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Prostitution, Space and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century London and Paris

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Abstract

Life in eighteenth-century London and Paris was inherently chaotic. At the centre of this chaos stood the prostitute: both a figure and a product of the dynamic urban landscape. This thesis compares the issue of prostitution in both Paris and London and uses spatial analysis as a way to further understand collective urban anxieties during this period. Historians of prostitution in the West have already made a case for the toleration of the sex trade throughout the early modern period. Here, I investigate the fragile nature of tolerance and attempt to understand what made prostitution so problematic not only for urban authorities and reformers, but for everyday inhabitants. In addition, I also explore broader institutional and cultural responses to prostitution in order to understand what the prostitute came to represent within the urban environment.

Both London and Paris had, as I will demonstrate, dramatically different legal systems and thus varying approaches in how they dealt with the sex trade. One commonality is that both systems had ambiguous approaches to the offence of prostitution. This suggests that tolerance was conditional not only within the small-scale example of the neighbourhood but within the overarching context of both cities' legal systems. Here, I discuss how the condition of tolerance was based on spatial and sensory awareness especially within the contested space of the urban neighbourhood. Through mapping the sex trade, I demonstrate the fluidity of sex work throughout the urban landscapes of both capitals and show that the sex trade was being increasingly dispersed (albeit somewhat localised) throughout both Paris and London over the course of the eighteenth century.

As prostitutes became further dispersed and remained integrated figures of local communities, certain institutions and contemporary commentators sought to separate them out from the rest of honest society. I explore the confinement and imprisonment of former prostitutes throughout which they were expected to adhere to specific spatial practices in order to reform. However, the agency of confined sex workers undermined these practices through their own communal bonds and agency. In addition to being confined to institutions, the prostitute was culturally represented as a series of tropes throughout the course of the period. I compare these tropes in both Paris and London and investigate an overlooked one: prostitution as a disease upon the urban body which contributes to the argument that the anxiety of prostitution was rooted in unsettled feelings about the urban environment itself. Overall, this thesis offers a more complex approach to eighteenth-century sex work and, through the use of spatial and comparative analysis unearths collective sensitivities and anxieties about the chaotic nature of urban life and society.

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<u>Abbreviations</u>

APHP	**Assistance Publique des Hôpitaux de Paris**
AN	**Archives Nationales de France**
BA	**Bibliothèque de l'Arsenale**
BR MG	**Bridewell Royal Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governors**
CLA	**City of London Quarter sessions**
MJ	**Middlesex Quarter sessions**
LL	**London Lives Database**
LMA	**London Metropolitan Archives**
OBP	**Old Bailey Proceedings**
RCS	**Royal College of Surgeons**
WJ	**Westminster Quarter sessions**

<u>Copyright Statement</u>

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's consent and any information derived from it should be acknowledged.

A Note on Language

This thesis uses the original spelling of both French and English where citations of primary sources are provided. Unless providing a direct quote or referring to the name of a person, all French words in the text are in italics. Translations of French citations are provided in the footnotes. Unless stated otherwise, all translations are my own.

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Introduction

The streets of all large towns, every night, swarm with prostitutes. The profligate goes, with little reserve, to their wicked habitations: he glories in his wickedness, and even friends and parents themselves wink at such indulgencies and are not ashamed to reveal his crimes. Such is the present state of this part of morals: I wish I could draw a veil over the future prospect.[1]

The anonymous author of the 1792 pamphlet, *The Evils of Adultery and Prostitution*, claimed to be witnessing an increase in the presence of prostitutes on the town and city streets of England over the previous two decades. Throughout the eighteenth century, in both Paris and London, moralist pamphlet literature connected a growing sex trade with urban disorder.[2] While prostitution may have been regarded as a major urban problem within these tracts, most everyday urban inhabitants did not seem to take much issue with the sex trade so long as it remained discreet. The question remains, however, if prostitution was tolerated in London and Paris, how did this play out on both a local (neighbourhood) and wider urban scale? How can we make sense of institutional and cultural responses to prostitution in light of said tolerance? In applying both spatial and comparative methods, I aim to address these questions. In doing so, I hope to further determine what made prostitution so problematic in eighteenth-century London and Paris within social, criminal, institutional, and cultural contexts.

Despite the significant amount of recent work on commercial sex in history, the prostitute remains an elusive historical figure. There are still many unanswered questions regarding the nature of the sex trade, not only in Paris and London, but within other historical and geographical contexts. This applies to the prostitution of all genders, however, here, I focus on the prostitution of women.[3] Historians of both France and Britain have already made valid

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[1] Anonymous, *The Evils of Adultery and Prostitution; with an Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Alarming Increase, and Some Means Recommended for Checking their Progresses* (London: 1792), 5-6.

[2] Anon., *Déclaration Du Roy Qui Réglez Les Formalités Qui Doivent Estre Observées pour La Correction Des Femmes et Filles de Mauvaise Vie*, (Marly: 1713); Anon., *Hell Upon Earth. Or, the Town in an Uproar: Occasion'd by the Late Horrible Scenes of Forgery, Perjury, Street-Robbery, Murder, Sodomy, and Other Shocking Impieties* (London: J. Roberts of Warwick Lane, 1729); John Fielding, *A Plan for a Preservatory and Reformatory for the Benefit of Deserted Girls and Penitent Prostitutes* (London: R. Francklin, 1758); Charles Horne, *Serious Thoughts on the Miseries of Seduction and Prostitution, with a Full Account of the Evils That Produce Them* (London, 1783).

[3] Male prostitution certainly existed in eighteenth-century Paris and London. However, it was often legally conflated with the crime of sodomy. To name but a few studies, see: Jeffrey Merrick, 'Patterns and Concepts in the Sodomitical Subculture of Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of Social History* 50, no. 2 (2016): 273–306; Richard Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England*, 1700-1830 (Stroud: Chalford Press, 2006); Michael Rey, 'Parisian Homosexuals Create a Lifestyle, 1700-1750: The Police Archives,' in Robert Perks Maccubbbin, ed*., 'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality During the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 179-91; Randolph Trumbach*, Sex and the Gender Revolution, Volume One: Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

cases for the tacit tolerance of prostitution throughout the eighteenth century and in earlier periods.[4] Additionally, the implied tolerance of prostitution was not unique to Paris and London.[5] However, the limitations of tolerance have yet to be fully explored within either of these cities. Marion Pluskota has explored this, to some extent, for Nantes and Bristol where she connects instances of intolerable prostitution with acts of disturbance (usually in the form of drunken violence).[6] Here, I conduct an in-depth investigation into the limitations and fragility of tolerance regarding prostitution on a local level. In doing this, I have found that the circumstances surrounding prostitution, rather than the act of selling sex itself, were what provoked the anxieties of other urban inhabitants. Others, like James Farr and Olwen Hufton have suggested that prostitutes were generally tolerated due to the role they played in contributing to complex leisure industries or makeshift economies.[7] In addition, I have also found that episodes of intolerance regarding prostitution centre on neighbours' sensory and spatial awareness. Being able to see and hear activities associated with prostitution (shouting, sex, bawdy language, theft, sword fights or other kinds of violence), raised the anxieties of neighbours and made them more likely to intervene or report the house in question.

Julia Torlet emphasizes the role of Parisian prostitution as a diversified trade which had its own sets of rules and a rigid hierarchy.[8] Nina Kushner, whose work focuses on elite Parisian prostitution, emphasizes this aspect as well and labels the world of professional mistresses and high-scale prostitutes as the *demimonde*.[9] However, this dissertation argues that, in general, prostitutes did not exist in a world of their own, but in a shared urban environment with 'honest' society. That is not to say that specific rituals and rules were not important nor practised. Rather,

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[4] Érica-Marie Benabou, *La Prostitution et La Polices Des Mœurs* (Paris: Perrin, 1987); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); James F. Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Modern Burgundy, 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution in the Metropolis, 1730-1830* (London: Longman, 1999); Nina Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges: The World of Elite Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); Marion Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Ports* (London: Routledge, 2015); Julia Torlet, *Le Monde de La Prostitution au XVIIe Siècle: Métier de Corps, Corps de Métier?* (Paris: l'Hammatan, 2018).

[5] For other, important studies of prostitution elsewhere in early modern Europe, see: Joanne M. Ferraro, 'Making a Living: The Sex Trade in Early Modern Venice', *American Historical Review* (February 2018), 30-59; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity', *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (February 1999), 117-41; Christine Muscat, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valetta, 1630-1798* (BDL Books, 2018); Tessa Storey, *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Lotte C. van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[6] Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control,* 11-12.

[7] Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 124-55; Olwen Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 69-127; Idem., 'Women and the Family Economy in Eighteenth-Century France', *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (1975).

[8] Torlet, *La Monde de La Prostitution*, 15-27.

[9] Kushner defines the demimonde as 'a sexual market in which certain services were sold, as well as the customs and institution that shaped the market's operation and the community of individuals who participated in it' in *Erotic Exchanges*, 4.

any internal rules of the sex trade were put into place for purposes of self-policing within the neighbourhood (usually within the organized brothel) in order to mitigate neighbourly suspicion. Additionally, the patterns of prostitution, in terms of individual movement and geography over time, mimicked the realities of eighteenth-century urban life. As the populations of both cities expanded and dispersed, so did their sex trades. I will use space as an analytical category in order to further demonstrate how the movement of the sex trades mimicked the movement of populations in both cities.[10]

Institutional and cultural responses to prostitution further emphasize the diversified and ambiguous nature of the sex trade in reality. For London in particular, historians and literary scholars of the period have argued that the perception of the prostitute had changed in the latter half of the century from a figure of lust and greed to one of pity.[11] Here, I have found that the eighteenth century did bring some change regarding the cultural iterations and institutional treatment of prostitutes. Houses of correction and charitable institutions acted as inverses to the more chaotic urban environment in which prostitutes were well-integrated members of the wider urban landscape. Spatial separation, as a means of reforming, speaks to the more repressive (and less sympathetic) elements of the methods carried out. However, the cultural archetype of the prostitute was more complex and ambiguous throughout the period than the above historians and literary scholars have allowed. Even in caricatures of the prostitute, there is evidence to support this notion. There was not one defined linear shift regarding the way prostitutes were treated within both an institutional and cultural framework.

'Defining' Prostitution

One of the larger obstacles when considering a study of eighteenth-century prostitution is reconciling both the modern and contemporary definitions. This also calls into question various choices for terminology (i.e. 'prostitute' versus 'sex worker'). Approaches to prostitution, within the context of sociology and gender studies, provide contentious viewpoints on the way in which

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[10] For more on the use of space as a category of historical analysis, see: Kathryne Beebe, Kathryn Gleadle, and Angela Davis, 'Introduction: Space, Place and Gendered Identities: Feminist History and the Spatial Turn', *Women's History Review* 21, no. 4 (September 2012), 523-32; David Crouch and Marjin Nieuwenhuis, eds., *The Question of Space: Interrogating the Spatial Turn Between Disciplines* (Rowman and Littlefield International, 2017); Leif Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?', *History and Theory* 52, no. 3 (October 2013), 400-19; Beat Kümin and Cornelie Usborne, 'At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the "Spatial Turn"', *History and Theory* 52, no. 3 (October 2013), 305-18.

[11] Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 187-94; Vern L. Bullough, 'Prostitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth Century Life* 9, no. 3 (1989), 61–74; A.D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England: Attitudes and Prejudices from the 1720s to the 1820s* (London: Longman, 1994); Tim Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700-1800* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 108; Laura J. Rosenthaal, *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1-2. Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 175-76.

sex workers are labelled within present-day society.[12] Modern and contemporary historians have come up with varying solutions in order to reconcile the terminology to fit in with the diversified experiences of women who sold sex.[13] In historical contexts, the term 'prostitute' (especially within a criminal context) was more of an accusation than a way of life and it did not always mean a woman who sold sex. For example, in the eighteenth century, a *'femme de mauvaise vie'* or 'disorderly woman' could simply mean a woman of loose morals rather than what we, in our modern minds, would define as a prostitute. The context of the accusation itself is vital. However, the sources do not always provide the full context of such an accusation and have to be considered carefully. Therefore, this thesis uses a diversified vocabulary which includes terms like 'sex work,' 'sex trade,' 'sex worker,' 'prostitute,' and 'prostitution' in order to reflect the realities of the diverse experiences of these women within a historical context. Generally, terms like 'sex work', 'sex worker' and 'sex trade' will be used when referring to the full picture of mercenary sex and not just within the context of legal accusations. However, terms like 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' will be used when referring to the accusation or trope of sex work as a contemporary social category.

Even the word 'definition' itself is problematic because it simply implies an assigned meaning to the word. Yes, prostitution can be 'defined' functionally as the activity of selling sex, but the implication surrounding the accusation carried more weight than that simple explanation. The definition or assigned meaning of sex work within the context of this thesis is, therefore, tri-fold. The first meaning is that which I have already described—that which concerns the activity of selling sex. The second meaning concerns the legality and criminality associated with the act of prostitution which, on its own, was complex. The third meaning, which is supported although not extensively explored within this thesis, was that prostitution was more than just an offence or an activity: it was also an occupation.

Activities associated with prostitution encompassed more than just the solitary act of exchanging sex for money (e.g. procuring, soliciting). Not all who participated in sex work were labelled as prostitutes (whether in a social or criminal context) and not all who were labelled as prostitutes participated in the activity itself. The sources presented within this thesis and, indeed,

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[12] Natalia Benitez, Lorela Berisha, and Rachel Lowitz, 'Prostitution and Sex Work', *Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law* 19:2 (2018), 331–66; Julie Bindel, *The Pimping of Prostitution: Abolishing the Sex Work Myth* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), xxvii-xxx; Bill McCarthy, 'Sex Work: A Comparative Study', *Archives of Sexual Behaviour* 43: 7 (October 2014), 1379–90; Maggie O'Neill, *Prostitution and Feminism: Towards a Politics of Feeling* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2001); Sanders Teela, Maggie O'Neill, and Jane Pitcher, *Prostitution: Sex Work, Policy and Politics* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009).

[13] Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 5-6; Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 26-28; Graham Scambler and Annette Scambler, *Rethinking Prostitution: Purchasing Sex in the 1990s* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), xi-xii.

other studies of prostitution should be analysed while taking this fact into consideration. Most sources offer very little context regarding why a woman was considered to be, without question, a prostitute.

There was a clear disconnect between legal discourse and practice regarding the treatment and prosecution of prostitutes in the eighteenth century. Although, as I will address shortly, Paris and London had clearly different legal systems, previous research has not recognised the extent to which they are comparable regarding the complex ways that prostitution was addressed before the law. In both cities, regardless of the differences in the legal systems, there was not a clear idea of what constituted prostitution as a criminal act or offence. To further complicate things, the terminology used within legal and criminal contexts was not consistent in either Paris or London. When individual women were arrested, sometimes they were labelled as a 'femme du monde or a 'prostituée' in Paris or 'woman of the town' in London with no other explanation. However, within the same types of registers and records, we can see the use of other terms (i.e.'fille de mauvaise vie', 'fille de débauche', 'lewd woman' 'woman of ill fame) which could mean any number of things but often had a qualifying factor attached which tied the woman to prostitution. Most typically, this was her presence on the streets. The same inconsistency applies to the prosecution of brothels. In both cities, when disorderly houses were prosecuted, there were sometimes explicit references to prostitution, whereas, in other cases, the accusation of prostitution taking place was heavily implied. The contemporary legal and historical discourse surrounding prostitution in the eighteenth century provides varying definitions within different contexts of what a prostitute really was and how that related to the way the offence of prostitution was prosecuted.

In Paris, despite the introduction of *ordonnances* of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century meant to provide legal clarity on the subject, prostitution, especially in regard to how it was policed, remained tied to concepts of public order as it was in previous centuries.[14] In an *ordonnance* of 1684, Louis XIV charged the Paris police with regulating the morality of the city which was perceived, at the time, as being on the decline. The 1684 *ordonnance*, as far as it can be determined, was the first time that prostitution had been actively criminalized and outlawed in French history. Up until this point, it was technically legal. However, the act of *maquerellage* (keeping a brothel or forcing someone into the sex trade) was not.[15] In 1713, the same *ordonnance*

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[14] Bronislaw Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 87-94.

[15] Barnabé Brisson, *Le Code Du Roy, Henry III, Roy de France et de Pologne* (Paris: Chez P. Mettayer, Imprimeur et Libraire ordinaire du Roy, 1609), 208v, 209; Claude Le Brun de la Rochette, *Le Procès Civil et Criminel, Contenans La Methodique Liaison Du Droict et de La Practique Indicaire, Civile et Criminelle* (Lyon: Chez Pierre Ricaud, 1622), 7-8.

was reinstated, re-published, and re-distributed throughout Paris.[16] In 1734, an *ordonnance* noted the new regulations for those who owned houses and rented out *chambres garnies* (rented furnished rooms in which prostitutes commonly resided).[17] First, the house had to be properly labelled from the outside. There also had to be two registers kept: one for the police, and one for personal records. Vagrants or *gens sans aveu* were never to be permitted inside and if landlords kept incorrect information about any of their lodgers they could be imprisoned. Given that prostitution had technically been outlawed in Paris in 1684, the *ordonnance* addressing *chambres garnies* in 1734 gives a strong indication of the police's inability to control the sex trade rather than of a citywide 'crack-down' on prostitution.[18] In 1778, further change came when all forms of soliciting were outlawed in Paris (allowing for even higher numbers of women to be rounded up in police raids).[19]

The *ordonnance* of 1684 regarding the *mœurs* (manners) of the people set in motion the official policies towards prostitution that would remain in place until the revolution in 1789.[20] The *ordonnance* that concerned prostitution was actually one aspect of a much broader attempt at curbing a perceived moral deficit among women and adolescent children of both sexes. Fathers and husbands could have their children or wives locked up in the *Hôpital Général* at little financial cost.[21] Previously, the only way to achieve this was through *lettres de cachet* which involved a direct petition to the king (vis-a-vis the *Lieutenant général* of Police) and was not easily accessible to the working class. *Lettres de cachet* were written requests made to the *Lieutenant général* of the police in order lock up a family member for disorderly behaviour.[22] For example, in 1758, Michel Pierre Corneille complained in a *lettre de cachet* that his wife, Anne, had (despite being locked up in the *Salpêtrière* previously for prostitution) returned to a life of debauchery and had threatened to have Corneille murdered.[23] 'Fearing for their honour,' Corneille's other family members had also signed the *lettre de cachet*.

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[16] Anon., *Déclaration Du Roy Qui Réglez Les Formalités Qui Doivent Estre Observées pour La Correction Des Femmes et Filles de Mauvaise Vie*. Marly, (1684). Ibid, (1713).

[17] AN Y 9499, fol. 563, 20, 'Ordonnance de police prescrivant aux aubergistes et à toutes personnes tenant des chambres garnies, de faire oser à leur porte un écriteau indiquant qu'ils louent des chambres et de tenir deux registres et portant règlement générale pour le logement en chambre garnie,' 1734.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Muyart de Vouglans, *Les Loix Criminelles de France, Dans Leur Ordre Naturel* (Paris: Merigot, Crapart, Morin, 1780), 218.

[20] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 22-25.

[21] Julia M. Gossard, 'Breaking a Child's Will: Eighteenth-Century Parisian Juvenile Detention Centers', *French Historical Studies* 42, no. 2 (April 2019), 246; Colin Jones, *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Regime and Revolutionary France* (London: Routlege, 1989), 243.

[22] Farge and Foucault, *Disorderly Families: Infamous Letters from the Bastille Archives* ed. Nancy Luxon, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 19.

[23] BA ms. 11992, fol. 96, Dossiers des Prisonniers, Quinze Dossiers: Co-Cr, 1758.

Daniel Jousse, a contemporary jurist, denied that the crime of prostitution equated to the sole act of selling sex. He reflected on the 'crime' of prostitution within his four-volume treatise on criminal justice published in 1771.[24] Jousse divided criminal offences into four categories by decreasing levels of severity. The first category was religious crime (i.e. heresy, perjury, blasphemy, atheism) while the second involved crimes that were a direct threat to the state (i.e. treason, sedition, rebellion). The third category involved crimes against persons and property (i.e. murder, assault, rapt, theft, adultery, seduction). Jousse labelled the fourth category as 'les crimes qui sans blesser les intérêts particuliers, troublent l'ordre publique et l'économie du gouvernement.'[25] These included public drunkenness, gambling, idleness, bribery and prostitution.

Regarding the legal definition of prostitution, Jousse also delivered his own interpretation:

> Ainsi la femme ou fille qui ne s'abandonné qu'à une ou deux personnes, même pour l'argent ne doit point être regardée comme une prostituée publique, mais seulement une fille, ou une femme du mauvais conduit.[26]

According to Jousse, there was more to a 'prostitute' in the eyes of the law than engaging in sexual misconduct or even selling sex. The act of selling sex alone should not be the only thing we take into consideration when considering prostitution within a legal context. Additionally, Jousse argued that prostitution should not be aligned with sexual misconduct, adultery or other forms of overtly lecherous behaviour. The more casual occurrences of prostitution were also of little importance to Jousse. Instead, he took issue with the public aspects of prostitution and the way they could lead to a general sense of urban disorder. Therefore, in order for a woman to be considered a prostitute under the law, she had to frequently prostitute herself in locations where doing so was considered a 'public' offence. The space in which the act of prostitution took place was an essential component of the accusation. If, as Jousse was suggesting, prostitution was more closely aligned with public order, then perhaps historians such as Érica-Marie Benabou and Philip F. Riley have over emphasised the significance of the *ordonnances* in practice.[27] The *ordonnances* of 1689, 1713, and 1778 addressed prostitution as a strictly Parisian problem. Marion Pluskota and James Farr have noted this and connected concerns of public order and

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[24] Daniel Jousse, *Traité de la Justice Criminelle de France*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1771).

[25] Jousse, *Traité de la Justice*, vol. I, 18. Translation: 'without injuring private interests, trouble the public order and economy of the government.'

[26] Ibid., vol. III, 273. Translation: 'So that a woman who gives herself up to one or two people, even for money, should not be regarded as a public prostitute, but only a girl or a woman of bad conduct.'

[27] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 19-30; Philip F. Riley, 'Michel Foucault, Lust, Women and Sin in Louis XIV's Paris', *Church History* 59, no. 1 (1990), 35–50.

prostitution for other cities and regions in France.[28] However, as Torlet has suggested, a similar connection existed in Paris throughout the eighteenth century. Thus, the visibility and audibility of prostitution coupled with other offences (e.g. vagrancy, sexual misconduct, pick pocketing, or other forms of public disorder) were what characterized it as a criminal act.[29]

Despite the clarification provided by Jousse, there were still women who were labelled as prostitutes despite only having committed acts of sexual misconduct. Julia Gossard has argued that the general label of *prostituée* was often assigned to both working-class girls and women who were locked up in the *Salpêtrière* for various forms of mild sexual misconduct. According to the *lettres de cachet* evidence and the evidence gleaned from the *Salpêtrière* admissions records (discussed further in Chapter Three), it would seem that the definition of prostitution was expanded to include all bouts of sexual misconduct. This included instances of adultery, fornication, general promiscuity or any other instances of contemporary definitions of *libertinage*. Overall, it seemed that, in Paris, the legal discourse and practice were often at odds with one another. Prostitution was also legally ambiguous in London. However, rather than discourse and practice being different from one another, it seemed that both the practice and discourse of legal approaches to prostitution contained their own contradictions.

In the *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners* (published in 1694), John Dunton, an author and bookseller, described the concerns of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in regard to prostitution: '…by searching out the lurking Holes of Bawds, Whores, and other filthy Miscreants, in order to their Conviction and Punishment according to Law.'[30] Despite the implication here, there was no law that expressly outlawed prostitution at this time. Furthermore, there was no legal statute at any point during the eighteenth century which labelled the activity of prostitution (specifically selling sex) as illegal in London or elsewhere in England. Despite this, prostitutes were arrested and imprisoned throughout the period. Agents of the law, according to both Tony Henderson and Peter King, had to rely not on legal statutes to deal with prostitutes, but on other activities associated with prostitution to constitute grounds for arrests.[31] Crimes or offences like keeping a disorderly house, nightwalking, or pickpocketing were commonly

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[28] Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 140; Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control*, 71-75.
[29] Torlet, *La Monde de la Prostitution*, 197-98.
[30] John Dunton, *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners Humbly Offered to the Consideration of Our Magistrates and Clergy* (London: Raven in the Poultry, 1694), 24.
[31] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 76-98; Peter King, *Crime and the Law in England, 1750-1840: Remaking Justice from the Margins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 31.

associated, if not often synonymous, with prostitution and were the usual means of bringing a prostitute before a magistrate or having one locked up in a house of correction.[32]

The Disorderly House Act of 1752 required all places of entertainment to be licensed.[33] Although the law was laid out to suggest a need to keep a lid on any disorderly establishments and the sales of alcohol, Henderson has interpreted its implementation as a direct attack on prostitution.[34] By requiring every 'house, room, garden or other place kept for public dancing, music or other public entertainment of the like kind' to have a license, this act was directly targeting potential brothels which often masqueraded as respectable places of entertainment.[35] Prior to this act, keeping a bawdy house was still an indictable offence, but offended fellow parishioners and neighbours would have to initiate the legal proceedings themselves—an expensive process prone to delays.[36] In addition, justices required unambiguous proof of bawdy activity taking place within the house itself. The Disorderly House Act of 1752 addressed this legal setback and streamlined the reporting process by obliging constables to bring the testimonies of neighbours before a justice of the peace for recognizance and presentation of evidence.

Even though the 1752 Act attempted to streamline the process of bringing the proprietors of potential brothels to justice, it seemed to make little to no difference to the reality of prosecutions taken up against disorderly houses.[37] Between 1701 and 1752, there were 575 cases concerning disorderly houses in the combined City of London, Middlesex and Westminster Quarter Session records. From 1752 to 1790, there were 492 cases.[38] Here, as was also the case in Paris, it is evident that there was discrepancy between theory and practice where prostitution was concerned in London. Through an analysis of the more common themes present in these cases we can interpret common urban anxieties regarding crime and disorder felt not just within institutional frameworks, but present in the everyday urban neighbourhood both before and after the 1752 act.

In London, prostitution also fitted, albeit rather precariously, into laws that controlled the movement of the poor—primarily nightwalking and vagrancy. Vagrancy acts passed in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were partially aimed at dismantling bawdy houses

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[32] For more on the issue of streetwalking and nightwalking, see Henderson's *Disorderly Women*, 104-40; For more on the strong associations between prostitution and pickpocketing, see J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 180.
[33] *An Act for the Better Preventing Thefts and Robberies, and for Regulating Places of Public Entertainment, and Punishing Persons Keeping Disorderly Houses*, 1752 (25 Geo.II, c.36).
[34] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 93.
[35] Ibid., 90-91.
[36] Ibid., 91.
[37] Ibid., 95.
[38] For a full breakdown of these numbers, see Chapter Two, 82-130.

through issuing regular privy search warrants.[39] Laws against walking at night dated as far back as the middle ages and helped to enforce a curfew from dusk to dawn. The offence of nightwalking, over time, became more synonymous with prostitution. Paul Griffiths has argued that this change began in the seventeenth century when the term 'nightwalker' became increasingly feminized.[40] By contrast, Faramerz Dabhoiwala has qualified this definition by arguing that the term could refer to either a man or woman out on the streets at night looking to engage in prostitution.[41] The visible presence of women on the street at a given time had an impact on whether they received the label of prostitute. Time had a vital role to play in how neighbours and urban authorities interpreted acts in particular spaces. This approach directly compares with Jousse's 'public' definition of prostitution—which, as this thesis maintains, caused more anxiety than simply selling sex for eighteenth-century urban inhabitants and authorities.

As in Paris, the issue of terminology is also difficult in determining the difference between cases of sexual misconduct and actual sex work. The word 'whore' was often used in connection with other sorts of criminal activities and was also a common insult flung at women.[42] For example, women who committed infanticide were often referred to as 'lewd whores.' While, according to Beattie, three-quarters of the women who committed infanticide in England were single women, hardly any were known as being 'lewd' and most were in good standing before being accused.[43] King and Dabhoiwala suggest that the vagueness of the legal formulae regarding prostitution may have been deliberate in order to allow for 'large numbers' of women to be taken up.[44] Dabhoiwala also claims that, over time, an increasingly narrow definition of prostitution and its legal culpability was gradually emerging. Instead of being 'contracted from a general perception of immoral character,' prostitutes had to be explicitly tied to disorderly conduct in order to be arrested or prosecuted.[45] However, when taking into account the ties to older offences such as nightwalking, perhaps it is more helpful to consider that the legal 'definition' of prostitution, rather than narrowing over time, remained relatively consistent

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[39] An Act for the Due Execution of Divers Laws and Statutes heretofore made against Rogues, Vagabonds, and other Idle and Disorderly Persons, 1609 (7 Jac. I c.4); An Act to Amend and make more Effectual the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, and other Idle and Disorderly Persons and to Houses of Correction, 1744 (17 Geo.II, c.5).

[40] Paul Griffiths, 'Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England', *The Seventeenth Century* 13, no. 2 (1998), 212-38.

[41] 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), 95.

[42] For more on the insult of 'whore', see Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[43] Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England*, 108.

[44] Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law,' 94; King, *Crime and the Law*, 31.

[45] Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law', 94.

from previous centuries as it continued to be associated with senses of public disorder. The comparison between London and Paris reveals how the legal ambiguity regarding the criminal meaning of prostitution varied depending on the spatial and temporal terms. In both cities, despite what legal statutes were (or were not) set out, prostitutes were typically arrested in cases where the nature of their trade was made too public or in conjunction with other types of criminal activity. This played out differently within the legal structures of Paris and London individually, yet the issue stemmed from the same uncertainty with which prostitution was addressed.

Outside of the issue of criminality, there is the added challenge of framing prostitution as an occupation. Is prostitution, past and present, an example of women being exploited by a patriarchal society, or of women taking advantage of said society through profiting from men's weaknesses? This question remains of particular significance today within the ongoing debates regarding modern sex work.[46] Kathryn Norberg asserts that most prostitutes in the early modern period were not victims of exploitation, but 'independent entrepreneurs' in control of their own labour.[47] Kushner's work on the *femmes entretenues* of eighteenth-century Paris speaks to the possibilities of considering the 'profession' of elite prostitution and a sense of aspiration in attaining status as a kept woman.[48] On the other end of the spectrum is Tim Hitchcock who claims that prostitution was more of an 'outpost of poverty' than it was a profession in eighteenth-century London.[49]

In both past and the present day, women have both sold sex because they had no other choice or have freely chosen sex work as an avenue of economic opportunity. Norberg's argument perhaps fails to recognize that women may have been complicit in their own exploitation even if they did not act like victims. In some ways, such as in the case of Kushner's *femmes entretenues,* the women of the sex trade could be considered entrepreneurial, but this was surely limited to examples of elite prostitution and was not the case universally.

As a trade, prostitution existed within a local, informal matrix of exchange and commerce which Hufton has termed an 'economy of makeshifts.'[50] The 'economy of makeshifts'

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[46] Benitez, Berisha, and Lowitz, 'Prostitution and Sex Work,' 331-66; McCarthy, 'Sex Work: A Comparative Study', 1379–90; O'Neill, *Prostitution and Feminism;* O'Neill, Pitcher, and Teela, *Prostitution: Sex Work, Policy and Politics*).
[47] Kathryn Norberg, 'Prostitutes', in *Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, ed. Arlette Farge and Natalie Zemon Davis, vol. III, A History of Women in the West (Cambridge: Belknap, 1993), 473.
[48] Kushner, 'The Business of Being Kept: Elite Prostitution as Work' in *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century France* ed. Daryl M. Hafter and Kushner (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014); see also *Erotic Exchanges.* For other studies that make this claim in other European cities, see: Christine Muscat, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valetta, 1630-1798* (BDL Books, 2018); Tessa Storey, *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[49] Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 91-93.
[50] Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France,* 69-127.

was a means of support and survival for some of the poorest members of society. According to Hufton, a 'whole hinterland' of people outside the sex trade may have depended on it because of its place in the 'economy of makeshifts.' Clothing retailers, for example, sold clothing to sex workers as they would to any other respectable persons. The clothes were often purchased on credit and often reimbursed later with money from the sex trade.[51] Other methods of exchange and tolerance may have existed among sex workers and those who would have profited from their trade (i.e. concierges, landlords, tavern owners, etc.). Farr has also indicated that the extra custom that prostitution brought to certain areas supported complex leisure industries.[52] When discussing issues of tolerance or intolerance regarding prostitution in either city, it is important to keep in mind that certain neighbours, landlords, and local merchants on the periphery of the sex trade may have benefitted from it. The proof of such economic matrices in relation to prostitution is incredibly difficult to find. However, in order for the sex trade to survive in particular areas over others, we must infer that some discussion of neighbourly exchange had to take place even if there is no record of such a thing.

Building on these conceptual perspectives, this thesis argues that prostitution, whether framed as an exploitative or opportunistic activity for women, is work. This applies to both the historical and modern senses of the word. Terms like 'sex trade' and 'sex work' have been deliberately used alongside older words like 'prostitution' in order to underline the importance of labour as well as that of identity.[53] This project rests on the argument that sex work played a significant role in the realm of women's work in the eighteenth-century urban economy. The sex trade was an integral part of urban life and activity and was not reduced to specific districts. Areas of concentration of prostitution offences in both cities were not only more densely populated, but were also associated with related recreational and/or economic activities.[54] Furthermore, it is vital to consider all the possible forms in which prostitution could take place. While full-time sex work was a reality for some, part-time, casual sex work was also a source of supplementary income for other women. Indeed, the sex trade could be an accessible form of quick income within the life cycles of the poorer echelons of society.

Certain vulnerable occupations like washerwomen, charwomen, hawkers, peddlers, seamstresses and laundresses were easy avenues into the sex trade due to their mobile nature.

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[51] Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), 332-33.
[52] Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 124-55.
[53] Gilfoyle makes this point as the reasoning for only using the word 'prostitution' as opposed to 'sex work' in his article, his main argument being that sex work relates now to much more than selling sex (escorts, exotic dancing, etc.). However, eighteenth-century notions of sex work were primarily limited to acts of prostitution. See Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History,' 119-20.
[54] See Chapter Two, 82-130.

This type of work, especially within the urban environment, has been identified as being the lowest paid and least stable.[55] Not only does that make these occupations difficult to trace for the historian (because of the way records were constructed during the period), it also meant that the women who occupied these roles had ample reason to secure resources for themselves through other means. Norberg argues that when a woman was employed to sell items, wash linens or work in textiles, she was more likely to carry out her occupation on a mobile basis. The female domestic servant was under the supervision of her household and would not often be out on her own as often. However, the seamstress, for example, had access to intimate spaces whilst unsupervised and could more easily sell sex while carrying out her other, more 'respectable' work.[56]

'Defining' prostitution within an eighteenth-century historical context is challenging. Definitions varied between and within Paris and London's legal and social practices and discourses. The problematic features of prostitution, within both cities, seemed grounded in varying senses of public order and how it was interpreted by neighbours, police, and the courts. Due to the different legal systems and practices of both cities, the definition of prostitution was fluid and applied not solely as an accusation of selling sex, but as being linked to other forms of disorderly behaviour as we can see in the sources themselves.

Sources, Questions and Approaches

Sources have been selected for this thesis which effectively answer either of two questions. First, what precisely made prostitution so problematic in the eighteenth-century city? Second, how was it addressed within criminal, institutional and cultural contexts? As I have already shown, the legal definition of prostitution was incredibly complex and ambiguous in both cities. Thus, any criminal records used must be considered in light of this truth. Because this study is comparative, sources must be handled carefully and considered within the legal framework of the individual city. A shared feature of both Paris and London was that the record-keeping regarding prostitution and arrests was fragmented. There is not a single type of source for either city in which one can find all the arrests pertaining to prostitution. Due to the ways in which arrests were made and records were kept, arrests and details concerning prostitutes within criminal

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[55] For more historical studies on women's work in early modern Europe, see: Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993); Jordan Goodman and Katrina Honeyman, 'Women's Work, Gender Conflict, and Labour Markets in Europe, 1500-1900', in *Gender and History in Western Europe*, ed. Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent (London: Arnold, 1998) 353-376; Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: UCL Press, 1994), 148-73.
[56] Norberg, 'Prostitutes,' 473.

records must be supplemented with others. However, the criminal and court records alone, even when combined, still only provide partial evidence regarding attitudes and reactions to prostitution in the eighteenth-century city. Therefore, I have consulted them alongside other types of sources which I will discuss shortly. First, I will explore the legal and criminal sources of Paris and London separately. Then, I will briefly discuss the use of cultural sources.

This thesis draws on over 2000 separate cases, many of them pertaining to different women in both Paris and London. I have limited my time frame from 1701 until 1789 in Paris and until 1800 in London. This applies not only to criminal sources but also to the cultural and institutional sources being used. For Paris, I have limited my source base to the *ancien régime* period of the eighteenth century due to the major institutional and cultural changes that came with the 1789 revolution.[57] With the revolution came different institutional approaches to prostitution and an overhaul of the Paris police. These changes warrant, and have, their own study and attention. I have extended the timeframe for London to 1800 because the printed commentaries on prostitution that were produced in the 1790s are necessary to interpreting the cultural archetype of the prostitute over the course of the century. However, for reasons of consistency and comparison, I mostly limit the criminal record source base for London from 1701 to 1790. There is one exception in Chapter One where I consult one particularly fitting case from 1693.[58]

Most of the legal and criminal sources for Paris that I have consulted have come from the Bastille Archives within the Arsenal Library. I have particularly focused on the *Lieutenance de Police* records within the administrative section of the Bastille Archives. This section contains not only arrest records, but also police correspondence between the *lieutenant général* and the *commissaires*.[59] Cases regarding prostitution are addressed throughout these records and not easy to track down in one particular place. Within this section, there are arrest records, patrol reports and other detailed information regarding prostitution and other crimes.

Within the administrative section, the sources that historians have most commonly associated with prostitution are those concerning the *Affaires des Mœurs*.[60] This set of records is not necessarily a reflection of the way the police was run, rather it is a collection of documents

[57] For more on prostitution during the revolutionary period, see Clyde Plumauzille, *Prostitution et Révolution: Les Femmes Publiques Dans La Cité Républicaine*, 1789-1804 (Champ Vallon, 2016).
[58] See Chapter One, 39-81.
[59] The entire collective of administrative records are under BA ms. 10001-10320, Prémiere Section: Administration du Lieutenant Général de Police, 1667-1789.
[60] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 60-79; Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges*, 37-41; BA ms. 10134, Affaires de mœurs. Tableau des ordres du Roi pour la relégation ou l'incarcération à l'Hôpital Général, 1723-1724; BA ms. 10135 Affaires de mœurs, assassinats, et vols. Tableau des ordres du Roi pour la relégation ou l'incarcération à l'Hôpital Général, Sainte-Pélagie et Bicêtre, 1734-1737; BA ms. 10234-10268, Seconde Bureau de la Lieutenance de la Police: Discipline des Mœurs, 1749-1758.

extracted from the police documents and organized into the *Affaires des Mœurs* category of the Bastille archives. Cases of prostitution are not limited to this particular subsection of the police administrative records. Records of prostitution arrests and surveillance can be found elsewhere within the administration records, usually buried in patrol reports or other types of arrest records. Additionally, records concerning prostitution can be found in other sections of the Bastille Archives (in both the *prisonnier* and prison administration). Jeffrey Merrick and Julia Torlet have quite recently indicated that the *affaires des mœurs* subsections, albeit useful on a qualitative basis, do not provide the historian with enough quantitative information to allow commentary on any broader changes over the course of the eighteenth century regarding prosecution rates.[61] Furthermore, Merrick has recently found that the individual folios of the archives concerning the *Affaires de Mœurs* (often labelled *discipline des mœurs*) were arranged and organized arbitrarily by archivists at various points in history including during the Revolution and at various points during the nineteenth century. For example, there are several cases of sodomy in parts of the record where one would expect to see cases of prostitution (because they are labelled as such) and vice versa.[62] The *prisonnier* section, which is separate from the administrative police records, also contains records of prostitution (according to Merrick and Andrew Israel Ross) which are otherwise unmentioned within any of the *affaires des mœurs* records. I have not been able to consult the incredibly vast *prisonnier* section. There is no finding aid (i.e. index, inventory, or analytical catalogue) available for these records. Within the scope of this project, it was not possible to consult these additional records. While I acknowledge there are limitations to what can be derived from the administrative sections alone, there is nothing to suggest that the *prisonnier* section would generate further examples of the same phenomena discussed in this thesis.[63]

Despite Torlet and Merrick's criticisms that because of unknown archival decisions made over a century ago the *Affaire des Moeurs* subsection cannot be used to produce any serialized data, these records do hold value to the historian of prostitution interested in the microanalysis of incidents of prostitution. The records provide rich details and examples of police methods and intervention regarding the various forms of the sex trade. They also give an idea of the minimum volume of cases related to prostitution that the police may have been dealing with at

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[61] Merrick, 'Patterns and Concepts,' 275; Torlet, *La Monde de la Prostitution*, 19.

[62] Merrick, 'Patterns and Concepts,' 273-306; For a more recent response to Merrick's criticisms of the Affaires Mœurs, see Andrew Israel Ross, 'Sex in the Archives: Homosexuality, Prostitution, and the Archives de La Préfecture de Police de Paris', *French Historical Studies* 40, no. 2 (April 2017), 267-90.

[63] For more on how the organisation of archives can influence research and findings, see: Sarah A. Curtis and Stephen L. Harp eds., *Archives in French History*, *French Historical Studies* 40, no. 2 (April 2017); Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham eds., *The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe*, *Past and Present* 230 (November 2016).

any given point. One of the only existing arrest registers within the *Affaires des Mœurs* records contains 341 arrests of prostitutes between 1734 and 1737.[64] There is only one other surviving register of this kind which provides the same amount of detail for arrested prostitutes between April of 1723 and August of 1724.[65] However, this earlier register has, unfortunately, significantly damaged by moisture with many of the pages either missing or completely illegible. Apart from these two registers, there appear to be no other similar surviving records which provide the same level of detail within the administrative police records. Most of the time, if not always, prostitutes found in the 1734-1737 register were labelled as particularly scandalous or disruptive. Only a small handful of women were arrested for *prostitution* or even *prostitution publique* alone. Most of them were arrested for additional offences or crimes (i.e. theft, drunkenness, keeping a *mauvaise lieu*, blasphemy). For some women, there are details of their release from the *Hôpital Général*. In addition, the *mœurs* sections contain brothel surveillance and correspondence records which give more detail regarding the self-regulating nature of the sex trade—even if at only the elite level.[66] There are also other documents detailing the specific locations of the residence of particularly famous prostitutes, actresses, dancers and opera singers as well as other *anecdotes galantes* held within this section. I have chosen not to concentrate exclusively on the world of elite prostitution because I am more interested in the overall range of prostitutes rather than one specific socioeconomic type. Therefore, I have not focused on the files pertaining to women who were professional mistresses (often labelled as '*femmes entretenues*' or '*femmes galantes*') because Kushner's exhaustive research on the elite world of prostitution in eighteenth-century Paris has already done this work.[67]

In order to complement this main body of sources I have used records pulled from other subsections of the administrative section apart from the *affaires des mœurs*. These include reports from the *commissaires du Châtelet* (which I will discuss below) and *inspecteur* reports. Like most of the records held within the Bastille Archives, the *inspecteur* reports are fragmented. Most of the *inspecteur* reports were lost either during the revolution or a fire that broke out in the nineteenth century.[68] There are only a few series of reports still existing. The few that are left contain the records of *inspecteurs* named Roussel, Poussot, Sarraire and Meusnier. Meusnier and Poussot's

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[64] BA ms 10135, Affaires de mœurs, assassinats et vols. Tableau des ordres du Roi pour la relégation ou l'incarcération à l'Hôpital général, Sainte-Pélagie et Bicêtre, contenant les noms, l'âge, le lieu d'origine, la profession des inculpés, les motifs de l'arrestation, quelquefois la durée de la peine, et les noms des exempts qui ont opéré les arrestations, 1734-1737.
[65] BA ms. 10134, Affaires de mœurs. Tableau des ordres du Roi pour la relégation ou l'incarcération à l'Hôpital général, contenant les noms, l'âge, le lieu d'origine, la profession des inculpés, les motifs de l'arrestation, quelquefois la durée de la peine, 1723-1724.
[66] BA ms. 10253, Rapports de maîtresses de maisons de débauche, 1749-57.
[67] For more on elite prostitution in Paris, see Kushner's *Erotic Exchanges*.
[68] Nicolas Vidoni discusses this at length in *La Police Des Lumières, XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Perrin, 2018).

records have been consulted the most because they seemed to be dealing with prostitution offences more often than the others. Meusnier was in charge of the department of *discipline des mœurs* and conducted much of the brothel correspondence that will be referenced in Chapter One which explains his frequent contact with prostitutes.[69] Poussot, however, seemed to deal with prostitutes frequently because his assigned jurisdiction was the neighbourhood of Les Halles which, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, was a frequent destination for soliciting.[70] Although the patrol records given to Poussot indicate frequent contact with prostitutes, in one arrest register kept between 1738 and 1754, there were only 45 women arrested under the label of *femme du monde*.[71] Overall, the corpus of the *inspecteur de police* records are far from complete, but they do provide some rather crucial details regarding what made certain forms of prostitution tolerable or intolerable from the perspective of the police.

I have sampled the prison administration records which contain details of arrested prostitutes. I have used the *États des prisonnières de la Salpêtrière*.[72] These documents detail the admissions and releases of (primarily, but not exclusively) prostitutes into the *commun* section of the *Salpêtrière*. Within these records, there are 740 arrests of prostitutes occurring between 1718 and 1765. Although these records only reach 1765, it is unclear whether this was a deliberate change or the records for the final decades of the *ancien régime* were lost at some point during the proceeding centuries. As the records progress, they become less detailed regarding the offences or biographical details of the women being contained in the *Salpêtriére*. It is also worth noting that these documents were held and written by the police during the *ancien régime* rather than by the hospital administration. The women represented within this record are thus ones that had been arrested and involuntarily placed within the confines of the Salpêtrière (as opposed to those who voluntarily entered for access to charity).[73]

This thesis also uses some of the *Châtelet* records held within the *chambre de police* collections of the *Archives Nationales*. These were cases brought before the *lieutenant général* of the Police by the commissaires of the *Châtelet* who collected the complaints of neighbours. Many of these cases included individual prostitutes. However, the cases contained within the *Minutes des Ordonnances et Sentences de Police* that address other offences associated with places of prostitution.[74] These were handwritten notes taken by a clerk after or during the hearings at the *chambre de police*.

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[69] See Chapter One, 68-70.
[70] See Chapter Two, 123-28.
[71] BA ms. 10140, Registre contenant la table alphabétique des personnes arrêtées par Poussot, inspecteur dans le quartier des Halles, 1738-1754.
[72] BA mss. 12692-95, États des prisonnières de la Salpêtrière, 1719-1765.
[73] More on the voluntarism of charity is discussed in Chapter Three, 144-58.
[74] AN Y 9498-9499, Ordonnances et Sentences de Police du Châtelet de Paris, 1668-1787.

Unlike other collections of documents in the *chambre de police* records of the *Châtelet*, the series used here is unique due to the way the cases were recorded and the fact that they were all intended to be published. It is unclear why these particular cases (of which there are 680 total) were selected to be recorded in this way. As mentioned with regard to the Bastille archives, the *Châtelet* archives have been organized and grouped in a way that affects the ways in which historians may use them. Within this set, each individual case consists of a summary of the accusation, a description of the offence, and a decision regarding punishment. Most of the cases concerning prostitution within this particular set of documents were addressing the residences of prostitutes (*lieux de mauvaise vie*, *chambres garnies*, etc.).

The *Châtelet* case summaries do not provide a full numerical picture of prostitution offences in eighteenth-century Paris. However, there is no single source that does. Out of the 680 sources held within the *Minutes des Ordonnances et Sentences de Police* collection, only 39 address prostitution. Moreover, selling sex was typically not what was being addressed. Issues pertaining to prostitution in these records tend to be more closely related to the disruptive noise and visibility of prostitutes in a neighbourhood. These 39 cases appear between 1717 and 1746. By the 1750s, many of the *sentences de police* disappear and are replaced by printed *ordonnances de police*.[75] It seems that the way the documents were compiled and collected also shifted after mid-century. Despite the lack of context available for these particular sources, there is plenty of evidence from 1747 onwards in the *Lieutenance de Police* archives housed in the *Archives de la Bastille*. While these records were composed differently, the *commissaires du Châtelet* shared their reports and findings with the *lieutenant général* of the police in Paris. While these documents are also fragmented, they help provide the context for the types of complaints that neighbourhood *commissaires* would receive.[76] Used in conjunction, these two sources adequately reveal the fragility of neighbourhood tolerance regarding prostitution during the period. Even though there are more sources which pertain to eighteenth-century prostitution in Paris, the selection of sources I have chosen for this thesis provide an appropriate 'theoretical sampling' in which the sources used are indicative of broader patterns over a particularly long period of time and are ample enough to address any exceptions.[77]

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[75] A breakdown of the decrease of cases is provided in Chapter Two, 111.

[76] BA mss. 10033-91, Plaintes et déclarations renvoyées devant les commissaires au Châtelet, Expéditions des procès-verbaux des commissaires adressées au Lieutenant général. Les années 1722-1724, 1731, 1744, 1770-71 sont en déficit, 1721-1777; BA mss. 100925-10118, Rapports des Inspecteurs de police et procès verbaux des commissaires au Châtelet, adressés au Lieutenant général. Perquisitions, captures, interrogatoires, 1727-1775; BA mss. 10129-10133, Procès verbaux rédigés par les commissaires au Châtelet, des patrouilles faites dans les rues de Paris et visites dans les cabarets, billards et lieux suspectes par les inspecteurs, commissaires et exempts, 1750-1775.

[77] The term 'theoretical sampling' was coined by Michael Savage to describe the phenomenon where 'one continues reading additional cases until one feels that no new repertoires are being presented' *in Identities and Social Change in*

The legal and criminal proceedings in London that dealt with prostitution are more commonly found in specific court records. In London, the administration of criminal law was divided among several jurisdictions. London did not have a professional police force during the eighteenth century and thus the legal and criminal sources consulted were vastly different from Paris. I primarily consulted the following bodies of evidence: the City of London, Westminster, and Middlesex Quarter sessions, the Bridewell Minutes of the Court of Governors, and the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*. None of the cases found within these sources are solely addressing prostitution (for the legal reasons outlined above). Rather, they concern other crimes that were commonly associated, if not synonymous, with prostitution. These included pickpocketing, keeping a disorderly house, breaking the peace, and nightwalking.

The City of London's institutions of policing were governed by a royal charter establishing twenty-six different wards. Each ward was governed by an alderman who was elected for life by the freemen of the City (householders who paid at least ten pounds a year in rent and thirty shillings a year in taxes). The magistrates, who administered justice within the City of London quarter sessions were chosen from the aldermen. The rest of London came under the jurisdiction of Middlesex and Westminster counties which each also ran their own quarter sessions. These sessions mainly dealt with misdemeanours (assault, disturbances of the peace, fraud, various forms of cheating, etc.).[78] The quarter sessions (City of London, Middlesex and Westminster) were held four times a year. In the eighteenth century, these sessions became more focused on misdemeanours and issues relating to breaking the peace.[79] This distinction was unique from the rest of the country where there was more overlap between quarter sessions and assize courts (which dealt with capital offences). Additionally, the exclusive jurisdiction of the London quarter sessions and assize courts meant that nearly all theft prosecutions were tried at the Old Bailey (which I will discuss shortly).[80] With regard to offences concerning prostitution, the quarter sessions seemed to deal primarily with trying those who kept disorderly or bawdy houses.

Disorderly houses were often brought before these courts, whose grand juries were comprised primarily of tradesmen, as they represented a direct disturbance of the peace of the neighbourhood. All of these were tried summarily—usually with no transcript produced. They

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Britain Since 1940: The Politics of Method (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 17; Andy Wood also employs this tactic in his sampling of cases in *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 39.

[78] Beattie*, Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 12.

[79] Ibid., 16-17.

[80] Ibid.

instead provide summaries of the crime, the plea of the convicted, and the evidence produced by neighbours who were called on to provide testimony. The testimony of neighbours is brief and does not seem to be a direct transcript but rather a summary of the clerk keeping a record of the session. The grand jury presentments, which initiated the quarter session, were brought forth as a result of neighbourhood testimony to a constable. They were generally composed in a formulaic manner and only provide the basic details of the case (name of the offender, some details as to the disturbance of the offence, and the location of the house itself). The details of the verdict and sentencing were also noted on these documents. The presentments provide a summary of the neighbours' complaints, and when prostitution was referenced, there are often clear indicators as to what made the act particularly disturbing for neighbours. They were formulaically written and recorded suggesting which suggests that they were drawn up by lawyers. Therefore, the presentments give a rather indirect construction of the events regarding the disorderly house. In cases where neighbours provided testimony, their testimonies were recorded as summaries rather than a word-for-word transcript. Not all 'disorderly' or 'bawdy' houses were necessarily brothels as will be further discussed in the case studies. However, measures taken against disorderly houses were usually taken in order to prevent prostitution from spreading.

Between 1701 and 1790, over one thousand cases concerning disorderly houses were brought before the Quarter sessions of the City of London (173 cases), Westminster (82 cases), and Middlesex (812 cases).[81] The Quarter sessions in Middlesex had a larger jurisdiction than both the City of London and thus more cases were tried there. Westminster also had a larger jurisdiction than the City of London, however, there were fewer cases brought against disorderly houses. It is difficult to determine what the reason for this would have been. Middlesex was perhaps more densely populated throughout the century.[82] The jurisdictions of the Quarter sessions only overlapped in specifically serious circumstances none of which truly applied to the cases used in this thesis. These records are particularly useful because, like those found in the *Châtelet*, they allow us to identify the patterns of tolerance and intolerance that accompanied a specific type of prostitution within the urban neighbourhood.

As mentioned above, nightwalking was an offence commonly associated, if not synonymous with, prostitution. The most complete source regarding this offence in London is

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[81] *Locating London's Past*, City of London Session Papers, Middlesex Session Papers, Westeminster Session Papers, 1701-1790, mapping all presentments against disorderly houses onto John Rocque's 1746 map of London. See Chapter Two, page 106 for a breakdown and for more on *the Locating London's Past* database.

[82] A breakdown of the amount of cases per each quarter session divided by thirty-year periods is provided in Chapter Two, 106.

the Bridewell Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governors. Within these records, between 1701 and 1790, there are 254 individual cases of nightwalking.[83] All of the women mentioned in this series of documents were locked up in the Bridewell Hospital as part of their correction. These are not documents that represent a criminal trial or any kind of due process, rather they reflect instances where prostitutes were taken up by constables and the night watch to Bridewell. These documents are also valuable because they often detail the location of arrest and therefore give an idea of some of the areas that prostitutes were known to frequent. The only drawback is that the Minutes of the Court of Governors give almost no detail regarding the women themselves apart from the implication that they were prostitutes. Since there were so few individual cases over a ninety-year period, perhaps it would be reasonable to surmise that these were particularly disorderly or disruptive instances of night walking.

The Old Bailey sessions, which met eight times a year, dealt with more serious crimes than those dealt with by the Quarter sessions taking place within both the City of London and Middlesex. Most of these crimes were property-based.[84] All of the Old Bailey records used here are extracted from the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey* which were published trial accounts produced eight times a year between 1679 and 1913. As mentioned previously, I am mainly focused on the period between 1701 and 1790 (with one exception in 1693). One of the major limitations with the *Proceedings* is that they represent a selection of cases which were printed, rather than a comprehensive criminal record. Additionally, the trials chosen for publication were not necessarily transcribed verbatim, rather some of the language within the proceedings may have been changed in order to gain the approval of the Lord Mayor of London (a requirement for publication instated in 1679). After 1770, the recorder and chief judge of the Old Bailey continued to provide oversight rather than the Lord Mayor. Historians disagree about whether censorship intensified or not post 1770. Simon Deveraux argues that this change led to intensified regulation post 1770 as the content began to be more heavily censored.[85] Robert Shoemaker and Hitchcock, however, have both made convincing cases for the validity of the *Proceedings* as sources even after 1770.[86] The *Proceedings*, before and after 1770, are summaries of

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[83] *Locating London's Past*, Bridewell Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1701-1790, mapping all streetwalking and nightwalking offences onto John Rocque's 1746 map of London. Individual records from the Bridewell Royal Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governors will be abbreviated 'BR MG' and are found within the *London Lives* database. For a breakdown, see Chapter Two, 119.

[84] Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London*, 18. Capital punishments were usually saved for the assize courts which met twice a year.

[85] Simon Deveraux, 'The City and Sessions Paper: "Public Justice" in London, 1770-1800,' *Journal of British Studies* 35:4 (October 1996), 466-503.

[86] Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, 'The Proceedings - Publishing History of the Proceedings,' *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0); see also Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, London Lives: Poverty, Crime and the Making of a Modern City, 1690-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 24-26.

trials which provide an overview of the court personnel's reconstruction of the cases rather than direct insight into what actually happened and the voices of those on trial. I have used these cases because they provide valuable context and dialogue regarding the nature of prostitution and how it related to criminal activity in the mindset of legal personnel at the Old Bailey.

Prostitutes often made appearances in the court of the Old Bailey. However, the Old Bailey did not try women for prostitution. Rather, women prosecuted for other crimes who also happened to be prostitutes were often explicitly noted as being 'of the town', 'common', 'about the streets,' 'of ill fame,' or even simply as 'prostitutes.' However, these labels may have been a result of the strong associations between certain crimes (i.e. pickpocketing) and prostitution. In some cases, some women would openly admit to being a prostitute, but often the accusation was coming from someone else.[87] When women took control of the narrative and openly admitted that they sold sex, this may have been due to the fact that, as Beattie argues, most magistrates were fairly lenient toward prostitutes who stole from their clients.[88] Perhaps on the rare occasion when women did this they were aware of this tendency. However, not all women who were tried for pickpocketing were also accused of prostitution. If there was a strong association between prostitution and pickpocketing, then it must have been implied within the subtext of the trial itself. Regardless, the category of prostitute within this context was not a neutral one and had differing effects on the verdict depending on the context of the woman's crime or role in the crime (if someone else had committed it). I will be exploring cases of this nature and others extracted from the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*.

This study is not limited to legal and criminal records but uses other forms of institutional records (those taken from charities, hospitals and houses of correction for prostitutes) in addition to cultural sources (printed commentaries, literature, engravings and etchings). Primarily, the institutional records come from the *Salpêtrière* of the *Hôpital Général* (used in conjunction with the police records mentioned above) and *Bon Pasteur* in Paris. In London, the institutional records come from Bridewell (most of which are addressed above), the Lock Asylum and the Magdalen Charity. All of these records are particularly complex and do not always provide complete information regarding the conditions of the women who lived there. Rather than focusing on the individual experiences of the women incarcerated in these institutions, I have analysed the documents produced by these institutions through a spatial lens in order to interpret how the spaces of these institutions influenced and encouraged former prostitutes to reform.[89]

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[87] For an example of a woman openly admitting to be a prostitute see Chapter One, 79.
[88] Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, 181.
[89] More on the nature of these documents is discussed in Chapter Three, 139-58, and Chapter Four, 194-200.

The legal and social ambiguity regarding the offence of prostitution also spilled over into cultural interpretations of the sex trade throughout the period. As a feminine cultural archetype, the prostitute was constantly being reimagined in art, literature and reformist texts.[90] The cultural sources used in this thesis include, but are not limited to, pamphlet literature, novels, and images. Using cultural sources comes with difficulty in that they often contain specifically constructed cultural codes which need to be unpacked carefully. However, the same can equally be said of criminal, court and institutional records mentioned above. These sources are primarily the focus of the final chapter which discusses them in more detail. However, they also are sprinkled throughout the rest of the thesis. Primarily, these deal with the way prostitutes were represented and how this representation, even in its most caricaturised forms, was complex and often contained multiple overlapping archetypes.

The 'Spatial Turn' & Comparative Method

I approach the source material of this thesis using two main modes of methodology. The first is derived from the 'spatial turn' and the second is a comparative method. The 'spatial turn' method remains most prevalent within the first three chapters and the fourth chapter should be considered in light of the spatial findings from the first three. The comparative method is woven throughout the thesis.

I have chosen to analyse the majority of the evidence in thesis through the lens of space. Spatial analysis, especially within a study of prostitution, helps to highlight the complexity of the activity within different urban spaces and allows us to understand how the sex trade helped shaped the urban environment. Additionally, it highlights how changing urban space was used to shape the sex trade both as a reformative tool and by providing new venues for sex work. The 'spatial turn' is an interdisciplinary methodology (within the humanities and social sciences) that demands the recognition of space as a key factor of analysis.[91] The definition of 'space' within a historical context is also rather complex as it has been interpreted differently depending on the context. The main debate is centred on the materiality of space versus its assigned meaning. Leif Jerram has critiqued historians' uses of space as a category of analysis, but only in reference to the historian's tendency to subscribe human characteristics to space and overlook its materiality.[92] The material qualities of space are important, but the way space was used, practised, iterated and occupied by those who inhabited it, passed through it, or avoided it are all equally

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[90] See Chapter Four, 192-236.

[91] Thomas Rokhrämer, 'Space Place and Identities,' *History Compass,* 5 (September 2009), 1338.

