ABSTRACT

SMITH, JAYLYN DENEE. Unlawful Employment: The Sex Trade in Early Modern England. (Under the direction of Dr. Julia Rudolph)

My thesis explores how in the wake of the Nine Years War, public sentiment about the trade of prostitution reinforced anxieties about crime, poverty, and idleness. England's war with France between 1689 to 1697 created a financial strain that left the nation to seek responses. For example, contemporaries published proposals about finding employment for the poor. A second response was to construct a national bank that would help manage public credit and long-term loans. The "Financial Revolution" led to the rise of consumer culture, which meant more people had access to leisure and luxury. However, an over reliance on credit and the desire for leisure further cemented the idea that idleness, crime, and vice were spreading across England. The prostitute became a representation of the nation's ills. Satirical prints used misogynistic language to highlight sex work as the cause of moral decay. Employment was an important aspect of English society as it contributed to national prosperity. Elizabethan labor laws were still enforced during the late seventeenth century in the Stuart era. Under these statutes men and women were coerced into employment. However, women's occupational opportunities were limited in comparison to their male counterparts. My thesis explores how sex work fits between late seventeenth century to mid-eighteenth-century idea of employment, and a moral campaign that sought to prosecute and confine early modern sex workers.

Unlawful Employment: The Sex Trade In Early Modern England

by
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DEDICATION

I want to dedicate this to my loving family for their endless support and constant encouragement.

BIOGRAPHY

Jaylyn Denee Smith received her undergraduate degree in History from the University of Lynchburg in Lynchburg, Virginia. Her interests include histories of employment, gender and sexuality, and crime and punishment within the Tudor and Stuart Centuries.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1693, Elizabeth Elye was charged for "keeping a house of evil repute," where she housed "lewd women." Her actions were cited as a "great damage not only to the youth of this city, but also to their masters; for the witness swore that there was a mercer's apprentice in the town that used to bring his master's goods to the prisoners, and give them to her, and other lewd and wicked women."[1] She was sentenced to twelve months in prison, and fined 20 £ until she could find a third-party to vouch for her good behavior.[2] Cases like Elizabeth's is the first of many encountered in this examination of the suppression of prostitution. Prostitution was associated with the fear of vice, rising crime, and poverty in the metropolitan area. It was also condemned by the Church as immoral behavior. "Fornication, and all uncleanness, let it not once be named amongst you; neither filthiness…for this ye know that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ, and of God."[3] Although some women found themselves in sex work due to economic vulnerability, it was seen as unlawful employment and a public nuisance. From the reign of William III in 1689 to the Hanoverian period in 1758, efforts to suppress prostitution ranged from royal decrees, proposed bills, reform movements, and charitable institutions. Instead of addressing the economic hardship that led women into prostitution, these schemes served as a mechanism of social control that monitored female behavior and sexual experiences.

Early modern prostitution is an interesting subject to explore because it can fit into many historical frameworks such as commerce, trade, employment, literary culture, law, and punishment. As Ashwini Tambe noted in her study of Colonial Bombay, sex work represents several roles, "the heartlessness of exchange relations, the triumph of utilitarianism, the ills of

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[1] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) May 1693. Trial of Elizabeth Elye (t16930531-45).
[2] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) May 1693. Trial of Elizabeth Elye (t16930531-45).
[3] Anon., *Introduction to the Knowledge of Christianity: Containing the Principal Doctrines and Precepts of the Christian Religion, Arranged in a Regular Order, and Expressed in the Exact Words of Holy Scripture* (Dublin, 1700).

industrialization, moral degeneracy, male sexual violence, declining public health, female deviousness, or even sexual empowerment."[4] These trends can be found in England between the late seventeenth century to mid-eighteenth century. For example, the ascension of William III spawned debates about the moral standing of the nation because his predecessor, James II, was thought too lenient with vice. In response to the lax reign of James II and perceived rise of sexual immorality, moral societies emerged within the late seventeenth century to spread reformist propaganda, and focused their efforts on dismantling "bawdy" houses.

The subject of prostitution in England has been discussed by many scholars such as Ruth Mazo Karras, whose study observed "common women" in the middle ages spanning from the thirteenth century to the fourteenth century. Karras book, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* examines the role of prostitution within the framework of sexuality and commerce. To Karras, the history of sexuality offers a chance to understand familial and economic structures that in turn alludes to how prostitutes were defined. Out of the many frameworks medieval prostitution can be examined, she dismissed the history of labor as a limited lens. "Treating prostitution simply as a form of labor also obscures the nature of the labor."[5] In her opinion, the characteristic of prostitution does not equal a service occupation.

Authors Sophie Carter and Melissa Mowry both assessed early modern prostitution in relation to print culture. Sophie Carter examined the ways in which prostitution and the idea of sex was imagined in popular print during the latter half of the eighteenth century, while Mowry focuses on the mid-seventeenth century to early eighteenth century. To Carter, "popular print culture suggests a particular agency as it is a vibrant system of circulation through which social meaning

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[4]Ashwini Tambe. *Codes of Misconduct: Regulating Prostitution in Late Colonial Bombay* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009) xiv.

[5]Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 9.

was reflected and disseminated as well as constantly engaging with its own output."[6] Her aim was not to replicate the lived experiences of sex workers, but investigate how the notion of prostitution was constructed through print literature.[7] In comparison, Melissa Mowry's *Bawdy Politics* was a study of "political pornographic representations and the way their narrative paradigms enable the rise of modern liberalism by constructing the identities of underclass urban women as democracies degraded purveyor"[8] Mowry asserted that during political crises, sexualized depictions of women are often employed as tools to critique contemporary issues.

Tony Henderson's *Disorderly Women* was a survey of the London urban sex scene in the nineteenth century to identify motives for pursuing prostitution, architecture of the trade, and relevance of location.[9] His assessment examined the connections between policing, labor, and law. Henderson attempted to study policing and law to understand how it shaped social attitudes about sex work, as well as women's "ability to exploit loopholes in the law and in the policing system in order to continue working."[10] His decision to also focus on the concept of labor in relation to prostitution stands in contrast to Karras. He stated that to survey the history of prostitution one may "break free from the languages of sexuality and criminality that together form the restrictive vocabulary of vice."[11] Therefore the history of labor and economics should take its place as a more suitable framework.

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[6]Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.) 3.
[7]Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture*, 3.
[8]Melissa Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.) 1.
[9]Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830* (New York: Routledge, 2013) 2.
[10]Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis,* 2.
[11]Tony Henderson, *Disorderly*, 11.

In examining debates about sex work, scholars sometimes view prostitution solely through lens of print culture, crime, or sexuality. My thesis combines all of these perspectives to explain why there was a vogue for moral reform between 1689 to 1758. With that in mind, how did the fear of vice contribute to the critique of female sexuality and in turn regular sex work? What prompted the production of these urgent pamphlets advocating for the employment of the poor? How did prostitutes fit into the debates about poverty and vagrancy? The aim of my project incorporates the history of labor to explain schemes of control that were presented as national welfare. To increase economic and social stability of the nation all men and women were coerced to work, but challenges related to wage and legal status put women at a disadvantage. Matrimony was an option, but most women were financially dependent on their husbands. English contemporaries, including Daniel Defoe, put forth proposals for national advancement. In his work *Essays Upon Several Projects: Or, Effectual Ways for Advancing the Interest of the Nation*, Defoe wanted women to have the same educational opportunities as men as a means of national development. To narrate an extensive historical period, this paper will utilize archival sources from the London Metropolitan Archives, Old-Bailey records which include ordinary accounts and trial proceedings, satirical prints, political tracts, parliamentary debates, session papers, legislation, magazine and news sheets, and religious sermons.

My research argues that in the wake of William III ascension as king, there was a perception that immoral behavior had increased, particularly in London. Prostitution was a visible representation of idleness, poverty, and crime. In a nation that sought to eliminate these social ills addressing sex work became a necessary step. English contemporaries published essays and other forms of literature as a tool to shape public opinion regarding the factors that led to immoral behavior such as a growing desire for luxury and leisure. Moreover, the consequences of the sex

trade disease, poverty, and crime. These debates occurred in the wake of William's reign because his ascension coincided with the Nine Years War from 1689 to 1697. The war caused economic instability, and therefore shaped how English contemporaries thought about trade, commerce, and employment. Setting up the poor to work would help stimulate the economy, and combat idleness and vagrancy which was associated with prostitution. Chapter one examines the proposals that initiated debates about the necessity of establishing employment to support economic growth. Additionally, the first chapter examines the nation setting a concrete plan to fix the economic challenges by creating the Bank of England in 1694 which helped manage a new financial system. The "Financial Revolution" paved the way for commercial society to expand. As consumerism grew, so did the expansion of print literature where prostitutes were the subject of magazines, satirical sheets, and books. Prostitutes were exploited as cautionary tales in pamphlet literature to discourage immoral behavior. The irony was that in trying to suppress prostitution, sex workers became a prominent subject in English culture.

As mentioned, the trade of prostitution was associated with the idea of vagrancy. Vagrants were deemed "masterless men," people who did not have permanent employment and often wandered from town-to-town begging for financial help. To combat the presence of vagrants, master and servant laws were passed. Under the provisions of master and servant law, men and women were forced to find work in lawful employment or could face punishment in a correctional facility. Women were placed in occupations that aligned with traditional gender roles, such childcare or needlework. To understand why women might have found themselves in the unlawful trade of sex one needs to examine the economic and social challenges women faced. Therefore, chapter two observes the limited types of work women could join, wage gaps, and experience of

sexual violence. Moreover, explores how the respective legal status of married and single women shaped the female work experience.

Chapter three further explores the escalating concerns over vice and the increasing fear of prostitution seen in the previous chapters, by examining the emergence of moral reformers. The Society of Reformation of Manners was created in 1691 to suppress activities related to vice. The society consisted of English authority figures such as magistrates, churchwardens, and constables. On the other hand, ordinary people were encouraged to join the moral reform movement. Their pamphlet literature pushed an agenda that stressed avoiding a moral decay of the nation. The activities of the society are relevant to this examination because moral reformers had a particular interest in dismantling prostitution. Much like the vagrants who were punished under master and servant laws and sentenced to a correctional institution, moral informers helped constables prosecute sex workers who were then typically sent to a house of correction. Within these facilities inmates were subjected to hard labor or whipped depending on the discretion of the justice of the peace who determined their punishment once a constable turned them in. I argue in chapter three that the interest in suppressing prostitution by the Society of Reformation Manners was to curb public disorder and prevent social ills such as poverty, crime, and disease. On the other hand, dismantling prostitution reinforced efforts to preserve the traditional family structure.

After the decline of the Society for Reformation of Manners, the aim to reduce prostitution was taken over by philanthropists. In chapter four, I explore confinement as a method considered to be a more humanitarian approach to suppression. Prostitutes would voluntarily go into a hospital and learn a skill trade. The problem with this scheme was the strict environment in which women resided. For example, constant supervision from the matron and isolation as a punishment. Throughout the chapters examined, a prevailing theme from 1689 to 1758 was the intent to

improve the nation through economic and social reform. Poverty and vice had somehow overtaken urban areas, to have a pious and industrial society, members of the working class needed to be employed in lawful occupations. The change that occurred throughout the period examined was the mechanism of control. From reform campaigns that incorporated institutions of punishment to philanthropic methods, where solitary confinement was perceived as a better alternative to suppression. But who did these schemes really benefit? Forcing women to work did not change the economic system in which wage gaps and sexual exploitation were a reality. The men who ran the magazines and published satirical prints were profiting off of female subjects in their work. The men who constructed institutional charities received funds from sponsors and had women making items to sell. It appears that they profited from the trade of sex as much as the women involved.

CHAPTER 1: INITIATIVES FOR PUBLIC WELFARE

The Nine Years War with France, from 1689 to 1697, during the reign of William III, sparked debates about the increasing economic and social instability within the nation. Economic hardships created by the war introduced reforms to settle the financial burden and increase public welfare. Two schemes, which are relevant to this examination, were proposed as initiatives to correct the nation's financial direction. First, a national bank was proposed as a viable solution to fund the war because taxation and short-term borrowing caused an accumulation of debts. Second, setting the poor to work would curb masterless men, who were characterized as vagrants due to unemployment. This chapter examines the publications of principle thinkers like John Locke, Josiah Child, Sir Dudley North, and Sir Humphry Mackworth because their work serves as a foundation for understanding the developments surrounding the financial and social reforms of the late Stuart Century. Although Locke, Child, North, and Mackworth's respective works were not directly aimed at prostitution, contemporary discourse about the broader social and economic changes did impact attitudes about sex work and the lives of the women who participated in that trade. This brings us to an essential question: how were the economic and social reforms connected to prostitution? After the Nine Years War, the rise of consumer society which was in-part driven by the establishment of the Bank of England, heightened anxieties about idleness and debauchery. Employment was a necessary endeavor to not only generate money back into the economy, but also steer people away from a life of idleness and disorder. Furthermore, female subjects in print were presented as moral lessons, cautioning against luxury and leisure, which were perceived to foster vice.

In 1692, an anonymous source, only known as a *Specimen of the State*, published a political tract addressed to both houses of parliament. In his testament, the author described Britain's

economic state, highlighting the hardships imposed on the English people by the war. The address began by comparing the state of England to catastrophic weather. "In a calm sea, when gentle wind and tide set to the port, a pilot of meaner skill may steer the vessel: but when the laboring tempestuous seas boil high, so that mountains of waves, rushing with every force…the first great work is to correct these disorder and work them to the entire guidance of the most judicious and skillful."[12] The author asserted that there was no escaping the truth that Great Britain was in a state of peril. The war against France "has been very expensive and destructive of such brave men,"[13] as funding the army required extracting more revenue from rent and personal estates.

Furthermore, the authors tract insisted that the burden of "polls, taxes, and the new method of maintaining the militia, after the month's pay expired…would be more supportable if the trade of the nation were not also miserably sunk so that foreign commodities are thirty or forty percent dearer, and become ones as much cheaper than formerly."[14] He urged better employment for sailors who at that moment were "defined by other uses; and we find in this City, how much the rates of those necessities are enhanced by it, at a time when a full plenty of them would enable us better to pay our taxes."[15] The author was suggesting that the financial system put in place was inadequate. National employment was important because it had the potential to facilitate the expansion of trade. When more people are employed production can increase, which ensures the exportation of goods to other nations. Moreover, employment can also increase disposable income and can encourage spending.

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[12]Anon., *A Specimen of the State of the Nation Humbly Represented to Both Houses of Parliament* (London, 1692).
[13]Ibid.
[14]Ibid.
[15]Ibid.

In the same year as *Specimen of the State*, another anonymous pamphlet titled, *Some Short Considerations concerning the State of the Nation* was published. In the pamphlet the author discussed the war in relation to England's "state of decay and consuming"[16] The author highlighted that since the passing of the Acts of Navigation men should be sufficiently employed in a trade. However, he complained that jobs were being allocated to foreigners instead of Englishmen, and the loss of ships has caused a decline in employed sailors. The nature of trade had become decayed since "all nations now drive on free trade with France, and we alone are excepted from that benefit; while on the other hand we bear three parts of four of the charge of this whole war."[17] Additionally, the treasury was in a state of decay:

> "Another proof of decay we are under is a loss and diminution of our treasure, of which the king takes notice in the speech; and this proceeds not only from hiring foreigners for convoys and foreign importers, who carry away the money that should be divided among our English seamen and traders, as said before, are principally from those vast sums which are sent, in specie, to pay our land army little whichever returns into England again…If the stock be increased in the coin augmented by trade, the nation in proportion must needs grow richer. But if the stock be every day visibly and considerably diminished by taking from it and sending what is so taken to places from whence it shall never return without any other way to make equal amends for such a diminution of money and treasure, it is plain that such a country must follow pace into poverty, which draws all the miseries at its heels."[18]

Financial mismanagement of the war had positioned national wealth in a state of decline. The author reaffirmed his stance that foreigners were being paid for services such as convoys and importers, and further expressed frustration that large sums of money were going towards funding the land army. The system designed to pay foreign workers and support the land army prevented money from circulating back into the nation. England's approach for managing the war put the nation's economic stability at risk. If the stocks were to grow through trade, then England would

[16]Anon., *Some Short Considerations Concerning the State of the Nation* (London, 1692).
[17]Ibid.
[18]Ibid.

become wealthier. However, money sent out of the country and not compensated by other means would cause the nation and its people to face poverty.

Historian Brodie Waddell claimed that the initial losses in war "foreshadowed the seven more years of disordered maritime commerce for which ordinary people would have to pay for the costs of war."[19] Moreover, the financial casualties did not affect wealthy men "with capital to invest in government debt" and "men who were humbler individuals" were able to find employment on the docks, but non-seafaring trades were at a disadvantage.[20] Waddell's observation can be looked at in comparison to the anonymous author who stated that even landlords had a hard time making money. "Those who go into several counties of England hear the complaints that are made for the want of ready money, and the landlords who have so much difficulty getting rent from their tenants need no arguments to convince them of the truth of the complaints made by the King. His speech on this matter."[21] It was alluded in *Some Considerations* that everyone to some capacity suffered financially under the war. Of course the wealth of landlords came from poor tenants who in that time of crisis could not pay their rent.

