

COMMON WOMAN TO COMMODITY: CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF
PROSTITUTION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND, C.1450-1750

by

Sydney Houston-Goudge

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
December 2011

© Copyright by Sydney Houston-Goudge, 2011

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled “COMMON WOMAN TO COMMODITY: CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF PROSTITUTION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND, C. 1450-1750” by Sydney Houston-Goudge in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dated: December 12, 2011

Supervisor: _____

Readers: _____

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DATE: December 12, 2011

AUTHOR: Sydney Houston-Goudge

TITLE: COMMON WOMAN TO COMMODITY: CHANGING PERCEPTIONS
OF PROSTITUTION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND, C.1450-1750

DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL: Department of History

DEGREE: MA CONVOCATION: May YEAR: 2012

Permission is herewith granted to Dalhousie University to circulate and to have copied for non-commercial purposes, at its discretion, the above title upon the request of individuals or institutions. I understand that my thesis will be electronically available to the public.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

The author attests that permission has been obtained for the use of any copyrighted material appearing in the thesis (other than the brief excerpts requiring only proper acknowledgement in scholarly writing), and that all such use is clearly acknowledged.

Signature of Author

To my grandfather, Albert Russell Goudge, with love and respect and in honour of his
90th year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2 "GIVING NOT GOOD ACCOUNT" OF THEMSELVES: POLICING SEXUAL IMMORALITY IN BRIDEWELL, THE OLD BAILEY, AND STATUTES.....	19
CHAPTER 3 "DAMNED STRUMPETS AND SIX PENNY WHOREDOM": THE INTERSECTION OF COMMERCIALISM AND SEXUAL IMMORALITY IN POLEMICAL TEXTS	46
CHAPTER 4 "FORESAKEN OF MY VERTUE": THE SOCIAL, MORAL, AND TRANSACTIONAL COST OF WHORING IN POETRY, BIOGRAPHY, AND THEATRE	75
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	124

ABSTRACT

The study of prostitution in early modern England is often informed by incorrect terminology. The modern historiographical use of the term “prostitute” is misleading, as the term did not appear until the sixteenth century, and the act of selling sex did not come to dominate understandings of whoredom until many years later. This thesis examines the etymological history of the term “prostitute” and its cognates, and their changing legal, economic, and cultural meanings. This thesis investigates the intersection of late medieval and early modern conceptions of illicit sex with the rise of commercial capitalism to track the conceptual development of transactional sex as a commodity. Despite the influence of commercial capitalism on aspects of sexual immorality and developing conceptions of difference between paid and unpaid illicit sex, the primary division remained between chaste and unchaste women throughout the whole of the early modern period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people to whom I owe gratitude and thanks. Many thanks to Dr. Krista Kesselring, whose inspiration, encouragement, and guidance have been essential to my successful completion of this project, and to Dr. Cynthia Neville for her flawless grammar and insightful suggestions for my final drafts. Thank you to Dr. Christina Luckyj for her participation in my defense as my external reader and her helpful commentary. Thanks as well to Valerie Peck and Tina Jones, who have guided many graduate students through this process, and whose assistance and warmth I appreciate more than I can say.

Thank you to my family, friends, and loved ones, who have patiently and lovingly endured my research and writing process, and who have now listened to more “fun facts” about prostitution than I had ever intended to force upon them. In particular, thank you to my parents, Hillary Houston and Lindsey Goudge, whose unconditional love and encouragement, as well as financial support, have made possible this thesis and my academic career as a whole.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The terminology and language surrounding sexual deviance and immorality are never static. Modern efforts to legitimize prostitutes and their trade, particularly by those activists working toward the legalization of prostitution and the protection of prostitutes' rights to safety, deploy terms like "sex worker" strategically. While lacking an interest in the well being of sex workers, a similar shift in language can be seen in early modern English descriptions and definitions of those working in the sex trade. The modern historiographical use of the term "prostitute" is itself misleading, for modern historians regularly apply it to individuals who contemporaries described through a variety of different names and understood in different ways. The term "prostitute" did not actually appear until the sixteenth century.¹ The definition for the term in the Oxford English Dictionary assigns different dates for the use of the term as both a noun and a verb.² The word "prostitute" was used as a verb before its use as a noun, listed in the OED as recorded first in 1530 by J. Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement* as "I prostytute, as a comen woman dothe her self in a bordell house, *je prostitue*."³ Its use as a noun is dated to 1607, used by F. Beaumont in *Woman Hater*: "My loue and dutie will not suffer mee To see you fauour such a prostitute ... The woman you saw with me is a whore."⁴ However, it

¹ Prostitute. Dictionary.com. Online Etymology Dictionary. Douglas Harper, Historian. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/prostitute> (accessed: October 14, 2010).

² Ibid.

³ "Prostitute, v." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Third edition, July 2009; online version November 2010. <<http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/153083>>; accessed 20 January 2011.

⁴ "Prostitute, n." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Third edition, April 2010; online version November 2010. <<http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/153082>>; accessed 20 January 2011.

was quite some time before the term came into common use. Considering its late and slow adoption, the frequent use of the term “prostitute” by modern historians in the study of illicit sexuality in early modern England is problematic and requires scrutiny.

I began this project under the assumption that the modern definition and conception of the term “prostitute” had materialized by the eighteenth century. This is not a difficult conclusion to draw when examining the existing historiography of illicit sexuality in early modern England. Many historians have no qualms about using the term “prostitute” in their discussions. Paul Griffiths, Melissa Mowry, Tony Henderson, and Laura J. Rosenthal, among others, use the term “prostitute” freely to discuss transactional sex workers during both the late medieval and early modern periods. Under this assumption, my project initially sought to explain this emergence through the rise of commercial capitalism. I hypothesized that the commercialization of English society and its economy resulted in the conceptualization of sex as a commodity to be bought and sold, and that this had in turn cemented the modern definition of the “prostitute.” However, in examining the primary sources of the period, it swiftly becomes apparent that this is not the case.

Ruth Mazo Karras’s influential work *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (1996) emphasizes the problems with applying modern definitions of prostitution to medieval sources, particularly in the translation of “meretrix” as directly synonymous with “one who exchanges specific sex acts for money.”⁵ The term “prostitute” in its modern definition did not exist as a noun in the medieval period.⁶

Karras argues that the most important aspect of medieval conceptions of the term

⁵ Ruth Mazo Karras, 1996. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

“meretrix” is the *lack* of distinction between an individual who was generally lewd and an individual who charged for sex.⁷ Rather, medieval English people used a multitude of terms including “whore”, “harlot”, “strumpet”, “slut”, “common woman”, “stale”, “waistcoateer”, “vaulter”, “twopenny whore”, “tweak” and “twigger” to define sexually immoral women.⁸ Though all of these terms carried a general meaning of sexual impropriety, not all automatically implied payment for sex. Karras also argues that the court records of the period demonstrate that the “terms we might translate as ‘prostitute’ had a much wider range of meaning than ‘practitioner of commercial sex,’” and included women who were merely sexually available or even those engaged in adultery.⁹ She notes that the “whore” label actually encompassed all women who “engaged in sex in some sort of reprehensible way.”¹⁰ The fact that many have traditionally translated the Latin term “meretrix” as “prostitute,” rather than the more accurate term “whore,” requires historians to re-conceptualize the medieval “prostitute” as a modern umbrella term, under which a multifaceted variety of meanings must be differentiated and understood.¹¹

In contrast to the Latin origin of the term “meretrix”, the word “whore” derives from the Old English “hóre” and carries a general definition of adultery, adulteress, and whoredom.¹² In use before the Norman conquest of 1066, the term “whore” encapsulates the most general definition of sexual deviance, that of an individual who engages in any

⁷ Karras, *Common Women*, 131.

⁸ Gordon Williams, 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature 3, Q - Z*. (London: Athlone Press), 1496, 1466, 1257, 1303, 1446, 1449.

⁹ Karras, 131.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11; Shannon McSheffrey, 2006. *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 176.

¹² Whore, v. Oxford English Dictionary, Second edition, 1989; online version November 2010. <<http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/228781>>; accessed 20 January 2011.

extramarital sexual intercourse.¹³ It is this term that embodies the conception of medieval sexual immorality most concisely, though Karras oscillates between the terms “common woman” and “whore” in her work, depending on the context and the perceived availability of the woman in question.¹⁴ Calling someone a “whore” as a method of social defamation and censure was not strictly limited to accusations of sexual immorality. The word “whore” also served as a general term of condemnation that might not relate to an individual’s sexual identity at all.¹⁵ The application of the whore label to a woman who violated social, behavioural and gender norms was frequent and had severe consequences for the woman involved.¹⁶ Karras’s argument centres on the fact that a sexual identity that was not pure became the fundamental distinction between good and bad women, and that the treatment of sexually loose women did not discriminate between the paid and the unpaid.¹⁷ Those who faced prosecution and censure did so because their behaviour disrupted the moral boundaries of the medieval community and demonstrated unacceptable sexual behaviour to other women.¹⁸

Comparatively, the term “harlot” was highly fluid, and was often applied to both men and women.¹⁹ “Harlot” is perhaps one of the most ambiguous terms traditionally denoting sexual licentiousness. The OED lists the definition of an “unchaste woman; a prostitute; a strumpet” as only the fifth possible meaning of the word, and notes that this particular use was most frequent in sixteenth-century translations of the Bible.²⁰ The first

¹³ Whore, v. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second edition, 1989; online version November 2010. <<http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/228781>>; accessed 20 January 2011.

¹⁴ Karras, *Common Women*, 11-12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁹ McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, 177.

²⁰ Harlot, n. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second edition, 1989. March 2011.

definition actually lists “A vagabond, beggar, rogue, rascal, villain, low fellow, knave”, and emphasizes that not until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did it develop a meaning of “a man of loose life, a fornicator; also, often, a mere term of opprobrium or insult” that was primarily applied to a male.²¹ This definition highlights the public aspect of the offence inherent in the meaning of the term “harlot”, especially as the meanings of vagrancy and criminal activity appear before the meaning of sexual incontinence. The OED also links the term “tomboy” to “harlot,” as a “bold or immodest woman,” and cites the Shakespearean definition from *Cymbeline* (1609)... of a “a girle or wench that leaps up and down like a boy.”²² This gender bending in a public arena is interesting considering its definitional ties to the term “harlot,” originally a male noun, and highlights the term’s general connotation of public disorder implied by its application to a woman.²³

Another key term that appears frequently in the literature and court records of the period is “bawd.” The term “bawd” is defined as the facilitator of sexual intercourse between two individuals, often a whore and customer, but also encompassed those individuals who provided locations for illicit sexual congress between lovers.²⁴ The OED situates the first certain uses of the term in the fourteenth century, and defines bawd as “One employed in pandering to sexual debauchery; a procurer or procuress; *orig.* in a more general sense, and in the majority of passages masculine, a ‘go-between,’ a pander; since *c*1700 only feminine, and applied to a procuress, or a woman keeping a place of

<<http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/84255>>; accessed 28 April 2011.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* 3, Q-Z, 1401.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Karras, *Common Women*, 73.

prostitution.”²⁵ For example, Richard Dod was convicted as a bawd in 1407 for accepting a bribe of forty pence from his wife’s lover for not reporting the adultery of his wife Margaret with the chaplain Sir William Langford.²⁶ The record states that Richard Dod served three hours in the pillory, though there is no record of the punishment of the chaplain and Dod’s wife.²⁷ In a document from 1573 David Chalmer, the go-between of the earl of Bothwell and Mary Stuart, is described by William Cecil as a “bawd” for his participation in Bothwell’s “naughty practices and attempts” and his offering of his residence as a location in which Mary Queen of Scots and Bothwell could “exercise their filthiness.”²⁸

These terms form the basic lexicon with which the early modern English addressed sexual deviance, and they shifted in response to changes in their legal, commercial, and cultural treatment. Over the course of the early modern period the perception of female sexual vice and the labeling of its transgressors changed slightly, but the fundamental ideas of sexual morality remained the same. It is my argument that Karras’s thesis of a binary division between chaste and unchaste women in medieval England is actually applicable to the whole of the early modern period. While the term ‘prostitute’ did emerge over this period, and while a distinction between the paid and the unpaid began to take shape, the overarching divide between chaste and the unchaste women remained dominant. When referring to women engaging in transactional and non-

²⁵ Bawd, n.1 Oxford English Dictionary, Second edition, 1989; online version March 2011.

<<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/Entry/16346>>; accessed 29 April 2011.

²⁶ “Folios cclxxxvi - ccxc: Convictions for Immorality, 1400-1439.” in *Calendar of Letter-Books: Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall*. [9], *Letter-Book I: circa A.D. 1400-1422*. Ed. Reginald R. Sharpe. London: Francis, 1909: 273-287.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ “Cecil Papers: February 1573.” *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 2: 1572-1582*, 44-47. *British History Online*. Accessed 23 November 2011 from <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=109821>,

transactional sex, I have endeavoured to use terms that represent the activity as accurately as possible within the historical context. I have attempted to avoid the problematic term “prostitute” as much as possible, since it misrepresents the identity of sexually delinquent women and women engaging in transactional sex. Furthermore, as Karras argues, it places present day definitions and differentiations onto a group whose identity to an earlier English public was much more complex and ambiguous than the term “prostitute” allows.²⁹ Though technically more accurate in its portrayal of conceptions of female sexual immorality, the term “whore” is also difficult, and its use in the modern parlance is still fundamentally pejorative. I do use the term “whore” at times throughout the thesis, where an alternative does not sufficiently represent the sentiments being expressed by the primary sources. In all other cases I have attempted to use more guarded language, such as “woman engaging in transactional sex”, “common woman”, and “sexual delinquent”, depending on the context. While some of this terminology is not technically neutral, I have tried to use terms that accurately display the censure of the late medieval and early modern English against unchaste women, without resorting to phrases that have overly pejorative tones today.

This thesis does not deal substantively with the religious and political elements of prostitution in the early modern period. Cultural ties between Catholicism and sexual immorality in the post-Reformation era, as well as the polemical use of pornography as a political and religious tool to attack marginalized groups, have been dealt with extensively and comprehensively by other historians, including Francis Dolan, Martin

²⁹ Karras, *Common Women*, 10-11.

Ingram, Paul Griffiths, Elizabeth Kubek, and Lynn Hunt.³⁰ This study focuses instead on the commercial and cultural aspects of the early modern sex trade and more general sexual deviance to examine the developing divisions between transactional and non-transactional sex. The intersection of this linguistic and social transition with the increasing commercialization and commodification of transactional sex during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has also been examined. In order to accomplish this, my thesis traces the etymological evolution of terms such as “prostitute” and “whore” and their use in the courts, literature and society of early modern England. Through an investigation of how changing etymology, legal treatment, and cultural and commercial associations indicate changing attitudes, this work attempts to present a comprehensive examination of the changing perceptions of women’s illicit sex in the early modern period. This thesis argues that despite the impact of commercial capitalism on the understanding of transactional sex, as well as complicating factors of class and identity during periods of conflict such as the Restoration, the chastity binary displayed in medieval ideas of sexual immorality endured well into the early modern period.

The English witnessed widespread change in the period between 1450 and 1750. The Reformation, increases in immigration, the development of commercial capitalism, and events like the English civil wars and the Restoration all played a role in shaping the social environment and anxieties of the time.³¹ Ian W. Archer emphasizes that the

³⁰ Frances E. Dolan, 1999. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, gender, and seventeenth-century print culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Paul Griffiths, 2008. *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550-1660*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Lynn, Hunt. 1993. *The Invention of pornography: obscenity and the origins of modernity, 1500-1800*. New York: Zone Books; Martin Ingram, 1987. *Church courts, sex, and marriage in England, 1570-1640*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press; E. Kubek, 2010. "All whores are Jacobites': Terror, book, and body in the writings of John Dunton". *Eighteenth Century*. 51 (4): 451-470.

³¹ Ian W. Archer, 1991. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. (London: Cambridge University Press), 204.

willingness of the early modern English to believe in and fear the “counter culture” of the period is emblematic of a belief in “binary polarities,” which Archer identifies as “characteristic of the age.”³² The late medieval and early modern English viewed illicit sex in close association with other elements of social disorder and crime, and believed that brothels would harbour not only sex workers but also debtors.³³ Carol Kazmierczak Manzione argues that the medieval connection between illicit sex and other crimes “carried the potential for the breakdown of good order” and was “symbolic and symptomatic of London’s uneasy transition from a medieval city to a world commercial centre. The correlation was clear: illicit sex equals crime, especially beggary and thievery.”³⁴ These fears and anxieties influenced early modern conceptions of crime, religion, and, most important for the purposes of this thesis, sexual deviance and transactional sex. Over the course of the early modern period in England, conceptions of who or what signified a whore shifted. Building on a medieval binary classification³⁵ of whore or non-whore, chaste and unchaste, a spectrum of sexual deviance eventually developed that differentiated not only between paid and unpaid sex but also observed a hierarchical structure of cost and quality within the boundaries of transactional sex. However, this shift was very gradual. Throughout the late medieval and much of the early modern period in England, there was no real distinction between varieties of female

³² Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 205.

³³ Carol Kazmierczak Manzione, 1996. “Sex in Tudor London: Abusing Their Bodies with Each Other”, in *Desire and discipline: sex and sexuality in the premodern West*. Jacqueline Murray, and Konrad Eisenbichler, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 90.

³⁴ Manzione, 238. This association was of course in part based on experience, as beadles or other members of the night watch often caught sex workers when they tried to rob their clients.

³⁵ Archer, 204.

sexual deviance, especially between paid and unpaid sex.³⁶ When defining sexual deviance, they used a multitude of terms that all meant essentially the same thing: whore.

In arguing this thesis, I draw heavily upon the insights of Karras's book, and extend them into the early modern period. Karras's work on medieval common women has been recognized among medieval historians, but her theories seem not to have fully pervaded works on early modern sexuality. In her recent book on early modern Dutch perspectives on transactional sex, for example, Lotte Van de Pol employs a classical definition of paid sex in her book *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (2011).³⁷ She argues: "Simply put, prostitution is sex for money. The oldest legal definition, from the late-Roman Codex Justinianus, states that a prostitute (meretrix) is a woman who provides sexual services for money (pecunia accepta) both publicly (palam omnibus) and indiscriminately (sine dilectu)."³⁸ She argues that the common availability of women engaging in transactional sex is a fundamental aspect of the occupation, though she places more emphasis on the financial and sexual exchange inherent in the practice.³⁹ She does note that the Dutch definition is more ambiguous, and suggests that "[a]nyone looking for references to prostitution in older sources will encounter mainly the terms hoererij (whoring or whoredom) and hoer (whore)."⁴⁰ She also notes "the latter occurs in all kinds of compound words and expressions, including whorehouse, street whore, whoremonger, to play the whore, and to allow oneself to be used as a whore."⁴¹

³⁶ Karras, 1996. *Common Women*, 12.

³⁷ Lotte Van de Pol, 2011. *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

In comparison, Laura J. Rosenthal argues that prostitution “took on its modern form” during the early modern period. Rosenthal suggests that historians such as Tony Henderson, Randolph Trumbach, and Judith Walkowitz have all established this shift in their work, though she acknowledges that they use a variety of terms and arguments to discuss and define transactional sex.⁴² She argues that groups like the Reformation of Manners societies that attempted to reform sex workers “sentimentalized” them in the public imagination and “set them apart from other women.”⁴³ Rosenthal’s suggestion of this increasingly compassionate viewpoint is correct, but the differentiation between common women and the rest of female society had arguably occurred well before the early modern period.

Before this investigation of terminology can proceed, an introductory examination of how the early modern English perceived and reacted to sexual immorality and transactional sex in early modern London must be undertaken. As the country’s capital city and the centre of commercial, legal, and cultural activity, London serves as an excellent signpost for the moods and perceptions of the early modern English population. Focusing this work on London specifically has also set a manageable boundary for the research and scope of this project. London’s development as a “documented city” in which a person’s name, occupation, religion, economic status, and home address were increasingly recorded makes it an easily examined city.⁴⁴ London’s many records, already made publically available by modern historians, provide a convenient and fairly centralized set of secular court sources from which to draw. As the centre of publishing in

⁴² Laura J. Rosenthal, 2006. *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*. (London: Cornell University Press), 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Paul Griffiths, 2008. *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 191.

early modern England, print sources manufactured and sold in London by profit conscious publishers may be assumed to be representative of popular attitudes in the city. The frequent use of satire, hyperbole, and conjecture in the “non-fiction” tracts of the period and, as Laura J. Rosenthal notes, the fluid division between fact and fancy in allegedly true accounts and biographies make it difficult unilaterally to separate fiction from non-fiction.⁴⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, I have divided print sources based on their genre, and have grouped satirical, moral, and polemical tracts in the third chapter, and have placed ephemeral print intended to entertain, where biography, and theatrical works in the fourth chapter.

The chapter following the introduction of this thesis focuses on the interaction of sexual deviance and the law in late medieval and early modern England. Though there were sanctions, regulations, and limitations on practice, the actual act of selling sex in late medieval England was not technically illegal.⁴⁶ The district of Southwark housed the “stews” and served as the major red light district for the London area, consolidating the majority of brothels in one area of the city.⁴⁷ Authorities occasionally closed brothels and bawdy houses in periods of suppression or due to plague throughout the late medieval period, but emphasis was typically placed on controlling, not eradicating the stews.⁴⁸ Beadles and night watchmen performed most of the policing of the brothels and illicit sexuality in the city, conducting raids on known establishments and arresting those

⁴⁵ Laura J. Rosenthal, 2008. *Nightwalkers: Prostitute Narratives from the Eighteenth century*. (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press), xxvi.

⁴⁶Melissa Mowry, 2008. “London’s Bridewell: Violence, Prostitution, and Questions of Evidence” in Joseph P. Ward’s *Violence, Politics, and Gender in Early Modern England*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 212.

⁴⁷Henry Ansgar Kelly. 2000. “Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd in the Stews of Southwark”, *Speculum*, (Vol. 75, No. 2 Apr., pp. 342-388), 342.

⁴⁸ John Noorthouck, "Book 3, Ch. 1: Southwark," *A New History of London: Including Westminster and Southwark*. British History Online. Accessed 10 December 2010 from <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46773&strquery=Henry II AND bawdy>.

engaging in lewd behaviour on the street.⁴⁹ Henry VIII closed the stews for the last time in 1546 due to plague.⁵⁰ Bridewell Hospital was established shortly afterwards by Edward VI in 1552-1553, and quickly became known as a location of punishment and reform for common women and other female sexual delinquents.⁵¹ As will be outlined more fully in the next chapter, Bridewell Hospital played a huge role in the prosecution of both paid and unpaid illicit sex in the early modern period.

Through an examination of the Bridewell and Old Bailey records for a select number of years over the course of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, I have tracked the terminology used to describe transactional and non-transactional illicit sex and its actors in the early modern English court system and society. Paul Griffiths has undertaken a similar quantitative search in his examination of labels used in the Bridewell court records, but has not specifically or extensively addressed changes in the definition or use of the term “prostitute” or its synonyms in the English court system.⁵² Examining the development of names used to identify individuals within early modern society is key to the study of the changing definition and labeling of illicit sex. This

⁴⁹Dolly Jørgensen 2010. “All Good Rule of the Citee”: Sanitation and Civic Government in England, 1400-1600,” *Journal of Urban History*.36 (3): 300-15, 303; Frank Rexroth, 2007. *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 27, 63-64, 67-68. Rexroth outlines the primary responsibilities of bealdes as medieval street police who served to apprehend and inform on social and sexual delinquency throughout the town or village. The duties of the bealdes included keeping the peace in the streets at night, and recording and reporting on incidents of marital infidelity, violent encounters, and the activities of the local “*malefactores, bordelarii* and *meretrices*.” The bealdes were crucial as informants and enforcers not only to the central courts of the city but also to the heads of the wards.

⁵⁰ Mowry, “London’s Bridewell”, 106.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁵² Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660*, 195-196. Griffiths lists the term “vagrant” as appearing 24,054 times throughout the Bridewell court books. Griffiths also notes the brief “shelf life” of the Bridewell vocabulary, arguing that the only terms that consistently appeared throughout the court books until 1658 were “beggar, cutpurse, idle, lewd, pilferer, receiver, rogue, suspicious, and unruly.” Griffiths adds that if the “street slang” of the depositions of ecclesiastical courts is included in this count, very common use of the terms “bad, bawd, bitch, harlot, idle, knave, lewd, light, loose, slut, thief, unruly, and vagabond” is also evident.

project has attempted to expand upon Griffith's combination of court records and literary sources to examine the broader period of approximately 1450-1750, in order to encompass the transition from late medieval and early modern definitions of illicit sex to a more settled definition of transactional sex in the mid-eighteenth century. I have undertaken a close inspection of the Bridewell, Old Bailey, and other available court records to attempt to quantify and track the uses of terms such as "prostitute", "whore", "bawd", and "common woman", and have examined the duration and frequency with which the early modern legal system used these words. Where possible, I have taken into account variations in spelling and usage, particularly while examining the text-searchable databases. The findings from this study suggest a consolidation of terminology in the court records over the early modern period and a gradual division between those who were indiscriminately available and those who were not. However, by 1750 there is no clear and direct association of common women with paid sex in these records.

The following chapter of this project examines the emerging market forces working on the sex industry, as well as the increased conception of transactional sex as a commercial venture for profit. In examining a selection of non-fiction sources including moral tracts, polemics, and satirical works that discuss and debate illicit sex, this chapter showcases a developing commercial conception of transactional sex as different from unpaid sexual immorality. It also documents associations made between illicit sex and the centres of commercial and social activity embodied in the New, Royal, and Middle Exchanges. William C. Baer notes that the shopping centres of the late seventeenth century were places of "entertainment and 'destination locations.'"⁵³ The presence of

⁵³ William C. Baer, 2007. "Early Retailing: London's Shopping Exchanges, 1550-1700." *Business History*, 49 (1): 29-30.

high numbers of female customers, shopkeepers, and assistants at the Royal Exchange and the New Exchange, and the societal hesitancy regarding women in the public sphere gave these shopping centres a “questionable reputation.”⁵⁴ The Middle Exchange in particular acquired a reputation as a “whore’s nest”, where attractive and sexually available shop girls and customers engaged in inappropriate sexual interactions.⁵⁵ Shop girls were often perceived to have “as much mind to dispose of themselves as the commodities they dealt in.”⁵⁶ Samuel Pepys was famously known to have gone to the Royal Exchange and New Exchange to solicit young women.⁵⁷

The moral tracts, polemics, and satires of the period oscillate between advocating the repression of transactional sex, and arguing for the regulation of sex workers operating in early modern cities. Regardless of their views on illicit sex, the majority of these authors utilized specific commercial language that identified the act of paid sex as a product and sex workers as commodities. Though this process had not culminated in the regular use of the term “prostitute” by 1750, this transactional classification had its roots in the rise of commercial capitalism. By the mid-seventeenth century, it is clear that commercialization had influenced the language with which the early modern English addressed the sex trade and its participants. Bernard Mandeville’s *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews* (1724) divides transactional sex workers into categories based on cost and quality, and advocates a state-supported brothel system that would not only meet the sexual needs of the male population, but also would also protect and separate chaste

⁵⁴ Baer, “Early Retailing”, 32.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁷ Linda Levy Peck, 2005. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 59.

women from already spoiled sexual deviants.⁵⁸ The writings featured in this chapter demonstrate that despite the commercial development in conceptions of transactional sex, the fundamental division between chaste and unchaste women remains clear in the moral tracts, polemic, and satire of the period.