[92] Leif Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category of Historical Analysis?' *History and Theory* 52, no. 3 (October 2013), 400-19.

important to that materiality. Analysis of the material qualities of space alone mutes the category of human experience which is of particular interest to this study. Instead of prioritizing one element or quality of space over another, it is instead more useful to consider both the materiality and the lived experience of space.

Even though I am concerned with spatial practice, I have avoided gendering space through the context of public and private 'spheres.' Habermas' theories regarding the binary and gendered separation of the public and private spheres have already been widely contested by historians.[93] Fiona Williamson, for example, demonstrates in her work on seventeenth-century Norwich that the distinctions between public and private spheres were, at best, ambiguous.[94] The use and inhabitants of what Habermas (or historians using Habermas' legalistic conceptual language) would have considered 'male' public spaces (spaces of political engagement, the workshop) and 'female' ones (domestic, interior spaces of the home) often overlapped and intertwined.[95] Other historians have argued that there ought to be a stronger focus on the complex relationship between gendered identities and urban space. This would accompany a movement away from spatial meaning (as either feminine or masculine) and a movement toward the 'lived experience' of space.[96] While it is not useful to gender urban space, it is important to still incorporate spatial meaning, practice, representation, and materiality into a historical study that takes spatial awareness and gender into consideration.

As a category of historical analysis, I have chosen to define space as Michel de Certeau did: 'a practiced place.'[97] Through defining space this way, it is possible to keep intact the qualities relating to its materiality, practice, embodiment and iteration. In addition, distinguishing spaces as 'public' or 'private' in relation to eighteenth-century prostitution is not a helpful construct because it does not consider either movement or agency. Historical prostitution, when observed through the scope of spatial awareness, raises new questions as the women of the sex trade complicated the boundaries between what was intimate and what was on display. Using space as a lens through which to read primary sources does not always equate to being able to visibly make out the space through mapping. Alongside the use of maps or plans to describe

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[93] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* trans. Frederick Lawrence (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989); Apart from Fiona Williamson, for some of the best historical critiques of Habermas' theory, see Gowing, *Domestic Dangers,* 26; Jerram, 'Space,' 400.

[94] Fiona Williamson, 'Space and the City: Gender Identities in Seventeenth-Century Norwich,' *Cultural and Social History* 9, no. 2 (June 2012), 169-85.

[95] Amanda J. Flather has also proved this to be the case. See 'Space, Place and Gender: The Spatial and Sexual Division of Labor in the Early Modern Household,' *History and Theory* 52, no. 3 (October 2013), 344-60.

[96] Beebe, Gleadle, Angela Davis, 'Introduction: Space, Place and Gendered Identities,' 523-32; Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (London: Athlone, 2002); Susanne Rau, 'The Urbanization of the Periphery: A Spatio-Temporal History of Lyon since the Eighteenth Century' *Historical Social Research* 30:3 (2013), 152.

[97] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 12.

space, I am also considering the perspective of space on the ground through the eyes of the average urban inhabitant.

I have interpreted the primary sources described above while considering three aspects of urban space in relation to prostitution. These are contested space, confined space, and urban landscape. Contested spaces were shared spaces in which the presence of certain figures (i.e. prostitutes) could inspire a host of anxieties and reactions. This thesis addresses the neighbourhood as a contested space. Confined space pertains not only to the confined space of the brothel but to the institutional response to prostitutes which involved confining them in houses of correction. In both cases, confining prostitution was considered a viable solution to both a general urban problem and as a way of promoting neighbourhood tranquillity. Urban landscape relates specifically to the perspective of urban inhabitants: how they perceived the world around them and how the sex trade fit into that perspective. These three aspects affected the way prostitution was addressed and represented not only on a small-scale individual or neighbourhood basis, but within the widely publicised views of prostitution throughout the century.

Along with considering the 'spatial turn', this study, being one of prostitution in two cities, maintains a comparative approach to the sources. Paris and London are ideally comparative because, as outlined by Marc Bloch's justification for comparative history, they fill specific criteria. Bloch identifies these criteria as societies that are geographical neighbours, historical contemporaries, and constantly being influenced by one another. Furthermore, they are subject to 'the same all-over causes, just because they are so close together in time and space.'[98]

Moreover, Paris and London have been attractive to historians seeking to use a comparative methodology. For example, Karen Newman, George Rudé and Vanessa Harding have compared Paris and London along the lines of culture, popular protest and death (respectively) during the early modern period.[99] Paris and London make for ideal comparisons not only because they fill Bloch's requirements above, but because of other similarities between them. Paris and London were the two most populous cities in Europe throughout the eighteenth century with respective populations of just over 600,000 and 1,000,000 by 1800. They were both capitals of largely centralized nation-states. Harding has indicated that each of the two cities was often represented as a unity; however, this sense of unity contradicted the reality of 'jurisdictional

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[98] Marc Bloch, 'Toward a Comparative History of European Societies', in *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History*, ed. Fredric C. Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953), 498.
[99] Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); George Rudé, *Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century: Studies in Popular Protest* (London: William Sons and Co. Ltd., 1970).

incoherence and anomaly on the ground.'[100] Furthermore, both cities, due to their enormous sizes, contained pluralistic societies in which the origins of the inhabitants were incredibly varied (in terms of both social origin and place of birth). These commonalities between Paris and London distinguished them from other smaller cities within France and England.

The comparative method is a systematic way in which to address historical phenomena. In this case, the specific phenomenon is the ambiguity of prostitution in both cities despite the differences in legal, social and cultural contexts. Each chapter provides a comparative analysis of both the findings and the sources being used. However, while there are strands of similarity between Paris and London with regard to prostitution, the differences between the two cities also need to be acknowledged alongside the commonalities. One of the major challenges with comparing Paris and London, despite some of the shared characteristics detailed above, is that the source material is so drastically different between the two cities. This is due to the fact that, especially in the case of criminal records, the sources were compiled within two distinct legal systems. This is perhaps the primary reason why some historians have avoided making the comparison and therefore why a comparative analysis between them of the same offence is distinctive. While there were 'collective sensitivities' between Parisians and Londoners regarding crime and prostitution, there were also different processes involved in addressing these issues.[101] However, the sentiments and ideas produced within the different sets of sources produced in each city are similar and thus comparable even if the documents that contain them are not. Each chapter of this thesis draws out these sentiments and ideas and compares their frequency in the sources as well as how they played out within both urban contexts.

Chapter Layout

This thesis is comprised of four substantial chapters. Each chapter explores a different aspect of prostitution and the way it was addressed and perceived within specific contexts. The first two chapters deal specifically with the limits of tolerance both in the smaller scope of the neighbourhood and within the larger context of the urban landscape. The final two chapters analyse the institutional and cultural responses in light of the realities brought forward in the earlier half. Chapter One, 'The Limits of Tolerance: Prostitution in the Neighbourhood,' addresses the neighbourhood policing of prostitution. Here, I emphasize the importance of the combined efforts of formal (police, courts) and informal (neighbourhood intervention) methods

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[100] Harding, *The Dead and the Living,* 3.
[101] Jelle C. Riemersma uses the term 'collective sensitivities' to describe what historians are searching for when doing comparative methodology in 'Introduction to Marc Bloch', in *Enterprise and Secular Change* ed. Riemersma and Lane, 492.

of policing prostitution. I also explore the limits of tolerance within the urban neighbourhood through conducting microanalyses of specific cases concerning prostitutes but pertaining to other offences (running disorderly houses, theft, assault, etc.). Here, I argue that intolerance of prostitution was rooted in sensory and spatial awareness. This was true for both Paris and London, however, the intolerance of prostitution played out in different and complex ways between the two cities.

Chapter Two, 'Urban Landscape and the Geography of the Sex Trade,' expands the scope from the locality of the brothel to the wider urban landscape. This chapter explores the mobile experience of urban living and how patterns of movement along with the geography of the sex trade mirrored the realities and activities of day-to-day urban life. This suggests that rather than existing in an underworld of its own, the sex trade was a fibre woven into the 'tissu urbaine.'[102]

The second half of the thesis addresses the ways in which prostitution was addressed on a mass scale both institutionally (Chapter Three) and culturally (Chapter Four). In Chapter Three, 'Confining the Prostitute,' I investigate the way space was used as a tool to discipline and reform former prostitutes in both Paris and London. This was done through monitoring the movement and timing of the penitents through the spaces of the charitable institutions themselves. Essentially, all of these institutions, despite their differences, attempted to act as inverses to the chaos of the urban environment. These efforts, however, were continuously undermined by the women housed within the institutions and the sense of community formed among them.

The final chapter of the thesis, Chapter Four, 'Cultural Representations of Prostitution,' considers the spatial aspects of the first three and applies those findings to the cultural representations of prostitutes throughout the eighteenth century in both cities. Overall, the cultural archetypes of the prostitute were fluid, dynamic and highly dependent on context. I demonstrate the complex ways in which prostitution was represented in both Paris and London and how certain tropes of prostitution reflected collective urban anxieties. The ambiguous manner in which prostitution was addressed culturally mirrored that with which it was addressed both legally and socially. However, this ambiguity, in both cities, demonstrates that reformers, commentators, police, courts, and neighbours were constantly grappling with the status of prostitution within eighteenth-century urban society.

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[102] Plumauzille uses this term to describe the nature of prostitution in 'Du « scandale de La Prostitution » à l'« atteinte Contre Les Bonnes Mœurs »: Contrôle Policier et Administration Des Filles Publiques Sous La Révolution Française', *Politix* 3, no. 107 (2014), 9-31.

1. **The Limits of Tolerance: Prostitution in the Neighbourhood**

In 1745, Anne Green was on trial at the Old Bailey for the assault and robbery of Richard Wilson. During the trial, Green defended herself against the further accusation that she was a prostitute when she turned to William Matthews, the watchman who arrested her, and asked 'Did you ever know me to be a prostitute or a street prostitute?'[1] This was rather unusual as the *Proceedings* rarely ever detail a woman, much less a prostitute, taking control of the court narrative. What is also striking is the distinction between a 'prostitute' and a 'street prostitute' which, according to the defendant, were apparently different things. Matthews responded, 'I have seen you many times about the streets.'[2] Ten years earlier, 1735, in Paris, Agathe Boudoin was arrested and the following description was written: 'C'est une prostituée publique qui raccroche le soir dans les rues.'[3] In both cases, being 'in the streets' or 'dans les rues' after dark was enough to tie the woman in question to prostitution. These examples suggest the visible and public aspects of prostitution were its most offensive qualities. By inhabiting the spaces of the street and being out of doors in particular neighbourhoods, especially at night time, the visible and audible prostitute was not merely a violation of patriarchal norms, but also a danger and nuisance for other urban inhabitants.

In this chapter, I examine the offence of prostitution within the context of the neighbourhood in eighteenth-century London and Paris. I am specifically addressing the intersection at which formal (courts, police) and informal (neighbourhood or communal action) methods for addressing prostitutes met and the patterns present within these types of records. Historians have previously suggested that, in general, neighbours often tolerated prostitution.[4] This chapter argues that the fears and anxieties raised among urban inhabitants were grounded in both sensory, temporal and spatial awareness. Neighbourhood tolerance was fragile and conditional on the ability of the women in question to adhere to the social norms of the community. The visibility and audibility of prostitution was not only a nuisance, but a source of anxiety for surrounding communities who were preoccupied with their own safety. The neighbourhood was, like many shared urban spaces, a contested space in which certain activities emphasized tension and caused further social upheaval.

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[1] OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, 11 September 1745, *London Lives* database, t17450911-27.
[2] Ibid.
[3] BA ms. 10135, Affaires de mœurs, assassinats et vols, 1735. Translation: 'This is a public prostitute who stops and attracts people at night in the streets.'
[4] Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 138-140; Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control,* 2; Merrick, 'Patterns and Concepts,' 273.

Women like Green and Boudoin represent those whose actions were not tolerated not because they sold sex, but because they were problematic in other ways. Moreover, the evidence against prostitutes within the context of the neighbourhood implies that they were also on trial as disorderly neighbours and not only for selling sex. Two points, that this chapter will demonstrate, are made clear by this distinction. First, that despite being labelled as 'prostitutes' in court, these women were well-integrated members of the community and held to the same standards as any other neighbour. Within the context of the neighbourhood, it was preferable for members of the sex trade to regulate themselves behind closed doors (i.e. the organised brothel). Second, that historians should place a heavier emphasis than they have done until now on collaboration between 'official' and un-'official' acts of eighteenth-century urban policing.

This chapter focuses specifically on the offence of 'public prostitution' as defined by Jousse and discussed in the Introduction.[5] Both cities' inhabitants were concerned with the accompanying disorder caused by prostitutes rather than the act of selling sex itself. As previously discussed, even within a legal context, the offence of prostitution and the limits of the accusation of being a prostitute remained vague in both Paris and London. Marion Pluskota, Julia Torlet, Tony Henderson and others have convincingly demonstrated that tolerance of prostitution was widely practised on a day-to-day basis.[6] Here, I am reframing their interpretations through examining the limits of that tolerance both institutionally and within the locality of the neighbourhood.

In both eighteenth-century Paris and London, the formal systems of control (courts, police, etc.) placed a heavy reliance on inhabitants to report issues or, preferably, come up with a resolution.[7] Prostitution, as an offence, fits perfectly into this significant feature of eighteenth-century urban policing. In London, according to Faramerz Dabhoiwala, the nature of law enforcement was changing during this period from one of a shared duty among the public to being increasingly left to paid professionals.[8] Even with the increasing organisation of law enforcement practices, constables were only interested in arresting offenders who yielded a more profitable outcome through less troublesome means (i.e. thief-taking). Thief-taking yielded a

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[5] See Introduction, 17-18.

[6] Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law,' 93-96; Henderson, *Disorderly Wonmen*, 43-45; Hitchcock, *English Sexualities,* 98; Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control,* 7; Roy Porter, 'Mixed Feelings: The Enlightenment and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul Gabriel Boucé (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 8-12.

[7] Martin Dinges, 'The Uses of Justice as a Form of Social Control in Early Modern Europe', in *Social Control in Early Modern Europe Volume 1, 1500-1800*, ed. Herman Roodenburg and Peter Spierenberg (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004).

[8] Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law,' 96.

higher reward than arresting or locking up prostitutes (unless they were also known thieves).[9] Alongside these broader changes, historians have also noted that more leniency began to be demonstrated toward prostitution.[10] The typical narrative of peace-keeping in early modern Europe has, in the past, been understood as a change from a reliance on informal conflict resolution to state-administered violence.[11] However, more recently, historians have argued that the growth of the law and the courts was actually responding to the demands of urban inhabitants.[12] This seemed to be the case in both cities especially when it came to prosecuting public prostitution within the context of the urban neighbourhood.

At first glance, it would seem that Paris was, due to its much more professional police force, characterized by a much more direct way of imposing law and order. For example, Nicole Castan has argued for Languedoc that the more the state extended its action, the more that informal mediation decayed. She also characterized the eighteenth century as a confusing, transitional phase between a 'system of autonomous social regulation in a state of collapse' and a system of 'state regulation under construction.'[13] However, Jacob Melish has argued that, for the seventeenth century, on the ground, the French state was weaker than it may have seemed.[14] Despite the new growing sense of 'state regulation' in Paris and London during the long eighteenth century, people still were encouraged to settle their disputes out of court.[15] In practice, even centralized royal governments like the French monarchy relied heavily on their subjects to act as informal peacekeepers within their own neighbourhoods. When comparing the Parisian policing system to that of London (both of which will be discussed shortly), it is rather easy to construe London's policing system as far less rigid than that of Paris which seemed highly centralized and administered from the top down. When juxtaposed against one another, we should regard the reality of both systems as being either less (Paris) or more (London) rigid than they seemed from the outset.

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[9] For more on rewards for thief-taking, see Gerald Howson, T*he Thief-Taker General: The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Wild* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970); Beattie, *Crime and the Courts,* 50-57.

[10] Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law,'96.

[11] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); For more on general changes over the course of the early modern period regarding conflict resolution, see Stephen Cummins and Laura Kounine, eds., *Cultures of Conflict Resolution in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), 2.

[12] David Andress, 'Neighbourhood Policing in Paris Form Old Regime to Revolution: The Exercise of Authority by the District de Saint-Roch, 1789-91', *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 2 (2006), 231-60; John Jordan, 'Rethinking Disputes and Settlements' in *Cultures of Conflict Resolution*, 21; Peter King, *Crime and the Law*, 28-38.

[13] Nicole Castan, 'Arbitration of Disputes' in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West,* ed. John Bossy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983*),* 258-60.

[14] Jacob Melish, 'Women and the Courts in the Control of Violence Between Men: Evidence from A Parisian Neighborhood Under Louis XIV,' *French Historical Studies* 33:1 (2010), 4.

[15] Melish, 'Women and the Courts,' 6; David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 39-44.

Historians who have studied conflict resolution in early modern Europe have relied on legal anthropology to explain the way order was either maintained or ruptured.[16] This methodological approach to the history of conflict identifies laws within the context of enforceable social norms. The offence of prostitution can therefore be understood within the backdrop of this 'legal pluralism' in which social norms worked alongside the written law to enforce standards of behaviour.[17] The context in which 'legal pluralism' operated with regard to prostitution was the neighbourhood. Despite increasing populations and what would seem an increase in senses of anonymity, the neighbourhood remained the focal point for eighteenth-century urban life and was a contested space in which legal, social, economic and moral negotiations were constantly taking place. Neighbourhoods were, ultimately, self-defined and subjectively perceived spaces which functioned as villages and were, as Garrioch argues, self-contained communities with their own unwritten social codes.[18] Brodie Waddell whose work focuses on earlier centuries, has emphasised the importance of neighbourhood communities in England and his findings align closely with Garrioch's.[19] If the urban neighbourhood acted similarly to a rural village, then surely it operated in the way that Keith Wrightson has described for English village communities, namely, by being more socially fluid and less physically fixed than they seemed from the outset.[20] As J.A. Sharpe suggests, the willingness of neighbours to settle disputes through other forms of resolution explains the 'dark figure' of unprosecuted crime. These channels, through which indictable behaviour might be controlled or punished, included dismissal or chastisement by one's employer, informal coercion by landowners, formal arbitration, control through poor law, ostracism, and more ritualized forms of behaviour (e.g. charivari).[21] Martin Dinges has argued that both urban and rural communities in early modern Europe informally addressed undesirable and sometimes dangerous situations before an official peacemaker was called in.[22] Of specific relevance to this thesis is Pluskota's application of a framework of informal conflict resolution to her comparative study of the social control of prostitution in ports and it is fitting to apply this model to capital cities.[23] The legal and cultural anthropology of 'legal pluralism' also directly applies to a study of prostitution in the

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[16] John Bossy ed., *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1983). John Jordan, 'Rethinking Disputes and Settlements', 21.

[17] John Griffiths, 'What Is Legal Pluralism?', *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 24 (1986), 1–55.

[18] Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community*, 16.

[19] Brodie Waddell, 'Neighbours and Strangers: The Locality in Later Stuart Economic Culture', in *Locating Agency: Space, Power and Popular Politics*, ed. Fiona Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 103-32.

[20] Keith Wrightson, *English Society: 1580-1680* (London, 1982), 49.

[21] J.A. Sharpe, 'Enforcing the Law in the Seventeenth-Century English Village,' in *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* eds. Vic Gattrell, Bruce Lenman, Geoffrey Parker (London: Europa Publicaitons Ltd., 1980), 110-111.

[22] Martin Dinges, 'Use of Justice as a form of Social Control,' 159-175.

[23] Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control*, 71-75.

neighbourhood in which social norms and unwritten codes often dictated whether prostitution was tolerated or prosecuted.[24]

During the early eighteenth century, there seemed to be a growing perception of and insecurity regarding an increase in public prostitution.[25] In order to further understand and decipher neighbourhood tension in light of 'public' prostitution offences, it is crucial to examine the sources on a case-by-case basis. Doing this sheds light on the differences and similarities between the institutions which shaped the sources in both Paris and London. The focus of the sources for this chapter is on the prosecution of what contemporaries called disorderly houses or *lieux de mauvaise vie*. Not all disorderly houses were necessarily brothels, but, as Henderson and Benabou have indicated, the label of disorderly or being a place of ill-repute carried a strong cultural and legal implication that prostitution was taking place there.[26] Prostitutes, once both audible and visible, did not make for desirable neighbours. Neighbourhood inhabitants thus took issue with known residences and operating bases of prostitution whether they were simply boarding houses (*chambres garnies*) or designated as brothels. However, all of the cases examined in this chapter make explicit mention of prostitution taking place within the houses themselves.

This chapter draws on a wide source base. As the Introduction explains, comparing the legal and/or criminal records of eighteenth-century London and Paris is a complicated task. This is made most evident by their vastly different legal systems and how acts of public prostitution fit into those legal systems.[27] There are also differences in the availability of records and methods of record keeping.[28] The Parisian sources used for this chapter come largely from the *Châtelet* and administrative records maintained by the Paris police. One set is the 39 cases of *lieux de mauvaise vie* brought recorded in the summary *Minutes de Sentences et Ordonnaces de Police* which range between 1717 and 1746. The cases were brought before the police and the records contain the minutes of those encounters ruled on by the presiding *Lieutenant général* of police.[29] More details regarding this source-base can be found in the Introduction.[30] I have supplemented them with correspondence between the *commissaires du Châtelet* and the *lieutenant général* of police from other cases against known places of prostitution. As mentioned previously, the *Affaires des Moeurs*

[24] John Griffiths, 'What is Legal Pluralism?' *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unoffical Law* 18, no. 24 (January 1986), 1-55; J.A. Sharpe speaks to the challenges of defining crime in *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1998), 5-8.

[25] Anon., *Déclaration Du Roy…pour La Correction Des Femmes et Filles de Mauvaise Vie*; Anon., *Hell Upon Earth*; Dunton, *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners;*Fielding, *A Plan for a Preservatory and Reformatory*; Charles Horne, *Serious Thoughts*.

[26] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 204; Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 63.

[27] See Introduction, 13-23.

[28] Ibid., 23-33.

[29] BA ms. 10092-10118, Rapports des inspecteurs de police et procès-verbaux des commissaires au Châtelet, addresses au Lieutenant general. Perquisitions, captures, interrogatories, 1727-1775.

[30] AN Y 9498- 9499, Ordonnances et Sentences de Police du Châtelet de Paris, 1668-1787.

records are a sub-section of police administrative records and are not directly related to those produced by the *minutes de sentences de police* in the *Châtelet*. As detailed in the introduction, the *Affaires des Moeurs* are distinct from the *minutes des sentences de police* and should be regarded as complementary.[31] The *Affaires des Moeurs*, contains the most complete and detailed files on the surveillance of two major brothels. I have consulted these in order to further understand both institutional and neighbourhood tolerance.[32]

For London, this chapter uses the cases between 1701 and 1790 within the grand jury presentments taken against disorderly houses from the pool of the City of London, Middlesex, Westminster quarter session archives. Most of the grand jury presentments consulted in this chapter came from the City of London and Middlesex sessions. In neither city, however, was there a significant shift in the way disorderly houses were prosecuted. There was the Disorderly House Act passed in 1752, but this did not have the anticipated impact on the prosecution of 'public' prostitution.[33] I have also identified pickpocketing cases from the Old Bailey in which known prostitutes made appearances. There are 522 cases between 1701 and 1790 of pickpocketing in which the defendant was female.[34] The association between pickpocketing and prostitution is unique to the records in London.[35] In the cases that I have studied here, there was evidence to suggest that the woman involved was a prostitute. There are only two cases in the Old Bailey between 1701 and 1790 where the offence was listed as 'keeping a brothel' by the Old Bailey Online database. Furthermore, these cases both dealt specifically with male prostitution and were more closely aligned with charges of sodomy than those of female prostitution.[36] Sometimes, albeit in extreme cases (such as James Newbold whose case is discussed in detail below), places of prostitution were tried under the offence of 'breaking the peace.'[37] It is crucial that, for both Paris and London, the examples discussed in this chapter be understood as particularly disorderly houses and exceptionally intolerable to those who reported them.

This chapter provides a close reading of specific cases in which the issue of prostitution unearths neighbourly tensions. The cases selected for and investigated within this chapter provide the most representative examples of the other issues that prostitution, as an offence,

[31] See Introduction, 27-29.
[32] Ba ms 10252, Seconde Bureau de la lieutance de la police, Discipline des Mœurs: Rapports sur les mœurs et anecdotes galantes; BA ms. 10253, Seconde Bureau de la lieutance de la police, Discipline des Mœurs : Rapports de maîtresses de maisons de débauche, 1749-1757.
[33] For more on this, refer to the Introduction, 19.
[34] *Locating London's Past,* The Old Bailey Proceedings, 1701-1790, mapping all pickpocketing crimes, by crime location and defendant gender: female, onto Rocque's 1746 map of London.
[35] See introduction, 29, 32; see also Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, 180.
[36] *Old Bailey Proceedings,* July 1726, trial of Margaret Clap (t17260711-54); *Old Bailey Proceedings,* October 1728, trial of Julius Cesar Taylor (t17281016-60).
[37] *Old Bailey Proceedings*, Accounts of Criminal Trials, James Newbold, 12 October 1743 (t1741012-34). For the discussion of this case, see 52-54.

characterised. It is important here to note, however, that some instances of prostitution show up more easily in the record than others which are less visible. For example, instances of toleration within a neighbourhood context are harder to gauge in the context of street-walking offences. In both cities, street-walking prostitutes, if out at night, were often arrested and thrown into a watch house, Bridewell, or the *Hôpital Général*. In these instances, there was no traceable judicial process through which neighbourhood tensions or anxieties could be revealed, unlike the prosecution of disorderly houses, where the judicial process was initiated by other urban inhabitants.

Additionally, most, if not all of the cases selected for this chapter do not deal with prostitution directly as the main offence. Instead, most of the cases consulted here are centred on other offences such as pickpocketing or running a 'disorderly' house. As discussed in the introduction, women were arrested not for prostitution alone but for other crimes and were only revealed to be prostitutes during the investigation. Thus, certain offences came to be strongly associated with prostitution. It is therefore important to consider records that detail not only the offence of prostitution but the other associated offences which made it either 'public' and/or dangerous for those who had to live in close proximity to the women of the sex trade. The records selected for this chapter provide a rich context and dialogue between urban inhabitants and the institutions for keeping order. That is not to say that this chapter does not address prostitution as an offence in and of itself. Rather, investigating records which concern crimes and offences that were often supplementary to and strongly associated with sex work provide more context and detail about the issue of prostitution itself. These records constitute what made the act of 'public' prostitution problematic not only for urban authorities, but other urban inhabitants.

As I have mentioned, prostitution was not easily 'defined' in any eighteenth-century context whether it be criminal, cultural, or social.[38] Section I centres on the policing of prostitution and discusses how prostitution was policed both informally (neighbourhood) and formally (police, courts). I have deliberately separated the legal context (provided in the introduction) and the policing of prostitution because, as this chapter will demonstrate, the discourse (legality) and the practice (policing) of addressing prostitution were not always consistent in either city.

Section II addresses disorderly prostitution in the neighbourhood. Here, I identify the potential for certain places of prostitution to cause disruption and, therefore, disharmonious relations within the neighbourhood community. Through examining what rendered places of

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[38] See Introduction, 13-23.

prostitution intolerable, I am shedding light on what made prostitution 'criminal' within the mentalities of eighteenth-century urban inhabitants. Section III addresses the tolerance of prostitution. I use instances where we see hints of tolerance in the sources in order to understand what went wrong before the place of prostitution was reported. Significantly, rather than trying to prove that tolerance was the norm, I attempt to understand and define its limits within the social and legal context of both cities.

I. Policing Prostitution

Policing prostitution was about maintaining order in the city. However, the circumstances changed depending on who was defining the sense of order itself. Laura Gowing points out two different concepts of 'order' for sixteenth and seventeenth-century London which can usefully be applied to eighteenth-century London and Paris because they highlight the 'legal pluralism' under which prostitution was prosecuted during this period.[39] The first concept of order is that which was imposed from the outside, reflecting higher standards of social discipline such as law enforcement or legal discourse. The second concept of order was the need to maintain neighbourly relationships. Positive neighbourly relationships, even those between members of the sex trade and their neighbours, were vital. One's reputation and credit could have a serious impact on one's life.[40] The act of selling sex, on its own, did not necessarily disrupt neighbouring relationships. Only when disruption occurred, did neighbours become concerned. The two concepts of order often met when the crucial, unwritten laws of the neighbourhood were either broken or compromised.

The word 'police' is derived from the Greek 'polis' for city. Given its etymology, in its earliest forms, the word had an inherent urban connotation associated with the maintenance of social order and the common good. It should be noted that the term was, during the eighteenth century, regarded as unique to the French setting by people in London.[41] Prior to 1750, according to Alan Williams, the term 'police' in French referred to an action and it was not until 1798 that the *Académie Française* decided to accept that the word could be used as a noun as well as a verb.[42] However, the *Académie* had rather strict, and at times political, criteria for including

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[39] Laura Gowing, '"The Freedom of the Streets": Women and Social Space, 1560-1640', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 134.

[40] For more on the meanings and important of credit, see: Claire Haru Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013); Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford, 2015).

[41] Elaine A. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720-1830* (Basignstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 1-4.

[42] Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris. 1718-1789* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 6-7.

specific words and this change may not necessarily be representative of increased use over time.[43] In practice, the term 'police' in Paris represented an identity as well as an action. The term in English was, of course, adapted from the French with the development of the London Metropolitan Police in the nineteenth century. Elaine Reynolds argues that the change in semantics in London mirrors the reality of administrative change throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[44] In general terms, however, this chapter is more concerned with the act of policing rather than the assumed identity. It is also critical not to associate 'policing' in an eighteenth-century context with the modern notion of law enforcement.

I will use the term 'police' in this chapter frequently. The act of 'policing' was not limited to those who were employed to do so but was also carried out by the everyday inhabitants of Paris and London as both a tool for self-preservation and the maintenance of order. The only circumstance in which I will use the term to denote a sense of identity is when referring to the contemporary meanings of the 'police' of Paris: specifically, to the group of individuals held officially responsible by the crown for maintaining order in the city and those who held ranking offices (i.e. the *lieutenant général de police* or the *commissaires*). Acts of policing and those who carried them out, especially with regard to the petty crimes, disturbances, and minor offences discussed in this chapter, were more focused on the preservation of order, and the gathering of information in a specific locality than adherence to a set of overarching laws. The orderly functioning of the urban environment, especially when broken down to local levels, was therefore dependent on systems in both cities which embraced methods of informal as well as formal senses of policing. Before we can discuss this shared responsibility, however, it is necessary to first understand the formal aspects of general, on-the-ground policing in both cities.

Nicolas Vidoni has argued in his study of the Parisian police, that the urban space the police regulated was administratively fragmented.[45] During the mid-seventeenth century, Paris was in fact divided between two separate jurisdictions in which sixteen *quartiers* of the city were dependent on the Hôtel de Ville ('*quartiers municipaux*') and another sixteen on the Châtelet ('*quartiers de police de Paris*').[46] In 1702, Paris was reorganized into twenty *quartiers* which were then divided between *quartiers municipaux* and *quartiers de police*. The difference was that now all the neighbourhoods fell under the jurisdiction of the Paris police. This did not necessarily mean that the police were well-equipped for this change. Rather, as I will explore below, the police still

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[43] 'Police', in *Le Dictionnaire de l'Academie Française* (Paris: Coignard, 1694); 'Police', in *Le Dictionnaire de l'Academie Française* (Paris: Brunet, 1762); Cathy McClive discusses the controversial nature of dictionaries in *Menstruation and Procreation in Early Modern France* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 43-48.
[44] Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, 1-4.
[45] Vidoni, *La Police des Lumières,* 85.
[46] Ibid., 88.

relied on the testimony and reporting of urban inhabitants in order to prevent, address and prosecute crime.

The modern Parisian police date their origins to the 1656 decree by Louis XIV, but it should be noted that this group did not equate to our own modern notion of a police force. [47] The *lieutenant général* acted as the head of the police and provided a link between the king and the courts of the *Châtelet* and the *Parlement*. The *lieutenant général* also managed four main branches of the most important agents of law enforcement. The first were the administrative clerks and officers who worked directly underneath the *lieutenant général*. This group, according to Garrioch, became increasingly bureaucratic and by the 1780s were attempting to cross-reference their files in order to check an individual's criminal records.[48] The second branch was composed of about twenty *inspecteurs*. The position of *inspecteur* was created in 1708 and the duties involved criminal investigation, surveying brothels and gaming houses, and issuing *lettres de cachet*.[49] There was one *inspecteur* stationed in each *quartier* of the city. Unfortunately, most of the registers and archives of both the *inspecteurs* and central administrative officers were nearly all destroyed in 1789 or in the fire of 1871.[50] One of the complete remaining records we have is from Poussot who was the *inspecteur* for Les Halles in the mid-eighteenth century.[51] The *commissaires*, who made up the third branch of policing, are much better documented than either of the first two branches. Each *quartier* of the city had two or three stationed there. *Commissaires* were charged with public order, fire prevention, street maintenance, traffic accidents and other affairs regarding public safety.

The city guard (or *les archers* as they were commonly referred to) were the branch with whom Parisians would have had the most contact. These men were charged with patrolling the streets, enforcing the closing hours of cabarets and wine shops and policing the regulation that all doors be locked at night. They were armed and, unlike the other three branches of police, they wore

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[47] *Edit Concernant les droits et prerogatives attachez au Magistrat de Police de la Ville de Paris* (Paris: 1656). For more on the Paris police, see David Garrioch, 'The People of Paris and Their Police in the Eighteenth Century: Reflections on the Introduction of a "Modern" Police Force', *European History Quarterly* 24 (1994), 511–35; Vincent Milliot, *"L'admirable police": tenir Paris au siècle des Lumières* (Cezyérieu: Champ Vallon, 2016); Nicolas Vidoni, *La Police des Lumières, XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 2019); Williams, *The Police of Paris.*

[48] Garrioch, 'People of Paris and their Police,' 512.

[49] Kusher describes the inspecteurs as the 'investigatory arm' of the police and their distinct role in *Erotic Exchanges*, 17-19.

[50] On the destruction and attempted reconstitution of the Archives de la Bastille, see Frantz Funck-Bretano, *Catologue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, vol. 9, Archives de la Bastille (Paris: 1896), xxix-xl; See also the Introduction, 25-27, for more on the nature of the Bastille Archives as being highly constructed and separated into categories for reasons unknown.

[51] BA mss. 10138-9, Registre où l'inspecteur Poussot a consigné les procés-verbaux envoyés par lui au lieutent de police, sur la manière dont il a exécuté les ordres que celui-ci lui a donnéss : perquisitions arrestations, transfèrements, patrouilles, 1751-1754; BA ms. 10140 Registre contenant la table alphabétique des personnes arrêtées par Poussot, inspecteur dans le quartier des Halles, 1738-1754; BA ms. 10141, Registre où Poussot, inspecteur dans le quartier des Halles, a consigné ses rapports au Lieutenant de police, sur les plaints et declarations reçues par les commissaires de son département, ainsi que ses rapports sur l'état et l'organisation des halles et marches, 1749-1761.

uniforms. They were also charged with arresting prostitutes, beggars or anyone who looked particularly suspicious. Over time, they gradually became recognized as a more disciplinary and semi-military unit.[52] The activities of this branch are well-documented based on the arrest records. Little is known about individual members of the guard, but the records of arrests are contained within the inspector reports of the Bastille archives and are referenced in the *minutes sentences de police* records of the *Châtelet*.[53]

Supposedly, *Inspecteur* Poussot hired members of the Parisian public as spies or *mouches* (flies) as they were commonly called. According to contemporaries commentators like Louis-Sebastién Mercier, this was apparently common practice among the police.[54] However, Garrioch indicates that the actual number of police informers was far less than the public believed.[55] This suggests that the police perpetuated the *mouche* myth within urban society deliberately in order to bolster their reputation for omniscience, and as an added attempt to curb any potential criminal or licentious activity. These *mouches* also, apparently, spied on the activities of *femmes entretenues* who would have had run-ins with aristocrats or other prominent figures.[56] However, these women did not seem to attract a high volume of neighbourhood attention and thus are not the focus of this chapter.

In London, even before the formation of the Metropolitan Police in the nineteenth century, there was a system of on-the-ground 'policing' which existed in the eighteenth century at the cross section of community-based obligation and increasingly centralized municipal government control. Until the late eighteenth century, each parish of London had its own system of policing. The parish of Westminster provided a model that other parishes would eventually adopt by the nineteenth century. This model was rooted in a statute of 1285 which required all towns and boroughs to have a voluntary body of men on the streets after dark in order to ensure safety for travellers, inhabitants, and their property. By 1739, the Westminster model had developed its own hierarchy.[57] At the top were the vestries who were in charge of setting various policies, determining the levels of the watch rate and administering discipline among the ranks. Next, there were the watch house keepers who guarded prisoners, cared for various equipment and supervised beadles. The beadles at the third tier were charged with patrolling the streets by day, assisting the overseers of the poor and keeping an eye on the constables and watchmen.

[52] Garrioch, 'People of Paris and their Police,' 514.
[53] AN Y 9498-9499, Ordonnances et Sentences de Police du Châtelet de Paris, 1668-1787
[54] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. I, 197.
[55] Arlette Farge and Jacques Revel demonstrate the fear of police surveillance in *The Vanishing Children of Paris: Rumor and Politics before the French Revolution*, trans. Claudia Miéville (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
[56] Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges*, 18.
[57] Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, 9-10.

Constables executed the warrants of local magistrates, supervised watchmen and kept watch and ward at various hours.

The watchmen were a particularly significant aspect of early modern London policing. Neighbourhoods would have rotations in which men would take turns patrolling the streets at night. This tradition was rooted in the Westminster statute and is demonstrative of the older, obligatory nature of policing in eighteenth-century London. The watchmen were usually armed with long poles as can be seen in contemporary depictions of them.[58] They cried the hours of the night and checked doors to make sure they were locked. They spent their nights on the streets watching for thieves, fires and other disturbances.[59] Beattie has argued that the watch became increasingly organized over the eighteenth century and it is unclear whether that may have been related to the watch becoming a more professional, rather than obligatory force.[60] In either case, the London watch, like the Parisian city guard, would have had the most contact with members of the public. However, the main difference between the two is that, at least in theory, London watchmen were often members of the individual neighbourhood communities they policed. The city guard of Paris, by contrast, had their routes changed every night and did not maintain a permanent presence within any one particular area.[61]

Beattie argues that the parallel development of better street lighting and more effective systems of preventative surveillance by the London watch in the long eighteenth century are often overshadowed by those who see the development of the London Metropolitan Police force by Robert Peel in the 1820s as the birth of policing in London.[62] The evidence of this chapter supports his and later arguments by Reynolds regarding the effectiveness of the system of vestries, beadles, constables and watchmen that made up the eighteenth-century 'police force' in London.[63]

The reach of the Paris police could easily be exaggerated because of its formal, centralized establishment alongside a tendency to under-emphasize the efficacy of neighbourhood policing tactics. The tendency to exaggerate the significance of the Paris police is, according to David Andress, an unfortunate derivative of post-revolutionary sentiments in which the *ancien régime* police were inaccurately depicted as a powerful and repressive force.[64] This overly simplistic

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[58] William Hogarth provides a visual example of this in his print *A Harlot's Progress*, plate III, 1732, Engraving, 30 x 31 cm, 1732, British Museum.
[59] Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, 11-13.
[60] Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, 68.
[61] Vidoni, *La Police des Lumières*, 91
[62] Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, 68.
[63] Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, 9-10.
[64] David Andress, 'Neighbourhood Policing in Paris,' 232; see also Louis Pierre Manuel, *La Police de Paris Devoilée*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1791).

understanding of the Parisian police has long since been rewritten by Vincent Milliot and Garrioch who have emphasized the complex nature of the police and provided a more detailed picture of the ways in which the police closely interacted with neighbourhood life.[65] Other evidence has also supported this notion. As mentioned, the city guards changed their patrol patterns frequently and, unlike in London, did not maintain a permanent presence within any particular neighbourhood. In addition, as noted by contemporaries such as Jousse and explored here, the Parisian police relied on neighbours to report prostitutes.[66]

From both a neighbourhood and legal perspective, there was a significant amount of ambiguity concerning prostitution. This ambiguity makes it necessary to observe instances of disorderly prostitution on a case-by-case basis. Informal systems of policing in both Paris and London heavily relied on neighbourhood testimonies and reporting in order to prosecute disorderly houses. In fact, there are some cases, as I will demonstrate, where the institutional powers of the courts and police were reluctant to get involved in prosecuting such places, despite evidence of their existence, without valid neighbourhood complaints or evidence. Despite the differences within the legal contexts and the types of surviving source materials, using the London and Paris evidence in parallel makes it possible to draw out common issues with public prostitution. I investigate these commonalities in order to gain a more fruitful understanding of how the issue of prostitution affected urban mentalities and life within the eighteenth-century city.

II.   Prostitutes in the Neighbourhood

Neighbours regulated disorderly houses through informal communal intervention. However, when this action failed, they had to resort to more institutional means of authority to deal with the offences of such houses and those residing within. The focus here rests on disorderly houses or *lieux de mauvaise vie* which did not always necessarily equate to brothels as we would imagine them, but generally referred to a place of residence for prostitutes. Disorderly houses were a particularly prominent anxiety not only in eighteenth-century reformist discourse, but among urban inhabitants themselves. These were places which, according to the London quarter session records, harboured 'pick pockets and other disorderly offenders suffering them to remain in their said house tippling and drinking at unreasonable hours to the encouragement of vice and

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[65] Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community;* Idem., 'The People of Paris and their Police,' 513; Milliot, *"L'admirable police".*
[66] Jousse, *Traité de la Justice Criminelle,* vol. III, 278.

other profaneness to the great disturbance of all their neighbours there inhabiting.'[67] The presence of prostitutes within particular neighbourhoods, all under one roof, drew in unwanted characters and threatened the peace of the neighbourhood. First, I will discuss individual cases for both cities and then I will break down some of the main issues associated with the offence of prostitution among neighbours.

On 12 October in 1743, James Newbold was indicted for keeping a disorderly house at Love's Court in the parish of St. Bride's in London.[68] The Newbold case is particularly revealing of neighbourhood politics and tolerance and helps us to understand the ways in which the lines of urban social anonymity were blurred. Ten witnesses testified in the trial: four were neighbours, four were watchmen or constables, one was Newbold's friend, and one was his mother-in-law. The house was not only a refuge for prostitutes, but for high-profile criminals. Two thieves, Robert Stevens and William Russel, had used the house for over a year as a lair.[69] In addition to this, Newbold sold gin, a drink demonised throughout the eighteenth century (as will be discussed later).

The testimony of the constables and watchmen reveal the women in the house were unmistakably prostitutes or, at least, disorderly. One of the watchmen, Benjamin Jenkins, summed them up thus: 'I never see them in the Streets, that I know of, they are not fit for the Streets, they are such poor ragged dismal Toads and drunk.'[70] Jenkins seemed equally disgusted by and sympathetic to the women in the house who he claimed had lived there for a year. However, Jonathan Perkins, a watchman who lived in Love's Court, claimed that although the women had been present in the house for a year, he had known them to be in the neighbourhood for nearly seven years as 'common Women of the Town.'[71] This prolonged residence supports the idea that prostitutes were generally an accepted reality within neighbourhoods. However, the concentration of prostitution within one collective space represented a litany of potential problems regarding public safety and a general sense of peace.

The constables and the watchmen seemed to be rather fixated, within their testimonies, on the women residing in the house (who had since been arrested and moved to the Bishopsgate Workhouse). The council actually stopped Perkins as he began to elaborate on an obscene spectacle involving lit candles and genitalia that he witnessed within Newbold's house called a 'burning shame.' One cannot help but wonder if this bawdy detail was something that Perkins

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[67] LMA CLA 047/LJ/13/176/005, 'Grand Jury Presentment Against a Disorderly House in St. Aldgate,' 2 July 1716.
[68] *Old Bailey Proceedings*, Accounts of Criminal Trials, James Newbold, 12 October 1743 (t1741012-34).
[69] Ibid; See also *Old Bailey Proceedings*, October 1743, trial of Robert Stevens William Russel (t17431012-1).
[70] *Old Bailey Proceedings*, James Newbold, (t1741012-34).
[71] Ibid.

actually included in his testimony or one that was emphasized within the *Proceedings* in order to keep readers amused. Either way, the concern of those authorized to make arrests, seemed to be not with the disturbances caused by the house itself, but by the activities taking place within.

The neighbours, however, seemed unanimously to have a different perspective. The concerns they voiced reflected the nature of the house as a nuisance rather than a place of ill-repute. The space around the house was also important to neighbours. When the activity of the house could be heard or seen from the street, then it became a concern for the other inhabitants of the area. Some neighbours referred to the 'riots and disturbances' which took place in the area surrounding Newbold's home. One neighbour, William Winter, likened the house to a 'hog sty' in his complaint and noted that 'the Place in general is very bad as well as his House.'

Most of the issues concerning the house were related to noise. Mary Levit, who lived at 'The Bell in George-Alley' (apparently adjacent to Newbold's house), commented:

> I have heard company in the house at all hours of the night, when we are awake—the house was continually disorderly, till the time he was taken up—they used to make it a house of bad language, cursing and swearing, a great deal too much—sometimes until five or six in the morning.'[72]

Another neighbour, Catherine Dorrel, who lodged in Levit's house also complained of the noise. She claimed that Newbold would beat his wife and the other women in the house and make them 'all cry out.' Again, the focus was not necessarily on the activities going on within the house, but on the noise, which could be heard from outside.

That is not to say that noise was the paramount issue. Perhaps, due to existing social conventions, it was easier to complain about a neighbour disturbing the peace of the neighbourhood than it was to condemn him for mistreating the women in his house or even for running a brothel. There is also the possibility that the neighbours were merely utilising the justice system in order to expel Newbold from their neighbourhood as a measure of communal safety. Newbold's friend (who lived a mile and a half away) and his mother-in-law (who had reportedly worked in his house serving drinks) were the only witnesses to provide any positive testimony to his character or the house itself. However, the neighbours' testimonies ultimately carried more weight in the trial and Newbold was sentenced to imprisonment.

There are similar cases in the Paris *Châtelet* records in which we can see neighbours prioritizing the issues of disturbance and danger over morality and legality. According to Georg'ann Cattelona and Pluskota, these patterns could also be found in contexts where women

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[72] Ibid.

policed each other's sexual misconduct.[73] When a Parisian woman named Desbordes was reported for owning a brothel in 1720, the complaints of the neighbours were summed up thus:

> [Elle] a reçu chez elle tous…d'hommes et femmes a [tous] les heurs du jour et de la nuit que les hommes sont à la plupart de les quais, des vagabonds et autres gens suspects, les femmes connüe par être d'une prostitution publique qu'il y a ruine journellement du bruit des épées tirées, et beaucoup de scandale.[74]

The most crucial problems presented by the neighbours centred on issues of disturbance and potential dangers rather than the act of prostitution itself. Desbordes, rather than simply being tried for running a brothel, was actually being tried for running a brothel that disturbed her neighbours. However, the noise was not the only issue. It was not just the shouting and clanking of swords (*épées*), but the swords themselves and the violence brought to the neighbourhood that made Desbordes house of particular issue. This implies not only that prostitution was tolerated but that a specific type of prostitution was tolerated.

As with Newbold's case there are also examples from the *Châtelet* records in which we can see that, although a brothel had been in the same place for many years, it was only just being reported. In 1721, a widow named 'Barbier' was fined fifty *livres* and told to vacate her building within twenty-four hours 'pour sa conduite scandaleuse et pour fait de maquerellage rue Frémenteau.'[75] Eighteen neighbours had made complaints against Barbier. Étienne Divot, the *commissaire* who wrote the report, stated that for the past twelve years Barbier had stayed in the house of her then dead husband and had been letting prostitutes stay in her home for the past decade. As with the women residing in Newbold's house in London, Barbier's neighbours in Paris had seemingly identified the women residing in her house as prostitutes a decade prior to bringing the issue to the *Châtelet*. Why was her house particularly offensive in 1721 as compared to 1709 or 1710? Perhaps within that ten-year period, her house had expanded, or she had begun to lose control over the women who inhabited it. The neighbours seem explicitly annoyed with the presence of young people that gathered at the brothel. Young men in brothels in particular were an issue of public safety for the *quartier*.

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[73] Georg'ann Cattelona, 'Control and Collaboration: The Role of Women in Regulating Female Sexual Behavior in Early Modern Marseille', *French Historical Studies*, 18 (1993), 13-33; Pluskota, 'Genesis of a Red-Light District: Prostitution in Nantes between 1750 and 1810', *Urban History* 41, no. 1 (2014), 22–41.
[74] AN Y 9498, fol. 130, 2 August 1720. Translation: 'She has received at her place many men and women during all days of the day and night, of which the men are for the most part from the quays, vagabonds and other suspicious people, the women known for being prostitutes who ruin them daily from the noise of their drawn swords and much scandal.'
[75] AN Y 9498, fol. 154, 14 March 1721. No full name is given for this procuress, she is simply referred to in the documents as 'la veuve (widow) Barbier.' Translation: 'for her scandalous behaviour and procuring on rue Frémenteau.'

In another Parisian case from 1731, another widow, 'la veuve Ozanne', was fined 300 *livres* for keeping an inn, 'la Porte dorée' on *Rue de la Vannerie* in which she took in *femmes de mauvaise vie*.[76] In the summary of this case which was taken to the Châtelet, *commissaire* Divot admitted that the neighbours had complained 'many times' to the police and to Ozanne before he actually addressed the problem. Such a revelation further supports the claim that police intervention was not always an immediate response even in eighteenth-century Paris. Divot does not explain why he did not act sooner, but we know from other cases regarding suspicious *chambres garnies* that the police could often take weeks or even months to act.[77] The Parisian police still heavily relied on testimony from neighbours and only interfered when the neighbours implored them to do so. This is the case not only with prostitution, but in most instances of crime.[78] It is important here, however, to note that limits of tolerance, at least in regard to prostitution, seem to be explicitly linked to a sense of spatial awareness. The main complaint against Ozanne was not for simply being a procuress, but for owning an establishment which offered independent prostitutes (who did not have a procuress or a pimp) a place to entertain their clientele. Perhaps, although neighbours may have known about Ozanne's tenants being prostitutes, what had changed was that they were attempting to pick up men on the streets surrounding the house, much to the disturbance of the inhabitants of the *quartier*. Thus, the complaints, although there may have been some previously, may have been less forceful than the ones generated by this change in activity surrounding the space of the house. The focus was not on the house itself and the activities taking place within, but on the space surrounding it. The associated streetwalkers gathered in the space surrounding the house was an outright violation of what was considered acceptable behaviour within Ozanne's neighbourhood. The concerns are more related to Ozanne's quality of neighbourliness than the private business conducted within her home. Although she was fined for harbouring prostitutes, the prostitutes themselves were only problematic due to the public display of their sex work. There is no record within the case that the women were arrested, but merely displaced by the dismantling of Ozanne's house. At least within the consulted *Châtelet* records, it seemed to be the case that when a place of prostitution was prosecuted, the punishment typically amounted to having all inhabitants vacate the premises with a heavy fine for the person in charge of harbouring them. Usually, this was done under the

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[76] AN Y 9499, fol. 489, 16 November 1731, Translation: 'the golden door.'

[77] BA ms. 1000925-10118, *Rapports des Inspecteurs de police et procès verbaux des commissaires au Châtelet*, 1727-1775.

[78] Most historians agree that prostitutes tended to be arrested if they were repeat offenders, committing another crime, or syphilitic. See: Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 60-108, 407-30; Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 124-55; Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century Paris*, 306-17; Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 241-74; Sharon Kettering, *French Society, 1589-1715* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 130; Brian E. Strayer, *Lettres de Cachet and Social Control in the Ancien Regime: 1659-1789* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 140-44.

presumption that the accused, in this case Ozanne, was not guilty of *maquerellage* (bawdry), but of harbouring prostitutes within her home. *Maquerellage* was a serious offence—and typically these women were regarded as being beyond saving and indeed far more criminal than the prostitutes themselves.[79] However, there is almost no evidence to inform us how police determined the difference between the conviction of *maquerellage* and simply renting rooms to prostitutes. In the case of Ozanne, she was guilty of the latter, but there is almost no evidence to suggest she was not guilty of the former. Perhaps, this was left up to the discretion of the individual *commissaire* charged with registering the complaint or the way that neighbours originally delivered their accusations.

The report also states that when the police were initially called to the neighbourhood, they did not see any prostitutes. They were later told by neighbours that Ozanne knew they were coming and had warned the women. If someone had warned Ozanne, then communication had not completely broken down between her and at least some of her neighbours. This occurrence seemed to delay the police proceedings which perhaps explains why the police were often reluctant to act in the first place if there were not women actively soliciting on the streets.

Both the Paris and London cases support the notion that the action of selling sex was not the primary issue that was taken up with places of prostitution. Both Newbold and Barbier, for example, maintained disorderly houses for considerable lengths of time before their neighbours took them to court. The neighbours all had knowledge of prostitution taking place in Newbold and Barbier's houses, yet only took them to court when the house became enough of a disturbance to warrant them doing so. The visibility of prostitutes entering and exiting these houses, when combined with any extra noise or particularly disruptive behaviour, caused anxiety for neighbours in both cities. In both the Newbold and the Ozanne cases, the Parisian police and the London watch and constables seemed reluctant to interfere with neighbourhood tensions. Several constables visited Newbold's house to address noise complaints before he was finally arrested. Meanwhile, the women in Ozanne's house avoided arrest simply by hiding in her house and evading the space of the street outside. Apparently, the police did not bother to come into Ozanne's house to try to make arrests (or if they did, it was not recorded). The sense of urgency and intensity of feeling among neighbours are evident in both cases but come through more clearly in the London case because we have access to the individual statements.

Cases like this call for an investigation into what made prostitution problematic within a given neighbourhood. They also exhibit the conditional way tolerance was practiced in regard to

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[79] Colin Jones, 'Prostitution and the Ruling Class in Eighteenth-Century Montpellier', *History Workshop*, no. 6 (1978), 7-28.

prostitution. In both cases, the visibility of prostitutes plays an important role in the prosecution. As with Anne Green and Agathe Boudoin, many women who were arrested as prostitutes were often found guilty due to their visible presence in specific areas at specific times. The same concern with visibility also applied to places of prostitution. Visible prostitution was also a fairly valid form of proof. Without having seen the women soliciting outside Ozanne's house, the police could not make any arrests. They also could not prove that said women actually had anything to do with Ozanne's house. By contrast, visible prostitution was not enough to convict Newbold. However, when his house produced loud disturbances in conjunction with visible prostitution, it was easier to prosecute him for breaking the peace and maintaining a disorderly house.

For the rest of this chapter, I will attempt to break down some of the more common features of 'disorderly' prostitution as well as piece together some of the ways that prostitution could have been tolerated within the space of the neighbourhood. Through doing this comparatively, my objective is to shed light on the way in which the urban neighbourhood social convention of tolerance was practised in the case of sex work.

The most common features of 'disorderly' prostitution pertained to sensory awareness, concerning both the visible and audible aspects of sex work which made it problematic for neighbours. Following those was the related offence of inebriation. These were offences that were not always committed by prostitutes themselves, but by more peripheral characters (usually customers or other male associates). Although noise and the 'disturbing' of one's neighbours has been addressed in some of the examples in the chapter thus far, I will now address the issue of the audible and disturbing nature of prostitution explicitly. These should be considered as separate from the issues of *tapage* explored in Pluskota's study of prostitution in Nantes which refers a crime in a category of its own (and one of which prostitutes were often, if not mainly, accused).[80] The proprietors of these houses in London and Paris, however, were not being charged with the offence of *tapage* (breaking the peace) in the sense in which Pluskota argues it was used in port cities. Rather, they were being prosecuted for harbouring prostitutes or maintaining a *lieu de mauvaise vie* which although associated with disorderly behaviour is different from the *tapage* Pluskota encountered in her sources. Perhaps, prostitutes were more likely to be convicted of *tapage* in Nantes in which there was a different legal context and culture surrounding the issue of prostitution. In Paris, although prostitutes were arrested when their behaviour disturbed the neighbourhood or if they committed additional crimes, they were arrested under the labels which referred to prostitution rather than under the umbrella term of 'tapage.'

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[80] Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control*, 11-12.

Early modern cities were loud places during the day. The great murmuring of carriages, shouting, church bells, and craftsmen at work formed the soundscape of Paris and London.[81] According to Bruce Smith, people not only experienced different sounds than we do now, but listened for sounds and interpreted them differently.[82] Sound also was a 'way of navigating in time, space, and the world of the city.'[83] The category of noise needs to be understood as being part of the category of silence. Peter Bailey defines it as 'a broad, yet imprecise category of sounds' that are 'excessive, incoherent, confused, inarticulate, or degenerate.'[84] The category of noise is therefore a different category from sound. Noise was distinct, disturbing, and dangerous in neighbourhoods where it was amplified by the relative silence of the night. Early modern city streets were relatively silent places at night.[85] Therefore, noise would be more loudly heard at night than it would during the day—especially if that noise were the product of a brothel, men fighting in the street, or a man yelling for the watch because a prostitute had robbed him. It is also important to note, as Craig Koslofsky argues, that throughout the eighteenth century, the night was being 'colonized' through the advent of street lighting. However, as Koslofsky indicates, this did not seem to make people in urban environments any less anxious about the safety of the streets.[86] Street lamps also made the sources of noise more visible to the surrounding communities. Therefore, it was not merely the audibility, but the visibility of the sex trade which made it particularly disturbing for urban inhabitants in London and Paris.

Grand jury presentments were often brought forward against men and women owning and operating 'disorderly houses' such as this one from the City of London quarter sessions in 1716:

> Jeremiah Garrett and Mary his wife for keeping disorderly house in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate in the ward of Portsoken London and for harbouring those pick pockets and other notorious and disorderly offenders suffering them to remain in their said house tipling and drinking at unreasonable hours, to the encouragement of vice and other profaneness to the disturbance of all their neighbours there inhabiting and to great disturbance of his Majesty's peace.[87]

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[81] Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England, 1660-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Nicholas Hammond, *The Powers of Sound and Song in Early Modern Paris* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); Mark Darlow, '"Cris Nouveaux": The Soundscape of Paris in Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* and *Le Nouveau Paris*', *Early Modern French Studies* 41, no. 1 (2019), 88-109.

[82] Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 44-47.

[83] Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern Towns', *Urban History* 30, no. 1 (2003), 6.

[84] Peter Bailey, 'Breaking the Sound Barrier: A Historian Listens to Noise', *Body and Society* 2, no. 2 (1996), 50.

[85] Ibid; John Gay, *Trivia; Or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (London, 1795), Book III, line 139; Jacques Wilhelm, *La Vie Quotidienne des Parisiens au Temps du Roi-Soleil* (Paris, 1977), 263.

[86] Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 157-97.

[87] LMA CLA/047/LJ/13/1716/005 'Grand Jury Presentment Against a Disorderly House in St. Aldgate', 1716.

Besides the 'encouragement of vice', the 'disturbance of all their neighbours' seems to be of the most detrimental consequence. If neighbours were being 'disturbed,' one can assume that they were called in as witnesses or that a neighbour had reported the disorderly house. The act of 'harbouring pick pockets' and 'other notorious and disorderly offenders' endangered the neighbours as well and therefore would have produced complaints. With a limited number of watchmen in the city, a culture of community intervention was necessary in order to address disruptions of 'his Majesty's peace.' Nearly all of the disorderly house owners mentioned in this chapter who were prosecuted and fined in the quarter sessions had been reported by neighbours. Because most of these trials were recorded in summaries, there is little information provided regarding the demographic makeup of the neighbourhood in terms of who produced the complaint. We do know that those making complaints claimed to be neighbours of the disorderly house in question. Therefore, we must assume that they lived within close enough proximity to be disturbed (in the same court or on the same street). If the Old Bailey records are anything to go by, it seems that the weight of a witness' testimony, particularly Newbold, relied on how close that person actually lived to the house itself.

In 1693, Elizabeth Elye was tried at the Old Bailey because she 'was likewise indicted for keeping a House of evil Repute The Evidence Swore that oftentimes there was Swearing, Roaring and Damning all the Night long, drinking to such a pitch, that they would fall out, and cry out Murder.'[88] In 1742, William Viner was charged for running a bawdy house which produced noise and disorder at 'unlawful times as well in the night as in the day…to remain drinking, tipling, whoring and misbehaving together unlawfully.'[89] The reference to the times of day are significant to both cases. Viner's case particularly illustrates the differences between the already loud ambient soundscapes of the urban environment and undesirable 'noises' or 'nuisances.' The noise and the attraction of 'unlawful' activities (only one of which was 'whoring') are of the utmost importance in the validity in both of these cases. In addition to prostitution, the house sold 'all Sorts of Strong Liquors…for ye Entertainmt of loose persons of both Sexes.'[90] Here, drunkenness, prostitution, and disturbance are inextricably linked. The fifty-year gap between the two cases is also revealing: despite a growing population, loud noises and visibly disorderly behaviour at night were seemingly no less tolerated in 1693 than they were in 1742. It also would seem that the importance of peace at night within a London neighbourhood was no less treasured despite the perception that the city was becoming increasingly chaotic and

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[88] OBP, Accounts of Criminal Trials, trial of Elizabeth Elye, May 1693, *LL*, t16930531-45.
[89] LMA CLA/047/LJ/13/1742/006, 1742, 'Affidavit of William Viner for keeping a disorderly house.'
[90] LMA CLA Session Papers – Justices' Working Documents, 6th April to 21st December 1742, *LL*, LMSLPS150530088.

overpopulated.[91] Neighbours were still expected to follow the unwritten codes of their community which included remaining discreet about the illicit sale of sex.