Historian Keith Wrightson observed that the high taxes placed on the English population also affected landowners and consumers. "Small landowners were almost certainly hard hit by the rising burden of taxation. More generally, there was a serious risk of a decline in domestic spending and a fall in output and employment. Some branches of trade were seriously dislocated."[22] As contemporary works, *Some Short Considerations* and *Specimen of the State* support the idea that

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[19] Brodie Waddell, "The Economic Crisis of the 1690s in England," *The Historical Journal* 66, no. 2 (2023): 284, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X22000309

[20] Brodie Waddell, "The Economic Crisis of the 1690s in England," 285.

[21] Anon., *Some Short Considerations Concerning the State of the Nation* (London, 1692).

[22] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 258.

the economic decline was driven by the war. This decline contributed to the lack of available employment, which in turn led to a decrease in production and trade.

Observations from prominent social commentators invite us to further examine the ways in which the economic decline initiated proposals to fix England's finances and contribute to the growth in trade and in turn public welfare. For example, Josiah Child's *A Discourse about Trade* which was initially written in 1666 but released in 1690 by Andrew Sowle, who thought Child's economic predictions reflected the contemporary economic crisis. Josiah Child was an economist, and governor of the East India Company. In the address to the reader, Sowle explained that he had asked Child's permission to print his work because he thought it exemplified "truth and reason."[23] To Sowle, for public good it was imperative that Child's work be released. Josiah Child's warning against the practice of usury can be held in comparison to the debates about constructing a national bank as a solution to the economic crisis. For example, Sowle claimed that when he asked permission to use Child's work the pair had a conversion about "trade of usury," which was the act of lending money to a person at a high interest. Child asserted to Sowle that usury was, "neither industry nor invention, but idleness and oppression; and that all Christian Churches, as well as most particular eminent divines ever since our savior Christ's time, had condemned usury as sinful."[24]

Usury did not make Englishmen rich but put them at a financial disadvantage where one could "beggar" himself into poverty.[25] "We also see many trades themselves much decayed, because they will not afford so great gain as ten in the hundred, whereas if the rate of usury were

[23]Sir Josiah Child, *A Discourse about Trade* (London, 1690).
[24]Ibid.
[25]Ibid.

not higher here than in other countries, they had still substituted and flourished, and perhaps with as much advantage to the public as those that do bring more to the private adventurers."[26] Trades were in a state of decline because they could not compete with the increased rate. If the interest rates were lower, like in other countries, these trades would still be profitable and beneficial to the public. In comparison to Josiah Child, English contemporaries such as Sir Humphrey Mackworth, published a proposal the same year a national bank would be established. *England's Glory, Or, the Great Improvement of Trade in General, by a Royal Bank* by Sir Humphrey Mackworth was issued to a collection of people the first being Sir William Ashurst, the lord mayor of the city of London. He was identified by William Griffith as "industrial entrepreneur and politician."[27] Mackworth thought a unified bank would increase trading which would in turn boost the economy.

For example, as a way to add incentive and combat objections to the benefits of banking, Mackworth argued, "People will increase, for trade will bring people as well as riches to the nation: where trade is, there will be employment; where employment is, there will people resort; where people are, there will be consumption of all commodities. These banks being once settled, trade will flourish; the Dutch, French, and Flemish, and people from all parts of Europe that have estates, or can raise money, will resort hither to enjoy themselves and their estates under so gracious and indulgent a King and Queen."[28] Mackworth envisioned a future in which England prospered economically. In order for the nation to thrive once more the government needed to promote a unified bank and stable trading network. While Mackworth was excited for the prospect of national

[26]Ibid.
[27]William P. Griffith, "Mackworth, Sir Humphry (1657–1727), Industrial Entrepreneur and Politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-17631.
[28]Sir Humphrey Mackworth, *England's Glory, Or, the Great Improvement of Trade in General, by a Royal Bank* (London, 1694).

wealth, Josiah Child's political tract speaks to the fears of English contemporaries who saw luxury as a path to vice, idleness, and crime. That was why the employment of the poor was a necessary endeavor.

Employment would suppress immoral social behavior and continue to expand the economy. Historian John Beattie observed that fears about poverty were linked to property crimes. "Vagrancy and prostitution formed one end of the spectrum that included crimes against property and serious violence at the other."[29] The notion of poverty was a visible social threat because vagrants and beggars filled the streets of London creating public disorder. William Petty, author of the *Political Arithmetick*, asserted that no one in England should have to resort to begging in the street when there was available land waiting to be cultivated. Furthermore, those who commit crimes were "begotten from the same cause; for it is against nature that any man should venture his life, limb, or liberty for a wretched livelihood, whereas a moderate labor will produce a better."[30] Petty claimed that it was unnatural for someone to risk his life and personal freedoms when working can provide a better income.

William Petty's discourse on solutions for the poor and the burden it had on the nation was a sentiment shared by John Locke, who was a commissioner for the board of trade.[31] In 1697, Locke drafted an essay about the burden of the poor and the need to pass a new poor law that required public attention. "The multiplying of the poor, and the increase of the tax for their maintenance, is so general an observation and complaint that it cannot be doubted. Nor has it been only since the last war that this evil has come upon us. It has been a growing burden on the kingdom

[29]John Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London 1660-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 51.
[30]William Petty, *Essays in Political Arithmetick (London, 1711).*
[31]John Locke, *Political Essays*, ed. Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 182.

these many years, and the two last reigns felt the increase of it, as well as the present."[32] To Locke, the problem of the poor was not new and had been escalating even before the Nine Years War therefore making it undeniable. The intention of Petty and Locke's respective publications was meant to spread awareness about social welfare. Locke thought the growth of the poor was a cause of concern for national prosperity because poverty can be attributed to "nothing else but the relaxation of discipline and corruption of manners; virtue and industry being as constant companions on the one side as vice and idleness are on the other."[33] The solution to poverty must be:

> "towards the setting of the poor on work, we humbly conceive, ought to be a restraint of debauchery by a strict execution of the laws provided against it, more particularly by the suppressing of superfluous brandy shops and alehouses, especially in country parishes not lying upon great roads. Could all the able hands in England be 'bought to- work, the greatest part of the burden that lies upon the industrious for maintaining the poor would immediately cease. For, upon a very moderate computation, it may be concluded that above one half of those who receive relief from the parishes are able to get their livelihood. And all of those who receive such relief from the parishes, we conceive, may be divided into these three sorts"[34]

Locke reaffirmed his stance on debauchery and idleness leading to poverty. He argued that there were many people receiving relief for being out of work and yet are able-bodied, which meant those relief recipients were capable of working. If able-bodied receipts of relief were employed, then it would ease the financial strain to maintain them.

Locke's statement on employing the poor can also be looked at in comparison to John Bellers who crafted a proposal for a college of industry. John Bellers was a political economist and cloth merchant. Historian Tim Hitchcock assessed that although Bellers had other "equally

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[32]John Locke, *Political Essays*, 183.
[33]Ibid,184.
[34]Ibid.

innovative works, he is best remembered for his *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry of All Usefull Trades and Husbandry*.[35] Bellers addressed his proposal to the Quakers community citing that their methods of relieving the poor had inspired him to dedicate his proposal in their honor. He assured readers that his scheme would be beneficial because it combines charity and profit. "However prevalent arguments of charity may be to some, when profit is joined with it, it will raise the most money, provide for most people, hold the longest, and do most good."[36] He continued by comparing profit to sap in a tree, which implied that profit would sustain business and help it thrive. Employing the poor would do the same for the public because the poor could contribute to society. Bellers listed potential objections to his plan and provided a thorough explanation of how his idea would not pose any challenges. For example, one objection stated, "The times being troublesome, and Trade dull, it's not seasonable to set such a thing a foot; and if we should have the calamity of war, (or any other) among us, the undertaking would be ruined."[37] Considering the nation was in a current state of war with France when his proposal was published, he responded that England was currently facing the "chieftest times" which made trading dull.[38] To remedy what he considered a current problem was to ready the poor for work.

Sir Dudley North's *Discourses upon Trade* serve as another example as to why employing the poor was important for England. The public was described as being an "acute, as well as merciless beast which neither over-sees a failing, nor forgives it; but stamps judgment and execution immediately, though upon a member of itself; and is no less ungrateful than common

[35]Tim Hitchcock, "Bellers, John (1654–1725), Political Economist and Cloth Merchant," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2050.
[36]John Bellers*, Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry (London, 1695)*.
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid.

beggars, who affront their benefactors, without whose charity their understandings would starve."[39] Therefore, Dudley believed it was important for the public to read his work as much as businessmen for two reasons: reading was a form of leisure and entertainment therefore anyone can take their time to digest the information, and it was useful for disposing of "wayward people" to learn, or make them endure reading.

It is clear from Bellers, Dudley, and Locke that the intention of these proposals was meant to promote public welfare because poverty had become a perceived burden, especially in London. Employment was important because it allowed individuals to become self-reliant and as mentioned, a higher number of workers could boost labor production. English inhabitants would have consistent work to support their families, which, to contemporaries, would reduce social ills like vagrancy, and the demand for aid. As Locke mentioned in his essay for a new poor law, at the end of the war, poverty had increased, and a firmly established financial solution became necessary. Brodie Waddell maintained that the cost of war had a detrimental impact on the poor. "Just as the number of needy parishioners was increasing, so too was the population of "poor travelers" who moved from place to place in search of relief."[40] Contemporaries developed new methods to fix the nation's finances, for example the use of long-term borrowing and public credit.

Furthermore, in 1694, parliament passed the Bank of England Act. The project to secure a national bank was created by William Patterson and Michael Godfrey, respectively. Author Richard Kleer identified Patterson as a "West Indies merchant with a good working knowledge of

[39]Sir Dudley North, *Discourses upon Trade Principally Directed to the Cases of the Interest, Coynage, Clipping, Increase of Money* (London, 1691).
[40]Brodie Waddell, 289.

European public finance."[41]Stuart Handley described Godfrey's as the "bank's first deputy governor."[42] In the wake of the national bank, Parliament had increased control over national finances and a structured stock market emerged. Margaret Hunt defined the establishment of the Bank of England as a "splendid piece of public relations for commerce and commercial people."[43] At first glance, it does appear that the expansion of England's financial system benefited the public by providing access to public credit for flexible spending. However, there were other English contemporaries who thought overindulging in commercial society promoted immorality.

For example, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele published two influential periodicals, the *Tatler* and *Spectator* between 1709 and 1714. Shawn Maurer defined Addison and Steele as "one voice," since the pair co-founded *Tatler* and *Spectator* together.[44] *Tatler* was their first project and was meant to "expose the false art of life to pull off the disguise and cunning, vanity, and affection, and to recommend a general simplicity in our dress, discourse and our behavior."[45] Throughout its duration, the *Tatler* and *Spectator* critiqued contemporary commercial culture. For example, on March 3rd, 1711, in the *Spectator*, Joseph Addison depicted a dream sequence in which the notion of credit was a woman who had fallen ill. He began his "dream" by stating "lady credit" appeared as "a beautiful virgin seated on a throne of gold. Her name, as they told me, was *public credit*."[46]

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[41]Richard A. Kleer, *Money, Politics and Power: Banking and Public Finance in Wartime England, 1694-96* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 29.
[42]Stuart Handley, "Godfrey, Michael (1659–1695), Banker," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10870.
[43]Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) 18.
[44]Shawn Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 118.
[45]Richard Steele, "Dedication to Mr. Maywarning" in *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*, ed. Aaron Mackie, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998) 47.
[46]Joseph Addison, "No. 3" (March 1711), in *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*, ed. Aaron Mackie (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 188.

As mentioned, the use of credit appeared beneficial therefore Addison was implying that the idea of credit was initially an innocent pursuit.

In the next phase of his dream Addison explained that lady credit "seemed to set an unspeakable value upon several pieces of furniture."[47] Lady's credit overzealous attention to the "furniture" caused her character to change as she appeared unstable. "She was likewise, as I afterwards found, a great valetudinarian that any eye had ever met, even in her own sex, and subject to such monetary consumptions that in the twinkling of an eye she would fall away from the most florid complexion and the most healthful state of body and weather into a skeleton."[48] The allegory was meant to represent the uncertain nature of credit which can decay to a "skeleton" and be of no use. It paralleled contemporary fears that reliance on credit and desire for luxury could lead to societal corruption.

In May of 1711, Addison depicted another allegory in regard to luxury. "Most of the trades, professions, and ways of living among mankind, take their origin either from the love of pleasure or the fear of want."[49] When fear of "want" becomes too violent, it transitions into luxury which then becomes "avarice."[50] Addison claimed this process happens when a government is successful in conquest and foreign attacks. The implication here was that trade and colonization had increased the supply of consumer goods. Which made it easy to fall for luxury and leisure. His allegory included depicting "luxury," "avarice," and "poverty" as characters in a tale about tyrants engaged

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[47]Joseph Addison, "No. 3" (March 1711), in *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*, ed. Aaron Mackie (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 188.
[48] Ibid.
[49]Joseph Addison, "No.55" (May 1711), *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*, ed. Aaron Mackie, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998) 199.
[50]Joseph Addison, "No. 55" (May 1711), *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*, ed. Aaron Mackie, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998) 199.

in warfare. In relation to avarice, poverty was depicted as his "privy counsellor, who I was always at his elbow and whispering something or other in his ear."[51] Addison represented the notion of poverty as a force that was driving the influence of greed, which then in turn caused some to seek wealth by any means necessary. Addison concluded by stating that "avarice supplies luxury in the room of plenty, and luxury prompts avarice in the place of poverty."[52] Historian Paul Slack defined vagrants as a "segment of society" that was prone to indulge petty theft.[53] If you recall William Petty, no one should resort to a life crime out of economic necessity. However, Petty wanted to address poverty by economic reform, Addison was cautioning against overconsumption.

The proposals for social and economic changes were not directly aimed at prostitution but contemporaries' aversion to poverty, idleness, and luxury impacted attitudes about sex work. Prostitution was used as a service to cater to one's personal pleasure therefore it fit into the new commercial landscape. Julia Laite observed that London was a popular area for commercial sex because prostitution "could also be found around the busy docks which saw the arrival of people and merchandise from the continent and, increasingly, the colonies."[54] The active trade of prostitution, combined with the increase of consumer culture, gave rise to print literature that used prostitutes as cautionary tales against vice, while exploiting the image of women's bodies and sexual experience since these prints were sold by male authors.

Satirical observations of everyday life in London were presented as consumer entertainment but also promoted moral regulation to its reader. For example, Edward Ward, a

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Longman, 1988), 91.
[54] Julia Laite, "A Global History of Prostitution: London," in *Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution, 1600s–2000s*, ed. Magaly Rodríguez García, Lex Herma van Voss, and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk (Brill, 2017), 112, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv2gjwwht

satirist, observed the London social scene to mock social stigmas. James Sambrook explained that Ward had developed the notion of "character writing in prose and verse by placing character in locale and bringing it to life through dialogue."[55] Julie Peakman stated that Ward mocked society with his satires, "reflecting society's own misogyny back at itself."[56] On the other hand, his books "were designed as pocket pieces for young men, who could use them to defend themselves against the wiles of the sly sex."[57] Ward's *Female Policy Detected; or, The Arts of a Designing Woman Laid Open* which was published in 1695 reinforced the stereotype about the female seductress. For example, Ward wrote "be not tempted to pick up any woman in the street, but if you should be sure that you have one eye before and another behind, for wherever lust leads, danger follows."[58] Ned Ward further equated women to spiders who lured men into their web and devoured them. His intention ultimately supported the idea that women who engage in illicit sex led to the moral corruption of men.

Ned Ward's other publications include the *London Spy* in which he wrote from the perspective of an unnamed person who observed the social habits of London citizens. As the London Spy, Ward described the social turmoil of female sexuality:

> *Could Youth those early hours to study bend,*
> *which on the tempting sex they vainly spend;*
> *How sparkling would his happy genius shine?*
> *How Strong his nerves? His knowledge how Divine?*
> *To Adams first perfection he'd attain;*
> *And by degrees lost paradise regain.*
> *But that which plagues and bitters human life*
> *Is woman, whether mistress or a wife,*

[55]James Sambrook, "Ward, Edward [Ned] (1667–1731), Satirist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28682.
[56]Julie Peakman, *Libertine London: Sex in the Eighteenth-Century Metropolis* (London: Reaktion Books Limited, 2024) 22.
[57]Ibid.
[58]Edward Ward, *Female Policy Detected: Or the Arts of a Designing Woman Laid Open (reprinted in 1746)*.

Mother of sin, disease, or sorrow and strife.[59]

Ned Ward's poem accusing female sexuality as the cause for social despair was written after he encountered sex workers or "nymphs of delight." Ward asserted that as he and a companion were walking upon the grand parade, he observed masked ladies with rumple hoods and scarves who were "ladies that came to receive fees instead of giving any."[60] Ward told his unidentified friend that if he wished to take part in that sort of commodity then he was in the greatest place for that particular trade.