The following chapter examines the portrayal of sexually illicit and immoral women in the fiction and entertainment literature of the early modern period. Whore biography, theatrical works, and bawdy tracts demonstrate the influence of developing commercial capitalism on the representation of sexual immorality in early modern England. Comparisons of sexually immoral women to ships, and transactional sex to commercial maritime trade, as well as references to female genitalia as a “commodity” both feature in fictional portrayals of transactional sex workers. This chapter next demonstrates the high level of class and identity anxiety held by the early modern population through an investigation of cross-class dressing and the sexual immorality associated with female deception and the transgression of social boundaries. I argue that this emphasis on class and sexual identification is a continuation of medieval chastity binaries designed to separate sexually immoral women both visually and socially from the rest of society.

This intense concern over sexual and class identity hinges not only on the increased ability of the middle class to purchase luxury goods and clothing in the advent of commercial capitalism, but also on the fear of this new ability by the upper classes. The fear that the trappings of finery would allow immoral women to infiltrate the upper

⁵⁸Bernard Mandeville, Phil-Porney, Harry Mordaunt, Luke Ogle, and George Ogle, 1740. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, or, An Essay Upon Whoring: As It Is Now Practis'd in These Kingdoms*. (London: Printed for T. Read, in Dogwell-Court White-Fryars, Fleet-street).

ranks of society, as well as more general worries surrounding social mixing, also factor in these anxieties. As extensions of medieval chastity binaries, denunciations of the concealment of class and sexual identity were designed to segregate unchaste or lower class women from the rest of moral, wealthy society. Melissa Mowry argues “it was the whore’s ability to pass as something other than her degraded social status that most unnerved late Stuart culture. It meant that she could be virtually anyone, anytime, anywhere-that she always threatened to disrupt the smooth circulation of power.”⁵⁹ Finally, this chapter argues that despite the impact of commercialization on the conception of paid sex, the enduring relevance of the chastity binary discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis remains very clear. Newly concentrated concerns about class and sexual identity represent a new facet to this chastity concern, but they augment rather than replace the traditional binary.

The intersection of economic, linguistic, and cultural change requires scrutiny to understand the perceptions of illicit sex and the sex trade in early modern England. Through an investigation of sources ranging from secular court records to a selection of contemporary literature and theatre, legal statutes, pamphlets, and bawdy tracts, I have attempted to establish the framework within which the terms denoting sexual immorality and transactional sex were used, and have tried to present a comprehensive view of linguistic and social transitions. Conceptions of ties between sex and money, publically available “common women,” and contracts of financial and sexual exclusivity between sex worker and client have borne particular scrutiny. The goal of this thesis, to track and

⁵⁹ Melissa M. Mowry, 2004. *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution*. (Hants, Hampshire, England: Ashgate), 66. It should be clarified here that the writers of the period did not view all immoral women as being of a low class, as mistresses and transactional sex workers originated from all levels of society.

determine what caused the change that redefined illicit sexual intercourse as a commodity to be purchased rather than a non-monetary illicit exchange, will add to the research begun by historians like Paul Griffiths, Linda Levy Peck, Tony Henderson and Ruth Mazo Karras, among others. This project has attempted to combine the economic, literary and judicial focuses of these authors. Though the development of a monetized and commercial capitalist system appears to have contributed to the development of a clear definition of “prostitute” as a seller of sex for monetary profit, the full manifestation of this change is not evident by 1750, and the early modern “whore” remains fundamentally the same as her medieval counterpart.

CHAPTER 2 "GIVING NOT GOOD ACCOUNT" OF THEMSELVES: POLICING SEXUAL IMMORALITY IN BRIDEWELL, THE OLD BAILEY, AND STATUTES

The study of prostitution in the early modern period in England is fundamentally a study in ambiguity. Technically legal but prosecuted in practice, the sale of sex was similar to general whoredom in its actors, laws, and perceptions. That a binary distinction existed between whores and non-whores in the minds of the early modern English is evident not only in the all-encompassing nature of early modern sexual morality legislation, but also in the terminology it used. Though court records used a variety of terms to describe illicit sex, none of them specified a difference between paid and unpaid sex, nor is there any indication in the court records that the early modern English perceived them as different.

An introductory examination of how sexual deviance interacted with the law in late-medieval and early modern London is imperative. Both Paul Griffiths and Tony Henderson note that difficulties in effective prosecution were partly related to the deficiency of laws that dealt specifically with illicit sex. Henderson emphasizes that "prostitution fitted precariously into laws aimed at 'Roberdesmen, Wastors, and Draw-latches' (varieties of thief) [*sic*], 'Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars.'⁶⁰ Contemporaries believed that illicit sex was an entry into a criminal life, and that "whoring is succeeded by robbery, as offenders "began the inevitable descent to the fatal

⁶⁰Tony Henderson, 1999. *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830*. (London and New York: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd), 76.

Tyburn tree.”⁶¹ However, the lack of an absolute ban on whoring, and its inclusion in laws curtailing disruptive crimes against property and the community peace make clear two things. First, there was no clarity about the difference between a general “whore” and what modern parlance would call a “prostitute.” Second, when prosecutions were made, they targeted a combination of sexual deviance and disturbance of the peace. Just as medieval laws regulating dress make clear that common women, whores, and those who engaged in transactional sex operated within the city on a semi legal basis, the early modern regulations that did exist put the emphasis on hiding immorality and prosecuting those who disrupted the façade of a moral Christian patriarchy.⁶² It was the public display of women’s sexual offences that was targeted, not their actual occurrence.

Once a woman was known to have engaged in extramarital sex, her public identity was fundamentally and permanently changed. Ruth Mazo Karras emphasizes that while it was considered immoral for a man to pay for a “whore”, an unmarried woman who engaged in extramarital sex “became a whore”, regardless of whether or not she was paid.⁶³ Karras argues that this unilateral position on female sexuality and chastity in the medieval period served to control and confine women, and that medieval regulation of illicit sex purposefully stigmatized and segregated common women to prevent their sexual contamination of the chaste women of society.⁶⁴ This segregation also served to highlight sexually available women, whose “commonness” meant that they were

⁶¹Paul Griffiths, 1993. “The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London”, *Continuity and Change*, 8 (1), 41.

⁶²Ruth Mazo Karras, 1996. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England. Studies in the History of Sexuality*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 15. “In the fourteenth century the city of London tried at least to segregate whores, prohibiting them the city except for one street (Cock’s Lane), banishing them to the area of the stews or bathhouses in Southwark, outside the city proper, and punishing them with the forfeiture of their hoods and upper garments. The justification of this 1393 ordinance was to prevent crime and the disruption of public order.”

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 137-138.

universally available to medieval men.⁶⁵ Karras notes that because these women were available to all, the medieval English believed that they were unable to refuse consent and therefore could not be raped.⁶⁶ The late medieval English definition adhered to a system of binary female sexual identity, and the classification of correct and incorrect sexual activity was divided into sexuality within marriage and sexuality outside marriage.⁶⁷ A woman who engaged in extramarital sex for any reason could be labeled a “whore” and face prosecution.⁶⁸

However, it was the public appearance of socially dissident behaviour and openly illicit sex that warranted public attention and prosecution. If sexual delinquency was successfully conducted in private, then open denial of social norms did not exist, and people could not face prosecution for a crime committed in secret.⁶⁹ Karras’s reference to medieval theologian Thomas of Chobham’s assertion that “If someone sells herself in secret, she is not called a whore” is indicative of the medieval conception of whoredom as a public offence.⁷⁰ Karras emphasizes that the act of controlling, regulating and exposing the medieval common woman served to punish her for her licentiousness and public offence and place her firmly at the bottom of moral society.⁷¹ As Karras argues, the reputation of any woman who was not the property of a father, husband, or master

⁶⁵ Karras, *Common Women*, 34; Cristine M. Varholy, 2008. ““Rich Like a Lady”: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London.” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. 8 (1): 4-34, 10.

⁶⁶ Karras, 34, 2

⁶⁷ Ibid. 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 3, 13.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 31.

was in question.⁷² By labeling the woman in question a whore, the status of a single woman as the property of no man changed. She became the property of the courts.⁷³

Over the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, the definition of what constituted a prosecutable sexual offence changed. Sexually dissident women, once an amorphous group that had included women engaging in transactional sex (generally lewd women, fornicators, and adulterers), splintered. In the late medieval period, those who committed public offences had been punished; those whose offences were private or domestic were not prosecuted or were left to the purview of the ecclesiastical courts.⁷⁴ Over the course of the early modern period, however, a shift occurred towards the prosecution of those who were available to all. Though no clear or frequent mentions of monetary transactions are evident in the court records, a gradual differentiation between types of whoredom emerged over the course of the period between 1450 and 1750. The records of the Bridewell Hospital and the Old Bailey, and the legislation used to prosecute sexual immorality in these venues offer evidence of a gradual reduction in charges of adultery and fornication, and a consolidation of criminal sexual offences under the label “nightwalker.”

Though there were sanctions, regulations, and limitations on practice, the actual act of selling sex in late medieval England was not technically illegal.⁷⁵ Medieval municipal laws dictated that whores operating in the city be clearly identifiable through

⁷² Karras, *Common Women*, 31.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, 1998. *Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370-1600*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 70.

⁷⁵ Melissa Mowry, 2008. “London’s Bridewell: Violence, Prostitution, and Questions of Evidence” in Joseph P. Ward’s *Violence, Politics, and Gender in Early Modern England*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 212.

the wearing of the ubiquitous striped hood.⁷⁶ Medieval laws pertaining to common women operated on the identification of a woman by a jury of presentment or her neighbours as a whore.⁷⁷ The collective antagonism of a community was enough to label a woman and prosecute her.⁷⁸ Karras argues that the legal treatment of whores within the city limits emphasized control and regulation of sexual immorality more than its total abolition.⁷⁹ In 1474 the mayor of London issued an injunction for “sharp Correction on Venus servauntys, and cawsid theym to be Garnysshid & attyried with Raye hodys, and to be shewid abowth the Cyte with theyr mynstralsy beffore theym...and sparid noon ffor mede nor ffor ffavour.”⁸⁰ This dictated not only the required uniform but also the treatment common women risked if they were caught practicing their trade in secret. Medieval regulations also demanded that whores not attempt to keep their activities “privee” and be “seyn every day for what they be.”⁸¹ The insistence on the public display of whoredom to differentiate and stigmatize the actions of common women was crucial to society’s identification and “othering” of them. Whores were also forbidden to engage in aggressive solicitation, and were not to touch a man passing on the street or distract him by making a “countenance” at him.⁸²

Despite regulations governing the dress and behaviour of common women, medieval authorities often struggled to enforce these rules.⁸³ The complexities surrounding the application of laws regulating sexual immorality in England can be

⁷⁶ Karras, *Common Women*, 21.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; Mowry, “London’s Bridewell”, 210.

⁸⁰ Ian W. Archer, 1991. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. (London: Cambridge University Press), 250.

⁸¹ Martha Carlin, 1996. *Medieval Southwark*. (London: Hambledon Press), 215.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ E. J. Burford, 1976. *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels, c. 100-1675*. (London: Peter Owen Limited), 89.

demonstrated in medieval Southwark, the district of medieval London that housed the stews and served as the major red light district for the London area.⁸⁴ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh notes that jurisdictional problems between church and secular courts often complicated the enforcement of sexual norms, and violations of sexual morality under church law did not always constitute a secular offence.⁸⁵ Prosecution of sexual activities in the stews may also have been complicated by the fact that many properties in the Southwark stews were owned and leased by church authorities and upper class merchants.⁸⁶ It is not difficult to imagine the financial and ethical complications of the church prosecuting its tenants or admitting to housing brothels. The stews, moreover, were beyond the limits of the city of London, and therefore city officials were legally unable to govern in those areas.⁸⁷ Attempts at suppressing the activities of the stews focused on reducing the ability of Londoners to access the stews and limiting the activities of the stews that put them in contact with Londoners.⁸⁸ The attempts of authorities to legislate outside their jurisdiction were deeply unpopular and difficult to enforce, and the inhabitants of the stews met even Henry IV's mandate for the removal of rotting animal carcasses and excrement from the streets of Southwark with anger.⁸⁹

While whores, bawds and common women faced censure from the church and other authorities, the obstacles inherent in suppressing solicitation, including the aforementioned jurisdictional problems, and ambiguities in its very definition made the

⁸⁴Henry Ansgar Kelly. 2000. "Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd in the Stews of Southwark", *Speculum*, 75 (2): 342-388, 342.

⁸⁵Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, 1998. *Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370-1600*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 70.

⁸⁶Martha Carlin, 1996. *Medieval Southwark*. (London: Hambledon Press), 224.

⁸⁷Ibid. 213.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹E. J. Burford, 1976. *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels, C. 100-1675*. (London: Peter Owen Limited), 89.

stews difficult to regulate and restrain effectively.⁹⁰ In 1433, a parliament of Henry VI issued a statute that addressed the difficulties that the stews of Southwark posed to the public of London. The statute demonstrates not only the medieval conflation of criminal and sexual deviance, but also the associations of taverns with common women and the risk common women posed to the safety and well being of the medieval community at large. The statute reads:

FIRST, Forasmuch as our said Sovereign Lord the King, at the grievous Complaint to him made by his said Commons in the same Parliament, hath conceived, that divers Persons of great Poverty, without Conscience and of an evil Governance, now and late dwelling in a Place suspected, called the Stews, in the Borough of South-wark, in the County of Surrey, as well by the Receipt of common Women, Thieves, Mankillers, and Adul- terers [sic], as by Murders and privy Robberies... Persons suspected inhabit them in common Hosteries [sic] and Taverns in the Highway of the same Borough, there receiving Thieves, common Women, and other Mis- doers...to avoid Murders, Robberies, and Adulteries that might by likelihood happen It is ordained, That no such Person, which hath (1) dwelled at the said Stews, be suffered to hold any common Hostery [sic] or Tavern in (2) other Place within the said Borough of Southwark, but only at the said Stews; And that the Justices of the Peace in the same Country shall have Power to inquire of all them that hold Hosteries [sic] and Taverns, and them to punish by Fine and Ransom, and by Imprisonment of their Bodies, after the Discretion of the said Justices.⁹¹

The statute mentions the “receipt of common Women” by the stews and a desire to prevent “adulteries”, but makes no clear distinction between adulterers and “common women.” Furthermore, there is no distinction between women who charged for sexual services and those who were merely indiscriminately available. Nowhere is there a reference to anyone who could be positively identified as a “prostitute” by any modern definition. More apparent is the association of common women with other criminals in the area, and their inclusion in the definition of individuals “of great Poverty, without

⁹⁰ Tony Henderson, 1999. *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830*. (London and New York: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd), 76.

⁹¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. 2 [1377-1504]. Searchable Text Edition. Burlington: Tanner Ritchie Publishing & The University of St Andrews, 2007), 278-279.

Conscience and of an evil Governance.” Jeremy Goldberg emphasizes that it was the noisy and public fashion in which common women operated that was disruptive to the medieval community.⁹² Ian W. Archer makes note of an early modern Lime Street bawdy house open so close to the London mayor’s residence at the Guildhall that it attracted negative attention when its operations were loud enough that “my lord mayor hard the noyse! [sic]”⁹³ Efforts by the authorities to label sexual offences as disruptive to the community at large are evident in descriptions of sexually incontinent individuals, particularly women, as well as the alleged ability of a whore’s sexual power to destroy men morally, physically, and financially.⁹⁴ Common women and adulterers were socially disruptive both to the established gender hierarchy and to the keeping of the peace.

This emphasis on punishing the disruptive is evident in the prosecution records throughout the late medieval and early modern periods. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh provides the example of a Surrey woman named Marian Bocher who faced charges in 1434 for being “a common whore who illegally keeps in her house a common tavern at all hours of the night.”⁹⁵ Bocher’s disruption of the peace was probably contributed to her prosecution, as associations of brothels and taverns with community disruption and social dysfunction were well entrenched, and such establishments were louder and more public

⁹²Jeremy P. Goldberg, 1999. “Pigs and Prostitutes: Streetwalking in Comparative Perspective”, in *Young Medieval Women*, eds. Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips. (New York: St. Martin's Press), 173-174.

⁹³ Ian W. Archer, 1991. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press), 211.

⁹⁴ Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour in England*, 71. ; Sophie Carter, 2004. *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture*. (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate), 53, 62.

⁹⁵ Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz. 1997. *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 161; Reginald R. Sharpe, 1907. *Calendar of Letter-Books: Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall. [8], Letter-Book H: circa A.D. 1375 - 1399*. (London: Francis), 176.

than the privately operating whorehouses.⁹⁶ However, the difficulties of apprehending individual whores were occasionally lessened by chance. Katherine Nash, who was found guilty of being a “common harlot” in 1684, seems to have had the misfortune of having her partner die during their sexual encounter, and is listed as “being the same Person that was found in Bed with Francis Harris Esq.; at the Pewter Platter in Soper-lane the Night he died.”⁹⁷

The number of stews in Southwark grew quickly, from seven brothels in 1381 to eighteen in 1506.⁹⁸ Many of the medieval regulations governing the stews sought to regulate, not eradicate their operation. The laws first enacted by Henry II emphasized limitation and control. According to the Elizabethan chronicler John Stow, “single women” or whores were to come and go from the brothels at will, and stew holders were forbidden to hold a woman hostage if she wanted to “leave her sinne.”⁹⁹ Women were not to charge a man for sex unless they spent the entire night with him, nor were men to be “drawne or inticed into any stewhouse.”¹⁰⁰ Laws forbade nuns or any wife from operating in the brothels.¹⁰¹ In addition to singling out women who belonged to the church or to a man, regulations forbade those with the “perilious infirmitie of burning” from living or working in the Southward stews.¹⁰² These “single women” also

⁹⁶ Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 53.

⁹⁷ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 29 March 2011), September 1684, trial of Katherine Nash (t16840903-49).

⁹⁸ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 213.

⁹⁹ John Stow, 1598. *A Survey of London: Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate, and Description of that Citie, Written in the Year 1598*. (London) STC (2nd ed.) / 23342, 331.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 332.

existed outside the community of the Church, were buried in the “single woman’s Churchyard”, and were denied last rites.¹⁰³

The activities of common women occupied ambiguous territory in the medieval city, as they were both socially reviled and semi-regulated by authorities. The antagonism of the authorities towards common women was exercised through a program of public humiliation and consequences for transgressive behaviour.¹⁰⁴ Public shaming of whores in the late medieval period had specific procedures for first and subsequent offences, including exposure to public ridicule, the forced parade of a convicted woman through the streets, the shaving of hair, and eventual banishment from the city limits.¹⁰⁵ Melissa Mowry agrees with Karras that the mandate that common women wear specific costumes of “rayed” or striped hoods indicates quite clearly that whoring was at least tolerated in part within the confines of the city.¹⁰⁶ In addition, she agrees that fines against “professional” rather than occasional common women served more as a “licensing fee,” and that public shaming rituals dissuaded only occasional or casual whores.¹⁰⁷ For the true “professional” these activities may even have functioned as free advertising.

Once a woman was publically identified as a whore or common woman, the likelihood of her successful employment in another occupation in the same location was extremely low.¹⁰⁸ Goldberg notes that many openly known common women operating within a village or city were viewed as foreigners by the community, a likely factor in their inability to get other work in medieval communities that put so much importance on

¹⁰³ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 332.

¹⁰⁴ Karras, *Common Women*, 15.

¹⁰⁵ Goldberg, “Pigs and Prostitutes”, 174.

¹⁰⁶ Mowry, “London’s Bridewell”, 210.

¹⁰⁷ Karras, 15, 22; Mowry, 210.

¹⁰⁸ Frank Rexroth, 2007. *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 313-314.

the reputation and familiarity of an individual within society.¹⁰⁹ Lochrie *et al* argue that common medieval practices that forbade whores from touching fruit in the marketplace lest they pollute it, or the use of mandatory dress markers like “rayed” or stripped hoods served to identify and isolate the bawd and whore from the rest of medieval society.¹¹⁰

Whores were also socially isolated by medieval and early modern perception of their immoral and selfish desires, and their propensity to display obvious wealth above their station. A 1537 petition from the city of London wardmotes pertaining to the “hawnting of common hoores from the stews & such other places yn excessive and gorgeous apparill to the evyll example of mennys wyffes maydens & chyl dren” made clear that the expendable income of the whore was ill used to indulge in luxury and set a bad example for the rest of society.¹¹¹ Conceptions of common women and people who dressed above their station as self-indulgent and decadent may in part have been tied to the popular association of whores with female hat makers or milliners, whose exposure to and participation in a luxury industry were believed to compel them to trade sex for opulence.¹¹² Karras notes that “in 1538 the Wardmote inquests were complaining about “the evil example of the gorgeous apparel of the common women of the stews, to the great temptation of young maidens, wives, and apprentices”” and that authorities were eager to segregate unchaste woman, “not to distinguish prostitutes from honest women in order that wives and daughters not be harassed...but to prevent prostitutes from dressing

¹⁰⁹ Barbara Hanawalt, 2007. *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London*, (New York: Oxford University Press), 199.

¹¹⁰ Lochrie, McCracken, Schultz, *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, 161; Reginald R. Sharpe, 1907. *Calendar of Letter-Books: Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall. [8], Letter-Book H: circa A.D. 1375 - 1399*. (London: Francis), 176.

¹¹¹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 250.

¹¹² Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 15.; Karras, *Common Women*, 22.

so well that those wives and daughters would want to imitate them.”¹¹³ Approximately thirty years later, similar assumptions were made about women working in the Exchanges, that associated these women’s roles as shop girls and their proximity to luxury goods beyond their social status with sexual immorality and transactional sex.¹¹⁴

Henry VIII closed the stews for the last time due to plague in 1546, a move that dispersed but did not sizably reduce the numbers of common women and brothels operating in the city of London.¹¹⁵ Henry VIII’s proclamation addressed, among other things, the problem of criminal activity and sexual immorality in the stews. The proclamation argued that the stews

engender such corruption among the people as tendeth to the intolerable annoyance of the commonwealth, and where not only the youth is provoked, enticed, and allowed to execute the fleshy lusts, but also, by such assemblies of evil disposed persons haunted and accustomed, is daily devised and conspired how to spoil and rob the true laboring and well disposed men...¹¹⁶

In addition, any food venders remaining in the area were “not to suffer any such disorder in their house, or lodge any serving man, prentice, or woman unmarried, other than their hired servants, upon the pain before specified.”¹¹⁷ It further commands that

All such persons as have accustomed most abominably to abuse their bodies contrary to God’s law and honesty, in any such common place called the stews now about the city of London, do, before the Feast of Easter next coming, depart from these common places and resort incontinently to their natural countries with their bags and baggages, upon pain of imprisonment and further to be punished at the King’s majesty will and pleasure.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Karras, *Common Women*, 22.

¹¹⁴ William C. Baer, “Early Retailing: London’s Shopping Exchanges, 1550-1700.” *Business History*. (Vol. 49, No. 1, January 2007, 29-51), 43.

¹¹⁵ Mowry, “London’s Bridewell,” 106.

¹¹⁶ Henry VIII of England, 1546. “Ordering London Brothels Closed England and Wales,” Eds. Paul L. Hughes and James Francis Larkin. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, Vol.1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 365.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

During this brief window of dispersal between the 1546 closure of the stews and the establishment of Bridewell in 1552/3, the activities of whores and the locations of brothels moved further into the city centre and the more exclusive neighbourhoods of London.¹¹⁹ Though brothels did exist in higher numbers in neighbourhoods like Shoreditch, St John's Street, Whitechapel, and Clerkenwell, they also operated in London's business sector and more exclusive areas.¹²⁰ This dispersal of brothels and common women throughout the city, in conjunction with anxieties over increased crime in the capital and growing puritan influence in the Bridewell governors, led to a period of increased prosecution of illicit sex in the 1570's.¹²¹

After its opening 1552/3, Bridewell hospital had quickly become the arena in which common women and all manner of sexual delinquents faced containment and punishment.¹²² Bridewell hospital had been opened under programs instituted by the City of London and endorsed by Edward VI, as a facility intended to reform its occupants.¹²³ Though Bridewell's prisoners and inhabitants included children and persons charged with other offences, the hospital quickly developed a long lasting reputation as a prison for whores and common women.¹²⁴ Bridewell's related reputation as a site of harsh treatment for offenders was informed by the increase in early modern punishments for sexual deviance. Painful physical punishments of whipping, hard labour, and long-term imprisonment that were exercised at Bridewell added to the time-honored practices of

¹¹⁹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 250.

¹²⁰ Gustav Ungerer, 1997. "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan London: The Case of Mary Newborough." In *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, edited by John Pitcher, and S. P. Cerasano. (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), 141; Archer, 211.

¹²¹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 210-211.

¹²² Mowry, "London's Bridewell", 208.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 209.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 208.

public shaming and forced removal of common women from the city limits.¹²⁵

Technically, church courts had jurisdiction in matters of sexual immorality, but not every instance faced prosecution. Martin Ingram argues that while church courts did prosecute cases of fornication and adultery, they often focused on cases salacious enough to warrant the widespread condemnation of peers and neighbours.¹²⁶ In addition, ecclesiastical prosecution records used vague terminology, and offences like fornication and adultery were often interchanged, or prosecutors did not record the marital status of the accused.¹²⁷ Ingram suggests that secular courts most often prosecuted offences such as “keeping a bawdy house,” though he does record two instances of “whorehouses” from 1630 and 1637 prosecuted in the church court of Wiltshire.¹²⁸ However, despite Ingram’s assertion that secular authorities often neglected such cases, the Bridewell court records appear to devote a great deal of attention to the prosecution of fornication and adultery cases. In examining the Bridewell records I have selected a few years from which to draw information. The year 1575 serves as a baseline for this study and also falls within the period of increased prosecution by Bridewell authorities of transactional sex and illicit sexuality in the 1570s.¹²⁹ The aforementioned concentration of puritans on the Bridewell board of governors during this period contributed to this increased prosecution.¹³⁰ While the religious response to illicit sex is not the focus of this thesis, it is important to note the puritan influence on this period of prosecution at Bridewell.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 251.

¹²⁶ Martin Ingram, 1987. *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*. (Cambridge University Press), 239.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 284.

¹²⁹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 211.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 253.

¹³¹ Melissa Mowry, “London’s Bridewell: Violence, Prostitution, and Questions of Evidence,” 209-210. Mowry argues that the puritan leaders of the reformation of manners movement saw Bridewell Hospital as

Within the period of January to May 1575, numerous charges appear including the accusation of having “had the use of the bodie” of another individual, and “abusing” oneself with another.¹³² There were five hundred and fifteen prosecution listings between January and May of 1575; of these at least forty-five were prosecutions of individuals (both male and female) who “hath had the use of the bodie” of another.¹³³ At least thirteen individuals were charged with “abusing oneself” or the offence of “abusing the bodie” of another.¹³⁴ A further twenty-seven women were prosecuted for being “comon harlots.”¹³⁵ At least seven individuals faced imprisonment for being “taken in bed” or found “abed” with individuals who were not their spouses.¹³⁶ The frequency with which the secular courts were involved with cases of fornication and adultery in addition to those relating to “common women”, strumpets, or harlots indicates that there was little obvious distinction between paid and unpaid sex. Until the late sixteenth century, all manner of sexual immorality deserved censure and punishment in the secular courts. There is evidence of a distinction between varieties of whoredom in some of the records of the later eighteenth century. Less varied terminology and more frequent use of the term “comon nightwalker” in the records seem to emphasize a publically available whore, but again there is no real mention of a financial exchange for sexual services.¹³⁷

Sophie Carter notes that while there were numerous terms to signify a

“an obvious tool for their moral agenda” and an “ideal venue” in which to prosecute sexual immorality under vagrancy laws.