Only in the instances where activities of prostitution within contained spaces (i.e. brothels, taverns, cabarets, rented rooms) could be seen or heard from outside did other inhabitants feel threatened enough to report or testify against them. However, the brothel's potential to attract 'rogues, vagabonds, and thieves' and their 'swearing, roaring and damning' both day and night threatened those inhabiting the space of the surrounding neighbourhood. Once a brothel became too obvious or disorderly within itself, it was bound to attract other types of unwanted activities. The rhetoric in the Grand Jury Presentments illustrates that these houses had the potential to harbour and entertain 'diverse rogues, thieves, vagabonds and other loose and disorderly persons' which had the potential to 'corrupt the morals of the youth' and 'endanger the publick [sic] safety… to the special terror and nusance [sic] of all his majesty's liege subjects inhabiting thereabouts.'[92] It was, therefore, not the activities taking place within the brothel, but the threat that it posed to the rest of the neighbourhood that is significant here. When the activities of a place of prostitution were visible or audible from the exterior, they attracted a whole host of problems and characters which made the neighbourhood space both unsafe and contested by the inhabitants.

On 8 April 1761, Sarraire, an *inspecteur de police* of the *quartier* of *Palais-Royale* from 1761 to 1770, recorded a house which neighbours believed to be a residence of multiple prostitutes.[93] Three weeks before, on 21 March, a neighbour (called 'veuve Richard' in the report) had complained. After the police had not acted, another neighbour, called 'la nommé Chabert,' had also complained on 28 March. The primary resident of the house was a woman named Beaufort who rented to other 'femmes de prostitution.' However, the complaints were not centred on the women's presence in the house, but on their visibility. Apparently, the prostitutes were displaying themselves through the windows of the house allowing any passer-by in the neighbourhood to witness 'une vie plus scandaleuse.'[94] The focus of the offence was not centred on the women's activities as prostitutes. Rather, it was the public visibility of such activities that made these women problematic for their neighbours. Despite the fact that these types of offences would fall under the category of *prostitution publique* as Jousse defined it, the police seemed rather slow to act. It was nearly three weeks before Sarraire recorded the complaints or thought them viable

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[91] I discuss this in more detail in Chapter Four, 192-236.
[92] For a good example of this kind of language, see: LMA CLA 047/LJ13/1749/003, Three Presentments of the Grand Jury on Disorderly Houses, 12 May 1749.
[93] BA ms. 10142, fol. 1, Registre où Sarraire, Inspecteur dans les quartier du Palais-Royale.
[94] Ibid.

enough to report them to the *lieutenant 60ure60re*. This inaction could reflect a lack of resources and reach on the police's part, but also perhaps the police's reluctance to involve themselves in neighbourhood disputes. Sarraire made note of the fact that when Chabert's complaint, which was the second of the two, came in that Chabert demanded 'une visite du nuit chez des filles.'[95] This not only supports the notion that urban inhabitants often felt empowered to make demands of the police regarding the safety of their neighbourhood, but also that perceived inaction could promote a sense of frustration among communities. Additionally, this case highlights how the visible presence of prostitutes, even if they were not technically out on the streets, could be a major cause of anxiety for urban inhabitants. Although Beaufort's house was not necessarily referred to as a brothel, the implication is that, even in cases of contained prostitution, neighbourhood toleration remained fragile and could easily wane.

Even in cases where prostitutes had been long term residents of a particular neighbourhood, tolerance could wear thin. In the *Châtelet* records, two men named Girard and Garnier and their wives were evicted and fined thirty livres for keeping a disorderly house ('La Palette Royale').[96] Their house was particularly dangerous because it harbored 'hommes de 60ure60rent états et femmes et filles de prostitution publique.' However, the *sentence de police* itself was fixed upon the 'bruit' (noise) that the house produced at all hours of the day and night and even noted how the neighbours could no longer support such a scandalous place. If special attention was drawn to the neighbourhood complaints, then it becomes apparent that the noise was truly the most disturbing aspect of the house to the surrounding community rather than the activities taking place within. We are also given a hint of tolerance as the neighbours say that they can 'no longer' support the house. This indicates that, due to the noise, the house was no longer accepted by the community and that the issue of prostitution was secondary to the issue of disturbance. Noise at all hours of the night raised tensions within the constantly contested space of the urban neighbourhood. This is especially poignant when considering the crowded living conditions of the early modern urban environment. Even when indoors, privacy was not necessarily guaranteed and neighbours would have known more intimate details about one another.[97]

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[95] Ibid., fol. 2.
[96] AN Y 9498 fol. 122, 19 July 1720.
[97] For studies on early modern notions of privacy, see: Mary Thomas Crane, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (2009), 4-22; Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Laura Gowing, '"The Freedom of the Streets": Women and Social Space, 1560-1640', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 130–53; Angela Vanhalen and Joseph P. Ward eds., *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy* (London: Routledge, 2013); Williamson, 'Public and Private Worlds? Social History, Gender and Space,' *History Compass* 10 no. 9 (September 2012), 633-43.

The activity of prostitution, not unlike that of drinking, was accepted, but still had the potential to be problematic in terms of neighbourhood safety and stability. Generally speaking, the selling of sex and the selling of alcohol often took place within the same kinds of establishments. The spaces where alcohol was sold were closely watched by both municipal authorities and curious neighbours in both cities. In both cities, the outcome was similar. The innkeeper, tavern, or pub owner made the decision to open up their spaces to sell food and drink. They always had the option of not welcoming any disorder into their space, but as Thomas Edward Brennan has argued, they must have been aware that they were selling more than just food and drink.[98] In addition to refreshment, they were selling space to their customers: an area in which they could meet with friends, converse, settle disputes, and perhaps partake in illicit sexual encounters.[99]

The Paris police seemed to recognize that venues which were not selective about their customers were often used as hotbeds for seedy behaviour. In 1724, in the *quartier* of Luxembourg, a man named Thévenin owned a cabaret which 'tant de jour de nuit ces gens de tout d'espèces même des femmes désordres.'[100] Despite the fact that the report mentioned prostitutes, there was more to the story. The main incident that caused neighbours to complain was that a sword fight had broken out between two drunk soldiers who had been drinking at Thévinin's cabaret. However, prostitutes were mentioned in the record to serve a particular purpose. Apart from proving Thévenin's cabaret was particularly disorderly, their presence in the record also highlights the anxiety regarding the ability of these women to incite violence among dangerous drunk men. The tipping point was not simply the danger of men sword fighting on the street at night, but the subsequent noises and disturbance it caused for neighbours. It is important to acknowledge that what may appear as a prosecution against a particularly disorderly house may have actually been neighbourhood politics at play. There is always the chance that Thévenin's neighbours did not like him for other reasons and simply knew how to word their complaint to get him out of the neighbourhood (although there is no explicit indication that this was occurring).

Another cabaret from 1725, owned by a man named Lebrun, a former soldier of the French guard, and his wife was labelled as a 'retraitte pour la débauche et vols.'[101] The number of

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[98] Thomas Edward Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 76; see also Phil Withington, 'Intoxicants and Society in Early Modern England,' *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 3 (2011), 631-57.

[99] Farr argues for Dijon that brothels brought increased trade to taverns located nearby and were tacitly tolerated for that reason in *Authority and Sexuality*, 143-46.

[100] AN Y 9498 fol. 215, 28 April 1724. Translation (mine): 'all day and night people of all types even disorderly women.'

[101] AN 9498, fol. 252, 13 April 1725. Translation (mine): 'retreat for debauchery and theft.'

disorderly women and soldiers who gathered at the cabaret was so disruptive that Lebrun and his wife were not only fined 50 *livres*, but ordered to leave the house within twenty-four hours. In 1738, a new *ordonnance de police* ordered that all cabaret owners, beer and liquor merchants could only let people into their establishments to drink until eight o'clock at night in the winter and nine o'clock at night in the summer at the risk of being fined up to 300 l. Although this ordonnance suggests that a degree of anxiety existed regarding the connections between the sale of liquor and the potential of selling or procuring sex, it does not appear to have been regularly acted upon. Benabou's work shows that most of these places remained open past eleven at night, and provided an asylum to women who solicited on the streets as protection from police raids.[102] In this same *ordonnance*, a *commissaire* Louis Poget fined a *cabaratier* named 'Le Conte' 100 l. who had more than thirty to forty people in his boutique, all of whom were either rogues or prostitutes who caused 'un très grand scandale dans ce quartier.'[103] Police seemed to recognize the fact that establishments such as Le Conte's provided a space in which the sex trade could function, but that did not seem to be the primary issue with keeping an establishment open late at night. The problem centred around the kinds of activity that went hand-in-hand with drinking and prostitution: violence, shouting, cursing, theft, etc. These were the issues that led to neighbourhood complaints which the police would eventually have to address should spaces for drinking not be self-regulated. Pluskota has proven this to be the case especially regarding anxiety around violence and prostitution for Nantes.[104]

In Paris, drunkenness alone was often sufficient to warrant a *lettre de cachet* for the *Bastille* or another prison as Farge and Foucault have demonstrated.[105] Women could be arrested for being a 'prostituée et yvrogneuse'. At least according to the *Affaires des Moeurs* arrest records between 1735 and 1737, prostitutes accused of being drunks tended to also be accused of blaspheming.[106] In 1735, Marie Anne Moremont was arrested and the police made the following description: 'c'est une prostituée et une yvrogneuse qui ne cesses pas le peine de blasphemer qui insulte les voisins, son 62ure et les ecclesiastiques.'[107] The police placed an emphasis on Moremont's audience more than the act in and of itself. Although it is unclear, given the lack of detail in the arrest record, exactly who it was that reported Moremont, *les voisins* and their experience of her behaviour were heavily emphasized. The accusation of being a 'drunk' seemed

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[102] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 262.
[103] AN ms. Y 9499, fol. 637, 19 December 1738. Translation: 'a great scandal in his neighbourhood.'
[104] Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control*, 11.
[105] Farge and Foucault, *Disorderly Families*, 133, 197, 204, 329.
[106] BA ms. 10135 'Affaires des moeurs assasinats et vols.', 1735-1737.
[107] Ibid., 'Marie Anne Moremont,' 3 June 1735. Translation (mine): 'This is a prostitute and a drunk who does not cease to blaspheme which insults the neighbours, her curate, and the priests.'

to function as an additional and more supplementary offence to prostitution and other petty offences or crimes such as *vol* (theft) or *débauche* (debauchery or sinful behaviour). As Pluskota has maintained for Nantes, the issues of both prostitution and drinking were not problems if they were contained.[108] However, once someone, such as Moremont, or other women like her in the record, began to attract an audience, the authorities would step in to take her away because this constituted *tapage*.

In the first half of the century, Londoners experienced what has been historically labelled as 'the gin craze.' Because of its very high alcohol content, and because it could be made rather inexpensively, gin was especially popular among the poor in London and generally became associated with loose morality and sexual deviance. As the popularity of gin increased, it became aligned with urban disorder because of its more immediate physical effects compared to ale or wine.[109] In the Old Bailey trials, witnesses and victims of crime were continually asked whether or not they were 'in liquor' during the time of the crime. The concerns relating to drink and prostitution were different in London than they were in Paris. In Paris, the concerns seemed more centred on the male clients drinking and the worry was ensuing violence and noise.

In London, drinking was not framed as an effect of prostitution, but rather as a prelude to it. There were often cases in which prostitutes would rob men after plying them with drink. Elizabeth Harman, a 'known' prostitute, was indicted in 1797 for stealing a silver watch, a steel chain, a cornelian seal set in gold, and six shillings from John Grocot.[110] Grocot, a bricklayer, claimed to be on his way home from a public-house, at eleven at night, when he was stopped by two women. He confessed to drinking 'three quaterns of gin' with the women, one of whom was Harman, only to stay in her room and find the next day that he was missing the items which he claimed she stole. The concern with the level of alcohol consumption was revealed during cross examination in which Grocot was continuously asked about the amount he had to drink. He claimed to drink 'five pots of beer' between three carpenters and himself before he met the women.[111] While at the White-hart public house, he had 'threepennyworth of gin' with the landlord in addition to the three quarters he shared with Harman and her friend (which he claimed was close to about 'three glasses' each). The cross-examiner, rather understandably, doubted his claims of being completely sober:

> Q. Were you drunk then? – A. No.
> Q. Half in half? – A. No; I was not.

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[108] Pluskota, Prostitution, 11-13.
[109] For more on the 'gin craze' see Patrick Dillon, *The Much-Lamented Death of Madam Geneva: The Eighteenth-Century Gin Craze* (London: 2002).
[110] *Old Bailey Proceedings*, Accounts of Criminal Trials, Elizabeth Harman, 15 February 1797, (t17970215-35).
[111] Ibid.

Q. Not groggy at all? – A. No; I don't think I was at all.[112]

The cross examiner then asked if Grocot was in the 'habit of drinking a good deal of gin' to which he responded that he was and included that he liked to drink beer too—as much as he could get. Grocot also claimed that he did not pay Harman and claimed she did not ask for any money. Harman was not asked about her own liquor consumption. In the end, Harman was judged 'not guilty' by the first Middlesex jury. Grocot's inebriated state combined with the claims that he refused to pay Harman seemingly redeemed her of having committed a crime: regardless of how much she stole from him. Grocot, a married man of twenty years with children, who drank too much gin to remember how he lost his watch while in bed with a prostitute, did not gain the sympathy of the court.

In contrast, prostitutes could also be perceived by the court of using liquor to weaken a man, thereby making it easier to steal from his person. In 1716, Catherine Ely, Elizabeth White, and Anne Bartley were found guilty and branded for robbing William Fife of a pair of silver buckles. The three women were prostitutes who apparently worked together as a trio in order to steal from men:

> Fife swore he was going over Tower-hill about 6 a Clock at Night, and there met Katherine Ely, who told him it was very cold, and desir'd him to make her drink; which he, not being acquainted with such, sort of Persons, complied with; and she led him to a House in Church Lane by Rag-Fair , where they drank some strong Drink and Geneva.[113]

Shortly after, Ely, White, and Bartley forcibly robbed Fife of his buckles and the buttons on his shirt. Fife would claim in court that he was afraid to talk to the nearest officer for fear the man would have been paid off by the prostitutes to kill him. In this case, the consumption of alcohol is key to the court narrative. Fife could not have been held completely accountable for his actions with the three prostitutes because he had too much to drink. Drunkenness, especially in the presence of prostitutes was threatening because of the imminent danger it represented to 'innocent' men. In this case, the state of intoxication was an instrument used to shift blame away from the male client and toward the prostitute on trial. In comparison to the last trial, during which Grocot was wandering the streets at eleven at night, Fife was out at a reasonable hour and his claims could have been taken more seriously because of this. Fife, like Grocot, was drunk during the time he was robbed, but unlike Grocot, he was drunk at a reasonable hour and thus his character was not called into question as rigorously as Grocot's. Unfortunately, in Grocot's case, the narrative of Elizabeth Harman is not explicitly given. For Fife, however, Ely, White and

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[112] Ibid.

[113] OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, trial of Catherine Ely, Elizabeth White and Anne Bartley, *LL*, t17160113-29, 13 January 1716. (The term 'Geneva' here refers to 'gin.')

Bartley provided a witness in their defence, a prostitute who was unnamed in the record apart from her alias 'Pretty Lady.' She reported that Fife came to the brothel and offered her his buckles as payment for sex. In the end, all of the women were found guilty and branded on the hand. 'Pretty Lady' was also put into custody after the trial for her 'extraordinary impudence' in court. Unfortunately, the trial was recorded summarily which bars us from knowing whether Fife was cross-examined regarding his level of drunkenness in the same way that Grocot was.

Prostitution, as long as it remained contained and controlled, was tolerated to a considerable degree. In the moments, however, where it seemed to be spiralling out of control, was much less tolerated by neighbours and often condemned by eighteenth-century moralists. The same could easily be said about drinking. There were acceptable forms of drinking and even drunkenness, but also unacceptable ones. In both cities, the overlap of drinking, noise, and prostitution agitated urban anxieties regarding safety and wellbeing. These activities, in combination also represented a general decline in morality and a refusal to conform to ideals of neighbourliness. There seemed to be more moralizing regarding drinking in London than in Paris, but in both cities, there was a clear correlation between drinking and prostitution.

In the Parisian examples presented in this section, the connection between places of prostitution and public order seems to be more to the point. Disorderly houses, cabarets, and drunken prostitutes who often 'blasphemed' were a direct violation of ideal sense of public order. These concerns are addressed both formally (police) and informally (neighbours). There also seemed to be a stronger correlation between the act of drinking and prostitution. Despite the rule being loosely enforced, the Paris police had attempted to prevent disturbances by enacting their *ordonnance de police* which regulated the opening hours of cabarets and taverns. In London, the issues of drunkenness and prostitution seemed to have both positive and negative connotations for the individual prostitute. For example, if a man was too drunk and was robbed by prostitutes, there did not seem to be much, if any, pity for him at the Old Bailey. However, alcohol was also perceived as a tool for prostitutes who wished to pickpocket their clients. In short, drinking and prostitution went hand-in-hand. It was, in both cases, highly customary for sex workers to have a drink with their clients.

In both Paris and London, the act of disturbing one's neighbours through noisy behaviour was not tolerated. Despite the fact that both cities, during the eighteenth century, were becoming increasingly well-lit and noisy, the importance of neighbourhood peace remained critical. Public disorder and noise were strongly correlated. However, it was not only the audibility, but the visibility which alarmed neighbourhood senses of peace. Places of prostitution, once exposed and made visible (through women soliciting out the windows or on the street near

the house), raised initial neighbourhood anxieties. The important distinction is that neighbours reported on each other (in the case of disorderly houses and potential brothels) only when they felt they had no other option. Safety concerns, in both cities, seemed to rest on the issue of what other potential people the disorderly house or brothel could attract into the neighbourhood. There was also a sense that any disorderly behaviour, if gone unchecked, could transform the entire neighbourhood character. This may explain why certain neighbourhoods were more likely to report houses than others.[114] The cases that we have addressed so far represent points at which any sense of tolerance had long run out. The next section will analyse how tolerance of prostitution was practised in the neighbourhood in order to further explore its limits.

III.   Tolerance in Practice

Until now, I have discussed the limits of tolerance. Here, I discuss its effectiveness. To assume that instances of prostitution were always reported to the authorities would be to misrepresent the full picture of the urban sex trade during the eighteenth century. If toleration existed, where and how do we identify it? What conventions are revealed when we attempt to do so? I answer these questions and piece together a portrayal of ways in which the sex trade could be a self-regulating mechanism. The first half of this section will focus on how sex work could be contained within the confined space of the brothel and how some brothels functioned to be self-regulating. The second half will identify instances of tolerance which are to be found in the various trial proceedings and criminal records. The objective of this final part is to identify and analyse the sex trade's potential to police itself before attracting the attention of outsiders, including neighbours as well as officials. Ultimately, neighbours seemed less likely to report brothels that were highly organized due to the strict adherence to specific rules. Although prostitutes, in general, were not desirable neighbours, it was preferable for prostitution within the neighbourhood to manifest itself in the well-run, quiet and inconspicuous brothel which kept the visibility and audibility of prostitution to an absolute minimum.

Neighbours were less likely to report highly organized brothels and the women who ran them. However, this stands in stark contrast to the status of *maquerellage* or bawdry as a criminal offence in both cities. In both cities, the procuresses of the sex trade were, unlike prostitutes, believed to be beyond saving. In London, although there was no statute that explicitly banned bawdry, many of the charitable institutions designated for former prostitutes did not allow

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[114] See Chapter Two, 82-130.

former bawds to volunteer themselves as deserving of charity.[115] Bawds were also characterized as evil, calculating figures in cultural iterations of both cities.[116] In Paris, the crime of *maquerellage*, that is, luring women into sex work and pimping them out, was punished much more harshly than that of prostitution. Rather than simply being sent to the *Hôpital Général* (for a short period of time) or being banished as a prostitute could be, a *maquerelle* faced any of the following punishments alone or combined: public humiliation, ritualized public beatings and whippings, being branded (usually with an "M"), and imprisonment in the *Hôpital Général* for the duration of one's life.[117] Therefore, it is surprising that given the severity of the offence of procuring prostitutes that the organized and well-run brothel was the preferred mode of prostitution within the urban neighbourhood in both Paris and London.

The notion of the ideal Parisian brothel is supported by the *Départments de Femmes Galantes* of the *Lieutenance de Police* and the records they produced. The interactions between select brothel keepers and police from the mid-century are housed within the Bastille Archives of the Arsenal Library. Nothing similar exists for London. However, what can be gleaned from these accounts are important ideas about the brothel and social conventions which can then be applied to specific London cases (which I discuss later). For about a decade (1749-1758), two *inspecteurs*, Louis Meusnier and Louis Marais, oversaw the *Départment des Femmes Galantes* and had regular interactions with the women who brokered elite transactional sex in Paris. Typically, interactions between the *inspecteurs* and elite brothel keepers rotated around the exchange of information. The *inspecteurs* wanted to know if anyone of interest came into the brothel and if any particular scandal occurred. Most of the correspondence and reports from brothel keepers relate to this kind of information.[118] Kushner, whose work centres on elite prostitution, claims that while Meusnier and Marais interacted with these women, they also tolerated a lot of corruption within the *demimonde*. For example, they did not act when they found out women were selling virgins, spreading venereal disease or committing fraud. The only times they would get involved was, reportedly, when they were asked to do so.[119]

Within this context, only when elite prostitutes sank from being 'kept women' to being street walkers would the police call for their arrest. Kushner argues that the establishment of the *Départment des Femmes Galantes* as an entity which ultimately 'authorized', 'legitimized' and 'facilitated' elite prostitution, was a possible attempt to keep a tighter grip on an activity that was

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[115] Chapter Three discusses this, 144-58; See also Jonas Hanway, *A Plan for Establishing a Charity House, or Charity Houses for the Reception of Repenting Prostitutes to be called the Magdalen Charity* (London: 1758), 16.
[116] More of this is discussed in Chapter Four, 202-206.
[117] Jousse, *Traité de la Justice*, vol. iv, 811-13.
[118] BA mss. 10234-10268, Bureau de la lieutenance de police, 2e Bureau: Discipline des Moeurs, 1749-1758.
[119] Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges*, 38.

definitively illusive.[120] Perhaps the police felt they had no choice but to accept the elite demand for prostitutes and that 'policing' it was a way in which to ensure that it remained discreet. When it came to the lower classes of prostitution, the common solution was to lock them away and attempt to correct their behaviour.

A collaboration between brothel keepers and police did not always produce harmonious relationships. When Marais took over Meusnier's post in 1757, he proved to be more concerned with taking advantage of his new role. Madame Dhosmont kept a house on *Rue des Deux-Portes-Saint Saveur* from 1750. The file kept on Dhosmont is particularly remarkable for the abundance of information she provided to the police along with her strong opinions on specific matters.[121] In a letter sent from Dhosmont to the *lieutenant général* of the Police, Nicolas-Réné Berryer, she complained of Marais' unacceptable behaviour in her house. One of the complaints raised to the *lieutenant général* was Marais' lack of discretion: 'Il ne devroit aller chez les femmes du monde qu'incognito surtout quand il veut passer une heure d'amusement.'[122] The need for a disguise emphasises the importance of the overlap of informal and formal policing. Marais was a *commissaire*. He did not wear a uniform like the *archers* did. Yet, his known presence within a specific house of ill repute may further raise suspicion. His need for a disguise suggests that everyday urban inhabitants knew how to identify the police. Additionally, this complaint tells us that the police's protection of the brothels was meant to be a secret. *Commisaires* and *inspecteurs* were not meant to be seen in such places. The complaint also indicates that procuresses worried about the implications of it becoming known that they were protected by the police. The second complaint raised was that Marais would refuse to eat before he engaged in sexual services—a move that was regarded as highly insulting in elite brothels.[123] Such a complaint speaks to the importance of the ritual of sex work within, at least, this calibre of establishment. The main complaints seemed to surround Marais' inability to be discreet upon his visits to such places. Both Kushner and Benabou have commented on this particular letter in similar ways and Kushner has convincingly stated 'it was not the *inspecteur*'s corruption that upset her. Rather it was the disdain for the conventions of corruption, his arrogance, and his assumption of power, that led him to reject the very niceties that would affirm his part in the community.'[124]

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[120] Ibid, 43.
[121] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 241.
[122] BA ms. 10253, Rapports de maîtresses de maisons de débauche, 12 October 1757, fol. 19. Translation: 'He should only go to the brothel in disguise especially when he wants to spend an hour amusing himself.'
[123] Ibid. For more on the connection between food and the sex trade, see Catherine Ellis' unpublished thesis, 'Sex Work and Ingestion in Eighteenth-Century France' (Ph. D., Durham University, 2018).
[124] Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges*, 42; Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 239-240.

Certainly, one of the reasons that Kushner, Benabou, and I have commented on this particular letter is because it seems to be one of the only existing documents which fully and explicitly represents the tension that sometimes built up between the police and procuresses.[125] Additionally, it denotes the brothel as a contested space—one in which the procuress was constantly struggling to maintain her authority through keeping control of both the women within and the clientele who frequented it. This idea of the brothel being a contested space is not only applicable to the more elite example given here, but to the procurement of sex work as a whole. The essential takeaway from the Parisian procuress's letters is the difficulty of the brokerage of the sex trade. This difficulty would have been amplified for sex work that was not protected or supported by the police. If the sex trade was an integral part of urban life, then it had to be self-regulating and maintain a degree of order within itself in order to avoid suspicion. When neighbours accepted the presence of brothels within their neighbourhood, it was generally because of a lack of disturbance due to the self-regulating nature of such spaces. Areas where we see episode of intolerance of brothels therefore represent ruptures not only in neighbourly harmony but in the ability of those residing within the brothel to self-regulate. As can be seen in examples from the previous section, neighbours placed an equally high expectation on brothel keepers to maintain order in London. Indeed, the complaints from the quarter sessions centre on issues of disturbance, not on the issue of sex work.

While evidence of collaboration between peace keepers and procuresses in London is rare, it does spring up in some sources. A 1794 copy of the newspaper *Oracle* indicates that some brothel keepers aided local authorities in making arrests.[126] In exchange for not being prosecuted for running a disorderly house, 'Mrs. Lawrence' was asked to give the London constables the name of two prostitutes living under her roof who had robbed a man of some gold. Collaboration with local authorities, in cases like this, present the procuress as being trapped by circumstance and forced to cooperate. However, this does not mean that Parisian procuresses were not faced with the same dilemma. 'Protection' usually equated to the police turning a blind eye to the brothel rather than providing security services. The watchmen in London were also members of the neighbourhoods or parishes in which they conducted their patrols. In Old Bailey cases, constables and watchmen who acted as witnesses claimed to have knowledge of a disorderly house long before any indictments were issued. Thus, we can assume that some

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[125] Ibid.

[126] "News." *Oracle*, July 26, 1794, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection* (accessed 1 March 2017).

degree of protection from arrest was available, although not as extensively recorded as that of the Paris police.

Regarding the brothel surveillance in Paris, it is vital to consider that the information provided by the procuresses may have been largely constructed in order to reassure the police that there was no disorderly conduct taking place. There is a high chance that the recordings of the brothel activity may have been altered or may not necessarily reflect the reality of the number or identity of clients. Despite the understanding between the police and the procuresses, these women were in a vulnerable position and may have deliberately recorded what they believed the police would want to know. While this may be problematic in terms of trying to understand the realities of the patronage of these particular brothels, the information that the procuresses chose to include speaks to the conditions of tolerance both to the police and in their respective neighbourhoods.

Since brothels were contested spaces, it was important for procuresses to maintain a routine in them to keep order. However, it would be unwise to interpret any pattern of sex work taking place in an individual brothel as characteristic of all other brothels during this period. There are only specific elements of the 'ritual' of sex work which must be explored as entities unto themselves rather than as something that the entire sex trade prescribed to. Elite French procuresses, for example, would often put on 'bals' and 'soupers' in order to attract new clients. In 1753, Madame Montbrun gave a ball and described to the police in great detail the variety of people who attended, including their names and where they resided.[127] There is also evidence of a semblance of routine, as Parisian brothel keepers who maintained correspondence with the police produced detailed logs of client activity. Two of the most complete surviving examples of this come from Madame Montbrun and Madame Dufresne from the summers of 1752 and 1753 respectively. These two procurers ran brothels which attracted elite members of Parisian society which included members of the aristocracy, wealthy merchants and others. The world of elite prostitution, however, did not exist in its own microsphere. Indeed, in the case of these two brothel records, it is difficult, at times, to distinguish between types of clientele in order to determine if all of them were, indeed, wealthy. In addition, it is difficult to determine whether Montbrun and Dufresne's brothels specifically catered to the elite, or if they were just popular among certain prominent members of Parisian society.

Maintaining certain rituals and having police protection were not always enough to protect these spaces. Even Montbrun and Dufresne, who would have had felt a sense of protection from the police, still had a fear of causing disorder within the neighbourhood. In one

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[127] BA ms. 10253, fol. 70, Rapports de maîtresses de maisons de débauche, 1749-1757.

entry from October of 1752, Madame Montbrun revealed that she had another house with three pensioners and that she was worried about what her neighbours thought: 'Je ne reçois presque point de jeunes gens pour être plus tranquiles et moins suspecte dans mon voisinage.'[128] Montbrun reported that she was worried about the potential of drawing unwanted attention from her neighbourhood and knew the ways in which to avoid doing so. Montbrun also seemed wary of soldiers and in one entry complained about them being bad company and drawing their swords in the street outside the house.[129] A few days later, some men came who ended up refusing to pay for their services and Montbrun also recorded that they 'fait beaucoup de bruit.'[130] Such entries imply that brothel owners were just as wary of the potential trouble that could come their way if their house were deemed too disorderly. Montbrun's motivation was not necessarily tied to issues of morality, or even of being neighbourly, but about her livelihood. If she, or any other procuress were caught or implicated, it would mean losing all of their income. Montbrun mentioned *le voisinage* multiple times throughout her entries reflecting a general sense of awareness regarding her neighbours. The anxieties that Montbrun carried about soldiers and noise also mirror the contemporary general anxieties regarding prostitution discussed earlier. Thus, the procuress seemed to be motivated by gaining community acceptance by being seen as being a good neighbour—rather than actually being concerned with any issues of individual morality. Most importantly, Montbrun's concerns strongly suggest that she feared her neighbours more than any overarching institutional structure and that neighbourly concerns had the power to override police protection. There is also the added and likely possibility that Montbrun framed her letters in such a way to make it seem as though she was running an orderly establishment. She may have complained of certain things because she knew what to say to avoid any further scrutiny from the police. By assuring the police that she tried to be a good neighbour, she was also ensuring that her brothel would remain protected or at least undisturbed by the police.

The evidence presented by the Montbrun and Dufresne portfolios raises the issue of tolerance regarding how many times clients passed in and out of the brothel per day. It is important to keep in mind that neighbours would have been aware of any strange men walking in and out of the house. Both procuresses worried about their brothels attracting unwanted neighbourly attention. However, there does not seem to be any clear consistency between the two portfolios regarding the ideal amount of time male clients would spend in either brothel. In

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[128] Ibid, fol. 66. Translation: 'I do not have any young people in order to be more quiet and less suspected in my neighourhood.'
[129] Ibid. fol. 65.
[130] Ibid. Translation: 'made a lot of noise.'

their records from 1752 and 1753 respectively, both women detail the amount of time that most of their male visitors spent within the brothel. A typical entry logged the date, the name of the man or men visiting, the name of the woman they saw, and the time they came in and the time that they left. In Montbrun's file, there were 86 entries from July to October in 1752 and in Dufresne's there were 64 from June to August in 1753. Some things to keep in mind are that, depending on the day, procuresses may have reported what they thought would be of interest to the police, omitting information they did not think was wholly necessary. This did not seem to consistently be the case, but it is worth noting that the reported entries should not be understood as the full number.[131]
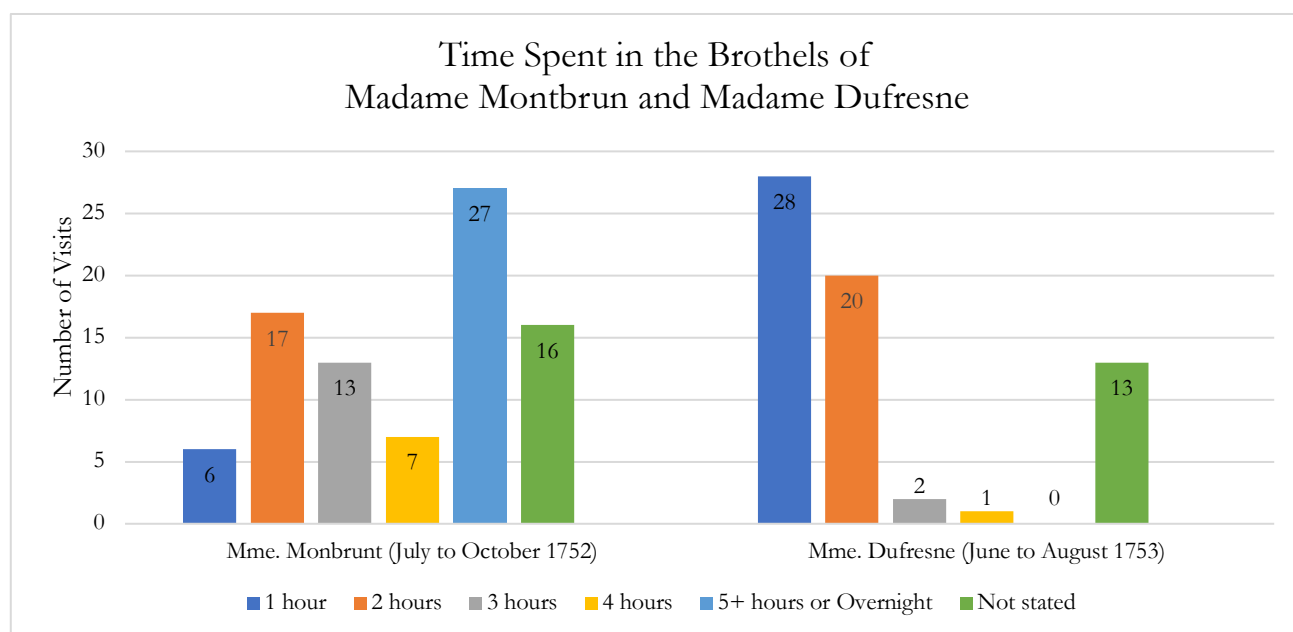
Figure 1: Time Spent in the Brothels of Madame Dufresne and Madame Montbrun, 1752-1753.[132]

Each entry represents either one customer or a group of customers that entered and left together. Comparing the two sets of documents, Dufresne's clients seemed to usually stay for one or two hours whereas Montbrun's tended to stay for over five hours or stay the night. Because both of these brothels were regarded in some respect as 'acceptable' to the police, it would be easy to assume that both places fell into regular patterns of sex work that were somewhat similar to each other. This may have been related to a more elite clientele or perhaps, as Kushner has found, the brothel customers were expected to conduct themselves decently by not making noise in the street or drawing attention to the brothel.[133] However, Figure 1 illustrates the stark differences between the operations of the two brothels taking place around

[131] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 235.
[132] BA ms. 10253, Rapports de maîtresses de maisons de débauche, 1752-1753.
[133] Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges*, 112.

the same time. Such figures provide us with only a sampling of a picture of the variety of ways in which brothels functioned, but they do show that there did not seem to be any consistency regarding a preferred amount of time. In either case, clients seemed to only want to stay for either an hour or for five or more hours, with fewer staying for over two or under five. There is also an entire column of 'unknown' time spent in the brothel simply because it was not written down. There also could have been more pragmatic reasons that men stayed the night in Montbrun's rather than in Dufresne's. Perhaps Montbrun charged more depending on how long a man stayed or perhaps the sleeping arrangements were undesirable at Dufresne's house. Although Dufresne had affluent men visiting, perhaps they were keen to leave the house once they had finished business. The recorded entries of brothel visitors indicate, for Dufresne's house, that they rarely stayed longer than two hours at a time. Perhaps this was a deliberate measure enforced by Dufresne in order to maintain a semblance of order within her house.

The portfolios also give an idea of brothel size. Both Montbrun's and Dufresne's brothels contained no more than six women who saw men regularly. The frequency of visits is also worth noting. Most entries (almost one per day) indicate that the houses received no more than one group of visitors per day at most. As mentioned, the procuresses were only documenting the men of particular interest to the police who came in each day, but there are even some entries in which men are listed as 'étrangers' and little information is given about them.[134] Another caveat to arise from Dufresne's portfolio is that she was still a practising prostitute in her own house and was often requested by the men who visited.[135] Such a revelation also shifts the ideas surrounding the cultural characterizations of bawdry (which is addressed in Chapter Four).[136] Both Montbrun's and Dufresne's houses offered services beyond sexual intercourse. Both women record instances in which men had requested to be flagellated or *fouetté* for pleasure.[137] This raises yet another complication regarding what was deemed 'acceptable' to take place within the brothel as undoubtedly such an activity would cause a great deal of noise. However, flagellation was common practice for sex workers at the time and should thus be regarded as something to be expected in such a place. In the case of London, for example, houses which specialized in flagellation were often demarcated in *Harris' Lists*.[138]

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[134] BA ms. 10253, fol. 70.
[135] Ibid, fol. 91.
[136] See Chapter Four, 202-206.
[137] BA ms. 10253, fols 71-95.
[138] *Harris' List of Covent Garden Ladies: Or a Man of Pleasure's Kalendar for the Yaer 1788 Containing an Exact Description of the Most Celebrated Ladies of Pleasure Who Frequent Covent Garden and Many Other Parts of the Metropolis* (London: H. Ranger, 1788).

The ironic truth regarding the toleration of the sex trade is that while bawdry was a much more serious offence than prostitution, the organised brothel in which women lived with a procuress who controlled their everyday activities and liaisons remained the most preferable form of prostitution among neighbours. Instances of neighbours reporting to the police or bringing a house before the courts typically centre on the disorderly nature of the house being prosecuted rather than on the fact that prostitution took place there. This placed a heavy, unspoken reliance on the individual brothel keeper to maintain control over his or her environment. This section has explored the momentary snapshots of the shape of a more tolerated form of prostitution. The organised form of sex work was also more desirable among clients, neighbours and police because it remained indoors: contained and private. There is also a clear indication that some procuresses, like Montbrun, recognized the pressure placed upon them to be a good neighbour despite the common knowledge of their affairs.

Dabhoiwala argues that in London, by 1800, even the most notorious prostitutes and bawds were becoming increasingly difficult to prosecute and, indeed, the same observation can be applied to Paris.[139] Women were often arrested and incarcerated for prostitution, but neighbourhood tolerance, and, when necessary, intervention seemed to be more widely practised which allowed the sex trade to thrive in the capital city. The focus now turns to where instances or hints of tolerance can be found within criminal and court records. A close reading of particular cases indicates not only a sense of tolerance but the possibility that urban eighteenth-century sex workers were not always marginalised, but well-integrated members of their local communities. These examples are not necessarily representative of wide-ranging uniform practices taken against prostitutes in various parts of Paris or London. Rather, they are being used to further develop how tolerance, in practice, may have functioned at any given point throughout the period.

In 1742, a man called Sirot and his wife were fined 200 l. for renting 'chambres garnies' (furnished rooms) to prostitutes for 'treize ou quatorze ans.'[140] After receiving numerous complaints from the inhabitants of the *quartier Sainte-Eustache*, the *commissaire*, Pierre Regnard, decided to act. However, the fact that Sirot and his wife were able to maintain such a disorderly house for over a decade is worth some analysis. It suggests a high degree of tolerance up until a certain point. What in particular made Sirot's house unbearable to his neighbours in *Sainte-Eustache*? The complaints mostly centred around the women walking up and down the street, soliciting their neighbours or any men who they ran into. They also kept their windows open,

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[139] Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law,' 93-96.
[140] AN Y 9499, fol. 733, 31 August 1742. Translation: 'thirteen or fourteen years.'

hung out of them, and made 'spectacles' of themselves. In the case of Sirot and his wife, they were effectively not charged for running a brothel but for being irresponsible landlords and neighbours.

What remained the most disorderly aspect in Sirot's case was not that he was renting out rooms to prostitutes, but that they made their activities visible to the passing members of the public on the streets below. In this example, the difference in disorderliness is purely spatial. There is, for example, no mention of the time of the day that the women are seen on the streets. Women soliciting on the streets raised concerns about the safety and morality of the neighbourhood. It is surprising, however, given the amount of mobility that prostitutes practised that they would not go beyond their neighbourhood to solicit men for sex.[141] Perhaps, in this case, Sirot and his wife did not let the women leave the house for fear they would run away. It also suggests that the charge of 'renting rooms' to prostitutes is misleading. Claiming to rent rooms to prostitutes, rather than having a role in procuring them, would lessen the punishment and shift the blame onto the women themselves. In addition, through feigning ignorance of the women's activities, brothel keepers and pimps were more likely to get away with their own activities on a day-to- day basis. Sirot's *chambres garnies* could, therefore, be an example of a brothel in which its keeper had lost full control over its activities. Disorderly brothels exemplified the nature of the brothel as a contested space.

As mentioned, both visibility and audibility played a major role in filing complaints against disorderly houses in London as well as Paris. Elizabeth Thwaites was indicted for keeping 'first a bawdy house and second an ill-governed and disorderly house' at number thirteen Warren Street in Fitzroy Square.[142] In this example, the problem of Thwaites' house centred around the fact not just that it was a place in which prostitution was visible and its quality of being a nuisance to the surrounding neighbours: 'No man can walk the streets, or frequent public places, without being shocked at seeing young girls, not above 12 or 13 years of age, given up to prostitution.'[143] However, in order to make full complaints against Thwaites, the neighbours had to have seen acts of prostitution taking place in order for her to be found guilty of keeping a bawdy house. Mr. Alley, one of Thwaites' neighbours gave the following evidence as reported by the newspaper *True Briton*:

> According to his instruction he would fully be able to do this [provide evidence], for so
> gross was the indecency of these people that their crimes were committed in open day,

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[141] Chapter Two expands on the mobility of women in the sex trade, 82-130.

[142] 'News', True Briton, 27 October 1800. *17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ Century Burney Collection,* galegroup.com/tinyurl/5TmvT4. Accessed 8 Nov 2017.

[143] Ibid.

with the windows open, so that the people who resided on the opposite of the street often found themselves witnesses of very improper transactions.[144]

Ultimately, Thwaites was found not guilty due to there being no 'proof of indecency, or disorder, at any time.' Such a finding raises the question as to what could possibly constitute 'real' evidence at this point in time. In some of the earlier examples of neighbours reporting instances of prostitution, there seems to be less of a need for 'evidence' regarding the disorder taking place. Then again, it is hard to separate transactional sex from other illicit sexual relations. Finding the 'proof' of prostitution would be difficult especially if no physical proof ever existed. Even visibility had its limitations in terms of criminality. Perhaps Thwaites had connections with a magistrate or had even managed to bribe someone. There is also the possibility that the newspaper *True Briton* reported the case because it was particularly unusual. If this happened periodically and procuresses were prosecuted but not convicted, then, presumably, they would carry on with business as usual, knowing that the neighbours' testimonies could only prove so much. It is hard to imagine that a procuress would not take any cautions when running an establishment, and perhaps the evidence given was simply regarded as hearsay. An important takeaway from both the Thwaites and Sirot cases is that the neighbourhood placed a higher degree of implicit culpability on the procuresses and/or lodgers of prostitutes than on the individual women themselves.

The existence of windows and their ability to carry sound throughout the neighbourhood, as well as giving visible access to brothels, seemed to be the main focus of neighbourly complaints in both the Sirot and Thwaites cases. Both examples tell us what made bawdy houses particularly bothersome, but in doing so they both imply that such activity would be tolerable if it went on behind closed doors or behind closed windows with drawn curtains.

The passage of time is also important in any case of a disorderly house. Sirot's house remained unprosecuted for at least a decade before he and his wife were indicted. Instances of this have been noted in earlier cases in the chapter. Prostitution was more tolerable if it took place within the context of the brothel or some other semi-organized format. Streetwalking and night walking are other instances in which prostitution was made visible, and we can infer that it was, therefore, less tolerated. However, as mentioned, this is hard to gauge due to the records themselves. I will be addressing streetwalking offences in Paris and London in more detail in the next Chapter.

Other ways in which a sense of tolerance can be gauged are in trials for other crimes. There are a few Old Bailey cases in which neighbours provided positive character witnesses for women

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[144] Ibid.

of the town. Ann Foster, arrested for grand larceny in 1732, claimed that she had not stolen items (a pocket case full of notes) off the victim's person but that she had found them on a bench.[145] Three neighbours, and perhaps friends, of Ann's all claimed that she had found the pocket case and would not have stolen it. In the end, Foster was acquitted. Cases like this raise questions as to the validity of the perceived anxieties in relation to eighteenth-century urban prostitution. The fact that Foster could find people she knew to offer testimonies in favour of her is a telling sign of the degree to which individual sex workers may have been integrated into their surrounding communities. Perhaps, unlike most of the other examples listed in this section, Foster was a 'good neighbour' and a reliable community member whose business of being a 'woman of the town' did not impinge on the lives of those around her.

Abigail Perfect was tried at the Old Bailey on 10 May 1780 for the theft of 'a silver watch, value 3 l. a steel chain, value 1 s. a pair of silver knee buckles, value 8 s. a pair of metal shoe buckles, value 4 s. and three guineas and seventeen shillings in monies, numbered, the property of John Aspinal.'[146] Aspinal, on his way home at around eleven or twelve at night on the fifth of May, reportedly asked a watchman if he knew anywhere he could find some lodging for the night. The watchman took him to Perfect and claimed she could provide housing for him. When Aspinal woke the next morning, he had been robbed of the aforementioned items. Margaret Packer, another lodger in the house, told Aspinal she 'was very sorry for it, for though the landlady had unfortunate women in the house she never encouraged thieving.' In the first sentence of Perfect's defence, she openly claimed the following about Packer and herself, 'This girl is a woman of the town, as well as myself.' There are a few interesting aspects of this case which indicate some degree of popular tolerance and acceptance. First, the watchman, Tankard, who brought Aspinal to Perfect is worth some discussion. Perhaps this is an indication of the ways in which the local watchmen worked alongside members of the sex trade and perhaps formed symbiotic partnerships. Perfect and the watchman may have been part of an organized crime ring or at least had an understanding between them. Perfect's admission of her trade and character are also revealing—rather than attempting to negate the fact that she was a prostitute, she openly admitted it. It is difficult to say whether or not this helped or harmed her case as there were an overwhelming number of witness testimonies against her and she was, in the end, found guilty of her crimes. Perhaps by admitting her profession, Perfect was attempting to draw attention away from it and focus on the case at hand. Or, perhaps this is indicative of the ways in which the sex trade was, at least on a local level, and through the experiences of both women,

[145] OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, trial of Ann Foster, *LL*, t17320906-19, September 1732.
[146] OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, trial of Abigail Perfect, *LL*, t17800510-38, May 1780.

fully accepted and tolerated within their own communities. Overall, a contained and inconspicuous sex trade was a tolerated sex trade. Those who made their living this way were conscious of the power of their neighbours to prosecute and had to act accordingly or risk losing their livelihoods.

IV.   Conclusion

The legal ambiguity of prostitution played a significant role in how the women of the sex trade were prosecuted and perceived as potential agents of disorder within the wider urban community. In both cities, informal neighbourhood policing took precedence over, not only more formal channels of legal intervention (police, courts, etc.), but over what was actually legal. However, this study has also shown is that the same preference for informal policing could lead to different results in different spaces. Prostitutes were prosecuted in London in ways that related more to public and moral concerns of status, but not the issue of selling sex. However, in Paris, prostitution was largely tolerated, but under clear limits. However, in both cases, the setting was the contested space of the neighbourhood in which space was constantly being negotiated through both formal and informal acts of policing behaviour.

Both cities, despite having dramatically different legal systems, relied on neighbourhood testimony when it came to addressing 'public' prostitution. Despite this shared preference, how public prostitution was addressed played out in different ways depending on the circumstances of the act itself. Through examining the cases individually, it is clear that the nature of the disorderly behaviour of the prostitutes residing within a given house had a clear impact on how the offence was prosecuted. Even though cases may have played out differently depending on the context, the issues that were associated with prostitution were largely similar. These similarities are striking and unexpected due to the complex issue of legality when comparing the two cities. Because these cities are usually considered separately on the subject of prostitution (and crime in general), historians have not been able to recognize the importance of the parallels between Paris and London.

In regard to tolerance, it is important to keep in mind that the women of the sex trade were daughters, neighbours, friends and sisters—held to the same standards and social conventions as the rest of their community. Therefore, prostitution would have been tolerated according to the social conventions of the individual neighbourhood. In general, however, we can say that specific sites of prostitution, like brothels, were largely tolerated so long as they remained confined, quiet, and the women residing within kept to themselves. In the first examples from

this chapter, both Anne Green and Agathe Boudoin were associated with prostitution, not necessarily from the act of selling sex, but from being on the street at indecent times.[147] The visibility and audibility of prostitution made the activity problematic. In the cases where there were known prostitutes in a neighbourhood for an extended period of time, there did not seem to be issues until neighbours developed an unavoidable sensory and spatial awareness of the illicit acts taking place in their community. In addition, we must also recognize the connection forged between the cultural discourse of noise and the specific social context of eighteenth-century prostitution.[148]

The activities associated with the visible and audible aspects of prostitution were a cause for anxiety among urban inhabitants especially regarding the issue of overall safety. Bawdry, despite its more explicit legal definition in both cities as an actual crime, was, in practice, the more acceptable form of prostitution (as opposed to the street-walking variety). This was as long as the procuress in question maintained a tight control over her space. In addition to being a contested space, the brothel could also have been considered a type of confined space. I describe confinement in this thesis, but mostly in relation to the confinement of prostitutes in houses of correction. There are parallels between the well-controlled brothel rituals and those of houses of correction. Within either context, prostitutes in confinement were preferable to both urban authorities and inhabitants. This is further supported by the fact that prostitutes who spilled out onto the street, hung out of windows, or made their house noticeable because of noise in the surrounding streets make up most of the cases to be found in both the London and Paris criminal records regarding houses of ill repute.

The ways in which public prostitution was deemed either tolerable or intolerable by a neighbourhood community in either Paris or London are indicative of a shared value of both urban societies. Eighteenth-century urban inhabitants placed high value in one's placement within society. To be seen and heard on the streets at night was a violation of that value. The next chapter explores the urban landscapes of eighteenth-century Paris and London and how the women of the sex trade situated themselves within those dynamic spaces.

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[147] OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, *LL*, t17450911-27, 11 September 1745; BA ms. 10135, .
[148] Refer to the scholarship on Sound on page 58 this chapter.

2. Urban Landscape and the Geography of the Sex Trade

In his attempts to categorize prostitutes into specific groups, the anonymous author of the 1775 *Code ou Nouveau Réglement sur les Lieux de Prostitution dans la Ville de Paris* described prostitution in Paris in the following terms: 'un grand inconvénient qui résulte de ce que les filles publiques, ou même les entretenues, sont mêlées avec d'honnêtes citoyens.'[1] The idea that prostitutes were *mêlées* (mixed) with honest people seemed to be a constant worry of contemporary reformers in both Paris and London.[2] However, to the average inhabitant, mixing with prostitutes, beggars and petty criminals was a reality of daily urban life. In the previous chapter, which investigated the smaller locality of the neighbourhood, I argued that prostitution was tolerated and dealt with on a local level before any peace officers were call in. Here, I build on this argument through an exploration of the wider urban topography and landscape in relation to the sex trade in both cities.

Contrary to contemporary discourse and present-day historical scholarship, in reality, prostitution did not exist in a self-contained underworld.[3] For instance, Ian W. Archer claims that the concept of an 'underworld' existed in the English? sixteenth-century urban mentality.[4] Such was also the case in Paris: both Karen Newman and Colin Jones have used the *Cour des Miracles* to argue that fear of organized crime within the urban environment is documented.[5] While a material underworld may not have existed, the belief that it did seemed to have served a purpose for urban reformers. Categorising prostitutes, vagrants, and petty criminals as members of an 'underworld', was an attempt to polarize a society into which such individuals were already well-integrated. That is to say that prostitutes, at least, did not always exist on the fringes of society, but rather played a role as any other urban dweller would in their neighbourhood and parish. This view also fits in with Kushner's claims about the Paris police's intention to make the *demimonde* visible by attempting to separate it out from the complex web of urban society.[6]

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[1] Anon., *Code ou Nouveau Réglement*, 65. Translation: 'a great inconvenience results when prostitutes or kept women, are mixed with honest citizens.'
[2] Examples of this can be found in the following contemporary works: Anon., *Hell Upon Earth*; Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de La Police Où L'on Trouvera L'histoire de Son Établisssement, Les Fonctions et Les Prérogatives de Ses Magistrats, Toutes Les Loix et Tous Les Reglemens.*, vol. I (Paris, 1705); Dunton, *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners*; Fielding, *Extracts from Such of the Penal Laws, as Particularly Relate to the Peace and Good Order of This Metropolis: With Observations for the Better Execution of Some, and on the Defects of Others.* (London, 1768); Richard King, *The Frauds of London Detected, Or a Warning-Piece Against the Iniquitous Practices of That Metropolis* (London, 1780). Many of these texts are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, 219-35.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 204-14.
[5] Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (New York: Viking, 2005), 189-192; Newman, *Cultural Capitals*, 147.
[6] Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges*, 38

Perhaps the same can be said not only with respect to elite prostitution—but to the sex trade in its entirety. Over the course of the eighteenth century, it was becoming more difficult to geographically place prostitution within urban society as the activity became further dispersed throughout both Paris and London. In areas where there were high concentrations of prostitutes, there were also high concentrations of cultural and economic activity which remained connected to the sex trade. Through placing layers of cultural and economic understandings over the mapped data of the geography of the sex trade, I am providing further contextual evidence that demonstrates that rather than existing in a contained underworld, prostitution was integral to everyday urban life. I place mercenary sex within the everyday urban experience in order to understand its potential impact on the topography of Paris and London. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates that the sex trade mirrored the dynamism and fluidity of urban life.

I interpret urban space as 'practiced' place (or the manifestation of the dialogue between a recognized place and the actors within it) as discussed in the Introduction.[7] In general, as far as we know, the activity of prostitution was widely dispersed and mobile in nature. However, this is not to say that specific districts did not, over time, organically develop into particularly popular areas for mercenary sex as has been claimed by Pluskota for both Bristol and Nantes.[8] This is also evident in London: Fleet Street, a well-known venue for prostitution in London, can be presented as a manifestation of the cyclical dialogue between the actors within the space and the space itself. As houses of prostitution appeared in Fleet Street (for various reasons perhaps including its cheap rents or its central location), the inhabitants of London may have begun to associate Fleet Street with licentious activities over the century. As areas became associated with the sex trade, more potential sex workers flooded into them.

Contemporaries not only had to face the reality of prostitution being a well-integrated facet of urban life, but also the fact that the urban landscape itself was changing dramatically during this period. Eighteenth-century urban innovations like pleasure gardens, street lighting, and pavements provided new unintended venues in which the sex trade could thrive at all hours of the day and night. This chapter considers these changes in light of both archival (criminal, arrest, court records) and literary (proposals, memoires, pamphlets) sources. The integration of literary sources is vital to producing a fuller picture of the realities of the sex trade. That being

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[7] Refer back to Introduction ('Methodology' section). For more readings on the spatial turn see: Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Thomas Rohkrämer and Felix Robin Schulz, 'Space, Place and Identities', *History Compass* 7, no. 5 (2009): 1338–49; Fiona Williamson, 'Public and Private Worlds? Social History, Gender and Space,' *History Compass* 10, no. 9 (2012), 633-60.
[8] Pluskota, 'Genesis of a Red-Light District: Prostitution in Nantes between 1750 and 1810', *Urban History* 41, no. 1 (2014), 22–41.

said, these sources must be read with caution: their complex and constructed narratives are not to be taken at face value. They help to fill in the 'dark figures' of unprosecuted offences and reveal another perspective into the mentalities of the period. Additionally, this chapter uses the same criminal sources we saw above and adds another layer by considering them through the lens of the wider urban landscape. By doing so, it allows for a reflection on the concept of 'practiced' place.

This chapter is divided into two halves. The first half deals primarily with the existing eighteenth-century landscapes of Paris and London. The objective is to build complex 'layers' of cultural and economic significance before factoring in the information presented in the second section which deals with the geography of the sex trade itself. These layers make up what will be referred to as 'landscape' as defined by Andy Wood. He defines landscape as a cultural construction which amounts to the sum of the material world.[9] Landscape also implies a degree of perspective, individuals perceived the world around them through their visible surroundings, and certain figures within that landscape were both socially and culturally significant. The way that urban inhabitants perceived the urban space around them is therefore key to understanding the prostitute's place within said environment. We need to understand the multi-layered urban experience and the social topography of the urban environment in order to flesh out the less visible areas of unprosecuted sex work. The first layer to be tackled will be the pedestrian point of view from the street itself. The second layer deals with both cities' growing senses of consumerism and the emergence of prominent commercial areas. The final 'layer' for analysis highlights reputed or 'known' areas of prostitution which are noted in more literary sources and will be addressed separately. The second half of the chapter bridges the gap between what we know from prosecution records and what we can only guess based on the context provided in the first section. Reading mapped prosecution records, in light of the context provided in the first section, gives a clearer indication of the physical mobility and dispersed nature of the sex trade in Paris and London. The specifics regarding the difficulty of mapping particular sources (and a further discussion of such sources) will be addressed mostly in the second half regarding the geography of the sex trade. However, before exploring those maps, it is crucial to understand the way in which urban inhabitants comprehended and formed their landscape in relation to sex work in Paris and London.

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[9] Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 259.

I.   Urban Landscape

<u>Layer One: The View from the Street</u>

Paris and London were cities that were constantly in motion. Urban life was defined by movement between different kinds of space including, but not limited to domestic, commercial, and social spaces. Often, the boundaries or thresholds between these spaces overlapped. In addition, especially among the middling and poor urban inhabitants, high degrees of mobility were necessary in order to remain economically stable. Other historians have noted that the poor moved from place to place often, seeking cheaper rents or forms of casual and seasonal work.[10]

Even though maps are being used as methodological tools here, we must not limit the perception of the eighteenth-century city to a 'bird's eye' point of view. As Michel de Certeau argued, to understand the city solely from a vertical perspective is to be lifted from its grasp: 'The ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below", below the threshold at which visibility begins.'[11] De Certeau indicates, maps are useful, but the historian can miss the action of passing by, the mental trajectory of the pedestrian, and ultimately, the ways in which the footsteps of the pedestrian wove places together. Newman has described walking as the 'chief pastime' of the middling and poor during the seventeenth century compared to the elite practice of the *promenade* practiced in both Paris and London.[12] Jonathan Conlin identifies the eighteenth century as the period in which both Paris and London saw a shift away from the practical purpose of walking as a mode of transportation to a recreational activity in itself.[13] Surely, some Parisians and Londoners enjoyed the recreational activity of walking, yet also appreciated the practicality of it. In addition, senses of eighteenth-century urban order revolved around the idea of a 'sanitized' city or 'la cité policée' in which order was maintained through the constant ebb and flow of movement throughout the streets whether by foot or by carriage.[14]

The inhabitants of eighteenth-century London and Paris understood their respective cities from the perspective of the street and a range of sensory experiences accompanied their own movements throughout the city. Senses of memory and landscape were just as important in urban environments as they were in rural ones throughout the early modern period. In England, during the previous centuries, the landscape was reinforced through the rituals of walking and

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[10] Hitchcock, *London Lives*, 1-25; Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*, 69-127.
[11] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 93.
[12] Newman, *Cultural Capitals*, 17.
[13] Jonathan Conlin, *Tales of Two Cities: Paris, London and the Making of the Modern City* (London: Atlantic Books, 2013), 66.
[14] Ibid., 14; Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*.

perambulations.[15] Such practices were, understandably, most typically referred to outside of London. That being said, the eighteenth-century act of walking through the city or even taking a formal *promenade* does not directly compare to earlier examples of perambulations and their primary functions in enforcing customary law. Rather, almost the entire experience of urban life for most inhabitants was had afoot.

Addressing the urban environment from a pedestrian standpoint before interpreting the mapped data can give a fuller perspective when studying the ways in which the sex trade may have made its mark on the urban environment and the way in which the inhabitants perceived prostitution within that context. When observing some of the measures taken in order to encourage fluidity of movement and discourage urban stagnation, it becomes clear that rather than inhibiting prostitution and other illicit urban activities, reformers and city planners were inadvertently shaping the nature of the sex trade through altering the spaces (streets) in which its associated activities took place.