In comparison to Ned Ward's *London Spy*, the *Observator* was a periodical that focused on the daily life of London inhabitants. John Tutchin was a Whig pamphleteer who edited the *Observator* from 1702 until his death in 1707. Issue ninety-four of the *Observator* covered dates March 13th to 17th in 1703. That issue explains the conflict between moral values and the emerging consumer culture. The newspaper article detailed the effects of Queen Anne's proclamation against vice and there were testimonies from "women" offering their opinion about sex work in London:

> "The other was ordinary and very impudent, and when we persuaded her to live, honest and reform herself, she said she would be a whore as long as she lived and telling her of the Pious care Her Majesty had taken of her soul, she said. It was quite contrary intended to her damnation. For, she says, the expense I am in the confinement. Must I make good by speedy repeated Commission of sins when I am at liberty. She said that the Queen would do better to give a Toleration of Whoring, for which we would pay a good tax to the public. I am, said she, brought to this House and other places of Labor and Correction at least four times a year, which cost me 20 shillings., a time, 4l a year; now said she, I am willing to give the Queen 8l a year for a license and how much money may be raised at 8l. A Head for every Whore in England? I smiled to myself at the conceit of this witty wicked one; but I replied, Her Majesty had no occasion for such money, her subjects took care to supply her treasury with better aids[61]

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[59]Edward Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat. In Eighteen Parts (London, 1700).*

[60]Ibid.

[61]"News," in *Observator [1702]*, March 13, 1703–March 17, 1703, accessed via *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection*

The characters within this pamphlet and their conflict with vice, reform, and judgment reflect the societal tensions and economic realities that people navigated. Tutchin's *Observator* reveals how sex work had been shaped and popularized by commercialization. In his piece, he makes the bold suggestion that Queen Anne should legalize commercial sex into an industry which could be taxed to the public.

He proposed that the legalization of commercial sex could generate commerce in the nation. Although he stated Queen Anne had no need to support the legalization of sex work, the unidentified woman did mention that passing a toleration act could "mean, we are able to maintain a good army and shall always keeps' recruited with our own bastards; so that in 20 years' time we shall pay this tax for the support of our children."[62] Tutchin was calling attention to the issue of bastardy within the nation. Bastardy was frowned upon in English society because it challenged social attitudes about matrimony and the family. His suggestion was to use children born out of wedlock as soldiers in the militia. Paul Slack claimed that London had a "bastardy prone sub-society," in which the illegitimacy rates were high.[63] It is hard to say whether Tutchin was serious about this plan. However, one consequence of prostitution was children born out of wedlock and into poverty, whose financial burden would fall on the community. Tutchin's proposal indicated that there was an interest in social reform that would address illegitimacy and lessen the number of those in poverty.

The lives of London inhabitants and therefore female prostitutes can also be observed in both the *Tatler* and *Spectator*. According to Shawn Mauer, Addison and Steele built a "doctrine of gender differences."[64] To keep male interest in the publication the pair had to "conceive a female

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[62]"News," in *Observator [1702]*, March 13, 1703–March 17, 1703, accessed via *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection*

[63]Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Longman, 1988), 102.

[64]Shawn Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical*, 119.

other."[65] The notion of the "female other" is evident by the way in which "Lady Credit" was characterized in Addison's allegory. She was depicted as innocent and "virginal" until she acted on her own wants and desires. Then she became erratic and was used as a lesson to represent an unpredictable financial system. Other examples of the pair's subtle misogyny include Steele's piece on the "female jilt." He strengthens the notion that women's behavior is naturally erratic.

> "For, as I just now said, the happiness of a jilt consists only in the power of making others uneasy. But such is the folly of the sect of women. That they carry on this pretty skittish behavior till they have no charms left to render it supportable. *Corinna,* who used to torment all who conversed with her with false glances and little heedless, unguarded motions that were to portray some inclination towards the man she would ensnare, finds at present all her attempts that were unregarded. And is obliged to indulge the jilt in her constitution by laying artificial plots, writing perplexing letters from unknown hands, and making all the young fellows in love with her till they find out who she is. Thus, before she gave torment by disguising her inclination, she now is obliged to do it by hiding her person."[66]

The tone of Steele's piece is accusatory as he insists that a "jilt" will seduce a man to get what she wants. The word jilt has been associated with prostitutes as both have been condemned for luring men into sexual activity. Another example that shows the gender bias is in *Spectator* issue 266 where the "spectator" comes across a sex worker who he identified as a young girl about the age of seventeen.

> "She affected to allure me with a forced wantonness in her look and air; but I saw it checked with hunger and cold: her eyes were wan and eager, her dress thin and tawdry, her mane gentle and childish. This figure gave me much anguish of heart, and to avoid being seen with her I went away but could not forbear giving her a crown. The poor thing signed certified, and with blessing expressed with the most vehemence, turned from me."[67] He depicted himself as a morally upstanding citizen who turned away from sexual advances. The young woman in question was

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Richard Steele, "No. 187" (October 1711), in *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*, ed. Aaron Mackie (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 527.

[67] "News," *Spectator [1711]*, 1712, accessed via *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection*

depicted more sympathetically than the “jilt” from the previous piece as he observed her actions were due to economic hardship. Her impoverishment was evident by the emphasis on her appearance and, like Tutchin, could indicate a need for social reform to get women off the streets.

The narrative of the unidentified woman as a sex worker highlighted aspects of the female experience such as economic vulnerability. On the other hand, the narrative given about the young sex worker was presented in a satirical sheet and written by a male observer. There is no way of telling whether Richard Steele or Joseph Addison actually encountered that young woman. One has to consider that these kinds of publications may reflect the author’s own agenda rather than an accurate depiction of events. This is not to suggest that Steele and Addison’s work have no contribution to our understanding of the stigma and poverty women in the sex trade faced. Their respective works provided insight into what the nature of prostitution may have looked like in London during the late Stuart century

In conclusion, the Nine Years War with France from 1689 to 1697 created economic hardships that were felt across the nation but most prominently in poorer communities. Jobs were scarce during the time of war and led to a decrease in labor production and trade. In the aftermath of the war, as a way to increase economic prosperity, English contemporaries proposed economic and social reforms. Principle thinkers such as John Locke, John Bellers, William Petty, and Sir Dudley North proposed employing the poor. Employment was an important aspect of English society because it would circulate money back into the economy and keep people engaged in work. The idea was to promote public welfare so people would not have to resort to a life of idleness, vagrancy, or crime. Employment would ensure self-reliance, so members of the poorer class could support themselves and their family.

On the other hand, the nation needed a more tangible solution to manage war, so proposals for a national bank were put forth by Michael Godfrey and William Patterson. The establishment of a national bank helped create the Financial Revolution because the bank managed the new financial system. A growing consumer market for leisure and luxury soon followed and prostitution fits within that framework. Sex work was a trade that catered to leisure and pleasure, but expansion of gender-biased literature used women as moral lessons to discourage the spread of immoral behavior. However, these prints were exploitative as women's sexual experiences were put on display to be purchased. As a result, the men who wrote these publications only made prostitution more visible within English culture. Furthermore, prostitution highlighted the need to employ the poor in lawful trades because sex work reflected the nations aversion to idleness and vagrancy.

CHAPTER 2: THE FEMALE WORK EXPERIENCE IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

English society in the late Stuart century was governed by patriarchal customs and a male dominated legal system, which in turn impacted the female work experience. Under English labor laws, all citizens had to find work. Meanwhile there were limited opportunities available to women. Further challenges in traditional occupations included wage gaps compared to male counter parts and experience of sexual violence. With few opportunities available to women, many turned to other forms of work, including prostitution, which reflected the economic and social constraints imposed on them. The aim of this chapter is to assess the ways in which legislation promoted social and economic inequities for working-class women thereby revealing the flaws in traditional female occupations and explaining why many women turned to sex work. Women did not enter the sex trade for enjoyment or personal pleasure; it came with significant challenges, as they were often condemned and exploited. Additionally, since the law was not a unilateral system, this chapter also explores instances where women showed resilience by using the legal system to their own advantage. This leads to a series of questions I hope to answer: how did women actually use the law to uphold their rights? Evidence to be explored include petitions addressed to the justices of the peace, which were used by women to earn back wages or request leave from an abusive employer. Women were also able to add testimony during trial proceedings at the quarter-sessions in the Old Bailey in cases pertaining to sexual violence. How did the operation of labor and criminal laws reinforce notions of gender and class? Women were forced to find employment, but were placed in positions that were associated with ideas of femininity like domestic service, which was the most common occupation for women and could include home care or childcare.

Examining the operations of the “Statute of Artificers 1563” and “An Act for the Relief of the Poor 1601” will help explain the social customs that restricted female opportunity. While

passed in the Elizabethan era, these two parliamentary acts were still influencing the work experience throughout the late Stuart century. The Statute of Artificers compelled every man and woman from all ages who had the ability to work to find employment under a domestic master. Historian Douglas Hay explained that the statute was based on earlier legislation that was passed after the black plague. "Therefore almost all the elements of earlier legislation were recapitulated and elaborated, with innovations and changes, in the Statute of Artificers: compulsory service, apprenticeship, penalties for leaving work, attempts to tie workers to particular status and employers, and official wage rates."[68] An Act for the Relief of the Poor or the Poor Law, was passed, "for setting to work of the children whose parents shall not by the said churchwardens, and overseers, or the greater part of them, be thought able to keep and maintain their children. And also, for setting to work all such persons married or unmarried, having no means to maintain them, or no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by."[69] At a first glance, the labor legislation appears to apply to both sexes.

For example, children regardless of gender would be bound by a churchwarden or overseer to an apprenticeship, "till such man child shall come to the age of four and twenty years, and such woman child to the age of one and twenty years or the time of her marriage: the same to be as effectual as to all purposes, as if such child were of full age, and by indenture of covenant bound him or herself."[70] Douglas Hay explained that these children, unlike voluntary apprentices, "were bound without their consent or that of their parents to masters in the poorer and unskilled trades to the age of twenty-four (later twenty-one); few obligations were specified on either side, but the

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[68] Hay, Douglas, and Paul Craven. *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 64.

[69] 43 Elizabeth 1, c.2: *Act for the Relief of the Poor* (1601), accessed via The Statutes Project, https://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/seventeenth-century/1601-43-elizabeth-c-2-act-for-the-relief-of-the-poor/

[70] Ibid.

master promised the parish that the pauper apprentice would not become a charge on the taxpayers, and many pauper children from large towns were sent away long distances to serve their indentures."[71] In accordance with the law, all inhabitants of a parish would be taxed to raise funds for relief. Anyone who felt "grieved with any cesse or tax," could meet with a justice of the peace during the quarter-sessions.[72] The poor law provided a means of public welfare by administering relief to those in need of parish support, but aid was distributed quite begrudgingly.

As you may recall from chapter one, contemporary attitudes about the growth of the poor further supports the idea that the nation wanted both men and women to work. In his essay about the poor law, John Locke who was the commissioner for the board of trade, supported punishment for those who did not work and included possible provisions for women as well as men:

> "That whatever female above 14 years old shall be found begging out of her own parish without a pass (if she be an inhabitant of a parish within five miles distance of that she is found begging in) shall be conducted home to her parish by the constable, tithingman' overseer of the poor, churchwarden, or other sworn officer of the parish wherein she was found begging, who, by his place and office' shall be required to do it, and to deliver her to the overseer of the poor of the parish to which she belongs, from whom he shall receive 12d for his pains; which 12d, if she be one that receives public relief, shall be deducted out of her parish allowance; or, if she be not relieved by the parish, shall be levied on her' or her parents' or her master's goods."[73]

A girl above the age of fourteen who was found "begging" out of her own parish would be returned home and her relief or the relief of her master would be deducted. Men above the age of fourteen found begging in a maritime county, would, "be sent to the next seaport town, there to be kept at hard labor, till some of his majesty's ships, coming in or near there, giving them on board, where

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[71] Hay, Douglas, and Paul Craven. *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 65.

[72] 43 Elizabeth 1, c.2: *Act for the Relief of the Poor* (1601), accessed via The Statutes Project, https://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/seventeenth-century/1601-43-elizabeth-c-2-act-for-the-relief-of-the-poor/

[73] John Locke, *Political Essays*, ed. Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 186.

they shall serve three years under strict discipline, at soldier's pay subsistence money being deducted for their victuals on board."[74]

Locke's proposal was never implemented, but the existing poor law, although passed with the intent to address both sexes did have a gender distinction. For example, historian Amy Froide had observed that under the poor law single women were excluded at times from receiving relief. "As with employment assistance, parochial officials dispersed poor relief in accordance with paternalistic beliefs about who was or was not a worthy recipient of aid."[75] Locke's proposed plan further included provisions for child labor from three years of age and under fourteen. His purpose in trying to implement child labor for mothers is to provide "ease of a great part of her trouble in looking after and providing for them at home, and so be at more liberty to work."[76] He is silent on the matter of how much a woman could have earned if his proposal ever came to fruition. As we will see later on, wage gaps were an active obstacle towards employed women. So, his silence about female wage reflects social customs that place women in subordinate positions. English contemporaries such as Locke encouraged women to join the workforce but failed to provide a plan for them to receive fair wages.

Labor laws were not written to put one sex over the other, however, once put into practice the nature of it could be oppressive. For example, Hay and Craven observed that the law could be oppressive to women through the practice of prosecution, conviction, and punishment.[77] "Almost without exception statutes were gender-neutral in England, although the judges made a few important decisions that stigmatized servants who were unmarried mothers."[78] Paul Griffith further

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[74]Ibid.
[75]Amy Froide, Never *Married: Single Women in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 34.
[76]John Locke, 190.
[77]Hay, Douglas, and Paul Craven. *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 36.
[78]Ibid.

supports Hay and Craven's assessment that single-women who were "masterless" were criminally charged.[79] "It is clear that youth was seen as a troublesome stage of life. Masterless young people raise anxieties, but a particular gender discourse elevated suspicions about independent young women."[80]As mentioned, under the poor law, if a person felt grieved by an unlawful action it was their right to seek a justice of the peace. Justices of the peace were an institution within the criminal justice system who presided over petty and criminal offenses. Scholar Dietrich Oberwittler explained that summary jurisdiction gave justices discretion to convict petty cases based on their own judgment.[81] However, one can argue that the practice of discretion gave justice of the peace too much power which in turn puts servants at disadvantage. As evidenced by Michael Dalton's treatise, *The Country Justice: Containing the Practice of the Justices of the Peace Out of their Sessions,* magistrates tended to judge in favor of the masters over the servants.

Michael Dalton was a legal scholar during the early years of the Stuart century.[82] In 1705, men named William Rawlins and Samuel Roycroft who worked for Richard and Edward Atkyns republished Dalton's treatise. The purpose of the book was to be used as a guide for justices of peace. Dalton's provision on laborers illustrated the disparate treatment between master and servant. For example, in Dalton's treatise, he explained that in the event a grievance occurs such as misuse of an apprentice, justices were to see master and servant at his discretion. "If there shall be default in the apprentice; the said justices (at their said sessions) may cause due correction to be ministered to him, and they shall think meet also it seemeth, the first justice of peace to whom complaint was made, shall find the default to be in the apprentice that then said the justice of the

[79]Paul Griffith, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 380.
[80]Ibid.
[81] Dietrich Oberwittler, "Crime and Authority in Eighteenth Century England: Law Enforcement on the Local Level," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 15, no. 2 (54) (1990): 9, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20754490.
[82] D. A. Orr, "Dalton, Michael (1564–1644), Barrister and Legal Writer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7067.

peace may send him to the house correction as an idol or disorderly person."[83] An acceptable punishment for servants who broke contracts or disobeyed any other aspect of the law was detention in a house of correction and whipping. The punishment for the master appears minor compared to that of his apprentice. "For ill usage of the master towards the apprentice upon complaints by the apprentice in the manner directed by the Acts, the justices may discharge the apprentice from the master service."[84] Although a master may lose his servant, the penalty was not equitable in comparison to the apprentice because once found guilty an apprentice would be subject to hard labor or bodily pain in the house of correction. Furthermore, if someone were discharged from service, they would still remain at a disadvantage within that system because they would then need to seek alternative means of employment.

Women were already placed in a situation where employment opportunities were restricted. However, as a form of resistance against the exploitation of masters, some women decided to utilize the provision that guaranteed them discharge from service. Women were able to petition for earned wages to be restored through the justice of the peace or be removed from a service due to mistreatment from their employer. For example, in June of 1690, Elinor Randall went to the justice of peace to request Robert Hide pay her the last three-month wage that was owed.[85] Under the agreement with Hide, Randall made 55s a year. Since she had not received her wage, Elinor was forced to sell her clothes.[86] Robert Hide was ordered by the court to attend a session on a Friday morning at 10 o'clock to answer the question as to why he did not return her

[83] Michael Dalton, *The Country Justice: Containing the Practice of the Justices of the Peace Out of Their Sessions...* (1705).
[84] Ibid.
[85] Elinor Randall Requests the Court Compel Robert Hide to Pay Her the Last Three Months Wage He Owes Her MJ/SP/1690/06/007
[86] Ibid.

wages.[87] Robert was not documented to have given a reason as to why he withheld her wage, but he was ordered to pay Elinor half of her back wages.

In 1692, at Hicks Hall, a woman named Ann Askew petitioned to be discharged from the service of Archibald Lovet on the account that he was breaching his part of the indenture contract.[88] An indenture contract was an agreement between master and servant that determined wages and hours of work. Jane Whittle observed "during a contract, servants had a duty to obey their master and could be asked to do any work task and work unlimited hours. The employer had a duty to police their servants' behavior and morals. The laws also controlled mobility, inhibiting people's ability to search for employment freely."[89] Under her terms of employment, Ann Askew was supposed to spend seven-years in Lovet's service and during that time he would be obliged to teach her the trade of making gold and silver lace.[90] Ann Askew complained that she had been employed by him for five years and he had not taught her anything about the trade, and Lovet had been cruel and punished her with unreasonable corrections and she wished to be "released from her said bondage."[91] One of the limitations to Askew's case was the absence of a follow-up. One is left wondering whether Anne Askew was able to leave her apprenticeship.