¹³² *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, March 1574 - May 1576, Bcb-02 Series Box Number C04/2 Series BCB. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum. <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658, Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum, <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.

whore, from “‘biter’, ‘bob tail’, ‘buttock and twang’, ‘cat’, ‘crack’, ‘drab’” to “‘game pullet’, ‘gobble prick’, ‘ladybird’, ‘mackerel’ and ‘wagtail’”, no specific term existed to describe a “john” or the male customer of a whore.¹³⁸ Paul Griffiths argues that in addition to this plethora of gendered terminology describing the whore, there was also a linguistic shift in the description of crime, which emphasized the increasingly feminine nature of sin in early modern London.¹³⁹ Griffiths notes in particular that the terms “disorderly, idle, lewd, unruly, loose, and “out of service” came to be used exclusively to describe women whose lives and behaviour were “loose or shifty.”¹⁴⁰ Griffiths offers a thorough examination of the Bridewell court books and records, noting that twenty-five percent of the “lewd” individuals incarcerated in Bridewell during the 1570s were female.¹⁴¹ By 1600, this percentage had risen to fifty percent; it rose again to eighty percent between 1625 and 1658.¹⁴² The proportion of “lewd” women in the Bridewell system reached its pinnacle in the 1630s, when 94.69 per cent of “lewd” individuals in Bridewell were women.¹⁴³ Mowry argues that the use of the term “lewd” to describe women facing imprisonment at Bridewell had declined by the time of the Restoration, when it was replaced by terms charging offenders with night walking or petty thievery.¹⁴⁴

These charges of “night walking” and vagrancy emphasized the public disorder caused by the actions of common women.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, individuals were not often charged with night walking itself unless there was a secondary crime, which was often of

¹³⁸ Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 53.

¹³⁹ Paul Griffiths. *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 205.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Mowry, “London’s Bridewell”, 208.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 76.

a sexual nature.¹⁴⁶ In at least one case, it appears that the charge of nightwalking may have been applied to ensure punishment if a defendant was acquitted of a more serious charge. Martha Shorter's appearance at the Old Bailey in 1697 provides an excellent example of this. Her record reads thusly:

Martha Shorter of the Parish of St. Andrews Holborn, was indicted for picking the Pocket of Thomas Leg, of a Gold Ring, val. 11 s. on the 13th of June last. There being no Evidence against her, she was acquitted and ordered by the Court for Bridewell, she being a Common Night-walker.¹⁴⁷

Despite her acquittal of the charge of "pocketpicking," Shorter was nevertheless committed to Bridewell on the grounds of her "being a Common Night-walker", though the record makes no explicit mention of her selling sex.¹⁴⁸ The minute books of the Court of Governors for Bridewell Hospital list thirty-seven women and sixteen men prosecuted in the year 1695.¹⁴⁹ Of the women, nine faced charges for nightwalking, often in conjunction with the accusation of being an "idle person."¹⁵⁰ Five more are listed as having been taken from a "house of ill fame", a "disorderly house", or an "ill house", and nine are described as "lewd" persons.¹⁵¹ One case in particular highlights the accusation of causing public disorder inherent in the charge of night walking. Mary Carr, charged on

¹⁴⁶ Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour*, 67.

¹⁴⁷ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 21 November 2011), July 1697 (16970707), trial of Martha Shorter (t16970707-30).

¹⁴⁸ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 29 March 2011), July 1697, trial of Martha Shorter (t16970707-30).

¹⁴⁹ Bridewell and Bethlem, Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1689-95, Bridewell and Bethlem Archives, Ms. BCB-16 (Box C04/3), LL ref: [BBBRMG20201](#), 6th January 1689 - 8th August 1695. *London Lives, 1690-1800*. Accessed 25 May 2011 from <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=BBBRMG20201&year=1690>; 1695-1701, Bridewell and Bethlem Archives, Ms. BCB-17 (Box C04/3), LL ref: [BBBRMG20202](#), 23 August 1695 - 2 May 1701. *London Lives, 1690-1800*. Accessed 25 May 2011 from <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=BBBRMG20202&year=1693>.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

7 June 1695, faced charges for “being an Idle disorderly Pson [sic] a Comon night walker & disturber of the Neighbourhood.”¹⁵² According to the record, she was

Taken...by the Watchman cryeing out Murther she haveing assaulted beaten & bitten Mary Lawson And is alsoe [sic] convicted by the said Lawson on Oath for the Swearing of Three Severall Oaths And alsoe by Lawrence Walker on Oath for swearing 2 [sic] more Oaths being togeather Five oaths in the Parish of St: Buttolph Bishopsgate London this being the Second Assence shee the said Carr confessing she was on Wednesday last before the Lord Major convicted of Swearing Six Severall Oaths & paid Six Shillings for the same & refuses to pay the same & for want of distresse to be publicly sett in the Stocks. To Labr.¹⁵³

Though Carr’s assault, swearing oaths, and causing a notable public disturbance appear to have been unusual in their ferocity, her punishment of forced labour and public exposure in the stocks highlights the severity with which authorities treated the public disorder of women. Another case from 23 August 1695 describes the arrest of Elizabeth Osborne and Anne Wayman, charged with being “lewd Idle disorderly women being taken in the night in a publick house where they behaved themselves very rudely with great impudence and immodesty...”¹⁵⁴ The record does not specify their fate, except to note that they faced punishment.

The act “for Suppressing the Detestable Sins of Incest, Adultery and Fornication” passed in 1650 also made some effort to prosecute both male and female deviants, and called for a penalty of death without benefit of clergy in some cases of incest and

¹⁵² Bridewell and Bethlem, Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1689-95, *London Lives, 1690-1800*. LL ref: BBBRMG202010487, image no. 487, 7 June 1695, Mary Carr. Accessed 25 May 2011 from http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=BBBRMG20201_n3343-1&div=BBBRMG20201MG202010487#highlight.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Bridewell and Bethlem, Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1689-95, Bridewell and Bethlem Archives. *London Lives, 1690-1800*. LL ref: BBBRMG202020026. Image no. 26, 23 Aug 1695. Elizabeth Osbourne, Anne Wayman. Accessed 10 May 2011 from http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=BBBRMG20202_n111-2&div=BBBRMG20202MG202020026#highlight.

adultery.¹⁵⁵ The designation of adultery as a felony not only demonstrates its severity but also its perceived threat to the state. As with petty treason, sexual offences against a husband and natural master were unnatural crimes deserving the strictest punishment. Fornication bore the less severe penalty of three month's imprisonment without bail upon a first offence.¹⁵⁶ This punishment applied to both men and women, with the act stating that:

That if any man shall from and after the Four and twentieth day of June aforesaid, have the carnal knowledge of the body of any Virgin, unmarried Woman or Widow, every such man so offending... as also every such woman so offending... shall for every such offence be committed to the common Gaol, without Bail or Mainprize, there to continue for the space of three Moneths; and until he and she respectively shall give security, to be taken by one or more Justice or Justices of the Peace before whom such Confession or Conviction shall be had, to be of the good behavior for the space of one whole year then next ensuing.¹⁵⁷

Keith Thomas emphasizes that the definition of adultery technically extended only to the infidelity of a married woman, and that sexual intercourse between a married man and a single woman constituted fornication, not adultery.¹⁵⁸ This severity of the act is not surprising, as it was implemented by the Rump Parliament one year after the execution of Charles I and reflects the puritan attitude of the Interregnum government.¹⁵⁹ Thomas argues that this ordinance was not only “an attempt to resume secular jurisdiction” in issues of sexual morality but also to enforce conformity in the definition of adultery itself

¹⁵⁵ "May 1650: An Act for suppressing the detestable sins of Incest, Adultery and Fornication." *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*. Eds. C.H. Firth, R.S. Rait, 387-389. British History Online. Accessed 10 May 2011 from <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56399>.

¹⁵⁶ "May 1650: An Act for suppressing the detestable sins of Incest, Adultery and Fornication." *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*. Eds. C.H. Firth, R.S. Rait, 387-389. British History Online. Accessed 10 May 2011 from <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56399>.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Keith Thomas, 1978. "The Puritans and Adultery: The Act of 1650 Reconsidered" in *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History*. Eds. Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas. (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 257-282), 261.

¹⁵⁹ J.P. Kenyon, 1966. *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 330.

in the face of differing views between Protestant sects.¹⁶⁰ Thomas cites some Protestant non-conformists as stating “that it is no sin, if his own conscience doth not oppress him, to have carnal company with a man’s wife if the husband is asleep.”¹⁶¹ A large number of Protestant sects viewed adultery as a sin by both parties, arguing that a man’s failure to use his own morality and “superior reason” was more severe than the same failure in a woman.¹⁶² Thomas suggests that the severity of the act resulted in its infrequent application in the courts, noting: “in 1660 it lapsed and was not renewed.”¹⁶³

In order to examine the practical effect of this act, I have examined two sets of Bridewell records, those from the year 1649, one year prior to the act, and those from the year 1652, two years after the act was passed. Although the act of 1650 focused on fornication, adultery, and incest, records of the years 1649 and 1652 seem to feature mainly those women whose sexual offences were of a public and often indiscriminate nature. Unlike the records from 1575 that feature numerous individuals found “abed together” or guilty of “having the use of the body” of another, the court records from 1649 include at least nine women charged as “comon nightwalkers”, with one women listed as a “comon whore”, five women for “incontinency”, and eleven “lewde” women.¹⁶⁴ Listings for two hundred and fifty-six men and one hundred and fifty-five women appear in the records of the year 1649.¹⁶⁵ There is a sizable drop in prosecutions

¹⁶⁰ Thomas, “The Act of 1650 Reconsidered”, 261.

¹⁶¹ Thomas, 261.

¹⁶² Ibid., 262.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 258.

¹⁶⁴ *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658, Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum, <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/BCB.htm>.

¹⁶⁵ *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658, Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB. Image no. 422-463. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum, <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/BCB.htm>.

from the records of 1575, and suggests the beginnings of a distinction between publically available illicit sex and private sexual immorality.

The records dated two years after the passage of the ordinance show a significant increase in prosecutions, but again focus on individuals accused of repeat offences, who appear widely available for illicit sex. The records of 1652 feature three hundred and twenty men, and one hundred and ninety-one women.¹⁶⁶ Of these women, at least fifty faced punishment as “comon nightwalkers” and eleven women were listed as an “idle lewd person.”¹⁶⁷ Only one woman is listed as “notorious”, and only one charged with “incontinency.”¹⁶⁸ In addition to demonstrating a brief period of energy in prosecuting sexual deviance, the records reveal a settling in the terminology used to describe whores and their activities. While there is still no clear differentiation between paid and unpaid sex, the frequent use of the term “nightwalker” again suggests the beginning of a differentiation between whores who were widely available and those who were charged with fornication, indecency, or adultery with only one person.

These findings are in relative agreement with those of Paul Griffiths, though he locates the most significant development in conceptual change in 1560, when the term “nightwalker” changed from a gender-neutral term denoting disorder and criminal behaviour to a term applied specifically to “lewd and loose women.”¹⁶⁹ Before 1560, men

¹⁶⁶ *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658, Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum, <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.

¹⁶⁷ *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658, Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum, <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England". *Seventeenth Century*. 13 (2): 212-238), 215.

were also charged with “night walking.”¹⁷⁰ Griffiths notes one case in 1435 of a Peter Bednot, prosecuted for keeping a brothel and “receiving divers night-walking men.”¹⁷¹ He argues that the use of the term “nightwalker” in prosecutions of individuals found wandering after dark emphasized the sexually illicit association of the term.¹⁷² As Griffiths postulates, the term nightwalker conflated trepidation about sexual immorality, the control of authorities over the public disobedience of women, and enforcement of societal norms.¹⁷³

There are few references to the cost of sexual services in the records for the years 1649 and 1652. However, there is one account in which price is mentioned. John Cole was charged on 23 June 1649 for “incontinency” with Elizabeth Ferrers, and the record notes that she asked him to “give her money to the value of three pounds.”¹⁷⁴ Both Ferrers and Cole were sentenced “to worke”, a rare example of male punishment for activity with a whore and also a rare example of a clearly stated price for sex.¹⁷⁵ In June 1652 Anne Sharpe was arrested as a “lewd woman for running away with a married man to Holland and she living with him lewdly.”¹⁷⁶ The disparity between male and female offenders was marked. Richard Markham, charged on 8 September 1652 with being “taken in the night in the street with a comon nightwalker against a wall” was only “admonished” and discharged, whereas female nightwalkers were often “punished and

¹⁷⁰ Griffiths, “Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England”, 216.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 212.

¹⁷⁴ *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658. Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB, image no. 441. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum, <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, image no. 441.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, image no. 605.

discharged” or sent “to worke” for an unspecified time.¹⁷⁷ Another man, George Mumford, was “taken in a lewd manner with Joane Sharksby... a comon nightwalker” and was discharged.¹⁷⁸ In this case his partner Joane Sharksby was also discharged, though the record does not specify why she faced no punishment.¹⁷⁹ The record for the twentieth of January 1651/2 lists a Jone Jordon discharged because she was “lame”, and another woman discharged because she was with child.¹⁸⁰ The professional aspect of nightwalking appears clear in court recordings like that of Elizabeth Sykes, a woman indicted on 11 February 1652 as a common nightwalker for “lying in the Stretes to take up men”, who was sentenced “to worke.”¹⁸¹ Prosecutions for being “taking up” or “being taken up with” men or being “taken in a lewde manner” were also relatively common, with fourteen such cases noted in the records for 1652.¹⁸²

By comparison, the records for 1750 list only fourteen women at all, and feature four charged with being a “Comon Night Walker” and one with “being taken last night a long with a Man in very indesent Manner.”¹⁸³ Twenty-one men and women are recorded as being “disorderly”, but such accusations were more commonly leveled at individuals arrested for theft and, when asked, “giving not good Account” of themselves.¹⁸⁴ Night walking appears to be the only charge for that year that bore any possible connotation of sexual deviance, and there appears no record of any strumpets or common or loose

¹⁷⁷ *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658. Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB, image no. 617. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum, <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, image no. 628.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, image no. 629.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, image no. 580.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, image no. 585.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, image no. 575-640.

¹⁸³ *Bridewell and Bethlem, Minutes of the Court of Governors*, 1738-51, Bridewell and Bethlem Archives, Ms. BCB-21 (Box C04/3), LL ref: [BBBRMG20206](http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=BBBRMG20206), *London Lives 1680-1800*. Accessed 25 May 2011 from <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=BBBRMG20206&year=1750>.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

women. The reduction in the number of sexual charges and the consolidated terminology used indicate a more clearly defined connection between the charge of night walking and public disorder, though there is still no clear mention of commercial sex evident in the Bridewell record for 1750.

Attempts by the city authorities to control whoring in the city fluctuated throughout the early modern period, with the 1570s a period of particular activity and the result of a puritan influence in the Bridewell governors of the decade.¹⁸⁵ Roughly one hundred bawdy houses functioned in the late 1570s in London, and Ian W. Archer argues that these numbers reveal that closing the stews in 1546 had a “minimal effect on the availability of commercial sex in the capital.”¹⁸⁶ Though individuals were also occasionally prosecuted under other charges of sexual indecency like adultery or general lewdness, the bulk of prosecuting effort seems to have focused on catching brothel owners, bawds, and to a slightly lesser extent, whores.¹⁸⁷ Melissa Mowry argues that “By the 1570’s, leaders of the Puritan reformation of manners campaign found the [Bridewell] hospital an obvious tool for their moral agenda and an ideal venue for emasculating London’s underclass by extending poor law prohibitions against vagrancy to include prostitution.”¹⁸⁸ This period of prosecution also focused on bawds, pimps, and clients, in addition to common women. Archer notes that authorities persuaded “leading pimps” to

¹⁸⁵ Paul Griffiths, 2003. "Contesting London Bridewell, 1576-1580". *The Journal of British Studies*. (Vol. 42, No. 3: 283), 292.

¹⁸⁶ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 215.

¹⁸⁷ Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour*, 70.

¹⁸⁸ Melissa Mowry 2008. “London’s Bridewell: Violence, Prostitution, and Questions of Evidence,” in *Violence, Politics, and Gender in Early Modern England*. Ed. Joseph P. Ward. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 210.

divulge the names of other brothel owners and the locations of their establishments, in addition to giving the names of clients, in return for immunity.¹⁸⁹

The act of 1650 as noted above also expressed concerns for the “Punishment of a common Bawd. Second offence Felony”, and demanded firm penalties:

And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every person and persons who shall from and after the Four and twentieth day of June aforesaid, be convicted as aforesaid, by confession or otherwise, for being a common Bawd, be it man or woman, or wittingly keeping a common Brothel or Bawdy-house, shall for his or her first offence be openly whipped and set in the Pillory, and there marked with a hot Iron in the forehead with the Letter B and afterwards committed to Prison or the House of Correction, there to work for his or her living for the space of three years, without Bail or Mainprize, and until he or she shall put in sufficient Sureties for his or her good behavior during his or her life: And if any person by confession or otherwise shall be convicted of committing, after such Conviction, any of the said last recited offences, every such second offence shall be, and is hereby adjudged Felony; and the person and persons so offending shall suffer death, as in case of Felony, without benefit of Clergy.¹⁹⁰

The practicality in focusing on the suppliers and facilitators of whoring is clear, and an interest in curtailing public disorder and instilling stability after the turbulence of the English Civil War is not surprising. The 1693 Old Bailey trial record of Alice Randall, charged with keeping a brothel, features the actions of the whore allegedly in her keeping more completely than her own, but there is no indication that the common woman herself faced charges:

Alice Randall was tried for keeping a disorderly House, and entertaining Evil-disposed Persons therein. The first Evidence Swore, that he went to the House one Evening, and being up Stairs, the Prisoner brought him a brisk young Girl, who presently had the Impudence to pull up her Coats, and laying her hand upon her Belly said, Here's that that will do you good, a Commodity for you, if you'll pay for it you shall have enough of it; with that he took his Cane, and gave her two or three good daubs (as he called them); she was found guilty of the Indictment.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 211.

¹⁹⁰ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, Volume 2 (1649 – 1660), 389.

¹⁹¹ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 29 March 2011), May 1693, trial

Alice Randall faced a fine and was forced, together with another convict, to secure “Sureties for their good Behaviour for a Twelve month, and to remain in Prison till they pay the Money.”¹⁹² Archer argues that despite the best efforts of authorities, the suppression of brothels in the city in fact served to increase their “mobility”, and that “driven out of one quarter of the city they would set up elsewhere.”¹⁹³ Official efforts must also have been less effective at suppressing free-lancing whores whose place of work was even more mobile. Interactions with whores took place in numerous areas within the city, including the streets themselves.¹⁹⁴ Toleration and recognition of the social necessity of whoring are apparent in the theories and practices of regulation well into the eighteenth century. Randolph Trumbach notes that after 1750 law-makers and constables devoted less energy to the arrest of men in brothels and on the street with whores, and focused instead on persons who had “scandalized public decency” through obviously engaging in sex in public.¹⁹⁵

Attitudes towards whoring and the treatment and description of persons accused of it in late medieval and early modern London were in a continuous state of flux. Though the early modern English had begun by the mid-eighteenth century to differentiate between whores who were widely available and those who were not, a fundamental distinction between “whore” and “non-whore” continued to apply. While the court records of Bridewell hospital demonstrate the beginnings of a shift from a strict

of Alice Randall (t16930531-44).

¹⁹² *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 29 March 2011), May 1693, trial of Alice Randall (t16930531-44).

¹⁹³ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 231.

¹⁹⁴ Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 9.

¹⁹⁵ Randolph Trumbach, 1992. “Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London” in *Forbidden History: The State, Society, and the Regulation of Sexuality in Modern Europe: Essays from the Journal of the History of Sexuality*. Ed. John C. Fout. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

binary division of whore and non-whore expressed through various terms to a more settled use of the term “nightwalker” by the middle of the eighteenth century, the term “prostitute” or one of its cognates does not yet appear in the court’s records for the years consulted. Furthermore, while there was a reduction in the number of prosecutions for fornication or adultery between only two people, there is no evidence of a clear difference between a commercial whore and a woman guilty merely of loose morality. It appears that much like medieval treatment of sexual immorality, early modern prosecutions of whores were responses to open instances of public disorder and sexual immorality by women, regardless of whether or not they charged.

CHAPTER 3 "DAMNED STRUMPETS AND SIX-PENNY WHOREDOM": THE INTERSECTION OF COMMERCIALISM AND SEXUAL IMMORALITY IN POLEMICAL TEXTS

I am apt to think, that could we look into our own Hearts, we should see Money ingraved [sic] in them in more lively and moving Characters than Self-Preservation; for who can reflect upon the Merchant hoisting Sail in a doubtful Pursuit of her, and all Mankind sacrificing their Quiet to her, but must perceive that the Characters of Self-Preservation (which were doubtless originally the brightest) are sullied, if not wholly defaced; and that those of Money (which at first was only valuable as a Mean to Security) are of late so brightened, that the Characters of Self-Preservation, like a less Light set by a greater, are become almost imperceptible?¹⁹⁶

There is no doubt that rising consumerism and commercial capitalism influenced how the early modern English understood their world. One aspect of this influence was changing terminology associated with sexual matters in this period. A combination of factors, including increased consumerism, commercial contact between the sexes, the alleged sexual availability of shop girls, and the sexual immorality associated with women in the public sphere all augmented developing links between sex and money. The increase of commercial engagement by the "middling class" and the increased economic interaction of men and women together in public arenas like the Royal Exchange aided in the conception of sex in the public mind as a commodity to be bought and sold to anyone and by anyone. However, despite this development, the traditional binary of chaste and

¹⁹⁶Richard Steele. "Steele on the Moral Value of Money." *The Spectator*. No. 450, Wed. August 6, 1712. In *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from the Tatler and the Spectator*. Ed. Erin Skye Mackie. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 226-231.

unchaste women proposed by Karras continued as the dominant standard of sexual morality.

The intersection of illicit sex, economic development and changing language is an issue that requires scrutiny to understand both the exercise of the sex trade in early modern England and the societal perceptions surrounding it. As discussed in the previous chapter, consistent use of the term “prostitute” had not yet appeared by the mid-eighteenth century, and late medieval and early modern English people did not truly differentiate between women engaging in transactional sex and sexual delinquents more generally. By 1750 some distinction was emerging between women engaging in transactional sex and those in non-transactional activities, but it remained a sub division within the category of unchaste women.

Outlined in the introduction of this thesis, this chapter examines the political, moral, and polemical tracts of the period to investigate changing perceptions of illicit sex during the early modern period. These works deliberated on issues of sexual morality in an argumentative and analytical style. These polemical and satirical tracts may have shared an audience with the whore biographies, theatrical works, and bawdy ballads of the period, but their purpose was different. These tracts were meant to encourage and contribute to debate, rather than to deliver a moral message through entertainment. Thus, I have divided sources based on their genre, and have grouped political, moral, and polemical tracts in this chapter, and have placed bawdy ballads and tracts, whore biographies, and theatrical works in the next chapter.

A clear distinction between paid and unpaid women was not always made in

the writings of the time, nor is there any clear indication that the late medieval and early sixteenth-century English viewed them differently. Nevertheless, references to whoring as a “trade” begin to appear in mid-seventeenth century writings, both in verb and noun form. The song *Oxford in Mourning* (1681) describes the dissolution of Parliament and the academics that “now curse the gay Crack of the town, who “troop’d it to Oxford to trade for a Crown.””¹⁹⁷ The terms “traffic” and “trading” appear as well in Richard Head’s work *The English Rogue* (1668), in which one female character states that: “now I had done trafficking for my Maidenhead, I was more free, and open, and to be courted and treated at a cheaper rate.”¹⁹⁸ References to the principles of supply and demand appear in the seventeenth century that seem to cement the conception of whoring as a trade, and sex as a commodity to be purchased. Williams also cites Barnabe Rich’s work *The Irish Hubbub, or the English Hue and Cry: Briefely [sic] Pursuing the Base Conditions, and most notorious offences of this vile, vaine, and wicked Age* (1617) which argues that “the plenitude of whores ‘hath much abated the price of Bawdry; for now a whoremonger may haue his pot of Ale, his pipe of Tobacco, and his pocky whore, and all for his three pence.”¹⁹⁹ In addition, the man who “commands the modestly priced lass” has only to pay tuppence for a session with her.²⁰⁰ Rich notes the fluctuating economy of transactional sex, arguing:

A happy thing for poore Knights, that the market is thus beaten downe; for one of these high prized Harlots, that must haue her silken gownes, her garded petycoates, her wrought smocks, her needle-worke edgins, her powdered

¹⁹⁷ Gordon Williams, 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature 3, Q - Z*. (London: Athlone Press), 1413.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 1446-9.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 1449. ; Barnabe Rich, 1617. *The Irish Hubbub, or the English Hue and Cry: Briefely [sic] Pursuing the Base Conditions, and most notorious offences of this vile, vaine, and wicked Age*. (London: Printed for John Marriot, and are to sould [sic] at his shop at the white Flower deluce neere Fetter Lane end in Fleetstreete), 16.

²⁰⁰ Williams, 1449.

perywigs, and her costly Caates [sic], she is able to undoe a wholehalfe dozen of Knights, one after another...Shee will leave him so weake in his purse, and so feeble of his body, that the soveraintie of his Tobacco, will never be able to cure him.²⁰¹

Margaret Hunt notes that some early modern writers drew links between lost virginity and failed commercial endeavours.²⁰² She suggests that the use of terms like “undone” and “ruined” to refer to both failed business and unchaste women “signal[s] a quite thorough conflation of illicit sex and runaway consumption that is ubiquitous in late seventeenth-century urban culture.”²⁰³ There were also other obvious ties between the sexual value of a whore and a consumable commodity. While virginity retained its sense of value as a “one time use” commodity, it is logical to assume that younger or newer common women often garnered more value than older and more experienced sex workers. Deviations in the cost of whores are evident in differentiated terms denoting a whore’s relative price and quality. Williams provides examples of this in the terms “stale” and “strumpet.”²⁰⁴ Based on his reading of the literature of the period, he defines a “stale” as a “low prostitute”, associating impurity, baseness, and contamination with this particular type of inexpensive whore.²⁰⁵ Williams cites Thomas Nashe’s *Christ’s Tears over Jerusalem* (1593) in order to define a “strumpet” as belonging in “brothel-houses of salary sensuality and sixe-penny whoredome.”²⁰⁶ Nashe claims that “Halfe a Crowne or little more, (or some-times lesse,) is the set price of strumpets soule”, and refers to bawds as “body-traffiquers [sic]”, drawing very clear links between transactional sex and

²⁰¹ Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 16-17.

²⁰² Margaret Hunt. 1996. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 162.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 162.

²⁰⁴ Williams, 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* 3, Q - Z. (London: Athlone Press), 1303, 1335.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1303-1304.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1335.

commercialism.²⁰⁷ Melissa Mowry has argued that the distinction between women who were called “whores” and those referred to as “mistresses”, “ladies of pleasure” and “courtesans” was based on their own social class and that of their clients.²⁰⁸ While this is likely true, this distinction also reflected in ideas of cost and quality in a whore’s services. Although the term “prostitute” had not yet become current, the variations in terminology already present in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveal the beginnings of a hierarchy of expense inherent in the developing economic portrayal of whoring. As noted in the previous chapter’s examination of the Bridewell and Old Bailey records, the term “nightwalker” became the usual term to describe more “professional” whores in England towards the end of the seventeenth century and was the main term used by 1750.

The consumer revolution in England had a profound effect on not only the selection and number of goods available for sale, but also on the method in which these goods were displayed and sold to the public. McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb argue that the significance of the consumer revolution was matched only by the industrial revolution, in particular when one examines the social effects of such increased consumerism.²⁰⁹ The growth in the ability of the middling and lower classes to consume non-essential and luxury goods was enormous.²¹⁰ However, such consumption was not universally acceptable. Elites did not appreciate the emulation of their fashions and habits by lower classes that could now afford luxury products. McKendrick *et al* argue that it

²⁰⁷ Thomas Nashe. *Christs Teares over Jersusalem, Whereunto is Annexed a Comparative Admonition to London*. (London: Printed for Thomas Thorpe, 1613), 158, 159. This work was originally published in 1593.