During the eighteenth century, literature detailing the *promenade* became increasingly popular in both cities.[16] Even before the emergence of this genre, the act of walking in the city was something that remained important within a social and cultural context. The streets and alleyways were the arteries, veins and capillaries of urban life. 'Social walking' was a form of urban entertainment from which no one was specifically excluded. Corfield rightly argues that prostitutes would take part in the act as well and remained undisturbed so long as they were discreet.[17] Although her arguments are mostly concerned with the urban environments of England, Corfield's observations can easily be applied to Paris, where prostitutes were by no means confined to the neighbourhood in which they lived. When not confined to a brothel or specific residence, sex work was carried out on a mobile basis and prostitutes spent much of their time searching for clients on foot. Successful street-walking prostitutes, who managed to evade the authorities, would have not only had an innate and extensive knowledge of their urban landscapes, but may also have known the best places in which to carry out their transactions. Partially invisible and unnoticeable places (alleyways, dark corners, and underneath bridges) were used as venues for mercenary sex. In addition, the thresholds between streets and houses, windows and doorways, also provided ideal places for prostitutes to meet, solicit and welcome potential clients.

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[15] Fiona Williamson, *Social Relations and Urban Space: Norwich, 1600-1700* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014); Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[16] Laurent Turcot, *Le Promeneur à Paris Au XVIII Siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 67.

[17] Penelope Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Urban History* 16, no. 2 (February 1990), 134.

When we take Corfield's 'urban odyssey' into account, the degree to which prostitutes, vagabonds, thieves, and murderers walked the same streets as the 'honest' poor, middle classes, wealthy merchants, and elites comes into question.[18] Those who could afford to take carriages and avoid particular neighbourhoods and streets in Paris and London surely must have done so. However, for the majority of urban inhabitants, especially those who could not avoid certain neighbourhoods (because they lived near them) or use carriages (because they could not afford them), their daily experience must have been characterized by the visual presence of a variety of peoples which included the lowliest of prostitutes. The contemporary worry, as expressed in reformist literature, that prostitutes in both cities were mixed with honest people must then be considered in light of these insights.[19] Mixing with the lower sorts was unavoidable (even for the rich) in both Paris and London due to high degrees of movement and population densities. Thus, the visibility of prostitutes, while it may have been shocking to newcomers and moralists, was normal for most other eighteenth-century inhabitants.

Paris and London, in terms of the pedestrian's experience, have been identified as being distinct from one another.[20] London was, apparently, a much more pedestrian-friendly city (although hackney coaches were also available), while in Paris, carriages were more frequently used by those who could afford them.[21] Thus ,Conlin notes that to journey on foot through Paris, rather than take a carriage was 'tantamount to *encanaillement* (making oneself part of the *canaille*, or the mob).'[22] Leisurely walking was thus limited to designated spaces and dependent on the ability to move on foot comfortably. Prostitutes travelled to specific spaces for soliciting on foot which included areas of recreation (pleasure gardens), economic activity (markets), or entertainment (theatre districts).

Urban walking in Paris was also a rather dangerous activity. Martin Lister and Tobias Smollett, in their travel memoirs written a century apart, both explicitly comment on the narrow winding streets juxtaposed against the tall buildings.[23] This made walking in Paris a dark and dangerous task especially when combined with the continuous rush of carriages. John Moore, a travel writer in 1779 made the following observation of Parisian pedestrians:

[18] Ibid.
[19] See Chapter Four, 219-35.
[20] Conlin, *Tales of Two Cities*, 64.
[21] Leon Bernard, *The Emerging City: Paris in the Age of Louis XIV* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1970), 56-82.
[22] Conlin, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 69; Laurent Turcot, *Le Promeneur À Paris Au XVIII Siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 34.
[23] Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698* (London, 1699), 10; John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany,* vol. I (London: 1779), 33; cited in John Lough, *France on the Eve of Revolution: British Travellers' Observations, 1763-1788* (Kent: Croon Helm Ltd, 1987),74-75; Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy. Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts and Antiquities*, vol. 1, 2 vols (London: 1772), 66.

> They must therefore grope their way as best they can, and skulk behind pillars or run into shops to avoid being crushed by the coaches, which are driven as near the wall as the coachman pleases; dispersing the people on foot at their approach, like chaff in the wind.[24]

Indeed, the act of walking in pre-Haussmann Paris (before the mid-nineteenth century), for most, was more an act of avoidance (and necessity) than one of leisure. Historians have argued, in both the case of London and Paris, that environmental changes to the city (pavement improvements, wider boulevards, pleasure gardens) were important modern innovations of the century.[25] These gradual changes were due to the rising populations and the need for more space in the streets for pedestrians and carriages over the course of the long eighteenth century. Paris' boulevards and streets began to be increasingly widened and paved as early as 1674, but it appears that changes were not fully implemented throughout the city until much later.

London's major changes began later in the mid-eighteenth century when it became clear that Westminster had outgrown its framework (set in a 1690 Act of Parliament).[26] Thus, men like John Spranger of Covent Garden in 1754 began putting forward proposals addressing the structural accommodation of the city in light of the growing population.[27] In 1762, the Westminster Paving Act was introduced and followed by a number of similar acts elsewhere that appointed paving commissioners and relieved householders of the responsibility for pavement maintenance.[28] The improvements being made to the pavements both accommodated and encouraged higher degrees of foot traffic. Thus, a prostitute who lived in a particularly poor area of the city could easily travel on foot to a pleasure garden, market, or other area where, so long as she could afford to be decently dressed, and had sufficient leisure time to engage in this activity, she could easily become one of the crowd. This also may have meant surer footing and ease of movement for street prostitutes when the darkness of night limited their vision.

The introduction of street lighting also had a lasting effect on the existing social order in both cities. Koslovsky identifies the long eighteenth century as the period in which respectable activity was increasingly 'nocturnalized.'[29] Street lighting allowed for safer movement throughout the city and may have had implications for the practice of street prostitution or pickpocketing, but it is hard to actually determine whether or not that was the case. Historians have noted that by the late eighteenth century, community-enforced timetables were abandoned and European

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[24] Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France*, vol. I, 33.

[25] Penelope Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets,' 150; Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity,* 92; Laurent Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris*, 82.

[26] London Streets, etc. Act of 1690 (2 Will. & Mar. sess. 2 c.8).

[27] Ogborn discusses John Spranger of Covent Garden more explicitly than I will here. See Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, 93.

[28] Roy Porter, *London: A Social HIstory* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 152.

[29] Koslovsky, *Evening's Empire*, 157.

cities began to leave their gates open and abandon previously-enforced curfews.[30] There must have been an increased amount of foot traffic during hours that may have previously been deemed unsociable. However, the appropriateness of being outside beyond a certain hour, particularly for women, did not seem to change that quickly. In London, throughout the century, women were still brought into Bridewell under the offence of "nightwalking" which came to be solely associated with women by the eighteenth century.[31] In Paris, women *dans les rues* beyond a certain hour were also problematic and perhaps the least tolerated prostitutes as noted by Jousse in his discussion of *prostitution publique*.[32] The hour of the day, in combination with the offence of prostitution made the act more problematic because the offence of prostitution was, as discussed earlier, both spatially and temporally defined.

If it was more acceptable for men to be out at night, women may have used this to their advantage and more easily lured potential clients in from the street. Moore recounted that London was well lit at night while 'Paris is poorly and partially lighted.'[33] Paris had installed lanterns throughout the city as early as the seventeenth century, but anecdotal evidence suggests that they may have been poorly, or at least, inconsistently maintained and were lit by candles and hung between buildings on ropes that were twenty feet above the ground and twenty feet apart from one another.[34] The availability of dark corners and spaces were to the advantage of the prostitute, who could more easily draw clients in under the protection of darkness. The poor street lighting also may be why prostitution was temporally defined in Paris since the presence of women on the streets at night would infer that they were engaging in acts of prostitution. The absence of light could, however, be useful for sex work. The contrast between lit and unlit areas allowed the prostitute to keep an eye out for police and hide from raids while simultaneously maintaining her nightly affairs by remaining on the street. The improvement of street lighting, then, in either city may have illuminated the areas which may previously have been hotbeds of prostitution or crime. However, they did not eradicate these events from taking place at night. Rather, the nature of mercenary sex changed and the boundary between the respectable and inappropriate presence of women on the streets at night was blurred.

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[30] Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City,' 22-23; Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things. The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 110-123.

[31] This was supported through a search on the database *Locating London's Past*, The Minutes of the Court of Governors of Bridewell Royal Hospital, 1700-1800, mapping all instances of the term "nightwalker" or "night walker" by year, grouped by defendant gender, onto Rocque's 1746 map of London. I go into more detail about the database in the last two sections of this chapter. For more on the gendering of nightwalking, see Griffiths, 'Meanings of Nightwalking.'

[32] Jousse, *Traité de la Justice*, vol. III, 273. For further discussion of Jousse, see Introduction, 17-19.

[33] Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France*, vol. I, 33.

[34] Bernard, *The Emerging City*, 162-166; Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698* (London, 1699), 23.

During the daylight hours, certain areas of Paris and London experienced heavy degrees of foot traffic and social mixing due to their geographic significance. Specific points or locations in cities, such as cross-roads, bridges and heavily-frequented thoroughfares became spaces of socio-economic mixing through the act of walking. For instance, Newman uses the example of the *Pont Neuf* in Paris to illustrate urban spaces as sites of contention in early modern cities. [35] Similarly, Colin Jones emphasizes the importance of the bridge as a landmark by labelling it the 'Eiffel Tower of the Ancien Régime.'[36] The *Pont Neuf*, both a spectacle and a thoroughfare, was the most frequented place in Paris during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mercier described the bridge as being the 'centre de mouvement et de circulation.'[37] Over time, the bridge, with its open plan in comparison to other bridges (which usually were lined with houses), became as Newman says, 'a site of class warfare between pages and apprentices, bourgeois and gentlemen.'[38] In addition, the site began to be known as 'la bibliothèque de Paris' due to the high number of gossip or politically-charged pamphlets which could be bought and sold there. Newman claims that the *Pont Neuf* was representative of the city that Paris was becoming with more walking space and room for carrriages because it was a wide thoroughfare. Comparable to the *Pont Neuf* is London's Charing Cross. Eighteenth-century observations of this space indicate that it was a figurative, as well as literal crossroads, visibly containing what contemporaries must have imagined to be the full spectrum of human existence.[39] Like the *Pont Neuf*, Charing Cross was a crossroads of three separate roads in which both wealth and poverty were continuously and simultaneously displayed. Places like these were specifically urban phenomena and performed important roles in the social topography of the city. They were sites of economic activity (often frequented by street hawkers and hucksters), begging, and prostitution in which space was contested and negotiated through movement and display. They provide glimpses of a society constantly on the move, fostered by a growing sense of human mobility that was unparalleled in rural environments. The development of consumerism, as well as the development of urban space had a significant effect on urban society.

Layer Two: Commerce and Sex

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[35] Newman, *Cultural Capitals*, 34-71.

[36] Jones, *Paris*, 156.

[37] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. I, 156.

[38] Jones, *Paris*, 41.

[39] Hitchcock gives an excellent explanation of the different contemporary perceptions and depictions of Charing Cross in *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon, 2004), 13-21.

In order to understand the social topography of London and Paris and its relation to prostitution, it is critical to incorporate the role that commercial activity played in the forming of urban landscape. The increasing consumerism that occurred in both cities maintained a strong connection with the survival and perpetuation of the sex trade. Prostitution was a form of labour, which often existed in tandem with other occupations.[40] If we are to understand prostitution as existing within a framework of the 'economy of makeshifts', then it is important to map and understand the social topography of commercially significant areas and their relationship to sex work.[41]

In addition to the complex question of commerce and prostitution, there is also the question of the relationship between prostitution, wealth, and poverty at this time. The sex trade was accessible to all male socioeconomic groups. Any man, regardless of his status within urban society could, for a price, enjoy the temporary company of a sex worker. The eighteenth century represented, for both Great Britain and France, a period in which the economics of consumption were changing the face of commerce. Britain has often been considered the earlier model for the rest of early modern Europe of a 'consumer society'.[42] Recently, historians have also highlighted the importance of consumer behaviour in Paris, particularly in the luxury marketplace.[43] Cissie Fairchilds even argues that Paris, rather than being considered a contemporary imitation of London, should be regarded as a model in its own right especially with respect to the availability and democratisation of luxury items. Fairchilds infers that a demand for such goods simply did not exist in London. In addition, there are other differences regarding the experience of marketplace activity in both cities. For example, the 'market places' in London were not concentrated in any particular area or necessarily by any particular industry, but were arranged in a dispersed fashion, connected along the Strand and mobilized through the practice of street hawking.[44] In Paris, marketplaces were concentrated depending primarily on the type of good being retailed (i.e. clothing, produce). However, both cities had comparable spaces which not only reflected both their similarities and differences in terms of commercial activity,

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[40] See Introduction, 22-23.
[41] For more on the 'economy of makeshifts' see Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*, 69-127.
[42] Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present* 182 (February 2004): 85–142.
[43] Natacha Coquery, *Tenir Boutique à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Editions du comité des travaux historiques et scintifiques, 2011); Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex* 8-12; Cissie Fairchilds, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1994), 228–48; Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum Studies, 1996), 5.
[44] For more on the nature of London markets in detail, see Cole Stephen Smith's unpublished PhD, 'The Marketplace and the Market's Place in London 1660-1840' (Ph. D., University College London, 1999).

but that were also often flocked with prostitutes. Two areas which are emblematic of the themes of this chapter are the *Rue St. Honoré* in Paris, and the Strand in London.

The *Rue St. Honoré* was originally constructed in Paris in 1135 and became a particularly affluent area in the retailing of luxury goods during the eighteenth century. The *marchandes*, whose shops and stalls lined the street, sold a mix of luxury items including furniture, jewellery, fabrics, and fashionable clothing. Jacques Hillairet, in his *Dictionnaire Historique des Rues de Paris* described the social makeup of the street as being part-poor, part-aristocratic.[45] The street was a representation of both extremes of a social hierarchy which made it representative of the urban environment itself. As a marketplace and a neighbourhood, *St. Honoré* was a cross-section of wealth and poverty. Because it was not a traditional enclosed marketplace, but a street through which pedestrian and carriage traffic would have been continuously flowing, *St. Honoré* possessed an added degree of fluidity and temporality compared to more traditional marketplaces like *Les Halles*. It was both a major thoroughfare and destination for shoppers and pedestrians alike. The street would have experienced a constant circulation of passers-by as well as a sense of continuity granted to those whose livelihoods were based there.

Because it led to *Les Halles*, a prominent Parisian food market, *Rue St. Honoré* was lined with small grocery shops for most of seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.[46] By the end of the eighteenth century, it was the most fashionable shopping district in the city.[47] Norberg has suggested that work in the retail industry was often done by women and presented opportunities for the selling of sex as well as goods.[48] The success of the retail industry was closely related to an increasing consumer-based society and the rising popularity of 'populuxe' goods, or goods which were initially developed for the wealthy until it was discovered they could be mass produced inexpensively and sold to the wider public.[49] Items like the umbrellas and stockings exclusively worn by aristocrats due to their high prices, could now be made cheaply and on a scale large enough to meet the demands of the lower and middling echelons of society which weakened their power as status symbols.[50] Thus, the *Rue St. Honoré*, as a shopping district, became more economically accessible to all urban inhabitants as the century wore on.

St. Honoré was (and remains) a major thoroughfare—connecting the market of *Les Halles*, the *Palais-Royal,* the *Tuileries*, and the *Louvre*. The *Palais-Royal*, situated on the *Rue St. Honoré*, was a

[45] Jacques Hillairet, *Dictionnaire Historique des Rues de Paris* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1976), 423.
[46] Bernard, *The Emerging City*, 234-236.
[47] Coquery, *Tenir Boutique*, 142-143; Fairchilds, 'Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods', 228-229.
[48] Norberg, 'Prostitutes,' 474.
[49] Fairchilds coined the term 'populuxe' to describe these types of items in 'Production and Marketing of Populux Goods,' 236-237.
[50] Ibid.

popular garden complex for both social walking and prostitution in Paris. The palace itself was the residence of the *duc d'Orléans* during most of the seventeenth century. It was not until the 1780s that the *duc d'Orléans* opened up the gardens into a semi-public space lined with shops and market stalls. Although the nineteenth century is usually marked as the period in which the *Palais-Royal* became more highly developed and modernized, it still remained a place of great social value in the eighteenth century. As early as 1715, the instalment of the king in the Tuileries and the *duc d'Orléans* at the Palais-Royal made the neighbourhood surrounding *St. Honoré* a fashionable place to live.[51]

There were over forty known brothels or places of residence for prostitutes throughout the century on *St. Honoré* or within the neighbouring streets in the consulted records.[52] Despite this information, the street did not seem to be reputed primarily as a place that was popular for the sex trade in literary or cultural texts (at least compared to the Strand in London). Hufton and Benabou have offered the explanation that perhaps prostitution was practised in a more discerning and discreet manner here, but the high number of known brothels in the police records does not correspond to that explanation.[53] Complex leisure industries were often supported by the extra custom brought in by prostitution. Thus, the sex trade may have been largely tolerated as it related to livelihoods of the shopkeepers.[54] However, it is difficult to know how prostitution existed on a day-to-day basis on this street.

It is impossible to precisely map the exact location of each brothel present on *St. Honoré*. Many of the descriptions regarding the location of the brothel simply state 'Rue St. Honoré', rather than give any direct indication of a cross street or distinguishing marker (i.e. side of the street, street sign). This makes it difficult to tell whether brothels were evenly dispersed or clustered in areas on the *rue*. Even if that information were available, the map would still not be satisfactory at representing anything more than a snapshot of the locations of prosecuted or police-detected brothels along the *rue* rather than a more comprehensive picture of the sex trade which would have included those unknown to the police. What remains particularly significant, however, is the fact that the sex trade often thrived in areas with high volumes of economic activity.

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[51] Jones, *Paris*, 211.

[52] AN Y 9498-9499, Ordonnances et Sentences de Police du Chatelet de Paris, 1668-1787; BA mss. 10252-10253Rapports des inspecteurs de police chargés de la partie des mœurs, particulièrement des inspecteurs Meusnier et Marais, sur les « petites maisons » situées aux environs de Paris, avec les noms des propriétaires et de ceux qui les occupant, 1749-1771.

[53] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 202; Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 124-55; Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, 328.

[54] Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, 329.

Like the *Rue St. Honoré*, the Strand in London was a major east-west artery which connected major points of the city. The Strand stretched from Westminster to the City of London. As a connective vessel of marketplaces, the Strand was also prominent in terms of retail activity, being a place where one could purchase hosiery, jewellery, or books at certain points.[55] Commercial activity and the existence of female retailing trades are also indicative of the probable existence of prostitution in the Strand. Originally, according to Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibberts' *The London Encyclopedia*, the Strand was a bridle path which ran alongside the river (hence its name) that was lined with coffeehouses, chophouses, and some larger mansions.[56] The Strand was less an official marketplace and more a place of various commercial activities in diverse forms. The structure of the marketplace in London has been noted as being significantly different from that of Paris. Street hawkers and peddlers were more prominent figures in London and shaped the way in which items were bought and sold in the city. These figures would have been frequent characters seen on the Strand, alongside prostitutes and beggars alike, but also rubbing elbows with the middling sorts and urban elites.

Much of the market activity in London was run, not necessarily within a marketplace itself, but through the use of peddlers. Street hawkers bought food at a low price from the markets which had not been sold and attempted to sell it along the streets of London. This was an economic activity with which women were most commonly associated. The street 'huckster' (the feminine form of 'hawker') was an important figure in London's economic landscape throughout the early modern period. Not unlike the prostitute, the street huckster was shrouded in controversy and reflected many of the contemporary anxieties associated with disorder:

> Whereas great numbers of idle persons of loose conversation doe [sic] daily go about in the footpaths, public streets, etc…and greatly hinder and obstruct all her Majesties subjects goeing [sic] and travelling in and through the said footpaths… the driving and using of such wheelbarrows, etc., is a common nuisance.[57]

While they may indeed have been a 'common nuisance' for some, the street huckster has been acknowledged by historians such as Bridget Hill as an accepted reality for others and a common mechanism through which a lot of Londoners purchased food or other items.[58] The thoroughfares and main streets these hawkers and hucksters would use to travel from the market into the other greater neighbourhoods of London are, therefore, of economic significance. The Strand, being a major thoroughfare that would have been used as such, was a significant area of

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[55] Smith, 'The Marketplace', 23.
[56] Christopher Hibbert and Ben Weinreb, eds., *The London Encyclopaedia* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1984), 829.
[57] Greater London Records Office MJ/SBB/67; quoted in Peter Earle's A *City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650-1750* (London: Methuen, 1994), 223.
[58] Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, 171.

both economic activity and mobility. Selling items in a mobile fashion also presented women with plenty of opportunities to prostitute themselves. In addition, the identity of being a street huckster was also a convenient cover for a woman who may have casually sold sex, and, in turn, prostitution may also have been a necessary means of survival for the average street seller.

In the eighteenth century, as urbanization and the importance of capital (as opposed to land or social position) increased, the entire city could be characterized as a marketplace in which everything could be bought and sold. This included the consumption of items that were previously unavailable, but it placed an even greater significance on the commodity of the female body. Areas in which commercial activity and the sex trade met offer a more vivid understanding of how an economy of makeshifts may have actually worked to the historian. Women were active in the retail trade and, in some cases, it must have been known that, say, for an extra twelve *sous*, a Parisian street vendor would sell one of her most valuable commodities.[59] In London, the Strand had a shared purpose between the world of mercantile and edible goods and that of the sex trade. Like the *Rue St. Honoré*, the Strand had both mobile and stationary qualities. It was a venue of exchange for both material goods and services, but also one where goods and services moved up and down the street in constant motion.

Arrests were prominent in both The Strand and Rue St. Honoré, but if we were to only understand the shape of the sex trade through criminal records, we would lose the ways in which prostitutes within these spaces were perceived at the time. Next, I will focus on the issues of association and the discrepancies between reputed areas of the sex trade and the mapped data presented in the second half of the chapter.

Layer Three: Known Areas of the Sex Trade

This subsection will focus more heavily on the concept of suspected or known areas of the sex trade. Considering the cultural connections of certain areas to prostitution can aid in understanding the entirety of its topography, rather than the select instances which were recorded under the context of transgression or offence. I will discuss the cultural significance of these informally, culturally-assigned spaces. By meshing together real and imagined spaces of prostitution, I am adding yet another layer on the dark figure of unprosecuted instances of mercenary sex.[60] The 'known' or reputed areas of prostitution are explored here using a triple-pronged approach. First, I will discuss the fluidity of sex work as described in literary sources.

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[59] Norberg estimates this figure in 'Prostitutes,' 473.
[60] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 205.

Secondly, I will discuss the use of pleasure gardens as outdoor arenas for both sexual soliciting and transactions. Thirdly, I will consider the potential client's perspective through an analysis of reportedly popular areas for picking up women. This section provides the last layer of contextual value to the archival data mapped in the next sections.

Literary and reformist printed texts are used here to further grasp senses of urban underworld and reform-minded concerns regarding the geography of prostitution. At times, the views that were being shared were not necessarily representative of a widespread ideology pertaining to the sex trade and often are more of a reflection of the author's worldview. However, the texts being used here still provide and support specific anxieties related to the wider urban experience. In *Satan's Harvest Home,* the fear concerning the casual nature of prostitution is addressed as the anonymous author describes the women of the town as 'running from place to place, from Bawdy House to service and from Service to Bawdy House again.'[61] This perception of the nature of the sex trade as being mobile undermines any sense of static underworld that may have existed in urban mentalities during the mid-century. As this pamphlet shows, the true dilemma among such reform-minded individuals seemed centred around the fear of the fact that there was no clear delineation between the urban underworld and the rest of urban life. In fact, the two seemed to be perceived as inextricably linked. Instead, it is perhaps more accurate to consider the inner-workings of eighteenth-century sex work as an integral component of urban culture in which prostitutes and those who associated with them actively or passively participated.[62] That is, the culture around sex work did not existed separately from 'honest' society, but instead operated in tandem with day-to-day life of urban communities.

In 1768, John Fielding, a city magistrate keen on social reform, commented on the distribution of bawdy houses in the eighteenth century and the concentration of houses in the parish of St. Paul's Covent Garden:

> One of the principal causes of the number of bawdy houses being collected in and near that Parish, is, there having been several estates in the courts and contiguous streets where the leases of the house were so near expiring, that it was not worthwhile to repair them while they were out, by which means they were let for almost anything to the lowest of wretches who hired three or four of them and filled them with common prostitutes.[63]

If what Fielding says was representative of some truth, then perhaps the initial conditions of Covent Garden—being a cheap place to rent a house, initially attracted the existence of bawdy

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[61] Anon., *Satan's Harvest Home; Or, the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping and the Game at Flatts and Other Satanic Works Daily Propagated in This Good Protestant Kingdom* (London: 1749), 4.

[62] Jeffrey Merrick uses this terminology in the context of sodomy in eighteenth-century France in 'Patterns and Concepts of Sodomitical Subculture,' 274. See earlier description of 'economy of makeshifts' in Introduction, 17-19.

[63] Fielding, *Extracts from Such of the Penal Laws,* 67.

houses. Through being a 'known' area for prostitution, Covent Garden attracted even more prostitution creating yet another instance of a cyclical dialogue characteristic of spatial practice. *Harris' Lists,* perhaps the most famous set of literary sources pertaining to Covent Garden, also indicate that a full spectrum of prostitutes existed within this particular area and its environs.[64] The *Lists* were written and published and produced in pocketbook form from 1757 to 1795. They reportedly included a catalogue of then working women ranging from the lowest sorts of prostitutes, some of whom were riddled with venereal disease, to the most expensive courtesans. Thus, the variety of sex work available, at least in the parish of St. Paul's Covent Garden and the surrounding parish of St. Martin-in-the fields, could theoretically cater to a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds and specific desires.

As a parish that was popular for prostitution, St. Paul's, Covent Garden makes for an interesting case as it was seldom mentioned in the indictment or criminal-related records referring to the offence of prostitution. Literary sources paint Covent Garden as a hotbed of the sex trade. Places like Covent Garden present the historian with an anomaly because if prostitutes were so numerous in this area, why do the maps of London indictments indicate fewer cases of women being reported compared to other parishes such as St. Martin-in-the-Fields? The parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields surrounds the entirety of St Paul's Covent Garden. Therefore, we could infer that the more notorious, or indeed obvious, forms of prostitution took place on the fringes of St. Paul's Covent Garden or in the surrounding parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. There is also the possibility that prostitution was more widely tolerated in Covent Garden and therefore less likely to be prosecuted than elsewhere.

We must also consider that although some areas may have been strongly associated with prostitution, brothels themselves were not necessarily fixed to one area or indeed to one address. Gaston Capon catalogued over fifty *maisons debauches* in Paris within his 1903 *Maisons closes* along with their locations based on his own readings of the eighteenth-century police records.[65] Capon managed to trace a few of the more infamous brothel owners whose locations were recorded by the police. His list of sex workers, included in the very last chapters of the book, indicates a high degree of mobility among some of the brothel owners. For example, a woman called 'La Guerin' kept a place of prostitution on *Rue Saint-Honoré* until 1763 when she was living, for unspecified reasons, on *Rue Beauvais*. Then, she reportedly moved again to *Rue de l'Oseille* in *la Marais*, and, by

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[64] For more on the validity of Harris' Lists as a historical source see Vicki Marie Heath's unpublished PhD: 'Harris' List as a Source for the Diverse and Entrepreneurial Nature of Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century London' (Master of Arts in Historical Studies, University of Maryland, 2012). See also Hallie Rubenhold, *The Covent Garden Ladies: Pimp General Jack and the Extraordinary Story of Harris' Lists* (London: The History Press, 2006).
[65] Gaston Capon, *Les Maisons Closes Au XVIIIe Siècle: Acadamies de Filles et Courtières d'Amour Maisons Clandestines Matrones, Méres-Abbesses, Appareilleuses et Proxénétes, Rapports de Police, Documents Secretes* (Paris: Daragon Libraire, 1903).

1766 was residing on *Rue Richelieu.*[66] La Guerin managed to move four times over the span of three years. In fact, nearly half of the women in Capon's notes are estimated to have moved at least once. It is also important to note that since these women were those caught or detected by the police they can only tell us so much about the population of prostitutes as a whole. For example, according to Capon, Catherine Rozoy, or 'La Villette' was apparently relentlessly spied on by the police.[67] Capon cited this observation from a revolutionary document entitled *La Chasteté du Clergé Devoilée* which was intended to expose both the hypocrisy of the clergy and the oppressive force of the *ancien régime* police.[68] Therefore, we should not take the accusation of the police's 'relentless' spying too seriously. Instead, the focus should remain on the reportedly rootless movement of 'La Villette.' In 1755, she left her house on *Rue Tire-Boudin* which Capon speculated may have been due to the fact that the *inspecteur* (Meusnier) had conducted a raid there from which she escaped. From there, La Villette was traced to *Rue de la Harpe* until 1758 when she moved to *Rue St. Honoré* and then in 1760 at *Rue du Chantres* only to return back to *Rue St. Honoré* in 1763. La Villette's constant movement may have been characteristic for most women in the sex trade at the time, however it may have also been a reflection of precarious living, low income and a lack of stability. Perhaps La Villette was aware of the fact that her movements were being tracked and thus never dwelled in one place for too long. Even when we consider some of the historical issues with Capon's primary materials, the important message is that we should not perceive prostitution as a static activity. Not only did individual prostitutes move from place to place, but so did the women who ran and owned the brothels in which they dwelled. Benabou documents the movement of several *maquerelles* in Paris from one house to another over short periods of time.[69] Thus the more formal spaces of prostitution (i.e. brothels, furnished rooms, etc.) could be just as mobile and temporary as the informal spaces (alleys, streets, fairs).

Benabou argues that places of leisure and pleasure were the spaces of *racolage* (soliciting). Her emphasis does not only apply to specific *faubourgs* or *quartiers* but to more temporary spaces as well. Fairs , Benabou claims, were not simply markets, but were ensembles 'de cafés, jeux et spectacles.'[70] If considering temporary and mobile solicitation which occurred outside the confines of the brothel, it is then also crucial to consider the space in which such an action would occur. The soliciting (and often the actual transaction) of sex work often took place

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[66] Ibid, 245.
[67] Ibid, 253-54.
[68] Anon., *La Chasteté du Clergé Devoilée, ou Procès-verbaux des séances du clergéc chez les filles de Paris, trouvés a la Bastille*, 2 vols (Paris: 1790), 2.
[69] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 237-56.
[70] Ibid., 196. Translation (mine): 'a mix of cafés, games and spectacles.'

outdoors. While there are any number of ways in which this could be studied, I have chosen specifically to investigate the venue of the pleasure garden because of its ability to act as a mobile marketplace for, and an outdoor venue of prostitution. Pubs, taverns, and coffeehouses were some of the other notable areas in which prostitution occurred. The previous chapter has already explored the association between drink and prostitution. However, these spaces were not necessarily new or characteristic of a changing urban environment during the long eighteenth century in either Paris or London. As urban development continued well into the nineteenth century, the availability and popularity of public green spaces increased. Not unlike the indoor spaces of bars or taverns, parks and pleasure gardens were spaces in which the sex trade in both its organized and casual forms was able to thrive, and in which acts of prostitution commonly took place.

Weather permitting, the green spaces of Paris and London provided environments in which women could earn a more independent and supplemental form of income, without having to fully submit themselves to a procurer or to the horrors that could sometimes accompany sex work. James Boswell's journal provides some insight into this as he claimed to have quite a bit of outdoor sex in the warmer months. Boswell is infamous among London historians for his love of prostitutes and his journal references at least fifteen sexual encounters with women of the town over a two-year period between 1762 and 1763. The reliability of Boswell's journal is questionable and the examples he provides are rather extreme. He reportedly engaged with prostitutes in St. James' Park or Privy Garden, and even, in one instance, on Westminster Bridge in May of 1763.[71] There are also plenty of instances from the Paris police records indicating prostitutes and couples caught *in flagrant délit* in the *Palais-Royal* and along the *Champs Elysées*. These were venues that were not only popular for prostitutes, but for other illicit sexual encounters as Merrick indicates in his study on Parisian 'sodomitical subcultures.'[72] The parks and green spaces in London provided walking paths through which one, during the day, could promenade, socialize, and take in their more natural surroundings. However, at night, the gardens, which remained open to the public, offered dark paths and shady trees where outdoor prostitution and illicit sexual activity could thrive. It is also important to consider that even though pleasure gardens and the use of them may have been culturally associated with elite forms of recreation, they were often used by all classes of sex worker. This suggests that prostitutes were accepted features of the landscape of the pleasure garden and their visibility in

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[71] James Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal: 1762-1763*, ed. Fredrick A. Pottle (London: Folio Society, 1985); 10 May 1763.

[72] BA mss. 10133-10135; Farge, ed., *Flagrant Délits Sur Les Champs-Élysées: Les Dossiers de Police Du Gardien Federici, 1777-1791* (Mercure de France, 2008), 114-119 ; See also Merrick, 'Patterns and Concepts,' 275.

these spaces, was highly tolerated compared to others.[73] This section, rather than providing a survey of all of the pleasure gardens of both Paris and London, gives a more in-depth discussion of the some of the most infamous in either city.

In London, Boswell described an isolated incident in St. James' Park in which he and a friend were 'accosted by several ladies of the town.'[74] At this point in his journal, Boswell had claimed not to have had any sexual relations with prostitutes for a while, however, three months later on 26 March 1763, he returned to St. James Park for that specific reason: 'As I was coming home this night, I felt carnal inclinations raging through my frame. I determined to gratify them. I went to St. James' Park…picked up a whore. For the first time I did engage in armour, which I found but a dull satisfaction.'[75] Boswell's awareness of St. James' park as a possible venue for mercenary sex highlights its qualities as a reputed, liminal space of the sex trade.

In 1896, Edgar Wroth described the pleasure gardens of eighteenth-century London, suggesting that Vauxhall Gardens was a popular destination for illicit sex.[76] Despite the reported presence of watchmen and officers meant to keep order and exclude 'undesirable visitors,' Vauxhall was still one of the most notorious sites for participation in sex work. As touched on earlier, with the example of St. James' Park, Vauxhall Gardens offered shady and dark places in which 'loose characters' would wait.[77] 'Lover's Walk', a dark path (even in the day), lined with trees which formed a canopy over the top, was a hunting ground for prostitutes, pickpockets, and, at times, a combination of the two. There are two cases from the eighteenth-century Old Bailey cases which link prostitution, theft and Vauxhall Gardens.[78] In both of these cases, the crime itself did not take place in Vauxhall Gardens, but the location remained important to both victims' narratives of their encounters with the prostitutes who allegedly stole from them.

In the case against Catherine Duffey and Elizabeth Davis by Anthony Ball in 1773, Ball claimed to have met the two women as he was 'coming from Vauxhall between two and three in the morning.'[79] Ball, a gentlemen who was living on his fortune, claimed that the two women collectively stole from him a number of items including a 'cornelian stone seal set in gold,' a 'tortoiseshell tooth-pick case', and a 'gold lace hat-band, with a silver buckle.'[80] The theft occurred at Davis' lodgings, but the location of Vauxhall did seem to be particularly important to

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[73] See Chapter One for more on visibility and prostitution, 39-81.

[74] Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal*, 4 Dec. 1762.

[75] Ibid., 26 Mar 1763.

[76] Edgar Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), 289.

[77] Ibid, 290.

[78] OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, trial of Catherine Duffey Elizabeth Davis, *LL*, t17730908-83, September 1773; . OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, trial of Sarah Mansfield Susannah Lapper Sarah Sehppard, *LL*, t17810711-35, July 1781.

[79] OBP Accounts of Criminal Trials, trial of Catherine Duffey, LL, t17730908-83, 8 September 1773.

[80] Ibid.

the narrative of the crime. For example, the fact that Ball was out until two or three in the morning remained unquestioned even though he had been at Vauxhall Gardens. In other cases, as explored in the previous chapter, men were often questioned about their own presence on the street at night. The lack of questioning may have perhaps been due to Ball's status as a gentleman.

In François-Marie Mayeur's 1788 work, *Tableau du Palais-Royal*, he highlights the social and cultural importance of *Palais-Royal*. In the description of the '*promenade du soir*', Mayeur, (a Parisian actor, playwright and theatre manager) revelled at the infinite number of people walking through the *Palais-Royal* forming a constantly moving picture aided by the brilliantly lit arcades between six and eleven-thirty in the evening.[81] He also commented on the high number of prostitutes who frequented the *Palais-Royal* which was a known haunt for all forms of prostitution. He divided the prostitutes of the *Palais-Royal* into three distinct categories: 'la fille richement entretrenue', 'la courtisane', and 'la fille publique.' Mayeur also gave a brief description of each. The description of the *fille publique* is perhaps, in this context, the one that warrants the most attention: 'La fille publique, moins élégante, et toujours accompagnée d'une vieille femme, ou d'une servant malpropre, court moins vîte, et se promène plus souvent sous les galeries que dans le jardin…'[82] The other two types of prostitutes, 'la fille richement entretenue' and 'la courtisane', which were more representative of the upper echelons of the trade were, apparently, not to be found in the PalaisRoyal as frequently as the lowly *filles publiques*. Although a *promenade* through the gardens (in either this context or that of Vauxhall Gardens) may have been considered an upper-middle class and even aristocratic activity, the gardens themselves were effectively hunting grounds for some of the poorest prostitutes both day and night. Norberg also observed that the apartments of the *Cour Guillame*, situated adjacent to the *Palais-Royal*, contained over two hundred prostitutes during the eighteenth century which indicates that even before the gardens were opened, the area was popular for prostitution.[83]

The dual nature of the pleasure garden, as it was in the eighteenth-century city, is important to the understanding of the development of urban landscapes during this period. The pleasure garden, intended to be a representation of a civilized society, was unintentionally fostering an environment which catered to the underbelly of urban life. Such spaces are also important in an understanding of the way the sex trade worked and its casual nature in comparison to the organized space of the brothel. Spaces like Vauxhall Gardens and *Palais-Royal*

[81] François-Marie Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Tableau Du Nouveau Palais-Royale*(Paris, 1788), 115.
[82] Ibid, 125. Translation: 'The prostitute, less elegant, and always accompanied by an old woman, or a dirty servant, short and slower, and promenades the most often on the galleries of the garden…'
[83] Norberg, 'Prostitutes,' 467.

became known areas in which the sex trade thrived. They helped to form a mental map of the city through which Londoners and Parisians experienced everyday life.

The way in which inhabitants of both Paris and London mentally mapped their surroundings also must have pertained to knowledge about where to partake in mercenary sex. The perspective of the male client is also a channel through which we can understand the mental mapping of the sex trade. Two of the most famous sources from which this perspective can be gleaned are the journals of Jacques-Louis Ménétra and Boswell (mentioned above).[84] Both of these men spent ample amounts of time with prostitutes in their respective cities and both offer an interesting glimpse into urban life during the later half of the eighteenth century. Both journals were written around the same time. Boswell's Journal, as mentioned, covers the years 1762 and 1763 while Ménétra began to write in his journal in 1764.[85]

In his recollections, Boswell gives very little detail regarding the specific place in which he picked up women. For example, he often picked up prostitutes 'in the Strand' which, as discussed earlier, was a major thoroughfare. Because of this, it is hard to pin down an exact trajectory for Boswell, but we can still glean some sense of which areas were popular for picking up women. For example, he mentions, in the fifteen different instances of picking up prostitutes in his journal, seven major areas. These seven major areas were Fleet Street, the Strand, St. James' Park, Covent Garden, Haymarket, Whitehall, and Privy Garden. Of these seven, Boswell reportedly frequented The Strand (five times), Covent Garden (four times) and St. James Park (twice) the most. Of the fifteen encounters with prostitutes, eleven of them took place within these three zones.

Not all interactions with prostitutes, in Boswell's case, always led to a transaction. While, in most interactions, it appears that Boswell was actively searching for prostitutes, there were some instances in which he had apparently stumbled upon a prostitute such as the earlier example in St. James' Park. Ménétra's interactions with prostitutes were decidedly different from Boswell's. Ménétra seems to have had a completely different attitude toward the sex trade and was less prone to bouts of shame after sexual transactions. He also maintained a close friendship with a procurer named Denongrais who ran a brothel in *Montmartre*.[86] He often visited Denongrais' house not only for the entertainment of the women residing there, but for her company as well. Shortly after Denongrais' first appearance in the journal, he mentioned in a

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[84] Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal;* Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal of My Life, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).*

[85] There is some doubt regarding when exactly Ménétra's text was written. See Farge, 'Introduction' in *Journal of My Life*, 6.

[86] Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 120-121.

later entry, 'I went as usual to Denongrais' place.'[87] Unlike Boswell, Ménétra seemed to be more comfortable engaging with prostitutes within the safety of the brothel and seemed keen to engage in more casual acts of prostitution as he did with his employer's cook.[88] Unfortunately, Ménétra's experiences are more difficult to map because he rarely gives exact locations when relaying information about his interactions with the sex trade. The only locations that are noted are of two 'convents': one of which was Denongrais' on *Rue Feydeau* in *Montmartre*, the other on the *Rue des Deux-Portes* (now *Rue Blondel* in the second *arrondisement*). 'Convents' were used as a euphemism for brothels in both Paris and London during the eighteenth century. The women who ran 'convents' were often referred to in both popular literature and in some Parisian police documents as 'mére abbesses.'[89] The correlation between prostitutes and nuns was not limited to metaphors as the next chapter, on confinement, will demonstrate. Both Ménétra and Boswell's experiences indicate that the topography of the urban sex trade was mentally mapped and known to those who sought the temporary company of women. Whether they traversed the urban environment at night in the hopes that they would come across a prostitute like Boswell or made repeated visits to a brothel like Ménétra, it remains clear that the geography of the sex trade did not exist in a separate sphere from the rest of urban life.

This section has considered the ways in which urban life was culturally contextualised regarding the sex trade. The way in which sex work existed in line with everyday urban life is a working example of spatial practice. Moreover, the importance of outdoor areas in which the sex trade functioned, as well as the perspective of the potential client, has also been considered in the cultural 'layer' of understanding for this chapter. The next sections will delve into the specifics of arrest records regarding prostitution in both cities and add a final layer to the mapping of the urban sex trade.

II.   The Geography of the Sex Trade

Benabou has argued that Parisian prostitution, in terms of geographical dispersion, remained fairly stable throughout the eighteenth century.[90] Given the previous discussion regarding the constant changes taking place within the urban environment and the fluid mobility that was characteristic of urban life, this is fairly surprising. The mapped data that I will present in this

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[87] Ibid., 123.
[88] Ibid., 163.
[89] Anon., *Nocturnal Revels, Or the History of King's Place and Other Modern Nunnieries*, Second, vol. One (London, 1779); The Paris police refer to a procurer they refer to as 'D'hericourt' as a '*mére abbesse*,' BA ms. 10253, fol. 28.
[90] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 192.

chapter complement Benabou's findings and also suggest that historians should consider a similar pattern for the geography of prostitution in London.

Henderson tracks the geography of prostitution using the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*. He uses three maps to demonstrate an overall picture of prostitution in the capital. Each map shows the sites where, according to the *Proceedings,* the prostitutes arrested for assault or theft, first met with their clients.[91] Using these three maps, Henderson claims two simultaneous trends regarding the shape of the sex trade between the years 1750 and 1830. First, he claims that prostitution was moving outside of the City of London, due to this area being, as he claims, more efficiently policed and less tolerant during the latter half of the century. Second, he claims that prostitution, in general, became concentrated within specific districts.[92] Henderson does acknowledge that there were few areas of London that went untouched by streetwalkers, but still argues that, overall, the sex trade went from being a widely dispersed activity in the early eighteenth century to being much more confined by the nineteenth century. The *Proceedings of the Old Bailey* are a useful source and I have also used them in my maps. They are also incredibly detailed and have allowed Henderson to map initial points of contact between prostitutes and their clients. That is, Henderson's records of prostitution deal solely with prostitute-client interactions taking place on the street and do not include any indoor locations or the locations of brothels.

The geography of eighteenth-century prostitution needs a two-pronged approach as offences of streetwalking and the offences of disorderly houses (or established residences of prostitutes) were dealt with differently in both London and Paris.[93] This section first addresses mapped presentments against disorderly houses in London (Map 1) followed by the mapped *Châtelet* cases brought against disorderly houses in Paris (Map 2). Then, the focus turns to streetwalking prostitutes. For London, I examine streetwalking offences (Map 3) in conjunction with pickpocketing offences (Map 4). While there may have been many prostitutes who picked the pockets of their clients in Paris, the connection between the two activities, in terms of criminality, was not as explicit as it was in London. Therefore, when mapping streetwalking prostitution in Paris, I have concentrated on aspects of mobility through investigating two case studies (Map 5 and Map 6) in which prostitutes were arrested for soliciting in the same location (*Les Halles)* despite their reported residences being scattered throughout the Paris.

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[91] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 54-56.
[92] Ibid.
[93] In Chapter One, I address the prosecution of disorderly houses and brothels and how this differed from arresting individual prostitutes in both Paris and London, 45-46.

The maps dealing with London indictment records have been produced using the *Locating London's Past* software.[94] This database is connected to the *London Lives* and *Old Bailey Online* databases which contain records from indictments and maps those indictments which have locations associated with them (more exact locations tend to come from disorderly house prosecution records). Through conducting searches, the *Locating London* software maps different indictments onto John Rocque's 1746 map of London. The maps of Paris were plotted point by point using my own database of locations and arrests rather than through a connection to an archival database with georeferencing capabilities. Thus, I had to conduct my own geo-referencing through identifying the street, researching its location, and plotting it by hand on Michel-Étienne Turgot's highly detailed *Plan de Paris* (1739).[95] This map was chosen due to its comparable chronology and extraordinary detail to John Rocque's 1746 map.[96] In addition, both maps suit the chronologies of the cases being used. Maps 1 through 4 have their own associated table or graph which illustrates the data and number of cases as well as how many were able to be mapped. In some cases, especially with the London sources, there are discrepancies between the total number of cases and the number of mappable cases. In cases like these, the location was either not provided or not specific enough (did not include a street name) to be plotted. The number of cases published for each map as far as their breakdown and ability to be mapped is described in detail in the following sections. Maps 5 and 6, due to being case studies, contain all the relevant data on the map itself rather than within a separate table or graph.

Disorderly Houses & *Lieux de Mauvaise Vie*

Through mapping the presentments of disorderly houses found within the quarter session records from Middlesex, Westminster and the City of London, I have managed to paint a slightly different picture from Henderson's of the possible changes in prostitution during the eighteenth century.[97] All of these records concern the presence of disorderly houses. Map 1 shows all cases associated with disorderly houses pulled from the Quarter sessions of Middlesex, Westminster, and the City of London.

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[94] "About the Project", *Locating London's Past* (www.locatinglondon.org, version 1.0, 17 December 2011).
[95] Louis Bretez, *Plan de Turgot de Paris*, 1:1,800 (Paris: Michel-Étienne Turgot, 1739). The map was commissioned by Turgot, a provost of merchants in Paris, which is why the map is often associated with him, rather than the cartographer Louis Bretez.
[96] John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, with the contiguous buildings*, (London: 1746).
[97] Hitchcock, *Disorderly Women*, 54-56.

While Henderson argues that London prostitution was becoming more condensed in certain areas, the maps in this chapter prove the opposite. While there are certainly areas of concentration, the data also suggests that prostitution became more dispersed throughout the capital as the century wore on. This calls into question Henderson's findings on policing and unearths new questions about neighbourly tolerance and the dynamism of the eighteenth-century urban environment. Henderson's source base was relatively small which would surely explain the limitations of his findings. Being able to access large quantities of records easily is also a product of most of these records being not only digitized, but part of a large searchable database like London Lives, Old Bailey Online, and Locating London. At the time that Henderson conducted his research, these resources were not available.

Document Type	No. of Cases 1701-1730	No. of Cases 1731-1760	No. of Cases 1761-1790
Middlesex Quarter sessions	250	256	306
Westminster Quarter sessions	11	21	50
City of London Quarter sessions	6	116	51
Total No. of Cases	267	393	407
Total No. of Mapped Cases	134	150	198

Table 1: Map 1 Data, Quarter sessions Disorderly House Indictment Records, 1701-1790.[98]

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[98] *Locating London's Past*, City of London Session Papers, Middlesex Session Papers, Westeminster Session Papers, 1701-1790, mapping all presentments against disorderly houses onto John Rocque's 1746 map of London. Search terms: "bawdy house" "bawdy-house" "disorderly house" "house of ill fame" "harbouring and entertaining lewd" "suspicious house."

Key for Map 1 of London:

Pin Color	Year Range
Red	1701-1730
Green	1731-1760
Blue	1761-1790
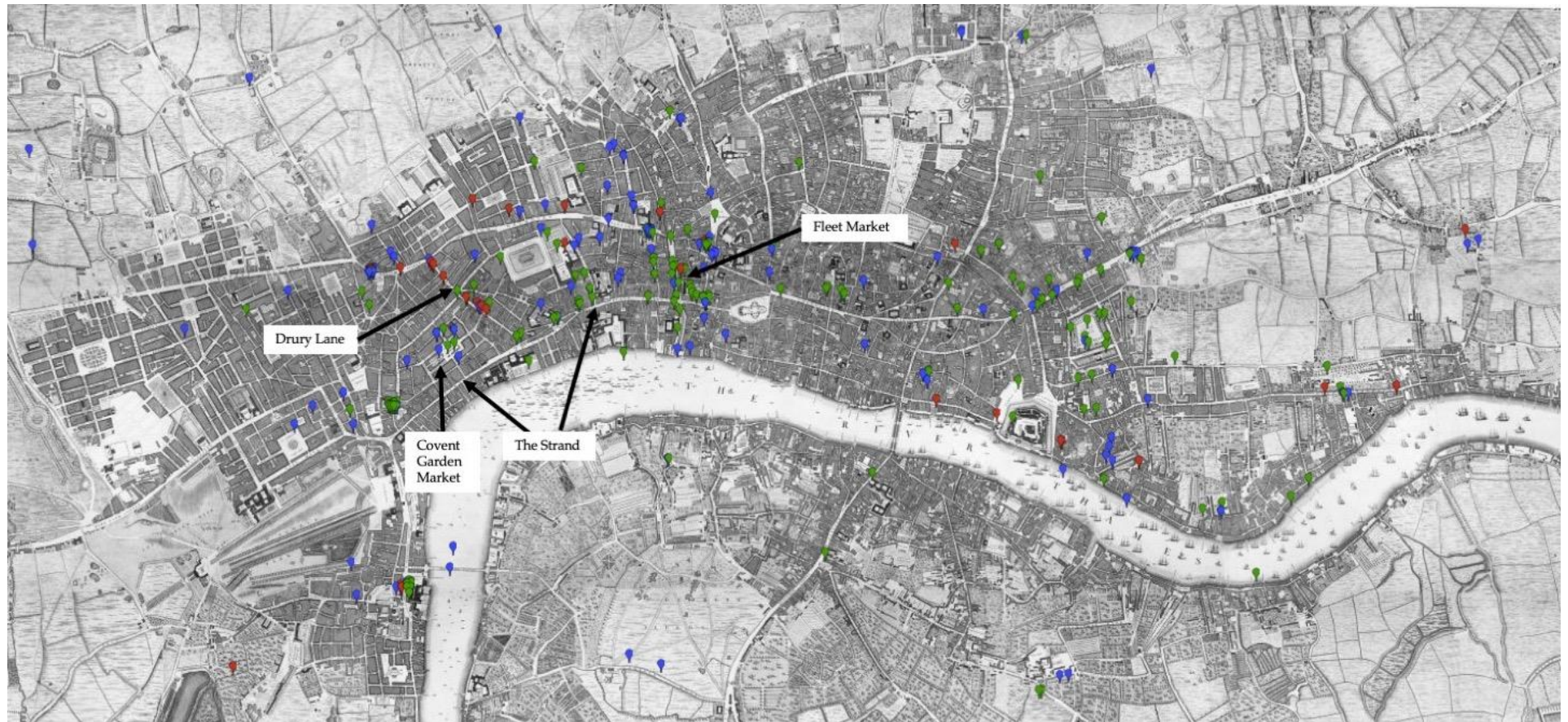
Map 1: Disorderly House Cases in the City of London, Middlesex and Westminster Quarter sessions, 1701-1790

If, as Henderson claims, prostitution became increasingly concentrated as the century progressed, we should then assume that the sex trade was relatively dispersed during the earlier half of the century. From 1701-1730, Map 1 indicates otherwise. The blue pins, which represent cases from this period, are clustered in specific areas. The most noticeable cluster is on Drury Lane (an infamous area for both brothels and streetwalking prostitutes alike). Henderson observes that the parishes of St. Paul Covent Garden and St. Martin in the Fields had difficulties policing the women who sold sex near the Theatre Royal on Drury Lane. This was due to the fact that the parish boundary between the two ran straight through the lobby of the theatre.[99] However, according to the mapped data, cases associated with prostitution occurred quite frequently along Drury Lane. The discrepancy is most likely due to the fact that Henderson was discussing the issue of streetwalking whereas here I am discussing cases against disorderly houses. It is then equally important to consider that individual prostitutes may have, at any point, crossed parish boundaries to avoid being arrested. This would specifically pertain to those found on the streets. The mobile aspects of prostitution will be discussed in more detail later.

Between 1701 and 1730, there are comparatively fewer cases of disorderly houses occurring East of St. Paul's especially when compared to later years. There are also comparatively fewer cases and thus fewer mapped cases than the following periods as

Table *1* adequately demonstrates. This can be explained by changing patterns of policing alongside a rapidly increasing population. As the population of London increased, the neighbourhoods to the east and west of the City of London expanded dramatically. Therefore, the dispersion of prostitutes reflected the change in city demographics as the poor headed east in search of cheaper accommodation.[100] The breakdown by parish is also not as easily determined. At this time, we can see that most of the cases dealing with disorderly houses took place in or around the parishes of St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrew Holborn, and Christchurch. However, there are any number of reasons why this could have been occurring. As touched on earlier, the issue of jurisdiction was paramount. Watchmen were often unwilling to cross into other parishes to make arrests despite what they knew was happening.[101] Additionally, some parish neighbourhoods were more likely to exhibit tolerance than others.

The number of cases concerning disorderly houses increased dramatically in the following thirty-year period. Between 1731 and 1760, there were 393 associated with the sex trade within the records mentioned in Table 1. Out of those, only 190 are mappable hits in the Locating London database (about forty-eight per cent). The dramatic increase can easily be misinterpreted

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[99] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 73.
[100] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, 12.
[101] Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 73.

as being related to an overall decrease in tolerance during the mid-eighteenth century. However, relative to the increasing population which, at this point, was almost doubling in size, the increase in cases is not all that dramatic.

The geography of the sex trade, however, based on the mapped data, did seem to be changing. There is a noticeable shift eastward in cases. The cases also seemed to be far more dispersed than in the earlier period. If disorderly houses were becoming more concentrated, it was not in the same areas as previously. For example, the parishes of St. Brides, St. Martin in the Fields, and St. Mary Whitechapel contained the most cases. This period also saw a rather dramatic increase in the City of London quarter session cases brought against disorderly houses. Between 1701 and 1730, only six cases were tried against disorderly and bawdy houses. Between 1731 and 1760, one hundred sixteen cases were tried. Thus, there were higher concentrations of prostitution cases that fell under the jurisdiction of the City of London (like St. Brides for example). Therefore, perhaps the 'increased concentration' of these areas has been misinterpreted to mean that the geography of the sex trade was changing. In fact, the patterns of prosecution had changed in central London while the population simultaneously expanded eastward which can easily mislead one to believe that prostitutes were increasingly concentrated within specific areas.

Population increase and changing patterns of prosecution are not, however, entirely to blame. Between 1761 and 1790, despite there being a much higher population than in the previous period, there are fewer cases associated with prostitution.[102] There are only four hundred thirty-eight cases total (one hundred eighty-two are mappable). That is a twenty per cent decrease in overall cases. In terms of the geographical makeup, the dispersal of disorderly houses seemed to be increasing. However, the areas of concentration before are not as consistently concentrated during this period. For example, St. Giles in the Fields was the most concentrated area during this period. This was an area of moderate concentration in the dataset from 1701 to 1730. The parishes of St. Martin in the Fields and St. Mary Whitechapel continued to house a moderate amount of cases. However the overall picture of the geography of prostitution, particularly on a per-hit basis as Map 1 shows, was becoming increasingly dispersed, yet with localised clusters. There does not seem to be a single part of London in which prostitutes were not present, however, there are areas in which we see very few instances of prosecution.

Although the City of London quarter sessions did try cases against prostitutes within its jurisdiction, there are few concentrations of prostitute cases mapped within the City of London

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[102] Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 66-81; Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1982), 60-61.

itself. Interestingly, as compared with the previous period, the amount of cases brought before the City of London quarter sessions actually declined significantly. Between 1761 and 1790, there were only forty-two cases compared to one hundred sixteen during the previous thirty-year period. The reason for this is hard to determine, but this evidence tends to support Dabhoiwala's claim that the City of London chief magistrates tended to be fairly lenient regarding charges against prostitutes or disorderly houses.[103] This is in spite of the evidence suggesting prostitution may have been absent from the City as Henderson argues. Rather, prostitution could very well have been present in the City, but remained relatively well tolerated.

Taking into consideration the absence of prostitution cases from particular areas, it can be hypothesized that prostitution, as an activity, was dispersed throughout London. Perhaps, the better way to interpret the patterns of the geography of prostitution in London is to assign the qualities of localized dispersion. This accounts for the fact that prostitution did tend to cluster in areas in which it could thrive: theatre districts, busy streets, etc. However, it also accounts for the fact that prostitutes did not only thrive in such areas but that the activity increasingly dispersed over the eighteenth century. This also becomes especially evident when viewing the mapped instances of prostitution cases in Paris alongside those of London.

In her own mapping of Parisian prostitution, Benabou arrives at the conclusion that prostitution remained dispersed throughout the eighteenth century, yet localized.[104] By this she meant that prostitution was dispersed among many neighbourhoods. However, there were some from which the sex trade was entirely absent. For example, she indicates that in the more peripheral faubourgs of Saint-Marcel and Saint-Antoine cases of prostitution were virtually absent within any arrest records. My findings support Benabou's conclusions regarding the geography of the sex trade. However, her maps, unlike Henderson's, only highlight popular areas for prostitution rather than individual hits. She calls these areas 'rues chaudes' or 'hot streets.'[105] In order to arrive at her conclusions regarding the geography of the sex trade, she compiled arrests from three sample years: 1765, 1766, and 1770. While she provides an excellent map of these 'rues chaudes,' she does little analysis of the map itself. Instead, she concentrates on some of the major hot spots for prostitution and discusses them in detail. According to Benabou, the 'grands foyers' of prostitution were the neighbourhood of *Saint-Denis* and the Rue St. Honoré along with a small area between and surrounding the *rue Planche-Milbray* (currently the *Rue Saint-Martin*) and the *Rue de la Vieille-Place-aux-Veaux*.[106]

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[103] Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law,' 94.
[104] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 192-193.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 199-201.

To give an idea of the sheer scale of these cases, Benabou, in her three year sample, detailed the arrest locations of over nine hundred prostitutes. Here, I supplement these findings with a smaller sample from an earlier period to detect if there was any continuation or change between the earlier and later halves of the century. The key difference between Benabou's methods and my own is that she has all cases from a few sample years, whereas I have samples of cases from a run of years, shown in Figure 1. My method allows us to see trends over time especially when including Benabou's own general findings with her 'rues chaudes.' As mentioned previously, there is no available software or database that maps Parisian offences as thoroughly or as well as the Locating London database. This makes the task of understanding and defining the geography of Parisian prostitution (in the settled form of the brothel) more difficult on a practical level. Comparatively, the sample size is both smaller and more rigidly defined than the London datasets. However, the sample that I am using, when supplemented with and compared to Benabou's findings, provides a more even comparison.
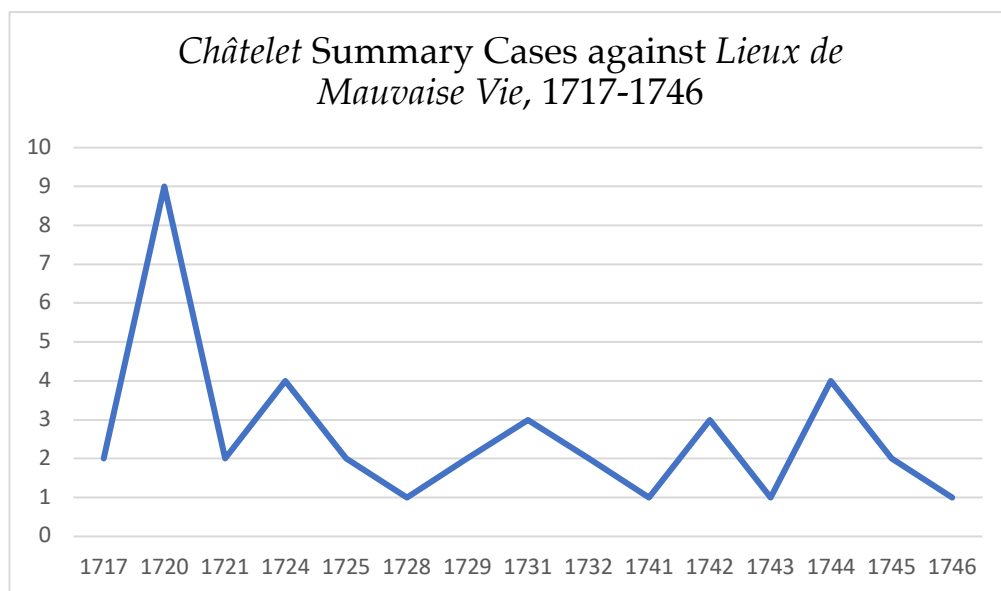
Figure 2: Map 2 Data, Châtelet Summary Cases Against Disorderly Houses, Sentences de Police from 1717-1746.[107]

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[107] BN ms. Y 9498-9499. See Chapter One, 43-44, and Introduction, 27-29, for more on these sources (limitations, justification, etc.).