Hay and Craven's explanation about enforcement of the magistrates may provide some insight as to why some cases do not have a follow-up session, resulting in limited documentation. "The sessions of many counties and boroughs also record scattered cases of servants and apprentices bringing masters before the court on wage claims or for brutal mistreatment, and

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Ann Askew Ask That She Be Discharged from the Service of Archibald Lovet MJ/SP/1692/01/008

[89] Jane Whittle, "Attitudes to Wage Labour in English Legislation, 1349–1601," in *Labour Laws in Preindustrial Europe: The Coercion and Regulation of Wage Labour, c.1350–1850*, ed. Jane Whittle and Thijs Lambrecht (Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 51.

[90] Ann Askew Ask That She Be Discharged from the Service of Archibald Lovet MJ/SP/1692/01/008.

[91] Ibid.

masters accusing servants and apprentices of sauciness, threats, and repeated running away."[92] The pair had further observed that the number of cases presented at the quarter sessions were small because "magistrates heard only rather unusual cases there."[93] Hay and Craven suggested that some justices of the peace did not show up to even hear a case. Considering how rare records like Ann Askew and Elinor Randall are it is remarkable to have a first-hand account about women utilizing the law to support their employment rights. Also given the limited documentation of women's exact wage, it also provides insight into how much a woman could have earned depending on her occupation and years of service.

Aside from Ann Askew, Elinor Randall was a domestic servant, the most common occupation for working women. Robert Shoemaker observed that the growth of the middle-class resulted in the need for more domestic servants.[94] Sara Heller Mendelson and Patricia Crawford further confirmed that middle-class families would hire "one or two maid servants."[95] Among the other types of occupations that women could receive, their tasks were traditionally feminine in nature. Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood have identified that "all those engaged in lace making and stocking knitting were women," and "making outer clothing" was a male position.[96] Alice Clark's, *Working life of women in the seventeenth century,* claimed that women worked under three modes of production, "domestic industry," "family industry," and "industrialism."[97] Her argument for family industry goes as follows, "family industry is the form in which the family becomes the unit for the production of goods to be sold or exchanged."[98] Clark was suggesting

[92]Douglas Hay, 70.
[93] Ibid.
[94]Robert Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650-1850* (London and New York: Longman) 176.
[95]Mendelson, Sara Heller, and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 94.
[96]Whittle, Jane and Mark Hailwood, "The Gender Division of Labor in Early Modern England," *The Economic History Review* 73, no. 1 (2020): 19, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/ehr.12821
[97]Alice Clark, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 1968), 6.
[98]Ibid.

that married women were able to work within their husband's trade and equally profited from the earnings.

Her theory has been debated, and scholars find that it does not hold up. For example, historian Peter Earle claimed that it was scarce to see a woman work with her husband unless in the food industry.[99] Earle further argued that the wages were not shared, and therefore a woman's service was rendered irrelevant.[100] There was even an evident wage gap between male and female workers who did not work in a family industry. "Most men's wages ranged from 10s a week to £1 a week or more. A few women, such as specialist needle-workers, were paid 10s or even 12s a week, i.e., above the minimum level of male pay, but the majority of women were earning only between 4s and I0s a week."[101] Scholars Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf have found that there was some limitation to assessing women' wages earnings for a couple of reasons. First off, "women were more likely to be paid as part of a team or task" and secondly, "day wages, where they exist, must be compared to longer-term contracts. That usually involves board or lodging for which a value has to be imputed."[102] Humphries and Weisdorf stance on the difficulty of wage assessment is justified. As mentioned, the petitions presented to the justice of the peace provided a way to examine not only wage withholdings but also to observe women's earnings.

The legal status of married and unmarried women presents another means to observe barriers to working women. According to author Mary Prior, single women or widows were classified as *feme sole*, and "suffered no legal constraints which would handicap her in trade."[103]

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[99]Peter Earle "The Female Labor Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." *The Economic History Review* 42, no. 3 (1989): 338, https://doi.org/10.2307/2596437

[100]Peter Earle "The Female Labor Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 338.

[101]Peter Earle, 342.

[102]Humphries, Jane, and Jacob Weisdorf. "The Wages of Women in England, 1260–1850." *The Journal of Economic History* 75, no. 2 (2015):406, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24550938.

[103] Mary Prior, "Women and the Urban Economy: Oxford 1500–1800," in *Women in English Society, 1500–1800*, ed. Mary Prior (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 1985), 60.

However, "borough custom," might hinder her opportunities.[104] Amy Froide observed that single women did not have an easier time finding occupations. According to Froide, guilds were male dominated and, to be "a mistress of a trade also meant being a householder."[105] Moreover, single women were expected to live with families or serve in another household.[106]

The doctrine of coverture impacted married women's employment opportunities. Mary Prior further asserted that a married woman was labelled as a *feme covert,* which made the husband her "sovereign" and "guardian."[107] Historian Tim Stretton claimed that feme converts required their husband's consent to "enter contracts and defend their rights in court."[108] Sarah Mendelson argued that married women "did not command their own wage" and, "the law offered no recourse if her husband spent her wages on "drink or anything else."[109] Married women could acquire the right to make contracts or defend themselves in court without their husband in relation to trade through the status of feme sole merchants. For example, in 1702, William Bohun, claimed a feme sole merchant was a woman who exercised trade "wherein her husband doth not intermeddle, she shall have all advantage, and shall be sued as a feme sole merchant by the custom."[110] He clarified that every woman trading in London was not automatically a feme sole merchant.

Furthermore, Bohun provided cases where the notion of a feme sole merchant was not applicable. For example, he explains a "feme was indicted as a feme-sole merchant, for selling ale, and her husband did not join, where she useth the same trade, she doth it as a servant."[111]A woman

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[104]Ibid.
[105]Amy Froide, 27.
[106]Amy Froide, 28.
[107]Mary Prior, 60.
[108] Tim Stretton, "Women, Legal Rights and Law Courts," in *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England*, *Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 22.
[109]Mendelson, Sara Heller, and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 268.
[110]William Bohun, *Privilegia Londini: Or the Laws, Customs, and Privileges of the City of London* (London, 1702).
[111]Ibid.

could be indicted, sued, and defend herself without her husband. However, if they share the same trade then she was a servant to her husband. Marjorie McIntosh observed that the terms "feme sole merchant" and "feme sole trader" were used interchangeably.[112] McIntosh asserted that the legal status of feme sole merchants was complex because a married woman was guaranteed legal protections. For example, "if her husband was irresponsible or insolvent, she could claim that she bore no responsibility for his debts because her finances were legally distinct from his."[113] On the other hand, in case of a lawsuit, a husband's financial standing might grant him more favorable treatment in the courtroom as a defendant.[114]

There were English contemporaries who advocated for women to have better access to opportunities to lessen employment challenges. For example, Daniel Defoe, an English writer best known for his works, *Robinson Crusoe,* and *Moll Flanders*, openly criticized "the press, morals, manners, and the government,"[115] through his writing. In his *Essays Upon Several Subjects*, Defoe complained that his fellow Englishmen approach the female sex with "folly" and "impertinence" which put Christian civilization at disadvantage.[116] Defoe argued that women should receive a formal education instead of spending their youth being taught to "stitch, sow, and make bawbles."[117] Defoe was discussing more broadly female education, but his objection to women being uneducated connects with an unequal system that women labored under. Defoe's condemnation of women only learning in order to sign their names or participate in domestic activities provides insight into the social constraints placed on female potential. Defoe even states,

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[112]Marjorie McIntosh, "The Benefits and Drawbacks of Femme Sole Status in England, 1300–1630." *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 3 (2005): 415, https://doi.org/10.1086/429708.

[113] Marjorie McIntosh, "The Benefits and Drawbacks of Femme Sole Status in England, 1300–1630," 426.

[114] Marjorie McIntosh, 427.

[115]Paula R Backscheider. "Defoe, Daniel (1660? –1731), writer and businessman." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7421.

[116]Daniel Defoe, *Essays upon Several Projects: Or Effectual Ways for Advancing the Interest of the Nation* (London, 1702).

[117]Ibid.

the "capacities of women are supposed to be greater…and looks as if we denied women the advantage of education for fear they should *vye* with men in their improvement."[118]

Based on John Locke and Daniel Defoe respective concerns for the rise of the poor and proposal to educate women, it was evident that English contemporaries understood that women's labor was necessary for economic prosperity. And yet, economic challenges in pre-industrial England were a persistent issue for women. Masters tried to withhold wage earnings from servants. Women had to fight for their wages, and often received only half of what was owed to them. The legal status of women also posed benefits and challenges. Women classified as femme sole, or femme merchants could trade in their own right. However, in the case of lawsuits women did not always receive favorable treatment.

Women not only faced challenges in gaining an education, finding employment, or receiving adequate wages; but also once they found work, women, especially those working as domestic servants, could also experience sexual violence. Bridgit Hill has observed, "the very nature of servant quarters contributed to their vulnerability."[119] Hill adds that masters in a household would exploit female servants' schedules to take advantage of her.[120] Hill's insight is supported by evidence from rape cases heard at the Old Bailey, London's central criminal court. For example, on December 7th, 1681, William Woodbridge was indicted for the rape of Sarah Pain who lived in his mother's household as a servant, but the jury found him innocent.[121] An unidentified witness in the report settled the case by affirming Pain was out for money.

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[118]Ibid.

[119]Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestic in Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 44.

[120]Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestic in Eighteenth Century*, 45.

[121]*Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) December 1681. Trial of William Woodbridge (t16811207-1).

According to the trial report, Sarah testified that she had been asleep in bed in her room when Woodbridge surprised her and by use of violence "obtained his will on her."[122] She was asked why she did not cry out for help and responded that he held his hand over her mouth and declared he would hit her on the head if she yelled for help.[123] Given her testimony, and no evidence presented that she was "out for money," why was Woodbridge acquitted? The credibility of women and their testimony were put under more scrutiny than their male counterparts in trial proceedings heard at the Old Bailey. Legal positions held at the Old Bailey in regard to the creation and enforcement of the law were exclusively reserved for men. "The only women present in the courtroom were witnesses or spectators in the gallery, unless a jury of matrons was needed to determine if a convicted woman was pregnant."[124] Female witnesses often faced questions relating to chastity, which led to interrogations regarding the legitimacy of their children and sexual reputation.

Laura Gowing observed that this behavior towards women could also be found in church courts, where male proctors exhibited gender bias in recording female testimony.[125] "When women came to the court, they were made aware from the start that their testimony was understood differently from that of men."[126] At the Old Bailey, the creation of legal narratives based on witness testimony between the late 17th century and early 18th century was done by exclusively unidentified male note-takers. "From the 1720s, as trial reports grew longer, notetakers in court began to use shorthand to take fuller notes of courtroom testimony. The identity of these notetakers

[122]Ibid.
[123]Ibid.
[124]Gender in the Proceedings, *Old Bailey Online*.
[125]Laura Gowing, *Domestic Danger: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 45.
[126]Laura Gowing, *Domestic Danger: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*, 51.

is largely unknown before Thomas Gurney began acting as the shorthand reporter in the 1740s."[127] The men who held these positions within the Old Bailey were able to shape women's legal experiences, which reveals the limitations placed onto them.

Richard Newall's case illustrates the doubt surrounding women's credibility. On April 11th, 1717, Newall, a poulter by trade was indicted for the rape of Elizabeth Morris, which had taken place that February. She worked as his servant and on the day her mistress was out of the household Newall, "turned her about and satisfied himself again, but in that place where nature most excuses it."[128] Morris testified that as soon as her mistress returned, she told her what had happened. It was documented in the report that her mistress "being justly enraged at such a monstrous and detestable action, advised her to take out a warrant."[129] At the proceeding, evidence was presented that Morris told several other people what had happened to her, and yet Newall was acquitted. Laura Gowing further claimed that the choice of witnesses in a trial proceeding was, "circumstantial and tactical."[130]There were no documented witnesses on behalf of Morris, but Newall brought in a witness who accused Morris of saying she would not prosecute Newall if he gave her "five guineas."[131] Further "evidence" was brought forth that she kept company of another young man, and Morris was working on behalf of Newall's wife. To create a narrative that Newall was innocent, Morris' virtue and character were attacked, which diminished her credibility.

English criminal law and labor law afforded women limited opportunity to receive equitable treatment. Although women did try to navigate in those spaces, and at a time were able to use the law for their own benefit, the challenges they faced led women to pursue other forms of

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[127]Publishing History, *Old Bailey Online.*
[128]Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) April 1716. Trial of Richard Newall (t17160411-42).
[129]Ibid.
[130] Laura Gowing, 51.
[131]Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) April 1716. Trial of Richard Newall (t17160411-42).

employment, such as sex work. The women who resorted to sex work tended to be those women who had no other options. As Tony Henderson explained, prostitutes resided in the most impoverished areas of society.[132] Sarah Mendelson and Patricia Crawford have also noted that it was poor women who were more likely to engage in the sex trade.[133] To further understand women's motive to join prostitution, the Ordinary account from the Old Bailey provided testimonies of people who were committed and executed at Newgate prison.

The Ordinary was a Chaplain who documented biographical information and confessions of sins from men and women sentenced to die. Before every execution, the Ordinary, Reverend Paul Lorain, gave a sermon and preached twice, "in order to prepare them for another world."[134] The purpose of identifying their behavior and motive for committing sin and criminal activity was for the "benefit" of others. It was likely that he thought recording their confessions would serve as a moral instruction. And so, we should read these accounts with some care, since it is not certain how many of the women's own words were recorded. However, these accounts can provide some evidence of these women's complicated economic circumstances that may have motivated them to try to earn wages through prostitution. For example, in 1708, Deborah Churchill was condemned for aiding Richard Hunt, William Lewis, and John Boy, in the Murder of Martin Ware.[135] The Ordinary provided a brief description of her life. She was left in the care of her uncle when she was a child, "who not shewing in regard to her education, as she ought to have one, she took her leave of him at Fifteen."[136] After getting pregnant by her neighbor, she went to London where she

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[132]Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830* (New York: Routledge, 2013) 14.
[133]Mendelson, Sara Heller, and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 294.
[134]*Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, March 1708 (OA17080303a).
[135]Ibid.
[136]Ibid.

met a prostitute who got her into prostitution, and she continued to work as a prostitute until she was committed.[137]

In comparison, Mary Knight, was condemned for stealing "9 guineas with some silver." She was documented to be thirty-one years of age and was a former apprentice to a fish-woman at Billingsgate. The Ordinary further recorded that Knight had been married to a seaman by trade who had brought the couple into poverty.[138] Knight characterizes her spouse as a "bad husband."[139] So it seems that his actions, which led them into poverty, impacted her work as Knight was forced to leave her employment. To prevent starvation she turned to pick-pocketing, and informed the Ordinary that for the past year she had been engaged in prostitution for further financial security.[140] The Ordinary's response was to chastise her by stating, "that the best and safest way for her to have got a livelihood, and been comfortably relieved in her necessity, was to have kept herself honest, and to have looked out for some place in a good family, or for some other lawful employment."[141] Mary Knight was a woman in a state of poverty who lacked support and hardly any options. Her husband's actions had caused her to lose a source of income, so one can imagine how hard it was to find another job.

Reverend Paul Lorain's decision to chastise Knight reflects the harsh reality of women in her position. His argument that she should have "kept herself honest" ignored the social barriers that put her in the position to turn to prostitution and pickpocketing. As previously noted in the first chapter, employment schemes were debated among contemporaries as some questioned the absence of workers despite the available land for cultivation, while others argued that employment

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[137] Ibid.
[138] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, January 1716 (OA17160127).
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.

schemes could serve as a means to turn people away from a life of idleness. However, those proposals were never put into practice, and Lorain's sentiments highlight English contemporaries blamed individuals for their impoverishment rather than ensuring "lawful employment" was accessible to all. Additionally, for individuals like Knight, whose livelihoods depended on her husband, female employment could be directly impacted by their spouse's actions.

In conclusion, women had to navigate under a strict labor system that compelled them to work. However, women resorted to sex work due to economic difficulties that traditional female occupations failed to resolve. For example, with little to no education or skills, women like Deborah Churchill found themselves in the trade prostitution. The most common traditional occupation for women was domestic servitude and the tasks could range from housework to childcare, but the pay was low. Further impediments included the legal status of women as single and married women both faced financial challenges. Single women who needed financial support often encountered reluctance when seeking parish assistance. Although single women were free to trade without a husband's consent, that did not guarantee available positions. To be a "mistress of a trade," one had to be recognized as a householder, a status not given to single women.

Married women were legally bound to their husbands under the doctrine of coverture. As feme coverts, the wages they earned legally belonged to their husbands, not to them. Their employment status was also dictated by their husbands, as seen in the case of Mary Knight who was a former apprentice, but due to her husband's actions lost her occupation. As a form of resistance, women were able to use the law to voice their concerns over treatment of employment. Women had the ability to create petitions against wage withholdings, and testify against employers in rape trials. The nature of these sources is limited, but it showed women left a mark in the legal records. Furthermore, indictments for crimes associated with prostitution such as pickpocketing

served as evidence for the circumstances that pushed women toward sex work, which offered further insight into the economic struggles. Some of these women were sentenced to death for committing petty crimes, but throughout the long eighteenth-century, the death penalty became a less favored solution to crime. Moral reformers would seek to find other ways to apprehend vice and crime such as the use of confinement in correctional facilities.