²⁰⁸ Melissa M. Mowry. 2004. *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution*. (Hants, Hampshire, England: Ashgate), 107.

²⁰⁹ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H Brewer. 1982. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 9.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

was not until Adam Smith's emphasis on consumption as the root of English economic success in 1776 that English society universally accepted consumption at the rate that most middling class English individuals had since the 1690s.²¹¹ The relative flexibility of the English class system in comparison to many other contemporary societies allowed individuals to purchase the visual markers of the higher class, and provided a powerful incentive to succeed economically.²¹²

In addition, the advent of the "mall" culture that inhabited the Royal, New, and Middle Exchanges not only brought the purchase of clothing and accessories into concentrated public venues, but expanded arenas in which men and women might interact outside the bounds of class structure and economic divisions.²¹³ The Royal Exchange, completed in 1567 and endorsed by Queen Elizabeth I in 1571, quickly became a centre for luxury commerce and high-class social interaction.²¹⁴ With over one hundred stores and luxury traders from silk dealers to confectioners, the Royal Exchange attracted an expensive and high-level clientele, which included large numbers of female customers.²¹⁵ There was also a much higher percentage of women who owned or worked in the shops in the exchange than had operated the traditional street shops, and the increased interaction of women as they shopped and worked in public was worrisome to some critics.²¹⁶ In particular, social commentators criticized the perceived frivolity of women, especially those who, "to help their faces and complexion, break their husband's

²¹¹ McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 14-15.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 20-21.

²¹³ William C. Baer, "Early Retailing: London's Shopping Exchanges, 1550-1700." *Business History*. (Vol. 49, No. 1, January 2007, 29-51), 30.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 39-41.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 32, 36.

backs.”²¹⁷ William C. Baer notes that the shopping centres of the late seventeenth century were places of “entertainment and destination locations.”²¹⁸ Indeed, the large numbers of female customers, shopkeepers, and assistants at the Royal Exchange and the New Exchange, and societal hesitancy regarding women in the public sphere, gave these shopping centres a “questionable reputation.”²¹⁹ The Middle Exchange in particular acquired a reputation as a “whore’s nest,” where attractive and sexually available shop girls engaged in inappropriate sexual interactions with male customers.²²⁰ In his work *The London Spy* (1709), Ned Ward described shop girls as having “as much mind to dispose of themselves as the commodities they dealt in.”²²¹ Samuel Pepys is famously known to have visited the Royal Exchange and New Exchange to solicit young women.²²² There were thus ties among commerce, luxury goods, and sexual immorality in the early modern period.²²³ Linda Levy Peck argues that “shopping had long been thought to be subversive to the social order by inverting gender roles and encouraging illicit sex.”²²⁴ Peck asserts that scholars investigating the ties between seventeenth-century economic consumption and contemporary sexual practices and mores should pay more attention to the “attack on female agency” inherent in associations of women’s economic consumption and the “public” act of shopping with licentious behaviour.²²⁵

This association of sexual immorality and luxury clothing and goods is apparent

²¹⁷ Baer, “Early Retailing”, 32, 36.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 29-30.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 32.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid., 43.

²²² Linda Levy Peck. 2005. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 59.

²²³ Ibid., 59-61.

²²⁴ Ibid., 357.

²²⁵ Ibid., 62.

in whoring practices as well. Cristine Varholý argues that the combination of sexual fantasy and upward social mobility were intrinsically linked.²²⁶ By demanding that whores dress above their station and requesting a “fine lady,” men of the middling and lower classes projected and mingled economic and sexual fantasies of attaining a high-class woman.²²⁷ Many whores flouted sumptuary standards governing their appearance, and wore fine clothes both in public and during their sexual encounters that disguised their profession and enabled them to charge more.²²⁸ Ned Ward takes note of a few such women in *The London Spy*, observing that

As we stumbled along, my Friend bid me take notice of a shop, wherein sat three or four very provoking Damsels, with as much Velvet on their Backs as would have made a Burying-Pall for a Country Parish.... I ask'd my Friend what he took them for? Who answer'd, They were a kind of first Rate Punks by their Rigging, of about a Guinea purchase. I further queried, what reason he had to believe them to be *Leachery Layers*? He reply'd, because they were sitting in a *Head-Dressers-Shop*; which; says he, is as seldom to be found without a *Whore*, as a Booksellers-Shop in *Pauls Church yard* without a Parson.²²⁹

Ned Ward's gossipy and salacious publication makes numerous mentions of the Exchanges and the women who both frequented them and held employment there.²³⁰ While perusing the “change” upstairs, Ward observes the wives of shopkeepers who facilitate and increase their husband's business through flirtation and sexual innuendo.²³¹ Ward notes one wife, whose

[p]revailing Glances have tempted such Custom to her Shop, that he can afford to spend three or four Hundred Pounds a Year in a Tavern, without doing himself a Prejudice, which she very generously allows him to do out of her Gettings, as

²²⁶ Cristine M. Varholý. 2008. "'Rich Like a Lady': Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London". *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. 8 (1): 4-34.

²²⁷ Varholý, "'Rich Like a Lady': Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London", 6.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Edward Ward. 1709. *The London-Spy Compleat, in Eighteen Parts*. (London: Printed and sold by J. How, at the Seven Stars in Talbot-Court, in Grace-Church-Street), 27.

²³⁰ Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, 72.

²³¹ Ibid.

some Censorious People are apt to imagine, as a Gratuity for his Toleration for her Liberty of Conscience: She is never without a Shop full of Admirers, whom she Pcisons [sic] with her Eyes, and Bubbles as she pleases; give her her due, she's as Beautiful as an Angel, but as Subtile as the Devil; as Courteous as a Curtezan, but Sharp as a Needle' very Free, but very Jiltish; very Inviting, yet some say very Vertuous.²³²

Ward himself feels the effect of the enticing shop girls, who had “such Amorous Looks, and... so Affable a manner, that I could not but fancy they has as much mind to dispose of themselves, as the Commodities they dealt in: My Ears on both sides were so Baited with Fine Linnen, Sir, Gloves and Ribbons, Sir, that I had a Milliner's and a Sempstress's Shop in my Head for a Week together.”²³³ While these shop girls may have been more casually available than the wives of shopkeepers, the promise of sexual availability and the enticement of possible additional “wares for purchase” from both married and unmarried women in the shops probably motivated male spending and consumerism.

Ward makes use of commercial language when describing common women, speaking of London whores as a “scarce commodity” who are driven from the streets by fear of prosecution.²³⁴ He makes direct reference to cost, referring to a woman who is as “Arrant a Strumpet as ever Earn'd her Living at Two-pence a Bout.”²³⁵ In Part VI of *The London Spy*, which includes a comprehensive description of Bridewell Hospital, Ward criticizes the methods and cruelty of the Bridewell system. Yet in response to Ward's criticism of public whippings of women at Bridewell his friend replies: “I believe...you are aiming to curry Favour with the Fair Sex: This Lecture to a Town Lady, if you had a mind to be Wicked, would save you Money in your Pocket.”²³⁶

²³² Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, 72.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 140.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

In addition to using commercial language to describe whores in the city and at the Exchanges, Ward makes analogies between whores and another consumable commodity: cattle. Stating that whores are valuable to some unscrupulous men if they “Calve once in a Year,” Ward notes that illegitimate offspring from these women may be worth “two or three Hundred Pounds,” though he gives no explanation about the source of this value.²³⁷ Ward describes one individual who misuses whores and mistresses as an “amphibious Rascal, a compound of two sorts of Villany: He is one half Town-Trap, and the other half Sweetner”, who not only keeps multiple whores on retainer at the same time, but discards them once their value is reduced through “common Treading” that makes them “Nasty and Infertile.”²³⁸ Though his condemnation of this “rascal” is clear, so is his belief that frequent and prolonged activity as a sex worker results in the disease and infertility, and subsequently lower value, of the woman in question. Ward makes another association between common women and goods for purchase in his depiction of the busy activities of a meat shop. He argues that: “[b]utchers were here as busie as Brokers upon Change; and were Groping their Ware, with as much Caution, to know whether they were Sound and Wholesome, as a Prudent Sports-Man would a new She-Acquaintance of a loose Conversation.”²³⁹ Not only does Ward associate common women and cattle twice, he explicitly describes the selection of a common woman of “loose conversation” by a male client, noting the importance of determining whether she is “Sound and Wholesome.”

Ward paints a comparatively sympathetic picture of the common women he encounters and interacts with directly. His criticism of the Bridewell court system notes the young age of some of the inmates, whose prosecution at age thirteen or fourteen

²³⁷ Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, 9.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 121.

seems excessive and unlikely to result in positive reform.²⁴⁰ Ward suggests that women of Bridewell or those who commit a sexual indiscretion have already been disqualified from gainful employment or successful marriage; therefore, it is pointless and unfair to “reform” them with punishment.²⁴¹ Once exposed to

Shame and Scandal, never to be wash'd off by the most Reform'd Life imaginable; which unhappy Stain makes them always shun'd by Vertuous and Good People, who will neither entertain a Servant, nor admit of a Companion under this Disparagement; the one being fearful of their Goods, and the other of their Reputations, till the Poor Wretch, by her Necessity, is at last drove into the Hands of Ill Persons, and forc'd to betake herself to bad Conversation, till she is insensibly Corrupted, and made fit for all Wickedness.²⁴²

Ward argues that it is a “Shameful Indecency” for female inmates to be whipped naked in front of and by men, and that rather than “Correct Vice, or Reform Manners” this type of voyeuristic public punishment only serves to “Stir up the Beastly Appetites of Lascivious Persons.”²⁴³ Ward advocates more gentle and judicious punishments, and that if women must be whipped, it should be “in the view of Women only, and by the Hand of their own Sex.”²⁴⁴ This treatment would avoid “such Dog-like Usage” and the unnecessary and inappropriate sexual temptation for unscrupulous men.²⁴⁵

Ward’s advocacy of less severe punishment and the reasoning that informs his view also demonstrate the continued power of sexual binaries in place during the early modern period. Regardless of whether she charged, the reputation of unchastity for any unmarried or widowed woman was serious enough to prevent her from gaining economic and social security. Notoriety as a fallen woman continued to have severe consequences

²⁴⁰ Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, 142.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 142-143.

through the whole of the early modern period. Ward also uses the term “prostitute” in his first person account, in which a woman in the poor house explains why she would not allow her creditor to “kiss it out” to negate her debt, stating that “rather than I would satisfie the Desires of such unmerciful Rogues...I would Prostitute my self to the Honest Porters in the Town: For I’d have you to know, Sir, I scorn to defile my Body with such Virmin, such Inhumane Knaves, that can’t be content to cheat People out of their Money, but must cozen them out of their Liberty too...” In this case the woman used the term “prostitute” as a verb, rather than as a title for herself. Again, the woman’s choice of debtor’s prison over having sex with her creditor demonstrates the lengths that a respectable woman would go to in order to remain chaste.

The consequences of such immorality are also evident in John Dunton’s *The Nightwalker* (1696).²⁴⁶ Dunton recounts his conversation with a common woman whose entry into a brothel was forced by her manipulation by a bawd who engineered her rape by a customer. The young woman tells Dunton that a bawd approached her under the guise of helping her to a position as a chambermaid.²⁴⁷ After being fed and given new clothes, the young woman is introduced to a man presented as a kinsman of the bawd, who is actually a customer of the brothel. The young woman recounts

having din’d plentifully and drunk largely of Rich Wine, my Mistress ordered me to withdraw into the next room till she called me, which accordingly I did, I was scarcely well sat down till I heard a Clinking of Money, which I understood since was the Price of my Chastity; and a little after that the Gallant comes into the room where I was, and one of them lockt the door behind him, I shreht and made a noise finding my self betrayed, but to no body near that would relieve me, so

²⁴⁶ John Dunton. 1696. *The Nightwalker or Evening Rambles in Search After Lewd Women. An Anonymous and Apparently Unique 17th C. Pamphlet, Edited with an Introd. and Notes by G. Stevens Cox.* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey: Toucan Press), 25.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

that after many presents offered, and struggling so long as I was able, I was at last overcome.²⁴⁸

After losing her virginity by force, the young woman is encouraged to enter the trade by other whores in the brothel, who

told me in plain Terms, that out of the room I should not come till I were brought to their bow, and that I should rather die then they would either hazard a Carts-Arse or the Pillory for me. This I took to be a Sentence of death past against me if I did not comply with their humour, and therefore was forced to dissemble my doing so...

Feeling as though she has no other options without her virginity or the recommendation to another position, the young woman becomes one of the bawd's "Wenches in Ordinary."²⁴⁹ This case showcases the perceived sexual binary between chaste and unchaste woman, but also demonstrates a sense of commercial hierarchy between whores. The woman in question becomes a "first rate Strumpet" owing to her youth, and notes that her bawd "had them of all Prices, or could borrow them from her Neighbour Bawds" when she was unable to supply customers with a suitably priced woman.²⁵⁰

Another clear example of continued binaries in sexual morality can be found in Daniel Defoe's work *Conjugal Lewdness, or Matrimonial Whoredom. A Treatise concerning the Use and Abuse of the marriage Bed* (1727).²⁵¹ Discussing pre-marital sex between betrothed couples, Defoe states that it is "certainly sinful; 'tis no Marriage; the Children are Bastards; the Man and Woman are guilty of Fornication; the Woman, let her Quality be what it will, is no better or other than a W----[sic], and the Man a -----[sic];

²⁴⁸ Dunton, *The Nightwalker*, 25.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 26.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Daniel Defoe. 1727. *Conjugal Lewdness; or, Matrimonial Whoredom. A Treatise Concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed. (1727)*. (Gainesville, Fla: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1967).

what you please to call him [sic].²⁵² Defoe emphasizes the moral failing on the part of both the man and the woman, but reserves his most severe criticism for the woman whose “want of Modesty, in respect only to her Sex; yet besides all that, here is a Testimony of most egregious Folly; a perfect neglect of her own Virtue, and of her Reputation: Abandoning the first to gratify the Man, and risking the last on a bare verbal Promise...”²⁵³ The sexual double standard is quite clear in Defoe’s assessment that “He’s a Rogue, say they, that gets a Woman with Child before Marriage; and he’s a Fool that marries her afterwards: He’s a Knave that promises to marry her; but he’s a Fool that performs it.”²⁵⁴ The chastity binary is thus in effect even in cases of pre-marital intercourse between betrothed or romantically involved individuals.

Bernard Mandeville’s derisive attitude towards social morality and hierarchies is evident throughout *The Fable of the Bees* (1714) and in his assertion that “the moral virtues are the political offspring which flattery begot upon pride.”²⁵⁵ Mandeville argues that not only does the manufactured nature of shame not serve mankind, it is completely subjective and relative to the culture. On the ridiculousness of demanding “modest” dressing from women in society, he states:

To be modest, we ought in the first place to avoid all unfashionable denudations. A woman is not to be found fault with for going with her neck bare, if the custom of the country allows of it; and when the mode orders the stays to be cut very low, a blooming virgin may, without fear of rational censure, show all the world: How firm her pouting Breast, that white as Snow, On th’ ample Chest at mighty distance grow. But suffer her ankle to be seen, where it is the fashion for women to hide their very feet, is a breach of modesty; and she is impudent, who shows half her face in a country where decency bids her to be veiled.²⁵⁶

²⁵² Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness*, 275.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 282.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ Bernard Mandeville. *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*. Abridged Edition. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 1997), 41.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

Furthermore, he argues that in a world where at most one expects that “good breeding only requires we should hide our appetites,” it is pointless to outlaw or suppress whoring.²⁵⁷

Mandeville does express satirical concern for the virtue of wives, servants, and daughters, and advises the use of whores to slake the lust of men without spoiling pure women.²⁵⁸ Again critical of social and economic hierarchies, Mandeville argues in *The Fable* that “people of substance may sin without being exposed for their stolen pleasure, but servants and the poorer sort of women have seldom an opportunity of concealing a big belly, or at least the consequences of it.”²⁵⁹ Mandeville also makes clear the division between “common whores” and non-transactional sexual delinquents in how they respond to public censure. Discussing the problem of infanticide as a consequence of sexual immorality, Mandeville points out that

Common whores, whom all the world knows to be such, hardly ever destroy their children. Nay, even those who assist in robberies and murders seldom are guilty of this crime; not because they are less cruel or more virtuous, but because they have lost their modesty to a greater degree, and the fear of shame hardly makes any impression upon them.²⁶⁰

It is a short step from this differentiation in shame to Mandeville’s advocacy of public brothels in his later work.

The conception of sex as a commodity to be purchased, often at high cost, is evident in the tracts and satires of the time. In his treatise *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews* (1724) Mandeville emphasizes the problems with luxury and living beyond one’s

²⁵⁷ Mandeville. *The Fable of the Bees*, 50.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

means, and cites the frequent use of whores and the purchase of sex as a destroyer of productivity and profit, stating:

Another ill effect of this Vice [whoring]²⁶¹, is, its making People profuse, and tempting them to live beyond what their Circumstances will admit of; for if once Men suffer their Minds to be led astray by this unruly Passion, no worldly Consideration whatever will be able to stop it; and Wenching as it is very expensive in itself, without the ordinary Charges of Physick or Children, often leads Men into a thousand other Vices to support is [sic] Extravagance: Besides, after the Mind has once got this extravagant Turn, there naturally follows a Neglect and Contempt of Business; and Whoring of itself disposes the Mind to such a sort of Indolence, as is quite inconsistent with Industry, the main support of any, especially a trading, Nation.²⁶²

Bernard Mandeville's argument for the legalization of whoring emphasized the severity of Bridewell's punishments, hypothesizing that any whore who refused to participate in his proposed system of regulated and public brothels might face the following treatment:

A poor itinerant Courtezan could not by any Means be persuaded to starve at the Instigation of a *Reforming* Constable, yet a little *Bridewell* Rhetorick, or the Terrors of a Transportation, will soon convince her that she may live more comfortably and honestly in a *Publick Stew*.²⁶³

Mandeville's belief in the failure of the Bridewell system to reform and its tendency to entrench a whore's way of life is clear when he states: "Bridewell, as it is now manag'd, only makes them poorer, and consequently lays them under a greater Necessity than ever of continuing Whores."²⁶⁴ It seems clear that reformation or employment of these women is not Mandeville's primary motive. His suggestion stems, rather, from the practical desire to utilize already immoral and unredeemable women in the sex trade.

Mandeville does not want whores to be saved from the horrors of Bridewell so

²⁶¹ My addition

²⁶² Bernard Mandeville, Phil-Porney, Harry Mordaunt, Luke Ogle, and George Ogle. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, or, An Essay Upon Whoring: As It Is Now Practis'd in These Kingdom*. (London: Printed for T. Read, in Dogwell-Court White-Fryars, Fleet-street, 1740), 4.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁶⁴ Mandeville, *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*, 16.

that they can reform, but rather so that they may serve as a buffer to protect chaste women from the lusts of men. Mandeville maintains that since men are invariably led by their need for sex, a man who could not use a whore would endanger the chaste women of society, and that “the brutal Ravisher would stalk at large, no man’s wife, sister, or daughter would be in a state of security: the rape of the Sabines would be daily rehearsed, and anarchy and confusion ensue.”²⁶⁵ On the fate of these spoiled women, Mandeville argues that

The Minds of Women are observ’d to be so much corrupted by the Loss of Chastity, or rather by the Reproach they suffer upon that Loss, that they seldom or never change that Course of Life for the better; and if they should, they can never recover that good Name, which is so absolutely necessary to their getting a Maintenance in any honest Way whatever; and that nothing but meer [sic] necessity obliges them to continue in that Course, is plain from this, That they themselves in Reality utterly abhor it: And indeed there appears nothing in it so very alluring and bewitching, especially to People who have that Inclination to Lewdness intirely [sic] extinguish’d, which is the only thing could possibly make it supportable.²⁶⁶

Though Mandeville advocates a brothel system that utilizes commercial principles, he also very clearly perpetuates the medieval approach towards a semi-regulation of whoring, a system that protects the binary distinction between whores and non-whores.²⁶⁷

He suggests that:

publick Whoring is neither so criminal in itself, nor so detrimental to the *Society* [sic], as private Whoring; and that the encouraging of publick Whoring, by erecting *Stews* [sic], will not only prevent most of the ill Consequences of this

²⁶⁵Sophie Carter, 2004. *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture*. (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate), 52.

²⁶⁶Mandeville. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews* (1724), 9.

²⁶⁷Ian W. Archer, 1991. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press), 205. ; Cook, Richard I. Introduction to *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews* by Bernard Mandeville, i-viii. (1724). (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1973), i.

Vice, but even lessen the Quantity of Whoring in general, and reduce it to the narrowest Bounds which it can possibly be contain'd in.²⁶⁸

Mandeville also cites the problem of infanticide as a consequence of this “private Whoring,” which would be reduced if fewer respectable women were debauched.²⁶⁹

Mandeville also blames “private Whoring” for the

debauching the Minds of young Women, to their utter Ruin and Destruction: for the Reproach they must undergo, when a Slip of this nature is discover'd, prevents their marrying in any Degree suitable to their Fortune, and by degrees hardens them to all Sense of Shame; and when they have once overcome that, the present view of Interest as well as Pleasure, sways them to continue in the same Course, till at length they become common Prostitutes.²⁷⁰

It is clear that Mandeville views the life of a “Publick Courtezan” as the only choice available to a woman after seduction and the loss of her virginity.²⁷¹ Given the limited social and financial options of already spoiled women, Mandeville argues:

Let a hundred or more Houses be provided in some convenient Quarter of the City, and proportionably [sic] in every Country Town, sufficient to contain two Thousand Women: If a hundred are thought sufficient, let a hundred Matrons be appointed, one to each House, of Abilities and Experience enough to take upon them the Management of twenty Courtezans each, to see that they keep themselves neat and decent, and entertain Gentlemen after a civil and obliging Manner.²⁷²

Though Mandeville adheres to a long-standing moral and sexual binary in his distinction between chaste women and those whose “Pudenda[s] [are] more lively,” and who are “endow'd with a quicker Sensation than others,” his suggestion that the sexual services of women may be priced categorically and objectively based on quality and availability was novel and highly irregular during the time, and demonstrates

²⁶⁸ Bernard Mandeville. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, or, An Essay Upon Whoring: As It Is Now Practis'd in These Kingdoms*. (London: Printed by A. Moore near St. Paul's, 1724), 2.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 12-13.

developing application of commercial principles to the sex trade.²⁷³ Though Mandeville more directly addresses a barter economy within the marriage unit, the concept of sex as a commodity traded for desired objects or privilege evokes the increasingly commercial conception of sex, regardless of whether it is traded directly for money.

In addition to his emphasis on regulation, Mandeville demonstrates the increasingly commercial conception of whoring in the eighteenth century and also the ongoing fluidity in defining the act. First, Mandeville seems generally to prefer the terms “courtezan”, “whore” and “common woman” to “prostitute” in his writings, though the term “prostitutes” appears at least once as a noun, in the aforementioned quote in which Mandeville describes the inevitable occupation of debauched young women.²⁷⁴

Secondly, in his argument for the legalization and regulation of brothels, Mandeville suggests dividing whores based on their relative quality and the cost of their services. He proposes that legal and public brothels should operate within a designated area and should divide the common women who practise within them into groups based on their relative price, arguing that

We shall divide the twenty women of each House into four Classes, who for their Beauty, or other Qualifications may justly challenge different Prices. The first Class is to consist of eight, who may legally demand from each Visitant Half a Crown. The second Class to consist of six, whose fix'd Price may be a Crown. The third Class of four, at half a Guinea each. The remaining two make up the fourth class, and are designed for Persons of the first Rank, who can afford to Pay a Guinea for the Elegancy of their Taste.²⁷⁵

²⁷³ Elizabeth, Kowaleski-Wallace. 1997. *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century*. (New York: Columbia University Press), 140.

²⁷⁴ Mandeville, Phil-Porney, Harry Mordaunt, Luke Ogle, and George Ogle. 1740. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, or, An Essay Upon Whoring: As It Is Now Practis'd in These Kingdom*. (London: Printed for T. Read, in Dogwell-Court White-Fryars, Fleet-street), 1, 6, 8, 11.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

Mandeville also argues for taxation of the services in these brothels in order to pay for the operation of the system and fund the financial support and care of “Bastard-Orphans and superannuated Courtezans.”²⁷⁶

Mandeville emphasizes the difference between chaste and unchaste women, but his discussion of the relative quality and cost of the whores demonstrates the developing commercial perception of transactional sex which emerged in the eighteenth century. Mandeville’s concern for the regulation and legalization of whoring is similar to other contemporary writers in its emphasis on the containment of already spoiled women. Though traditional in his use of sexual binary, Mandeville’s opinions regarding regulating brothels and the true moral nature of humanity were still controversial and caused a great deal of uproar, especially on the continent where copies of *The Fable* were burned and Mandeville himself was burned in effigy.²⁷⁷

Daniel Maclauchlan’s satirical tract *An Essay upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication* (1735) provides an interesting anomaly from the binary sources. Maclauchlan rejects the chastity binary and the contemporary sexual morality outright, stating that sexual desire is a natural part of humanity that “God was pleased to have lodged in the Breast of every one of us.”²⁷⁸

Maclauchlan states that

Whatever Action...raises agreeable, delightful Emotions in the Soul, or causes pleasant Sensations in the Body, must be good, if its other Consequences will not more than counter-balance the present Happiness....As the Continuation of our own Being, and the Propagation of our Kind, are absolutely necessary to render us Happy in this World; we find our keenest Appetites, and strongest Passions,

²⁷⁶ Mandeville, *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews* (1740), 14.

²⁷⁷ Neil McKendrick John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb. 1982. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 17.

²⁷⁸ Daniel Maclauchlan. *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication*. (London, 1735), 6.

bend and incline us that Way... “God never would have given us such strong Inclinations towards these pretty Charmers, had not he intended the frequent Use of them.”²⁷⁹

Rather than stifle natural desire, Maclauchlan advocates utilizing it to increase Britain’s population. He states that “If the blessed Fornication of such pretty Rogues as these, was under proper Regulations, so as they should not be put to the Blush for propagating their Kind in this expeditious Way, the whole Nation would soon find their Account in it.”²⁸⁰

Maclauchlan suggests a plan similar in scope to Mandeville’s for slaking the lust of early modern men, but shuns the direct commercial profit and elements of supply and demand inherent in Mandeville’s plan for organized state brothels.²⁸¹ Maclauchlan proposes a comprehensive regulatory system for the support and care of foundlings generated by extramarital fornication and care for their mothers including hospitals, founding colleges, and spaces for them in the manufacturing workforce free of the shame of illegitimacy.²⁸² He stops short of providing brothel space for the actual act of fornication, but his system is almost as comprehensive as the state brothel system put forth by Mandeville. This acceptance of the children of extramarital affairs would not only increase the workforce, it would also reduce the problem of infanticide and the resulting execution of young women convicted of this crime, which Maclauchlan laments as an unfortunate result of the draconian attitudes towards unwed mothers.²⁸³ Critical of the persisting binary, Maclauchlan remarks that unmarried women who might populate

²⁷⁹ Maclauchlan. *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication*, 6-13.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 24.

the country should not be reviled in the same way that professional and transactional whores are. He argues that

Was this happy Reformation once brought about, those poor innocent Creatures, that are now neglected and despised for shewing a Readiness to answer the chief end of their Creation, would then be esteemed and regarded by every body as useful Members of the Common-wealth.²⁸⁴

Maclauchlan does utilize a type of binary, though it is markedly different from the more common unilateral division between chaste and unchaste women.”²⁸⁵ He associates sexual immorality more with those professional common women whose “infectious Venom” and “corrupt Body” have made them infertile and a health hazard to others.²⁸⁶ In comparison, he emphasizes that “kissing a sound Girl, a firm Bit, good Flesh and Blood, is no where forbid in all the Scriptures; nor, indeed, could a Revelation that breathes so much Benevolence and Good-will towards Men, have ever forbid the Use of these charming Creatures.”²⁸⁷ Rather than have these “sound” young women trapped in loveless and sexless marriages, they could “uprightly serve the Lord in their Day and Generation, with Fear and Trembling; with a panting Heart, and aking Limbs.”²⁸⁸

Maclauchlan also deviates from the norm of seventeenth-century social commentators by directly using the term “prostitute” as a noun and also clearly differentiating women who engage in transactional sex from those who might be seduced for free. He states that

...if a pretty Girl shall be called a Whore, for engaging only for a little Time with a Gentleman in this Way; a Woman that engages with a Man, in the very same way, until it shall please God to separate them by Death, is, methinks, a much

²⁸⁴ Maclauchlan. *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication*, 52.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

greater Whore; a Whore for Life. Whore is a naughty Word, which only ought to be applied to those jaded, tough, callous Prostitutes, uncapable of Procreation. Those damned Strumpets, that will ask a Six-Pence of a Gentleman for giving him a most virulent Clap.²⁸⁹

Though Maclauchlan remains in the minority on this, the distinction that he proposes between whores who charge and those who do not is illustrative of developing and very gradual change in the conception and definitions of sexual immorality by the early modern English.

