality. *The young lady's companion; or, beauty's looking-glass. Consisting of infalible rules for improving the natural charms ofthe fair sex, to such Advantage, as to put it in the Power of every Woman to render herself amiable both to God and Man. Being Instructions to Female Youth in what Manner to govern themselves in Respect to Religion; the Choice of a Husband; the Management of a House, Family and Children; Rules for their General Behaviour and Conversation; what Kind of Friendships to contract; how and when to censure properly; Cautions against Vanity and Affectation; the Folly and Decency of Pride; the Use and Abuse of Diversions; and the Beauty and Advantages of Virtue in every Station and Circumstance of Life. In a letter of advice from a father to his daughter, after the Decease of her Mother.* London, 1740.

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-------*Sir William Petty's political survey of Ireland with the establishment of that kingdom when the late Duke of Ormond was lord lieutenant; and also an exact list of the present peers, members of Parliament, and principal officers of state.*

To which is added, an account of the wealth and expences of England, and the method of raising taxes in the most equal manner. The second edition, carefully corrected, with additions. The 2nd ed. London, 1719.

Philanthropos. *The trial of the spirits: Or, Some considerations upon the pernicious consequences of the gin-trade to Great-Britain (As it is Destructive of the Health and Lives of His Majesty's Subjects; and as it affects the Trade, Manufactures and Landed Interest of this Island) Humbly offer'd to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, And to the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Jekyll. By a lover of mankind.* London, 1736.

Physician. *A rational account of the natural weaknesses of women, and of the secret distempers peculiarly incident to them.* London, 1716.

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Pilkington, Mrs. Mary. *A mirror for the female sex. Historical beauties for young ladies. Intended to lead the female mind to the love and practice of moral goodness.* London, 1799.

Pococke, Richard. *The happiness of doing good: A sermon preached before the Right Hon. the Earl of Hertford, president; the vice-presidents, treasurer, and governors of the Magdalen-House Charity, on Thursday the 12th of March, 1761, at the Parish Church of St. Brides, Fleet-Street*. London, 1761.

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Porter, Joseph. *A caution against doubtful lusts, in two discourses. Occasion'd by the death of Mr. Thomas Webb, who departed this life July 18th. 1708, and requested upon his death-bed, that youth might be warn'd to avoid those lusts that he had found more bitter than death. Preached at Bromgrove in Worcestershire, and published at the desire of the youth that heard it.* London, 1708.

R. L., master at the Orphan Working School. *The friendly monitor; or Advice to a Young Man upon coming out of his Apprenticeship. In Eight Letters*. London, 1795.

Reformed Rake. *A congratulatory epistle from a reformed rake, to John F------g, Esq; upon the new scheme of reclaiming prostitutes.* London, 1758?

Roberts, William Hayward. *A sermon preached before the governors of the Magdalen Hospital, London*: *on Tuesday the 30th of April, 1782. By the Reverend W. H. Roberts, D. D. Provost of Eton College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty. And Published by the Desire of the Governors of the Hospital*. London, 1782.

Robinson, Thomas. *Youthful lusts inconsistent with the ministry*. *A sermon preach'd before the University of Oxford on St. Stephen's day 1729.* Oxford, 1730.

Samuel, Lord Bishop of Rochester. *The Enjoyments of the Future Life, and the True Notion of Christian Purity, A Sermon Preached in the Chapel of the Magdalen Hospital, on Wednesday, April 22, 1795*. London, 1795.

Saville, Right Honourable George Lord Late Marquis and Earl of Halifax. *The lady's new-year's gift: or, advice to a daughter. Under these following heads, viz. Religion, Husband, House, Family and Children, Behaviour and Conversation, Friendship, Censure, Vanity and Affectation, Pride, Diversions*. London, 1765.

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Scott, Thomas. *Thoughts on the fatal consequences of female prostitution together with the outlines of a plan proposed to check those enormous evils. Humbly addressed to the consideration of the nobility and gentry in general*. London, 1787.

Seaton, Thomas. *The conduct of servants in great families. Consisting of dissertations upon several passages of the holy scriptures, relating to the office of a servant: With Ejaculations upon the Subject-Matter of Each Discourse. To these are annex'd, a persuasive to a constant attendance at the devotions of the family, and at the Holy Communion: And an Earnest Exhortation to refrain from Swearing, Cursing, and Drunkenness: Each of which Subjects are distinctly treated in several Chapters. To which are added, Some Directions to Regulate the Private Devotions of Servants; with Prayers and Hymns for that Purpose. The Whole is composed for the Especial Use of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Servants.*. London, 1720.

--------*The conduct of servants in great families.* London, 1722.

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