CHAPTER 3: REFORMATION OF MANNERS AND FEAR OF SEXUAL IMMORALITY

Chapters one and two have shown so far that anxieties about the state of the nation in relation to employment, poverty, and crime were expanding. The Nine Years War created an economic crisis that was later resolved by the Financial Revolution. However, the resulting expansion of a commercial economy also fueled concerns about England's moral integrity because of the increased access to leisure and luxury. Activities associated with leisure and luxury, such as drinking and gaming, were condemned by moral reformers for promoting public disorder and idleness. At the same time, there was a particular interest in dismantling "bawdy" houses and other places where prostitution took place. Therefore, I aim to address the following questions: considering the various social activities that were deemed vices, why did prostitution provoke particular concern among moral reformers? In what ways did participation in sex work create disorder within society? In the eyes of English inhabitants, it was an age of corruption as the law was too lenient on vice, debauchery, and profane swearing. There were concerns that these social problems would transition into criminal behavior.

Moreover, prostitution was seen as a visible representation of social and economic problems. To prevent further corruption, the Society for the Reformation of Manners (SRM) was created. Supporters ranged from authoritative figures such as archbishops and magistrates to ordinary people who all sought to restore moral order. By examining the publications from moral reformers such as John Disney, John Dunton, and Josiah Woodward, who highlighted the perceived danger that illicit sex presented within English society in their respective works, I argue that the suppression of prostitution served as a means to regulate female sexuality to uphold the traditional family structure. To promote their agenda and gain public support, moral reformers

distributed pamphlet literature to link prostitution with the growing public anxieties about crime, disease, and poverty.

The Reformation of Manners Movement followed the ascension of William III and Mary II. The Societies for the Reformation of Manners first formed in 1690, and their crusade on vice continued until its decline in the 1730s.[142] Religious and secular institutions both had a hand in shaping the campaign into an active movement. Historian Faramerz Dabhoiwala, claimed that the "main jurisdiction over sexual offense was exercised by the church courts."[143] Moreover, to "appease God," and gain "forgiveness" among the religious community, illicit women were subject to public penance.[144] In comparison, scholar Martin Ingram, stated that the church courts operated "for the health of the soul and for the reformation of manners."[145] In terms of secular involvement in addressing immoral sexual behavior, the administration under William III and Mary II promoted a moral reformation. According to historian John Beattie, the previous reign of James II was blamed for the corruption of manners.[146] James' administration was accused of being too lenient on vice, so contemporaries needed to prove "England's worthiness to continue to receive further marks of God's blessings."[147] Contemporary views about James' reign and the need for a moral reform can also be interpreted as expressions of anti-Catholic sentiment.

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[142]Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: a Social History of Moral Regulation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28.
[143]Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex, Social Relations and the Law in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century London," in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland,* ed. Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 85.
[144]Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex, Social Relations and the Law in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century London," 87.
[145]Martin Ingram, "Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England," in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffith, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 54.
[146]John Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London 1660-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001), 55.
[147] Ibid.

In 1676, the Pope recognized James II as a Catholic convert, and he ascended the English throne as a Catholic in 1685.[148] The revelation that James had converted to Catholicism had further heightened anxieties across the nation. As scholar Tony Claydon asserted, "For generations, Englishmen had associated the Roman faith with cruel and tyrannous government, and many fear that the advent of a Catholic monarch was spelled a fantastical persecution of the majority Protestant population, a loss of traditional liberties and civil rights, and the subjugation of the Rome to Catholic powers on the continent. The change in James' religion thus sparked nearly three decades of opposition to the man and became a major cause of instability in English politics."[149] Feeling unsettled by the authority of a Catholic king, many set their sights on William of Orange. The reign of a new king would set the nation on a path for moral reform and political stability.

In 1692, a few years into their reign, the co-monarchs, William and Mary, signed a proclamation against a series of offenses related to social behavior. "And we do hereby for the purpose straightly require, charge and command all and singular our judges, mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all other our officers ecclesiastical and civil, in their respective station, to execute the laws against blasphemy, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, lewdness, profanation of the lord's-day, or any dissolute, immoral or disorderly practices, as they will answer to Almighty God, and upon pain of our highest displeasure."[150] Judges of assizes and justices of the peace were further commanded to prosecute and punish anyone who violated the royal proclamation.

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[148]W. A. Speck, "James II and VII (1633–1701), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14593.

[149]Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 7.

[150]England and Wales. Sovereign (1689–1694: William and Mary), *A Proclamation Against Vitious, Debauched, and Profane Persons by William R.* (London: 1692).

In 1694, printed for John Dunton, reformer and bookseller, the Societies for Reformation of Manners published an essay expressing deep concerns about the nation's moral standing. The intention of the proposal was to warn the public against repeating the same patterns of sins found in biblical teachings. "And the spirit of God being hereby grieved, and vexed, and quenched, hath in a great measure left us to our own distempered minds, and a spirit of giddiness hath seized many heads; and we may read Ichabod on the doors of almost all our churches and assemblies, (whether public or more private) and the glory of God is departed from us."[151] Reformers believed that England faced a moral decline in God's absence.

Various religious scripture was cited within the proposal which indicates the aim was to resonate with a Christian audience. Tina Isaacs claims that SRM began as "exclusively Anglican," along with other reform societies such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to spread the moral agenda through "pious literature."[152] However, in 1694, along with "reviving piety," SRM began to also on enforce "the secular statutes against swearing, public drunkenness, lewdness, blasphemy and profanation of the sabbath"[153] Since the Church had been at the reins of public behavior before the societies were founded, it does seem natural that religious doctrine would continue to have a role in the movement.

The SRM's proposal further outlined five key reasons for the need for a national reformation of manners. One motivation was the society's desire "to supplicate their Majesties, that the public play-houses may be suppressed."[154] Playhouses were compared to "nursery of vice

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[151]Societies for the Reformation of Manners, *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners: Published by the Society for Reformation* (London: 1694).
[152]Tina Isaacs, "The Anglican Hierarchy and the Reformation of Manners 1688–1738," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33, no. 3 (1982): 393, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046900026269.
[153]Ibid.
[154]Societies for the Reformation of Manners, *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners: Published by the Society for Reformation* (London: 1694).

as piety is neglected and the youth are lured and corrupted into the love of, and delight in idleness, excessive vanity, revellings, luxury, wantonness lasciviousness, whoredoms, and such debaucheries."[155] England's consumer culture had expanded and reformers began to link sexual immorality with desire for luxury and idleness. The society had recognized that since the royal proclamation of 1691 passed, many orders were given out by the Lord Mayor of the City of London. On the authority of the Lord Mayor, the County of Middlesex and Surrey would "charge and command all constables, headboroughs, churchwardens, *&c.* to use their utmost endeavors to bring all offenders against the laws aforesaid to condign punishment, severely menacing their negligence, but promising to their diligence herein all encouragement."[156] However, SRM still found that "vice and wickedness abound in every place, lord's days are still profaned; drunkenness and lewdness escape unpunished; our ears in most companies are filled with curses of damnation, the corners of our streets everywhere echo the horrible sounds of oaths, curses, and blasphemous execrations."[157] SRM argued that the most effective way to address vice was for the government to charge lawbreakers:

> "Resolve to use our hearty endeavors, that such good work may no longer be contained within such narrow Limits but be further promoted for more general advantage. Wherefore we agree, upon our own costs and charges to employ and maintain a competent Number of such fitting Persons, as we shall choose, to assist the several Constable and other Officers, in the Wards of the said City of *London,* and in other of the said adjacent Parishes, in putting in Execution those good Laws aforesaid…also by searching out the lurking Holes of Bawds, Whores, and other filthy Miscreants, in order to their conviction and punishment according to law."[158]

It was the organization's aim to use informers to assist the constables because moral informers were ordinary individuals who could detect lawbreakers within the community at a grassroots

[155]Ibid.
[156]Ibid.
[157]Ibid.
[158]Ibid.

level. Included in the proposal was the *Black Roll,* which was the list of names of "several *hundred* persons" who had committed immoral acts and were prosecuted by SRM.[159] Most of the names on the *Black Roll* who "kept a bawdyhouse" were women. Additionally, those who were also caught nightwalking and whipped at Bridewell were women. There was nothing on the *Black Roll* that named male clients as active participants in the sexual exchange.

These women were most likely caught by an informer of SRM. Author Shelley Burtt considered informers to be a "citizens vice squad" whose attempts were for the "vigorous execution of laws that had, in their opinion, "lain asleep" for too long.[160] Scholar Alan Hunt, claimed that informers were local tradesmen and artisans and a "cornerstone" to the SRM.[161] Historian Robert Shoemaker states that "propagandists and official supporters of the campaign encouraged informers to prosecute several types of vice."[162] However, in doing so, Shoemaker argued that the SRM became a loose organization where "activists" decided which immoral crimes to prosecute. The use of informers was an ill-managed system because someone could be prosecuted against without any real evidence. As chapter two argued, single women who did not work under a master were often the targets of gender discrimination. This was further demonstrated by the number of women listed on the *Black roll* who were accused, and then prosecuted for keeping a bawdy house or night-walking.

Nevertheless, there were contemporary supporters for the use of informers including Francis Grant. Historians Colin Kidd and Clare Jackson, identified Grant as a Scottish lawyer and

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[159]Ibid.

[160] Shelley Burtt, "The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: Between John Locke and the Devil in Augustan England," in *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660–1750*, ed. Roger D. Lund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995),152.

[161]Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: a Social History of Moral Regulation*,34.

[162]Robert Shoemaker, "Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738" in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive,* ed. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert Shoemaker (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 103.

pamphleteer who advocated for the unification of Scotland and England as one Kingdom.[163] In *A Vindication of Informers,* Grant stated, "Every Christian should give what help he can, and his station, to them and have authority to punish or censor scandalous sinners, both to the Church and to the magistrates: And they who deny, or withhold their assistance are guilty before God of hindering the good work of suppressing vice."[164] To Grant, it was the duty of a true Christian to eradicate the nature of vice and punish those who participated. Watching idly as another person committed sin prevented the success of the movement. As a result, the person who did not inform was just as guilty as the person committing a sin.

Francis Grant continued in his publication that, "One great cause, why people are so backward to assist the magistrate or church, in bearing down immorality, is because the name of an informer hath been very odious; but this scruple is built upon a mistake of them, who mind and look to words more than things."[165] Here Grant recognizes the hesitancy to become an informer was due to the unpopularity to report one's neighbor. However, he further argued that a person who was devoted to God would do his duty and save his fellow countrymen from sin. Grant's publication serves as an example of the propaganda methods used to heighten one's fear about potential increase in vice. Grant was able to shift responsibility onto individuals and reinforced the notion that inaction causes spiritual punishment.

A year before *Vindication of Informers was* published, Grant had observed the benefits of England's moral movement against vice and thought it would be applicable to Scotland. In *A brief account of the nature, rise, and progress of the societies for reformation of manners,* Grant

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[163] Kidd, Colin, and Clare Jackson. "Grant, Sir Francis, first baronet, Lord Cullen (1658x63–1726), judge and writer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11256.

[164] Francis Grant, *A Vindication of Informers of the Breaches of the Laws Against Prophaneness and Immorality* (Edinburgh: 1701).

[165] Ibid.

explains that he has read Josiah Woodward's *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies*, and wants to share it with the public since books are "not commonly to be had."[166] In a tone of admiration Grant claimed that England, at the time his account was written, had a decade worth of experience in promoting laws against vice. And in that time, methods have been "approved by the wise, and most learned in the nation and so comfortable that it may excite and encourage those of this Kingdom of Scotland, to imitate such a laudable example."[167] In 1700, England and Scotland were not yet a unified kingdom; that would not occur for another seven years. Therefore, his admiration demonstrated how England's approach to curb vice resonated with international audiences.

When analyzing Josiah Woodward's *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies*, one can argue that Woodward's focus on women also highlights a gender bias. "Their honest endeavors to stop the wide mouth of our crying sins, have (by the blessing of God) so far succeeded, that the impudence of lewd women, and the blasphemies of licentious tongues are mainstay abated in our streets… as most remote from human observation and punishment."[168] In his account, Woodward praised that "ten or twelve lewd women have been taken up in a night, in the houses as well as streets; and this twice or thrice a week.[169] He further commended the society's recorder who, "shows more zeal and application to it, than any magistrate in London or Middlesex has done since I have been acquainted with these matters."[170] Woodward's insult towards the magistrates frames the notion of propaganda perfectly because he was creating a narrative that

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[166]Francis Grant, *A Brief Account of the Nature, Rise, and Progress of the Societies for Reformation of Manners &c. in England and Ireland, with a Preface Exhorting to the Use of Such Societies in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1700).
[167]Ibid.
[168]Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London, &c. and of Their Endeavours for Reformation of Manners, 3rd ed. (London:1701)*.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.

traditional authorities were less dependable therefore the public needed the moral reform movement.

The SRM's misogyny was reinforced by the way in which female prostitutes were depicted by other moral reformers. For example, John Disney had considered prostitutes to be "lewd women" who were a danger to virtue.[171] The extent of Disney's involvement in the Society for Reformation of Manners is debated among scholars. According to Professor John Spurr, Disney was "active as a layman and as a clergyman in the work of the SPCK and SRM."[172] On the other hand, Shelley Burt asserted that Disney was never "explicitly associated" with the society.[173] Notwithstanding his affiliation, it was evident that Disney viewed prostitution as a cause of social concern.

His essay on the execution of law was written in 1708. Queen Anne had succeeded William and Mary, and he addressed his essay to her "commission of peace" to execute the laws for the purpose of "safety and prosperity of every private subject, the honor of god, and the public credit of religion and the eternal happiness of mankind."[174] He argued the spread of vice was a matter of national crime that was bred from luxury, which had "debased the "genius of people" and chained them to pleasures.[175] People's pleasures also led them to establishments such as playhouses, alehouses, and bawdyhouses:

> "What can be more dangerous to virtue than the impudent solicitations of lewd women in our streets, the nests of bawdry that are known and settled in particular houses, and those open nurseries of irreligion and lewdness, and the playhouses? How many young and inconsiderate creatures are debauched and undone by these temptations, who might otherwise have proved good and virtuous, and made an honorable figure in the world."[176]

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[171] John Disney, *An Essay Upon the Execution of the Laws Against Immorality and Prophaneness*, (London:1708).

[172] Overton, J. H., and John Spurr. "Disney, John (1677–1730), Church of England clergyman and moral reformer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7684.

[173] Shelley Burtt, "The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: Between John Locke and the Devil in Augustan England," 160.

[174] John Disney, *An Essay Upon the Execution of the Laws Against Immorality and Prophaneness*, (London:1708).

[175] Ibid.

[176] Ibid.

Disney argued that prostitutes were a hazard to the nation's virtue. Furthermore, establishments where prostitution can be found were contributing to temptations among the youth to engage in illicit sexual activity.

In comparison, John Dunton exposed the danger of prostitution and taught moral lessons. "But you ladies that are so lewd as to keep men debauched, let me ask you whether before you were actually debauched, you did not think the name of a whore to be very reproachable, not only to the person themselves, but to all the relations? Have you never at any time seen some of those vile miscreants carted and pillared and pursued through the streets, having their outsized pulled, polluted with mire and filth as just emblems of their polluted insides?"[177] John Dunton continued by questioning prostitutes on whether or not the consequences of illicit sex had crossed their minds. But he was also drawing attention to the extreme nature of punishment towards prostitution. The combination of satire and moral instruction shows the complexity of his work.

In his book, *The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues,* Dunton identified prostitutes as sinners who would corrupt men, bring shame, and dishonor, and cause the spread of moral and physical illness. Historian Helen Berry asserted that Dunton's non-SRM publications were an "ambiguous contribution to the campaign."[178] Her implication was that Dunton's work with the SRM was transactional because Queen Mary gave him license to publish, *History of the Famous Edict of Nantes*.[179] However, Dunton, self-proclaimed he would "fall in the defense of virtue and

[177]John Dunton, *Shortest-Way with Whores and Rogues, 1703,* in *Whore Biographies 1700-1825,* ed. Julie Peakman (London: Pickering& Chatto, 2006),36.
[178] Helen Berry, "Dunton, John (1659–1732), bookseller." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8299.
[179]Helen Berry, "Dunton, John (1659–1732), bookseller." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8299.

in a war with vice be great and honorable and would pity and pray for the profane world."[180] Melissa Mowry argued that John Dunton was a Whig moralist who participated in "pornography's constitutive argument about democracy by using prostitutes' body politics to illustrate the dangers of fluid social relations."[181] Mowery explained that Dunton's serial piece *The Night-Walke*r was intended to criticize "tradesmen wives dressing like their social superiors," and used prostitutes as a means to convey the moral allegory.[182] The motivation behind his publications may be unclear, but the language he used in *The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues* perpetuated a narrative that women were the cause of moral decay. Furthermore, his words did not hold men accountable for being active participants. For example, "such of you as follow that abominable practice merely to satisfy the lusts of the flesh. Consider whether it is worth your while to purchase those impure pleasures at the expense of your reputation, health, and salvation? "[183] Dunton supported his argument by reinforcing the notion that it was women who needed to consider health, reputation, and redemption, not male clientele.