Since most men married late to secure their finances and inheritances, interactions with whores often formed the basis of the sexual education of the early modern “urban male.”²⁹⁰ Movements like the Reformation of Manners groups operating in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tried to curtail these sexual relationships through moral polemics against whores, though they also at times identified whores as more pitiable “victims of circumstances,” often “willing but unable” to adhere to the sexual boundaries enforced on other women.²⁹¹ While this movement occasionally professed a belief in the victimization of whores, their frequent and aggressive polemical assaults on prostitutes in their sermons and campaigns further entrenched binary distinctions between chaste and unchaste women.²⁹² The Reformation of Manners movement focused on improving the lives of the lower and middle classes by enforcing moral reform and

²⁸⁹ Maclauchlan. *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication*, 22.

²⁹⁰ Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 52.

²⁹¹ Tony Henderson. *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830*. (London and New York: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd, 1999), 198; Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 108: “In the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the Society for the Reformation of Manners annually published details of successful prosecutions that had been pursued against crimes posing a particular threat to public order and moral probity. Along with offences such as ‘Sabbath-Breaking’ and ‘Swearing and Cursing’, the running of bawdy houses was the particular focus of the Society’s enthusiastic attentions and, interestingly, these ‘blacklists’ reveal that men as well as women were prosecuted for running bawdy houses. That issued in 1708, for example, shows that the Society had successfully pursued cases against four men and five women.”

²⁹² Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 101-102.

limiting “lewdness” in the public sphere.²⁹³ Margaret Hunt notes that while unfaithful husbands who engaged with whores did face some censure, groups like the Reformation of Manners movements laid the majority of the blame with the unchaste women.²⁹⁴ In the view of the Reformation of Manners society, the protection of “chaste” women and virtuous wives and daughters was paramount. The movement also emphasized the risk of disease inherent in sex with transactional whores. The fear that sexual relations would result in “Housekeeper...infected with a venomous Plague, which he communicates to his Honest and Innocent Wife” was integral to the rejection of unchaste women in addition to moral rejection of their behaviour.²⁹⁵

An equally punitive attitude towards whores and their clients is evident in John Dunton’s work *The Shortest Way With Whores and Rogues or, a new project for Reformation*” (1703).²⁹⁶ Dunton utilizes the traditional binary between the chaste and unchaste in his definition of female sexual morality, but also proposes prosecution for both male and female deviants. He declares: “Whoredom and Adultery are still the same, be the person to whom you prostitute your selves High or Low.”²⁹⁷ He emphasizes distinctions between the “quality” of whores, but warns that despite these monetary and social differences, those that style themselves as “Ladies of Pleasure” will still face “Bitterness in the End, both to yourselves, and those concerned with you For, if those

²⁹³ Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*, 101.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 163.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

²⁹⁶ John Dunton, *The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues: or, a New Project for Reformation* (1703) in Julie Peakman, ed. *Whore Biographies 1700–1825*. (London: Pickering and Chatto. 8 vols. Part I: Vols 1–4, 2006), 40.

²⁹⁷ Dunton, *The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues: or, a New Project for Reformation*, 40.

impure Flames be not quenched by the Blood of Jesus Christ, and the Tears of sincere repentence, the Reward of your Whoredom will be unquenchable Flames.”²⁹⁸

Though absent from the English court records at this time, the term “prostitute” does make some appearances in Dunton’s work as a verb, in the condemnation of women who “extinguish the Natural modesty of your Sex, and debase the Human Nature below that of Beasts, by strowling in the Streets, to prostitute your selves to the first who will accept of your impious Proffer.”²⁹⁹ Dunton notes that while laws against sexual immorality are ineffective, the early modern English could rely on God’s wrath to deal with those who escape the law. He cites a 1583 case from London in which “Two citizens committing adultery on the Lord’s Day, were struck dead with fires from Heaven in the very act of Uncleanness, their bodies being left Dead in the place, half Burnt up, for a spectacle of God’s Anger against Adultery and Sabbath-breaking.”³⁰⁰ Though Dunton is aware of the financial need that drives many women to whoring, when he states that “London Nightwalkers would not like to be lewd for nothing (for they Whore for Bread)”, he none the less dehumanizes them and calls them “Beastly Creatures as these, by the names Dog and Swine . . . tis not doubted but those who are entrusted with the Government of this Great and Noble City, will take effectual Methods to clean our streets from these Daughters of Sodom.”³⁰¹

Dunton is unusual in his desire to prosecute the male participants in whoring as well as the whores themselves. He argues that “should any person of quality sollicite any Street Walker, or any other, upon good evidence of the Fact, he should have 1000

²⁹⁸ Dunton, *The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues: or, a New Project for Reformation*, 36.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

forfeited out of his Estate, and he should be divested of all his titles, and thrown out of the capacity to serve in any office of trust or profit in the three kingdoms.”³⁰² He also demands that any fornicator should face public corporal punishment, and that in addition to being “Whipt from GuildHall to Charing Cross”, a fornicator should surrender one third of his estate to war expenses, a third to the individual who accuses him, and the remaining third to those in need within the parish.³⁰³ The convicted individual is also to be sent “sent Over-seas into her Majesties service.”³⁰⁴

Dunton also criticizes male clients of whores in his earlier work. In his 1694 work *The Ladies Dictionary, being a general entertainment for the Fair-Sex: a Work Never Attempted before in English*, Dunton gives an extensive definition of a “nightwalker.”³⁰⁵ He explicitly refers to the “trade” of whoring, stating that “This Occupation is contrary to all other, for she opens her shop-windows when all other Trades are about to shut them.”³⁰⁶ He notes that a whore will mark “her self in the best manner she can, with some apparent outward Ensign of her Profession” before venturing out for the evening.³⁰⁷ Comparing her to a ship that “sails” up and down streets such as Cheapside, Dunton states that with “gentle breeze she first sails slowly on the one side, and if she meet never a Man of war between snow-hill and the Poultry, she tacks and stands away to the other side; but if she be a tolerable right Frigar, she is laid aboard before, made fast with the Grapplings, and presently rummaged in the Whold. [sic]”³⁰⁸ Dunton’s use of naval imagery to denote trade appears in other works as well. In his periodical work, *The*

³⁰² Dunton, *The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues: or, a New Project for Reformation*, 41.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ John Dunton, *The Ladies Dictionary, Being a General Entertainment for the Fair-Sex: a Work Never Attempted before in English*. (Printed for John Dunton at the Raven in the Poultry, 1694), 303-305.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 303.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 303.

Nightwalker: Or, Evening Rambles in Search After Lewd Women, with the Conferences Held with Them (1696), Dunton argues that “Whores did not then as they do now, that is ply almost as thick in the Streetes as Boats do on the Thames, and with as much confidence as if it were not a Crime.”³⁰⁹ His choice of naval metaphor is interesting, for it portrays whores as public and open for trade, in contrast to those women who are privately owned by husbands or fathers. The association of whores with the naval trade that was such a fundamental part of British commerce of the early modern period demonstrates Dunton’s commercial conception of the whores he encounters and writes about. It is also an apt metaphor for the dangers of whoring, in which the risk of prosecution, rape, or physical attack is just as present as the chance for commercial profit. As Julie Peakman argues, early modern erotica was a medium that readily absorbed popular cultural themes into its literature.³¹⁰ The spread of works detailing sea voyages was mirrored in works of erotica that featured allusions to the “Whirlpool of Adultery”, “Cuckoldom Bay”, and nautical descriptions of women with “most beautiful Slope from Stem to Stern”, with “Port Holes [that] were all of due Aperture.”³¹¹ Alistair Bellany makes reference to a description of a whore “Which sore did leak but did not sink.”³¹²

Dunton’s writing is full of commercial language and morality reminders, describing a brothel as a place in which “any light commodity might be purchased for money”, and where the “Orifice and Quality” of the Madam might be bought.³¹³ He provides an interesting anecdote in which a woman confronts her husband at a brothel

³⁰⁹ Dunton, *The Nightwalker*, 14.

³¹⁰ Julia Peakman, *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 103.

³¹¹ Peakman, *Mighty Lewd Books*, 105.

³¹² Alistair Bellany. 2002. *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1666*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 154.

³¹³ Dunton, *The Ladies Dictionary*, 303.

under the guise of a whore to chide him for his infidelity. Upon discovering that his purchased whore is in fact his wife, the husband is furious and demands to know if he has “found...[her]...trading?”³¹⁴ The wife replies that in fact she is “what I have been ever, careful of the tender of mine honour”, but that she came to the brothel to dissuade him from visiting a place in which his “Fame stood dangerously engaged.”³¹⁵ Chastising her unfaithful husband, the wife asks if whores will “not for base lucre, shew as much kindness to their next Suitor? And can there be any true affection, where the Party makes no distinction?”³¹⁶ Dunton’s censure of the husband is clear; he concludes by stating that “This advice delivered by so deserving a Creature; and in so winning a manner, might have wrought singular effects in any plyable or well-disposed Nature, but so strongly steeled was his relentless heart unto these, as with a disgraceful and uncivil Kick he pusht her from him.”³¹⁷ The wife’s reference to the moral “tender” of her honour also alludes to the price and financial value of her marital faithfulness and chastity.

Transactional whoring differed from more minor sexual immorality in part because of its indiscriminate nature. In addition, increased consumerism and the commercial revolution helped alter perceptions of transactional sex from just another element of sexual immorality into a commodity to be bought and purchased by the public. This purchase spanned the whole of the price range, from inexpensive street whores to expensive “fine ladies.” The influence of commercial capitalism is evident in the writing of the time. Whether social commentators emphasized repression or regulation of whores operating in early modern cities, the majority used commercial-

³¹⁴ Dunton, *The Ladies Dictionary*, 303.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

specific language that identified the act of paid sex as a product and whores as both commodities themselves or the vendors of their sexuality. Though the process did not culminate in the regular use of the term “prostitute” by 1750, this transactional classification had its roots in the rise of commercial capitalism begun in the early modern period. By the mid-seventeenth century, it is clear that commercialization had influenced the language with which the early modern English addressed the sex trade and its participants. However, it is also apparent in the writings of early modern commentators that a strong binary distinction remained between how chaste and unchaste women were viewed. Commercialization influenced a subdivision between non-transactional sexual delinquents and paid whores, but it remained fundamentally only a subdivision. Karras’s thesis of an overarching split between chaste and unchaste women in the medieval period remains relevant well into, and perhaps even to the end of, the early modern period in England.

CHAPTER 4 "FORESAKEN OF MY VERTUE": THE SOCIAL, MORAL AND TRANSACTIONAL COST OF WHORING IN POETRY, BIOGRAPHY, AND THEATRE

Not in Paris, Lyons, Blois, nor Fountain-bleu,
Can in each place more Girls of Pleasure show,
Than Whores of all degrees are daily known,
To practice Lewdness in this pious Town;
From the kept Mistress who resides at Court,
To her who will for two Pence, act the Sport.³¹⁸

This exclamation from Richard Ames's *The Female Fire-Ships. A Satyr Against Whoring: in a letter to a friend, just come to town* (1691) hints at the large number and variety of common women operating in early modern London.³¹⁹ It is clear that transactional sex and general sexual immorality occupied the imagination of early modern Londoners. Numerous fictional and semi-fictional works of entertainment, including pamphlets, broadsheets, and supposed biographical and theatrical works of fiction depicting and discussing sexual immorality were published during this time. The accessibility of these works differed depending on cost and intended audience.³²⁰ Philip Rawlings notes that the weekly salary of an "average labourer" varied between ten and twenty shillings, which would enable common people to purchase broadsheets and chapbooks in the halfpenny and penny price range, but that the more lengthy and

³¹⁸Richard Ames. 1691. *The Female Fire-Ships A Satyr Against Whoring: In a Letter to a Friend, Just Come to Town*. Printed for E. Richardson in London.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³²⁰Philip Rawlings. 1992. *Drunks, Whores, and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth century*. (Routledge: London and New York), 2. Philip Rawlings notes that the weekly salary of a regular worker varied between 10-20 shillings, which enabled them to purchase broadsheets and chapbooks in the halfpenny and penny price range, but that the more lengthy and expensive criminal and whore biographies were often out of reach.

expensive criminal and whore biographies were often out of reach.³²¹ Despite price and quality differences, the works share a number of themes in common. The pamphlets, biographies, and theatrical works of the period that feature sexually immoral women showcase the developing conception of ties between sex and money, and utilize increasingly commercial language to describe transactional sex. They also demonstrate concern about the manipulation of identity and transgressions of social class by sexually immoral women engaging in cross-class dressing. However, as in the tracts and polemical works of the period dealing with common women, the enduring importance and social power of the chastity binary features most prominently. While the influence of commercial capitalism and identity anxieties are evident in the language used to describe transactional sex and sexual immorality, the overwhelming issue of an underlying division between chaste and unchaste women remains clear.

Through the examination of a spectrum of fictional entertainment literature comprised of whore biography, theatre, and various ephemeral print sources, this chapter will first show the influence of developing commercial capitalism on the representation of sexual immorality in early modern England. It turns next to a discussion of the high level of class and identity anxiety held by the early modern population through an investigation of cross-class dressing and the sexual immorality associated with female deception and the transgression of social boundaries. This intense concern over sexual and class identity reveals not only the rejection of luxury goods and clothing being more widely available to the lower classes, but also the fear that the trappings of finery would allow for the infiltration of immoral women into the upper ranks of society. As an extension of medieval chastity binaries, a rejection of the concealment of class and sexual

³²¹ Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores, and Idle Apprentices*, 2.

identity was designed to segregate unchaste or lower class women from the rest of moral, wealthy society. This chapter argues finally, that despite the introduction of commercial language and anxiety surrounding cross-class dressing that clearly influences fiction featuring sexually immoral women, the enduring relevance of the chastity binary discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis remains very clear.

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, I have divided sources based on their genre, and have grouped political, moral, and polemical tracts in the previous chapter, and have placed ephemeral print entertainment, whore biography, and theatrical works in this chapter. Though their audiences may have overlapped, the written works featured in the previous chapter delivered their moral message in an argumentative, though occasionally satirical, style that was meant to encourage and contribute to debate. The pamphlets, plays, and whore biographies couched their message in a narrative meant to captivate and entertain an early modern audience. Though often very direct in approach, the pamphlets, whore biographies, and theatrical works of the period were intended to appeal to a wide audience and reached the early modern public in a more accessible and perhaps less controversial manner. Their nature as ephemeral print and obvious sources of entertainment enabled them to reach a broad audience in the tavern, the theatre, and the home.³²² Julie Peakman is correct in her assertion that while elaborately bound versions of these works were not purchased by the lower classes, inexpensive copies circulated widely.³²³ These popular forms of entertainment reached across the social classes and the spectrum of literacy and projected the message of an enduring chastity binary onto the whole of the early modern public, while also reflecting the commercial

³²² Julie Peakman, Alexander Pettit, and Patrick Spedding. 2006. *Whore Biographies, 1700-1825*. (London: Pickering & Chatto), xvii.

³²³ Ibid.

language and the identity and class concerns of the period. As articles of print and theatre needed to sell copies and tickets to be successful, commercially successful and popular works of print and theatre can thus be argued to have been fairly representative of contemporary popular attitudes. The act of selling sex was not limited to transactional sex workers, for writers and publishers also capitalized on the population's interest in sordid and titillating entertainment.

Peakman argues that early modern erotica was a medium that readily absorbed popular cultural themes.³²⁴ Early modern English fiction that depicted sexual immorality was also emblematic of many of the social and commercial forces at work. Commercial venues infiltrated by sexually immoral women appear in the fiction of the period, from shop owners using their attractive wives as sexual lures for customers, to a bawd who uses her shop as a front for a brothel in *The London Jilt*.³²⁵ The works include references to female genitalia as a "commodity," they clearly differentiate between types of transactional sex workers based on cost and quality, and they make associations between common women and the crucially important commercial naval trade. These references all point to the influence of commercial capitalism on portrayals of sexual immorality and the sex trade, and the increasing conception of transactional sex as a commodity to be bought and sold.

Despite division and differentiation within the field of transactional sex, there remained considerable ambiguity between paid sex and what the early modern English classified as general sexual immorality. The fictional works of this period feature the

³²⁴Julia Peakman. 2003. *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan), 103.

³²⁵Alexander Oldys. 1683. *The London Jilt, Or the Politick Whore*. (London: Printed for Hen. Rhodes, next door to the Bear-Tavern near Bride-lane in Fleet-Street), 123.

playhouses as arenas of dissipation and immorality, where cross-class dressing actors flouted social hierarchies on stage, and transactional sex workers dressed as “fine ladies” searched for gallants in the audience.³²⁶ In the theatre, pamphlets, and whore biographies of the era, sexually immoral women frequently engage in cross-class dressing to trick rich men into marriage, draw a higher paying clientele for transactional sex, or solicit men who fantasized about sexual encounters with women above their social and economic class.³²⁷ Mary Jo Kietzman and Cristine M. Varholy have argued that this infiltration of early modern high society by lower class sexually immoral women played into class anxieties in the wake of the Restoration and amplified the association of “opulent” clothing with sexual immorality.³²⁸ This need to identify the class and social status of sexual delinquents who engaged in both transactional and non-transactional sex seems to mirror the medieval regulations of uniform clothing for common women discussed earlier in this thesis, and demonstrates a continued emphasis on differentiating between chaste and unchaste women, as well as preventing inappropriate social mixing.³²⁹

Above all, the theme throughout the biographical, poetic, and theatrical writings of the inevitability of a “fallen” woman’s descent into permanent sexual immorality verges on universal. A female protagonist who has lost her virginity often enters into transactional sex under duress as a way to sustain herself without the support of family,

³²⁶ Cristine M. Varholy 2008. “Rich Like a Lady”: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London”. *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. (8 (1): 4-34); Laura J. Rosenthal, 2006. *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press), 6.

³²⁷ Varholy, “Rich Like a Lady: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London”, 6.

³²⁸ Ibid, 8. ; Mary Jo. Kietzman. 2004. *The Self-Fashioning of An Early Modern Englishwoman: Mary Carleton's Lives*. (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate), 39.

³²⁹ Varholy, “Rich Like a Lady”: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London”, 6; Ruth Mazo Karras. 1996. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 21.

friends, or general society. Rosenthal argues that these narratives of whores' lives are often divided between those that offer a more sympathetic "sentimental" portrayal and those that feature more "libertine" protagonists.³³⁰ She also argues that moral judgment is more apparent in the libertine works, and that sentimental portrayals offered a more hopeful and reformatory perspective, one that blamed transactional sex on England's "increasingly complex commercial culture" rather than on the behaviour of generally lewd women.³³¹ This division is an apt one, though it is arguably a subdivision, and less apparent than the fundamental division that runs through the narratives between the chaste and unchaste. Still other divisions, such as those between fact and fiction, are obviously more difficult.³³²

"Whore biographies", as they are commonly referred to in the historiography, occupy a curious place in the entertainment literature of the period. Whore biographies were a subset of the criminal biographies that gained popularity in the early eighteenth century as the English people developed an interest in the lives of criminals.³³³ Paul A. Scanlon asserts that this fascination arose from a perception of increased crime in the country and belief in the dangerous nature of the London streets.³³⁴ Scanlon notes that this anxiety resulted in a flurry of ephemeral print, literature, and criminal biography that recounted the history, criminal exploits, and often death of the protagonist, and argues that female criminals, highwaymen, and pirates were especially compelling to the early

³³⁰ Laura J. Rosenthal, 2008. *Nightwalkers: Prostitute Narratives from the Eighteenth Century*. (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press), xvi.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, xviii.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Paul A. Scanlon. 2005. "Introduction" to Daniel Defoe's *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*. (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press), 59, 9.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

modern audience.³³⁵ Whore biographies, moreover, often included salacious details of seductions and sexual conquests in addition to the personal history and criminal behaviour of the central character. Male writers also often wrote in the female first person. All these features are evident in Alexander Oldys's *The London Jilt* (1683) or Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722) and were probably utilized to provide a more intimate and titillating account of events.

Melissa Mowry defines whore biographies as a separate genre from other early modern pornography and erotica, arguing with Michael McKeon and Ian Watt that a central difference with whore biographies is “the assertion of personal authority over social authority” in the decisions of the protagonist.³³⁶ Peakman argues that whore biographies are first identified as a “new literary sub-genre” in the early eighteenth century, and encompassed both “libertine” pornography and “mainstream novels” such as Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722).³³⁷ Peakman also asserts that the typical narratives, in which a young woman is forced into transactional sex after a rape or seduction or seeks wealthy clients in a bid for a decadent lifestyle and social mobility, represented the “male-oriented view of the women they are describing and of the world of prostitution” and were promoted by male writers whom Peakman refers to as “hacks.”³³⁸ These whore biographies often combined titillating imagery and descriptions with moral warnings of the consequences of lost virtue or the terrible fate that awaited unrepentant delinquents.³³⁹

Mowry emphasizes the political satire inherent in Restoration era depictions of

³³⁵ Scanlon, “Introduction” to Daniel Defoe's *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, 10.

³³⁶ Melissa Mowry. 2004. *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714*. (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited), 8.

³³⁷ Julie Peakman, Alexander Pettit, and Patrick Spedding. 2006. *Whore Biographies, 1700-1825*. (London: Pickering & Chatto), ix.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, x-xi.

³³⁹ Peakman, *Whore Biographies, 1700-1825*, x.

sexually immoral women, and argues that “its intimate involvement in the seventeenth-century argument over the limits of political enfranchisement make it impossible to cordon off the genre from two other foundational developments of modernity: the emergence of liberalism and the rise of the bourgeois public sphere.”³⁴⁰ Though the political and religious elements of pornographic literature are not the focus of this thesis, Mowry’s assertion that works such as Alexander Oldys’s *The London Jilt* (1683) feature the descent of women into sexual immorality because of the claim that “their fathers had lost everything by siding with Parliament during the civil wars” taps into the use of political pornography as a tool of attack in the early modern and civil war period.³⁴¹

Furthermore, Mowry argues

these broadsides, balladsheets, and pamphlets are far more interested in the social standings and political affiliations of the men and women involved in these sexual liaisons than in explicit sexual descriptions. Whether most of English culture believed that all prostitutes were democratic agitators, or not, within Stuart loyalist polemic she came to symbolize the contention that access to political power was a right rather than a privilege. As a result, prostitutes appeared surrounding every major challenge to crown authority...in the late Stuart period.³⁴²

Mowry recognizes that this “political and sexual propriety of common women’s bodies” is eventually replaced by concern over common women’s “class and natural disposition.”³⁴³ Though Mowry’s argument focuses heavily on the use of political pornography as a partisan weapon between republican and royalist forces during the Restoration, her recognition of the early modern common woman as a cultural and political signpost can be applied to the depictions of sexually immoral women as

³⁴⁰ Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714*, 6.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

breaching both class and morality boundaries through cross-class dressing and social deception.

Many of the criminal biographies, poems, and comedies of the early modern period feature women engaging in transactional sex. They also appear very concerned with describing the price of sex acts and the mercenary nature of commercial sex workers. This trend is displayed in Michael Altham's broadsheet *An Auction of Whores: Or, The Bawds Bill of Sale for Bartholomew Fair* (1691), in which women

will be exposed to Sale, by Auction, a curious Collection of painted Whores, Cracks, Night-Walkers, Newgate-Nappers, Bridewel-Workers, Ladies of Pleasure, Cart-Dancers; with other such dissembling Pick-pocket Cheats, some Pox'd, some Clap'd, and some quite rotten and ready to fall in pieces: Some whereof will smile in your faces, and yet be ready, behind your backs, to cut your Throats for Sixpence. Others will chuck you under the Chin, with their Left-hands, and with their Right be picking your pockets...Others will put one hand in your Cod-piece, and another in your Watch-pocket.³⁴⁴

Following this description, over sixteen varieties of common women are listed in descending order of cost, from the most expensive "St. James Park...Whores, in gorgeous [sic] apparel, and well drest" for "01 01 06... price per piece" to the least expensive whores "from Salubury [sic] Court, Neutler's Lane and Black Mary's Hole 2399 Whores, wherof are pox'd 2398, lost their Noses 392, at several prices."³⁴⁵ Altham notes "There are a great many more, whom I cannot conveniently mention here, such as, Country Whores, Ubiquitarian Whores, Journey women Whores, and Whores from all parts of England...with Whores of all sorts and sizes, where you may pick and choose, and please

³⁴⁴ Michael Altham. 1691. *An Auction of Whores: Or, The Bawds Bill of Sale for Bartholomew Fair, Held in the Cloisters, near Smithfield*. (London: Printed for N.H, over against the Eagle and Child, in St. Martin Le Grand.)

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

your selves.”³⁴⁶ Altham notes that the estimated number of whores will be sixty-five thousand.³⁴⁷ While this is obviously satire, it does very concisely speak to divisions between transactional sex workers based on quality and estimated worth, and demonstrates the developing conception of common women’s bodies as commodities for sale.