Key for Map 2 of Paris:

Flag Colour	Year Range	Source Type
Red	1717-1746	Châtelet Sentences de Police against Brothels and Residences of Prostitutes
Yellow	1765, 1766, 1770	Erica Marie Benabou's 'rue chaudes' or popular areas for prostitution found in *La Prostitution et la Police des Moeurs.*[108]

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[108] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 191-193.
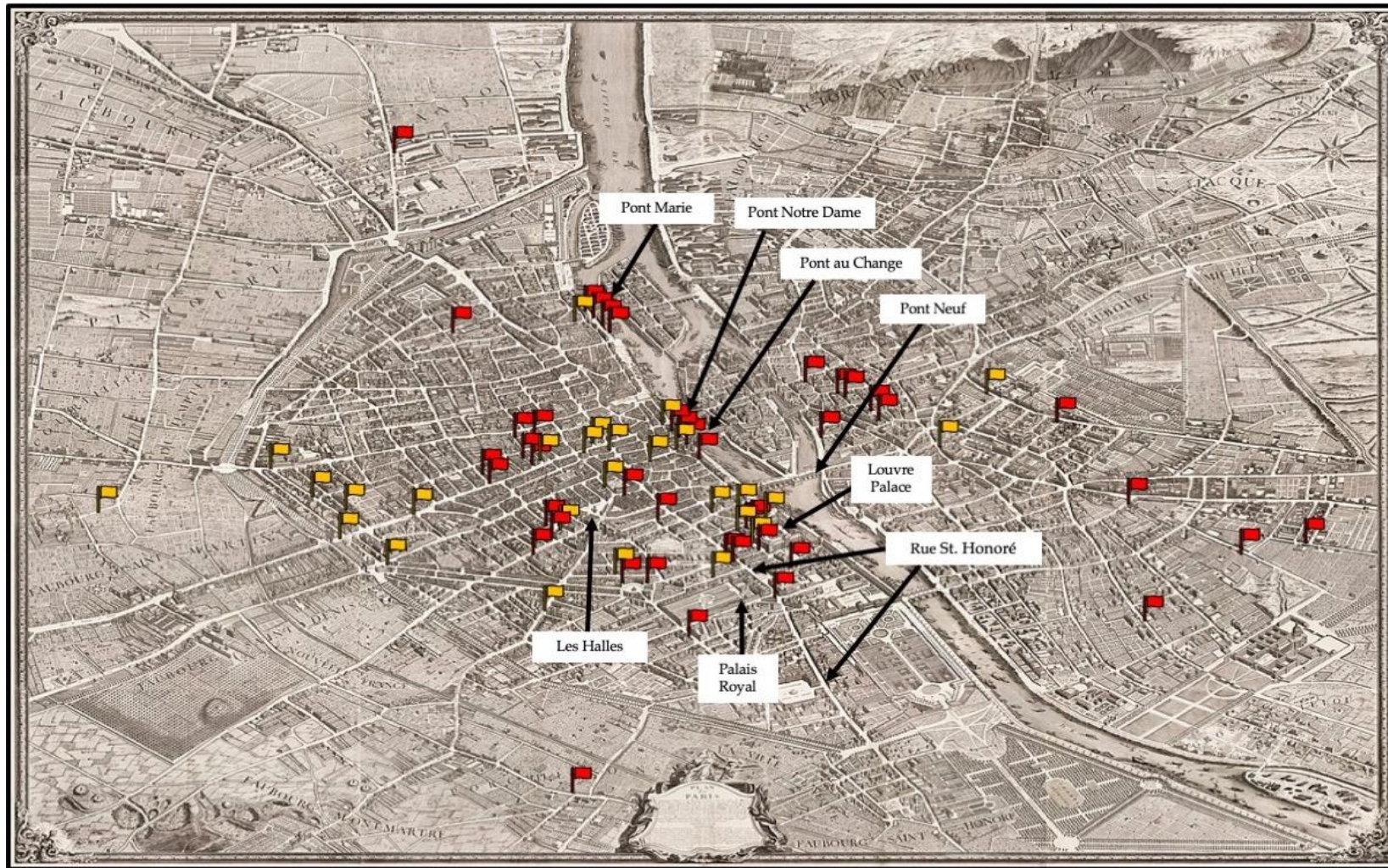
Map 2: *Lieux de mauvaise vie* from both the Châtelet Case Summaries alongside Benabou's 'rue chaudes'.

Map 2 displays the geographical breakdown of the *Châtelet* cases which span a period of, roughly, thirty years between the years 1717 and 1746. These dates reflect the ability of sources but also the occurrences of these sources within the *Châtelet* summaries.[109] This may have been due to the reissuing of the 1684 ordinance in 1713 which encouraged neighbours to report brothels or activities relating to prostitution to the police. There are thirty-nine *sentences de police* (cases) within this forty-year period that occurred all over Paris as Map 2 shows. It seems that some years were better recorded or contained more offences than others. In addition, there are more cases in the *Châtelet* concerning places of prostitution between 1717 and 1731 than there are between 1732 and 1746 due to a sharp spike in 1720, as shown in Figure 2. Benabou, of course, was working with a much larger source base over a shorter period and primarily was using archival information from the *Affaires des Moeurs* police records whereas here, I am using the Châtelet records.[110] Therefore, her research yielded a higher number of cases. She was also looking for any instance of recorded prostitution whereas, in the case of Paris, I am more interested in areas of settled prostitutes which included not only brothels but *chambres garnies* or other places in which the proprietors were convicted of harbouring prostitutes. I will address street prostitution and the movement of prostitutes in the following section.

As Map 2 shows, most of Benabou's 'rue chaudes' correspond with the locations of disorderly prostitute residences brought before the *Châtelet* in the earlier period In both cases, we are usually only given a street name and thus the specific location of the brothel or disorderly houses on that street is hard to determine. However, the areas in which we see the densest populations of prostitutes throughout the century are in areas where the streets are incredibly small. For example, while the *Rue Saint-Honoré* was a famous boulevard associated with prostitution, both Benabou and I have identified instances of prostitution occurring in its off-shoots (such as the *Rue Bons Enfans* or the *Rue d'Orleans*). Despite the fact that we may not have a specific numbered address for these places in either mine or Benabou's findings, the exact location is still easy to narrow down to a small street. It is also worth noting that streets did not often have numbered addresses at this point. Many of these tiny streets are now non-existent and would have been completely demolished or incorporated into larger streets by the end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the distinct Parisian feature of these smaller winding narrow streets was ideal for prostitutes. It could have been easier to evade authority or to keep a watch out for police or provide cover for clients going in and out. In addition, these small side streets would

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[109] For more on the *Châtelet* summaries, see Introduction 27-29; See also Chapter One, 43-44.
[110] For more on the sources that I have used and the complications with the Affaires des Moeurs sources, see Introduction, 23-33.

have created distinct, small neighbourhood communities which could simultaneously offer protection and invite scrutiny of all residing within them.

Benabou's 'rue chaudes,' which represent the second half of the eighteenth century, suggest that prostitution was expanding to other streets. Places of disorderly prostitution seemed to be reaching beyond the bounds of the river banks and stretching into newly developing parts of the city (*Montmartre, Saint-Antoine,* and *Saint Germain-des-Près*). Benabou notably indicates streets like the *Rue Carême-Prenant* (which led to *the Hôpital Saint-Louis*). However, in general, the locations of popular areas for prostitution in the second half of the century and the mapped locations for the *Châtelet* records of prostitution indicate that areas of the sex trade remained dispersed, yet localized. Throughout the century, there were specific areas in which there was a high density of sex trade related activity. There were also areas in which we see low density—namely, most of the left bank.

The high areas of concentration seemed to be related not only to areas of entertainment, but to areas of either higher population density or higher amounts of foot traffic. The areas on the right bank near some of the major bridges (*Pont Marie, Pont Neuf, Pont au Change* and *Pont Nôtre Dame*) seemed to have high densities of brothels or places associated with prostitution. Earlier in the chapter, I highlighted the importance of major thoroughfares to prostitution. This concentration may have been due to higher amounts of foot traffic in those areas. However, it may not be that simple because these areas of concentration are, mostly on the right bank. The side streets along major thoroughfares like the *Rue St. Martin* and the *Rue St. Honoré* seemed to be popular areas for the sex trade. There certainly were houses of ill-repute along the main stretch of these two streets, but perhaps there was more security in establishing a brothel in one of the smaller side streets. Patterns of concentration are also evident near *Rue St. Honoré* and the *Louvre* palace as the map presented here corresponds with the earlier discussion of important thoroughfares in the city. This brings into question the issue of visibility. As I have explored in Chapter One, the visible and audible disturbances caused by prostitution often led to prosecution. However, we must then consider the degree of disturbance in areas that would have experienced high degrees of congestion such as those highlighted on Map 2.

Coming up with any definitive conclusions regarding change over time is rather difficult with Map 2. Although we could make an argument for a slight expansion into the outer edges of the city of Paris, we would also be failing to consider the rapid growth the city was experiencing at this time. If Parisian prostitution was becoming more dispersed and less centralized, then we would also see a definitive lack of concentration with Benabou's findings when in fact this is not the case. In fact, the 'rues chaudes' fill in many of the geographical gaps between the

concentrations presented by the *Châtelet* records. Turgot's map, which was completed in 1739 presents the outskirts of Paris (*faubourgs*) as largely agricultural with few buildings. However, all of this was changing during the later half of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth.[111]

As established in the previous chapter, both Paris and London had drastically different institutional mechanisms which prosecuted prostitution despite that the shared preferred method of using informal neighbourhood tactics to address disorderly prostitution the first instance.[112] The geography of prostitution, in both Paris and London, was shaped by population increases, mobility, and fluxes of tolerance and intolerance practised by neighbourhood communities. Despite the difference in institutions between the two cities, both experienced similar patterns in the geography of known places of prostitution over the course of the eighteenth century. We must also keep in mind that the sources reflect particularly disorderly instances of prostitution and concentrations in specific areas may well reflect intolerance over a longer period of time rather than a sense of tolerance.

In terms of the geography of the sex trade, arguably, it may have become dispersed over time (as Henderson states).[113] However, this has to be considered in light of two rapidly expanding cities both in terms of population and geographically. Therefore, what may appear to be dispersion over time, may actually have been a pattern of migration. Overall, Benabou's assertion, although she was referring specifically to Paris, seems to be the most accurate regarding the nature of the geography of the sex trade.[114] Based on the maps that I have shown, overall, the sex trade remained dispersed yet localized throughout the eighteenth century in both Paris and London. In London, the sex trade seemed to be expanding out of specific areas in which it had been concentrated; however, it still maintained a detectable presence within those areas.

Streetwalking

In terms of categorizing crime, not all women who walked the streets at night were always prostitutes, however, the assumption that they were was deeply rooted in urban policing culture (addressed in the previous chapter and introduction). In London, the minute books of the Bridewell Court of Governors contain cases pertaining to streetwalking throughout central London (Map 3). These have been used in conjunction with pickpocketing offences (Map 4) in

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[111] Jones, *Paris*, 197, 204.
[112] See Chapter One, 39-81.
[113] Henderson, *Disorderly Women,* 73.
[114] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 192-93.

order to understand the picture of streetwalking prostitution as a whole in London. In order to gain a fuller picture of the geography of streetwalking, we must use additional types of sources. In London, the offences of prostitution and pickpocketing were inextricably linked within both a social and legal context. In many of the cases taken to the Old Bailey against female pickpockets, it was inferred or implied that the female defendant was, in fact, a prostitute. However, this was something that the plaintiff would often leave out for fear of being treated in an unsympathetic manner. As previously mentioned, the likelihood of a prostitute being acquitted for pickpocketing was rather high.

Due to the nature of the evidence in Paris, there is no one place in which one can find a sample of streetwalking prostitutes spanning the eighteenth century. Therefore, I am using the Paris evidence in order to understand aspects of urban mobility and streetwalking by investigating two police raids of Les Halles in which multiple prostitutes were arrested at once (Map 5 and Map 6). By examining the nature of streetwalking arrests in conjunction with pickpocketing offences in London and the distance covered by individual streetwalkers in Paris, I am expanding on the findings above and further demonstrating the fluidity and dispersion of prostitution as an activity carried out on foot.

On the Locating London database, the only main source of streetwalking prostitutes comes from the minute books of the Bridewell Court of Governors. Within this source base, there are 254 arrests concerning streetwalking prostitutes. Of those 254 cases, 164 provide mappable locations. Like the cases against disorderly houses in the quarter sessions records in Map 1, there seemed to be a significant spike in cases between 1731 and 1760 and a relative decline from 1761 to 1790. The explanation could be related to the decline of the Bridewell hospital at the later part of the century.[115] Perhaps due to a lack of funds, the hospital could no longer accommodate the number of prostitutes that it once had. However, since the mid-century spike in cases against streetwalkers correlates with that of disorderly houses, there may be more to these numbers than Bridewell's decline. Perhaps, between 1731 and 1760, there were surges of intolerance in specific localities. As is shown on Map 3, the mapped data reflects that, in terms of geography, streetwalking offences pulled from these records seemed rather limited to specific areas and did not necessarily experience the dispersion reflected in Map 1 of disorderly houses. However, it is important to note that, due to Bridewell's rather central location, that the areas of policing would also have been central.[116] The likelihood of being sent to Bridewell may have decreased the further one was from the City of London. In addition, certain areas of London

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[115] William G. Hinkle, *A History of Bridewell Prison, 1553-1700* (Lewiston: The Edwin Millen Press, 2006), 3.
[116] See Chapter 3, Map 7, for location of Bridewell.

may have been policed more heavily than others for prostitutes due to the fact that many of the places in which there are heavy concentrations of arrests (the Strand, Covent Garden, Fleet Street) were all known areas of the sex trade within the urban landscape (as discussed above).

Year Range (pin colour)	No. of Cases	No. of Mapped Cases
1701-1730 (red)	72	46
1731-1760 (green)	138	92
1761-1790 (blue)	44	26
TOTAL	254	164

Table 2: Data for Map 3, London Streetwalking Cases found within the Bridewell Hospital Minute Books of the Court of Governors, 1701-90.[117]

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[117] *Locating London's Past*, Bridewell Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1701-1790, mapping all entries of nightwalkers and streetwalkers, all female onto John Rocque's 1746 map of London. Search terms: "street walker", "nightwalker", "streetwalker", "night walker."

On the map, the following labels appear: Fleet Market, Drury Lane, The Strand, Covent Garden Market.
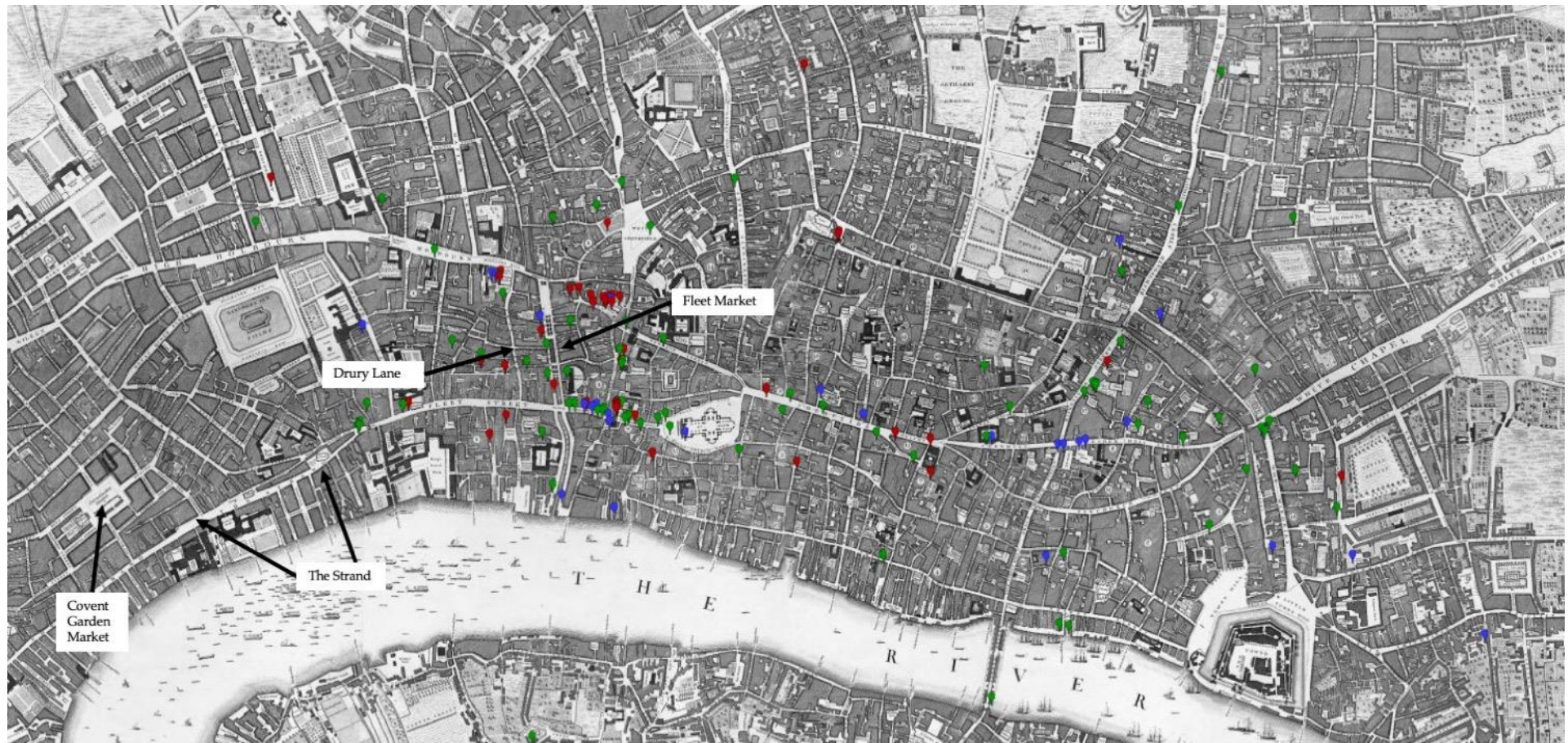
Map 3: Streetwalking Offences from the Bridewell Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governor, 1701-1790.
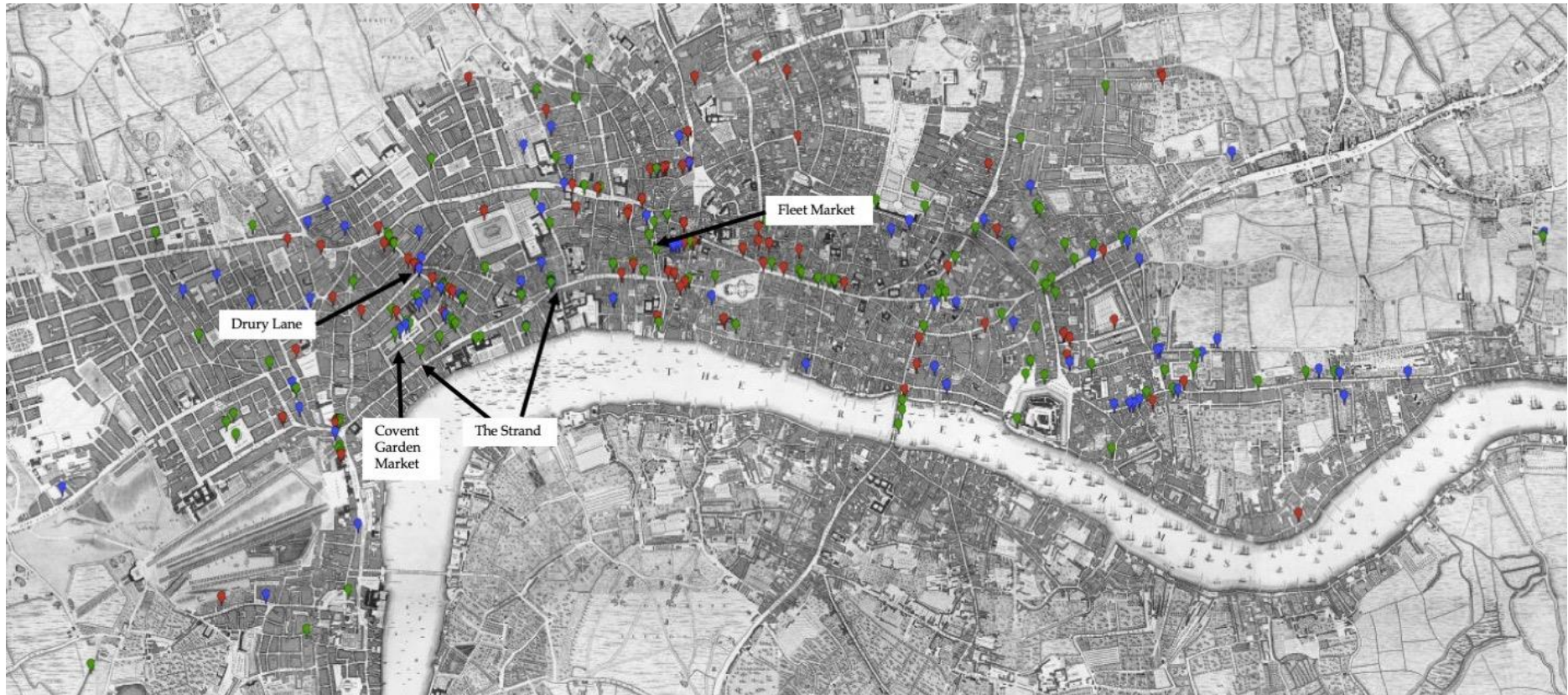
Map 4: All Pickpocketing Offences with Female Defendants, Mapped by Crime Location from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1701-1790.

Year Range	No. of Cases	No. of Mapped Cases
1701-1730 (red)	150	84
1731-1760 (green)	240	134
1761-1790 (blue)	132	79
TOTAL	522	297

Table 3: Data for Map 4, Pickpocketing Patterns of Women Defendants from the Old Bailey Proceedings, Mapped by Crime Location.[118]

Map 4 shows all cases of pickpocketing in which the defendant was a woman. By no means were all of these women prostitutes. What is important, however, is that many female pickpockets in London (as demonstrated by Henderson and Beattie) picked up their targets on the streets (much like prostitutes). Whether they actually sold sex or not, these women would often operate under the guise of prostitution in order to convince their targets (primarily men) to let down their guard.[119] When comparing Maps 3 and 4, we are presented with two seemingly different geographic representations of the sex trade. In Map 3, as discussed, there is far more continuity from 1701 to 1790 and this is largely due to the nature of the location of the Bridewell Hospital and the likelihood that those arrested would have consistently come from similar areas. There is also a dip in the amount of cases between 1761 and 1790 from which it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding apparent degrees of either dispersion or concentration. Map 4 shows a similar dip in the number of cases during this period, albeit on a slightly larger scale (see Table 3). Using the same time period intervals, we can see that the mapped arrest records of female pickpockets shown on Map 4 experienced a similar pattern of dispersion as disorderly houses (Map 1) during the same period. This suggests that perhaps prostitution was still becoming more widely dispersed despite what the mapped data of the Bridewell minute books shows.

The similarity in geographical dispersion between pickpocketing and disorderly houses over the course of the eighteenth century suggests two things. First, it supports a strong correlation between the activities of selling sex and petty theft. How such a manifestation played out is difficult to determine. One plausible reason could be that there was more policing of areas in which there were known disorderly houses. In the previous chapter, I discussed the legal discourse surrounding prostitution in eighteenth-century London. Despite the fact that there was no legal statute outlawing prostitution, it continued to be regularly policed by neighbours, constables and watchmen. Perhaps this policing was related to the policing of pickpockets. Although historians have touched on the relationship between prostitution and pickpocketing in

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[118] *Locating London's Past*, The Old Bailey Proceedings, 1740-1749, mapping all pickpocketing crimes, by crime location and defendant gender: female, onto Rocque's 1746 map of London.
[119] Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, 180; Hitchcock links prostitution to begging and pickpocketing in 'Begging on the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (July 2005), 491.

British criminal discourse, there is little work on the act of policing prostitutes and pickpockets and how these two were often conflated as the mapped data indicates.[120] There is also the likelihood that disorderly houses (Map 1) were magnets of activity for pickpockets and prostitutes alike. The patrons of brothels and disorderly houses in general were fairly easy targets for pickpockets (if they did not happen to also be prostitutes). Not all prostitutes were pickpockets or vice versa. Rather, the two carried a strong correlation not only within urban criminal discourse at the time in London, but perhaps culturally as well.

Second, the similarity between pickpocketing and disorderly house locations supports the notion that perhaps streetwalking prostitution was becoming more widespread over the course of the century than the Bridewell minute books records of streetwalking arrests would have us believe. The extent to which this is true is rather difficult to determine as some of the women arrested for pickpocketing were arrested in houses of ill repute. However, most pickpockets were highly mobile and would have picked up their targets on the streets. Moreover, pickpocketing was a crime more likely to be prosecuted than streetwalking. Streetwalking or nightwalking was a victimless crime whereas pickpocketing was not and therefore more likely to be prosecuted.

As I have discussed in the previous chapter, different kinds of prostitution are harder to trace than others. Streetwalking prostitutes in Paris were particularly difficult to track down. Even when it was possible to do so, the records relating to streetwalking prostitutes (primarily the *Affaires des Moeurs* sections) are fragmented in terms of which years of the records survive and thus difficult to quantify.[121] Therefore, for Paris, rather than attempting to map the entirety of streetwalking offences, I have selected two particularly revealing cases for analysis. Both of these were found within the *Affaires des Moeurs* sections of the Bastille Archives. These records, as I have already discussed, have a higher qualitative value and offer some insights into the daily lives of prostitutes.

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[120] Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, 180; Henderson touches on pickpocketing and prostitution in *Disorderly Women,* 177.
[121] See Introduction, 27-29.
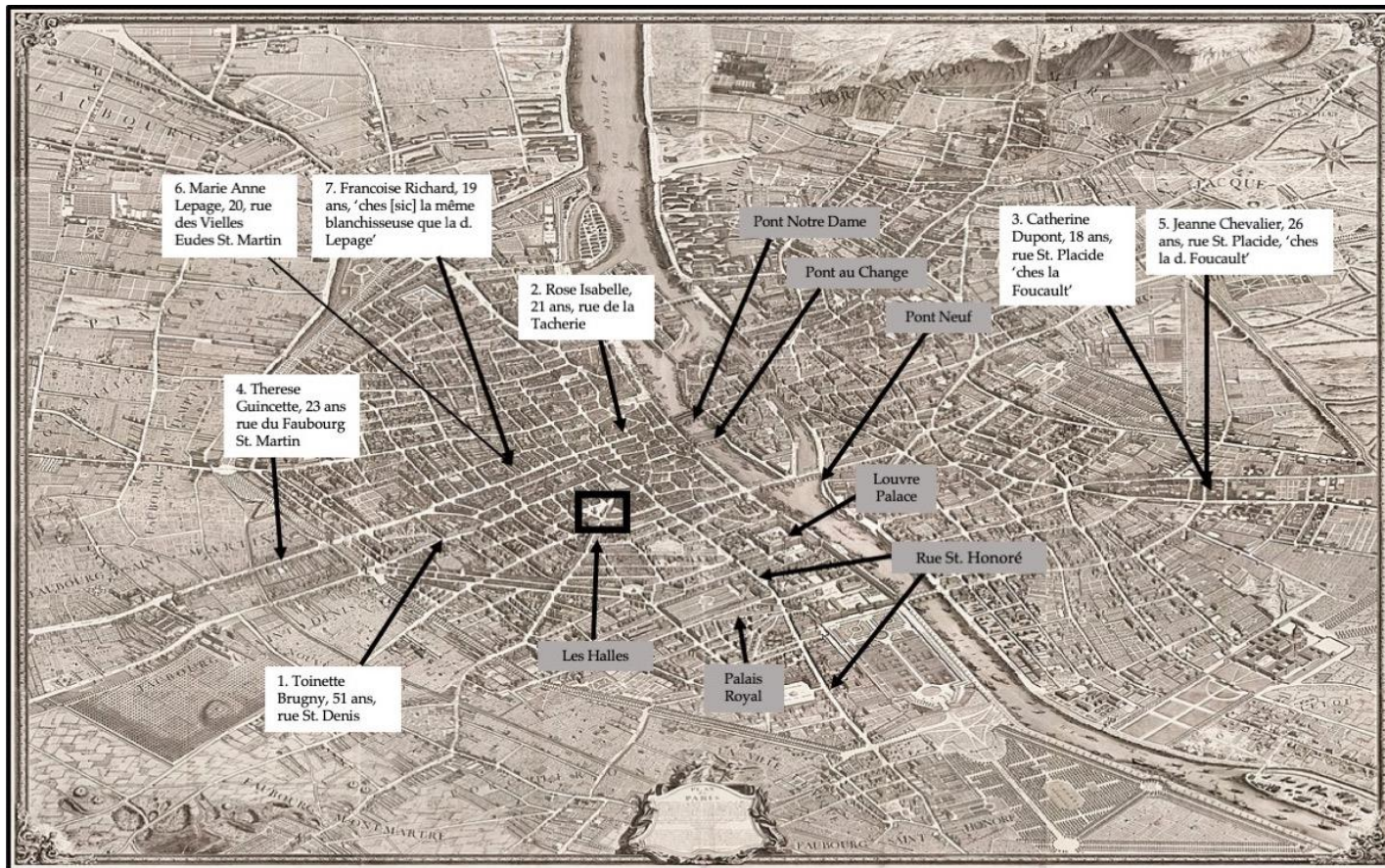
Map 5: Les Halles Case Study 1, Locations of Residence Mapped in Relation to the Arrest Location of *Les Halles*.

On 11 April 1761, seven women were arrested in *Les Halles*. In the arrest record, the names, ages, and places of residence of the different women were recorded.[122] The *commissaire* noted that he identified the women as 'raccrocheuses et filles débauches.'[123] There is little detail regarding why he made this distinction. In fact, there is often little detail regarding the nature of the arrests of prostitutes in Paris.[124] These women, according to the police, were out searching for potential customers in *Les Halles*. On Map 5, there are a total of only five plot points despite there being seven women arrested. This is due to the fact that some women lived in the same house (six and seven: Marie Anne Lesage and Francoise Ricard) o*n Rue de Vielles* and on *Rue St. Placides* (three and five: Catherine Dupont and Jeanne Chevalier). If all seven women were arrested in *Les Halles*, it suggests that at least four of them had to travel nearly two kilometres between where they claimed to live and where they were found. Chevalier and Dupont, for example, lived in what would now be the sixth *arrondisement*, a long, winding walk (considering what has already been discussed about paved walkways in Paris) from *Les Halles* which is located near the ancient *quartier* of *La Marais*. Perhaps the fact that they resided in the same house could imply that they travelled together to *Les Halles* either in search of potential clients or entertainment. The reasons for shared lodging must also have been largely practical: it was cheaper to share living space.

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[122] BA ms. 10133, Procès-verbaux rédigés par les commissaires au Châtelet, des patrouilles faites dans les rues de Paris, et visites dans les cabarets, billards et lieux suspects par les inspecteurs, commissaires et exempts, 1760-1775.
[123] Ibid.
[124] For an example of this, see BA mss. 10129-33, Procès-verbaux rédigés par les commissaires au Châtelet, 1750-1775; BA mss 10134-35, Affaires des Mœurs, 1723-1724. BA mss. 12690-95, État de Salpêtrière, 1719-1765.

Map 6: Les Halles Case Study 2, Locations of Residence Mapped in Relation to the Arrest Location of *Les Halles*.

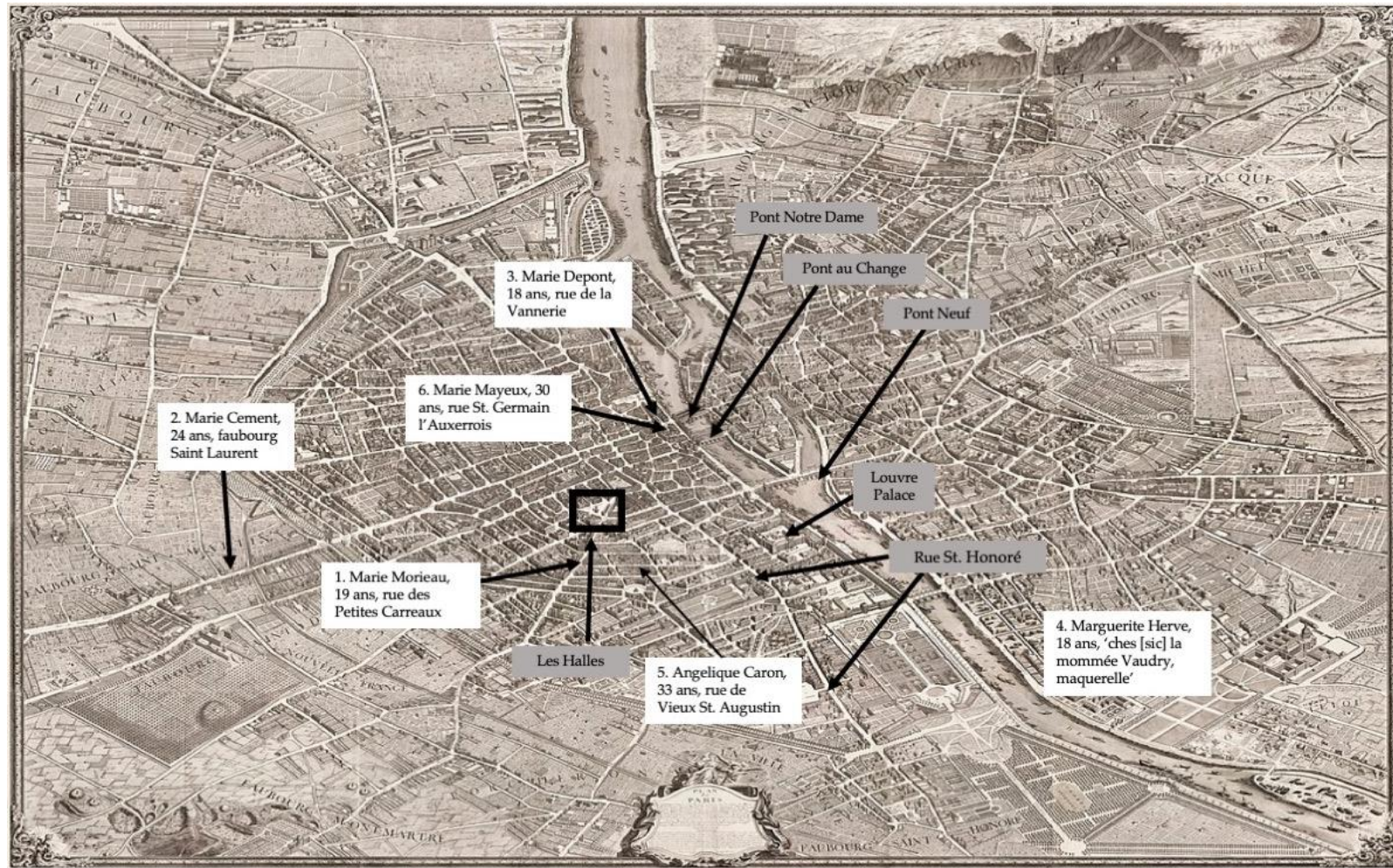In another example from November of the same year, six other prostitutes were arrested in *Les Halles*. In Map 6, their places of residence have been plotted. Only five have been plotted due to the lack of a street name given for Margueritte Herve who was reportedly living with a *maquerelle* named Vaudry (who the police seemed to be aware of, but for whom no address was provided).[125] It is clear from the five mapped examples that most of the women arrested in Les Halles again lived quite far from one another and quite far from where they ended up being arrested. The exceptions were Marie Mayeux and Marie Dupont. Dupont, an eighteen year-old prostitute, claimed to live on *Rue de la Vannerie*.[126] Mayeux, a thirty-year old prostitute, claimed to be living on *Rue Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois* which was located a few blocks from Dupont's residence.

Les Halles, and the surrounding areas, as discussed earlier, as areas of high economic activity would be commonly associated with and frequented by prostitutes. Additionally, according to Mercier, *Les Halles* was also a common place that the poor would visit in order to purchase relatively cheap meals.[127] Perhaps these women were doing the same or simply catering to others who were. The *commissaire* notes the following in this case file: 'Toutes comme raccrocheuses et femmes de débauche coureuses de nuit et pour réunir d'habitude…'[128] Prostitutes may have commonly met here in order to attract potential clients that they knew would already be willing to spend money. *Les Halles*, as a meeting place, may have been well-known to potential clients and prostitutes knew that being in that space could generate income for them. Perhaps there was some sense safety in travelling together. Prostitution, aside from being a criminal activity, was dangerous work and there were practical reasons that members of the sex trade would work together that went beyond a sense of solidarity.

An aspect of prostitution highlighted by these two examples, but worthy of emphasis regarding all of the other maps in this case, was that women who sold sex were highly mobile. Spaces in which sex workers and clients knew to gather were hot points of anxiety for everyday urban inhabitants. This relates to the discussion of contested space in the previous chapter. Practiced places of commerce seemed to include commerce of both 'honest' and 'dishonest' types. The boundaries between the illicit activities of the sex trade and those who sold other goods and services were blurred. Contemporary authorities and inhabitants were constantly grappling with this lack of distinction. Places like *Les Halles*, *Rue St. Honoré*, the Strand, or

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[125] BA ms. 10133, Procès-verbaux rédigés par les commissaires au Châtelet, November 1762.
[126] This street no longer exists in Paris as it was demolished with the construction of l'Avenue Victoria in 1853 in the Marais.
[127] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. I, 210.
[128] BA ms. 10133, Procès-verbaux rédigés par les commissaires au Châtelet, November 1762. Translation (mine): 'All as street walkers and women of debauchery, tramps of the night gathering here habitually.'

Covent Garden were problematic because they were gathering spaces in which city authorities and inhabitants could literally see the effects of an increasingly urbanized society. The presence of prostitutes in areas of high economic and social mixing was not necessarily new. However, it was an issue. This was due not to what was actually taking place between prostitutes and potential clients, but because of what the activity of soliciting represented, namely, the disorderly nature of urban life. Despite prostitution being more tolerable for neighbourhood communities when it took place in confined spaces, women of the sex trade still often needed to leave those spaces in order to make a living. Therefore, large public arenas like those listed above were crucial to the survival of these women and their trade. To travel two blocks or even two miles was worth the risk of arrest or exposure.

As explored within the previous chapter, the prosecution of prostitutes played out differently in the two cities despite the commonalities between methods of policing. This chapter has demonstrated that the two separate and ultimately quite different sets of sources used to map prostitution offences are genuinely complementary to one another. This is especially evident within the streetwalking maps. Streetwalking offences are not to be found in any one set of records in either Paris or London. In order to be successful, sex workers had to be highly mobile and inconspicuous to police, but simultaneously conspicuous to clients. Therefore, potential clients would have to be familiar with the clues, prompts and body language of prostitutes within the context of a particular space. The case studies from Paris highlight this as the women who solicited in *Les Halles* were all rounded up together and arrested due to the fact that they appeared, to the Paris police, to be blatantly soliciting themselves. In addition, through investigating the pickpocketing records within the context of streetwalking, it appears that there was a high degree of diffused mobility occurring throughout the century. There were, of course, areas in which prostitution remained highly localized in both cities, but overall, the prosecutions against prostitutes became more dispersed as the population did the same. Therefore, all of the maps for both Paris and London are not necessarily indicative of either tolerance or intolerance but, rather of overall growth and increasing urbanisation.

III.   Conclusion

Paris and London, despite their physical differences in terms of topography, held many similarities between them on the topic of social urban landscape. As Harding has indicated in her comparative analysis of death in the two cities, neither city was a 'fully integrated, uniform and orderly physical entity'; however, they were not completely disconnected either. Certain geographical foci such as food markets, cathedral churches, and main thoroughfares played a role in a shared civic identity despite the nature of both cities being a series of smaller

overlapping communities.[129] Even as the populations and the cities themselves expanded over the course of the eighteenth-century, this did not dramatically alter the realities of everyday urban life.

Simply plotting the areas in which arrests occurred would not have painted a full picture of the eighteenth-century sex trade. It is instead more valuable to the historian to consider many aspects of urban space and its association with a particular activity. Ultimately, what arose from this chapter was a dialogue between the space and the actors themselves. The inhabitants of certain neighbourhoods of the city were responsible for an area being associated with prostitution through allowing cheaper rents, being active participants in the economy of makeshifts in which the sex trade thrived, or through generally being tolerant of the illicit selling of sex. In line with Pluskota's arguments, spaces for selling sex were created by individuals and interpreted as such by later generations. The chapter also speaks to the unstable and fluid environment in which many Londoners and Parisians led their lives. The sex trade practised a degree of fluidity not only because of its mobile and dispersed nature, but also because the experience of urban living was one of constant movement as described earlier on in this chapter. In addition, constant movement and fluidity were especially prevalent among the poor who moved often either for lack of or in search of cheaper lodging.[130]

Prostitution was, in both cities, an unavoidable element of the 'tissu urbaine.'[131] As an activity, it certainly did not solely exist on the 'under-belly' of society, in an independent world with its own rules and its own code of conduct. What we imagine as the 'red light districts' of Paris or London come from a top-down notion of authorized space which sprang up in the nineteenth century, whereas specific areas or neighbourhoods of both cities had long been associated or dominated by the sex trade prior to such a concept. Pluskota has since found that unofficial 'red light' areas could manifest organically, rather than from a position of authority. That being said, as this chapter has demonstrated, it is not necessarily that simple to pin down specific areas of the sex trade throughout the eighteenth century. Instead, what is offered is a series of snapshots of archival data that I strung together through layers of cultural, social and economic understandings of the contemporary urban topography.

The degree to which prostitutes were integrated into day-to-day urban life was an issue for contemporary commentators. Charles Horne complained that prostitution was 'an evil which is depicted in every corner of the streets, and almost every house… beauty despoiled, innocence

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[129] Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, 120.

[130] Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London Lives*, 196-244; Olwen Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*, 69-107.

[131] Benabou refers to prostitution as part of the 'tissu urbaine' in *La Prostitution*, 199-201.

betrayed and the tranquillity of the community thrown into the greatest disorder.'[132] Thomas Scott, a preacher at the Lock chapel, claimed prostitutes thronged the streets and preyed on the 'inexperienced and incautious.'[133] The paranoia and fear associated with the visibility of prostitution may be exaggerated in such documents which contain proposals to address it. In fact, these proposals are symptomatic of the qualities of urban life reflected in its crowded landscape. As mentioned at the start of the chapter, the author of *Code ou Nouveau Réglement sur les Lieux de Prostitution dans la Ville de Paris* (1775) attempted to set prostitution apart from the rest of urban society. However, Mercier described prostitution as being an unfortunate, yet necessary facet of urban life.[134] It would seem that, although prostitutes were well-integrated and dispersed throughout both cities, in general, commentators were not always willing to accept this. The fact that there was no physical or social boundary between the sex trade and the rest of urban life seems to be the primary issue that both Horne and Scott took in their work. The desire to mentally separate 'worlds' from one another is actually an indicator of how worlds of 'honest' and 'dishonest' living were inextricably linked and dependent on one another. However, the wish to separate the socially marginalized from the rest of society was manifested in a physical sense with the development of prisons, workhouses and various charities. The disciplining of prostitutes played a major role in the development of these spaces and is the focus of the next chapter.

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[132] Charles Horne, *Serious Thoughts on the Miseries of Prostitution* (London: 1783), 58-59.
[133] Thomas Scott, *Thoughts on the Fatal Consequences of Prostitution Together with the Outlines of a Plan Proposed to Check Those Enormous Evils* (London: 1787), 4.
[134] Mercier *Tableau de Paris*, vol. III, 120.

3. Confining the Prostitute

Charities, hospitals, and houses of correction in eighteenth-century London and Paris specifically sought to 'increase the revenue' of former prostitutes by converting them from objects of consumption to subjects of production within urban society. By removing prostitutes from the open, fluid urban environment and placing them in the confined space of the eighteenth-century hospital, reformers believed they were both protecting the public and re-shaping individuals. The idea of reforming prostitutes was not by any means an eighteenth-century invention. In the previous centuries, local urban hospitals for the poor and deviant were considered an efficient answer to prostitution in both cities. However, in terms of approach, there were clear confessional differences. While Parisian institutions seem more focused on punishment than penitence, penitence was still part of the formula for successfully disciplining the prostitute. Conversely, more institutions in London seemed focused on penitence, but that did not mean that punitive methods were not often employed. Rather than there being a distinct, marked shift from one way of treating prostitutes to another, the institutions analysed in this chapter slid along a spectrum of compassion and repression in the way they addressed prostitution.[1] In this chapter, I have chosen to analyse the following five institutions: the *Salpêtrière*, *Bon Pasteur*, Magdalen Charity/Hospital, Bridewell Hospital and Lock Asylum. Despite the differences in institutions, the evidence explored here highlights the comparable nature of institutional approaches to prostitution in Paris and London. Again, I highlight similarities in the confinement of prostitutes in Paris and London which might be overlooked if either city was studied in isolation.

These similarities are evident within the institutions' overall purposes and the way in which these purposes were implemented through spatial practice. The institutionalization of prostitutes in both cities had two over-arching goals. The first was to return these women to the framework of the patriarchal household through restoring them to family, marriage, or employment in domestic service. The second goal was to change their character making them productive and pious members of urban society. I argue that these goals were made achievable through the structural implications and spatial practice shown through the uses of division, functional sites, and everyday routines. By incorporating an orderly utility of space, the hospital was intended to act as an ordered, inverse reality to urban life which was inherently chaotic.[2] I

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[1] Jones describes charity as having both compassionate and repressive characteristics in eighteenth-century France in *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Regime and Revolutionary France* (London: Routledge, 1989), 4, 7.
[2] Dana Arnold discusses the possibility of the hospital being used as a metaphor for the modern city in *The Spaces of the Hospital: Spatiality and Urban Change in London 1680-1820* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 4-5.

am also qualifying Foucault's argument that, under the false narrative of improvement, these hospitals were, in reality, amalgamations of hegemonic social control in which the undesirable portions of the population were kept separate from the rest of respectable society (heterotopia).[3] Instead, my analysis of the physical structures of hospitals and the ways in which their spaces were meant to be used indicate that such isolation was not necessarily the goal, but the vehicle of reform within the hospitals. However, the goals of the hospital and the ways in which they were carried out were undermined by the agency of the women themselves, and the communities they formed.

The eighteenth century was not a period in which we see the birth of new methods for addressing problematic types (like the prostitute), but one in which existing methods steadily developed and changed over time. Moreover, it was a period in which new and old ways of addressing particularly urban issues (crime, vagrancy, etc.) coexisted. Here, I will be discussing and analysing nature of confined space and how it related to the spatial practice of reforming prostitutes. Confined space was a type of 'practiced place' not unlike the other kinds of space that I have described in the previous chapters (urban landscape and contested space). In Chapter One, I briefly noted the importance of 'confining' prostitution to the brothel. In the eighteenth century, the confinement of prostitution related not only to confining its activities to a particular space, but also to the incarceration of repeat offenders and of those who were particularly disorderly. Here, I emphasize the nature of confined space as being integral to the reform and punishment of prostitutes in the eighteenth century.

Michel Foucault famously described the eighteenth century as the beginning of the age of confinement. In his works on the 'great confinement,' Foucault argued that space and time worked together to discipline inmates.[4] Although Foucault's arguments regarding confinement have been criticised for, amongst other reasons, being untenable outside the French hospital context Miles Ogborn and Dana Arnold have made parallel claims to Foucault for the Magdalen in London and both maintain that the use of space played a significant role in the formation of subjects which, in this case, refers to the transformation of prostitutes into more 'productive' members of society.[5] As Felix Driver rightly put it, despite the holes in some of Foucault's

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[3] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 195-228; Idem., *Madness and Civilization*, 127; Colin Jones, Roy Porter, 'Introduction,' *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine, and the Body* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

[4] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

[5] For some discussions of Foucault in a historical context, see: Arnold, *The Spaces of the Hospital*, 63-79; Jones, Roy Porter, *Reassessing Foucault*, 4; Randall McGowen, 'The Well-Ordered Prison: England 1780-1865', in *The Oxford History of the Prison: Punishment in Western Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 84–86; Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 42; Peter Spierenberg, 'The Body and the State: Early Modern Europe', in *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

analyses, his 'insights into the potency of spatial ordering carry a validity that transcends the particular institutions upon which he focused.'[6] Overall, this observation seems to be the case in my studies of both Paris and London. However, it is important to emphasize that while the use of space in the formation of subjects was helpful in theory, it was often undermined and challenged by the women inhabiting these spaces.

Based primarily on contemporary literature and the establishment of more reformative institutions by the mid-century, both literary scholars and historians of prostitution in England alike have argued that the eighteenth century marked a transitional period in the perception of prostitutes. Some scholarship has argued that, by the end of the eighteenth century, prostitutes were viewed in a more sympathetic light (especially in London).[7] According to this argument, highlighted by historians of crime like Tim Hitchcock and literary scholars such as Laura J. Rosenthaal, the treatment of the prostitute transitioned from one of harsh punishment to a more sympathetic, reformative brand, perhaps representative of an increased sense of *sensibilité* as Friedland defines it. My work shows that a more complex approach to prostitution was in evidence. The practices involved, even in more charitable hospitals (such as the Magdalen or the *Bon Pasteur*), suggest that a sense of blame was to be placed on the individual morality of penitents and that they were not merely victims of circumstance. The contemporary image of the prostitute as a victim is further discussed in Chapter Four. However, the practices of certain institutions seemed to be using the new characterisation of the prostitute to their advantage. Additionally, all institutions mentioned in this chapter, whether they framed themselves as being more sympathetic to the plight of the prostitute or not, still had repressive elements.

In this chapter, I compare the methods that certain urban institutions took to address prostitution. This involves comparing, where applicable, the spaces of the institutions themselves, the activities that took place within them and their criteria for admitting and releasing former prostitutes. Despite the formal differences between the institutions chosen for comparison, this chapter emphasises a fundamental commonality held among them. All the institutions compared here were, albeit through varying methods, promoting a sense of charity toward prostitutes. This does not necessarily speak to degrees of sentiment or sympathy exercised by any of the institutions. Rather, they all acted on eighteenth-century (or in some

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[6] Felix Driver, 'Bodies in Space: Foucault's Account of Disciplinary Power', in Colin Jones and Roy Porter, eds., *Reassessing Foucault*, 116.

[7] For examples of studies that demonstrate elements of this claim, see Vern L. Bullough, 'Prostitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century England', Eighteenth Century Life 9, no. 3 (1989): 61–74; Hitchcock, *English Sexualities*; Colin Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*; Laura J. Rosenthaal, *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). For more on this in the context of cultural archetypes, see Chapter Four.

cases much older) senses of charity. Jones argues that, by the seventeenth century, 'charity' (especially within the French context) had both compassionate and repressive elements.[8] However, these same elements were also evident in some charities and houses of correction for reforming prostitutes in London. The charities that I analyse here reflect this multifaceted approach. Prostitutes, as objects of charity, were complex because they were undesirable figures within the context of the urban landscape whose mere presence ignited complex and often contradicting sentiments (especially among urban reformers). This was reflected in the variety of ways that the issue of prostitution was addressed in both cities.

The reason that all five of the consulted institutions work well together is because they all exist along a spectrum of repression and compassion regarding the way that they treated prostitutes. However, the place of each institution on the spectrum was not static and changed depending on certain contexts. The differences between the institutions used in this chapter reflect the contrasting attitudes regarding charity. These differing attitudes toward poor relief and 'charitable imperatives' were exacerbated when trying to situate the prostitute as objects of charity. The major difference between charity in France and England, generally speaking, was that of obligation. According to Colin Jones, in England, there was more municipal control over poor relief and it was obligatory (as opposed to its more voluntary nature in France).[9] Because poor relief measures were not readily enforced in France, the poor more frequently used *hôpitaux généraux* or other charities as points of relief at particular periods of financial difficulty. Theoretically, a prostitute could be admitted to the *Salpêtrière* (of the *Hôpital Général*) by force or voluntarily. If she was admitted voluntarily, then she would have to conceal her identity as a prostitute. The category of 'prostitute' complicated notions of charity, punishment, and reform in eighteenth-century France.

In the case of London especially, charity operated within a specific framework of both supplication and application, as Sarah Lloyd has shown.[10] As a prostitute, if not admitted by force, one had to then 'voluntarily' admit oneself to a charitable institution. Charities for prostitutes were characterised by a regime of voluntarism in which prostitutes had to insert themselves into a specific, existing framework in order to be admitted. This was no different from other types of institutions catering to the poor.[11] The key difference, however, was that

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[8] Jones, *The Charitable Imperative,* 4, 7. See also Idem., 'Some Recent Trends on the History of Charity,' in *Charity, Self-interest and Welfare in Britain: 1500 to the Present* Martin Daunton, ed. (London: Routledge, 1996), 38-47.

[9] Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 35-37.

[10] Sarah Lloyd, "'Agents of Their Own Concerns"? Charity and the Economy of Makeshifts in Britain,' in *The Poor in England, 1700-1900: An Economy of Makeshifts*, Alan Tompkins, Stephen King, eds. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003), 125.

[11] Ibid., 120.

women admitted to specific institutions for prostitutes or 'fallen women' had to be fairly desperate to apply. For example, why would a woman who was not a prostitute voluntarily admit herself to an institution like the Magdalen or *Bon Pasteur*? This would risk her being labelled as a prostitute and could potentially ruin her reputation. This point of tension reveals two things. First, that the women who volunteered themselves to such institutions must have felt they had no other option. Second, that perhaps, as Heather Shore has argued, the use of the house of correction as a seasonal resource may be overstated (especially with regard to prostitutes).[12] This can be further supported by the admittance records from the Magdalen Hospital which reflect high rates of women being either dismissed from the institution for irregularity or running away.[13]

Precise language is necessary in order to lessen the confusion between the different terminologies across the institutions mentioned. In terms of individuals, the term 'prisoner' (or *prisonnière* in French) will be used only when referring to the Bridewell Hospital and the *Salpêtrière* as their documents refer to the women residing there as prisoners.[14] The term 'penitents' (*filles pénitentes*) will be used to describe the women held in institutions that specifically catered to former prostitutes (Lock Asylum, Magdalen and *Bon Pasteur*) because this is typically how these institutions specifically referred to the women living within their walls. When speaking generally of incarcerated prostitutes, I will use the term 'inmates.' I chose this word because it describes a relationship between subjects that are defined by commonly inhabited space. In its older uses, it is a neutral term and is as useful to describe someone who is imprisoned as it is to describe a group of people who share a home.[15]

Confusion is bound to occur when referring to place with regard to the institutions mentioned. There are, for example, certain implications with using the term 'hospital' as the modern mind tends to exclusively associate this with a place of physical healing. In their extensive study on medicine in early modern France, Brockliss and Jones explain the function of the general hospitals of Paris: 'The rationale was that the confinement of all the needy—both defenceless paupers… and dangerous delinquent marginals requiring stern moralization—could produce a reformation of manners among the poorer classes as a whole.'[16] Although this definition refers specifically to the French *hôpitaux généraux*, it is applicable to all of the five

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[12] Heather Shore, 'Crime, Criminal Networks and the Survival Strategies of the Poor in Eighteenth-Century London' in *The Poor in England*, 143.
[13] Anon., *Magdalen Hospital. Annual Statement* (London, 1795).
[14] BR MG Minutes of the Court of Governors of Bridewell/St. Thomas', *London Lives, 1690-1800*, (www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 17 June 2016).
[15] "inmate, n. and adj.". OED Online. December 2018. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/96219?redirectedFrom=inmate& (accessed November 08, 2018)
[16] Laurence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 678.

institutions used in this chapter. The goals of all the hospitals revolved around moralization and a reformation of manners whether they were purpose-built for prostitutes (Magdalen, *Bon Pasteur*) or meant for poorer women who could have also been prostitutes (*Salpêtrière*, Bridewell, Lock). The idea of hospitals being places of charity was consistent with older English definitions of the word as it is derived from the French. In fact, it may perhaps be helpful to describe the hospital in its purest form as a place of 'hospitality.'[17] The term 'hospital' will be used to describe the institutions in this chapter as all of them were self-defined in this manner. While the term 'hospital' applies to all of the mentioned institutions, the term 'asylum' will also be used, but most often when specifically mentioning the Lock Asylum in order to lessen confusion between that and the Lock Hospital which were sister institutions. The variation in semantics highlights the differences among the institutions themselves.

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[17] "hospital, n.". OED Online. June 2017. Oxford University Press.
http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88724?result=1&rskey=DwzjVP& (accessed August 02, 2017).
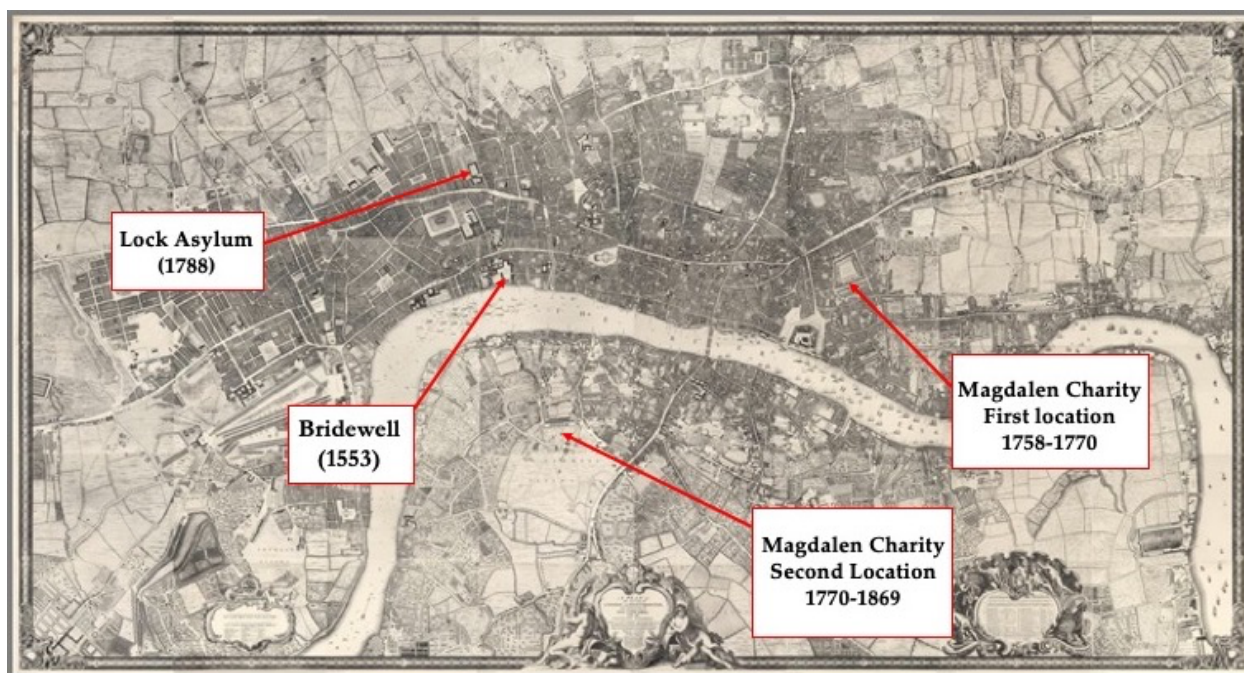
Map 7: London's Hospitals: Lock, Bridewell and Magdalen on Rocque's Map of London.[18]
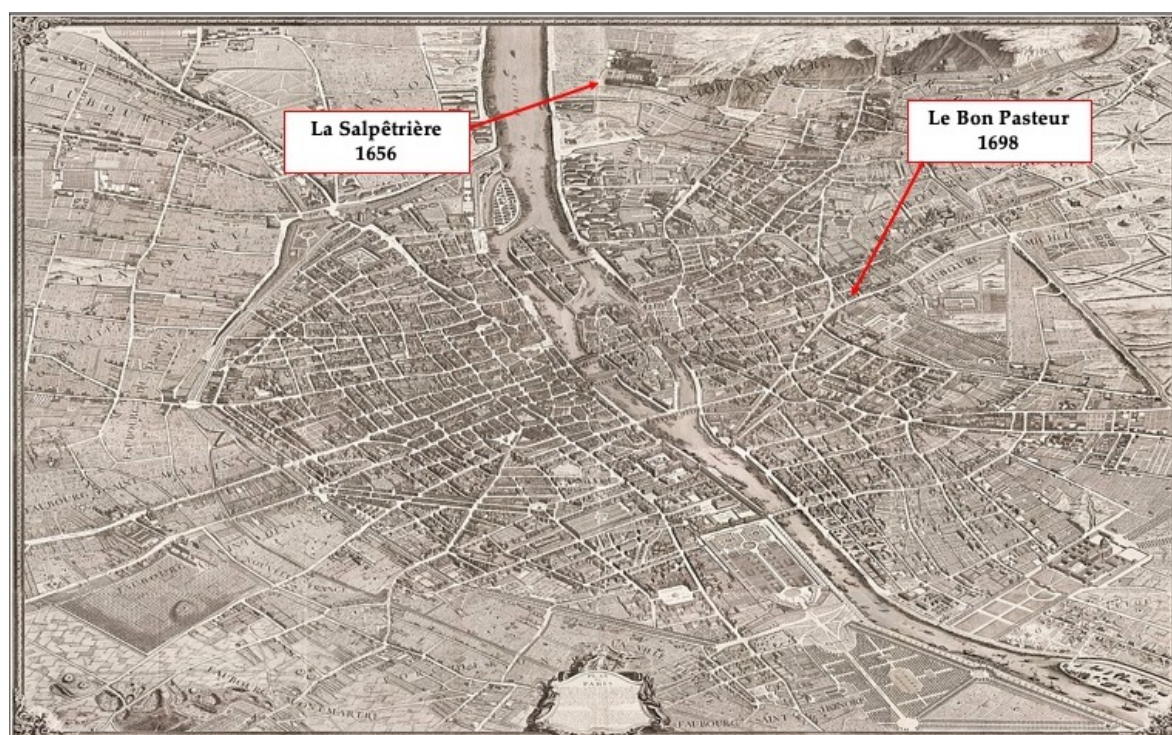
Map 8: Paris' Hospitals: *Bon Pasteur* and *Salpêtrière* on Turgot's *Plan de Paris*.[19]

  Before delving into the next section on hospital records, it is important to provide some contextual information regarding the primary differences between the five institutions

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[18] John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, with the contiguous buildings*, (London: 1746).