> "Our London nightwalkers would not like to be lewd for nothing, (for they whore for bread), yet within them it is accounted a work of mercy. But (let our nightwalkers take it as they please) the scripture calls such beastly creatures as these, by the name of dogs and wine because of their likeness of temper and practice and tis not doubted but those who are entrusted with the governments of this great and noble city will take effectual method to cleanse our streets from these daughters of Sodom."[184]

Dunton's use of religious subtext, such as the phrase "daughters of Sodom," could suggest that one of his intended audiences might have been reformers within the SRM. As we have seen, moral

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[180]John Dunton. "Dunton's Address to the Impartial Readers." 1705. In *The Life and Errors of John Dunton* ed. John Nichols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.0) xiv.
[181]Melissa Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.) 70.
[182]Ibid.
[183]John Dunton, *Shortest-Way with Whores and Rogues*, 36.
[184]Ibid.

reformers used Christian scripture in their literature condemning vice to spark fear in the general public that women in the sex trade are a national threat. There was a pattern of insult in the language used in Dunton's other work towards women. Take for example the lampoon he published in 1707:

> "There is a tail that's yet behind,
> That I should touch in woman kind;
> But 'tis so poxed, and so unjust I dare not give this tail a touch.
> The Brimstone whore I here arraign,
> Who's the perfect beast, and the perfect mange.
> A night-walker we do call her,
> But in the day she's backwards fall.
> She is a prostitute to all."[185]

Dunton presented himself as the "water drinker" who spied on London inhabitants and reported their "lewd" behavior. Dunton's use of derogatory language towards female prostitutes continues throughout the lampoon as he mocks the social scene of London.

Ruth Karras assessment on prostitution in the Middle Ages highlighted that illicit sex was seen as a violation of the sanctity of marriage. "Marriage in the Middle Ages meant the formation of a household. It was also a sacrament; it created a spiritual as well as an economic unit. In the church's view marriage legitimated sexual intercourse and procreation."[186] Karras' perspective on marriage and attitudes towards prostitution reflects some continuity in the period that we are examining because it aligns with England's campaign for a revival of morality. To Margaret Hunt, men followed the notion that the "family" and the "nation" were victims of unchecked female sexuality.[187] Moreover, "the rhetoric of the Movement for the Reformation of Manners was full of

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[185]John Dunton, *Bumography: Or a Touch at the Lady's Tails, Being a Lampoon (Privately) Dispers'd at Tunbridge-Wells, in the Year 1707. By a Water-Drinker. With the Names and Characters of the Most Noted Water-Drinkers. Also, a Merry Elegy Upon Mother Jefferies, the Antient Water-Dipper* (London:1707).

[186]Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 85.

[187]Margaret Hunt, "The De-Eroticization of Women's Liberation: Social Purity Movements and the Revolutionary Feminism of Sheila Jeffreys." *Feminist Review*, no. 34 (1990): 26, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1395303

ill-concealed hostility to women, especially women who had escaped the confines of the patriarchal household."[188]

The intention of Woodward's essay, *A rebuke to the sin of uncleanness*, is to point out to his readers that uncleanliness was a sin and a contradiction to Christian purity. "The mouth of a strange woman is a deep pit; those that are abhorred of the lord shall fall into it. Abhorrence is the highest degree of hatred and indignation; so that to be abhorred of God, whose favor is the only happiness and hope of man, is the most dismal degree of mystery and wretchedness."[189] Woodward was alluding that prostitutes were seductresses trying to trap men in sexual exchange. He argued that illicit sex was the "rudest affront to Christian Conversation, and civil society" therefore it was better to not speak about it in public.[190]

When encouraging men to curb the "inclinations" to sin, Woodward used penitent prostitutes as an example for the consequences of vice. "You had better, I say undergo severe discipline, to keep under the body for a while, than to be tormented in soul and body forever, as a penitent *gentlewoman* of late, who refused to lye upon any bed for some years together, that *she* might more deeply lament the wickedness she had committed thereon; and who is said to be as famous for her repentance, as she was once infamous for wantonness."[191] Although Edward Ward was not a moral reformer, his publications invoked similar themes associated with the Reformation of Manners because his work supported the idea that prostitution caused disruption in London's society.

In *The reformer: or the vices of the age expos'd*, Ward provided a brief narration of the *Libertines,* where prostitutes seduced him and a friend. "Having entered the floating segalio, we

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[188]Ibid.
[189]Josiah Woodward. *A rebuke to the sin of uncleanness. By a minister of the Church of England* (London: 1720).
[190]Josiah Woodward. *A rebuke to the sin of uncleanness. By a minister of the Church of England* (London: 1720).
[191] Ibid.

were presently shew'd into number three; and before we were seated came to us a brace of harlots, as lewd as sodomites, and as impudent as the devil, and gave us an invitation to dance."[192] Laura Gowing argued that in the language of insult, the "whore," "harlot," or "bawd" was the central depiction of sexual misconduct in the minds of both men and women.[193] These terms were used to set honorable women apart from dishonorable women.[194] The presence of a prostitute went against the "duty of a woman," who was meant to be in "kindness and charity with all people…Give no occasion of scandal or reproach."[195] Prostitutes were a visible challenge to the traditional family structure as single women who were not under the thumb of patriarchal values.

When reformers discuss the "disease" of sexual immorality, they often described the soul as being infected. However, it was the body that was exposed to the physical consequences of illicit sex. Venereal disease spread in overpopulated areas within London. London surgeon Daniel Turner's book on syphilis examined the effects of the disease on individuals and presented contemporary methods of treatment. Turner wrote the book to be a manual for the Worshipful Company of Surgeons, "I intend to give you some few directions for your conduct, or the better qualifying yourselves, not only here, but in every other part of the medical and chirurgical professions."[196] Turner was not associated with SRM, but his dissertation offers insights into the physical effects of the disease, which helps explain why reformers connected it to prostitution.

For example, Turner described one of his patients as, "a tradesman in good business, of a thoughtful temper, or inclining to melancholy, having in his younger days been too familiar with a wench living in the same house as a servant, grew soon very pensive as fancying he had got the

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[192]Edward Ward, *The reformer: or the vices of the age expos'd. (*London: 1701).
[193]Laura Gowing, *Domestic Danger: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 59.
[194]Ibid.
[195] Lady. *The whole duty of a woman*. (London:1701).
[196]Daniel Turner, *Syphilis. A practical dissertation on venereal disease.* (London:1727).

foul disease, upon a belief as esteemed that every woman playing the whore must surely be distempered."[197] A second case Turner presented was about a "girl debauched" who was fifteen years old. She was seduced from her mother's house by a "beast in human shape" and taken to the playhouse, "the initiating place of immorality and profane," then travelled to a tavern and a bawdy house.[198]Author Philip K. Wilson claimed that "patients and practitioners shared the belief that venereal disease spreads through the body in some malignant, corruptible or sequential fashion."[199]Although the language of insult was present in Turner's work, he at least recognized that it was the disease, rather than the woman herself, that caused the corruption.

In John Disney's *Essay on the Execution of Law* he mentioned that debauchery, "impairs not only their courage but their strength; it weakens the body, fills men with disease, and makes them unfit to bear arms; to endure either hardships of a camp or, the brunt of battle."[200] Furthermore, families have been brought to "beggary" by the expensiveness of vice because the laborer consumes "his time and his wagers" in taverns or lewd houses.[201] Margaret Hunt has observed that SRM played into fear of contagion disease in regard to the family unit. "The earliest of the Societies for Reformation of Manners named as one of its motives the fear of prostitutes infecting householders with sexually transmitted diseases. "The French pox," as it was called in common parlance, was not only considered a divine punishment on fornicators and adulterers, it also crystallized fears of foreign, and particularly French contagion, and invasion."[202] As reflected in Disney's concerns about the health of the military, and Hunt's observation about the fear of

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[197]Ibid.
[198] Ibid
[199] Philip K. Wilson, "Exposing the Secret Disease" in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996) 70.
[200]John Disney*, An essay upon the execution of the laws against immorality and prophaneness* (London: 1708).
[201]Ibid.
[202]Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780,*113.

foreign invasion, prostitution was evidently seen as a threat not only to the family unit but also to national strength as military men who engaged in sexual exchange with sex workers risked bringing diseases home or reducing the number of eligible men for combat.

In comparison, to the spread of disease in the metropolitan area, there was also fear that a crime wave would have been born from vice. In 1719, Mary Clark was identified as a "common nightwalker" by a Mr. Morris as a part of his witness testimony during Clark's trial proceeding. Mary Clark was indicted for "privately stealing" from a man called John Burcher. He accused Clark of stealing 7 shilling from him as they both went to observe, "two women that were fighting; that there she took the opportunity to pick his pocket of the money mentioned in the indictment."[203] It was documented that when Mary was in custody, she had offered to send him money to let her go.[204] One should not take this as an admission of guilt because she further stated that she offered to send money for his losses instead of having her reputation stained. As previously mentioned, women's credibility was put under scrutiny against male counterparts. Perhaps Mary thought her fate would be sealed once put on stand to testify. However, we have to read many of these cases with care because of the limited documentation. Although Mary was acquitted there was no answer as to what made the jury decide on her innocence.

Other women such as Ann Festrop of St. Brides were not as lucky as Mary Clark. Festrop was indicted for "privately stealing a Guinea and a half Carolus from the Person of Robert Spicer, on the 18th of February last."[205] Spicer stated she had grabbed him on Fleet-street at one o'clock at night to pick his pockets. She was arrested and taken to the watchhouse. James Boddington, a witness, testified that he heard Robert Spicer called for the watchmen and saw her pick Spicer's

[203] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) April 1719. Trial of Mary Clarke (t17190408-2).
[204] Ibid.
[205] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) March 1721. Trial of Ann Festrop (t17210301-3).

pocket. Two watchmen corroborated Boddington and further deposed that Festrop was a common nightwalker. She was found guilty and sentenced to death.[206]

Although Festrop was condemned to die, by this time in the eighteenth century, English contemporaries sought alternative methods for punishing petty crimes instead of execution. John Beattie claimed Bridewells appealed to English authorities because of their reformative methods.[207] "Such a punishment would be a proper means to break the offenders of their idle and wicked course of life."[208] Joanna Innes considered Bridewells as "prisons for the poor" which emerged in the sixteenth century by those who wielded "authority English government, both at a national and at a local level, struggled persistently and creatively with the multiple city of problems which seemed to them to be posed by the lives, conditions, activities of the poor classes in English society."[209] To Innes, what made houses of corrections stand out in contrast to other traditional prisons or gaols which were "primarily places of detention," was that Bridewells were "designed for a very specific clientele for men and women drawn from the ranks of the laboring poor. Guilty of no more than petty delinquencies."[210] Bridewell functioned as more than just a detention facility because inmates were subjected to hard labor, or in some cases whipped. Robert Shoemaker argued that there was a double standard to prosecutions because "women accounted for 85 percent of the commitment to houses of correction and were 64 percent more likely to be prosecuted for prostitution and adultery."[211] Shoemaker further showed that women accused of prostitution were

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[206]Ibid.

[207]John Beattie, "The Bloody Code" in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive*, ed. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert Shoemaker (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992) 57.

[208]Ibid.

[209]Joanna Innes, "Prisons for the Poor" in *Labor, Law, and Crime: An Historical perspective* ed. Francis Synder and Douglas Hay (London: Tavistock Publication, 1987),42.

[210]Ibid.

[211]Robert Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, C1660-1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 213.

also associated with theft, vagrancy, idleness, and disorderly behavior.[212] His observation can be supported by the 1694 *Black Roll* as women were the predominantly listed offenders to be whipped for night-walking.

Contemporary publications by Daniel Defoe and Bernard Mandeville depicted Bridewell as ineffective. *Some Considerations Upon Streetwalkers* by Daniel Defoe was a proposal addressed to a member of parliament. Defoe stated in his letter that prostitution has become a public grievance, and yet it has not been properly addressed. Furthermore, he has learned from the newspaper that some of the inhabitants of the city were using their laudable endeavors to put an end to the shameful and scandalous inequity.[213] He was not in agreement that these efforts had been beneficial as he walked from "Charing-Cross to Ludgate" and was allegedly solicited by a "common strumpet."[214] He further witnessed sex workers calling attention to potential clients by tugging on their sleeves, ogling and other suggestive motions. One prostitute grabbed a man's elbow and demanded wine and treats before she released him.

> "The great use of women in a community is to supply it with members that may be serviceable, and keep up a succession. They are also useful to another degree, to wit, in the labor they may take for themselves, or the assistance which they may afford their husbands or parents. It will be readily allowed, that a street-walking whore can never answer either of these ends; riots and disease prevent one, and idleness which directs to this course of life incapacitates her for the other. How very useless then is such a subject? Sure nobody will urge, that with consumption of commodities and manufacturers which she helps towards, is sufficient atonement for the mischief she does. And the want of that good she is incapable of doing: and yet how many of this kind are there, whose lives and services are irrecoverably lost to their country, and yet continue a pernicious charge upon it? Sure if there be any way of reforming this both a religious and a political consideration should set all good men upon seeking it, and when found upon, pursuing it."[215]

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[212]Robert Shoemaker, "Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738" in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive*, ed. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert Shoemaker (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 106.
[213]Daniel Defoe, *Some considerations upon street-walkers.* (London:1726).
[214]Ibid.
[215]Ibid.

Defoe argued that the purpose of women was to fundamentally reproduce a workforce, as well as give their own service to the nation. He believed that prostitutes could not contribute the same way as a woman working in a traditional trade. He asserted that even if a prostitute contributes to society by consuming goods, it would not outweigh their immoral behavior.

Defoe further argued that the Bridewells were ineffective, and the cause of sexual immorality was the "neglect of matrimony which the morals of the age inspire men with."[216] According to Paula Backscheider, Defoe recognized that marriage was significant to a woman's legal status and a husband's social standing. "Marriages were affective and business relationships, and a bad wife, especially a spendthrift ruined a man and dropped his reputation. An unsatisfying companion in a sexual relationship could drive a man out of his home and even to the arms of a whore."[217] Backscheider's assessment of Daniel Defoe's depiction of matrimony within his work further supports the idea of a double standard towards women in English culture. It has already been observed that the presence of a prostitute causes condemnation. But even the wife is being held accountable for her husband's reputation and behavior.

Bernard Mandeville was a Dutch-born doctor who emigrated to London in the 1690s.[218] At face value, Bernard Mandeville's sentiments about the ineffectiveness of Bridewell align with Daniel Defoe. What sets Mandeville apart was his views on marriage not being a better alternative to suppress vice. "Marriage, indeed, is just a cure for lewdness as its surafate is for gluttony, it gives a man fancy as distinct to the particular dish, believing his palate as luxurious as ever."[219] Mandeville writes that marriage would not solve the issue of prostitution in fact he argued that it

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[216]Ibid.

[217]Paula Backscheider, "Gender and Gender, Sexuality, and the Status of Women in Defoe's writings." in *The Oxford Handbook of Daniel Defoe*, ed. Seager, Nicholas, and J. A. (James Alan) Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 277.

[218]Irwin Primer*, Bernard Mandeville's "A Modest Defense of Public Stews"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1.

[219]Mandeville Bernard, *A Modest Defense of Publick Stews*, 1726, in *Whore Biographies 1700-1825,* ed. Julie Peakman (London: Pickering& Chatto, 2006), 223.

would make men want to commit adultery more. Mandeville does not think that Bridewells can offer true conversion of vice and therefore the nation needs a better alternative. Bernard Mandeville also thought raiding bawdy houses to "prevent uncleanliness puts me in mind of certain overnight gentlemen who can never fancy his garden look sweet so he had demolished a bog house that offended his eye in one corner of it, but it was not long before every nose in the family was convinced of his mistake."[220] So he proposed that the city construct a house for prostitutes that could contain "200 women" and let them live there amongst themselves.

He even suggested appointing matrons to each house "of abilities and experience enough to take upon them management of 20 quarter since each to see that they keep themselves neat and decent entertain gentlemen after civil and obliging manner from the encouragement of such matrons each house must be allowed a certain quantity of all sorts of liqueur customs and access for free, by which means they will be enabled to accommodate gentlemen handsomely, without the imposition of freely met in such houses."[221] He contended that his project will contribute more to the suppression of prostitution because it will help suppress the "French pox," murder of infants, and save the reputation of men, women, and families.[222] Scholar Shelley Burtt suggested that Mandeville's plan would have decriminalized prostitution. Therefore sex workers would not have been subject to abuse by SRM informers. Moreover, "properly regulated, public brothels would prevent theft and other crimes related to prostitution, end the spread of venereal diseases, and assure the safety of bastard infants. They would spare men the financial expenses of maintaining private mistresses, and by satisfying men's natural urges, protect the wives and daughters of the

[220]Mandeville Bernard, *A Modest Defense of Publick Stews*, 224.
[221]Ibid.
[222]Ibid.

upper classes from seduction and debauchery."[223]To Burtt, the idea of an institution motivated by social welfare was a better alternative than the methods SRM implemented.