A clear concern for profit appears in the character of the brothel keeper as well. The bawd in Theophilus Cibber’s theatrical adaptation of Hogarth’s *The Harlot’s Progress* (1732) examines the protagonist Moll Hackabout with a high price in mind:

On Hackabout she fix’d her Eyes,
When Joy was mixed with Surprise,
Resolving it should be her Care
To catch poor Polly in her Snare:
Her Looks, her Air, her Dress, her Shape,
Would tempt an Anchorite to Rape;
And Bent---y [sic] always sold a Thing
For as much Money as ’twou’d bring.³⁴⁸

Richard Ames’s poem *The Female Fire-Ships. A Satyr Against Whoring* (1691) also emphasizes the mercenary attitude of transactional sex workers, and notes the inevitable infidelity of a woman whose affections are bought. He argues that while a mistress may tell a gallant that he is “the only Creature She can prize, joy of her Heart, and Pleasure of her Eyes” she will nonetheless maintain as many lovers as she chooses, and that “just perhaps before those Oaths she swore, Some Fav’rite Spark had issued out of Door, Blest

³⁴⁶ Altham. 1691. *An Auction of Whores: Or, The Bawds Bill of Sale for Bartholomew Fair, Held in the Cloisters, near Smithfield.*

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Theophilus Cibber, 1733. *The Harlot’s Progress.* in *The Harlot’s Progress and the Rake’s Progress* (1977). Eds. William E. Conway et al. (Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society), 6.

with those Joys, you pay so dearly for.”³⁴⁹ Her sense of duty and loyalty can only be awakened if he chooses to leave her, for

When you with-draw your *Golden Showers of Grace*,
Like a true Jilt, she’ll curse you to your Face:
In vain to Constancy they make pretension,
For loss of Love still follows loss of *Pension*.³⁵⁰

Ames argues that all common women are the same and use the same tricks to deceive and take advantage of men, stating: “You would find that Jilting, Falsehood, Lying, Counterfeit Sighs, and Subtle Arts of Dying, Feign’d Tears, False, Vows, and several Vertues more, Are Qualities inseparable from the Whore.”³⁵¹ Ames mentions the seduction of young men picked up by common women at the playhouse, who are then brought to a tavern and made drunk, for “in the height of Wine, if he’s but willing, [she] Will soon unrig her self, for one poor Shilling.”³⁵² He refers to the lowest type of sex workers as “Cracks”, whose baseness apparently makes all previously mentioned common women “no Whores at all” in comparison.³⁵³ Ames asserts that streetwalkers will rob any intoxicated man they come across, as “Whore and Thief are in one sense the same”, and that women who can “bear a dozen leaps a night” should be avoided at all costs, for “Aches, Buboes, Shankers, Nodes and Poxes, Are Hid in Females Dam’d Pandora’s Boxes.”³⁵⁴ Ames also refers to a potential customer as “property”, an odd word choice considering the usual direction of the transactional exchange made between

³⁴⁹ Ames, *The Female Fire-Ships*, 5.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁵³ Ames, 10; Paul Griffiths, 1998. “Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England”. *Seventeenth Century*. (13, no. 2: 212-238), 215. Ames also utilizes the term “nightwalker” in his work in an ambiguous manner, using it in a more general context to describe those men and women who wander at night in search of entertainment or sex, similar to the uses of the term as described by Paul Griffiths in the Old Bailey and Bridewell records.

³⁵⁴ Ames, 13, 14.

“cully” and “whore.”³⁵⁵ However, this particular use of the term “property” could simply be a product of the developing commercial tones of the sex trade.

The idea of female sexuality as a commodity for “public” sale also features prominently in the fiction of the early modern era. The anonymous poem *The Whores and Bawd’s Answer to the Fifteen Comforts of Whoring* (1706) provides a very interesting example of the conceptions of public and private whoring during the early eighteenth century.³⁵⁶ In the poem, a woman’s gallant is sorely deceived in her faithfulness, as she begins seeing other men as soon as he secures her expensive living quarters and allowance:

’Tis true, the Fop thinketh to secure’d
To himself, in private Lodgings some fine Whore
He is a fool...she’ll not be confined,
To any Man altho’ he’s are so kind;
For being then high Pampered and Fed,
In absence of her Cull she takes to Bed
Another, that with Gold allures her too;
For thinks she, when her Chap is tir’d quite,
And turns her off in others to delight,
From all she can she’ll privately receive,
When that she bids adieu her Master’s Bed,
To get by publick jilting Tricks her Bread.³⁵⁷

The author makes a very clear distinction between the allegedly monogamous sexual relationship that she “privately” engages in, and the indiscriminate transactional sex referred to as “publick jilting.”³⁵⁸ Another woman, this time an unfaithful wife and neglectful mother, turns “an errant Strumpet by degrees” through occasional sex with men with whom she “makes a Bargain...to be kind.”³⁵⁹ The description of wives as the

³⁵⁵ Ames, *The Female Fire-Ships*, 15.

³⁵⁶ Anon, 1706. *The Whores and Bawd’s Answer to Fifteen Comforts of Whoring*. (London), 84.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Anon. 1707. *The Fifteen Comforts of a Wanton Wife: Or, the Fool Well Fitted*. (London), 102.

sexual possessions of men is of course not new, but the act of purchasing an otherwise “public” woman’s fidelity is an interesting confluence of traditional sexual ownership and the developing commercial identity of women engaging in transactional sex as publically sold commodities.³⁶⁰

Men’s willingness to pay more for younger and less experienced women is evident in the depictions of common women’s attempts to capitalize on the sale of their “virginity.”³⁶¹ John Marston’s play *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605) alludes to this sale. Here, a character argues that a bawd’s “shop” contains “the best ware...shee sels divine vertues as virginitie, modestie and such rare jemmes.”³⁶² The manufacturing of a second or even multiple virginities is a common feature in the fiction of the period. Peakman notes that a “virgin” could charge anywhere from ten to fifty guineas for her “maidenhead”, and that a regular transactional sex worker could expect only three guineas per encounter, even if she was at the “top end of the market.”³⁶³ The protagonist Cornelia in Alexander Oldys’s *The London Jilt, Or the Politick Whore* (1683) mentions multiple sales of her “maidenhead”, stating that she had “lost it several times after the manner of Italy.”³⁶⁴ Manufacturing the rupture of her hymen through the “use of a certain Water”, Cornelia finds that not only can she charge more for a “maidenhead”, but that when she pretends pain and “sighed and groaned...strongly” her customers “endeavoured

³⁶⁰Randolph Trumbach. 1998. *Sex and the Gender Revolution*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 23, 48; Ruth Mazo Karras. 1996. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 3. Karras argues “any woman not under the dominion of one man-husband, father, master-ran the risk that her independent behaviour would lead to her being labeled a whore” Trumbach notes further that “a woman’s sexual reputation was defined by her relationship to men, and by her status as a widow, or a maid. A wife could legitimately have relations only with her husband.”

³⁶¹ Alexander Oldys. 1673. *The London Jilt*, 62.

³⁶² John Marston. 1605. *The Dutch courtesan as it was playd in the blacke-friars, by the children of her Majesties Reuels*. (At London: Printed by T.P. for John Hodgets), B verso.

³⁶³ Julie Peakman, *The Whore Biographies 1700-1825*. (London: Pickering & Chatto), xi.

³⁶⁴ Oldys, *The London Jilt*, 62.

to make me forget this feigned Grief, by the Unguent of several Guinnies.”³⁶⁵ She continues this deception until she has been “broach’d so often, that the Orifice became too large, and the Artifices were no longer of any use”, at which point she begins to engage in more routine transactional sex.³⁶⁶ Cornelia also demonstrates a keen sense of the value of her time, stating “if he [a customer] had staid with me but a quarter of an hour beyond the time he had appointed... I feared I might have lost the Money of one Gallant or other, to whom I had given a Rendezvous at that time.”³⁶⁷ All interactions with an established gallant are “recompenced [sic], if not with Money, with a Piece of Plate, or a Ring, or some such like matter, that might mount to the value of two or three hundred...”³⁶⁸

Ties between sex and commerce are also evident in the descriptions of commercial ventures as covers for transactional sex. The aforementioned whore biography *The London Jilt, Or the Politick Whore* (1683) focuses on Cornelia’s life and exploits as a common woman.³⁶⁹ Once she is too old to trade on her own sexual capital, Cornelia sets up a luxury shop in her home, and plays bawd to a young “miss” who she employs to “exercise with her the same Trade I had done before with my own Flesh.”³⁷⁰ As outlined in the previous chapter, the reputation of shop girls as sexually promiscuous and prone to engaging in transactional sex strongly influenced perceptions not only of women working in the commercial sector but also of major commercial areas like the Royal Exchange. Cornelia states: “my Shop served for a pretext to Gentlemens coming

³⁶⁵ Oldys, *The London Jilt*, 62.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 71.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 72.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.,

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

into my House, and all was so peaceably governed there, that my nearest Neighbours hardly knew that I committed the least thing that was not honest, becoming and Civil.”³⁷¹

The shop provides a convincing cover for the transactional sex that is taking place within the house, and operates successfully for four years until Cornelia survives a dangerous illness and mends her ways in repentance.³⁷² In John Marston’s play *The Dutch*

Courtesan (1605), Mistress Mulligrub, the wife of a vintner, refers to a merchant who keeps his attractive wife in his shop to lure customers, stating

an honest man hee is, and a crafty, hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him, and his wife is a proper woman that she is, well, she has ben [sic] as proper a woman as any in Cheape, she paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old Customers to him still. Introth a fine fac’d wife, in a wainscot carued seat, is a worthy ornament to a Tradesman shop, and an attractive I warrant, her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware...³⁷³

Though the tradesman’s wife is not directly accused of sexual interaction with the customers, her flirtatious nature is commercially beneficial to her husband, and the comparison of her behaviour with that of the women in Cheapside is no compliment.

As stated in the previous chapter, references to the maritime trade in descriptions of commercial sex appear frequently. Richard Ames argues in *The Female Fire-Ships A Satyr Against Whoring: in a letter to a friend, just come to town* (1691) that streetwalkers will operate in an open and adversarial manner, with “Their Eye-balls rolling round from place to place, Each Man they meet, they stare him in the Face”, behaviour in which chaste and respectable women would never engage.³⁷⁴ Ames describes these women as

³⁷¹ Oldys, *The London Jilt*, 124.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 123.

³⁷³ Marston, *The Dutch courtesan as it was playd in the blacke-friars, by the children of her Majesties Reuels*, E3.

³⁷⁴ Ames, *The Female Fire-Ships*, 11.

“Nocturnal Privateers” and “Pyrates of the Night”, who “no Prizes spare.”³⁷⁵ Ames’s aforementioned comment about a woman who would “unrig her self” for a shilling is not unusual, and multiple references to a woman’s clothing as “rigging” appear in the descriptions of common women.³⁷⁶ In Alexander Oldys’s *The London Jilt* (1683), the protagonist Cornelia describes being taken to the Strand to “rig me anew from Top to Toe, for though the Cloaths I had were New, and in the Mode... I resembled rather the Daughter of a Rich Merchant, than of an Hostess, yet they did not please him, by reason they did not suit with his Clothes, which were as Costly and Rich as if he had been a Duke.”³⁷⁷ This requirement for Cornelia to dress above her social class in order to please her gallant is also a clear example of cross-class dressing. What is particularly interesting is that her gallant engages in cross-class dressing as well. Despite his appearance as a “Duke”, he is in fact just a wealthy squire.³⁷⁸

Anxieties over cross-class dressing are an integral element of the ambiguous social and economic identity that common women inhabited, and can be traced back to the medieval period. As seen in an earlier chapter, sumptuary laws served to identify common women and visually to separate them from the rest of the population. Ruth Mazo Karras notes that medieval common women were forbidden to wear fur and other rich fabrics, a regulation designed to prevent them from dressing above their status and showing off the proceeds from their sexual immorality.³⁷⁹ It seems clear that another reason for the prohibition was to prevent women from “passing” in medieval society as anything other than the common women they really were.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ames, *The Female Fire-Ships*, 9.

³⁷⁷ Oldys, *The London Jilt*, 51.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Karras, *Common Women*, 21.

Thomas Middleton's play *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1608) provides an excellent example of the potential repercussions of cross-class dressing that early modern men feared. In it, the gentleman Theodorus Witgood is prevented from marrying Joyce, the niece of a London merchant named Walkadine Hoard because of his debts. In order to free himself from his financial constraints, Witgood passes off his former mistress Jane as his recently widowed and wealthy fiancée in an attempt to muster more credit, and in the process attracts competition for her hand.³⁸⁰ Walkadine Hoard attempts to steal the former mistress, who claims a pre-contract with Witgood and refuses her consent unless Hoard pays off Witgood's debts.³⁸¹ Once the debts are paid, Witgood marries Hoard's niece Joyce in secret and exposes the deception at Hoard's wedding dinner.³⁸² Though angry, the hoodwinked Hoard accepts his new bride despite the knowledge that she was a former mistress. Rather than face the public humiliation of putting aside his "Dutch widow," Hoard keeps her, though he bemoans the fact that he "must imbrace [sic] shame, to be rid of shame", and that "[c]onceald [sic] disgrace prevents a publick name."³⁸³ Hoard is mollified by Witgood's assertion that she "nere had common use, nor common thought...excepting but my selfe, I dare sweare shees a Virgin", and reconciles with his new wife who assures him that since "She that knows sinne, knowes best how to hate sinne" she will be faithful and chaste.³⁸⁴ Despite Hoard's reconciliation with the courtesan, his disappointment and embarrassment are clear. His first response upon

³⁸⁰ Thomas Middleton, 1608. *A Trick to Catch the Old-One: As it hath beene lately acted, by the children of Paules*. (At London: Printed by George Eld, and are to be sold at his house in Fleet-lane at the signe of the Printers-presse), A3v.

³⁸¹ Middleton, 1608. *A Trick to Catch the Old-One*, A3v.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, H2v-H3r.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, H3r. The labeling of the courtesan as "Dutch" may a reference to John Marston's play *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605), or an allusion to the large number of Dutch common women working in London after the wars with Spain, which will be discussed below.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

hearing that his new wife was a mistress to another is to ask: “Oh, nor Lands, nor living?”³⁸⁵ The courtesan’s cross-class dressing has not only resulted in Hoard’s highly embarrassing marriage to an unchaste woman, but his extensive self-congratulation throughout the play now looks incredibly foolish.³⁸⁶ Interestingly in this case, Hoard appears to be equally distressed by his new wife’s poverty and her unchaste nature. However, regardless of a woman’s ability to purchase the trappings of the upper class, early modern English society considered women of ambiguous or immoral reputation to be permanently tainted. It is clear from the fictional portrayals of sexually immoral women that when cross-class dressing enabled them to deceive or manipulate men, the effect would be negative whether or not they had ever charged.

This manipulation of identity and social class was displayed not only in the actions of characters who appeared on stage, but also by the behaviour of the actors themselves. Acting as a female occupation drew intense social criticism because of its public nature. As a woman whose “feet abide not in her house” and a public figure who drew the attention of the population, the actress was an ideal target for conservative commentators.³⁸⁷ Her penchant for dressing above her station both on stage and off recalled transactional sex workers who paraded as “fine ladies” in order to attract a higher quality clientele and those who desired sexual relations with women of a higher class than themselves.³⁸⁸ Emphasis on the clear economic and sexual division between the social classes was important in the aftermath of the English Civil War and Interregnum,

³⁸⁵ Middleton, 1608. *A Trick to Catch the Old-One*, H2v.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., H2r. Almost immediately before the courtesan’s secret is revealed, Hoard announces “I am in love with my Liveryes every time I thinke on e’m, they make a gallant show by my troth.”

³⁸⁷ Daniel MacLauchlan. 1735. *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication*. (London), 23.

³⁸⁸ Varholý, “Rich Like a Lady”: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London”, 14.

and uncertainties regarding identity and social status were of paramount importance after so much upheaval.³⁸⁹ Mary Jo Kietzman argues that fear of pretenders to the throne made any charge of pretension to a higher social class more incendiary than it might have been in more settled times.³⁹⁰ She also suggests that fears of royalty or persons pretending to be royalty and nobility returning from the Continent after the Restoration and demanding the return of their lands and titles were high.³⁹¹

Though mistresses of wealthy individuals were more likely to have delusions of nobility than a streetwalker or middling class common woman, anxiety over the social pretension of delinquent women nevertheless existed. The advent of female actresses onto English stages after 1660 produced criticism from social commentators and some authorities, because their embodiment of a series of different roles, genders, classes, and morals on stage “overreached [their] social origins” and “violated the concept of true identity.”³⁹² Although published before the English Civil War, William Prynne’s *Histrio-Mastix, The Player’s Scourge* (1633) and its description of female actors upon the stage as “notorious whores” encapsulated the widespread opinion that “public women” were immoral and sexually available.³⁹³ Bradford K. Mudge argues that “by the eighteenth century, the debate over the masquerade solidified the connections between prostitution and fiction to such a degree that the two were melded together, each a constitutive metaphor for the other.”³⁹⁴ This “fiction” spilled over to the stage and into the audience. If actresses who played characters of higher social status than themselves were morally

³⁸⁹ Kietzman, *The Self-Fashioning of an Early Modern Englishwoman*, 39-40.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁹² Deborah Payne Fisk, “The Restoration Actress”, in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. Susan J. Owen. (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 71.

³⁹³ Payne Fisk, “The Restoration Actress”, 69.

³⁹⁴ Bradford K. Mudge. 2000. *The Whore’s Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684-1830*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 227.

ambiguous, already “public” common women who displayed wealth beyond their status or dressed above their class were worse, for they were guilty of both disguising their sinful profession and blurring social divisions.³⁹⁵

Cristine Varholly argues that there was an intrinsic tie between the theatre and sexual immorality in early modern London.³⁹⁶ She notes that the Bridewell records concerning women charged for sexual indiscretions often described them as having decided to “play the whore” or “playe the harlotte.”³⁹⁷ In addition, cross-class dressing in a woman was taken as a sign of sexual immorality and an attempt to appear as a woman of higher social class than she really was.³⁹⁸ The playhouses themselves were also viewed as arenas of dissipation, a stereotype augmented by their proximity to the seedy areas of London like the Southwark stews, and their reputation as a venue of sexual solicitation.³⁹⁹ Richard Ames argues, in his poem *The Female Fire ships* (1691), that many common women occupied the playhouses in early modern London, and that

The Play-house is their place of Traffick, where
Nightly they sit, to sell their Rotten Ware;
Tho done in silence and without a Cryer,
Yet he who bids the most, is still the Buyer;
For while he nibbles at her Am'rous Trap,
She gets the Money, but he gets the Clap.⁴⁰⁰

The use of the playhouse as a place to gather customers also features in Thomas Cranley’s whore biography *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore* (1635).⁴⁰¹ Cranley refers to the morally ambiguous playhouse as a location of Amanda’s debauchery, stating

³⁹⁵ Varholly, ““Rich Like a Lady”: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London”, 6.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 4, 11.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 11.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 7.

³⁹⁹ Gurr, Andrew. 2000. “The Authority of the Globe and the Fortune”, in *Material London, ca. 1600*. Ed. By Lena Cown Orlin. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 256.

⁴⁰⁰ Ames, *The Female Fire ships*, 8.

The places thou dost usually frequent,
Is to some Play-house in an afternoone.
And for no other meaning, and intent,
But to get company to sup with soone,
More changeable, and wavering than the Moone.
The amorous spectators for to wooe thee.⁴⁰²

Here and in other locations about town Amanda attracts customers through a variety of disguises that offer alternate identities and social classes depending on her client. Cranley criticizes the “box with curls, and counterfeited haire, Flaxes, browne, yellow, some as black’s a Crow” and various types of cosmetics and accessories that Amanda uses to camouflage herself.⁴⁰³ Cranley argues that thus disguised, “Rich like a Lady, and attended so, As brave as any Countess dost thou [Amanda] goe.”⁴⁰⁴

Women engaging in transactional sex appeared on the stage as well as in the theatre itself. Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) makes frequent reference to whoring and includes allusions to cost. The real Bartholomew Fair was first held in 1133 by a charter from Henry I, and soon became known for its dissipation and common entertainment, prone to petty theft, fighting, and sexually immoral women.⁴⁰⁵ Jonson’s play was definitely popular: re-staged multiple times in England and at least once in Dublin in 1670, it earned the recommendation of Samuel Pepys, who noted that “the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it.”⁴⁰⁶ In the play, one woman accuses another of limiting her business by wearing expensive clothing, as “The poor common whores can ha’ no traffic, for the privy rich ones; your caps and hoods of velvet call away our

⁴⁰¹ Cranley, *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*, 35.

⁴⁰² Cranley, *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*, 35

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁰⁵ Ben Jonson, and Simon Trussler. 1986. *Bartholomew Fair*. (London: Methuen Student Editions), xxiii. ; Kristy Milne, “Reforming Bartholomew Fair: Bunyan, Jonson, and the Puritan Point of View.” *The Huntington Library Quarterly*; 2011, 74, 2; 289-308), 300.

⁴⁰⁶ Milne, “Reforming Bartholomew Fair: Bunyan, Jonson, and the Puritan Point of View”, 289, 294.

customers, and lick the fat from us.”⁴⁰⁷ Jonson also makes a passing reference to “twelve penny ladies”, but the actual “whore” characters in the play are married women duped briefly into whoring at the fair, and who do not seem actually to engage in much or any transactional sex at all.⁴⁰⁸ Win-the-Fight Littlewit and her mother Madame Overdo are tricked into dressing as whores through a pimp’s manipulation of their desire to dress as gentlewomen.⁴⁰⁹ Their identities are revealed at the end of the play and both characters return to their previous social status and identity relatively unharmed, though likely embarrassed.⁴¹⁰ Jonson makes the social impropriety and moral risk inherent in cross-class dressing clear here, though the characters face no direct consequences. The majority of characters in *Bartholomew Fair* are of the same low class, so the unilateral insistence on chastity or the appearance of it may be less important than it would be in higher classes with inheritance concerns, and the issue of cross-class dressing may be less threatening. The lack of consequences may also reflect the fact that neither woman actually engages in transactional sex. As a widow and a married woman, neither woman risked losing her virginity. Either way, the treatment and depiction of “whores” in *Bartholomew Fair* provides an interesting and ambiguous counterpoint to the censure and stigma that is displayed in other fiction of the period.

This stigma is very evident in the treatment of the courtesan Franceschina in John Marston’s play *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605).⁴¹¹ Staged sometime between 1603 and 1605, *The Dutch Courtesan* showcases the stereotype of the “whore” at her worst, as a

⁴⁰⁷ Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, Act IV, Scene V., 92.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., Act V, S.VI, pg. 122.

⁴⁰⁹ Varholý, ““Rich Like a Lady”: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London”, 25.

⁴¹⁰ Jonson, Act V, S.VI, pg. 122-124.

⁴¹¹ John Marston. 1605. *The Dutch Courtesan*. ; Majorie Rubright. 2010. "Going Dutch in London City comedy: Economies of sexual and sacred exchange in John Marston's: The Dutch Courtesan (1605)".

scorned lover who promises Malheureux, the friend of her former lover Freevill, that she will sleep with him if he kills Freevill.⁴¹² This anger results from Freevill's casual attempt to pass Franceschina on to his friend upon his betrothal to Beatrice Subboys, the virginal daughter of a knight.⁴¹³ Freevill asserts "by heaven I resigne her freely, the creature and I must growe of [sic], by this time shee has assuredly heard of my resolved marriage, and no question swears, Gods Sacrament, ten Towsand Divells..."⁴¹⁴ Though by no means a moral superior to the two male protagonists, Franceschina is purposefully victimized by their actions, and is clearly regarded by Freevill and Malheureux as disposable.

The character of Franceschina is not without feeling, and her pain and anger upon hearing of Freevill's impending marriage are dramatic. She accuses her bawd of bringing "mine love, mine honor, mine boddy all to nothing", and then lambastes her lover Freevill openly, crying "You doe not love me, I heare of Sir Hubert Subboys's daughter Mistresse Beatrice, Gods Sacrament, ick could scratch out her eyes, and sucke the holes."⁴¹⁵ Calling her a "punke rampant", Freevill abandons her to Malheureux, who despite his claims of virtuously loving Franceschina attempts to sleep with her immediately.⁴¹⁶ She refuses him unless he agrees to kill Freevill and bring her his ring as

English Literary Renaissance. (40 (1): 88-112), 95. Though portrayed first and foremost as a common woman, the character of Franceschina is also highly foreign. Majorie Rubright argues that Franceschina's Dutch origins, as well as her "Italianate name" illustrate her willingness to sexually engage with other foreign men, an openness that the highly xenophobic early modern English audience would have abhorred. Rubright also notes the large influx of Dutch individuals to London after the wars with Spain and argues that Marston's play is indicative of the tensions between "foreign and domestic" as reflected in "the fault line of Freevill's binary logic (patriarchal household versus bawdy house equals England versus the Low Countries)" which she argues "expose[s] the instability of the ground upon which his two houses and geographies rest.", 93.

⁴¹² Leinwand, Theodore B. 1986. *The city staged: Jacobean comedy, 1603-1613*. (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press), 61. There is some debate over when the first staging of the play occurred, but it is estimated between 1603 and 1605.

⁴¹³ John Marston. *The Dutch Courtesan*. 1605. (London: Printed by T.P for John Hodgets), A4r, B2r, B3r.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Cr.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, C3r, C3v.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, C3 verso- C4.; Williams, 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean*

a sign of his death.⁴¹⁷ Malheureux recounts this plan to Freevill, calling Franceschina “devilishly mad”, though he states that “I must use her” and regrets “that I man of sense should conceive endlesse pleasure in a body whose soule I know to be so hideously blacke.”⁴¹⁸ Freevill suggests that the men fake his death, and that Malheureux “shew her this Ring, injoy her, and [in] bloud colde Weele laugh at folly.”⁴¹⁹ This scheme works well until Franceschina announces Freevill’s death to Beatrice and her father, which results in Malheureux’s arrest for murder.⁴²⁰ Freevill eventually reveals himself to save Malheureux from execution, though Franceschina still faces her punishment of “the extremest whip and jaile.”⁴²¹ Marston makes it clear by the behaviour of Freevill and Malheureux that is impossible to feel real love for an unchaste woman, and that Franceschina is merely an object to be used freely by the male characters of the play. Whether through the treatment of common women by other characters, or by the description of immoral women themselves, much of the fiction of the period seems to argue that sexual delinquency so permanently damaged a woman that treating her as less than human was perfectly acceptable.

Randolph Trumbach is very clear on the severity of the damage that even the accusation of being a “whore” could create. He argues that for an early modern woman, “a sexual indiscretion could ruin her for life and lose her any chance of marrying”, and in the vast majority of cases this was not an exaggeration.⁴²² He notes a 1701 case in which a woman charged with calling another a “whore” claimed that she had used the term

and Stuart Literature 3, Q - Z. (London: Athlone Press), 1470. “Punke” was one of the many euphemisms or slang words for “whore.”

⁴¹⁷ Marston. *The Dutch Courtesan*, C4r, C4v.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, E2r.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, E2v.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, F4v.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, H3r.

⁴²² Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 48.