[19] Louis Bretez, *Plan de Turgot de Paris*, (Paris: Michel-Étienne Turgot, 1739).

mentioned in this chapter. In the eighteenth century, religious austerity and forced labour were qualities that characterised the *Hôpital Général* of Paris. By including the 'undeserving' as well as the 'deserving' poor in the hospital community, the *Hôpital Général* served to house all the marginalised undesirables that, in the eyes of contemporary municipal reformers, plagued the surrounding urban environment. However, it is important to recognize that the *Hôpital Général,* especially as a charitable resource, made substantial contributions to the needs of the poor and should not be solely recognized as a means of containing social marginals.[20] Founded in 1656 by a royal charter ordered by Louis XIV, the *Hôpital* was not one specific place, but was divided into four physical institutions. La *Pitié* functioned as its administrative body and *l'Hôtel de Scipion* as a lying-in hospital. The *Salpêtrière*, lying on the South-eastern edge of the city (see Map 8), functioned as both a poorhouse for young women, children and the elderly and a house of correction: specifically, for the disciplining and treatment of immoral and/or insane women. The *Bicêtre* served a similar function for men and had additional facilities to treat venereal disease. Women who were admitted to the *Salpêtrière* with the disease were often treated at the *Bicêtre*.[21]

The *maison de force* within the *Salpêtrière* was reserved specifically for the most problematic of women who were placed there against their will (by either the police or their families). This included thieves, violent women, prostitutes, *maquerelles*, *femmes debauchées*, and the insane. The *maison* was further subdivided into four sections.[22] The *commun* was comprised almost entirely of prostitutes. The *correction* housed women condemned by their families or husbands through *lettres de cachet* of *débauche* (debauchery or sin) which usually referred to adultery (or some other form of sexual immorality). These women would typically be of a more well-to-do economic background than those in the other categories of the *maison* because their families would have to pay for their stay in the *Salpêtrière*. The *prison* was reserved for those arrested by order of the king. Those perceived by the police to be in need of lifelong punishment and atonement would enter *la grande force* reserved specifically for women hardened by a life of sinful activity and unwilling to seek repentance. This would often include former *maquerelles*. Most women arrested for prostitution were sent to the *Salpêtrière*. On the eve of the Revolution, according to Jacques Tenon's account, the *maison de force* alone reportedly contained a thousand women.[23] Tenon's estimated number is, however, provided without a source and he gives no breakdown of how many women were kept in each ward leaving the historian guessing at how many of those women were arrested sex

[20] For more on the roles of the Hôpital Généraux in France, see: Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 9.
[21] Susan P. Conner, 'The Pox in Eighteenth-Century France', in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* ed. Linda E. Merians (University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 20-21.
[22] Jacques Tenon, *Memoires Sur Les Hôpitaux de Paris* (Paris, 1788); see also Dora B. Weiner, 'Les Femmes de la Salpêtrière: Trois Sècles d'histoire Hospitalière Parisienne', *Gesnerus 52* (1995), 24.
[23] Tenon, *Memoires*, p. 86.

workers. Additionally, Tenon's work paints the hospital in a darker light and feeds into the 'Black Legend' of hospital mortality and filth, popularized during the late *ancien régime* and revolutionary period.[24] Moreover, it has become clear that the hygienic state of French hospitals was improving steadily over the course of the eighteenth century and that most people who were admitted left alive.[25]

The majority of the source material for the *Salpêtrière* comes from the police records of the *Salpêtrière* which detail arrest, admission and release records of former prostitutes.[26] These records, used along with the hospital's administrative records of the *Salpêtrière* give an idea of daily life in the hospital as well as the demographics and nature of the former prostitutes residing within.[27] These records were purely intended for administrative purposes rather than for public consumption. Some events are recorded in full detail whereas others are not. The admissions and release records (explored below) are also inconsistent regarding the amount of detail provided. Despite this, the *Salpêtrière* records speak to the complexity that both hospital authorities and police perceived the prostitutes incarcerated there.

Throughout the early modern period, London had its own methods of locking up unruly young women. London's Bridewell Royal Hospital, since its founding in the sixteenth century, had maintained a balance of charitable and punitive activity, housing both the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor for nearly a century before the development of the *hôpitaux* in France.[28] The methods that the London Bridewell took to address prostitution in the early modern period were more representative of the earlier centuries than those taken in the *Bon Pasteur*, Lock Asylum or Magdalen House. At Bridewell, the punishment for prostitution usually included whippings, manual labour and imprisonment. Periods of imprisonment were not necessarily long and the Bridewell records reflect a seemingly high turnover rate compared to the other four institutions mentioned. The majority of the records used for Bridewell are the minute books of the Court of Governors. These minute books kept a record of the admitted inmates such as Sarah Kennedy in 1714 who was convicted 'for being a lewd idle and disorderly person who was taken up late on Saturday night last deludeing [sic] and enticeing [sic] a strange man in the street she is known to be a comon [sic] night walker.'[29] The cure for 'lewd, idle and disorderly' behaviour was therefore

[24] Brockliss and Jones, *The Medical World*, 720.
[25] Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 11.
[26] BA ms. 12692-95, Etats de la Salpêtrière, 1719-1765.
[27] APHP 045 FOSS, Extraits de déliberations de la Salpêtrière, 1675-1790.
[28] There has been an extensive amount of work on the Bridewell Royal Hospital records: Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change, Crime and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London Lives*; Hitchcock, Shoemaker, Sharon Howard and Jamie McLaughlin, *et al.*, *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 24 April 2012).
[29] BR MG *LL*, BBBRMG202040111, Sarah Kennedy, 7 October 1714,

physical labour. The convention of hard labour solving the problem of idleness and lewdness is also prevalent in the records concerning Paris' *Hôpital Général*. As the eighteenth century progressed, Bridewell increasingly became an object of criticism for both the City of London and prison reformers reflected in the published works on Bridewell which appeared during the eighteenth century.[30] Using work as a technique for disciplinary action and the eradication of criminal identity would, however, remain a prominent key to the charitable confinement of sex workers regardless of how compassionate other methods may have been.

While the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the birth of the Bridewell and *Salpêtrière* respectively*,* the eighteenth century saw the emergence of new types of charitable organisations aimed at specific urban problems. The emergence of lying-in and foundling hospitals is often cited as proof of this.[31] In addition to those institutions, charitable organisations that specifically targeted prostitution were equally prominent in both Paris and London. Such places focused heavily on the themes of industry and piety. These two inter-connected themes were the ideological 'cure' for prostitutes as they were perceived to be the strongest virtues of 'honest women'. At the outset, it would appear that these institutions provided a more sympathetic view to their penitents who were 'compelled by the miseries of their situation.'[32] However, the charity these institutions provided was also inherently repressive.

Established in 1758, the Magdalen House was the first of its kind in Great Britain. Catering specifically to the 'reception of repenting prostitutes', the proposal for the Magdalen House was considered the most desirable option among the proposals published by contemporary reformers in order to address London prostitution.[33] Jonas Hanway, the Russia Company merchant who authored the plan in 1758, insisted that such an institution would introduce 'young women to a life of piety and industry' who otherwise would 'have been used to a life of scandalous impiety and shameless idleness.'[34] Patients were admitted by petitioning to a governing committee made up of those who had subscribed the most to the house, but upon admission were confined to the charity until they were granted permission to leave. Patients

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[30] *Standing Rules and Orders of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem* (London, 1792); Thomas Bowen, *Extracts from the Records and Courtbooks of Bridewell Hospital Together with Other Historical Information Respecting the Objects of the Charter* (London, 1798); William Waddington, *Considerations on the Original and Proper Objects of the Royal Hospital of Bridewell* (London, 1798).

[31] Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Alysa Levene, Thomas Nutt, and Samantha Williams, eds., *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700-1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[32] Jonas Hanway, *Observations on the Causes of the Dissoluteness which Reigns Among the Lower Classes of the People…With a Proposal for New Regulating of Bridewell* (London: 1772), p. 178; see also Idem., *A Plan for Establishing a Charity House, or Charity Houses for the Reception of Repenting Prostitutes to be called the Magdalen Charity* (London: 1758), p. xiii.

[33] Fielding, *A Plan for a Preservatory and Reformatory for the Benefit of Deserted Girls and Penitent Prostitutes* (R. Fracklin, 1758); Hanway, *A Plan for the Magdalen Charity*, i.

[34] Hanway, *A Plan for the Magdalen Charity*, xviii.

could also be admitted via petition by a parent or ward. The sources for the Magdalen, like those of *Bon Pasteur*, are limited in their form and are heavily prescriptive. Making up the majority of the sources is the *Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Magdalen Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes* which was published at least every two or three years with an update on the hospital's figures of admittance.[35] The rules were updated as well as the *Account* was published. An analysis of such *Accounts* will follow in the next section. At least based on the existing sources, the Magdalen was equally compassionate and repressive toward the penitents admitted there.

There was a greater emphasis on religious repentance in the Magdalen House than at the Lock Hospital and Asylum. The London Lock Hospital was first opened 31 January 1747. The hospital was the first to specialize in the treatment of venereal diseases in London. This chapter specifically focuses not on the Lock Hospital, but on the Lock Asylum which was founded forty years later in 1787. The objective of the asylum was 'to receive such female patients as having been cured in the Lock Hospital of disorders contracted by a vicious and irregular cause of life, and during their residence there having had the opportunity of religious instruction have given sufficient proofs of sincere repentance.'[36] The source base for this institution is similar to that of the Magdalen in that there were yearly, although unpublished, accounts of the Asylum from its foundation. These accounts were presented to a Court of Governors composed of subscribers and were similar in their make-up from those of any other of the above-mentioned British institutions. Women, unlike men or children treated in Lock Hospital, were required to be transported to the Lock Asylum after treatment. Thus, admission into the asylum was reserved specifically for the exiting female patients of the Lock Hospital and was not open to the general public, unlike the Magdalen Hospital. Women were admitted immediately upon their discharge from the Lock Hospital regardless of whether or not they were prostitutes (although most of them tended to be).[37]

In Paris, there were few charitable organisations which were purpose-built for reforming prostitutes. *Bon Pasteur,* endowed by Louis XIV in 1698, was one of the first institutions of its kind in Paris where admission of former prostitutes was done on a basis of supplication and application.[38] This is a quality similar to that of the Magdalen or the Lock Hospital, both of

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[35] William Dodd, *An Account of the Rise, Progess and Present State of the Magdalen Hospital, for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes. Together with Dr. Dodd's sermons. To which are added, the advice to the Magdalens, with the psalms, hymns, prayers and list of subscribers* (London: 1761, 1763, 1766, 1767, 1775, 1783, 1795).

[36] RCS MS 0022/2/1/1, 'Lock Asylum 1787-1814.'

[37] Ibid, 'Third General Meeting Minutes: Admission,' 17 May 1787.

[38] Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de La Police Où L'on Trouvera L'histoire de Don Établisssement, Les Fonctions et Les Prérogatives de Ses Magistrats, Toutes Les Loix et Tous Les Reglemens*, vol. I (Paris, 1705) p. 450.

which *Bon Pasteur* pre-dates by half a century. According to Philip F. Riley, *Bon Pasteur* was different because it placed a heavier emphasis on lust rather than sloth as the root of feminine evil.[39] *Bon Pasteur* was modest in size containing only one hundred and twenty beds (compared to the *Salpêtrière* which, in its entirety, apparently had the capacity to house as many as 10,000 women at a time). Spiritual conversion played a critical role in both the routines (which will be discussed later in the chapter) and the treatment of *filles pénitentes* of *Bon Pasteur*.[40] Unfortunately, an abundant source base for *Bon Pasteur* is seemingly non-existent.[41] The most prominent and informative source comes from Nicolas Delamare's four-volume *Traité de la Police* which, essentially, provides an administrative history of Parisian urbanisation and the role of the police. However, Delamare did take the time to describe *Bon Pasteur* in great detail. Everything from the founding of the institution to the diets of the penitents is catalogued. The problem with such a source is that it only offers discursive and prescriptive information and tells the historian little about the practice of *Bon Pasteur*. There is then some difficulty in determining the way in which these rules were carried out or enforced. Much of the interpretations made about *Bon Pasteur* in this chapter are therefore taken from reading Delamare's description against the grain and within the context of the sources from the other institutions.

The institutional approaches to prostitution are complex and sometimes difficult to navigate (especially between two cities). All of these institutions, however, seemed to be grappling with their own theoretical approaches to prostitution. In order to address the aforesaid differences and complexities, I am addressing the sources thematically. First, I will investigate the available entry and release records of the hospitals in order to gauge their relative 'success' and their own requirements for improvement within the hospital structure. Then, I will focus on spatial practice and the use of structures and routines as a mechanism for reforming prostitutes. Last, I will demonstrate how communities of former prostitutes within the prison could have undermined the spatial hierarchy in which they were placed, and how hospital authorities effectively dealt with their misconduct within that hierarchy. This thematic approach will demonstrate that there were similarities among these five hospitals in terms of their conceptions of charity and their intentions for reforming prostitutes in spite of institutional and confessional differences.

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[39] Riley, *Lust for Virtue*, p. 40.

[40] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, p. 450

[41] Although historians have discussed the *Bon Pasteur* in Paris, they only seem to reference Delamare's *Traité de la Police*. For examples of this, see: Jill Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 60-62; Riley, *Lust for Virtue*, 40; Idem., 'Louis XIV: Watchdog of Parisian Morality,' *The Historian* 36:1 (1973), 32. Colin Jones has discussed the Bon Pasteur of Montpellier in 'Prostitution and the Ruling Class in Eighteenth-Century Montpellier,' *History Workshop* 6 (1978), 7-32.

I.   Admissions and Releases

Penitent prostitutes had to prove their willingness to change. However, it becomes clear when reading through the requirements for these institutions that they were not aiming to help all former prostitutes, but only those who fit specific criteria. As mentioned, the two primary goals for all the institutions were to remove these women from the streets by restoring them to a household through domestic service, marriage or reconciliation with family members. It was much easier to do this when the penitent was vulnerable, young, single and childless. For the Magdalen, Lock Asylum, and *Bon Pasteur*, two similar themes are present in their conditions for entry. The first common requirement was a true willingness of the former prostitute to reform her behaviour. This would be assessed through the prostitute's petition to the institution. There is one example from the Magdalen Hospital of how such a petition may have appeared (See Image 1). Women could only be admitted to the Magdalen, for example, if they were or claimed to be former prostitutes. However, the extent to which this label may have been used in exchange for food and the promise of employment is unclear. The second theme which plays on a variety of requirements (age, marital status, children) was to do with perceived senses of innocence and character malleability. *Bon Pasteur*, for example, would not accept women who had children, were married or pregnant as they would not physically be able to leave their former life behind.[42] Contemporary reformers such as Hanway argued that single, unmarried young women were in the most 'danger' as they often were faced with no other choice but to enter the sex trade.[43] Only taking in desperate women was a way in which to ensure their likelihood of converting and becoming docile once in the environment of the asylum and thus the successful reputation of the institution for reform.

Institutions that required petitions for admittance had neither the space nor the resources to meet the demands of all women that could have benefitted from their services (hence the need for an application process). The Magdalen Charity was to exercise, according to its plan, 'the greatest exactness… in distinguishing the proper objects to be admitted.'[44] No person was admitted to the charity who was over the age of thirty. This rule was in place because, as Hanway claimed in his *Proposal*: 'These unhappy women are generally very old before this age; if it is extended beyond this period, it may become an asylum for old women, who can be of little use.' The concept of the 'usefulness' of a penitent implies that there was still an important emphasis on labour and employability even in more religious institutions such as the Magdalen. Bawds

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[42] Delamare, *Traite de la Police*, p. 450
[43] Hanway, *Magdalen Charity,* p. 16.
[44] Ibid.

were also not permitted because they were deemed less likely to repent and were 'most dangerous among penitents.'[45] Women applied to the Magdalen by petition which would include their name, age, place of residence and any parent, relations or friends as well as their parish of settlement. All petitioners were also examined by a physician or surgeon and questioned by the matron of the charity. The petitions were then examined and determined by the committee. Women were not admitted to the Lock Asylum if they had been found 'guilty of profaneness or obscenity' while in the Lock Hospital or if they did not 'appear sensible of the moral evil of her former practices'.[46] Being ashamed and repentant of one's former life as a prostitute was a theme that played out in conditions for either acceptance to or release from all institutions. In order to be seen as repentant, it seemed that a prostitute needed to appear consumed by guilt and driven by desperation. The extent to which certain conventions and strategies were utilized by prostitutes is worth noting. The Lock patient histories are filled with narratives that depict naivety, desperation, and poverty to such an extent that it is feasible that some women were taking advantage of the cultural narratives of the 'progress' of prostitution in order to gain sympathy and entry into the institution.[47]

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[45] Ibid.
[46] RCS MS 0022/2/1/1, 'Third General Meeting,' 17 May 1787.
[47] RCS Patient Records and Histories, MS 0022/6/1; See also Chapter Four, 200-19.

410 *Form of the Petition for Admiffion.*

To the General Committee for Tranfacting the Bufinefs of the Magdalen Hofpital.

THE Humble Petition of
　　　　　　　　　aged　　　　　　years
of the parifh of　　　　　　　in the
County of

Sheweth

THAT your Petitioner has been guilty of Proftitution, and is truly fenfible of her offence, which has plunged her into the greateft diftrefs, and rendered her deftitute of every means of getting an honeft livelihood.

YOUR Petitioner therefore humbly prays fhe may be admitted into the faid Houfe, and doth folemnly promife to behave herfelf decently and orderly, and that fhe will conform to all the Rules of the Houfe.

And as in duty bound fhall ever pray.

N. B. *This Petition is given gratis, upon application to the Steward, at the Houfe in* Prefcot-ftreet, Goodman's-fields.

Image 1: Example petition form from William Dodd's *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital, for the reception of penitent prostitutes* (London: W. Faden, 1770), 401.

Complexities arise when considering that some hospitals took prostitutes voluntarily (Lock Hospital and Asylum, Magdalen Charity, *Bon Pasteur*) and some did not (*Salpêtrière* and

Bridewell Hospital). What is important to note, however, is that just because some institutions accepted penitents and patients on a 'voluntary' basis, this did not always indicate a loose attitude (on the part of the governors) toward confinement. For example, Jane Floyd was detained in the Lock Hospital in October of 1787 and was recorded as being 'desirous of being received into the asylum from conviction of the evil of her former life and a desire of reforming.'[48] In December of the same year, Floyd ran away from the asylum. Perhaps then, there is evidence to suggest that some women were taking advantage of the same narrative of penitence in order to gain entry and proper treatment for venereal disease. As mentioned earlier, in order to receive charitable aid, one had to fit into an acceptable framework of supplication. The asylum had housed 166 patients between its foundation in 1787 and 1791. Sixty-five of those women had 'disappointed the expectation of their benefactors by eloping from the house on services in which they had been placed.'[49] Even after being released into work, the women left their allocated places of employment. In the twenty surviving unpublished patient history records of the Lock Hospital from 1787 to 1794, twelve women ran away.[50] There are relatively fewer records of former prostitutes 'running away' in institutions where prostitutes were admitted by force. However, the occurrence of women running away from institutions that they 'voluntarily' entered suggests that women may have quickly changed their minds after being admitted.

Voluntary admission did not equate to a lack of subjugation. Institutions could implement both charitable and repressive elements of reform regardless of whether a woman entered the institution by force or her own will. Perhaps, as the Lock Hospital example would illustrate, the facilities to cure venereal diseases must have been appealing to women riddled with the disease with no money for treatment. These women may have not been well or lucid enough to make a well-informed decision about their eventual fate in being assigned to the Lock Asylum. We can also interpret the act of petitioning to an institution as one of desperation due to the reputational implications of seeking charity as a prostitute. *A Plan for…the Magdalen Charity* states the following:

> It would be an [sic] Utopian scheme, to expect to make converts upon any other principle than that of confinement; this must be submitted to, from the theme of their admission to the time of their dismission; [sic] unless they are suffered to go out by a particular order, or for reasons which shall be intirely [sic] satisfactory to the Committeee.[51]

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[48] RCS MS 0022/6/1, "Jane Floyd", 25 October 1787.
[49] Ibid, "Of the foregoing 166 women brought into the asylum, from its first institution to Lady Day 1791," 1791.
[50] RHS ms. 0022/6/1, Lock Asylum Records: Patient Histories, 1787-1793.
[51] Hanway, *A Plan for… the Magdalen Charity*, p. 17.

Here, Hanway suggested that confinement, even when involuntary, was the only possible mechanism for changing behaviour. Once admitted to the Magdalen, the former prostitutes would be bound to remain there unless dismissed. The penitent may have chosen to confine herself, but once that decision was made, in theory, she could not take it back, as she would no longer be allowed to leave unless the hospital governors permitted her to do so. The literature remains unclear on whether or not the women were aware of this caveat of their 'voluntary' submission to the hospital. The supporting argument for why women had to submit to confinement was that those who were 'really penitent will submit to be confined even though the circumstances of such confinement should be rendered ever so agreeable.'[52] Once admitted into the hospital, the former prostitute's agency was taken away and, even though her conditions were 'agreeable', she was still withheld from the outside world. Although most women admitted to the Magdalen were 'reconciled to friends, placed in service, or other, reputable industrious occupations,' nearly one quarter of the 2,998 women confined there between 1758 and 1795 were either 'discharged for improper behaviour' or left 'at their own request.[53] This invites an investigation of the extent to which these hospitals were successful in implementing their goals of restoring their penitents to a patriarchal framework and reforming their behaviour.

The degree to which institutions were able to detail their successes and failures within the records seems to depend on scale. At any one time, the *Salpêtrière* had thousands of inmates (not all of whichwhom were prostitutes) whereas the Magdalen only had a hundred or so. Records of release and admission were kept in a variety of forms among the five institutions mentioned. One challenge with such records and comparing them is that, while some are rich with information about the individual women, such as those from the *Salpêtrière*, others decrease in detail (Bridewell Hospital) or are completely void of any biographical information (Magdalen Charity). Additionally, the timelines of all the records do not always correspond perfectly with one another. The police's release and admission records from *Salpêtrière* in their most complete form range from 1719 to 1762. For Magdalen, the *Accounts* of admission and release begin in 1761 and continue into the nineteenth century.[54] Lock Asylum admission and release records begin in 1787. In terms of evidence, the admission and release records of the *Salpêtrière* and the Magdalen Hospital will be the primary focus. This is simply because the records provided by both institutions cover similar amounts of time in either half of the century and provide more complete conditions of release than the other source material.

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[52] Ibid., 16-17.

[53] Anon., *Magdalen Hospital: Annual Statement,* (London, 1795) p. 3.

[54] The institution opened in 1758, but the penitents were expected to serve for three years. Thus, the first year of the *Accounts* was published three years after the first cohort was brought in.

Jacques Tenon estimated in his *Rapports sur les Hôpitaux de Paris* that the total population of the *Salpêtrière* was 6,720 and claimed that he had seen the hospital house as many as 8,000.[55] However, Tenon also acknowledged that the hospital was not solely a 'maison des femmes et un [sic] maison de force,' but also received pregnant women and girls, young children, the elderly, the insane, paralyzed, etc. Lough's anthology of British travellers' experience of Paris offers some insight regarding the size of the *Salpêtriere* as it was a common tourist attraction of the ancien regime. One traveller, Thomas Pennant, commented on the number of prostitutes in 1765, claiming he saw 'eight or nine hundred women of the town of the lowest order, condemned to confinement and hard labour for a certain time by the magistrates.'[56] In 1786, another British traveller, Rev. Joseph Townsend, observed that the *Salpêtrière* held about nine hundred prostitutes.[57] Spierenberg has also guessed that about 1,000 prostitutes were held at the *Salpêtrière* at any given point.[58] This number is mostly based on anecdotal evidence as the admittance and release records kept by the police of Paris provide only partial insight into the actual numbers of women contained within the hospital at any given time. However, such records have added value elsewhere: in determining the patterns of release and the stipulations thereof.

Admission and release records from the *Salpêtrière* provide a unique example among the institutions studied here because they give a fuller picture of a prisoner's time spent in the institution. Between 1719 and 1762, there were 730 women admitted for prostitution or *maquerellage* making it the largest and most abundant source base for inmate records in this chapter. Beyond 1762, the Paris police either stopped keeping a record of the women they sent to the hospital or, more likely, the records have been lost or destroyed. As the years progress, the police records describing the women they sent to the *Salpêtrière* provide more details on the conditions for release rather than that of admission. The most complete records for release are between 1721 and 1758 which include 235 charges for prostitution. At the most, the police recorded the woman's name, her husband's name (if she was married), her age, place of birth, the date she was arrested, the charge, the conditions of her release and sometimes an additional note (such as whether or not she had been branded previously, or was particularly dangerous).[59] At the least, the police recorded the name, husband's name, charge, and arrest date. As the records approach 1750, they become less detailed and the use of language changes as it becomes

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[55] Tenon, *Memoires*, 84.
[56] Thomas Pennant *Tour on the Continent* (London: 1765), 24; cited in Lough, *France on the Eve of Revolution*, 126-127.
[57] Rev. Joseph Townsend, *Journey through Part of France,* vol. I, 97; cited in Lough, *France on the Eve of Revolution*, 128.
[58] Spierenberg, 'The Body and the State: Early Modern Europe', in *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 75.
[59] BA mss. 12692-93, État de la Salpêtrière, 1719-1739.

less specific. For example, the description of the offence is most often put as 'prostitution' with almost none of the contextual information found in earlier records.[60]

Release from the *maison de force* of the *Salpêtrière* occurred in waves throughout the year. Instead of each former prostitute serving an assigned sentence, whole groups of women who were both *prisonniers de police* (arrested on the streets of Paris) or arrested under *lettres de cachet* (sent by their families who paid a pension to the hospital) would be released at once. The intervals of release were not consistent in terms of numbers. In 1727, the hospital released eighteen women 'assez punies pour la longeuse de leur detention.'[61] This implies that, in the *Salpêtrière*, the length of the sentence itself was both a means of punishment and reform. Although being locked up in the *maison de force* was a punishment all on its own, the inclusion of a long duration of time implies here that the length of time spent in confinement was also a part of reforming prostitutes.

However, there is also the question of overcrowding and utilisation of space. Occasionally, as was the case in 1731, the *commissaire* in charge of hospital releases, would decide to release a large number of inmates at once from the *maison de force*, most likely in order to make more room for incoming prisoners: '*M. le comte de Maurepas est supplié de faire expédier des ordres pour mettre en liberté les soixante et quatorze personnes contiennes dans al présent.*'[62] Apart from occasional instances like this in 1731, in which thirteen of the seventy-four women released were former prostitutes, the hospital released inmates once or twice a year, usually in groups no larger than twenty at a time. However, these large-scale surges of releases imply that, due to highly crowded conditions, it was difficult to keep track of inmate progression (if that was even being tracked at this point).

These above instances contradict the notion that repentance was necessary in order for inmates to leave the *Salpêtrière*. In terms of the institution's ability to measure the 'success' of their methods, it appears that for an institution of this magnitude, it was next to impossible. There were also plenty of repeat offenders who made their way back into the Salpêtrière after being released. The 'archers', or 'hospital guard,' records from 1720 indicate that there were thirteen women who had been caught, branded (with a fleur de lys) and imprisoned as many as five times.[63] By the 1750s, in order to curb the amount of repeat offenders, the police began to

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[60] BA mss. 12694-95, État de la Salpêtrière, 1740-1765.

[61] BA ms. 12692, 'Etat de plusieurs femmes detenues a la Salpêtrière par ordre du roy,' 1 August 1727. Translation: 'punished enough for the length of their detention.'

[62] BA MS 12693, 'Liberté en 9 8bre 1731.' Translation: 'The count of Maurepas is prepared to expedite the order to free the seventy-four people contained at present.'

[63] MS 12692, 'Archers,' 1720. Unfortunately, I could only find records like this from one year and have yet to find anything similar. It is also unclear whether all of these women were re-captured in 1720 or if that is just when they happened to be recorded from instances occurring in previous years.

write up special documents for the inmates to sign (usually with a mark) as they left the hospital: 'Je promets et m'oblige de quitter Paris dans trois jours et de me rendre dans le lieu de ma naissance ou chez mes parents, sous la peine à moi [sic] impose d'être réintégré à l'hôpital si je suis trouvée dans ladite ville.'[64] Despite the threat of being locked up again, in 1759 and 1760, former inmates were found in Paris, continuing 'the same commerce' that resulted in their initial confinement. The space of the *Salpêtrière* was being used as further punishment whereas in Magdalen, women were expelled from the space if they happened to disobey the rules. The *Salpêtrière's* administration seemed aware of the fact that simply remaining within the hospital or being sent back was a punishment in and of itself.

As far as the records of the *SalpêtrièreSalpêtrière* indicate, there were five main categories of release: 'liberté,' 'releguée à son pays,' 'liberté pour passer dans la maison être de bon pauvres,' 'la passer dans la cours,' or a fine of fifty *livres*. Inmates who were 'liberté pour passer dans la maison être de bon pauvres' were typically those who asked to remain in the hospice of the *Salpêtrière*: designated for poor vagrant women who were not considered problematic anymore. In this circumstance, the woman in question may have had nowhere to go outside of the hospital, and instead opted to stay in the main hospice outside of the *maison de force*. 'La passer dans la cours' indicated that a woman's fate was still to be determined by a court. Unfortunately, there is little information apart from this indication available on how such a trial would proceed. The first term, 'liberté,' implies that the newly-released former prostitute did not have to return to the place of her birth, but that she was able to return to Paris. Women who were simply 'liberté' also, in most circumstances, happened to be native to the capital (or so they claimed). However, even some who claimed to be native were often 'releguée a son pays.' Perhaps some women claimed to be from Paris to avoid banishment to other parts of the country. Inmates who were typically from outside of Paris were often released on the condition that they return to the place of their birth.

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[64] BA MS 12695, 'Encore à Paris a continuer la mesme [sic] commerce pour les quel elles ont été détenues,' 1759-1760. Translation: 'I promise and am obliged to leave Paris in three days and to return to the place of my birth or of my relatives, under the pain of being reintegrated to the hospital if I am found in the said city.'
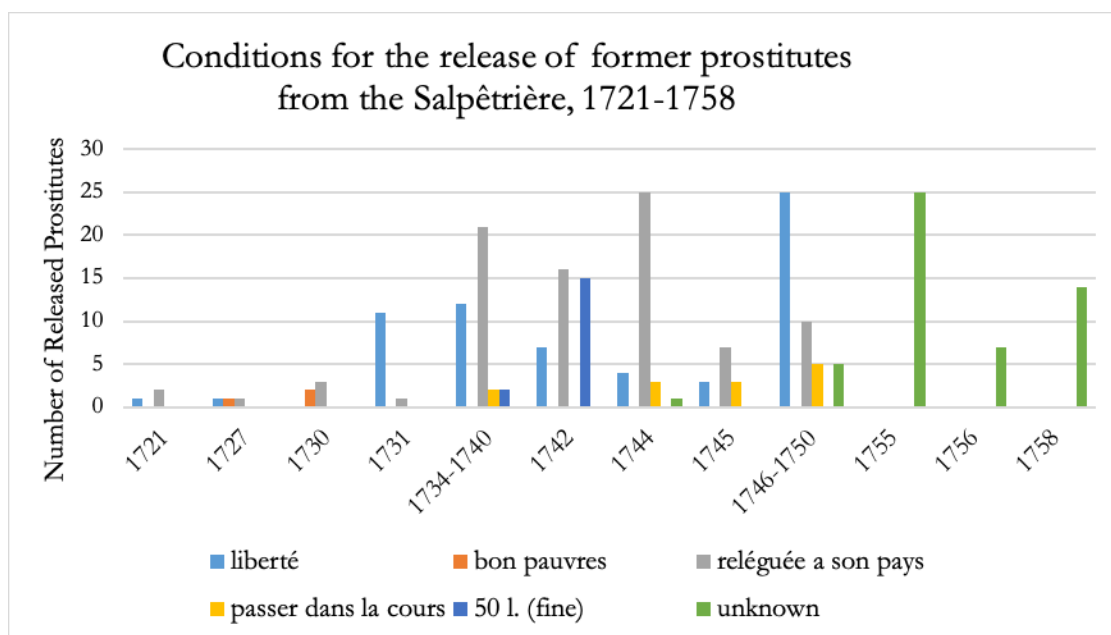
Figure 3: Conditions for the release of former prostitutes form the *Salpêtrière* as shown in the *État des Prisons* records of the Paris Police.[65]

Figure *3* shows the conditions of release of former prostitutes from the *Salpêtrière*. The types of release are the contemporary labels written by the police in the admissions and release records. The chart shows that some years appear separately, and others appear as a run of years, and there are also some gaps in between 1719 and 1765. This is not due to any methodological reason, rather it is simply how the records survive. Between 1734 and 1740 as well as 1746 to 1750, the actual date of release is not provided, but we can guess it took place within that period because of the way the releases were archived. Between the years 1734 and 1744, there was an increase, as can be seen in Figure 3 of inmates banished from Paris to the places of their birth.[66] This provides some proof for the migratory quality of most sex workers residing within the capital. From 1746 to 1758, there existed a higher proportion of those granted *liberté* without specifically elaborating on what the stipulations for such freedom were. As mentioned, from 1750 onward, there were more documents signed by newly-freed inmates in which they promised to leave Paris indefinitely. One can then hypothesize that a lack of stipulations for release is unnecessary because perhaps all former prostitutes released from the hospital from 1750 onward were expected to leave Paris no matter where they were from. Alternatively, perhaps the inmates were freed with no stipulations to be listed in the first place. Unfortunately, there is no definitive answer as to why conditions for release are not listed from 1750 onward in the actual release records. The change is most likely due to a changing practice in recording practices rather than in

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[65] BA mss. 12692-95. État de Salpêtrière, 1719-1765.
[66] Ibid.

the composition of the intake. It seems that, in the late eighteenth century, the records associated with arrested prostitutes were relatively less detailed than in earlier centuries.

The changes in the records also suggests that perhaps the police were becoming less concerned with the prostitutes incarcerated within the *Salpêtriére* (especially in terms of whether or not they repented). The changes also suggest that the nature of the *Salpêtriére* was changing from an institution of repentance and reform to one of redistribution and urban isolation. As the century continued, it seems the primary function of the *Salpêtriere* increasingly involved taking prostitutes out of the urban environment, confining them in a particular space, and re-releasing them with the aim of dispersing them outside of the city. Perhaps this change was occurring due to the high numbers of prostitutes that were locked up in the *Salpêtrière* at any given time and the need to make room for more of them.

These changes are supported during the period from 1721 to 1758, where there was an overall drop in the average sentence time for women accused of prostitution alone. In 1727, the average sentence of inmates accused of prostitution was four years and ten months with the lowest being just over three years and the highest being nearly seven. By 1758, the average sentence was lowered to less than a year, with the highest being ten months to the lowest being ten. The highest proportion of the two hundred and thirty-five prostitutes included in this sample is made up of those who were relegated to the place of their birth. As Figure 3 shows, the tendency for this stipulation increases over time. Additionally, according to Farr, women who left the *Salpêtrière* were often re-recruited into the sex trade upon being released which meant that they usually would remain in Paris (regardless of what the conditions of their release were).[67] Any intention of reforming behaviour and instituting methods of discipline was somewhat overshadowed by issues of overcrowding and the practicalities of controlling such a large population of inmates.

London had no contemporary equal to the *Salpêtrière*. In terms of purpose, there is no closer London alternative than the Bridewell Royal Hospital. However, Bridewell's intake of former prostitutes was proportionally lower than that of its French counterpart and the space of the hospital itself could not contain thousands of inhabitants. A breakdown of the women imprisoned at Bridewell for streetwalking from 1701 to 1790 is provided in the previous chapter.[68] The records of admission included in the minutes of the court of governors give no indication of release and the conditions thereof. Little information regarding the woman herself was recorded apart from her offense and the date of her admission. There was comparatively less

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[67] James F. Farr, *The Work of France: Labor and Culture in Early Modern Times* (Lahnam: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2008), 62-63.
[68] See Chapter Two, 119.

record-keeping involved with the women incarcerated in Bridewell than in the *Salpêtrière*. Bridewell also had a relatively high turnover rate and reportedly women would usually spend a maximum of three months confined there.[69] There are no existing records to indicate a female inmate's readiness to be released or on what grounds such release was granted. Overall, there is not enough evidence in the Bridewell records regarding the conditions of admittance and release to make any comparative interpretations to that of the *Salpêtrière*.

Thus, the Magdalen Hospital, being the only London hospital in this study with the largest source base pertaining to release or 'dismissal', is a more suitable option for a comparison with that of the *Salpêtrière*. *The Account of the Rise, Progress, and the Present State of the Magdalen Charity* in its varied published editions does not detail the conditions for release and admission for each individual prostitute. However, the *Account* does offer useful numerical information about the conditions of dismissal. According to these volumes, between August 1758 when the charity was founded and the publication of the last *Account* of the eighteenth century in 1795, almost three thousand women had passed through the Magdalen Charity.[70] The accounts of the Hospital began three years after its founding in 1758. This was because women spent a sentence of three years in the hospital and the 1761 Accounts reflect the outcome of the first cohort of penitents. The *Accounts* were then written and published yearly from that point onward. Not all of the *Accounts* have survived, and the ones shown in **Error! Reference source not found.** are the only ones I have been able to track down between 1761 and 1795.

The accounts of the women within the institution were divided into eight (and later seven) separate categories. The first category of women was those who were 'restored and perfectly reconciled to their parents and friends.' The second category were those who had been 'dismist [sic] with credit to services in reputable families, and to trades.' From 1761 to 1763, these remained two separate categories with twenty-four to thirty-three percent of the women of the charity being released to services and with eight to eleven percent being restored to friends and family. By 1766, these two categories were combined into one that increased steadily throughout the period until 1795 when nearly sixty-five percent of all women admitted into the hospital had been released to work in services or were restored to their friends and family.

The other two categories related to dismissal were either voluntary or involuntary. Voluntary dismissal is labelled as such in the accounts from 1766: 'dismiss'd at their own request and upon reasonable views of advantage or uneasy under confinement, tho' otherwise not blameable for their conduct.'[71] As explained, there is no definitive way to tell if women in this

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[69] Hinkle, *A History of Bridewell.*
[70] Anon., *Magdalen Hospital. Annual Statement* (London: 1795), 2.
[71] Dodd, *An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Magdalen Charity*, Third (London: W. Faden, 1766), 6.

category were dismissed by the hospital authorities or if they had run away. The fourth category in which women were discharged was for 'faults and irregularities' or for 'improper conduct.'[72] As Figure 4 shows, the number of women 'remaining' in the hospital remained fairly constant throughout the late eighteenth century.
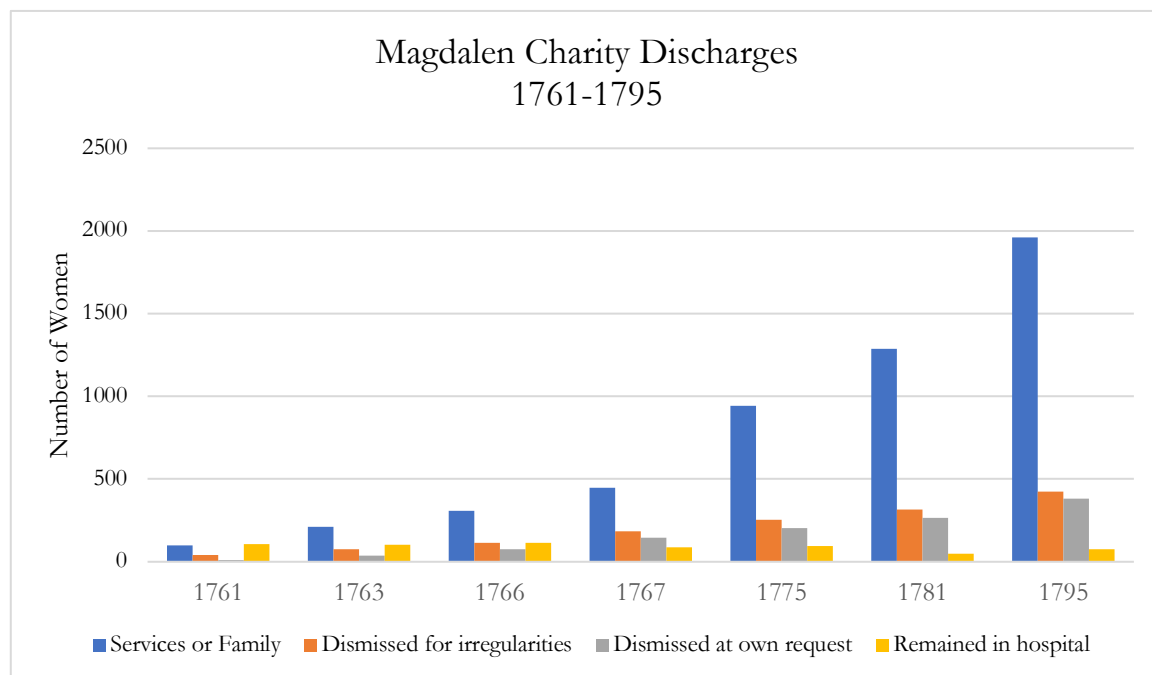
Figure 4: Magdalen Charity Discharges, 1761-1795, taken from the available Accounts of the Magdalen Hospital.[73]

The four categories shown in Figure 4 did not include women who died in hospital or were considered 'lunatics' and dispatched elsewhere. These categories also do not include those who were transferred to other hospitals for venereal disease treatment only to never return to Magdalen. Although the number of women to pass through the Magdalen Hospital increased ten-fold in the time between 1761 and 1795, the percentages of women in every category apart from the first two, increased at a slower and steadier rate.

In terms of its ability to reform prostitutes, the 'successes' and 'failures' of the Magdalen were relatively well-monitored when compared to the *Salpêtriére*. The account of 1795, which displays the accumulation of all the numbers of penitents since the Magdalen's opening, shows that nearly one-third of the women who were admitted into the Magdalen between 1761 and

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[72] Ibid. see also Anon., *Magdalen Hospital. Annual Statement,* 2.

[73] William Dodd, *An Account of the Rise, Progess and Present State of the Magdalen Hospital, for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes. Together with Dr. Dodd's sermons. To which are added, the advice to the Magdalens, with the psalms, hymns, prayers and list of subscribers* (London: 1761, 1763, 1766, 1767, 1775, 1783, 1795).

1795 were dismissed (804 women in total, 423 for irregularities and 381 at their own request). The way in which these dismissals were recorded suggests that there were no runaways. However, this is highly unlikely considering that the Lock Asylum, a similar institution, had recorded runaways in its unpublished records. Since the Magdalen published these numbers as reports to their subscribers, there would have been different motivations behind the way they were represented here compared to the Lock Asylum or the *Salpêtriére*. Moreover, dismissals still accounted for a high proportion of admitted penitents in the Magdalen reflecting its dual nature as both a reformative and punitive institution. The nature of being dismissed by one's own volition is also questionable considering that the physical structure of the Magdalen was designed to confine and guard the penitents within (more about this is discussed in the next section).

As *Figure 4* shows, the only category of dismissed women that experienced a dramatic increase were those who were either restored to family or who entered into domestic service. The time gap between the merging of the two categories (1766 and 1795) makes the increase on the graph look more dramatic than perhaps it was. However, the number of women in this category was the largest overall number in all seven editions of the *Account* during the late eighteenth century. Indeed the Magdalen Charity listed its third object as the following: 'To employ them in the most useful manner, both for themselves and the community, by rendering them pious, industrious and frugal, prepare them for a more comfortable settlement in the world.'[74] Perhaps the reasoning behind combining the categories of the women restored to friends and family and those who entered domestic service was to create a higher overall percentage of women who left the institution in good faith.

The Magdalen Hospital *Accounts* indicate a high likelihood of restoring penitents to their friends and family.[75] Unlike the *Salpêtrière,* the Magdalen did not banish former prostitutes from the city upon release. However, given London's history of attracting rural immigration throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (not to mention the desperation with which one would have to apply to such an institution), it would be unlikely that every woman residing in the Magdalen Hospital had family and friends in London.[76] This suggest that the Magdalen performed a similar, if somewhat understated, function to the *Salpêtrière* in redistributing prostitutes outside of the urban environment. Since the Magdalen prescribed that women should remain within its walls for a total of three years, this was less dramatic than in the *Salpêtrière* where women were confined for short periods of time and released in mass waves. However,

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[74] Jonas Hanway, *A Plan… the Magdalen Charity*, 1.
[75] *Magdalen Hospital. Annual Statement,* 1.
[76] For more on migration to London from rural areas in general, see: John Landers, *Death and the Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

through the vague categorization of restoring penitents to friends, family or domestic service, the Magdalen authorities were, perhaps inadvertently, systematically pushing these women out of London.

Other than offering information about what constituted conditions for release and admittance into a hospital, these records are also useful for what they can tell us about the spatial pressures and capacities of these places. We know that within the span of thirty years, nearly 3,000 women had passed through the Magdalen which gives a sense of how hectic the day-to-day operations of the hospital must have been. The sense of chaos is inflamed when considering the *Salpêtrière* could house anywhere up to 1,000 prostitutes at any given point throughout its history. Despite the possibility that these spaces were often chaotic, they were intended to provide an inverse, orderly environment that contrasted with the unruly, muddled city.

II.   Structural Implications: Division & Functional Sites

The physical structures of the hospitals heavily influenced the activities and routines that took place within them. According to Foucault's theory of discipline, the division of space was a necessary component to reforming criminal behaviour.[77] The aim of this section is not to prove or disprove whether this was the case for all hospitals. Rather, I am interested in what the structural implications for improvement were in practice, how they differed from one institution to another, and what this can tell us about the institutional responses to urban prostitution during the period. Purpose-built structures, such as the Magdalen hospital and *Bon Pasteur*, provide counter-evidence to Foucault's argument that the narrative of improvement was merely a façade for the creation of a heterotopia.[78] Instead, I argue that the physical structures of the institutions give an indication that exclusion from society (in many forms) was a vehicle for individual reform within the various hospitals. Institutional structures were able to do this largely due to their quality of being spaces that were intended to provide the structure that the exterior, unconfined environment of the city could not. As presented in the previous section, there is some evidence to suggest, based on the admittance and release records, that hospitals for former prostitutes were mechanisms of redistribution rather than improvement. However, the structural components of the hospital suggest that this was not their only intended purpose.

Here, I will focus on two aspects of the structural qualities of the five houses of correction for prostitutes being used in this chapter. First, I will address the ways in which prostitutes were divided within their respective institutions. This includes institutions that

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[77] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141-62.

[78] Ibid., 195-228; idem., *Madness and Civilization*, 127.

catered to other petty offenders, criminals, the poor and the sick (*Salpêtrière*, Bridewell, Lock) as well as those that were intended only for penitent prostitutes (Magdalen and *Bon Pasteur*). My main concerns regarding the division of space are how and why prostitutes were divided from one another or, if applicable, the rest of the exterior hospital community. This also will bring into question whether these barriers were physical, social, or a combination of the two. Second, I will concentrate on the use of what Foucault calls 'functional sites' which relate to specific purposes (eating, prayer, sleep, work) and the barriers that existed between these sites.[79] I also will explore the tendencies of the uses of functional sites to become enmeshed depending on the institution in question. Through analysing the physical spaces of hospitals for former prostitutes, I will demonstrate that, in terms of structure, the hospital was intended to act as a stark contrast to the prostitute's previous environment (the disorderly city).

Some hospital authorities paid relatively less attention to the way that wards were classed and did not make as much of an effort to divide former prostitutes from the rest of the female prisoners, let alone each other. It is not clear why this was the case. Perhaps, because in hospitals like Bridewell that had such a high turnover rate, there was no need to take such care to classify women into groups. At Bridewell, prisoner classification was based solely on gender and age. Women, men and children were separated into different wards. There was also no distinction between types of crimes among these wards. According to William G. Hinkle, 'novice offenders were mixed in with veteran petty criminals in open wards and workrooms.'[80] Beds in Bridewell were on the floor of the dormitories and composed mostly of straw. Wooden dividers were placed between each bed.[81] The use of wooden dividers on the floor meant that more women could be squeezed into the dormitory if there was a need. Female prisoners at Bridewell were expected to keep their ward as clean as possible and the matron of the female ward was charged with its general cleanliness.[82] The wards at Bridewell functioned solely as places for sleep or rest and were not places of work. Work took place in various 'work rooms' within Bridewell to which the women were escorted by the matron.

Hospitals like the *Salpêtrière*, Bridewell, and the Lock Asylum did not solely cater to prostitutes, nevertheless, these women maintained a constant presence within their walls. Bridewell Hospital and Lock Asylum seemed to treat all their female inmates, at least in terms of spatial division, with relative equality compared to the *Salpêtrière* which made distinct efforts to keep prostitutes from mixing with the other inhabitants. It is unclear why this is the case, but the

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Hinkle, *A History of Bridewell Prison,* 117.

[81] Ibid, p. 118.

[82] Anon., *Standing Rules and Orders of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem* (London: 1792), 39.

reasoning seems to be grounded in maintaining a certain amount of order within the entirety of the hospital population.[83] By the eighteenth century, the hospice of the *Salpêtrière*, which did not include the *maison de force,* still functioned as a house of correction for poor women and children who were thus divided into five categories: 'femmes invalides', 'femmes valides,' 'ménages de vieillards,' 'folles,' and 'jeunes filles.'[84] The women in these categories were kept separate from each other in the main dormitories of the *Salpêtrière.* The main dormitories for the poor were in the *Bâtiment Mazarin* and the *Bâtiment Lassay* (Figure 5) which were composed of single rooms in which women would sleep and work.

Furthermore, the *maison de force* of the *Salpêtrière* was a separate building complex from the hospice and the women who lived in the *maison* would almost never interact with those in the main dormitories for the poor while incarcerated there. The existence of a *maison de force* is a characteristic of the 'art of distributions' (as described by Foucault) because the more 'corrupt' women were kept separate from those who, in the eyes of hospital authorities, had a chance at reforming.[85] Pennant noticed the physical separation of prostitutes from the rest of the hospital population. In his travel memoir (mentioned above), he recounts the population of the hospice and describes 'another quarter' (most likely a portion of the *maison*) in which 'women of the town were kept.' When describing the women of the town, Pennant rather chillingly added that they 'are not to be seen.'[86] It is unclear whether he meant that he did not recommend seeing them, or if he was implying that the hospital attempted to keep these women invisible to outsiders.

Women in the *maison* were further divided into four categories: 'la Correction,' 'le Commun,' 'la Prison,' and 'la Grande-Force.' What is important to note is that these were not just abstract categories, but physical spaces within the *maison de force* complex. *La Correction* contained women who were sent to the *maison* via *lettres de cachet* by their own relatives who paid a pension to the *maison* for them to be kept there. It was also the most isolated from the other three categories as it was the only group to not be housed in the main *maison de force* building. This group, as well as any other group within the *maison* or greater *hôpital*, could have included former prostitutes, but it was not solely designed for them. Those housed in *la correction* were perceived as being more susceptible to change and perhaps by being physically separate from the rest of the *maison*, they were less likely to be influenced by the women kept there.

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[83] Bénabou, *La Prostitution,* 79-81.

[84] Jacques Hillairet, *Gibets, Piloris, et Cachots Du Vieux Paris* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1955), 267-68.

[85] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141-62.

[86] Pennant, *A Tour on the Continent 1765*, ed. G.R. de Beer (London, 1948), 24.

Dividing the women among themselves produced a hierarchal spatial system of 'rank', a divisionary tactic that Foucault claims was essential to maintaining control.[87] In this way, divisional space was both a physical and imagined element of the incarcerated experience for prostitutes. It also seemed as if there was a top-down attempt to make sense of the inherently chaotic character of the prostitute by placing her into a specific category. It is also worth determining whether or not there was a difference between theory and practice in that regard. For example, simply dividing certain former prostitutes from others did not, as will be demonstrated later on, keep them from forming communal bonds with one another. The art of distributing and partitioning spaces, as described by Foucault, functioned to keep former prostitutes both divided and together.[88] The space in which the division among former prostitutes in hospitals is the most prevalent is the dormitory. Dormitories functioned both as spaces of rest and reflection, and inmates were classed into specific ones for reasons which varied across the five mentioned institutions.

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[87] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 150-162.
[88] Ibid.

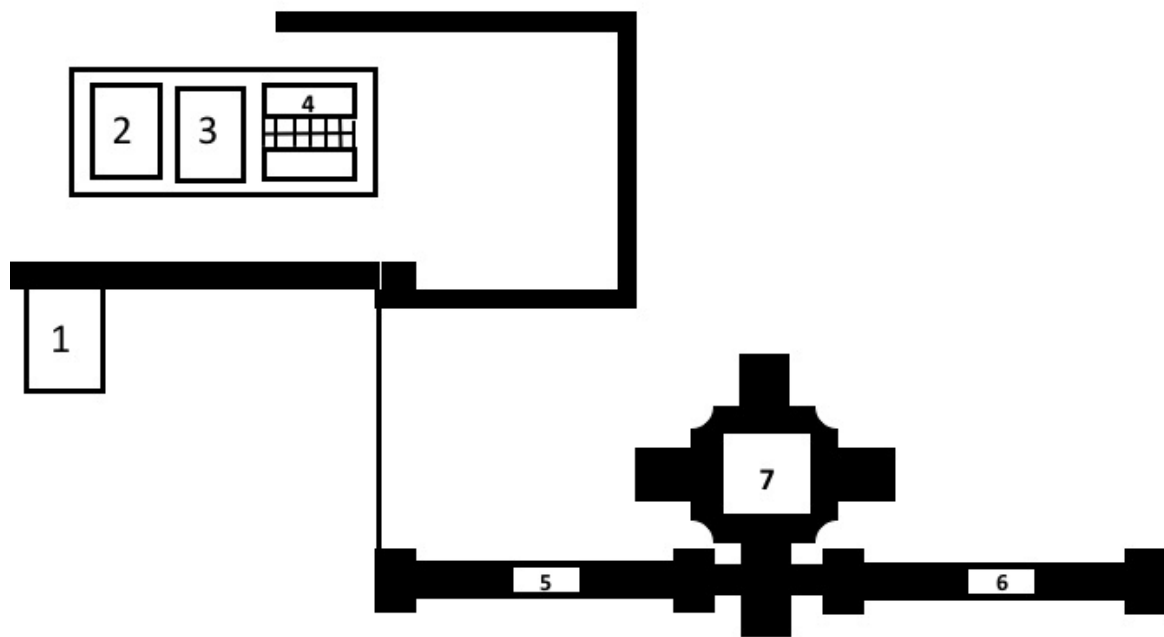**Figure 5: Plan of the *Salpêtrière*.**[89]

KEY:
1. *La Correction*
2. *Le Commmun*
3. *La Prison*
4. *La Grande Force*
5. *Bâtiment Mazarin* (hospice area)
6. *Bâtiment Lassay* (hospice area)
7. *St. Louis* (church)

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[89] Hillairet, *Gibets, Piloris et Cachots*, p. 265. Hillairet's plan is a reconstruction of a plan from Turgot in 1792. This is a reconstruction based on Hillairet's plan.

The *commun* within the *maison de force* of the *Salpêtrière* was reserved specifically for prostitutes. Here, the women lived together in dormitories as most prostitutes did in other institutions. Such a separation is peculiar because thieves, murderers or other types were not specifically kept in one section of the *maison*. The deliberate separation of prostitutes raises questions about the perceived influences these women could potentially have on other prisoners or vice versa. The space within the dormitories of the *commun* and the *prison* functioned as spaces of work during the day and as sleeping quarters at night.[90] This indicates that the women in the *commun* together lived quite isolated lives apart from the other women of the *maison* and indeed the rest of the women residing in the hospital. The *Salpêtrière* had other functions besides reforming the behaviour and possibly improving the circumstances of former prostitutes; thus, a sophisticated degree of separation could have been necessary to its proper functioning.

In the Magdalen, penitents were divided into each ward based on their socioeconomic background: 'There may be a superiority or preference of wards according to the education or behaviour of the person admitted, and the lower wards to consist of inferior persons, and of those who may be degraded for misbehaviour.'[91] Upon admission, the penitents were kept for a month in a ward specifically for newcomers to the Magdalen and were not allowed to associate with the other penitents who were 'settled in their mind and manners.' This was to prevent the newcomers from potentially corrupting or upsetting those who may have had 'more sense and virtue than themselves.'[92] Once the initiation period at Magdalen was over, each penitent would receive a bed and a 'chest for her cloathes and linen, under a lock, which is kept by herself.'[93] This tactic was less severe than that of *Bon Pasteur*, which, as Delamare claimed, in an act of preliminary punishment, held women in solitary confinement and darkness for a period before allowing them to join the other penitents.[94] In both the Magdalen and *Bon Pasteur*, newly admitted women were effectively quarantined before joining the rest of the hospital population. This deliberate division was perhaps an effort to maintain what may have been a rather delicate sense of order within the hospital. The disorderly aspects of the hospital will be further explored later, however, what remains important here was the role that the physical structure of the hospital played in maintaining this order. The plans of Magdalen, shown in Figure 6, do not give any indication of whether certain wards were intended for newly admitted penitents or for more

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[90] APHP 176 FOSS 1 'Reglement General de ce qui doit ester observée chaque jour dans la Maison de St. Louis de la Salpêtrière.'

[91] Dodd, *An Account for the Magdalen Charity*, First (London, 1761) p. 132.

[92] Ibid., 19.

[93] Ibid., 133.

[94] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, 452; Jones claims the same was true for the *Bon Pasteur* in Montpellier in *The Charitable Imperative*, 254-255.

seasoned veterans of the penitent lifestyle. If Magdalen recommended a three-year sentence within its walls, then perhaps the implication with separation is a perceived disparity between these two types of women.

Based on the routines of the Magdalen Charity and *Bon Pasteur*, it can be inferred that the penitents, in all likelihood, spent relatively little time in their wards during the day. At Magdalen, some dormitories contained the following attached room: 'a small closet, or apartment is provided for the retirement of the most serious and best-behaved in the intervals of their employment, and these are also considered as the reward of good conduct.'[95] Magdalen Hospital, although its ethos centred around qualities of industry and spiritual redemption for former prostitutes, rewarded such ideals with the opportunity for further idleness and seclusion. This is not to be confused with solitary confinement which, as the end of this chapter will touch on, was used as a means of punishment for bad behaviour in most contemporary examples. Giving women special spaces in which they could rest on the basis of merit could have thus encouraged the other patients to behave with docility and utility in hope that they too would be rewarded. Few examples of such a reward are prevalent in any of the sources for the other hospitals. In all cases, however, privacy was a luxury while seclusion was simultaneously a punishment. The tension between seclusion as a punishment versus a reward was probably dependent on the conditions of such isolation and indeed the general living conditions, more than on the hospital itself.