At face value, Mandeville's plan to establish an institution was suggested as a solution to manage the spread of disease, but his approach did not address the economic factors that drove women to prostitution. Under the supervision of a matron monitoring the women's behavior and confining them into small quarters, it would have become another project of control. For author Irwin Primer, the idea that Mandeville's projects lacked genuine benefit was central to its purpose. Similar to Dunton, Mandeville used satire to address the moral and political challenges of his era. Primer further stated, "Most accounts of the origins of a modest defense state or imply the obvious that he wrote this book because he objected to the activities of the societies for the Reformation of Manners."[224] Contemporary objections such as Mandeville's work in part led to the decline of the movement. Burtt explained that "Mandeville's rhetorical triumph neatly illustrates the dilemma that confronted the supporters of the SRMs."[225] The purpose of the movement was to spread Christian values and suppress activities relating to vice. However, as J.A Sharpe had observed, SRM enforcement methods were aimed at the poor and failed in their attempt to curb sexual immorality among the elite class.[226]

In conclusion, prostitution provoked particular concern among moral reformers because it challenged family order. Women were expected to be under the care of their husbands, and sexual relations were solely meant for matrimony. Furthermore, prostitution was a visible representation of other social ills such as crime, disease, and poverty. Women that were indicted for criminal offenses such as theft were often recognized as night-walkers as well. There was a fear that military

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[223]Burtt,165.
[224]Irwin Primer*, Bernard Mandeville's "A Modest Defense of Public Stews"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006),4.
[225] Shelley Burtt, 165.
[226]J.A Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England* (New York: Longman, 1999), 222.

men who engaged in sexual activity with prostitutes would contract venereal diseases, and then pass it to their wives. National strength and the suppression of prostitution were connected because the militia needed strong men for combat, and those who contracted diseases were often perceived as weak and unfit for service. The Society for the Reformation of Manners was created to dismantle sexual immorality, but it was evident that gender bias influenced the prosecution of women. As SRM began to decline towards the 1730s, other schemes to improve social welfare were taken up. For example, Daniel Defoe suggested that marriage should be encouraged while Bernard Mandeville's *A Defense of Public Stews* suggested building an institution to house sex workers. Facilities to promote penitence of prostitutes would gain further popularity in the years following the moral movement. Unlike Mandeville's satirical proposal, these institutions were designed to operate as charitable enterprises.

CHAPTER 4: AGE OF PHILANTHROPY: THE MAGDALEN HOSPITAL

In the mid-eighteenth century, measures to address prostitution became more philanthropic. Unlike the moral reformers at the start of the period who saw prostitutes as sinners, sex workers were later regarded as victims. Furthermore, punishment was more aligned with methods of rehabilitation rather than bodily harm. Addressing social problems in this manner reflected a new age of philanthropy that sought to establish charitable institutions like the Magdalen Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes. The aim of this chapter is to examine whether philanthropic institutions were a better scheme to reform prostitutes than earlier projects. The Reformation of Manners Society sought to use secular law to prosecute prostitution. How did the enforcement of law influence philanthropists in the creation of charities? The passing of the Mortmain Act in 1736 created a decline in death-bed charity and motivated the practice of living charities. As a result, individuals became less inclined to grant funds through wills and instead chose to establish charitable initiatives during their lifetimes. The Magdalen Hospital, for example, was created to rehabilitate and reintegrate prostitutes back into society. The purpose of confinement within the Magdalen Hospital was to teach women to be pious and industrious individuals. However, once put into practice the Magdalen Hospital became a scheme of social control.

The passing of the Mortmain Act in 1736 and the decline of death-bed charity can help explain the creation of the Magdalen Hospital in the year 1758. According to the Daily Gazetteer the purpose of the Act was "to restrain the disposition of lands, whereby the same become unalienable."[227] However, it had a broader purpose than to prevent the sale of land and would

[227] *"The Law to Restrain the Disposition of Lands, Whereby …." Daily Gazetteer*, January 13, 1737, 17th and 18th Century Nichols Newspapers Collection, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/MQHUSC741010222/NICN?u=ncsu_main&sid=bookmark-NICN&xid=6f2d2f40.

change the way charity was practiced. Historian Paul Slack has observed that the Mortmain Act has not been "properly investigated" by scholars.[228] Nevertheless he asserted that the bill was inspired by the will of Thomas Guy.[229] Donna Andrews also agreed that the will of Thomas Guy had influence.[230] Andrews claimed that Guy's bequest to his own hospital, the Guy Hospital, was "brought vilification to his memory; by giving posthumously, it was said Guy stole from his heirs."[231] Given that scholarly debates identify Guy as a driving force behind the Mortmain Act, it is crucial to include him in this analysis.

Thomas Guy was a prominent philanthropist whose acts of charity consisted of constructing almshouses, funding grammar schools, and becoming a founder of his own hospital.[232] In examining his will and testament, Thomas Guy did have a host of relatives, but no direct heirs to claim any rights of property. Guy dispersed his estate to distant family members and donated to London hospitals. For example, he granted George Orton, the son of his cousin Mary, his estate in the County of Stafford.[233] Guy also granted the Christ-Hospital in London a yearly sum of £400 in perpetuity for "the maintenance and education of poor children, boys or girls, whether orphan or otherwise, or the children of Freeman of the City of London or on Freeman not less than seven or more than 10 years of age."[234] The Mortmain Act which was proposed to the

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[228]Paul Slack, From *Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 143.
[229]Ibid.
[230]Donna T. Andrews, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989) 47.
[231]Ibid.
[232]Nick Hervey, "Guy, Thomas (1644/5? –1724), philanthropist and founder of Guy's Hospital." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11800.
[233]Thomas Guy, *A true copy of the last will and testament of Thomas Guy, Esq; late of Lombard-Street, bookseller: containing an account of his public and private benefactions* (London: 1725).
[234]Ibid.

House of Commons on March 5th the same year it was passed into law, did not directly mention Thomas Guy.

However, Masters of the Rolls, Mr. Ord., Mr. Glanville, and Mr. Plummer presented arguments in favor of the bill that do state the concern for inheritance:

> "I am of opinion, that it is high time for us to reassume the maxims of our ancestors, by restraining this testamentary power with respect at least to lands estates; for, by the specious pretense of charity, the solicitations of those who are interested in charitable foundation and the pride and vanity of donors, it is to me highly probable, that too great a part of the lands in this kingdom may soon come to be in mortmain…for I cannot but think that a man's heirs at law have some sort of natural right to succeed after his death, at least to his land estate, unless they have forfeited that natural right by some sort of unnatural behavior; and I cannot think it any charity in a man to give, even to the most charitable use, that which he cannot in himself either possess or enjoy: the giving of any such charity I shall always look on rather as an act of injustice towards the heir at law, than as an act of charity in the donor; and as the giving of land estates in such a manner, is contrary to the ancient maxims of the kingdom, and may be of dangerous consequence to the public, I think it ought to be prevented."[235]

It was suggested that giving away land to charitable organizations through a will was motivated by the vanity of the donor rather than philanthropy. There was a concern that organizations funded through death-bed charity would become extensive throughout the kingdom. If there was an expectation that a person should donate property to an organization on their death-bed, then rightful heirs could be snubbed of inheritance. Advocates for the bill considered death-bed charity an unjust act against rightful inheritors.

The nature of death-bed charity in relation to salvation was debated by the clergy in Christian sermons. The following Christian sermons can also be viewed as an indication of public attitude towards death-bed charity. D.W. Hayton has identified Francis Atterbury as a "forceful

[235]Great Britain. Parliament, *A Collection of the Parliamentary Debates in England, from the Year 1668 to the Present Time*, vol. 14 (London: [s.n.], 1739).

preacher," whose sermons "emphasized the reality of sin and salvation through grace."[236] In 1723, a second volume of Atterbury's *Sermons and Discourses on Several Subjects and Occasions* was printed by S. Aris for Jonah Bowyer. Francis Atterbury wrote the second volume of his sermons for a couple of reasons. First, what he intended to preach about "are seldom the production of leisure, and therefore be read with those favorable allowances."[237] Second, he needed more space to inform the public of the "advantages and disadvantages that attend the pleasures of men and beasts, good men and bad."[238]

In his sermon, Francis Atterbury preached about the ill-consequences of death-bed charity. "A deathbed charity is no better in its kind than a deathbed repentance, which ought not indeed to be neglected (because it is the best thing we can do in those circumstances,) but cannot be relied on. Seldom do either of these proceeds from a principle of goodness, nor are they owing to a love of virtue, but to a fear of punishment."[239] Atterbury was not condemning the full practice of death-bed charity, but he was criticizing the way in which people went about it. People were funding charities "in death" out of fear of religious punishment and Atterbury discerned that people would be more comforted in death if they practiced charity in life.

George Smalridge, former friend of Francis Atterbury, had a similar opinion about death-bed charity. In a collection of sixty sermons, Smalridge wrote that a qualification of a good death was charity. "The inexorable miser is then usually disposed to bestow some part of his useful riches upon the poor; and they, whose whole life hath been spent in envy, malice, and revenge, make so

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[236]D. W. Hayton. "Atterbury, Francis (1663–1732), bishop of Rochester, politician, and Jacobite conspirator." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-871.

[237]Francis Atterbury, *Sermons and discourses on several subjects and occasions,* (London: 1723).

[238]Ibid.

[239]Ibid.

little difficult of expressing an universal charity, and love, and good-will to all men, that it would almost look like a breach of charity to think, or say, that they had ever been envious, malicious, or revengeful."[240] Smalridge suggested that even the most miserable person should give towards charity on his death-bed. Similarly, people who have spent their lives in "envy" should decide to donate towards the end of life. But this was not true charity because one's disposition does not change overnight and if these men, according to Smalridge, found charity necessary; they would do it in life. "A death-bed charity, though by no means to be discountenanced or discouraged, must yet be allowed to fall infinitely short of the much greater merit of a life spent in acts of mercy and charity."[241] Like Atterbury, he was not fully discouraging the practice, but one has to give to the poor for the right reasons.

The respective sermons of Smalridge and Atterbury offer considerable evidence for criticism about death-bed charity because they advocate for philanthropy while one was alive. And, in fact, new philanthropic projects began to attract more support. To implement a new charitable initiative, Donna Andrews stated, "these new groups depended on public subscription for the bulk of their support and were managed by a committee of governors elected annually by subscribers among themselves."[242] Much like the operations of poor relief it was community-driven, but voluntary. Furthermore, it caught the attention of philanthropists such as Jonas Hanway who hoped to construct a hospital for penitent prostitutes.

In the 1750s, ideas were put forth to construct an institution that would house "fallen women" or "deserted girls" who had found themselves in sex work. The initial idea of what would become the Magdalen Hospital was commissioned by Robert Dingley. Dingley was a member of

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[240]George Smalridge, *Sixty sermons preach'd on several occasions.* (Oxford: 1724).
[241]Ibid.
[242] Donna T. Andrews, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century,* 9.

the Merchant Seaman Corporation and London Foundling Hospital.[243] *In Proposals for Establishing A Public Place of Reception for Penitent Prostitutes,* Dingley explained why he chose to focus on female prostitutes. "Noble and extensive are the charities already established in this City: unfortunate females seem the only objects that have not yet catched attention of public benevolence."[244]According to Dingley, other areas of need had already been addressed by noble causes. Moreover, Dingley thought a place for prostitutes would be a great work of compassion, consequence, necessity, and advantage for prostitutes under the protection of the public. He further declared that his work would be an act of humanitarianism, as prostitutes were in his view poor, young and thoughtless individuals, susceptible to temptation, and victims of circumstance.[245] For Dingley an institution that advocated to reform women was necessary because:

> "It will be a means of employing the idle, of instructing them in, as well as habituating them to work; of reforming their Morals; of rescuing many bodies from disease and death, and many souls from eternal misery. It will do better with much less expence than any other Charity; the objects being in their prime of life; capable of working; and such, as I doubt not, may even wholly maintain the house, after a little time, when well established. For they will want but very few officers, and their own expenses lie in a narrow compass; being only such as will arise from clothing, plain food, and medicines, (at first to make such of them clean as are diseased:) Temperance and sobriety, it is to be hoped, will afterwards render them of little use."[246]

It was evident that Dingley's plan was made with the intent to help women as he mentioned it being a place to save prostitutes from death and disease. He even proposed providing work for those who are capable. Dingley's Plan resonates with John Locke's proposal for a new poor law, which was an aspiration for English contemporaries. Similarly to Locke, Dingley advocated self-discipline, and the reformation of prostitutes would ensure less reliance on the public. Much like

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[243] John H Appleby. 'Dingley, Robert (bap. 1710, d. 1781), philanthropist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37359.
[244]Robert Dingley, "Proposals for Establishing a Public Place for Reception for Penitent Prostitutes," 1758, in *Prostitution Reform: Four Documents*, ed. Randolph Trumbach (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 3.
[245]Ibid.
[246]Ibid.

the late seventeenth century, when Locke published his work to amend the poor law, the employment of those considered idle or disorderly remained significant. Employing prostitutes would not only be regarded as an act of charity by curbing the exchange of illicit sex, but would also contribute to expanding the workforce in lawful occupations. By Dingley's time, the mechanism to establish employment had changed. In collaboration with Jonas Hanway, what would become the Magdalen Hospital, was an institution for voluntary admission that provided such occupations. Tasks in the hospital did not involve hard labor as they would have in a house of correction, and discipline took the form of confinement rather than bodily harm.

Jonas Hanway was a merchant and philanthropist who had corresponded with Dingley about his interest in the project at least five times as indicated by the following letter. "There are many who will lend assistance to cure disease, yet there are but few who endeavor to prevent it."[247] Hanway was arguing for a more efficient method to prevent prostitution. To Hanway, people were more inclined to seek solutions after the problem had already increased. Although he had the record to prove his charitable pursuits, Hanway's saw the Magdalen Hospital as an economic investment. He continued in his letter to Dingley that he had conceived the idea the previous Spring, "to think of the means of erecting a manufacturer for making carpets, upon the principles of those of Turkey, for the employment of repenting prostitute what first suggested this though, was an offer a great manufacturer made to an hospital which I attend, to engage for this purpose such children as were turned off ten years of age."[248] Hanway wanted to model his scheme after facilities found in Turkey where prostitutes were used for labor production. Although that proposal could not be implemented, he stated it occurred to him that, "if children so tender an age could be of such

[247]Jonas Hanway. *Letter V. to Robert Dingley, Esq; Being a proposal for the relief and employment of friendless girls and repenting prostitutes.* (London:1758).
[248]Ibid.

service, women, and girls, though unused to honest labor, might be easily taught how to work. And that this manufacture is of great consequence to us, is beyond all disputes."[249]

Scholars have debated Hanway's interest and motives for establishing a hospital for penitent prostitutes. Hanway's biographer, James Stephen Taylor stated, "There was an interrelatedness to the various charities Hanway joined and the reason was not far to seek. London merchants were using different means to a single end– a strong, Christian, and mercantile state."[250] Mary Peace was hesitant to characterize the Magdalen Hospital as a completely mercantile institution. Peace believed that the establishment of the Magdalen Hospital overlapped with sentimentalism. "Robert Dingley and Jonas Hanway were sentimental. They proceeded from the conviction that men and women are naturally in possession of delicate moral sense, but this may have been either cultivated or stifled, depending on their experience in the world."[251] However, based on Hanway's emphasis on carpet manufacturing, his motivations were likely driven more by financial self-interest, increasing national wealth, and social welfare.

For example, Hanway stated, "Carpets may, perhaps, be esteemed an article of luxury; but certainly, contribute to ease and comfort, as well as elegance and least as proper as a fine apartment, or any other rich furniture not to mention the sums we pay for them to foreigners. But what is still of greater consequence, I apprehend they will soon become a considerable article of commerce, for exportation…We already greatly excel the eastern nations, in the color and pattern of this manufacture; as we easily may do in the quality and substance."[252] He wanted to exploit the

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[249]Ibid.

[250]James Stephen Taylor, *Jonas Hanway: Founder of the Marine Society: Charity and Policy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Berkeley: Scholar Press, 1985), 75-76.

[251]Mary Peace, "Figuring the London Magdalen House: Mercantilist Hospital, Sentimental Asylum or Proto-Evangelical Penitentiary?" in Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture ed. Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 148.

[252]Jonas Hanway. *Letter V. to Robert Dingley, Esq; Being a proposal for the relief and employment of friendless girls and repenting prostitutes.* (London:1758).

public desire for luxury items and thought the production of carpets would be a profitable venture. Hanway thought Patronage from the Society for Encouraging Arts, Manufacturers, and Commerce would help his goal for financial support and moral rehabilitation. "Arts and commerce cannot but flourish under the influence of a society, which has already shown so much zeal for the welfare of their country, in promoting industry and ingenuity, and consequently the growth of vice."[253] To Hanway, art and commerce were signs of a successful society that also sought social welfare. The same signs of national success could also lead to vice, but as a patronage, he thought the Society for Encouraging Arts and Manufactures would prevent the "guilt and misery of prostitution, they will lend assistant to destroy one of the numerous causes of the decrease of the people which must at length involve arts, manufactures, and commerce, in one common distress."[254] Furthermore, Hanway was confident that if there was less idleness among poor, specifically, poor women, then England could claim to be the best nation for the female sex.