“strumpet”, but denied using the more severe word in an effort to reduce her risk of punishment for defamation.⁴²³ He also argues that defamation cases sometimes resulted because terms of sexual slander were the most common type of “verbal abuse” levied against women, not because a woman had actually engaged in illicit sex.⁴²⁴ The belief in the moral destruction wrought by the untimely loss of virginity is apparent in the dramatic moral change of the character Moll Hackabout in *The Harlot’s Progress*. After she loses her virginity through rape, Hackabout bemoans the incredible cost and difficulty of maintaining a “maidenhead”, and decides that she shall “make it earn its Meat.”⁴²⁵ Hackabout’s immediate shift from an innocent girl from the country to an apathetic and disillusioned transactional sex worker is dramatic, though the reality of the limited economic and marital options of a young woman alone in the city without reputation or support would have been dramatic as well. The heavy moral cost of this loss is widely echoed in the fiction of the period. Ames argues in *The Female Fireships. A Satyr Against Whoring* (1691) that “this old Maxim does all Mankind know, That She’s that’s once a Whore, is always so.”⁴²⁶ Ames ends his poem with a call for men to forsake whores and return to the chaste women of society. He charges the reader of the poem to “think a Vertuous Woman all Divine”, and to be “happy in a Charming Bride.”⁴²⁷ Married to a virginal and chaste woman, men will “safely ride” through “Life’s Rough Seas.”⁴²⁸

This assumption of the irredeemable depravity of common women is expressed in

⁴²³ Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 35.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴²⁷ Ames, Richard. *The Female Fire-Ships*, 19.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

thoroughly unsubtle ways throughout Alexander Oldys's *The London Jilt, Or the Politick Whore* (1683).⁴²⁹ Oldys states in his introduction that even "the best and finest of our Common Whores" are "filthy, nasty, and stinking carcasses" that receive "all manner of filth."⁴³⁰ He cautions men to

Avoid all their Cursed Allurement, and be mindful that a Snake lies concealed under such bewitching Appearances, and how beautiful and attractive forever the outside of the Apple may be, that is Rotten and Pestilient [sic] at Core. But it is time, Reader, that thou seest our Jilt exposed naked in all her Deformities, that is may so create a horror in thee for ward thou before so eagerly pursuest, and so fondly adorest.⁴³¹

This moral depravity and licentiousness are expressed by Cornelia directly in the text, when she ridicules the naïve trust her gallants place in her fidelity and affection, arguing

You may be assured you simple Young or Old Lovers, that when a Woman Exposes her self thus by abandoning her self to Strangers, she either does it to get Money or to satisfy her Lascivious Temper; if it be for the first Reason, why should she not endeavour to receive it from any other Person as well as you? And if it be to content her Lust and Lasciviousness, you may firmly believe, that not one Man nor fix, are sufficient to extinguish her Flame, and by Consequence you cannot be the only person who possesses her Favour.⁴³²

Cornelia eventually experiences a moral epiphany and reforms, but along the way she sleeps with and defrauds numerous men, makes her husband a cuckold, and inducts young women into her trade.⁴³³

Paul A. Scanlon argues, in his introduction to Daniel Defoe's whore biography *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (1722), that the protagonist's main character development and most significant emotional event occur in

⁴²⁹ Oldys, *The London Jilt, Or the Politick Whore*, 1.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 123.

her relationship and debauchment by the eldest son of her host family.⁴³⁴ This liaison is not only fundamentally transactional, it sets Moll on a path of immorality that continues throughout the book. Beginning as an improper but not irredeemable flirtation with the elder brother of her host family, this relationship eventually becomes a seduction, and money features in every step of the process. Moll tells her own story in the first person throughout the novel, and states that after flattering her, her seducer “threw me down upon the bed, and kiss’d me most violently; but to give him his due, offered no manner of rudeness to me, only kiss’d me a great while”, an activity for which she received five guineas in payment.⁴³⁵ Moll cites inexperience and genuine affection for her seducer as the causes of her downfall. Her gallant’s promises to marry her and provide for any potential offspring also factor in her decision.⁴³⁶ He provides a financial plan for her in the event of a pregnancy, and assures her that “I’ll take care of you, and provide for you, and the child too, and that you may see that I am not in jest, says he, here’s an earnest for you; and with that he pulls out a silk purse, with an hundred guineas in it, and gave it me; and I’ll give you such another, says he, every year till I marry you.”⁴³⁷ She expresses dissatisfaction and guilt regarding the ease of her seduction, stating

I gave up myself to a readiness of being ruined without the least concern, and am a fair *memento* to all young women, whose vanity prevails over their vertue: nothing was ever so stupid on both sides, had I acted as became me, and resisted as vertue and honour requir’d, this gentlemen had either desisted his attacks, finding no room to expect the accomplishment of his design, or had made fair, and honourable proposals of marriage; in which case, whoever had blam’d him, no body could have blam’d me. In short, if he had known me, and how easy the trifle he aim’d at, was to be had, he would have troubled his head no farther, but

⁴³⁴ Defoe, Daniel, and Paul A. Scanlon. 2005. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*. (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press), 59.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 63.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 63.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

have given me four or five guineas, and have lain with me the next time he had come at me....⁴³⁸

The actual moment of Moll's seduction is clearly and obviously transactional when she describes the gift of a purse of money to her by her lover, and notes that: "My colour came, and went, at the sight of the purse, and with the fire of his proposal together; so that I could not say a word, and he easily perceiv'd it; so putting the purse into my bosom, I made no more resistance to him, but let him do just what he pleas'd; and as often as he pleas'd; and thus I finishe'd my own destruction at once..."⁴³⁹

Moll is adamant about her reduced worth after the seduction, stating that: "being forsaken of my vertue, and my modesty, I had nothing of value left to recommend me, either to God's blessing, or man's assistance."⁴⁴⁰ Her insistence on her own worthlessness demonstrates not only the gravity of her situation should she be exposed but also the continued influence of the chastity binary on the sexual identity of early modern English women. The affair continues successfully in secret for some months until the younger brother falls in love with Moll and proposes.⁴⁴¹ The elder brother sees the proposal as an ideal way to settle Moll's future securely at no risk to himself, and endorses his brother's suit.⁴⁴² This betrayal by the man she loves wounds Moll considerably, and she regrets her seduction by the elder brother, stating "now I repented heartily my easiness with the eldest brother...from a view of the happiness I might have enjoy'd, and had now made impossible...I could not think of being a whore to one brother, and a wife to the

⁴³⁸ Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, 60-61.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*

other...⁴⁴³ The elder brother's explanation of her potential despair if she rejects the younger brother borders on threatening, arguing

...now dear child, *says he*, [sic] consider what it will be to marry a gentleman of a good family, in good circumstances, and with the consent of the whole house, and to enjoy all that the world can give you: and what on the other hand, to be sunk into the dark circumstances of a woman that has lost her reputation; and that tho' I shall be a private friend to you while I live, yet as I shall be suspected always; so you will be afraid to see me, and I shall be afraid to own you.⁴⁴⁴

This explanation of Moll's situation highlights the sexual double standard of less severe social consequences for the elder brother and the heavy consequences for Moll if she is discovered.⁴⁴⁵ Rather than face exposure as a ruined woman and be cast out of her comfortable situation as a ward of the family, the elder brother explains that Moll may

come into a safe station, and appear with honour, and with splendor at once, and the remembrance of what we have done, may be wrapt up in an eternal silence, as if it had never happen'd; you shall always have my respect, and my sincere affection, only then it shall be honest, and perfectly just to my brother, you shall be my dear sister...⁴⁴⁶

Frightened by her limited prospects, Moll states that "he reason'd me out of my reason; he conquered all my arguments, and I began to see a danger that I was in, which I had not consider'd of before, and that was of being drop'd by both of them, and left alone in the world to shift for myself."⁴⁴⁷ Moll eventually marries the younger brother in desperation. Despite her emotional rejection of the match, the marriage prevents her exposure as an unchaste woman and is financially and socially beneficial.⁴⁴⁸ Moll carries on to have a

⁴⁴³ Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, 64.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 67. "...I asked him, how he could make so light of it, when he must needs know, that if there was any discovery, I was undone for ever? and that even if it would hurt him, tho' not ruin him, as it would me: I upbraided him, that he was like all the rest of the sex, that when they had the character and honour of a woman at their mercy, often times made it their jest, and at least look'd upon it as a trifle, and counted the ruin of those, they had had their will of, as a thing of no value."

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 72.

series of affairs and marriages both in Britain and Virginia, and eventually resorts to theft to support herself in old age.⁴⁴⁹ Only after a conviction and a stayed execution for theft does Moll really regret her history of sexual immorality, deceit, and theft and reform.⁴⁵⁰ She eventually reunites with her favourite husband, a reformed highway man, and they return to Virginia together to live in relative comfort and anonymity.⁴⁵¹ Though *Moll Flanders* features transactional sex and the intersection of sex, money, and marriage, Moll's lost virginity has a direct effect on her subsequent sexual immorality and descent into criminal behaviour.

Thomas Cranley's *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore* (1635) provides one of the most dramatic examples of the cost of moral redemption for an immoral woman in the early modern period.⁴⁵² The work itself is difficult to define as fact or fiction. Cranley's poem has not been examined closely, with only two modern works appearing to deal with the text in any way. Cranley's 1635 text receives a notation in S.P Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies's *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents* (1996), in which the editors provide a brief plot summary of the work but state that "little is known" of the author, except that Cranley asserts in his introduction that he was a prisoner in the Fleet Prison.⁴⁵³ They do note that the title sold well enough to merit a second publication in 1639, indicating its relative commercial success and popularity.⁴⁵⁴ Despite its fairly serious tone, the work still features wording clearly meant to titillate audiences, including descriptions of Amanda's encounters with a man who "must feele if that thy brests are

⁴⁴⁹ Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, 204.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 286, 292.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 333.

⁴⁵² Cranley, *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*, 25.

⁴⁵³ S.P Cerasano, Marion Wynne-Davies, 1996. *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents*. (London and New York: Routledge), 219.

⁴⁵⁴ Cerasano, Wynne-Davies. *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents*, 219.

soft, And give thee in thy bed, thy mornings draft.”⁴⁵⁵ Cranley imagines this episode in detail, arguing that: “Then thou [Amanda] sit’st [sic] up, to bid him welcome in/ And striking of thy locks to eyther [sic] side, / Display’d thy brest, to shew thy milke white skin. / And if he list a journey for to ride, / Thou art a Hackney, that hast oft been ride.”⁴⁵⁶

Cranley notes on his title page that the work has been “composed, and made by Thomas Cranley; Gent. now a Prisoner in the Kings-bench, Anno Dom, 1635” and provides the motto “Poets doe tell of strange things not a few, Yet often times those things, though strange, are true.”⁴⁵⁷ Götz Schmitz argues that this and the church authorization for publication in Latin present in Cranley’s introduction point to the authenticity of Cranley’s story, as this type of permission for salacious works was not mandated at the publication date and thus was likely granted because Cranley was actually in custody.⁴⁵⁸ Schmitz argues that the King’s Bench was a gentlemen’s prison at the time of Cranley’s publication and that women of ill repute often frequented it, which he argues indicates the reliability of Cranley’s tale.⁴⁵⁹ However, this evidence seems to offer nothing more than the fact that Cranley was in fact an inmate at the King’s Bench at the time of the publication. Given the paucity of sources discussing Cranley’s work and life, it seems impossible to know definitively whether Amanda was a real individual or not. Irrespective of the authenticity of Cranley’s Amanda, the method in which Cranley presents her character and fate is consistent with the other “whore biographies” in its

⁴⁵⁵ Cranley, *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*, 36-37.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, A1r.

⁴⁵⁸ Götz Schmitz. 1990. *The Fall of Women in Early English Narrative Verse*. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press), 219.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

depiction of sexual immorality, cross-class dressing, and redemption through repentant chastity and death.

Cranley tells his story in the first person, documenting his notice of a woman who appears to be of high social standing, “a young Gentlewoman, of a comely feature, and sweete grace, appareled very richly, and attired according to the fashion then most in use.”⁴⁶⁰ His curiosity is further engaged when he realizes she is lodged among prisoners and in a fashion not befitting her supposed rank.⁴⁶¹ Cranley seeks to reform her once her occupation as a “woman apt to give entertainment to any that desired her company” is confirmed.⁴⁶² He begins to write and befriend her, and sends her a lengthy and impassioned written appeal to her morality and better judgment.⁴⁶³

The manner in which this is done is blatantly insulting to Amanda, but also demonstrates Cranley’s keen sense of the fragile nature of Amanda’s commercial worth as a commodity in demand.⁴⁶⁴ Cranley asserts that: “Thou art unchast [sic] (alas a word too milde), Thou art a strumpet, and more odious....Thou art a Harlot, or if it be more, Thou art a shameless, and a bold-fac’d whore.”⁴⁶⁵ He remarks on her beauty, calling it “divine” and “well-fashioned” and decries the waste of this beauty on the sex trade.⁴⁶⁶ He describes Amanda as a “thing”, too beautiful to be consumed by the masses for money:

what pity is’t that thou,
And those sweete beauties should be put to sale?
Why should they, unto every peasant bow,
Till they are worne out or waxed stale:
And their fresh colour turn’d into a pale?
Ist not a misery that such a woman,

⁴⁶⁰ Cranley, *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*, 1.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3-11.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

Should as a thing of nought be used in common?⁴⁶⁷

Cranley's work features the use of the term "prostitute" as a verb, with which he criticizes her sale of her beauty and her choice "to prostitute it with such exprobration [sic]."⁴⁶⁸ Cranley threatens her with her eventual fate as a piece of "Bridewell baggage", claiming that her high profits from her trade are attendant only on her youth and quality, and that as she ages

The price that was at first a hundred pounds
To quench the fury of their burning fire,
Fell quickly downe, to lesse than twenty Crownes.
Nay if that any were disposed to try her,
A single Crowne, or halfe a Crowne would buy he:
And rather then she would a cheapman misse,
She would be bought with halfe the price of this.⁴⁶⁹

Amanda's reaction to Cranley's lengthy letter setting out her moral failings and eventual damnation is dramatic. Falling immediately ill and remorseful, Amanda indulges in a lament that goes on for eight pages, describing how her behaviour that has isolated her from her family, friends, and marked her as a whore in the eyes of the public, crying that "my sad soule is that of sable hue, Stain'd with the spots of millions of sinne."⁴⁷⁰ She requests that Cranley sell her expensive jewelry, arguing that her necklaces and earrings are "for Ladies, and for wives of Earles. Not fit for Strumpets, and for light heel'd girles."⁴⁷¹ By removing the trappings of a gentlewoman, Amanda gives up her attempts at cross-class dressing and demonstrates the sincerity of her regret. She asks Cranley to remove her from the city that is "too full of base temptation", and convey her to the

⁴⁶⁷ Cranley, *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*, 26.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 50.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 68, 73.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 76.

country where she can reform herself through a “quiet civil life” and devotion to God.⁴⁷² Amanda moves in with Cranley’s mother and begins to write to other women who “led a wicked wanton life”, urging them to reform.⁴⁷³ She lives for two years in this reformed state of chastity and penitence, until she falls “through griefe into a heckticke feaver,” which ultimately kills her.⁴⁷⁴ Cranley writes that: “her death to her, a lasting life did give, her life before her death was mortified, and in her death, her life beautified.”⁴⁷⁵ It appears that a penitent and guilt induced death is the only adequate way to remedy Amanda’s life of sin and return her to the correct side of the chastity binary.

It is evident that early modern Londoners were fascinated with illicit sex, and eager to purchase both fictional and semi-fictional works of entertainment that depicted and discussed sexual immorality. From the descriptions of “two-pence” public whores to sophisticated and privately kept women, it is clear that the early modern English differentiated between women engaging in transactional sex based on the cost, quality, and the availability of their services. However, despite these divisions between types of transactional whores, non-transactional whores were viewed with a similar level of contempt and social censure. The premium placed on virginity in the marriage and employment markets, the belief in the moral debilitation caused by lost virginity, the fears of cross-class dressing as a method of concealing sexual immorality, and the all-encompassing social consequences of a woman’s sexually immoral behaviour all emphasize the gravity of the stigma placed on both transactional and non-transactional deviants. While increased commercial differentiation between types of transactional

⁴⁷² Cranley, *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*, 78.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 88.

sexual immorality does appear in the writings of the period, the consequences of a woman's loss of reputation as a virginal or chaste woman remained so severe throughout the early modern period that whether she charged money or not hardly mattered.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

It seems strange to me that she should be so presumptuous [sic] (considering that the world is well satisfied, what and who she is) and it is now generally known that she is the Production of an infamous brood, dropt from an Ale-tap, and the filthy base extraction of a Dunghill; and that she hath been and is a common and confident Curtizen; a Cursed Apostate, a Store-house of untruths, an armory of falshoods [sic], a Castle of impudency, a Treasury of Vice, an Enemy to all good, a receipt [sic] and Exchequer of Roguery, an inventer of Villany, and a Blasphemous detractor from all goodness good people [sic], nay even from God himself; and this I protest (with grief of my soul and pitty for her I relate) is the perfect and true Character of her.) I say I wonder at her presumption...⁴⁷⁶

This character assassination written by John Carleton about his estranged wife, Mary Carleton, occasioned by his discovery of her bigamy and fraud, is representative of the numerous publications written about Carleton during and after her trial for bigamy in 1663.⁴⁷⁷ A notorious bigamist and charlatan, Mary Carleton occupied the public imagination in the late seventeenth century and embodied early modern anxieties about cross-class dressing, public and common women, and sexual immorality.⁴⁷⁸ Her very public bigamy trial and sordid criminal history, including her eventual conviction and execution for theft in 1673, made Carleton a salacious and popular topic for early modern pamphleteers and the general public and garnered her enormous public exposure and criticism.⁴⁷⁹ Carleton's sexual reputation is also emblematic of the chastity binaries of the time, for her multiple marriages, aliases, and flagrant cross-class dressing earned her the

⁴⁷⁶ John Carleton, 1663. *The Ultimium Vale of John Carleton of the Middle Temple, London, Gent. Being a True Description of that Grand Imposter, Late a Pretended Germane-lady*. (London: Printed for J. Jones), 42.

⁴⁷⁷ Janet Todd, 2004. "Carleton, Mary (1634x42–1673)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4676>, accessed 16 Dec 2010].

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ Todd, "Carleton, Mary (1634x42–1673)."

identity of a “whore” in the public imagination, despite the fact that she was neither indiscriminately available nor engaging in transactional sex.

Mary Carleton was likely born between 1634 and 1642 under the surname Moders to parents of humble but respectable origins.⁴⁸⁰ Her first marriage to a local shoemaker named Steadman resulted in the births of two children who did not survive childhood.⁴⁸¹ Fleeing this marriage, she attempted to leave England for Barbados, but was caught and sent back to her husband in Canterbury.⁴⁸² Her second desertion of her husband was more successful, and she went on to marry a Dover surgeon named Day.⁴⁸³ Moders successfully avoided the resulting charge of bigamy by claiming that she believed her first husband to be dead.⁴⁸⁴ After acquittal, Moders allegedly travelled within Continental Europe, spending some time in Cologne, where she likely developed her alias as Maria von Wolway, a German noblewoman.⁴⁸⁵ Moders then returned to England, settling in London and operating under her German alias while looking for an advantageous marriage.⁴⁸⁶ Under this false identity Moders secured the affections of a young law clerk named John Carleton, who pretended to be a lord in order to court her. She married him after a quick courtship, becoming Mary Carleton.⁴⁸⁷ Upon John Carleton’s discovery that his new wife was neither noble nor rich, his family brought a second charge of bigamy

⁴⁸⁰ Janet M. Todd, Elizabeth Spearing, and Mary Carleton, 1994. *Counterfeit Ladies*. (Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press), xxvii.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, xxviii.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, xxvii.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, xxviii.

⁴⁸⁵ Janet Todd, “Carleton, Mary (1634x42–1673)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4676>, accessed 16 Dec 2010]

⁴⁸⁶ Todd, *Counterfeit ladies*, xxviii; Mary Jo Kietzman, 2004. *The self-fashioning of an early modern Englishwoman: Mary Carleton's lives*. (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate), 42. There is some variation of whether her adopted name was Maria de Wolway or Maria Von Wolway. For the purposes of this essay, Maria von Wolway will be used.

⁴⁸⁷ Todd, *Counterfeit ladies*, xxviii.

against her.⁴⁸⁸ The resulting trial at the Old Bailey became a media spectacle that the general public followed with great interest, in part because of its salacious aspects of bigamy, pretended wealth, and family drama, but also because Mary Carleton's "daring impersonation of rank" and bending of social and class hierarchies were deeply upsetting to a Restoration elite that was attempting to restore its hereditary rights and superiority.⁴⁸⁹ Carleton's blatant deception and very public persona exemplified early modern associations between cross-class dressing and sexual immorality, and also showcased the ramifications of social pretension and class fraud on early modern English society and its marriage market.

Mary Carleton's trial for bigamy in 1663 resulted in an acquittal owing to lack of evidence.⁴⁹⁰ Afterwards, Carleton quickly published two memoirs vindicating her character, and appeared as herself in T.P. Gent's play *A Witty Combat: or, The Female Victory. A Trage-Comedy* (1663).⁴⁹¹ Samuel Pepys saw the play on 15 April 1664, stating in his diary that "never was any thing so well done in earnest, worse performed in jest upon the stage; and indeed the whole play, abating the drollery of him that acts her husband, is very simple, unless here and there a witty sprinkle or two."⁴⁹² As a bigamist and cross-class dressing public woman upon the stage, the only stipulation for female immorality that Carleton did not meet is that she did not appear to charge for sex. Her whoredom was "private" rather than public because she was not indiscriminately

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁹ Todd, *Counterfeit Ladies*, xxix.

⁴⁹⁰ Elaine Hobby, 1989. *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649-88*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 94.

⁴⁹¹ T.P. Gent, 1663. *A Witty Combat: or, The Female Victory. A Trage-Comedy. As it was Acted by Persons of Quality in Whitson-Week with Great Applause*. (London, Printed for Tho. Robers, and Are to Be Sold at the Royal Exchange, Fleet-Street, and Westminster-Hall).

⁴⁹², *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, 15 April 1664*, Accessed 3 November 2011 at <http://www.pepysdiary.com/archive/1664/04/>.

available.⁴⁹³ However, her abandonment of successive husbands and bigamy in pursuit of upward social mobility, her criminal behaviour later in life, and her insistence on a vivacious public persona all marked her as a whore in the eyes of the early modern public. After this theatrical appearance Mary Carleton largely disappeared from print for ten years.⁴⁹⁴ It is known that she spent some time in Holland, returning to England in 1669, where she continued to assume alternate identities and began stealing, and that she was transported to Jamaica in 1671 as a punishment for theft, going on to be an indentured servant in Barbados for some time.⁴⁹⁵ Her return from Barbados two years later, and her choice to resume her alias of the “German Princess” put Carleton back into the spotlight when she was again caught stealing, and tried and hanged at Tyburn in 1673.⁴⁹⁶

Mary Carleton’s self-promotion in the form of her theatrical performance was likely a combination of her obvious desire for attention and an attempt to clear her name. Her motivations were also very commercial. Just as pamphlets and other articles of ephemeral print promoting illicit sexuality needed to sell copies to be commercially successful, Carleton needed to market her image as the “German Princess” and her status as an object of notoriety after her divorce. Mary Carleton’s public image became a consumable commodity, an object capable of entertaining and creating interest in the

⁴⁹³ Cristine M. Varholy, 2008. ““Rich Like a Lady”: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London.” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. (8 (1): 4-34), 10. “Ruth Mazo Karras has argued that the notion of “commonness” was the key signifier of sexual transgression in medieval England. “Commonness” suggests indiscriminancy: if a woman were common, she would be willing to accept any sexual partner. Of course, moral qualities, such as honesty and commonness, had no visible, bodily markers; hence, the homilist argues that distinctions between respectable and disreputable women may be hidden by the visible marker of opulent clothing, which makes even honest women appear common.”

⁴⁹⁴ Todd, *Counterfeit Ladies*, xxxi.

⁴⁹⁵ Kietzman, *The Self-Fashioning of an Early Modern Englishwoman*, 163, 196.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 239; Todd, *Counterfeit Ladies*, xxx.

early modern audience. While it is impossible to know whether she profited financially from the sale of her autobiographies, it is clear that others did. The sheer number of pamphlets, broadsides, and narrative works produced between 1663 and 1673 that featured or discussed Carleton demonstrate her power as a marketable subject.⁴⁹⁷ It is also clear that Carleton's public image continued to carry commercial and cultural relevance after her death. An anonymous pamphlet titled *The German princess revived, or, The London jilt being a true account of the life and death of Jenney Voss* (1684) outlines the life and death of thief Jenny Voss.⁴⁹⁸ Drawing a direct parallel between Jenny Voss and Mary Carleton, the pamphlet describes Voss' execution for multiple counts of theft in 1684.⁴⁹⁹ It is obvious that publishers not only believed that their audience would remember Mary Carleton more than a decade after her execution, but that making reference to her in the title would increase sales. The mention of *The London Jilt* in the title, published the year before, also makes clear the association between criminal women and transactional sex.

The publications that surrounded and detailed Carleton's life are an interesting amalgam of fact and fiction. Hobby notes that at the time of her death in 1673, Mary Carleton had been the subject of more pamphlets than any other criminal of her time, demonstrating the depth of public interest in her life and death.⁵⁰⁰ Carleton's case received wide attention during and immediately after her life and became the focus of at

⁴⁹⁷ There were approximately twenty-six works printed during this decade that featured or focused on Carleton.

⁴⁹⁸ Anon, 1684. *The German Princess Revived, or, The London Jilt Being a True Account of the life and Death of Jenney Voss, who, after she had been transported for being concerned with Sadler about eight years past stealing my Lord Chancellors mace, published from her own confession.* (London : Printed by George Croom), 1.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁰⁰ Elaine Hobby, 1989. *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649-88.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 92.

least twenty-six printed works that appeared between 1663 and 1673.⁵⁰¹ These works include the narratives of her life, criminal biographies, accounts of her case and trial, eulogies upon her death, libelous pamphlets, and two autobiographical memoirs.⁵⁰² These works featured several versions of her story. Carleton's obviously fictional portrayal of her own history, the seemingly more factual portrayal of events related to her life, criminal trials, and execution, and the polemical tracts and pamphlets that offered Carleton's case as a moral warning against immorality and criminality all appeared in the printed narratives of her life and death. As noted in an earlier chapter of this thesis, Bradford K. Mudge argues that "by the eighteenth century, the debate over the masquerade solidified the connections between prostitution and fiction to such a degree that the two were melded together, each a constitutive metaphor for the other."⁵⁰³ Like Varholly, Mudge emphasizes the cultural ties between sexually illicit women and the theatre, and refers to the modern historiography that has extended this association to female authors.⁵⁰⁴ Though she was not engaging in transactional sex, Carleton's public identity was fundamentally a fiction. Through her cross-class deception, self-written memoir, public theatrical appearance, and her promotion of her own fictitious history, Mary Carleton's behaviour was more than enough to mark her as a "whore" in the eyes of the early modern English audience.

The anonymous pamphlet *An Exact and true relation of the examination, tryal*

⁵⁰¹Mihoko Suzuki, 1993. "The Case of Mary Carleton: Representing the Female Subject, 1663-73". *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*. (12 (1): 61-83), 61.

⁵⁰² For a full list of pamphlets related to Mary Carleton, see C. F. Main's, "The German Princess; or Mary Carleton in Fact and Fiction," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 10 (1956), 166-85.

⁵⁰³ Bradford K. Mudge. 2000. *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684-1830*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 227.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 227.

and condemnation of the German princesse, otherwise cal'd [sic] Mary Carleton, at Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey (1672) opens its description of Mary Carleton's trial with a reference to scripture, arguing that their "relation of a most notorious woman" demonstrates the consequences of lusting "after dishonest and unchaste Delights" and having "the Goods and Riches of the World...in our eye."⁵⁰⁵ The author argues that from these desires stem "Whoredoms, Adulteries, Thefts, Cheats, and many other Sins, whereof springs forth many times floods of Mischiefs."⁵⁰⁶ Illicit sex, covetousness, and dishonesty are thus tied together, each sin merely a symptom or a precursor to the others. It is evident that Ian W. Archer's paradigm of binary polarities with which the early modern English understood their "criminal counterculture" extended to their belief in the confluence of sexual immorality, social pretension, and crime.⁵⁰⁷ Given the depiction of sexual immorality and thieving as analogous activities, Carleton's conviction and execution for theft would not have surprised early modern audiences.⁵⁰⁸ One satirical epithet commands constant vigilance over Carleton's corpse, demanding that the public "Survey her strictly...Assure yourself, alive or dead, She can't keep constant to her bed. Therefore look to't, lest out she steal, And cheat the worms of a set meal."⁵⁰⁹ References

⁵⁰⁵ Anon, 1672. *An Exact and True Relation of the Examination, Tryal and Condemnation of the German Princesse, otherwise cal'd [sic] Mary Carleton, at Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey, January 17, 1672 also an account of the pretended treachery which she was to discover to the Bench, and the reason of her return from Jemeca.* (London: Printed for R.O), A2.

⁵⁰⁶ Anon, 1672. *An Exact and True Relation of the Examination, Tryal and Condemnation of the German Princesse, Otherwise Cal'd [sic] Mary Carleton,* 4.

⁵⁰⁷ Ian W. Archer, 1991. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 204-205.

⁵⁰⁸ Paul Griffiths, 1993. "The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London", *Continuity and Change*, 8 (1), 41. Paul Griffiths notes contemporaries believed that whoring was a entry into a criminal life, and the belief that "whoring is succeeded by robbery, as they began the inevitable descent to the fatal Tyburn tree" was considered "near proverbial wisdom."