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[95] Ibid.
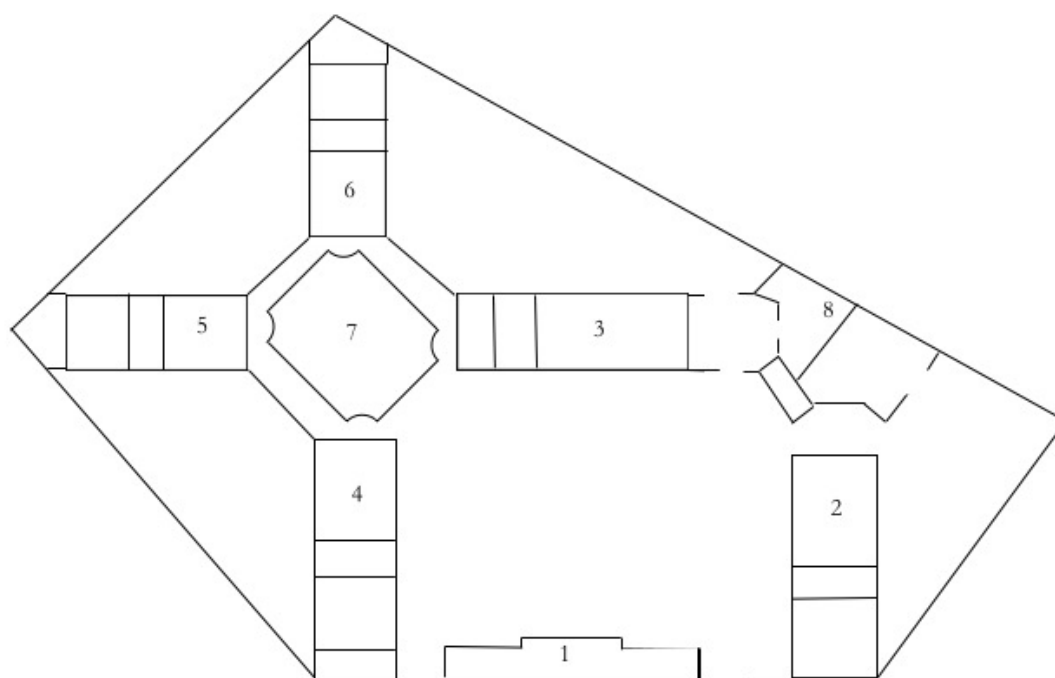
Figure 6: Plan of the Magdalen Hospital at St. George's Fields, 1769.[96]

KEY:
1. Offices for male servants
2. Committee rooms
3. Household apartments
4, 5, 6. Rooms for women (with eating working, and matron's assistants' rooms on the ground floor and dormitories above)
7. Chapel
8. Washing, baking and laundry

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[96] This plan is my own re-creation based on Ground Plan of the Magdalen Hospital (1769), re-published in Ogborn's *Spaces of Modernity,* 42.

Division was only one way in which we can see the structural implications involved with reforming prostitutes. The other way is through observing and understanding the use of functional sites. Functional sites helped contribute to an ongoing practice of orderly behaviour and routine. The types of sites themselves and the ways in which they were structured can also offer some insight into the expected practice of hospital space by the penitents. It should also be observed that there are overlaps between the way sites were used. Spiritual practice, for example, seemed to be interwoven through all the different sites in the institutions including those for sleep, dining, working, and, of course, worship.

The dormitory of *Bon Pasteur* or the 'l'image de sepulchre' functioned as both a spiritual and practical site.[97] Some hospitals, like Bridewell, placed a greater emphasis on rest than they did on reflection whereas the two occurred simultaneously at *Bon Pasteur*. By comparing the dormitories to the sepulchre, where Jesus rose from the dead in the Bible, Delamare implies in his description of *Bon Pasteur* that these spaces possessed the quality of renewal. He also referred to the dormitory as a 'commun,' but stated that women had curtains around each of their beds so as to protect their modesty.[98] Having divisions between beds was not unique to *Bon Pasteur*. In the Magdalen, beds were divided by a curtain which separated the beds on each side. The intention of curtains in this instance was that if they were 'inclined to any private devotion,' they would be able to be concealed from one another, but not hidden from the matron standing in the middle of the room.[99] In both institutions, women had, at least twice a day (morning and night), a chance to be alone: perfectly cocooned in their respective sleeping places. Such physical structures allowed the women an opportunity for solitude—even if only for a brief moment before sleep and after rising. In *Bon Pasteur*, the partitioning was such that, effectively, women could enter the room, rise and retire without being seen by each other. Foucault claimed the *Bon Pasteur* exemplified the art of 'partitioning' and 'enclosure' at its earliest and most rudimentary form.[100] However, communal activities still took place inside the dormitories. At *Bon Pasteur*, before undressing and going to sleep, all the penitents recited *la Miserere* in unison. Prayer, reflection and rest were thus both group and individual activities.

Spaces for sleep in the eighteenth-century hospital were examples not only of the way spaces could be partitioned, but also of how the integration of functional sites played a role in such places. Functional sites helped to establish routine behaviour because they were a manifestation of an activity within a specific space. In some cases, such as the *Salpêtrière* and

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[97] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, 455. Translation: 'the image of Sepulcher.'
[98] Ibid.
[99] Hanway, *Magdalen Charity*, 21
[100] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 143.

Bridewell, some of the categories of functional sites merge. For example, in the *maison de force,* eating, prayer, labour and sleep all occurred in the same space. The plans of the *Salpêtrière,* containing the church of *St. Louis,* indicate that the women of the *commun* were kept as far away as possible from the church. The *commun,* as previously mentioned was not only in a separate building, but in a separate compound (the *maison de force*) from the greater part of the hospital. Such separation indicates that the women within the *commun* may have rarely, if at all, visited *St. Louis* for services or devotion. At such services, the entirety of the population of the *Salpêtrière* would be included which in turn would contain young girls and children. There could have been fears regarding the presence of perhaps hundreds of former prostitutes at one and how this could be problematic for impressionable youths. Perhaps, if such women visited *St. Louis,* they did so alone or were simply expected to pray solely within their living and work space.

Within the hospitals of Bridewell and the *Salpêtrière,* the only real division in terms of functional sites seemed to be between spaces of labour, and spaces of living (sleeping, eating, etc.). In Bridewell, work took place in other rooms, but eating and sleeping took place in the dormitories.[101] We know that former prostitutes performed 'hard labour' at the *Salpêtrière,* but it is unclear what exactly they were expected to do, if they were allowed outside, or if they worked sporadically rather than as part of a demonstrated routine.[102] This occurrence with these hospitals could be due to the fact that facilities were not designed for the purpose of specifically reforming former prostitutes and instead served other functions and types of inmates. In the case of the *Salpêtrière,* perhaps the use of functional spaces was not possible due to the sheer number of incarcerated prostitutes, and that having them moved from one room to another at various points of the day would take too much work on the part of the matrons and sisters. There is also the possibility that keeping the women in their assigned dormitories, apart from occasional labour assignments, made their escape less likely and made it easier for them to be observed at all hours. Spaces for work are only broadly defined in most instances; however, all institutions placed an emphasis on domestic tasks. In the case of Bridewell, women beat hemp and worked with textiles.[103] At the Lock Hospital, women were trained in various ways so as to become domestic servants.[104] At *Bon Pasteur,* penitents gardened and performed other domestic

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[101] Hinkle, *A History of Bridewell,* p. 170.

[102] There are no accounts within both the administrative and police records of the hospital which provide details as to what the work was. Travel accounts describe the women conducting 'hard labour' but don't elaborate. Pennant *Tour on the Continent,* 24; Townsend, *Journey through Part of France,* vol. I, 97.

[103] William Waddington, *Considerations on the Origianl and Proper Objects of the Royal Hospital of Bridewell* (London, 1798), 17.

[104] *An Account of the Institution of the Lock Asylum for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes* (London: C. Watts of Queen Street, 1796).

tasks.[105] In the Magdalen Hospital, activities were separated by levels. The ground floors of the penitents' buildings were the sites for eating and working (usually with textiles). The sites for sleeping (dormitories) were on the level above.

Religious activity often took place outside of religious spaces. The refectory of *Bon Pasteur*, for example, was a space of both prayer and eating. Upon entering the dining hall, the women had to acknowledge the crucifix which hung near the entry.[106] Before meals, all the women recited *la Miserere* and additional prayers were said before leaving the refectory. The *filles penitents* were also forbidden from making any noise (including accidentally dropping eating utensils) let alone speaking to each other. Women were also encouraged not to eat too quickly or too slowly, but to eat in a more moderate fashion. In the Magdalen Hospital, women ate in a dining hall and tables were separated by ward.[107] The penitents in Magdalen would also pray before eating. In these two institutions, prayer was inter-woven into every activity and visible religious instruments (such as the crucifix in *Bon Pasteur*) were included in every space. Spaces for devotion were slightly more fluid in most eighteenth-century institutions for prostitutes. Even though most had their own churches or chapels, prayer and devotion was not exclusive to such spaces.

In the Magdalen Charity, the dormitories surrounded the Chapel (see Figure 6). However, in reality, the women of the three separate dormitories may have seldom seen each other outside of activities taking place within the chapel. Most of the daily prayers, however, took place in the wards before and after work.[108] Thus, the chapel in the Magdalen Charity was only used on Sundays and other religious holidays in which not only devotional, but social activities among the various wards may have taken place. Bridewell, while its plans contained a chapel, did not prescribe daily religious activity to its individual female prisoners.[109] In Lock Asylum, however, women prayed together in a specific place. This space remains undefined in the source material as their daily routine indicates that they 'attended prayers' one hour after rising and once work had finished.[110] Chapels and spaces that were specified for spiritual activities were sites not only of reflection and prayer but of social activity such as group prayer and singing in choirs thus encouraging community and socialization more than self-reflection and individual prayer. Private, self-reflective devotion was better suited for the dormitory. Especially, if, as mentioned in the case of both *Bon Pasteur* and the Magdalen, the beds within the

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[105] Delamare, *Traite de la Police*, 456

[106] Ibid., 455.

[107] Dodd, *An Account of the Magdalen Charity,* p. 135.

[108] Hanway, *Magdalen Charity*, p. 28.

[109] *Standing Rules and Orders of Bridewell Hospital* (London: 1792), 36-37.

[110] RCS MS 0022/2/1/1, Meeting of the Committee, 5 July 1787.

dormitories had dividers to provide privacy for devotional purposes.[111] In essence, chapels were not just spaces for devotion but functioned as those of community which did not always pertain to religious activity.[112]

By grouping together prostitutes and placing them in a space apart from the rest of the respective urban environment, the hospital functioned as a mechanism of isolation from the rest of 'respectable' society. However, a significant amount of division took place within the hospitals and among the inmates themselves. These deliberate physical and imagined boundaries between the populations of prostitutes and other hospital inhabitants imply that the structure of hospitals played a significant role in the disciplining of the prostitute. Thus, the hospital was not intended to merely be a structural mechanism of isolation from the urban environment, rather, the spatial division of the hospital within itself had a significant role to play in reforming the prostitute in both theory and practice. Specific spaces for dining, work, sleeping and reflection are apparent in most instances. *Bon Pasteur*, Lock Asylum and the Magdalen Charity were smaller institutions that served the sole function of reforming former prostitutes whereas the larger hospital-prisons *(Salpêtrière* and Bridewell) functioned on a more complex level. Movement within the space of the hospital was also important to the usage of 'functional sites.' Theoretically, the women of each of the mentioned institutions moved throughout their assigned spaces with a strict adherence to a routine. Each activity, at least in theory, was timetabled and served either a functional or a spiritual purpose. Routine within the assigned spaces of the eighteenth-century hospital was intended to discourage idleness and thus encourage industry and piety among penitents.

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[111] Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, p. 456; Hanway, *Magdalen Charity*, 30.
[112] See Section IV.

III.   Time: Routines & Movement

The structural implications of the hospital for former prostitutes were partial elements of the women's moral reform. If we are to understand the function of these spaces as being inherently opposite to that of the urban environment, then the movement and routines held within them had to be strictly controlled. Unlike the urban landscape, explored in the previous chapter, these hospitals, as spaces, were not nearly as fluid. Movement was not constant. Rather, they were static spaces in which certain areas were reserved for specific functions. Movement was meant to occur at precise time increments and not at random. David Garrioch and Bruce Smith's work has emphasized the importance of sound in the early modern city and how bells and other aspects of the soundscape were more informative about time than any visual cues.[113] Historians have also argued that throughout the early modern period, in both Catholic and Protestant settings, a new sense of time discipline was being formed and imposed upon society in general.[114] This new 'time-discipline' was something that was also imposed in hospitals during the eighteenth century. There are some things about the hospital (its adherence to a time frame, and its sometimes more industrial nature) that make it comparable to a workhouse or a factory. However, the difference is that, perhaps excluding Bridewell, the hospitals on both sides of the channel attempted to mimic convents more than they attempted to mimic workhouses or factories. The emulation of the convent in eighteenth-century hospitals for prostitutes is tied to the way in which non-religious activities and rules were designed by the hospital authorities to be inherently religious in the way they were performed.

Foucault also claimed that the time-table of the hospital was developed from monastic communities before being adopted by houses of correction.[115] Foucault's observation is telling, especially considering that most of the routines to be discussed follow a pattern not dissimilar to that of a convent.[116] Within the cloistered spaces of the convent, female monastics maintained strict adherence to routine. The spaces within the hospital, as Arnold has described, functioned to 'move anomalous people to new statuses through the practice of ritual.'[117] The 'rituals' (or routines) of penitent prostitutes interlinked religious (praying, singing) and functional (eating,

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[113] Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City,' 7; Smith, *Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 52-55.
[114] For more on changing conceptions of time, see: Jacques Le Goff, *Pour Un Autre Moyen Âge, Temps, Travail et Culture en Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977); G.T. Moran, 'Conceptions of Time in Early Modern France: An Approach to the History of Collective Mentalities', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12 (1981): 3–19; Michael J. Sauter, 'Clockwatchers and Stargazers: Time Discipline in Early Modern Berlin', *AHR*, June 2007, 685–709; E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past & Present*, no. 38 (December 1967), 90.
[115] Michel Foucault, 'The Great Confinement', in *Madness and Civilization*, ed. J Khalfa, trans. J Murphy (New York: Routlege, 1964), 126-127
[116] Mita Choudhury, 'Despotic Habits: The Critique of Power and Its Abuses in an Eighteenth-Century Convent', *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 1 (2000), 33-65.
[117] Arnold, *The Spaces of the Hospital*, 64.

sleeping, working) activities. In some examples, prayer is emphasized as a separate activity from work, but in others, the two activities are inextricably linked. In convents, for example, work was believed to prevent idleness, gossip, and vain thoughts.[118] It seemed as if the only way to correct the behaviour of the unholiest of women was to have them imitate the lives and habits of the holiest in order for them to re-join respectable society. There was also the added benefit that keeping these women docile and busy was a way to reduce opportunities for rebellious thoughts or actions in both convents and hospitals.

The key difference, however, between convents and houses of correction for prostitutes was not in their methods but in what motivated the methods in the first place. There is the first difference of a lack of longevity in terms of commitment. Most women who entered any of the five institutions in this chapter would not have remained there for the rest of their lives. There then is a question of whether or not this lack of time placed an increased emphasis on the goal of improving and reforming the women as quickly as possible and what this actually entailed. Rather than an enduring, lifelong commitment to improvement, the women in these institutions had to only appear to have absorbed the teachings and discipline of the hospital to be permitted to leave. If convent routines were enforced to prevent disorderly behaviour, then, surely, the activities within the hospitals for reformed prostitutes, women who were perceived as being inherently disorderly upon entering, would have been even more strictly imposed. One way in which this can be interpreted is through comfort levels. In her study of the spaces of the Magdalen, Arnold indicates the connection between moral improvement and wellbeing was linked to physical comfort and that this was expressed in a spatial way.[119] Both Ogborn and Arnold, who have studied the spatial implications of the Magdalen Hospital, do not separate routine from the physical aspects of the spaces of the hospital.[120] Here I am separating the two and emphasising the uses of space through the lens of prescribed routines and what they can reveal about the institutional responses to prostitution.

Daily regimens of institutionalized prostitutes provide valuable insight into the methods that various hospitals would take in order to support their varying ethea, but also in the ways in which the space of the hospital was actually used as mechanism for improvement. In the Magdalen, Lock Asylum and *Bon Pasteur*, routines were more definitively laid out in their plans or accounts. In Bridewell and the *Salpêtrière*, the routines were less rigidly defined. This may be due to the fact that, as mentioned, Bridewell and the *Salpêtrière* functioned to discipline and house a larger number of inmates than just former prostitutes and thus did not adhere to as rigid a

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[118] Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 28.
[119] Arnold, *The Spaces of the Hospital*, 77.
[120] Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, 61-70; Arnold, *Spaces of the Hospital,* 61-78.

timetable as other, more voluntary hospitals. There is also a question as to the degree to which such timetables and routines were implemented. Therefore, they should be evaluated as an ideal mode to which the hospitals hoped to adhere rather than as the reality of how each individual hospital operated at all times. At *Bon Pasteur,* morning prayers were silent and lasted until six-thirty. An hour and a half of 'work' followed, succeeded by mass, singing, silent reading, and recitation of the litanies and the first meal, 'dîner', was not served until noon.[121] In Magdalen, where a heavier emphasis was placed on work rather than spiritual welfare, mornings were different. Prayers were to be 'agreed by the committee and care taken that they should be uttered properly and by no means become irksome by being too long.'[122] Soon after waking at six o'clock in the morning, a bell was to 'be rung to call them to prayers… before they began work.' It is most likely that bells were the sound that commanded movement or a change in activity throughout all institutions. The spaces of the hospital only dictated activity to an extent. In reality, it was the soundscape of the hospitals informed that inmates on what to do and when. What is important to note about the Magdalen is that since the functional sites of each activity (work, sleep, eating) all took place in the same building and were merely divided by level, it can be argued that, apart from going to church, the Magdalens rarely left the building of their dormitory. Therefore, the movement between spaces through the vehicle of routine could not have taken long.

In some hospitals, movement from one place to another was a constant factor in the daily routine of the penitents. In *Bon Pasteur*, where small, undefined intervals of 'work' interlaced constant devotional activity, each activity was meant to take place within a space different to the previous one. Perhaps through keeping the female inmates moving (either on the hour or every half hour), the devotional activities (whether intentional or not) discouraged idleness and prevented unnecessary communication. In the *Salpêtrière*, it seems as if women moved very little between activities apart from perhaps when they had to conduct any hard labour around the hospital. As mentioned in the previous section, the ability to move large amounts of women from one space to another within the hospital complex must have been more difficult for hospitals of greater sizes (namely Bridewell and the *Salpêtrière*). What was important, rather than the movement itself, was the reminder of one's past sins, and maintaining a focus on reforming the character of the former prostitute, although movement through space was one means used to achieve this aim.

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[121] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, 451-2.
[122] Ibid.

What former prostitutes ate seemed to be of great importance. The existence of modest, wholesome diets of foods that were not rich helps to drive forward the argument that such institutions used all possible means (including diet) to convert former prostitutes from objects of consumption to those of production. Penitents at *Bon Pasteur* were encouraged to eat at a modest pace in order to discourage a gluttonous disposition.[123] In general, diets in hospitals were fairly simple and reflected very little extravagance. The diet also is representative of the amount of money an institution had, or, at least, what it was willing to spend on feeding its penitents. Diets were also a potential point of debate among the governing committees or hospital authorities as exhibited by the Magdalen Charity: 'A diet for breakfast, dinner and supper is appointed at the discretion of the committee, and the same written in a fair handwriting, and hung up in the committee room, which diet may be settled at the first meeting in every month.'[124] The Lock Hospital and Asylum were also tied up in a similar bureaucratic structure. The committee ruled on most affairs to do with spending as most of its money came from charitable donations.[125]

Most institutions called for at least two meals a day: dinner and supper. Dinner took place mid-day, usually after a period of fast, prayer and work. In *Bon Pasteur*, dinner was comprised of soup and three to four ounces of meat and supper was comprised of any leftover meat from dinner and sometimes a 'salad' of rice and/or beans. In times of 'fast,' women were allowed 'un morceau du fromage, ou de beurre' and 'quelque peu du lait' with no beans or meat.[126] A 'full diet' (as opposed to various sick diets) at the Lock Hospital, which we can assume to be similar to that of the Lock Asylum, included breakfast as well as dinner and supper. Breakfast was light and was comprised of 'water gruel sage or balm tea.' Dinner, depending on the day could be one pound of meat (Monday, Wednesday and Friday), one pint of broth (Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday) or 'pudding' (Sunday). Supper on all days was comprised of 'milk pottage' with butter, cheese, a loaf of bread and a quart of 'small beer.'[127] Both diets were fairly simple and utilitarian.

In other cases, such as Bridewell, or the *commun* of the *Salpêtrière,* where female inmates spent most of their time in the same one or two rooms, they were given enough food to last them the entire day. Meal times were thus not worked into the everyday routine and often incorporated into work times without dedicated time frames. The existence of dedicated time frames for eating and the actual composition of diets revolved around having a space in which

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[123] Delamare, *Traité de la Police,* 455.

[124] Dodd, *An Account for the jMagdalen Charity* (1761), 134.

[125] RCS MS 0022/1/3/1, A Special General Court, 29 January 1746

[126] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, p. 455 Translation: 'a morcel of cheese or butter,' 'a little milk.'

[127] RCS MS 0022/1/3/1, A Table of Diet for Patients, 1754.

communal dining took place. Because there was no such space in *Salpêtrière* or Bridewell, meal times were ad-hoc and less rigid.

Integrating work and prayer into one combined activity performed the function of both preventing idleness and encouraging self-reflection during confinement. In some institutions there was little defined time for each activity. In the Magdalen, prayers and devotions were included as supplementary elements of labour. Prayers were conducted before work was done and after work was finished with little form of religious education in between. While there may have been prescribed activities, which were to take place at specific hours, there was always a sense that all activities should revolve around the woman's past sins and her repentance, rather than addressing these issues at a specified time. As mentioned, work was not easily definable across all of the institutions, but in almost all cases required the women to take on domestic tasks or to learn skills. Such learned skills, in combination with religious devotion, made the former prostitute a more productive member of society if she were to be released. At the Magdalen hospital, work revolved around skill with textiles and women were 'employed' to 'make their own cloaths [sic], both linen and woollen [sic]; spinning the thread and making the cloth,' but could also be trained to make stays, leather or silk gloves, and garters.[128] Such work required the transferring of skills from the house of correction itself. These items would be sold by the Magdalen house and the women would be kept informed of the profits 'as an additional spur to industry.'[129] Hanway emphasized that 'the utmost care and delicacy' be taken by the penitents while working. He stated that 'this establishment be not thought of as a house of correction, or even of hard labour; but as an asylum and safe retreat, where industry and piety serve as handmaids to health and body and peace of mind.'[130] Such ideals were not always prevalent in other institutions and may not have been put fully into practice in this institution either since this is a prescriptive source.

At the Lock Asylum, women were assigned to specific domestic tasks according to their ability. They were also taught how to do domestic tasks that they otherwise may not have known. Such transference of skills was believed by the governors of the institution to be useful to the penitents upon release.[131] It is hard to know whether or not these hospitals were correct in their summations for the 'cures' to prostitution. If women used prostitution as a form of supplemental income, then perhaps it was a rather patronizing view to consider the cause of prostitution to be the lack of applicable skills (as opposed to a lack of employment

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[128] Dodd, *Account of the Magdalen Charity* (1766), 136.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Hanway, *Plan for Magdalen Charity*, 32.
[131] RCS MS 0022/1/3/1 Special General Court, 1746.

opportunities). Perhaps that was the case for a certain percentage of women, but we also know that women in the textile trades in both London and Paris were often associated with mercenary sex. Therefore, it may not have been for lack of skill in the textile industry that those women prostituted themselves, but perhaps because of the extra money that they could earn. Dabhoiwala has emphasised the contemporary assumption that poverty was a consequence, rather than the cause of prostitution.[132] Thus, acquiring a skill, even if it was in addition to ones that the prostitute would have already acquired previously, was a way to not only increase her chances of securing employment once she left the hospital, but to make her character more industrious. Idleness was, after all, interpreted by all of the hospitals for former prostitutes to be at least one of the sources of dissolute behaviour in women. It was not only labour that was the cure for idleness but spiritual devotion and/or repentance for one's former life. This theme was tied into each and every activity within the hospital and mimicked the extremities of convent life in order to promote a more modest lifestyle once allowed back on the streets. Additionally, it was not the isolation from the urban environment, but the contrasting environment of the hospital and the daily movement and routine activity of the penitents within which were intended to encourage personal reform.

Routine played a critical role in the re-shaping of the individual former sex worker. What is important to note, however, is the way in which routines were conducted. Female patients and inmates moved through their assigned spaces at their assigned times, but they did so as a group. Although there was some stress on individual salvation, all activity within the hospital was group-oriented. There are also specific activities that may have seemed private (such as sleeping or reflective time). However, these moments of privacy were illusive, and inmates were still, nearly at all times, surrounded by their peers. All patient activity took place under the ever-vigilant eyes of the matrons of the house. Together, these two groups formed a small community limited to the walls of their respective institution. The relationship between these two, largely female groups, matrons and female penitents, present in the eighteenth-century hospital will be further explored in the next section of the chapter.

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[132] Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex*, 251-252.

IV.   Control: Communities & Punishing Behaviour

In the frontispiece from Jonas Hanway's 1759 *Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen House* in which he first laid out the proposal for Magdalen House (which would later become Magdalen Hospital), a woman kneels in front of a prayer book while a bible and a spinning wheel lie in the background. Visually, it represents everything that Hanway put forth in his proposal for a prostitute's redemption: hard work, prayer and personal reflection. The woman depicted is, seemingly, alone. However, as the admission records have shown, even smaller, more selective hospitals like the Magdalen were mostly full and former prostitutes had to constantly coexist with others. What Hanway and like-minded reformers of the mid-eighteenth century neglected was the sense of community that would have taken place among the reforming prostitutes. Perhaps neglecting this sense of community was rooted in an anxiety concerning female gossip networks (a prevalent aspect of everyday urban life in which the sex trade was a part).[133] After widening the scope slightly, it becomes clear that such a community was not only evident among the former prostitutes themselves but among those who worked in the hospital on a daily basis. Apart from the already large number of penitents, hospitals hosted an entire community composed of matrons, surgeons, physicians, apothecaries, porters, 'sisters,' wards and sometimes guards. This section of the chapter will take community formation into account as an unanticipated factor that challenges Foucault's notions of behaviour and confinement. I will argue here that discipline was ultimately undermined by agency and community among inmates. The formation of the communities and the agency of the female inmates influenced the control of behaviour, the day-to-day functioning of the hospital, and ultimately, the lives of the individuals residing in the hospital (penitent or non-penitent).

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[133] For more on this, see Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Image 2: Frontispiece from Jonas Hanway, Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen House (1759).[134]

According to Silvia Evangelisti, the self-contained, all-female community of the convent led to a more closed-off attitude to the outside world compared to the more fluid male community of

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[134] Jonas Hanway, *Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen-House for Repentant Prostitutes, with the Several Reasons for Such an Establishment* (London, 1759), i.

the monastery.[135] The community of former prostitutes within the hospital was no different. The institutional records describing each of the asylums mentioned in this chapter reveal that within each of them existed two intersecting and mostly female communities: the female penitents and the nearly all-female cast of sisters, wards, and/or matrons held responsible for them. The matrons of the prison acted as arbiters of the spaces in which the penitents inhabited. All movement within the space was managed and controlled by the matrons of the hospital. There is little information about the actual women who filled these roles. All that is left are the assumed duties and requirements of the ideal hospital matron. This section of the chapter will outline the roles of the matrons of some of the mentioned houses of reform and attempt to understand whether any negotiation of the space between such women and the penitents took place within the hospital in which they were housed.

The *Salpêtrière's commun*, as the name suggests, housed a community of incarcerated former prostitutes. The Duke of Rochefoucault-Liancourt, an enlightenment writer who served as president of the '*Comité de mendicité de l'Assemble Constituante*' visited the *Salpêtrière* in 1790 and described the conditions in the *Commun*: 'sous l'ancien regime, la police de Paris entassait dans une centaine de lits, sans pitié comme sans secours cinq à six cents filles publiques.'[136] Because the duke's description was written after the revolution of 1789, there is a chance that he could have been exaggerating the abuse that took place within the *Salpêtrière* as an act of criticism against the police of *ancien régime* Paris. However, while the figure of up to 600 women may or may not have been the case, his claim of over-crowding in the *commun* is not unfounded. As the earlier section of this chapter has shown, hundreds of women were kept in and released from the *Salpêtrière* at multiple points throughout the year. The example of the *commun* provides a necessary starting point for the formation of a sense of community among former prostitutes. Over-crowding surely spawned relationships, conflict, and perhaps a general sense of community among those confined to an enclosed space. Thus the question is not just whether or not a sense of community existed among these women or others in like institutions, but how it was maintained or contested.

In the early hours of 4 July 1758, thirty women escaped from the *maison de force* of the *Salpêtrière*.[137] The police were able to capture and return nine of the escapees to the *maison*. Such an escape, as the unfolding investigation began to show, required the participation of all or most

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[135] Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 42, 46.

[136] Camille Bloch and Alexandre Tuetey, eds., *Procès-Verbaux et Rapports Du Comité de Mendicité de La Constituante* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1911) p. 625. Translation: 'Under the ancien regime, the police of Paris crammed, in about one hundred beds, without pity or help, five to six hundred prostitutes.'

[137] BA ms. 12695 'Femmes evadées de la Salpêtrière au mois de Juillet, 1758', 3 July 1758.

of the women in that dormitory in order to effectively take place. Most of the captured women claimed in their interrogations that they had been 'forced' to escape by the other women and their protests were met with violence at the hands of the dormitory ring-leader nick-named 'Grandmaison.' Grandmaison was cited by almost all of the interrogated re-captured escapees. Apparently, she had managed to pull a loose iron bar from the window of their dormitory which she used as a tool to escape (a feat that may have required the strength of multiple women, but one for which she is blamed all the same). Marguerite Stuard claimed that she had been dragged out by Grandmaison and some of the others with force because they were afraid she would warn the guards.[138] Such a case carries implications for how the *Salpêtrière* functioned, but perhaps the most prevalent is how it reveals an internal power-structure among the female inmates. Those who dared to defy Grandmaison were, reportedly, silenced by either threats or violence. However, the accounts of the captured prisoners hardly prove such a power-structure existed. After all, each story sought to mitigate blame and direct the consequences of the individual's actions away from herself and onto somebody else. Presumably, all of the escaped inmates had every intention of getting away from the *Salpêtrière*, and only felt the need to present themselves as victims after being captured in an attempt to mitigate any potential punishment.

Unfortunately, across the other institutions, there are no comparative cases which provide even a brief glimpse into the communities themselves. The rest of the evidence comes from the literature provided by the institutions in the form of rule books, proposals, and accounts, based on outside perceptions of communities. Such records, of the Magdalen Charity and *Bon Pasteur* especially, were reluctant to allow communication among inmates. For example, at the Magdalen Charity, women had the 'liberty to assume a feigned name' in case they were particularly infamous prostitutes.[139] There are interesting parallels in this because nuns also took on a new name when they entered a convent. The taking of a new name was largely symbolic of erasing one's past life and of a new start. The new name taken by particularly infamous prostitutes allowed them to remove themselves from their reputations and may also have kept gossip and disruption to a minimum. To further complicate things, prostitutes would often assume a new name when they entered the sex trade.[140] At any given point, then, a former prostitute could have three names: the one she was born with, the one she used while she was a prostitute, and the one she took on in a house of correction.

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[138] Ibid, 'La nommée Marguerite Stuard dite la Muette,' 4 July 1758
[139] Dodd, *Account of the Magdalen Charity*, (1761), 133.
[140] Some of the Affaires des Moeurs arrest registers contain nicknames of the prostitutes (usually written as 'la nommée…') For some examples of this, see BA ms. 10135, Affaires des Moeurs, 1734-1737.

Penitents were forbidden, if not highly discouraged, from inquiring about one another's past lives: 'Reproaches for past irregularities are forbidden under the severest injunctions, neither is inquiry in to the names or families permitted, but all possible discouragement given to every kind of discovery that the parties themselves do not choose to make.'[141] In the same account where these rules are laid out, however, the *Accounts* of Magdalen Hospital contradicts itself. In a section which gives advice to the penitents, they were being encouraged to promote a sense of 'harmony and unity' among themselves.[142] Such encouragement, however seems to be focused on the prevention of 'quarrelling and upbraiding' among the penitents and may not have necessarily been aiming to encourage strong communal bonds.[143] In contrast, penitents of the Lock Asylum were not allowed to converse at all unless they were in the presence of a matron.[144] If any sense of community was encouraged among the women housed in such an institution, it would not be one of former prostitutes but one of penitent, holy women that was more easily found in a convent than in a brothel. Unfortunately, the documents available only give the historian the picture of the ideal, and very little of the reality of the relationships among incarcerated former prostitutes. *Bon Pasteur* was no different to Magdalen, in fact, communication on any level was highly discouraged, especially for newly admitted penitents: 'Les filles pénitents ne doivent ni regarder les personnes qui entrent dans la maison, ni leur répondre quoiqu'elles en soient interrogées; c'est aux sœurs parler.'[145] The rules of *Bon Pasteur* even discouraged eye contact during meals or times in which one would assume that socializing would occur. Penitents were also forbidden from speaking to each other during working hours, unless it was within the context of the task at hand or with the permission from a sister.[146]

If penitents were specifically forbidden from speaking during hours of work, perhaps they were able to during times of rest. By preventing or limiting speech between penitents, hospital authorities demonstrated an attempt to prohibit temptation or idleness. However, limiting interaction also served to discourage the formation of communities which, as the *Salpêtrière* escape case shows, could have been dangerous. Based on the source material available, it is rather hard to tell whether or not such limitations had such an effect in actuality. Surely, at some point the *filles penitents* managed to if not speak, then at least communicate non-verbally with one another. The institutional prohibition of communication did not necessarily negate the

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[141] Dodd, *Account of the Magdalen Charity*, (1761), 133.
[142] Ibid., 62.
[143] Ibid.
[144] RCS MS 0022/2/1/1, 'Third General Meeting: Treatment', 17 May 1787.
[145] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, p. 453. Translation: The penitent girls must neither regard those who enter the house or respond to those who interrogate them; It is the sister's role to speak to them.'
[146] Ibid.

formation of any sense of community. The individual women still led their lives in each other's company while in *Bon Pasteur*. Presumably, women in all the hospitals had opportunities for clandestine conversations and interactions where they may have spoken about their lives outside of confinement.

Upon entering the hospital-prison system, former prostitutes were stripped of their vanity and, in a way, their former identity. The habits of most institutions were composed of plain, utilitarian materials in drab colours. Women in the Magdalen Charity wore a 'uniform of light grey and in their whole dress are plain and neat.'[147] Neatness and plainness were valued over filth and vanity. Before being taken to the *Salpêtrière,* prostitutes would have their heads shaved by force.[148] Such an act was both literal and symbolic. By losing her hair, the prostitute lost a component of her physical appearance, but also symbolically was being shed of her vanity and thus any other sinful act inspired by such a quality. Hospital uniforms also served to distinguish the penitents from their superiors and thus reinforced the ranks of power within institutions. In addition, giving each of the penitent prostitutes a 'uniform' did not allow her to stand out among her fellow penitents. Additionally, a uniform functioned to mark them out if they did manage to escape making it easy for either authorities to apprehend them or for the rest of society to ostracise them. The new identity taken on by the 'habits' of the institution also functioned to encourage modesty in the most extreme sense. As mentioned in the earlier section, in order for a prostitute to be 'cured' of her bad character, she had to aspire to the holiest of women in order to be a respectable, secular woman once she left the hospital.

Whether within a religious or a secular context, women had a major role to play in the operating and functioning of the hospitals mentioned in this chapter. This is in spite of the fact that almost all of the institutions in this chapter were controlled (at the very top) by men. In London, a committee of governors and/or magistrates managed hospitals on a higher level. Committees of governors in the case of Lock Asylum, Magdalen Charity and Bridewell, were usually composed of those who had donated the most to their respective institutions. These tended to be reform-driven, wealthy Londoners. During the ancien regime, Parisian institutions were managed centrally by the monarchy, carried out by government-appointed officials and overseen by the police. However, matrons of the hospitals (on both sides of the channel) took a major role in their everyday functioning. Most of the hospitals explored in this chapter (*Salpêtrière, Bon Pasteur*, Bridewell, and Magdalen) had one head matron who governed the rest of the staff and managed the oversight and discipline of all the women within their respective

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[147] Dodd, *An Account for the Magdalen Charity* (1761), 133.
[148] See Chapter Four, Image 6**: Jean Baptiste Huet, La Désolation des Filles de Joie, 1778.**

facilities. As the name would imply, matrons were female. The roles of the matron slightly varied from institution to institution, but her primary role remained as the overseer of all daily activities. According to the plans, men dominated the traditionally male gendered roles: surgeon, apothecary, physician, porter, guard.[149] These roles were practical and necessary to the functioning of a hospital. In the case of Magdalen, as can be seen in Figure 6, offices for the male servants were kept distinctly separate from the penitents' dormitories. However, the matron's responsibilities were broad and encompassed all domestic tasks along with the spiritual wellbeing and guidance of all the penitents residing within the hospital.

In the two French examples, the women who ran *Bon Pasteur* and *Salpêtrière* were laywomen who took on the title of 'sœur.' This community of 'sisters' was comprised of female housekeepers, cleaners, and officers and a head 'sister', 'la Supérieure,' oversaw this community and the *filles pénitentes.* In *Bon Pasteur*, the sisters, labelled by Delamare as the 'Corps de Commaueté,' voted and elected their own *Supérieure* whereas it is unclear whether this was the case in the *Salpêtrière*.[150] In an un-published pocket guide from 1703 for sisters of the *Salpêtrière*, sisters were encouraged to be above all modest and stern. The sisters were even discouraged from speaking: 'Ne parlez point sans nécessité, parlez peu et d'un ton modéré que marque à la tranquillité… soyez affable, gagnez les cœurs par vôtre douceur, soyez ferme sans opiniâtreté.'[151] Speaking as little as possible and in a 'tranquil' tone served two purposes. First, it served as a form of self-protection of the sister from being corrupted by the women she was charged with overseeing. Second, by refusing to speak to the female prisoners, she encouraged silence and was, according to these guidelines, teaching through example. Of course, in practice, it is difficult to say whether or not such rules were followed. In order to be sure that former prostitutes had fully repented, there must have been some form of verbal communication

Unfortunately, from the materials available, it is hard to determine who exactly these matrons were or from where they were recruited. In some cases, they may have been former inmates, nuns, or women who had been recruited from domestic service hiring fairs. Matrons were often expected to reside full-time in their respective hospitals. Jones describes the confraternity of nursing sisters present in the *Hôpital Général* of Montpellier as typically being from poorer backgrounds and playing a prominent role in hospitals throughout France into the

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[149] For some examples of this see: Anon., *Standing Rules and Orders of ..Bridewell and Bethlem*; Jonas Hanway, *A Plan for the Magdalen Charity*; Tenon, *Memoires Sur Les Hôpitaux.*
[150] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, 456.
[151] APHP 132 FOSS, 'Les Devoirs d'une Soeur de l'Hôpital,' 1703. Translation: 'Do not speak at all without necessity, speak little and with a moderate tone that indicates tranquility… be affable, gain hearts with your softness, be firm without stubbornness.'

nineteenth century.[152] *Bon Pasteur* was largely run by nuns in the eighteenth century. The matrons within the hospital could be in charge of anything from the day-to-day running and supervision of the inmates to administrative and financial work pertaining to the hospital.

In all cases, there were specific requirements that matrons would have had to fill that were conditions of their employment. In Bridewell, the matrons were expected to receive 'women prisoners, who are legally committed, at all hours of the night.'[153] The occupation was, thus, not compatible with marriage and a family. However, a lack of sexual experience seemed to be of the highest importance. The *Salpêtrière* expected all sisters to be not only unmarried but chaste.[154] None of the hospital documents detail a specific age for matrons, but they do all seem to imply (or explicitly say) that the women filling the roles should be unmarried. Apart from demographic preferences, matrons were sometimes expected to have specific characteristics which made them more suitable to the task. All of the sisters of the *Salpêtrière* were expected to maintain an 'extérieur bien composé et des garde dans toutes les occasions' and such qualities were most likely further emphasized in the *Supérieure*.[155] The matron of Bridewell was expected to 'keep as much order and decorum among them [women prisoners] as lies in her power.'[156] Part of this 'well-composed exterior' and sense of decorum placed a heavy emphasis on modesty: a virtue that all women who assisted in the reformation of prostitutes were expected to possess. An outward appearance of chastity and modesty was a way of non-verbally communicating two things to the female inmate: the matron's own moral superiority and her unrelenting severity. Hanway, in the *Plan for a… Magdalen Charity*, stated that the matron should 'not disdain the conversation of the most sensible and polite of the Magdalens, nor be generally so familiar as to forsake her dignity and lose her authority.'[157] 'Real modesty and good sense' were championed over 'demure' and 'levity.' In comparison to that of the *Salpêtrière*, the matron of Magdalen had to bear a face of duality: of politeness and austerity.

Aside from fashioning themselves as role models for the penitents they oversaw, the matrons were also in charge of the day-to-day functioning of their respective institutions and many had largely practical duties. Such duties often included controlling the spaces in which the penitents could move within the hospital. For example, while the porter of Magdalen kept the keys of the outer doors, the matron kept the keys for all the wards 'in such a manner, that during

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[152] Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 38, 197-200.

[153] Anon., *Standing Rules and Orders of Bridewell and Bethlem*, 39.

[154] APHP 124 FOSS, 'Les Devoirs,' 1703.

[155] APHP 132 FOSS, 'Les Devoirs.' Translation: 'a well-composed exterior and look at all times.'

[156] Anon., *Standing Rules and Orders of Bridewell and Bethlem*, 39.

[157] Hanway, *Magdalen Charity*, p. 11

the night no person shall come in or go out without her knowledge.'[158] Their duties usually fell in line with the daily routines of the respective hospitals. For example, the matron of Bridewell was responsible for sending the women down into the workshop every morning.[159] Duties also reflected an unexpected emphasis on cleanliness. The Magdalen Charity's rules state that the matron 'sees that all women are neat and decent in their cloaths [sic] and persons' and 'takes care of all the household linen and what belongs to the cloathing [sic].'[160] The matron of Bridewell, an institution reputed for its filthiness, was also expected to maintain a clean environment:

> To see that the women's prison be washed once a week with vinegar, fumigated once a week with tar and white-washed conformable to Act of Parliament, and that all the women prisoners, in health to bear it, be bathed with an admission, and as such as is necessary or as may be directed by the Medical Officers or the Prison Committee.[161]

The Bridewell matron was also charged with ensuring that the female prisoners cleaned their own wards every week and washed their clothing each Saturday. In addition to ensuring the good state of the penitents, the matron's primary role was to control the space in which the former prostitutes lived so as to shape their behaviour through extensive routine. The matrons' oversight of the women prisoners and patients gave them a useful perspective, and a degree of influence over the release and acceptance of women into the hospital.

The *maison de force* of the *Salpêtrière*, being more of a prison than a space of refuge, used older, more punitive forms of treatment in combination with rehabilitative forms in order to 'convert' prostitutes. Such conversion was decided by the matrons who ran the institution and it was they who the police trusted to determine a prisoner's contrition in order to be released. Matrons often possessed the authority to dismiss or accept patients depending on the current capacity of their respective institutions. *Bon Pasteur*'s *sœur supérieure* had the authority, and the necessary practical knowledge to determine whether or not there was enough space to admit new penitents and when it was time to discharge them.[162] The Paris police force, and by extension, the monarchy, in this case, respected the knowledge and authority of the *sœur* who, presumably, knew better than anyone else how to efficiently run the *Salpêtrière*.

The matrons were constantly present in the lives of penitents. They overheard, and more than likely participated in conversations with penitents. They spent all waking hours alongside each other. As was the case in the Magdalen charity, matrons could act as arbitrators if conflict arose between penitents:

[158] Ibid. p. 12.
[159] *Standing Rules and Orders of Bridewell and Bethlem*, p. 39.
[160] Dodd, *Account for the Magdalen Charity*, 128.
[161] *Standing Rules and Order of Bridewell and Bethlem,* 39.
[162] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, 452.

> The matron shall endevor [sic] that no provocation be given to any resentments among the women, and charge them not to listen to idle stories. If it shall appear to her that there is any cause for complaint of each other, for light offences, they shall be confronted in the presence of a chaplain, who shall always endevor [sic] to obtain a resolution without applying to the committee.[163]

While the male chaplain would provide a resolution to a conflict between penitents, the matron was responsible in the first instance for addressing the initial exchange. If such conflicts were not handed over to the committee, then it is highly unlikely that they were ever recorded in the first instance. Such an example sheds light on the relationship between matron and penitent. These two communities that co-existed under the same roof were dependent on each other. The penitents depended on the matron for pastoral support and the possibility of eventual release. The matron depended on the penitents' obedience and willingness to reform. The sense of community among either group also functioned as a device for control in the hospital-prison.

As Ogborn observes, the punishment of imprisonment reflected the realization of the 'self's ability to be "made" and "unmade."'[164] The earliest forms of imprisonment in Paris and London, were used in the hopes of reforming prostitutes into industrious and pious women or, as Foucault would describe them, 'docile' and 'utile.'[165] What these arguments fail to explain is how disobedience within the hospital was addressed. The theories of Foucault and Ogborn are only applicable in cases where the hospital achieved 'success' in reforming prostitutes. What were the consequences when such methods proved to be ineffective and how were women who defied such practices treated?

In older institutions such as the *Salpêtrière* and Bridewell, punishment for bad conduct within the hospital-prison took on a more brutal, physical form than that of other more charitable, voluntary institutions. In Bridewell, 'dissolute' women were punished by whipping. Such exercises began at the founding of Bridewell in the sixteenth century. Initially, prisoners (male and female) of Bridewell were, according to Hinkle, punished with imprisonment and whipping before they were trained to 'honest work.'[166] Whipping was also a punishment within the prison for insubordinate or unruly behaviour. There are not many recorded instances of individual former prostitutes being whipped in the eighteenth century, but the whipping of prisoners took place well into the eighteenth century. In 1699, the Minutes of the Court of Governors of Bridewell indicate that there was a need to raise the whipping post. This was to be

[163] Hanway, *A Plan for A Magdalen Charity*, p. 20.
[164] Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies 1680-1780* (New York: Guildford Press, 1998) p. 40.
[165] Stephen Watson, 'Applying Foucault: Some problems Encountered in the Application of Foucault's methods to the History of Medicine in Prisons,' in *Reassessing Foucault*, 137-138; Arnold, *The Spaces of the Hospital*, 71-73.
[166] Hinkle, *A History of Bridewell*, 214.

done so as to prevent spectators, who gathered to watch, from having to stoop down to see the public whippings.[167] Hinkle suggests that the public whippings at Bridewell eventually led to its decline toward the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when public viewings of executions and torture began to lose popularity.[168]

Public whippings and the shaving of prostitutes' heads performed a dual function. First, they discouraged any young women watching from entering the sex trade regardless of what their circumstances were. Second, they were a tool of not only physical violence but public humiliation for the woman who was subject to physical mutilation. Public humiliation and punishments were not uncommon for the early modern period and typically were, until the eighteenth century, the most-used methods for reforming unruly women.[169] Coupling physical punishment with confinement made Bridewell a hybrid of the old and new methods of disciplinary reform. In the eighteenth century, apart from Bridewell, other institutions began to exclude the public from any penal activities going on behind its closed doors.

In the *Salpêtrière*, Magdalen, and *Bon Pasteur*, exemplary punishment, rather than being open to the public, was observed within the hospital walls. Solitary confinement became the go-to mechanism for correcting or punishing unruly behaviour within all of these hospital-prison systems, although in each it took on slightly different forms. In 1758, a woman named Marguerite Stuard, on being recaptured after having escaped the *maison de force* of the *Salpêtrière*, violently attacked both a sister and a guard. The subscribed punishment was to put Stuard in a *malaise* housed within the *Bicêtre* hospital in order to be 'made an example of'.[170] A *malaise* was an uncomfortable cell in which one could not easily stand or lie down. In this case, as was not the case in Bridewell, the audience for the punishment was limited to those residing within the *Salpêtrière* (rather than the general public) and served the same purpose of encouraging conformity among them while physically punishing Stuard for her outburst.

Magdalen Charity and *Bon Pasteur* used solitary confinement as a form of corrective punishment. If a penitent were to 'eviter la delicatesse dans une maison' of the *Bon Pasteur* which was 'consacrée à la penitence', then she would be placed in a 'cellule' separate from the rest of the women.[171] It is unclear whether the women in such cells were allowed to leave them to work or attend services in the chapel. In fact, little detail as to life in such conditions in *Bon Pasteur* is

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[167] BR MG, *LL*, BBRMG 202020325, 8 September 1699.
[168] Hinkle, *A History of Bridewell*, 215
[169] For more on this topic, see E.J. Burford and Sandra Shulman, *Of Bridles and Burnings: The Punishment of Women* (London: Robert Hale, 1988).
[170] BA MS 12695, 'Femmes evadées,' August 1758.
[171] Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, p. 455. Translation (mine): 'avoiding delicacy in the house,' 'consecrated to penitence,' 'cells.'

given. The object of the punishment seemed to be to exclude the isolated penitents from the everyday life of the house. Hanway described the following behaviour to be worthy of solitary confinement at the Magdalen Charity: 'abusive or reproachful language, insolence or disobedience to the officers, indecent or profane expressions and such kind of turbulent conduct.'[172] 'Turbulent conduct' seemed to be rather vaguely defined.

In any instance, whatever the matron judged to be indecent conduct for a penitent was treated as such. After the first offence, a penitent would be confined in a room for six hours. After the second, the penitent would be 'admonished publicly' by the matron and chaplain. In addition, 'the rest of their own ward' were 'also appealed to [sic]disapprobation of such conduct.'[173] Allowing the rest of the penitents to participate in the public admonition of improper conduct served an important function. As Laura Gowing and Georg'ann Cattelona's work on defamations has shown, if a woman condemned the sexual immorality of another woman, she was, at the same time, proving her own morality and defending her own honour.[174] Such an exercise in an environment where all the women in the wards were former prostitutes would certainly have been a telling example of this concept. By allowing an entire ward to participate in the disciplining of an individual, the hospital authorities admitted that a sense of community among the penitents would exist even if there were regulations in place to prohibit it. In addition, by casting out a penitent as an 'other' for violating prison regulations, the other penitents were demonstrating a sense of community among themselves. Solitary confinement, as a punishment within the hospital-prison system, was significant because while institutions discouraged social behaviour among penitents, there was still an understanding that being socially separated from the rest of the penitents was a punitive exercise.

Houses of correction, such as those described in this chapter, were, by practising solitary confinement as punishment, acknowledging the existence of a penitent community within the hospital in the first place. In Bridewell and the *Salpêtrière*, most women were not there willingly and were thus subject to a much harsher penal code than those in *Bon Pasteur* or Magdalen. However, the punishment that was carried out within such voluntary institutions still contained elements of the past. The communitarian exclusion and humiliation of penitents within these institutions beckoned to earlier methods of reforming behaviour and perhaps ones that were still being used to control unruly behaviour outside the hospital. Effectively, punishment by solitary confinement demonstrated two features of the early hospital system. First, the practice of solitary confinement acknowledged the existence of a social community among the penitents of an

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[172] Dodd, *Account of the Magdalen Charity* (1761), 137.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, 129-131; Cattelona, 'Control and Collaboration,' 13-33.

institution. The second is the demonstration of an adherence to older, more physical forms of punishment when confinement alone was not functioning effectively enough as a disciplinary tool.

By taking agency into account and showing that communities within hospitals were capable of controlling behaviour, this section has demonstrated one of the major holes in Foucault's theorization of discipline in the eighteenth century. Foucault's analysis does not take human agency or account into consideration and his focus is more concerned with the top-down efforts made by hospital administrations than by the actual activities within the hospitals themselves.

V.   Conclusion

Each hospital was run in its own distinct way. Approaching the hospital from a spatial point of view and examining the way space was used reconciles some of the administrative differences. The involuntary and voluntary nature of admission complicates issues of inmate agency and movement. However, there are points at which there are connections. There are also differences between the way that the French and English varieties of these institutions operated. None of the London hospitals for former prostitutes, for instance, had the capacity to treat as many prostitutes as the *Salpêtrière*. Therefore, the tiny institutions of the Magdalen and Lock could only have helped a small percentage of the women who wished to be helped. Conversely, overcrowding was also an issue for huge institutions like the *Salpêtrière*. In terms of their discourses however, there is not much that distinguishes the Paris institutions from London ones apart from the apparent lack of a sympathetic tone in the Parisian administrative records of the *Bon Pasteur* and *Salpêtrière*. This, however, does not indicate that these institutions were harsher, or that the London institutions were laxer in their treatment.

The comparison has made visible the commonalities among the institutions which supports the notion that there seemed to be a basic, general formula for addressing prostitution within the context of confinement. At the forefront, an institution had to have an ethical framework around which it would base its functioning. Then, this framework had to be applied to those who were allowed to be admitted and released. The space of the hospital itself also had to be structured in such a way as to encourage a regimented lifestyle. Through dividing up functional spaces and confining women within them, the hospital itself was intended to work not as an instrument of isolation, but as one of reform. Through providing a direct contrast to the chaos of the urban environment, the orderly hospital was intended to play a significant role in altering the character of the women confined within. On a day to day basis, regimented activities

had to be reinforced by the hospital authorities and practised by the penitents. Even after all of these things were in place, not all penitents subscribed to their treatment and, ultimately, the decision to comply and potentially 'reform' remained with them.

Despite the overall intentions of the hospitals, the realities of their successes and failures were apparent. Horne's call that all former prostitutes be 'honestly and industriously employed' so that they may become more productive, rather than consuming members of society was a prevalent theme that played out throughout the eighteenth century.[175] The eighteenth-century urban hospital was a means to an end. The hospital's intended function was to produce domesticised, pious women from unruly, sinful harlots. In reality however, it seems more likely that some of the institutions, primarily the *Salpêtrière*, acted as mechanisms for collecting prostitutes from the capital and redistributing prostitutes elsewhere. After an investigation of the use of space within the hospital, it is evident that the space of the hospital as well as adherence to a strict routine provided more concrete examples of Foucault's points on discipline.[176] However, when considering the punishment for disobedience within the prison and community formation, Foucault's model is only that; a model. It is also difficult to tell from prescriptive sources and admission records much about actual practices and the daily, lived experience of women living in these institutions.

With administrative sources provided by institutions, it is difficult to understand and interpret the ways in which the spaces of the hospital were experienced by the women who inhabited them. The sources provide value in the picture that they paint of the way in which activities of the hospitals were meant to be carried out, but they also carry value that goes beyond that. In some respects, by revealing the ways in which prostitutes were treated institutionally, one can potentially reveal contemporary popular beliefs about sex workers and their bodies as vessels that could be altered. The following chapter, which focuses on the cultural characterization of the prostitute in the urban environment, will take this analysis one step further.

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[175] Horne, *Serious Thoughts*, p. 11.
[176] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 144.

4. Cultural Representations of Prostitution

Prostitutes occupied a complex space within urban society. This complexity permeated not only the way these women were treated legally or socially, but culturally as well. The dispersed, visible nature of prostitution upon the urban landscape meant that the cultural icon of the prostitute became increasingly synonymous with the urban environment itself. Concerns about prostitution reflected in cultural iterations were consequences of the collective anxieties regarding prostitutes in specific urban spaces. Contemporary authors, artists and commentators constantly reformed and reimagined the prostitute according to the context of their work. The prostitute maintained, as Vivien Jones has indicated, a 'shapeless' existence as contemporary artists and commentators (most of whom were men) assigned various archetypes to her in order to fill particular molds.[1] At the same time, panic regarding morality, urban decline and sexuality were being widely disseminated within various cultural discourses.[2] When understood in this light, the eighteenth-century cultural representation of prostitutes was more complex than historians have perceived it to be thus far.

Donna T. Andrew and Laura J. Rosenthaal have been credited by most historians as the having generated the linear cultural narrative of prostitution from lustful, calculating trickster to fallen, pitiable victim.[3] Andrew argues this from a perspective of criminality. The Reformation of Manners, she argues, was a response to the archetype of prostitutes as 'tricksters': highlighting their ability and motivation to seduce, cheat, and steal from men while simultaneously evading punishment. Rosenthaal, whose work deals almost exclusively with literary sources, claims that prostitutes in the first half of the century were represented as being motivated by their own insatiable lust.[4] Both argue that, by mid-century, there was a significant shift and that a new representation of the prostitute emerged: that of pitiable victim, which they argue replaced the older ideas. Most British historians who have worked on prostitution have often accepted this linear transition at face value without interrogating it any further.[5]

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[1] Vivien Jones, 'Placing Jemima: Women Writers of the 1790s and the Eighteenth-Century Prostitute Narrative,' *Women's Writing* 4:2 (1997), 201–20.

[2] For studies on sexual immorality and urban decline, see: Katherine Binhammer, 'The Sex Panic of the 1790s', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6, no. 3 (January 1996), 409-34; Idem., *The Seduction Narrative in Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1747-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'Patterns of Sexual Immorality in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century London', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Mary McAlpin, *Female Sexuality and Cultural Degradation in Enlightenment France* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); Sean Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: Sex, Modernity and Health Crises in Revolutionary France, c. 1750-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007);

[3] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 187-94; Rosenthaal, *Infamous Commerce*, 1-2.

[4] Rosenthaal, *Infamous Commerce*, 2.

[5] Vern L. Bullough, 'Prostitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century England,' 61-74; A.D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England*, 108; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 175-176.

There are, however, some historians who have pointed out some of the issues with this widely accepted claim. Vivien Jones and Jessica Steinberg have both indicated that the two opposing archetypes of lustful trickster and fallen woman had coexisted throughout various points of the period in London.[6] Steinberg specifically argues that representations of prostitutes throughout the century demonstrated continuity of preexisting attitudes alongside 'new' developments. Additionally, literary scholar, James Grantham Turner, has criticized Rosenthaal's technique of separating different qualities associated with prostitution into 'opposing definitions that bookend a period.'[7] Some historians like Tony Henderson, for example, remain skeptical of this linear narrative, although they do not spend a lot of time refuting it at length.[8]

The consistent cultural narrative that historians have used to describe the various representations of prostitutes in London needs to be revised. In Paris, this is less true, as historians have generally accepted the complexity of prostitution as far as its cultural representation is concerned.[9] The topic, however, warrants discussion and analysis in both cases and the examples from Paris offer rich comparative value when discussing the linear narrative so commonly associated with London prostitution.

We must also take into consideration that what may have seemed like a natural linear shift regarding the change in the representation of prostitutes may have been a deliberately manifested archetype reformists put into place in order to bolster their politics of reform.[10] *The Histories of Some of the Penitents in the Magdalen House, as Supposed to be related by Themselves,* published in 1760, actively encouraged readers to adopt a more sympathetic attitude toward prostitutes:

> Tho' the profession of the prostitute is the most despicable and hateful that imagination can form; yet the individuals are frequently worthy objects of compassion; and I am willing to believe, that if people but reflect on the various stratagems used at first to corrupt them, while poverty often, and still oftener vanity, is on the side of the corruptor, they would smooth the stern brow of rigid virtue and turn the contemptuous frown into tears of pity.[11]

Here, we see a deliberate call for the reader to shift their attitude from one of contempt to one of compassion. The author recognizes the existing ideas and archetypes surrounding prostitution while at the same time introducing a 'new' one. The 'profession' was, according to this passage,

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[6] Jones, 'Placing Jemima,' 204; Jessica Steinberg, 'For Lust or Gain: Perceptions of Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Gender Studies* 26, no. 6 (November 2017), 703.

[7] James Grantham Turner, 'Understanding Whores,' *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33:1 (Winter 2009), 97-105.

[8] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 197.

[9] Kathryn Norberg discusses different coexisting archetypes of prostitutes in pornographic fiction in 'The Libertine Whore: Prostitution in French Pornography Fro Margot to Juliette', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenit and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (MIT Press, 1993), 227-28; Torlet, *Le Monde de La Prostitution*, 17-27

[10] Henderson and Jones indicate this may be the case in *Disorderly Women*, 197 and 'Placing Jemima,' 204; See also Chapter Three, 131-91.

[11] Jennie Batchelor and Megan Hiatt, eds., *The Histories of Some of the Penitents in the Magdalen House, as Supposed to Be Related by Themselves (1760)* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), 3.

what was to be hated, but the individual woman involved was to be pitied. The representations of the prostitute throughout the century seemed to be grappling with this issue in both Paris and London. However, the result of this struggle was different depending on the contexts of the representations being portrayed.

Within the French context, however, most historians have not subscribed to a linear narrative regarding the way Parisian prostitutes were represented during the *ancien régime* period.[12] When it comes to cultural characterizations, Norberg, in her work on pornography, identifies two separate, coexisting categories of prostitute: the 'libertine whore' and the 'virtuous courtesan.'[13] These two will be described in more detail later, but it is important to note that while Norberg, instead of arguing for a linear narrative of change, called for a dual narrative of coexistence for the *ancien régime*.[14] The issue present within the Paris historiography is not, therefore, a tendency to adhere to a linear progression of representation as there is with London, but, rather a propensity to overemphasize the importance of distinct categories of prostitute within their cultural representation without investigating the underlying themes or parallels between them which I aim to do here.

I have identified three main themes found within the representation of prostitutes in both eighteenth-century Paris and London: seduction, deception and progress. These are, by no means, the only themes that can be addressed. However, examining these themes can explain the tendency to associate specific tropes of prostitution with specific representations. For example, seduction is connected to both deception and progress.[15] The connections between these themes reveal the ambiguous nature of prostitution as a subject within cultural interpretations. More importantly, they also lend themselves to a trope that is often overlooked within both historiographies: prostitution as a disease upon the urban body. I explore this trope further, reflecting on how it adds to the complex, ambiguous nature of eighteenth-century representations of urban prostitutes.