Hanway further suggested to Dingley that a key feature of a facility for women would be confinement. "Thus, after due time of probation, spent in piety and habit of industry, in a healthy and spacious place, these women might wipe off the stains of their former impurity, and render themselves more amiable than many others of the common people." From Hanway's proposal to Dingley there was an aim to reintegrate women into society as wives who could influence a more modest society. "It is not to be imagined, but that great number if these converts would find good husbands…The agreeableness of these women, added to their ability to support themselves, might tie the bands of social affection stronger, than is usual in common life, where neither piety nor

[253]Ibid.
[254]Ibid.

industry are in fashion."[255] Hanway's idea reflected an element of social control that sought to shape female behavior.

As examined with Daniel Defoe's scheme of marriage in chapter three, matrimony was viewed as a way to control vices and promote social norms. Enforcing "piety" and "industry" was meant to make prostitutes adhere to social expectations of women. Scholar Sarah Lloyd claimed that the purpose of the Magdalen Hospital was to "reunite the warring sexes and re-establish domestic harmony and authority. It appealed to "domestic" affections and gave themes of repentance and reformation national scope."[256] Historian Randolph Trumbach addressed female subjugation in which he argued that, "sentimentalism transformed the organization of prostitution for gentlemen and conceptualized the prostitute as a woman who deviated from the newly made standards of a domesticated, maternal sexuality."[257] Furthermore, women were domesticated to dissuade men from turning to homosexuality.[258] Hanway and Dingley's correspondence did not mention the suppression of male sexuality. But domesticating prostitutes into a traditional role of wives and mothers was a visible part of the plan.

Hanway's *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House for repentant prostitutes* addressed the proposal to the promoters of the charity. He assured supporters that the plan for their charity was ready to open. He extended his sentiments that the motives for the hospital were "to bring those back to a sense of virtue who have been long accustomed to banish reflection, or, in other words, to give a habit of piety to such persons as have contracted strong habits of impiety, is a hard task; but, if proper means are used, we shall be insensibly led into a better opinion of human nature,

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[255]Ibid.

[256]Sarah Lloyd. "'Pleasure's Golden Bait': Prostitution, Poverty, and the Magdalen Hospital in Eighteenth-Century London." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 41 (1996): 65, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4289430

[257]Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and The Gender Revolution* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1998),168.

[258]Ibid.

than is generally entertained."[259] Reaffirming his stance about prevention, he further added that "if you can check libertinism, you will not only prevent great misery, but also confusion among the lower classes of people: and lastly, in proportion as you lessen the number of prostitutes, it may be presumed that the number of marriages will increase, as well as the numbers of souls saved."[260]

To revisit Robert Dingley's initial proposal, Dingley had proposed to install a room where women could work or, "do something, according to her ability, and have half the benefit accruing from her labor or ingenuity; part whereof to be deposited in the committee's hands for her benefit, when dismissed, on proper behavior, which sum may also be increased, by the bounty of the house, as favorable opportunities offer of establishing them in the world."[261] The work women would perform were day-to-day tasks such as mending linen, or making lace, artificial flowers, or children's toys, or spinning thread.[262] It was Dingley's intention that the Magdalen would be an institution that fostered care and humanitarianism. His institution would be seen as a contrast to the Bridewells and other houses of correction. The Magdalen would be a "happy asylum" or "desirable retreat" from the circumstances that brought women to the hospital.[263]

Robert Dingley had explained that his idea for housing penitent prostitutes gained support from magistrates John Fielding and Saunders Welch. Fielding was Bow Street magistrate who wanted to fight the "war" on crime.[264] According to historian Clive Emsley, John Fielding believed, "crime was located among certain sections of society and the fight had to be carried to

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[259]Jonas Hanway, *Thoughts on the plan for a Magdalen-House for repentant prostitutes, with the several reasons for such an establishment;* (London:1758).
[260]Ibid.
[261]Robert Dingley. "Proposals for Establishing a Public Place for Reception for Penitent Prostitutes." 1758. *In Prostitution Reform: Four Documents* ed. Randolph Trumbach (New York: Garland Publishing 1985), 15.
[262]Ibid.
[263]Ibid.
[264]Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900*(London: Longman, 1996), 51.

them."[265] Fielding's support to create a place for prostitutes highlights the exploitative nature of the sex trade. "These are the girls that the bawds clean and clothe for their wicked purposes. And this is done to such a degree that on a search night when the constables have taken up nearly forty prostitutes, it has appeared on their examination, and a major part of them have been of this kind under the age of eighteen, many not more than twelve, and those, though so young, half cat; up with the foul distemper."[266] John Fielding's observation about mid-eighteenth-century prostitution, supports the notion that young girls were not willingly participants, but victims of criminal culture.

Saunders Welch, a Bow Street magistrate and colleague of Fielding,[267]found Dingley and Hanway's plan to raise a hospital to be a "great and benevolent design." And he expressed that as the original architects of the plan, Dingley and Hanway exhibited genuine merit and humility for encouraging others to contribute and "carry their benevolent designs into execution."[268] Welch noted that their initial plan had certain flaws, including the lack of legal authority to ensure women stayed within the institution, or to compel prostitutes to enter the hospital because they genuinely want to be reformed and not because they had contracted venereal disease.[269] Welch proposed that constructing a public laundry, "intended to employ, breed up, and preserve the deserted girls of the poor of this metropolis; and also reform those prostitutes who necessity has drove into the streets, and who are willing to return to virtue and obtain an honest livelihood by severe

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[265]Ibid.

[266]John Feilding. *A plan for a preservatory and reformatory, For the benefit of Deserted Girls, and Penitent Prostitutes* (London:1758).

[267]Ruth Paley, "Welch, Saunders (1711–1784), grocer and magistrate." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2010, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-100608.

[268]Saunders Welch, *A proposal to render effectual a plan, to remove the nuisance of common prostitutes from the streets of this metropolis* (London:1758).

[269] Ibid.

industry."[270] The idea of employment was meant to reinforce benevolence so once these women returned to society, "she will be capable of getting a most comfortable livelihood in the capacity of a servant in reputable families, until she shall either by marriage, or any other circumstance, become settled in life: and as she will not be discharged till she be receive to such a family, her safety must be in her own power."[271] Welch presented his provisions as a safety precaution, but his institution, if implemented, would have been another scheme of control as the woman in question would be confined to a potential laundry house until she could find a family to take her in.

Once Dingley and Hanway's plans were put in place one may wonder how successful Magdalen Hospital was. William Dodd believed that prostitution could never truly be abolished, but in his *account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Charity* he does offer his support to the Magdalen, which in his view had been a beneficial experience for the women within the hospital.[272] To strengthen his stance, Dodd included several letters that he claimed were written by a few of the women residing in the hospital. For example, he discloses that an unidentified woman named "M" had written to her father about her progress toward repentance.

> "I am now almost ready to think with the psalmist, that it is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn the statutes of my creature; for in this blessed asylum, I have the best opportunity I have ever had of improving myself in the principles of religion, which is an advantage of a most weighty importance. We have in this mansion two sermons preached every Sunday, and prayers twice a day in the week, besides private prayers read every night by our most worthy matron and governors, whose good examples and economy have been of infinite service both to me and others; and I make no doubt but that her conduct will improve to be great help towards the conversations of many of us unhappy women."[273]

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[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] William Dodd and Magdalen Hospital (London, England), *An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Magdalen Charity.* (London: 1761).
[273] Ibid.

As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, men in positions of authority and prestige exploited female sexual experiences for their own gratification. Much like the characters from the printed satires of Richard Steel or Edward Ward, there is no reason to believe that this unidentified woman wrote to her father. Dodd did not claim to have written down her sentiments for her therefore it can be suggested that his inclusion of these letters was to appeal towards benefactors.

What had changed so far in the mid-eighteenth century compared to the 1690s was the method of getting women to work. These institutions were constructed specifically for female employment. But the nature of female job opportunities did not change as certain fields were restricted to women. For example, women in the Magdalen were spinning and knitting fabrics for clothes, wigs, and carpets. Further observation of the rules and regulations released on behalf of the governors showed that the hospital also functioned on control and discipline. For example, the duty of the Matron within the hospital was to reside in the house, instruct the "rulers and order" while strictly observing the women, report to the committee about whatever she thought would be benefit charity, supervise the women and ensure that everyone was neat and decent in their clothes and persons, ensure that all women were properly employed and performing their duty, and that all of the women constantly attended divine service.[274] Admission into the hospital had a set of rules, one being that no one "is allowed to go out of the house without special leave, in writing, signed by the treasurer or chairman, and two committees."[275] This provision ensured that the women remain confined within the institution. Robert Dingley and Jonas Hanway aimed to offer a better solution to decrease the number of prostitutes than a house of correction. However, the environment within Magdalen Hospital was oppressive.

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[274]Magdalen Hospital. *The rules, orders, and regulations, of the Magdalen house, for the reception of penitent prostitutes. By order of the governors*, 2nd ed. (London:1759).
[275]Ibid.

For example, if a woman used "abusive, or reproachable language, insolence or disobedience to the officers, indecent, or profane expression and turbulent conduct in the facility subjected them to confinement in their rooms for six hours, and if found guilty of a second offense were reprimanded publicly by the chaplain and the matron.[276] The third offense subjected them to confinement for twelve hours, and then women were ordered to have meals separate for the whole day.[277] Hanway advocated for confinement as a disciplinary measure specifically targeting women because in his own view, "I plead the cause of females even supporting them to have prostitutes as if I thought them capable amendment and upon the presumption that they are for the most part older than male prisoners therefore I conclude their reason is more ripened their sex is generally more susceptible of contrition and they are less capable of doing great mischief than young men or boys."[278]

Scholar Michael Ignatieff claimed prison reformer John Howard was partially inspired by the Magdalen Hospital when "fashioning his vision of the penitentiary."[279] Randolph Trumbach also acknowledges that the Magdalen Hospital has been regarded as a modern prison.[280] However he considered it to be a "special kind of convent."[281] Jonas Hanway was also a prison reformer and further sought to settle other forms of crime by way of confinement. He argued that imprisonment would satisfy the happiness of both worlds, "those who hurry themselves out of this life, for the crime of house-breaking and robbery and in general to preserve the people in enjoyment of the

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[276]Ibid.
[277]Ibid.
[278]Jonas Hanway, *Observations on the causes of the dissoluteness which reigns among the lower classes of the people; the propensity of some to petty larceny: and the danger of gaming, concubinage, and an excessive fondness for amusement in high life.* (London 1772).
[279] Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 54.
[280]Randolph Trumbach, "Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity," in *Forbidden History* ed. John C. Fout. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 101.
[281]Ibid.

genuine fruits of liberty, and freedom from violence."[282] The Magdalen Hospital was not a prison, and a more appropriate term might be asylum.

Randolph Trumbach claimed that the Magdalen Hospital "never made much of a dent in the population of street prostitution."[283] Trumbach's observation can be supported by testimonies given at the Old Bailey. For example, in 1772, Elizabeth Cross, who "had not long come out of the Magdalen house," was indicted for theft.[284] In 1775, Susanah Clark and Sarah Bargo were both indicted for theft and grand larceny against John Devis.[285] Susanah Devis had testified that she had known the two women for about two-years and had taken them in from the Magdalen House to lodge. These testimonies show that the Magdalen Hospital did fail to reform women, and once a woman left the facility employment was not promised like the philanthropist had promoted, or women returned to the circumstance that brought them there in the first place.

In conclusion, prostitutes during the mid-eighteenth century were viewed to be victims of criminal culture. A young woman employed as a sex worker was put into her position by either exploitation of older women or economic necessity. Philanthropic institutions were constructed to reform women by way of employment and pious education. On the surface the Magdalen Hospital seemed like a charitable endeavor. Sex workers could find refuge in a hospital where employment was promoted. However, once put into practice it was similar to a correctional institution. The women were under constant supervision and had to adhere to strict rules and regulations. Similar

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[282] Jonas Hanway, *Solitude in imprisonment, with proper profitable labor and a space diet, The most humane and effectual means of bringing malefactors, who have forfeited their lives, or are subject to transportation, to a right sense of their condition; with proposals for salutary prevention: and how to qualify offenders and criminals for happiness in both worlds, and preserve the people, in the enjoyment of the genuine fruits of liberty, and freedom from violence (London: 1776)*.

[283] Randolph Trumbach, "Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity," in *Forbidden History* ed. John C. Fout (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 101.

[284] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) February 1772. Trial of ELIZABETH CROSS (t17720219-16).

[285] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 9.0) September 1775. Trial of SUSANAH CLARKE, Sarah Bargo (t17750913-89)

to earlier schemes, the Magdalen Hospital was not successful in keeping prostitution off the streets. Once dismissed some women like Elizabeth Cross soon found themselves back in a life of petty crime. Furthermore, the skills women learned were domestic in nature and would not have allowed them to make a profitable wage once dismissed. It was even the hope that some of the women would marry right out of the facility. Therefore, the Magdalen Hospital was another project for social control that aimed to regulate women's behavior.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the period from 1689 to 1758 was plagued by economic hardship and overwhelmed by social and religious concerns regarding the moral state of England's inhabitants. The contemporary debates about immorality, disorder, and vice heightened during the reign of William III and Mary II. The co-monarchs succeeded James II who was thought to be too lenient on the social ills that were corrupting the nation. In fact, his conversion as a Catholic was in-part a contributing factor to national worries. The English people feared divine retribution because of James' reign as king. Furthermore, the Nine Years War began as soon as William ascended the throne which placed a burden on the poor as many were overly taxed to provide funds for the militia. In order to fix the economy, proposals were put forth to set the nation back on track. The first initiative was employing vagrants and others deemed impoverished, and second England needed to construct a national bank to manage the financial debts accumulated. These were considered beneficial ideas because employing the poor would create more trades and generate national income. In turn, people would be less likely to move from place to place in search of poor-relief. Moreover, due to the establishment of a national bank, public credit and a structured stock market were introduced. Of course the new financial system mainly benefited wealthy men who were able to spend more money. However, a consumer market with reliance on public credit created further anxiety about idleness and desire for luxury, which led to a corruption of morals. Corruption of morals would lead to a life of criminality which the emerging middle-class thought would affect them the most because members of the poorer class would seek to steal or waste money indulging in immoral activities.

As a result of economic, social, and religious anxieties that emerged from James II reign and continued into William III ascension, many desired a moral reformation to answer for the

nation's sins. Prostitution fell within that framework because it represented the indulgence of luxury, crime and disorder, and an unstable economic system in which women had to sell their bodies to survive. Due to the sex trade's prominence, contemporaries sought to subdue prostitution by controlling the female body and taking advantage of women's sexual experiences through printed literature. These prints depicted prostitutes as cautionary tales to discourage similar behavior. Additionally, moral campaigns emerged, such as the Reformation of Manners Movement to help curb vice and other disorderly behavior. One goal of the Society for Reformation of Manners was to dismantle the trade of prostitution, and send women to houses of corrections where sex workers would be put to work at hard labor or endure bodily harm from being whipped. Facilities with the guise of humanitarianism developed after the decline of the Reformation of Manners Movement. Instead of viewing prostitutes as seductresses they were victims of corruption. Hospitals, such as the Magdalene Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes were created as a way to rehabilitate and reintegrate prostitutes back into society as wives, mothers, or working-class women. From the late seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, these social and economic schemes were intended to reshape society and encourage lawful employment. Between the two centuries, change occurred by the methods attempted to achieve their goals such as passing master and servant legislation, starting reform campaigns, constructing institutions like Bridewell and then philanthropic hospitals. However, these mechanisms implemented did not address the realities that drove women to prostitution, but instead, navigated as a form of social control.

This examination has been an important analysis of the female experience because it shows the way in which women were exploited, criminalized, and punished. It also shows that the female experience had been dominated by male narration as many of the contemporaries in the period

who documented the impact of prostitution were men. This creates an unresolved question about how women were genuinely treated in "charitable" facilities. Furthermore, their efforts to curb vices through print literature made prostitution more visible in English society. By publishing satirical prints that drew upon the female sexual experience and alluded to the dangers of prostitution, men such as John Dunton, Richard Steele, Joseph Addison, and Edward Ward profited from the trade of sex as much as the women involved. That also applies to philanthropists such as Jonas Hanway whose Magdalen Hospital encouraged admission for penitent prostitutes. In Hanway's facility, prostitutes would be put to work making carpets which he made a profit from.

In the modern era, there are numerous organizations championing the rights of women in the sex-work industry. For example, the American Civil Liberties Union has a webpage dedicated to campaigning for decriminalizing prostitution. The ACLU states "The criminalization of sex work has sex workers more vulnerable to violence on the job and less likely to report violence. It prevents sex workers from accessing health care and other critical services, feeds an out of control mass incarceration system, and further marginalizes some of society's most vulnerable groups, such as trans women of color and immigrants."[286] In the United Kingdom, The English Collective of Prostitutes (ECP) is a "network of sex workers working both on the streets and indoors campaigning for decriminalization and safety."[287] The organization is about prostitutes protecting their own rights and safety against violence. Modern organizations such as ACLU and ECP stand in contrast to early modern forms of public welfare. Unlike the campaigns analyzed in this thesis, which either focused on combating prostitution or placing women into work under the framework

[286]It's Time to Decriminalize Sex Work | American Civil Liberties Union (aclu.org) https://www.aclu.org/news/topic/its-time-to-decriminalize-sex-work

[287]English Collective of Prostitutes - Decriminalize Prostitution https://prostitutescollective.net/about-us/

of repentance, the modern approach allows women to participate actively and share their own experiences to shape policies and challenge societal norms.

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