⁵⁰⁹ Kate Lilley, 2010. "These Novels of my Life", *Australian Feminist Studies*, (25:65), 265-279; Anon, 1673. *The Memoires of Mary Carleton; commonly stiled, the German Princess, Being A Narrative Of Her Life and Death Interwoven with many strange and pleasant Passages, from the time of her Birth to her Execution at Tyburn, being the 22th of January 1672, With Her Behaviour in Prison, Her last Speech,*

to Carleton's inconstancy to her bed or her grave also mirror Daniel's Maclauchlan's aforementioned emphasis on Solomon's warnings against a common woman whose "feet abide not in her House."⁵¹⁰

Even favourable depictions of Mary Carleton in the pamphlets are intent on illustrating her potent sexuality, including those that are attributed to Carleton herself. Hero Chalmers asserts that Carleton was very aware of her sexual "currency" while writing her memoirs.⁵¹¹ Carleton takes pains to emphasize her physical attractiveness, mentioning her "high breasts" and complaining of others "pronouncing her German name 'de Wolway' as 'De Vulva'."⁵¹² References to her appearance as "a young fat woman, full breasted" and the documentation of her frequent attentions and proposals from men serve to fix her in the minds of the reading audience as sexually desirable.⁵¹³ Other writers also emphasized her sexuality, utilizing the same maritime analogies to describe Mary Carleton that were used to describe common women. The anonymous *Memoires of Mary Carleton* (1672) notes

As for the Symmetry and Proportion of her Body, the Apartment of so Noble a Soul, it was Dutch-built, not so curiously fabrick'd as that every Lineament would dull the very edge of Rhetorick in its commendation; not yet so despicable as to create Contempt, or expose her to the scoffs of the rabble. A Stout Fregat she was, or else she could never have endured so many Batteries and Assaults.⁵¹⁴

Burial & Epitaph. [J.G.]. London., 121-122.

⁵¹⁰Daniel Maclauchlan, 1735. (Philosarchus, pseudonym) *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication*. (London), 23.

⁵¹¹Hero Chalmers, 1992. "The Person I am, or what they made me to be": The Construction of the Feminine Subject in the Autobiographies of Mary Carleton" in *Women, Texts, and Histories 1575-1760*. Eds. Clare Brant, and Diane Purkiss. (London: Routledge), 171.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ Todd, *Counterfeit Ladies*, 114.

⁵¹⁴ Anon, 1673. *The Memoires of Mary Carleton, Commonly Stiled the German Princess. Being a Narrative of her Life and Death, Interwoven with many strange and pleasant Passages, from the time of her Birth to her Execution at Tyburn, being the 22th of January 1672/3. With Her Behaviour in Prison, Her last Speech, Burial & Epitah*. (London: Printed for Nath. Brooke, at the Angel in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange; and Dorman Newman, at the Kings Arm in the Poultry), 5-6.

The notation that Carleton was “Dutch-built” is likely a reference to the frequent associations made between Dutch common women in the stews and in the fiction of the period that was discussed above, again highlighting comparisons between Carleton and women engaging in transactional sex.⁵¹⁵

The majority of the works featuring Mary Carleton are highly critical of “the Crafty Whore of Canterbury,” especially her estranged husband’s tract *The Replication or Certain Vindictory Depositions, occasioned by way of Answer, to the various Aspersion, and False Reports of Ignorant and Malicious Tongues, and the Printed Sheets and Pamphlets of Base Detractors, Concerning the Late Acted Cheat* (1663) in which he lists his wife’s many betrayals and her entrapment of him with “her inward treachery,” just “as the fairest fly is soonest taken in the Spider’s Web.”⁵¹⁶ The anonymous pamphlet *The Lawyers Clark Trappand by the Crafty Whore of Cantebury* (1663) tells much the same story, though it is more ready to call Mary Carleton a “whore.”⁵¹⁷ Mary Carleton’s autobiographical memoir, *A Historical Narrative of the German Princess* (1663), engaged in demeaning criticism as well, stating

I doubt not so prudently and innocently to behave my self, as I shall not want a husband, much less the trouble of so impertinent and fickle a person as my

⁵¹⁵ John Marston, 1605. *The Dutch Courtesan*; Majorie Rubright, 2010. "Going Dutch in London City comedy: Economies of sexual and sacred exchange in John Marston's: The Dutch Courtesan (1605)". *English Literary Renaissance*. (40 (1): 88-112), 95. As noted above, p.97, Majorie Rubright argues that portrayals of common women as Dutch emphasized associations between foreign nationality and sexual otherness and immorality. It also insinuated their willingness have sexual encounters with foreign men, an openness that the highly xenophobic early modern English audience would have abhorred. Rubright also notes the large influx of Dutch individuals to London after the wars with Spain and argues that plays like John Marston’s *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605) are indicative of the tensions between “foreign and domestic,” 93.

⁵¹⁶ John Carleton, 1663. *The Replication of Certain Vindictory Depositions, Occasioned by way of answer, to the various aspersion, and false reports of ignorant and Malicious Tongues and the Printed Sheets and Pamphlets of Base Detractors, Concerning the Late Acted Cheat*. (London), 6-7.

⁵¹⁷ Anon. 1663. *The Lawyers Clark Trappand by the Crafty Whore of Cantebury, or, A True relation of the whole life of Mary Manders the daughter of Thomas Manders, a fidler in Canterbury*. (London), 5.

husband, whom I would willingly exchange for my Jewels, and give him liberty to look after another Princess where he can finde her.”⁵¹⁸

Carleton’s assertion that she would rather have her jewelry back than her husband is an ironic and fitting declaration given that most contemporary pamphleteers acknowledged her “jewels” as “counterfeit” and worthless.⁵¹⁹ It is easy to imagine the pleasure of the early modern audience at witnessing this hugely public domestic dispute in such tabloid-like fashion, as well as the potential profit made by publishers in printing this type of entertainment literature. It is clear that the early modern English audience had an appetite for the salacious, and Mary Carleton’s public divorce and bickering with her estranged husband definitely met this need even before issues of class fraud and bigamy were taken into account. While the accusations of sexual immorality and name-calling that appear in the pamphlets are perhaps stock phrases of sexual slander commonly used, they also point to Carleton’s status as a very public figure whose notoriety was based not only on her marital indiscretions but also on her choice to play herself in a theatrical performance and publish her own memoirs. As an object of commercial entertainment, polemic, and legal attention, Mary Carleton serves as an excellent signpost for the attitudes of the early modern English toward unchaste and immodest women. Her reputation as a widely reviled “whore” demonstrates the continued influence of the chastity binary, despite the fact that she did not engage in transactional sex.

Mary Carleton’s case reveals the complexity and confluence of the social, commercial, and moral attitudes that shaped perceptions of the early modern “whore.” It

⁵¹⁸Mary Carleton, 1663. *The case of Madam Mary Carleton, lately stiled the German Princess, truly stated with an historical relation of her birth, education, and fortunes; in an appeal to his illustrious Highness Prince Rupert*. By the said Mary Carleton. (London: printed for Sam: Speed at the Rainbow in Fleetstreet, and Hen: Marsh at the Princes Arms in Chancery-lane, MDCLXIII.), 123.

⁵¹⁹Francis Kirkman, 1673. *The Counterfeit Lady Unveiled. Being a full Account of the Birth, Life, most remarkable Actions, and untimely Death of Mary Carleton, Known by the Name of the German Princess*. (London: Printed for Peter Parker, at the Leg and Star, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill), 21.

is not the case that Karras's chastity binary simply carries through the late medieval and early modern period with no alteration. Rather, it is remarkable that despite the influence of paradigm changing events such as the Reformation, the advent of commercial capitalism, and class anxieties in the wake of the Restoration, the root of Karras's division between chaste and unchaste women remains clear. Conceptual divisions between transactional and non-transactional sexual delinquents appear by the early seventeenth century, but these divisions remain sub-divisions within the spectrum of unchaste women. The inexpensive streetwalkers who sold a consumable "commodity" to be purchased on impulse, the higher-class mistresses whose exclusivity was secured through privilege and annuity, and the young women seduced and abandoned by their lovers were all first and foremost the same thing: whores. The loss of chastity remained permanently and fundamentally damaging throughout the whole of the early modern period, and arguably well beyond.

Applying the term "prostitute" to the early modern sex worker in order to differentiate her from other sexual delinquents of the period is thus a fundamentally flawed approach. It oversimplifies a spectrum of illicit sexuality that was highly complex, and places too much emphasis on the exchange of money for sex. It also uses modern distinctions to divide those social identities and actions that were intrinsically fused. There is no doubt that both paid and unpaid illicit sex occurred in late medieval and early modern England, but there is no indication that the early modern English truly conceived of them as different things. Inklings of change in perception are evident by 1750, but the modern and fully separated division between occupational sex worker and sexually active "loose" woman that hinged on the direct exchange of money for sex did not exist.

Throughout the period between 1450 and 1750, it is clear that political, religious, and commercial forces affected how the early modern English understood illicit sex.⁵²⁰ In examining the Bridewell and Old Bailey court records it is evident that the English had begun by 1750 to differentiate between sexual delinquents based on who was indiscriminately available and who was not. By 1750, women prosecuted at Bridewell or the Old Bailey often faced allegations of being a “nightwalker,” a term that denoted public sexual availability and also carried associations of criminality.⁵²¹ A consolidation of the terms used to describe those appearing before the courts, and an emphasis on prosecuting those who were openly disruptive to the public peace is apparent. However, it is also clear that description of cost does not appear in the records at this time.

Transactional sex was thus different from more minor sexual immorality in part because of its indiscriminate nature. The advent of commercial capitalism was particularly influential to this understanding, and was important to developing divisions between paid and unpaid sex, as well as to the development of the perception of transactional sex as a commodity to be bought and sold. The influence of commercial capitalism is evident in the writings of the time, in the moral tracts, polemics, and satires, and their contemporaneous entertainment literature that took the form of whore biography, bawdy tracts, and theatrical works. Whether authors emphasized repression or regulation of whores operating in early modern cities, the majority used specific commercial language that identified the act of paid sex as a product and whores as both commodities themselves or the vendors of their sexuality. Although this process had not

⁵²⁰ Ian W. Archer, 1991. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. (London: Cambridge University Press), 204.

⁵²¹ Paul Griffiths, 2008. *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 204-205.

culminated in the regular use of the term “prostitute” by 1750, this transactional classification had its roots in the rise of commercial capitalism begun in the early modern period. By the mid-seventeenth century, it is clear that commercialization had influenced the language with which the early modern English addressed the sex trade and its participants.

It is also clear that early modern Londoners were fascinated with illicit sex, and eager to purchase both fictional and semi-fictional works of entertainment that depicted and discussed sexual immorality. From descriptions of “two-pence” public whores to sophisticated and privately kept women, the early modern English differentiated between women engaging in transactional sex based on the price, value, and availability of their services. It is also clear that despite these divisions between types of transactional sex workers, unpaid illicit sex was viewed with a similar level of contempt and social censure. The insistence on a previously unmarried woman’s virginity in the marriage and employment markets, the perceived spiritual and moral destruction attendant upon a woman’s sexual immorality, fears of cross-class dressing as a method of concealing sexual sin, and the all-encompassing social consequences of a woman’s immorality: all emphasize the gravity of the censure placed on both transactional and non-transactional deviants.

Bradford K. Mudge is correct in his emphasis on the “fiction” of the early modern whore as an essential component of her immorality.⁵²² This “fiction,” executed through cross-class dressing, deception, and manipulation, and the fear that it inspired in the English population, do not represent a shift in perception of the early modern whore.

⁵²² Bradford K. Mudge, 2000. *The Whore’s Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684-1830*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 227.

Rather, they represent an entrenchment of Karras' medieval chastity binary. This binary, which divides women based purely on sexual reputation, is central to this thesis. Similarly, the indiscriminate nature of the common woman, and her commercial status as a commodity to be bought and sold are parts of her identity, but they are not her defining characteristics. Throughout the period between 1450 and 1750 we can witness the influence of religious, social, and economic change on the identity and character of the early modern whore; in her sexual availability outside marriage, class fraud, and commercial value. Nevertheless, it is apparent that it is the common woman's sexual immorality that fundamentally and permanently defines her. In 1750, as in 1450, a whore's identity was determined by her sexual availability, not whether she charged for sex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Altham, Michael. 1691. *An Auction of Whores: Or, The Bawds Bill of Sale for Bartholomew Fair, Held in the Cloisters, near Smithfield*. London: Printed for N.H, over against the Eagle and Child, in St. Martin Le Grand.
- Ames, Richard. 1691. *The Female Fire-Ships: A Satyr Against Whoring: in a Letter to A Friend, Just Come to Town*. Printed for E. Richardson in London.
- Anon. 1663. *The Lawyers Clark Trappand by the Crafty Whore of Cantebury, or, A True Relation of the Whole Life of Mary Manders the Daughter of Thomas Manders, a Fidler in Canterbury, London*. London.
- Anon. 1672. *An Exact and True Relation of the Examination, Tryal and Condemnation of the German Princesse, Otherwise Cal'd [sic] Mary Carleton, at Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey, January 17, 1672 Also An Account of the Pretended Treachery Which She was to Discover to the Bench, and the Reason of her Return From Jemeca*. London: Printed for R.O.
- Anon. 1673. *The Memoires of Mary Carleton, Commonly Stiled the German Princess. Being a Narrative of her Life and Death, Interwoven with Many Strange and Pleasant Passages, from the Time of her Birth to her Execution at Tyburn, being the 22th of January 1672/3. With Her Behaviour in Prison, Her last Speech, Burial & Epitaph*. London: Printed for Nath. Brooke, at the Angel in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange; and Dorman Newman, at the Kings Arm in the Poultry.
- Anon. 1684. *The German Princess Revived, or, The London Jilt being a True Account of the Life and Death of Jenney Voss, who, after she had been transported for being concerned with Sadler about eight years past stealing my Lord Chancellors mace, published from her own confession*. London: Printed by George Croom.
- Anon. 1706. *The Whores and Bawd's Answer to Fifteen Comforts of Whoring*. London.
- Anon. 1707. *The Fifteen Comforts of a Wanton Wife: Or, The Fool Well Fitted*. London.
- Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, March 1574 - May 1576.
Bcb-02 Series Box Number C04/2 Series BCB. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum. Accessed 23 November 2011 from <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.

- Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Minute Books*, 14 October 1642 - 7 July 1658. Bcb-09 Series Box Number C04/3 Series BCB. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum. Accessed 23 November 2011 from <http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/BCB.htm>.
- Bridewell and Bethlem, Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1689-95*. Bridewell and Bethlem Archives, Ms. BCB-16 (Box C04/3). *London Lives, 1690-1800*. LL ref: [BBBRMG20201](#), 6th January 1689 - 8th August 1695. Accessed 20 April 2011 from <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=BBBRMG20201>.
- Bridewell and Bethlem, Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1695-1701*. Bridewell and Bethlem Archives, Ms. BCB-17 (Box C04/3). *London Lives, 1690-1800*. LL ref: [BBBRMG20202](#), 23 August 1695 - 2 May 1701. Accessed 20 April 2011 from <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=BBBRMG20202>.
- Bridewell and Bethlem, Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1738-51*. Bridewell and Bethlem Archives, Ms. BCB-21 (Box C04/3). *London Lives, 1690-1800*. LL ref: [BBBRMG20206](#), 12th January 1738 - 4th April 1751. Accessed 20 April 2011 <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=BBBRMG20206>.
- Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 2: 1572-1582*. London: Institute of Historical Research, 1888. Accessed 23 November 2011 from *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=109821>.
- Carleton, John. 1663. *The Replication of Certain Vindictory Depositions, Occasioned by Way of Answer, to the Various Apersions, and False Reports of Ignorant and Malicious Tongues and the Printed Sheets and Pamphlets of Base Detractors, Concerning the Late Acted Cheat*. London.
- Carleton, John. 1663. *The Ultimam Vale of John Carleton of the Middle Temple, London, Gent. Being a True Description of That Grand Imposter, Late a Pretended Germane-Lady*. London: Printed for J. Jones.
- Carleton, Mary. 1663. *The Case of Madam Mary Carleton, Lately Stiled the German Princess, Truly Stated with an Historical Relation of her Birth, Education, and Fortunes; in An Appeal to his Illustrious Highness Prince Rupert*. By the said Mary Carleton. London: printed for Sam: Speed at the Rainbow in Fleetstreet, and Hen: Marsh at the Princes Arms in Chancery-lane, MDCLXIII.
- Cibber, Theophilus, and Mary F. Klinger. 1977. *The Harlot's Progress (1733)*. Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society.
- Cranley, Thomas. 1635. *Amanda: Or, The Reformed Whore*. London.

- Defoe, Daniel. 1722, and Paul A. Scanlon. 2005. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press.
- Defoe, Daniel. 1727. *Conjugal Lewdness; or, Matrimonial Whoredom. A Treatise Concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed. (1727)*. Gainesville, Fla: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1967.
- Dunton, John. 1694. *The Ladies Dictionary Being a General Entertainment for the Fair-Sex: a Work Never Attempted before in English*. London: Printed for John Dunton at the Raven in the Poultry.
- Dunton, John. 1696. *The Night-Walker; or Evening Rambles in Search after Lewd Women. An Anonymous and Apparently Unique 17th C. pamphlet / edited with an introd. and notes by G. Stevens Cox*. St. Peter Port, Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1970.
- Dunton, John. 1703. "The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues: or, a New Project for Reformation." in *Whore Biographies 1700–1825*. Ed. Julie Peakman. 8 Vols. Part I: Vols 1–4, 2006. London: Pickering and Chatto.
- Gent, T.P. 1663. *A Witty Combat: or, The Female Victory. A Trage-Comedy. As it was Acted by Persons of Quality in Whitson-Week with Great Applause*. London: Printed for Tho. Robers, and Are to Be Sold at the Royal Exchange, Fleet-Street, and Westminster-Hall.
- Great Britain, Firth, C. H., Rait, Robert S. 1911. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660. Vol.2*. London: HMSO.
- Hughes, Paul L, Larkin, James F. 1964. *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. 1*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jonson, Ben. 1614. *Bartholomew Fair*. Ed. Simon Trussler. London: Methuen Student Editions, 1986.
- Kirkman, Francis. 1673. *The Counterfeit Lady Unveiled. Being a full Account of the Birth, Life, most remarkable Actions, and untimely Death of Mary Carleton, Known by the Name of the German Princess*. London: Printed for Peter Parker, at the Leg and Star, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill.
- Maclauchlan, Daniel. 1735. *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding, to the Strength of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Fornication*. London.
- Marston, John. 1605. *The Dutch Courtezan as it was Playd in the Blacke-Friars, by the Children of her Majesties Reuels*. London: Printed by T.P. for John Hodgets.

- Mandeville, Bernard. 1714. *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*. Ed. E.J. Hundert, Abridged Edition. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 1997.
- Mandeville, Bernard. 1724. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, or, An Essay Upon Whoring: As It Is Now Practis'd in These Kingdoms*. London: Printed by A. Moore near St. Paul's.
- Mandeville, Bernard. 1724. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, or, An Essay Upon Whoring: As It Is Now Practis'd in These Kingdoms*. Ed. Richard I. Cook, 1973. Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society.
- Mandeville, Bernard, Phil-Porney, Harry Mordaunt, Luke Ogle, and George Ogle. 1740. *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, or, An Essay Upon Whoring: As It Is Now Practis'd in These Kingdoms*. London: Printed for T. Read, in Dogwell-Court White-Fryars, Fleet-street.
- Middleton, Thomas. 1608. *A Trick to Catch the Old-One: As it hath beene lately acted, by the children of Paules*. London: Printed by George Eld, and are to be sold at his house in Fleet-lane at the signe of the Printers-presse.
- Nashe, Thomas. 1613. *Christs Teares over Jersuaelem, Whereunto is Annexed a Comparative Admonition to London*. London: Printed for Thomas Thorpe.
- Noorthouck, John. 1773. *A New History of London, including Westminster and Southwark*. London: Printed for R. Baldwin.
- Old Bailey Proceedings Online*. www.oldbaileyonline.org, Version 6.0, 29 March 2011.
- Oldys, Alexander. 1683. *The London Jilt, Or the Politick Whore*. London: Printed for Hen. Rhodes, next door to the Bear-Tavern near Bride-lane in Fleet-Street.
- Pepys, Samuel. 1660-1668. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Accessed 3 November 2011 from <http://www.pepysdiary.com/>.
- Rich, Barnabe. 1617. *The Irish Hubbub, or the English Hue and Cry: Briefely [sic] Pursuing the Base Conditions, and most notorious offences of this vile, vaine, and wicked Age*. London: Printed for John Marriot, and are to sould [sic] at his shop at the white Flower deluce neere Fetter Lane end in Fleetstreete.
- Sharpe, Reginald R, ed. 1907. *Calendar of Letter-Books: Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall. [8], Letter-Book H: circa A.D. 1375 - 1399*. London: Francis.

Sharpe, Reginald R, ed. 1909. *Calendar of Letter-Books: Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall. [9], Letter-Book I: circa A.D. 1400-1422*. London: Francis.

Statutes of the Realm, Vol. 2 [1377-1504]. Searchable Text Edition. Burlington: Tanner Ritchie Publishing & The University of St Andrews, 2007.

Stow, John. 1598. *A Survery of London: Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate, and Description of that Citie, Written in the Year 1598*. London.

Ward, Edward. 1709. *The London-Spy Compleat, in Eighteen Parts*. London: Printed and sold by J. How, at the Seven Stars in Talbot-Court, in Grace-Church-Street.

Secondary Sources

Archer, Ian W. 1991. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press.

Baer, William C. 2007. "Early Retailing: London's Shopping Exchanges, 1550-1700." *Business History*, 49(1): 29-51.

"Bawd, n.1". *OED Online*. September 2011. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/16346?rskey=i0X4W2&result=1&isAdvanced=f>
also (accessed November 21, 2011).

Bellany, Alastair James. 2002. *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1666*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Burford, E. J. 1976. *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels, C. 100-1675*. London: Peter Owen Limited.

Carlin, Martha. 1996. *Medieval Southwark*. London: Hambledon Press.

Carter, Sophie. 2004. *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate.

Cerasano, S.P, Wynne-Davies, Marion. 1996. *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Chalmers, Hero. 1992. "The Person I am, or what they made me to be': The Construction of the Feminine Subject in the Autobiographies of Mary Carleton." in *Women, Texts, and Histories 1575-1760*. Eds. Clare Brant, and Diane Purkiss. London: Routledge.
- Dolan, Frances E. 1999. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Goldberg, Jeremy P. 1999. "Pigs and Prostitutes: Streetwalking in Comparative Perspective", in *Young Medieval Women*, Eds. Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips. New York: St. Martin's Press: 172-93.
- Griffiths, Paul. 1993. "The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London." *Continuity and Change*. 8 (1): 39-63.
- Griffiths, Paul. 1998. "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England." *Seventeenth Century*. 13 (2): 212-38.
- Griffiths, Paul. 2003. "Contesting London Bridewell, 1576-1580." *The Journal of British Studies*. 42 (3): 283-315.
- Griffiths, Paul. 2008. *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gurr, Andrew. 2000. "The Authority of the Globe and the Fortune." in *Material London, ca. 1600*. Ed. Lena Cown Orlin. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hanawalt, Barbara. 2007. *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Online Etymology Dictionary*. Accessed 14 October 2010 from <http://www.etymonline.com/>
- Henderson, Tony. 1999. *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830*. London and New York: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd.
- Hobby, Elaine. 1989. *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649-88*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hunt, Lynn. 1993. *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*. New York: Zone Books.
- Hunt, Margaret R. 1996. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Ingram, Martin. 1987. *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jørgensen, Dolly. 2010. "All Good Rule of the Citee": Sanitation and Civic Government in England, 1400— 1600." *Journal of Urban History*. 36 (3): 300-15.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. 1996. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kazmierczak Manzione, Carol. 1996. "Sex in Tudor London: Abusing Their Bodies with Each Other", in *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*. Eds. Jacqueline Murray, and Konrad Eisenbichler. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar. 2000. "Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd in the Stews of Southwark." *Speculum*. 75 (2): 342-88.
- Keniston McIntosh, Marjorie. 1998. *Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kenyon, J. P. ed. 1966. *The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688; Documents and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kietzman, Mary Jo. 2004. *The Self-Fashioning of an Early Modern Englishwoman: Mary Carleton's Lives*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate.
- Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth. 1997. *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kubek, Elizabeth. 2010. "'All Whores are Jacobites': Terror, Book, and Body in the Writings of John Dunton." *Eighteenth Century*. 51 (4): 451-70.
- Leinwand, Theodore B. 1986. *The City Staged: Jacobean Comedy, 1603-1613*. Madison [Wisconsin]: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lilley, Kate. 2010. "These Novels of my Life." *Australian Feminist Studies*. 25 (65): 265-79.
- Lochrie, Karma, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz. 1997. *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mackie, Erin Skye, ed. 1998. *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from the Tatler and the Spectator*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Main, C. F. 1956. "The German Princess; or Mary Carleton in Fact and Fiction, *Harvard Library Bulletin*. 10 (2): 166-85.

- McSheffrey, Shannon. 2006. *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J.H Brewer. 1982. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Milne, Kristy. 2011. "Reforming Bartholomew Fair: Bunyan, Jonson, and the Puritan Point of View." *The Huntington Library Quarterly*. 74 (2): 289-308.
- Mowry, Melissa M. 2004. *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution*. Hants, Hampshire, England: Ashgate.
- Mowry, Melissa. 2008. "London's Bridewell: Violence, Prostitution, and Questions of Evidence." in *Violence, Politics, and Gender in Early Modern England*, Ed. Joseph P. Ward. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mudge, Bradford K. 2000. *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684-1830*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- OED Online*. September 2011. Oxford University Press. Accessed 21 November, 2011 from <http://www.oed.com>
- Payne Fisk, Deborah. 2001. "The Restoration Actress." in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*. Ed. Susan J. Owen. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Peakman, Julie. 2003. *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Peck, Linda Levy. 2005. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rawlings, Philip. 1992. *Drunks, Whores, and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth Century*. Routledge: London and New York.
- Rexroth, Frank. 2007. *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenthal, Laura J. 2006. *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Rosenthal, Laura J. 2008. *Nightwalkers: Prostitute Narratives from the Eighteenth Century*. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press.

- Rubright, Majorie. 2010. "Going Dutch in London City comedy: Economies of Sexual and Sacred Exchange in John Marston's: *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605)". *English Literary Renaissance*. 40 (1): 88-112.
- Schmitz, Götz. 1990. *The Fall of Women in Early English Narrative*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Suzuki, Mihoko. 1993. "The Case of Mary Carleton: Representing the Female Subject, 1663-73." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*. 12 (1): 61-83.
- Thomas, Keith. 1978. "The Puritans and Adultery: The Act of 1650 Reconsidered." in *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History*. Eds. Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 257-282.
- Todd, Janet M., Elizabeth Spearing, and Mary Carleton. 1994. *Counterfeit Ladies*. Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press.
- Todd, Janet. M. 2004. "Carleton, Mary (1634x42–1673)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. Accessed 16 December 2010 from <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4676>.
- Trumbach, Randolph. 1992. "Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London" in *Forbidden history: The State, Society, and the Regulation of Sexuality in Modern Europe: Essays from the Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Ed. John C. Fout. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Trumbach, Randolph. 1998. *Sex and the Gender Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ungerer, Gustav. 1997. "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan London: The Case of Mary Newborough." In *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, Eds. John Pitcher and S. P. Cerasano. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Van de Pol, Lotte. 2011. *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early modern Amsterdam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Varholy, Cristine M. 2008. ""Rich Like a Lady": Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theaters of Early Modern London." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. 8 (1): 4-34.
- Williams, Gordon. 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature 3, Q - Z*. London: Athlone Press.