I draw on artworks, literature, reformist texts and medical texts in this chapter. These have different authors, audiences and raise different, but sometimes overlapping issues. The reception of some of these sources is sometimes difficult to gauge, but we can understand what the authors' and artists' intentions were. Dealing with culturally based sources is not without

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[12] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 108-20; Norberg, 'The Libertine Whore,' 227; Torlet, *Le Monde de la Prostitution,* 7-17.
[13] Norberg, 'The Libertine Whore: Prostitution in French Pornography From Margot to Juliette', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (MIT Press, 1993), 227.
[14] Ibid. Norberg does argue that the 'virtuous courtesan' archetype eventually replaced the 'libertine whore.' However she argues this occurred in the years leading up to and after the French Revolution in 1789—a period that this thesis does not cover within the French context.
[15] These connections are discussed more explicitly beginning on page 200.

challenges. The sources all contain specific culturally-constructed codes which need to be unpacked and dealt with carefully. I have chosen the sources for this chapter as particularly representative examples of the overlapping archetypes. Some are familiar and other historians have used them to argue in favour of a linear transition regarding the perception of prostitutes. However, I will focus on previously overlooked complexities found within these same cultural representations of prostitutes.

Initially, I focus on how representations of prostitution reflected anxieties regarding seduction. Most representations of prostitution seemed to be addressing seduction in one way or another. Prostitutes were represented as both (or either) the seducer or the seduced depending on the context of the work. The legal point of view regarding seduction has been extensively studied on both sides of the channel.[16] While the crimes of seduction or *rapt de seduction* (rape and clandestine marriage by seduction) may have carried some cultural weight in the way that prostitutes were represented, the theme of seduction I address here is within the context of sex work. I am more interested in the concept of seduction and its relation to the common themes found within representations of prostitution: deception and progress. On its own, seduction was a prevalent theme found in eighteenth-century literature and art in both Paris and London. Historians and literary scholars of the period have offered different takes on the theme of seduction and its relation to enlightenment philosophy and attitudes toward libertinism.[17]

As Susan Staves has observed, the concept of 'seduced maiden' became an obsession within eighteenth-century English culture due to the pre-existing dichotomy of the maiden and the 'whore' that women had to deal with on a constant basis (especially when it came to protecting their reputations).[18] These figures were appealing to the general public because, Staves argues, they embodied the notion that 'seduced maidens' were beautiful, simple, trustful, and affectionate.[19] Tim Hitchcock has also indicated that within English cultural sources, the 'cult of seduction' increased as the century wore on.[20] It is, however, important to note that Hitchcock falls into the camp of historians who have accepted the linear narrative regarding the representation of prostitution. That being said, he does offer some telling insights into the

[16] Sarah Hanley, "'The Jurisprudence of the Arrêts': Marital Union, Civil Society and State Formation in France, 150-1650,' *Law and History Review* 1 (Spring 2003), 1-40; Susan Staves, 'British Seduced Maidens,' Eighteenth-Century Studies 14:2 (Winter 1980), 109-34.

[17] Katherine Binhammer, *The Seduction Narrative in Britain*; Roy Porter, 'Enlightenment and Pleasure,' in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century* eds. Roy Porter, Marie Mulvey Roberts (London: Macmillan, 1996); Pierre Saint-Amand, *The Libertine's Progress: Seduction in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel* transl. Jennifer Curtis Gage, (Hanover: Brown University Press, 1994); Paul J. Young, S*educing the Eighteenth-Century French Reader: Reading, Writing and the Question of Pleasure* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2008).

[18] Staves, 'British Seduced Maidens,' 117.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Hitchcock, *English Sexualities*, 100.

stereotype of seduction, placing a new 'onus on male activity and female passivity' during the eighteenth century.[21] Hitchcock's reasoning implies that the 'cult of seduction' served a purpose: it made allowances for male sexual irresponsibility while punishing women who acted in the same way. While this argument is somewhat convincing regarding the stereotype of seduction in general, it contradicts the linear narrative of the representation of prostitutes which Hitchcock also supports. As I will be exploring shortly, especially in progress narratives, prostitutes were represented as active players in their own demise. Although they may have been 'seduced' initially and their stories often end bleakly, the blame is not necessarily placed on any outside influences, but on the woman herself.

In Paris, the concept of seduction seemed more inherently linked to concepts of deception rather than progress. This did not necessarily mean that examples of progress are not to be found within cultural representations of prostitutes. Rather, the anxieties regarding seduction and prostitution seemed to be more inherently linked to the issue of deception. In 1782, Mercier referred to Paris as a '*ville de seduction*.' He also established an explicit connection between seduction, greed and deception within Paris in his *Tableau*:

> Les pièges de la débauche qui usurpe insolemment le norme de volupté vont l'environner de toutes partes : à la place du tendre amour, il ne rencontrera que son simulacre ; le mensonge de la coquetterie les artifices de la cupidité sont substituées aux accents du cœur, aux flammes de sentiment ; le plaisir est vénal et trompeur.[22]

Here, Mercier highlights the temporary and deceptive nature of pleasure. This theme seems to be a common thread within prostitute 'progress' narratives in both Paris and London. Furthermore, the concept of pleasure being a corruptive force was a primary reaction to libertine behaviour in general in both Paris and London.

Progress narratives are found in 'whore' biographies, a popular genre within both English and French fiction during the eighteenth century, and within popular printed images.[23] I use progress narratives found within literature to provide additional details pertaining to the contemporary images of prostitution. I discuss the use of 'whore' biographies and pornographic literature of prostitutes in more detail below. However, in general, these works are being used

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. I (1782), 38. Translation: 'The traps of debauchery which boldly encroach the standard of sensual pleasure surround all parts [of the city]: instead of tender love, one only meets is enactment; the lie of vanity, the devices of greed are substituted by touches of the heart, by flames of sentiment; pleasure is corrupt and deceptive.'

[23] For more on the 'whore biography' genre, see: Jones, 'Placing Jemima'; Norberg, 'The Libertine Whore'; Julie Peakman, 'Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure: The Whore Biography', *Women's Writing* 11:2 (July 2004), 163-84; Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1992).

within this chapter to understand the extent to which certain images conformed to a specific archetype of prostitution.

In addition, I analyze depictions of prostitutes found within popular printed images. The four visual sources that I have selected are Plate I of William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), Richard Newton's *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure* (1796), Étienne Jeaurat's *La Conduite des Filles de Joie à la Salpêtrière* (1745), and Jean Baptiste Huet's *La Désolation des Filles de Joie* (1778).[24] All four images are typical representations, depicting themes which were recycled repeatedly by other artists throughout the century.[25] In fact, all of the printed images can be considered to be either exact copies (in the case of Hogarth) or incredibly similar (in the case of Newton and Huet) to either earlier, less publicly accessible paintings, or popular motifs. All of these images contain different caricatures of prostitutes in which all qualities of the female subjects are deeply exaggerated. There is a limited amount of information regarding how caricature artists worked, but art historians have guessed that their most important method was live observation. In fact, the importance of direct observation could help explain why the women who frequently appeared in satirical prints were those who were the most visible (prostitutes, vagrants, street sellers).[26]

In relation to her study of Dutch paintings of prostitutes, Lotte van de Pol indicates that, while much was depicted that was representative of prostitution, much was also left out.[27] For example, only young harlots are displayed and bawds are always depicted as old and grotesque. Brothels are shown, but streetwalkers are not. These paintings thus do not depict the realities supported by criminal records or contemporary observation (both of which van de Pol has also studied), but rather focus on examples matching popular cultural stereotypes of prostitution.[28] Scenes which pertain to be observed from real life were actually borrowed from earlier paintings or drawings: in particular brothel scenes were often inspired in this way rather than offering direct observation of an actual brothel. Thus, we need to be aware of the role of cultural

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[24] William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress, Plate I*, 1732, Engraving, 30 x 31 cm, 1732, British Museum; Jean Baptiste Huet, La Désolation Des Filles De Joie, 1778, Engraving, 20.8 x 33 cm, 1778, Bibliothéque Nationale de France; Étienne Jeaurat, *La Conduite Des Filles de Joie à La Salpêtrière*, 1745, Oil Painting, 65 x 82 cm, 1745, Musée Carnavalet; Richard Newton, *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure*, 1796, Etching, 53.5 x 74 cm, 1796. Images 3-6.

[25] Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Print Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 38; Dabhoiwala, 'The Appropriation of Hogarth's Progresses', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75: 4 (2012), 577–95; Gattrell, *City of Laughter*, 9-11; Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 41-43.

Evidence of typicality regarding *La Desolation des Filles de Joie* is most easily found in earlier works such as Jeaurat, *La Conduite Des Filles de Joie*.

[26] McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze,* 22.

[27] Lotte C. van de Pol, 'The Whore, the Bawd, and the Artist: The Reality and Imagery of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prostitution', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2,1 no. 2 (2010), 13.

[28] Ibid.

constructions of what brothels were perceived to look like, rather than what they actually did look like, in artworks, from the perspective of the artist and the viewer.

Satirical printed images were comparatively more accessible to the middling and lower sorts of urban society than printed books or pamphlets. According to Cindy McCreery, it seems unlikely that, in terms of customer demographics, printed images were restricted to the elite.[29] This seems to be the case in Paris and London due to a combination of the public display of printed images and an increasingly consumer-based urban economy.[30] In London, graphic satirical images were often pasted up not only in the windows of printmakers, but on street corners, ale-houses and gin shops.[31] In Paris, by the late eighteenth century, the demand not only for prints, but for prints of a licentious nature, had grown, and owning a print became a fashionable luxury more readily accessible to the middling and lower sorts of urban society.[32] Mercier also complained of licentious prints lining the streets of Paris, corrupting the young women who dared to glance at them.[33] Compared to England, however, the availability of French satirical prints was relatively low. The office of the *lieutenant général* of police was responsible for regulating images that threatened the status quo or had the potential to encourage disorderly behaviour. This regulation stunted the development of caricature in Paris especially when compared to that of London where it was much more widespread.[34]

I also examine the comparatively unexplored trope of prostitution as an urban disease. The anxieties associated with this trope are closely aligned with anxieties of the nature of prostitution in confined and contested spaces as well as its dispersed nature throughout the urban landscape. I examine the trope of prostitution as a disease through examining proposed 'cures' to the disease developed throughout the century—although primarily within the second half. Through examining various 'cures' for the 'disease' of prostitution, it is possible to then understand more of the wider, underlying anxieties regarding the changing nature of urban life.

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[29] McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze,* 25; Eirwen E.C. Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators: The Public of the Political Print in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Association* (1996), 14, 18.

[30] For more on luxury and rising consumerism, see: Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present* 182 (February 2004): 85–142; Elizabeth Eber, 'Luxury, Industry, and Charity: Blue Stocking Culture Displayed', in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Elizabeth Eger and Maxine Berg, Basingstoke (Palgrave Macmillan: 2003); Cissie Fairchilds, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1994), 228–48.

[31] M.D. George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (Viking, 1988),17; Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators,'16.

[32] Kristel Smentek explains the consumer demand for prints in the eighteenth century in 'Sex, Sentiment and Speculation: The Market for Genre Prints on the Eve of the French Revolution,' in *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. Philip Conisbee (National Gallery of Art in Washington: Yale University Press, 2007), 221-243; See also Bernadette Fort ed., *Les Salons de "Memoires secrets", 1767-1787* (Paris: 1999), 279;

[33] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris,* vol.I, 1323-24.

[34] Michel Melot makes this observation in 'Caricature and the Revolution ' in *French Caricature and the Revolution, 1789-1799* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Wight Art Gallery, University of California, 1988), 55.

Most proposals regarding prostitution that cropped up in both eighteenth-century London and Paris had two specific audiences in mind. In short, the intended readers of these specific texts were not only men, but learned men. This notion can be supported by allusions to classical history or literature which imply the reader would have knowledge of or interest in such things. These proposals are useful because although they may have been written with a specific audience in mind, they also appealed to those who were interested in prostitution, medicine, and sex. Thus, despite having an intended audience, the titles of the proposals speak to the publisher's wish to sell copies. Nearly all of them make mention of prostitution in their title.[35] It is impossible to know the particulars of actual readership, but we do know that literature pertaining to prostitution was, in general, widely popular during the eighteenth century and we can infer that publishers and authors were perhaps trying to capitalize on such popularity.[36]

The prostitute, as a subject in art, literature, reformist and medical texts, was shaped and molded depending on the overall intentions of the cultural construction itself. In reality, the sensory awareness of prostitutes upon the urban landscape fueled the sentiments of contemporary artists and writers who, through attempting to make sense of prostitution, were actually grappling with the chaotic nature of urban life. Through investigating cultural representations of prostitutes, we can interpret anxieties regarding the ambiguous and ever-shifting place in society that these women occupied in both real and imaginary senses. The first section of this chapter demonstrates how such an anxiety manifested itself in concerns with seduction and prostitution ultimately revealing a much more complex characterization of prostitutes throughout the eighteenth century. The second section understands this anxiety of seduction as part of a wider concern regarding prostitution as a disease upon the urban body.

I.   Seduction: Progress & Deception

As a theme, 'progress' is most typically found within representations of prostitutes in London. Arguably, there are some connections to progress that can also be found in representations of prostitutes from Paris. Often, historians have used examples of progress to support arguments relating to the victimization of prostitutes within institutional and cultural contexts. Katherine

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[35] A few examples include: *The London-Bawd: With Her Character and Life Discovering the Various and Subtle Intrigues of Lewd Women* (London: John Gwillim, 1705); *Satan's Harvest Home; Or, the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping and the Game at Flatts and Other Satanic Works Daily Propagated in This Good Protestant Kingdom*, 1749; Guillaime Imbert, *La Chronique Scandaleuse, Ou Mémoires Pour Servir a l'Histoire Des Moeurs de La Génération Présent* (Paris: 1784); Saunders Welch, *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan to Remove the Nuisance of Prostitutes from the Streets of This Metropolis* (C. Henderson, 1758).

[36] For more on prostitutes in literature, refer to Norberg, 'The Body of the Prostitute: Medieval to Modern,' in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body: 1500 to the Present* ed. Sarah Toulalan (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 393-408.

Binhammer claimed that, at least according to eighteenth-century urban reformers (such as Jonas Hanway, John Fielding and Robert Dingley), prostitution was the inevitable end-result of seduction.[37] According to these contemporary commentators, prostitution was simply 'virtue in distress.'[38] Within typical progress narratives found in London, prostitutes are usually deceived in some way and thus are led down a path of demise.

Norberg, however, has noted in both Paris and London sources (but perhaps especially in Paris), that, in terms of representation, a prostitute's progress was not always a downward spiral. She identifies two main types of prostitute narrative within popular literature: the 'libertine whore' and the 'virtuous courtesan.'[39] The 'libertine whore' is best characterized by figures like *Margot La Ravaudeuse* and *Fanny Hill*.[40] She was independent, stable, with a healthy sexual appetite. She was described more as a business woman who was not humiliated by her profession, nor victimized because of it. In addition, the 'libertine whore' was most often found in pornographic literature. The intention was to arouse the reader, not to remind them of the evils of prostitution. Norberg makes a telling observation (although she does not expand on it) that the 'libertine whore' is portrayed through an upward progression and eventually 'graduates' to the status of a kept woman.[41]

By contrast, the 'virtuous courtesan' was a fundamentally good, hapless victim allowed to be dominated and abused within the text. This prostitute's 'progress' was much more of a downward spiral and fits more into the archetype Binhammer and others have described as being particularly present during the second half of the century.[42] Moll Hackabout from *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), Zephire from *Le Paysan Perverti* (1775), and *Manon Lescaut* (1731) are the cited examples of this archetype.[43]

While Norberg's arguments are convincing, I suggest that there should be some added complexity to the analysis of culturally represented prostitutes. Within typical representations of prostitutes' 'progresses', there are a variety of (often contradicting) tones regarding the way the viewer was meant to perceive the subject of prostitution. Because 'progress' has been used so frequently to illustrate the narrative of prostitution, I hope to show that rather than fall into one

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[37] Binhammer, *The Seduction Narrative*, 41.

[38] Fielding, *A Proposal*; Hanway, *A Plan for Establishing a Charity House*; see also Batchelor, '"Industry in Distress",' 1-20.

[39] Norberg, 'The Libertine Whore,' 227. These are Norberg's own terms that she uses to describe these two archetypes that she claims coexisted throughout most of the century.

[40] John Cleland, *Fanny Hill Or Memoires of a Woman of Pleasure* (Penguin Popular Classics, 1749);Louis-Charles Fougeret de Monbron, *Margot La Ravaudeuse* (Paris: 1753).

[41] Ibid., 230.

[42] Binhammer, *The Seduction Narrative,* 43; Hitchcock, *English Sexualities*, 108; Rosenthaal, *Infamous Commerce*, 4.

[43] Hogarth, *Harlot's Progress, Plate I*; Antoine François Prévost, *L'Histoire Du Chevalier Des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* (Paris, 1731); Nicolas-Edme Rétif, *Le Paysan Perverti* (Paris, 1775).

category or another, the prostitutes within these narratives are actually reflecting a myriad of attitudes and ideas regarding the issue of prostitution.

Furthermore, as Jones argues, the prostitutes found within narratives of progress maintain a 'shapeless' existence in which their lives are determined by independent, episodic chapters within a defined narrative.[44] Thus, different tropes of the prostitute (from 'lustful trickster' to 'fallen victim' to 'libertine whore' to 'virtuous courtesan' and everything in between) coexisted within these narratives. This is most prevalent within episodes of transition or transformation and particularly within visual sources.

A woman's introduction to the sex trade was usually represented as the first step in her 'progress.' In reality, women entered the sex trade for any number of reasons and practised their trade in a variety of ways. Yet, in most cultural representations, prostitutes seemed devoid of any sense of agency before entering into the sex trade. This, of course, excuses specific prostitute narratives like *Fanny Hill* or *Margot La Ravaudeuse* who, apparently, became prostitutes of their own free will. However, in many cultural representations of prostitution, women were driven to sex work through being seduced and abandoned by a male lover or being tricked into prostitution by a bawd. All of these involved a degree of seduction whether the woman was motivated by a lover, employment, or simply being under a roof. I am not denying that these avenues into prostitution were a reality for many women. Rather, their overuse in these types of sources in later centuries has led historians and literary critics to adhere to the misleading conclusion that a linear change had taken effect regarding the representation of prostitutes. Instead, this initial phase into prostitution should be understood as part of a much larger 'progress' narrative that was rich with ambiguity.

Unfortunately, there are few eighteenth-century images from *ancien régime* Paris depicting this initial phase into prostitution. Mercier comments on the '*matrônes*' (procurers) of Paris and the dangers they posed.[45] However, in general, Parisian authors, commentators and artists were less concerned with addressing the question of how women entered the sex trade. The focus was instead placed on the woman's upward or downward progression once she became a prostitute. In London, this was entirely different.

[44] Jones, 'Placing Jemima,' 201.
[45] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. VII, 12.

Image 3: William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress*, Plate I (1732).⁴⁶

Typically, the 'progress' of a prostitute's life began with an initial interaction with a procurer as is evident in William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (Image 3) Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* began as a series of paintings in 1731. All that exist now are their printed iterations from 1732. I have chosen to focus on Plate I for two reasons. First, because it represents a motif often reiterated throughout the century in different contexts: the juxtaposition of the young harlot and the old bawd. More on this juxtaposition will be discussed in a moment. Second, historians of prostitution in London have continually referenced *A Harlot's Progress* for various reasons. However, most of those reasons have been related to illustrating a stereotypical lifecycle of the prostitute with little analysis of the concept of 'progress' and the role it played within cultural representations of sex work. It is worth noting the power of Hogarth's commentaries in influencing imitations within London and elsewhere. Both historians and art historians alike have

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⁴⁶ Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress, Plate I*, 1732, Engraving, 30 x 31 cm, 1732, British Museum.

given considerable attention to Hogarth, Carrington Bowles and Thomas Rowlandson who all produced caricaturized versions of prostitutes.[47] Sophie Carter has argued that *A Harlot's Progress* should not be read as simply an 'instance of artistic invention,' but as a 'crystallization of existing popular narratives.'[48] Indeed, the same theme from Plate I of *A Harlot's Progress* was reiterated (although it is unclear whether this was meant to be an imitation) in François Huot's print *Innocence en Danger* (1796) in which a young woman is confronted by two different procurers on the street in Paris.[49]

In Plate I of *A Harlot's Progress,* Hogarth presents the viewer with a juxtaposition, the innocent and young Moll Hackabout—having just arrived in London, dressed in white and the old bawd (possible the infamous Mother Needham)—bent, grey and misshapen with a crooked nose and a pocked face.[50] Undoubtedly, these scars were added to communicate to the viewer that the bawd had once been a prostitute herself and bore the syphilitic markings of her old profession. Apart from the post-revolutionary *Innocence en Danger*, there is no similar visual source for *ancien régime* Paris. However, Benabou has argued through her detailed and extensive descriptions of specific types of procurers that stereotypes of *maquerelles* were markedly perpetuated during the eighteenth century. A woman like the bawd in Hogarth's engraving would have most likely been described as a 'marcheuse' (an older prostitute-turned-procurer). Benabou claims that, while such a label often corresponded to reality to some extent, it was amplified by the imagination.[51]

The cultural discourse surrounding the archetypes of the old bawd and young prostitute stands in contrast to the realities of prostitution. Most women (in both London and Paris) did not always have a procurer and instead worked in a variety of ways.[52] It is also important to note that Hogarth may not have been only placing blame on the bawd for corrupting Moll Hackabout's innocence. The dangers of the wider urban environment are made clear by Hogarth's details in the background. He presents an apathetic urban environment in which even the people one is meant to trust to intervene, do not. Most of the characters in the background ignore the interaction taking place including a clergyman, who ignores the scene completely. One man, believed to be Colonel Francis Charteris, infamous rake and convicted rapist, touches

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[47] To name but a few: Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Vic Gattrell, *City of Laughter*; McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze*; Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (Hadleigh: Agnesi Text, 1997).
[48] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, 27-28.
[49] François Huot, *Innocence en Danger*, 1792, Engraving, 32 x 37 cm, 1792, British Museum.
[50] Uglow, *Hogarth*, 244.
[51] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 237-63.
[52] Benabou gives this subject a thorough approach in *La Prostitution*, 267-319; Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 31; Hitchcock, *English Sexualities*, 94-95.

himself in anticipation while observing the scene.[53] However, in both Paris and London, the old bawd, as a cultural archetype, represented the most predatory form of sex worker and characterized the corruptive nature of the urban environment. Indeed, within cultural discourses from both cities, the bawd or *maquerelle* was commonly characterized in a more one-dimensional manner (unlike the prostitute who often embodied conflicting archetypes).

The degree of concern regarding the archetype of the old bawd suggest that there is more to investigate about concepts of youth and old age in relation to prostitution. Hogarth chose a popular juxtaposition.[54] *The Bawd: A Poem,* believed to be anonymously penned in 1782 (no explicit date is specified), condemned bawds for ensnaring women into the sex trade. The following passage from the poem would serve as an excellent narration of the scene taking place in Plate I of *A Harlot's Progress*:

> There where the vile procuress ready stands,
>
> To open the doors of vice with both her hands;
>
> Welcomes the innocent with gentle smiles,
>
> Commends, insinuates and so beguiles.[55]

The juxtaposition of young woman and old bawd served a purpose. It simultaneously condemned certain aspects of the sex trade (i.e. procuring or bawdry) while offering sympathy to the young women who entered it. In the last chapter, I discussed the ways in which different institutions tackled the issue of reforming former prostitutes. Generally speaking, the younger the woman was, the more likely she would be able to reform (according to the rules of the institutions themselves). None of the institutions for reforming prostitutes even bothered to do the same for women believed to be involved in procuring. These women were believed to be beyond saving.[56] This view was fairly consistent over the course of the century. Sympathetic tones were therefore reserved for the young prostitute who still had the potential to reform and even then it was not that simple.

Even Saunders Welch, a city magistrate who wrote a proposal in 1758 calling for harsher punishment of streetwalkers and stricter laws against prostitution, did not necessarily blame individual prostitutes for becoming involved in the sex trade. Welch described, in his mind, what was the 'reality' of these types of interactions. He claimed that it was 'well known' that agents who were employed by bawds would loiter in areas where carriages from outside the city would arrive. Once these 'agents' found a woman who had the 'age, shape and features' most likely to

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[53] Uglow, *Hogarth*, 204; *Old Bailey Proceedings*, February 1730, trial of Francis Charteris (t17300228-69).

[54] See Huot's *Innocence en Dangeur* for a similar example. For more on the themes borrowed from Hogarth, see Dabhoiwala, 'The Appropriation of Hogarth's Progresses.'

[55] Anon., *The Bawd: A Poem* (London: c.1782), 12.

[56] See Chapter Three, 144-145.

'raise desire,' the 'agent' would approach her. According to Welch, this interaction usually involved questions regarding the woman's origin, her place of lodging and an ironic warning to beware of the 'wickedness' of the town. If the woman did not know where to stay, the stranger would 'very luckily recollect' a gentlewoman who boarded young women and happened to need a new maid: 'At her arrival at the bawds, after strict enquiry concerning her character…she is hired; and from that moment the unhappy wretch is a prisoner, and either by persuasion or force, becomes one of the family.'[57] Indeed, the dead goose in Moll Hackabout's luggage in Plate I is addressed to 'My lofing cosen in Tems Stret in London.' This 'cousin' may have been someone that unbeknownst to Hackabout, had actually recruited her into prostitution by inviting her to London.[58]

After being seduced into the sex trade, the second major life stage of the prostitute occurred at the end of progress narratives. Usually, the woman started off as an elite prostitute or a professional mistress, then, quickly descended into the lowest rungs of depravity before dying under tragic circumstances. This second transition was, within these progress narratives, unstoppable once it began. It also lies in contrast to its alternative within eighteenth-century literature which was a sense of upward mobility from ordinary prostitute to elite prostitute to professional mistress. Progressions of upward mobility were most typically found in pornographic novels like *Margot la Ravaudeuse* or *Fanny Hill*. Again, here the upward mobility served a purpose. Instead of reminding the reader of the pitfalls of prostitution, the works concentrated on the sexual acts and encounters of their central characters. However, while this certainly adds a layer of complexity to representations of prostitutes, I have chosen to specifically focus on downward spiral rather than a sense of upward mobility. Representations of decline and prostitution also demonstrate the ambiguity with which the subject was being addressed. More importantly, examining the downward mobility of the prostitute has also allowed me to focus primarily on the anxieties as well as the ambiguities associated with the sex trade and the urban environment.

Within the series of plates in *Harlot's Progress*, the viewer watches as Moll Hackabout goes from a kept woman to lowly prostitute until she eventually dies of syphilis.[59] From the outset, it is clear that she is doomed and even though she loses her initial innocence from the first plate, she is still depicted as a victim of her own choice. However, in Plate I, a major moment of transition, Hogarth offers two sides of the same coin regarding the perception of prostitution. On the one hand, the viewer is meant to be repulsed by the bawd but, on the other, feel

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[57] Welch, *A Proposal*, 11-12
[58] Uglow, *Hogarth*, 244.
[59] Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress, Plates I-VI* (1732).

sympathy for the prostitute. If, as some have argued, prostitutes were regarded with more sympathy and compassion, then it was certainly limited to those like Moll Hackabout: young, naïve and ignorant of the dangers of the wider urban labyrinth.

Image 4: Richard Newton, *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure*, **1796.**

Once the bawd, or anyone else, is left out of the progress narrative, and it is possible to examine the prostitute alone, as in Richard Newton's *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure* (1796), we are confronted with a much more complicated set of attitudes.[60] I have chosen to analyse this print because it contains a more obvious example of overlapping archetypes than *A Harlot's Progress*. In addition, it has been overlooked if not completely ignored by historians who have discussed cultural representations of prostitution.[61] Newton is now less well-known than Hogarth, Bowles, and Rowlandson in terms of eighteenth-century caricature. This may have been due to the fact that he had a relatively short career. He was only fourteen when he began producing caricatures and his career ended with his death at twenty-one from typhoid fever. However, during that short period, he produced over three hundred caricatures either printed on their own or used to illustrate books.[62] As opposed to Hogarth, Newton's illustrations within this particular print do not contain any illustrative details, distractions, or, in some cases, any backdrop at all. *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure* is an etching that, while it is watermarked as being drawn in 1794 was actually published in 1796. The etching itself is rather large (about twenty-one by thirty inches) and contains eighteen vignettes or 'stages' within the prostitute's life. Each stage contains a hand-written caption.[63]

The woman depicted begins her journey into prostitution as a fresh-faced young woman living in an elite brothel. Newton hints at this within the caption with the location of King's Place (a well-known location of an elite brothel run by Charlotte Hayes).[64] The phases of the woman's life are, at first, slow and rather droll. The first six stages, for example, describe the depicted woman's promise of marriage falling through and her acting violently toward the men who dupe her. However, once the woman continues her 'progress' or decline into less elite forms of prostitution, the vignettes seem to jump ahead and cover longer periods. For example, it takes six vignettes for the woman to go from a professional mistress to a lowly prostitute. In stage eight, she berates a man for only giving her a crown after their exchange. In stage thirteen, she is glad to receive half a crown from 'a prentice boy who has just robbed his master's till.'[65] Five stages later, she is dying and turned 'out of doors' because her mistress wants to avoid paying her funeral expenses.

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[60] Richard Newton, *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure*, 1796, Etching, 53.5 x 74 cm, 1796.
[61] See Bullough, 'Prostitution and Reform,' 61-74; A.D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England*; Rosenthaal, *Infamous Commerce;* Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*.
[62] For the only extensive study on Richard Newton, see David Alexander, *Richard Newton and English Caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998).
[63] Newton, *Progress*. See Appendix I.
[64] For more on Charlotte Hayes, see Rubenhold's *Covent Garden Ladies*.
[65] Newton, *Progress*. See Appendix I.

Newton's illustration, while it begins as a rather humorous and bawdy tale for the first ten vignettes, quickly descends into tragedy. Although it was written at the end of the period, it reflects the continuity of the ambiguous nature of the perception of prostitutes. The narrative is not dissimilar to Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress*, but within Newton's illustration, there are an array of contradicting stereotypes being portrayed. In one episode, she is depicted as, in essence, no different from any other upper-class woman (stages one and two), in some she is violent and disorderly (stages four, eleven, and fourteen), and in others, she is a sad, pitiable character. The last stages of her life are where we see this sense of pity. In stage fifteen, the woman is 'heart sick' with disappointment in her friends and copes by drinking gin. In the next stage, she wears her last shift (a dress worn under clothing) and sells her silver thimble in order to buy breakfast. By stage seventeen, she becomes the servant of a woman who was once her servant and lives off her meagre board wages which are enough to buy her a 'bunch of radishes' and a 'pint of porter' for her dinner. Then, like Moll Hackabout, she dies in the final stage.

If it were true that prostitutes were seen as victims and no longer as lustful, calculating creatures within cultural discourse during the later eighteenth century, then how can we explain Newton's illustration in which the prostitute is depicted as being complicit in her own demise? For example, there is not a moment of redemption or even repentance. Moreover, Newton seemed to be implicitly blaming the prostitute's demise, not on an outside source of seduction, but on her own intentions. There are no other people depicted within this Progress and therefore, no other people to blame. In *A Harlot's Progress* and other similar works, the old bawd is often the source of blame for the young, innocent women becoming prostitutes. Perhaps Newton's choice of putting the captions in second person was to suggest a more sympathetic tone toward prostitutes. However, this etching, rather than providing an explanation for more sympathetic tones, was doing something much more complex—it was calling into question different archetypes and (albeit perhaps unintentionally) layering and juxtaposing them against one another. This portrayal of the prostitution narrative seems to only roughly fit within Norberg's 'virtuous courtesan' definition.

Unfortunately, there are not as many comprehensive 'progress' narratives of prostitution available for eighteenth-century Paris. However, there is the example of Antoine François Prévost's *L'histoire de Chevalier de Grieux et de Manon Lescaut*.[66] The first encounter with Manon occurs outside of Paris in the small town of Passy as she is being carted away to the Americas with other convicted prostitutes. Unlike the progress narratives in London, the reader meets

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[66] Antoine François Prévost, *Manon Lescaut* transl. Angela Scholar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Originally published in 1731.

Manon Lescaut at a low point. The narrator, the Chevalier des Grieux, is struck by her overall demeanour:

> Among the twelve girls, who were chained together by the waist in two rows, there was one, whose whole air and figure seemed so ill-suited to her present condition, that under other circumstances I should not have hesitated to pronounce her a person of high birth. Her excessive grief, and even the wretchedness of her attire, detracted so little from her passing beauty, that at first sight of her I was inspired with a mingled feeling of respect and pity.[67]

The narrator describes the scene itself as generating contradicting feelings of both pity and respect as well as a sense of horror regarding the entirety of the scene itself. The narrator also seems to see Manon as being 'ill-suited' to being subjected to such humiliation. The description of Manon suggests that she was a similar figure to Moll Hackabout in Image 1: seemingly innocent, naïve and pitiable. This indicates that the women around her did not deserve the same level of pity—being typical prostitutes.

Within French depictions of prostitutes, especially within the context of punishment, there are conflicting attitudes and sentiments being expressed. The two French images for this chapter are representative of these conflicting attitudes and sentiments. However, they also, evoke senses of progress (albeit at a later stage).

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[67] Ibid., 3.

Image 5: Étienne Jeaurat, *La Conduite des Filles de Joie à la Salpêtrière*, 1745.[68]

In Étienne Jeaurat's 1745 painting, *La Conduite des Filles de Joie à la Salpêtrière*, he portrayed a scene that would have been easily recognisable to the inhabitants of Paris. Like Hogarth, Jeurat is remembered for his gritty, yet somewhat bawdy street scenes. Although he was a member of the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Jeaurat belonged to a society interested in life outside of aristocratic circles (the *Société du Bout de Banc*). His paintings were not produced for the masses, but he painted realistic scenes that celebrated an unidealized version of everyday, working class life. This painting also provides commentary on the spectacle of the punishment of prostitutes— something that contemporary authors also commented on. Despite the comparative value of his work to Hogarth's, there are relatively few studies of Jeaurat's paintings within art history.[69] In addition, while historians have referenced this particular work, they have mostly done so for illustrative, rather than analytical purposes.[70] Julia Torlet, for example, uses it to illustrate

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[68] Étienne Jeaurat, *La Conduite des Filles de Joie à la Salpêtrière*, 1745, oil on canvas, 65 cm x 82 cm, Musée Carnavalet.

[69] Xavier Salmon, 'Un carton inédit d'étienne Jeaurat pour la tenture des "Fêtes de village,"' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1995), 187-96; Paul Wescher, 'Étienne Jeaurat and the French Eighteenth-Century "Genre des Moeurs,"' *The Art Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1969), 153-65.

[70] Torlet, *Le Monde de la Prostitution*, 209.

Mercier's description of the weekly ritual of carting off former prostitutes from the prison on the *rue Saint-Martin* to the *Salpêtrière* of the *Hôpital Général*:

> Le lendemain on les fait monter dans un long chariot, qui n'est pas couvert. Elles sont toutes debout et presses. L'une pleure, l'autre gémit ; celle-ci se cache le visage ; les plus effrontées soutiennent les regards de la populace qui les apostrophe ; elles ripostent indécemment et bravent les huées qui s'élèvent sur leur passage. Ce char scandaleux traverse une partie de la ville n plein jour ; et les propos que cette marche occasionne font encore atteinte à l'honnêteté publique.[71]

Mercier and Jeaurat were depicting something that had been a longstanding ritual in the city of Paris since the late seventeenth century. Because of this, it is difficult to assess what emotions or reactions this scene could have produced among its viewers. Perhaps, given Jeaurat's interest in everyday life for average Parisians, this was a theatrical re-enactment of his own eyewitness account. Most Parisians would have been familiar with this particular motif. In 1778, this theme was repeated in Jean-Baptiste Huet's *La Désolation des Filles de Joie* (Image 6).

Despite the bleak, unfiltered nature of *La Désolation,* Huet is more typically associated with pastoral and genre scenes. We do not know whether Jeaurat's painting inspired Huet's print of prostitutes being carted off, but we do know that there are changes between the two images. Jeurat was depicting something that had been a longstanding urban ritual, whereas Huet was offering a pictorial commentary on a change to that ritual. Torlet has interpreted *La Désolation* as a reaction to the 1778 Ordinance which outlawed all forms of soliciting and allowed for the mass arrests of prostitutes. This same ordinance also called for all prostitutes found soliciting themselves on the streets to have their heads shaved.[72]

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[71] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. 2, 9-11. Translation: 'The next morning they are out in a long chariot which is not covered. They are all standing and squeezed in. One cries, another moans; this one hides her face; the most insolent hold their gaze over the mob who shout at them; they respond indecently and defy the boos that rise along their passage. This scandalous cart traverses a part of the city in broad daylight; and the remarks that this march causes are still damaging to public honesty.'

[72] Torlet, *Le Monde de la Prostitution*, 196-97.

Image 6: Jean Baptiste Huet, *La Désolation des Filles de Joie*, 1778.[73]

The process of the police roundups is depicted in *La Désolation* as prostitutes were gathered, sentenced, shaved and led onto carts away to the *Hôpital Général*. This is evidenced by the detail that the ordinance is posted just adjacent to the judge in the scene. It is unclear whether this print was meant to be a positive or a negative reaction to the 1778 Ordinance or whether this was simply a scene the caricaturist Huet found amusing to capture.[74] Since Huet was a prominent figure, and like Jeaurat was also a member of the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture,* it is unlikely that he would blatantly and openly criticise the new policy. However, the print itself is full of contradicting and mixed representations of the prostitute which may have produced conflicted emotional responses.

Rather than there being a sense of progress as was typified within *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure* or *Harlot's Progress* in London, we are instead presented with a different kind of transformation. As artistic subjects, the prostitutes in *La Désolation* are simultaneously defiant,

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[73] Jean Baptiste Huet, *La Désolation Des Filles De Joie*, Engraving, 20.8 x 33 cm, 1778, Bibliothéque Nationale de France.

[74] De Vouglans, *Les Loix Criminelles de France,* 218.

desperate, and pitiable. There is the woman who stands tall and seems to be cursing the police and the justice (suggested by her hand gesture). The woman to the right of her begs for mercy as the other women cry after their heads are shaved. The transformation can also be found in the use of colour. The defiant prostitute and the woman begging are wearing bright colours compared to those in the cart whose colours appear to be dulled.

In these representations of French prostitutes, we are presented with a different kind of progress more closely linked to the second major transition taking place in English representations. Here, we witness the second half of the prostitute's demise and decline. It is hard to explain why the concentration on the prostitute's fall from grace seemed to be more widely popular in London than in Paris. That is not to say that the progress depicted in *La Désolation* does not offer any complexity. Rather, it complicates the linear change discussed among historians of prostitutes in London. Here, we see, as we do in other progress narratives, contradicting characteristics associated with the prostitute at a major moment of transformation.

The process of changing an upright, angry prostitute into a praying, contemplative and pitiable figure at the hands of the Paris police and the law circles back to the discussion in Chapter Three.[75] It was, after all, the primary objective of institutions like the *Salpêtrière* to give condemned prostitutes a chance to reform themselves and thus their lives. Through stripping back the artifices of beauty and vanity, these women were no longer lustful harlots in Huet's representation. However, in both Huet's and Jeaurat's depictions, there does not seem to be any real sense of hope for these women. Their fate is somewhat sealed beyond the point of being carted off and there is an overall sense of dread regarding what awaits them within the walls of the *Salpêtrière*. Thus, the print can be interpreted not as a sentimentalized view of prostitution, but as a warning (this is also suggested by the notice on the wall in the background of *La Désolation* which reads 'Avis à la jeunesse'). Perhaps Huet, like Hogarth, was offering a warning to the current women of the town—that the same miserable fate awaited them if they continued to sell their bodies.

However, in both Paris and London, representations of progress and prostitution are more than just moralizing tales or images warning young women of the dangers of urban life. Rather, these are outward expressions of a desire to 'make sense' of the issue of prostitution. Whether artists, authors or commentators chose to vilify or victimize the prostitute, they were all attempting to slot these women into specific archetypes into which they would never fit.

Representations of prostitution also highlighted the prostitute's deceptive qualities. Contemporary writers in both cities linked this ability to deceive with the concept of seduction.

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[75] See Chapter Three, 131-91.

For example, Mercier's major issue with 'seduction' in Paris was the entrapment of young women with a 'coeur neuf et innocent' who came from 'la province' and dared to visit Paris without the help of a mentor or friends.[76] These women were, in Mercier's point of view, the most susceptible victims to be enticed by the gilded façade of illicit urban culture. In addition, prostitutes themselves were also characterized as deceptive within various cultural tracts throughout the century. There is a tendency among historians to attribute this quality more to representations from the earlier half of the century (especially in London). However, the anxieties concerning the prostitute's ability to deceive seemed to be relatively consistent throughout the century.

The ability to blend in with the rest of urban society affected how prostitution came to be represented as an urban problem. Prostitutes were portrayed throughout the century as deceptive and calculating in both Paris and London. According to art historian Sophie Carter, popular printed images of prostitutes in eighteenth-century London represent their deceptive qualities through incorporating themes of the masquerade.[77] In both cities, the deceptive qualities of vanity and ornamentation were a major cause of anxiety for those who wished to restore a sense of order. Through elaborate ornamentation, prostitutes could blur the lines between social distinctions which may have made their trade seem more attractive to young women as they first arrived to either city from more provincial areas. Just as there were harsh realities associated with prostitution, there were also glamorous aspects, especially among elite prostitutes, that may have been initially appealing to young women.

Self-fashioning, as both an activity and a concept, was not new in the eighteenth century. Earlier periods saw Baldassare Castiglione's widely distributed and highly influential *Book of the Courtier* and the later 'honnête homme' movements.[78] However, Patrick Joyce has argued that the danger of self-fashioning was amplified during the eighteenth century as it became more closely connected with feminine deception.[79] In addition, the ability to self-fashion became increasingly easy due to the rise of consumerism in both cities. Perhaps a reaction to the prevalence of

[76] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. I (1782), 38.
[77] Carter, '"The Female Proteus": Representing Prostitution and Masquerade in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture,' *Oxford Art Journal* 22:1 (January 1999), 59.
[78] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castillio, Divided into Foure Bookes.*, trans. Thomas Hoby (London: Wyllam Seres, 1561). Although originally written in Italian, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528) was printed in six languages and one of the most widely distributed books of the sixteenth century. Hoby's translation was particularly influential to the upper echelons of English society.
For more on the 'honnête homme' movement in seventeenth-century France see: André Lévêque, '"l'Honnête Homme" et "l'Homme de Bien" Au XVII Siècle', *PMLA* 72, no. 4 (September 1957), 620-32; C.A. Mayer, 'L'honnête Homme. Molière and Philibert de Vienne's "Philosophe de Court"', *The Modern Language Review* 46, no. 2 (April 1951), 196-217; Donna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art: A Study of the Honnête Homme and the Dandy in Seventeenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).
[79] Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, 151.

cosmetics and potential for feminine deception is what inspired some enlightenment thinkers, like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, to promote a more natural ideal of beauty in the form of an unpainted face and naturally flushed cheeks. [80] Essentially, the idea was to improve that which was already there without any artifice showing. It is also important to note Robert Jones' claim that the concept of 'beauty' was inherently linked to that of virtue, and that by the mid-eighteenth century, the term was used as a distinguishing factor between proper and improper sexual behaviour within a variety of discourses and social practices.[81]

The history of cosmetics and prostitution meet at the point of deception and the contemporary discourses associated with artificial versus natural beauty. In both Paris and London, while cosmetics were widely popular throughout the eighteenth century (reaching a peak in popularity between the 1740s and 1760s), they were often linked to both moral degradation and aesthetic deception.[82] The availability of paints and rouge were simultaneously perceived by prescriptive patriarchal texts as leading to vanity in young women and falsity in older women.[83] Cosmetics were worn by both men and women and allowed opportunities for boundaries to be blurred between social distinctions (i.e. class, gender). Prostitutes were known in both Paris and London for wearing an excessive amount of rouge.

Morag Martin found that, as cosmetic products became cheaper, more women in the bourgeoisie began to wear rouge and other cosmetics in eighteenth-century Paris (originally things reserved for the aristocracy). Because of this, aristocratic women began to wear more excessive amounts of rouge to set themselves apart. In doing so, however, they unintentionally mimicked prostitutes.[84] In John Cleland's *The Genuine Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Maria Brown*, the narrator laments how the more 'modest part' of her sex continues to mimic prostitutes:

> I was convinced that they had borrowed our look, our gait, our air and that every
> modest woman strove who should most resemble a prostitute. We are upon every
> occasion the objects of their attention and study. It is from us they receive every new
> fashion, and all those little artifices which enchant and which no one can define.[85]

The narrator, Maria Brown, then argues that these 'modest' women have little reason to upbraid prostitutes. Cleland was making the rather controversial (perhaps with the intent to be amusing)

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[80] See description of 'Sophy' in Jean-Jaques Rousseau, *Emile* (Paris, 1762), 46; Hannah Greig, 'Beauties' in *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 167-191.
[81] Robert W. Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 79-81.
[82] Martin, *Selling Beauty:* 77.
[83] Ibid, 80.
[84] Ibid, 81.
[85] John Cleland, *Genuine Memoirs of the celebrated Miss Maria Brown. Exhibiting the Life of a Courtesan, in the Most Fashionable Scenes of Dissipation* vol. 2 (1766), 24-26.

comment that modest women depended on the representation of the prostitute to inform them not only on what was fashionable, but on the art of seduction. Vivien Jones argues that the modest woman archetype was dependent on that of the 'whore' as a contrasting category.[86] If 'modest women' could imitate prostitutes, then the opposite could take place as well which would make prostitutes indistinct from respectable women.

In the eyes of reformers and urban authorities, if prostitutes maintained a certain appearance, they could easily infiltrate respectable circles and entice men more easily. In Richard King's *The Frauds of London Detected* from 1779, he describes the prostitute's deceptive qualities as a predatory characteristic:

> Passion being productive of passion in a greater extreme [prostitutes] egg the cully on until he becomes a dupe to their artifices, and work him up to their purposes, by endearments and other fallacious pretenses till, thoroughly absorbed in riot, they take the opportunity of profiting by his procrastination and debility, by making the most of him in their power.[87]

In reality, the demand of the male consumer played a significant role in prostitution. After *The Frauds of London* was published, Thomas Scott, a preacher and author of the late eighteenth-century, also commented on the predatory nature of prostitutes who 'throng the streets and lay in wait for the inexperienced and incautious.'[88] A 1788 guide book to Paris also describes the vulnerability of men in regards to 'filles débauchées' and their ability to sell pleasure but freely give 'la mort.'[89] In all three of these texts, men are being portrayed as being duped, vulnerable, and inexperienced. The victimhood of the prostitute in the late eighteenth century seemed to rely on the purpose of the work itself. The theme of the predatory prostitute was a means through which to excuse rampant male sexuality. Jill Slaight has argued that aggressive male sexuality was increasingly accepted in eighteenth-century Paris. Hitchcock has also argued that the same can be said for eighteenth-century London.[90] The increasing notion that womanhood was defined by passivity and asexuality developed alongside the idea that men did not have to answer for their sexual irresponsibility.[91] Therefore, in some contexts, the prostitute was no longer a natural woman because her behaviour did not correspond to the ideal definition of womanhood. In turn, this would lead policy makers to make suggestions that placed restrictions on female sexuality and agency. The prostitute stood in contrast to the ideal of womanhood in both

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[86] Vivien Jones, 'Luxury, Satire, and Prostitute Narratives,' 187.

[87] Richard King, *The Frauds of London Detected; or, A Warning-Piece against the Iniquitous Practices of that Metropolis* (London: c. 1779-1780), 99.

[88] Thomas Scott, *Thoughts on the Fatal Consequences of Prostitution Together with the Outlines of a Plan Proposed to check Their Enormous Evils* (London: C. Watts of Queen Street, 1787), 4.

[89] Anon., *Les Numéros parisiens, ouvrage utile et nécessaire aux voyageurs de Paris* (Paris: 1788), 36.

[90] Hitchcock, *English Sexualities*, 100-10.

[91] Ibid., 108.

behaviour and appearance. Her predatory nature was amplified through manufacturing her as a physically distinct being within cultural tracts like these.

Although historians like Quétel, Laqueur and Andrew have made convincing arguments regarding the physically-distinct prostitute for the late eighteenth century, we cannot know for sure if every day urban inhabitants regarded the women of the sex trade in such a way. In addition, there are texts from earlier in the century which also attempt to dehumanize prostitutes. One example of this is cleric Jean Bénigne Bossuet's works which, although they were published in the late eighteenth century, were written before his death in 1704. Within this eighteen-volume opus, Bossuet dehumanized prostitutes and described them as 'bêtes.'[92] As both a theologian and bishop, Bossuet's perception of prostitutes fell in line with the newly-developed policies toward prostitution in Paris during his lifetime (the late seventeenth century). Therefore, perhaps the 'new' images of the beastly prostitute that cropped up in the later eighteenth century were rehashing older stereotypes that had remained present within the public consciousness.[93]

Eventually, according to Charles Horne, the act of prostitution would leave its mark making a prostitute into a physically distinct creature from a more respectable woman. In his 1783 pamphlet, *Serious Thoughts on the Miseries and Evils of Prostitution*, Horne claimed it was easier for men to hide their lack of integrity than it was for women to pretend to be chaste:

> …for she cannot pretend to have it, when she has not; besides, if modesty did not lose its blush and the inward workings of disturbed repose did not impress itself on the superficies, which whoever has observed the countenances of decayed virtue will readily admit that it does.[94]

Horne claims here that it does not matter how much effort was put into one's appearance in order to promote a sense of chastity, because the more effort made to mask depravity the more physically obvious it became. The trope of the physically distinct prostitute lies in contrast with the 'trickster' archetype both of which coexisted at different points throughout the century.

Through characterizing the prostitute as being deceptive, eighteenth-century commentators in both cities were attempting to reconcile the ambiguous nature of the overlapping archetypes associated with the prostitute. Deception and progress are but two of many themes that can be addressed when discussing the representations of prostitution. However, both were intrinsically linked to the issue of seduction which was almost always either implicitly or explicitly linked with prostitute representations in one way or another. When we examine the representations of prostitutes through the lenses of these specific issues, we are presented with more complex,

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[92] Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *L'oeuvres par Jacque Bossuet,* I-XVIII (Paris: 1772-1788), vol. III, 586.
[93] For a few examples of this, see: Anon, *Satan's Harvest Home;* John Fielding*, The Wand'ring Whore* (London, 1660).
[94] Horne, *Serious Thoughts*, 51.

contradictory, and ambiguous ideas regarding eighteenth century prostitution from a cultural perspective.

II.   Prostitution as Pestilence

Through linking the issues of prostitution to that of seduction, contemporary artists and authors were contributing to yet another cultural trope. Prostitution itself was often characterized as a disease throughout the century. This complicates the linear transformation that historians have attributed to the history of the representation of prostitution at this time (from prostitutes being lustful tricksters to fallen women). If prostitutes were considered in such limited terms, then how can reformist texts which discuss the sex trade as a disease be explained? The concerns regarding prostitution in this light were actually addressing much older concerns regarding the implications of moral decline upon the larger urban population.[95]

Within reformist and moralist tracts, the moral and physical degeneration of urban populations was inextricably linked. Sean Quinlan argues that physicians perpetuated and contributed to such sentiments through placing a higher emphasis on both physical and moral hygiene in their medical diagnosis of the perceived social crisis in France.[96] A depraved lifestyle, or an abundance of luxury and libertinism, contributed to moral degeneration which manifested in a host of new nervous diseases.[97] This was not only the case in France, but in England as well. George Cheyne, in his 1733 book entitled *The English Malady; or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of All Kinds,* similarly described London as a hotbed of disease due to excessive, sedentary luxury.[98] Within both the French and English contexts, when partnered with overcrowding, luxury led to 'stagnation' and 'putrification' in both physical and moral senses.[99] The city's moral and physical decline stemmed from its festering and overgrown quality personified by its parasitic nature as compared to rural areas which were self-sustaining.[100] This sentiment was also supported by contemporaries like Welch who attributed urban disorder to a decline in morality among urban dwellers compared to those living in more rural environments. He blamed the 'general depravity

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[95] McClive argues that fears of deception, disease and moral decline were not new in the mid-eighteenth century, but merely a re-articulation of a much longer-standing moral discourse. See *Menstruation and Procreation in Early Modern France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

[96] Sean Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: Sex, Modernity and Health Crises in Revolutionary France, c. 1750-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 3, 5, 22.

[97] Ibid., 22; James Steintragger, *The Autonomy of Pleasure: Libertines, License and Sexual Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 101.

[98] George Cheyne, *The English Malady; or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of All Kinds* (London: 1734).

[99] Ibid., 54-55.

[100] Porter expresses this was the case in London, *London*, 194-196.

of morals' on 'minds depraved by lust and enervated by debauchery.'[101] Although, here, Welch was referring to all urban inhabitants, the appearance of the prostitute within this context amplified the state of moral decline.

There were, of course, other more demanding physical dangers associated with prostitutes in the urban environment. Historians have noted that the association between venereal disease and prostitution has been somewhat exaggerated.[102] Marialana Wittman has argued that, in the eighteenth century, men were blamed for the spreading of the disease.[103] While this may be true, it is important to acknowledge the connection between concerns about venereal disease and the connections between the trope of prostitution as a disease.

During the early modern period, the recognition, discussion, and prevalence of syphilis and gonorrhoea grew exponentially. The true danger associated with venereal disease had to do with the gaps of knowledge surrounding it and the various ways in which it could be contracted, prevented, and cured. John Marten, albeit a known quack, described the paradoxical nature of the disease in his 1707 treatise one the subject: 'there is scarce any disease more known than the *Venereal Lues,* respecting its name, and more common symptoms; nor none more generally unknown, when we come to respect more narrowly the matter itself.'[104] Indeed, the diseases of gonorrhoea and syphilis were not easily identifiable from the symptoms and it was the mystique attached to these diseases which made them particularly dangerous. Moreover, there are also debates among historians regarding the nature and classification of venereal diseases. There is, for example, a question of whether the word 'pox' always meant syphilis.[105]

The eighteenth century was particularly important regarding the ways in which venereal disease was addressed. As discussed in the last chapter, more institutions were available to women who had been infected. In addition, home remedies became more readily accessible to women. Quétel argues that the eighteenth century marked the initial point at which themes of 'desire' and 'pleasure' were linked to the causes of venereal disease: the physical manifestation of the threat of uncontrolled prostitution.[106] It seems to be the case, as Norberg argues, that the

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[101] Welch, *A Proposal*, 7-8.

[102] Norberg argues this was the case in 'The Body of the Prostitute: Medieval to Modern,' 393-408.

[103] Marialana Wittman, 'Medical Imagery of Venereal Disease and the Gendering of Culpability in Eighteenth-Century France', in *Women, Gender and Disease in Eighteenth-Century England and France* eds. Kathleen Hardesty Doig, Felicia Berger Sturzer (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 201-30.

[104] John Marten, *A Treatise of all the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease in Both Sexes* (London: 1707), 76.

[105] Kevin Siena explores this briefly in *Sins of the Flesh*, 13; Claudia Stein demonstrates the fluidity of the term in 'The meaning of Signs: Diagnosing the French Pox in Early Modern Augsburg,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80, no. 4 (2006): 617-648.

[106] Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, 74, 99.

connections between prostitution and venereal disease were forged in both cultural and medical discourse during the end of the period.[107]

It is important to note that although a connection was maintained between venereal disease and prostitution, the connection was not necessarily one of fear as would be expected, but more of an accepted reality—usually approached with a general sense of lightness.[108] In Marten's 1707 treatise, he recounted a case where a male patient knowingly had interactions with a diseased prostitute with the notion that the disease could only be spread through vaginal intercourse. According to Marten, the prostitute admitted to the patient that 'she was poxt.'[109] Admitting the disease to a potential client would surely hinder a woman's ability to make a living selling sex, and yet she did it regardless. It also calls into question the reliability of this account. Even if Marten is not writing from a real memory of a patient, the story serves a somewhat educational purpose. The exchange that Marten describes also provides a potential example of Norberg's argument that the widespread 'panic' associated with venereal disease is a perception gleaned from popular reform-ended texts which did not reflect the concerns of the rest of the urban public. Marten's patient claims that the prostitute 'accommodated him with her hand.' According to Marten, his patient could only have contracted the disease if the prostitute had 'wetted and besmear'd' her hand 'with the filthy matter from her own body.' His patient responded that this was exactly what had happened and that the prostitute must have done it out of revenge because 'she required more money for the civility than he was willing to give her, and he observed at the same time that her hand felt wet to his yard.'[110]

Marten's somewhat repulsive case contains a sense of levity as it seems to be making fun of the ignorance of the male patient while simultaneously warning other men of the dangers of how to avoid contracting the disease. Even though the prostitute in the case is honest about her venereal disease, she also weaponized it against her client when he refused to pay what she had asked. Norberg has argued that libertine and pornographic novels of the period presented venereal disease in an unveiled manner—particularly when discussing prostitutes. In addition, unlike nineteenth-century fiction, eighteenth-century fiction did not typically frame venereal disease as a just reward for a corrupt character.[111] In *La Cauchoise, ou Mémoires d'une Courtisane Célèbre* (1783), the prostitutes who contract venereal disease do so because of an unpleasant

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[107] Norberg, 'Prostitutes' in *Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* ed. Arlette Farge and Natalie Zemon Davis, vol. III, a History of Women in the West (Cambridge: Belknap, 1993).

[108] Kathryn Norberg states that the fears of venereal disease were often over-exaggerated. See 'From Courtesan to Prostitute: Mercenary Sex and Venereal Disease, 1730-1842' in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* ed. Linda E. Merians (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

[109] Marten, *A Treatise*, 33-34.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Norberg, 'From Courtesan to Prostitute,' 37-38, 47.

sexual encounter. La Cauchoise, the main protagonist, is given the disease by a client who refuses
to pay her. Eventually, she is cured, but not before having intercourse with a man who agrees to
be with her in spite of her illness.[112] Here, we see the same degree of levity being exercised with
regard to venereal disease.

Venereal disease was thus an accepted reality of a libertine lifestyle in the eighteenth century
and the real danger was not the disease itself, but the ability of infected women to conceal it.
Jean Astruc, a professor of medicine in both Montpellier and Paris, wrote the first medical
treatise on the disease which was translated from Latin and published in 1777. In the entire text,
he only acknowledges the relationship between prostitution and the disease once:

> Quand la mal vénérienne commença a paraitre en Europe, on ignorait qu'il se communiquait par le
> commerce avec les femmes; parce que les malades par cacher leur débauche, dissimulaient
> soigneusement la manière dont ils l'avoient contracte ou que peut-être ils ne soupçonnoient pas
> qu'une si grande maladie put se contracter par ce moyen.[113]

Astruc's focus within this text was on the nature of the disease itself, rather than arguing for an
institutional means for controlling it. The interesting point that Astruc makes here regarding
prostitution ('le commerce avec les femmes') is the degree of deception involved concealing the
disease ('par cacher leur débauche'). Due to the symptoms of syphilis and gonorrhoea being
rather ambiguous, Cristian Berco argues that obfuscation was a major tactic that women adopted
to mitigate the stigma of their illness.[114] For example, mercury was the usual cure for venereal
disease, but mercurial powders and washes were also used in cosmetics in order to lighten the
skin. Therefore, it was hard to tell if a woman was wearing white mercurial powder because she
had venereal disease or because it was the latest fashion. Although Berco's findings are based on
his research on sixteenth-century Spain, they are relevant to eighteenth-century London and
Paris as well. Both Wittman and Kevin Siena have emphasized the popularity of home remedies
and quick, more secretive cures that came about in Paris and London during the eighteenth
century.[115]Although, in general, venereal disease was a typical and accepted consequence of a
libertine lifestyle, prostitutes were not blamed entirely for the spread of the disease.[116] Venereal

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[112] Anon., *La Cauchoise, ou Mémoires d'une Courtisane Célèbre* , 1783.

[113] Jean Astruc trans. M. Louis, *Traité des Malades Vénériennes: De la Contagion, de la nature et la traitement des Malades vénérienne* (Paris: 1777), 1. Translation: 'When the venereal evil began to show in Europe, we ignored that it passed itself on by commerce with women, because the sick, hiding their sin, carefully concealed the manner which had contracted it, or that perhaps they did not suspect that so great a sickness could be contracted by such means.'

[114] Cristian Berco, 'The Great Pox, Symptoms and Social Bodies in Early Modern Spain,' *Social History of Medicine* 28, no. 2 (2014), 225-244.

[115] Kevin Siena, '"The Foul Disease" and Privacy: the Effect of Venereal Disease on the Medical Market in Early Modern London' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 74, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 199-224; Philip K. Wilson, 'Exposing the Secret Disease: Recognizing and Treating Syphilis in Daniel Turner's London,' in *The Secret Malady* ed. Merians, 68-84; Wittman, 'Women and Syphilis,' 109, 114;.

[116] Ibid., 109.

disease may have been considered to be but one example of a physical manifestation resulting from wider moral implications regarding the urban 'disease' of prostitution.

Urban decline tended to be described in medical terms. Mercier referred to the problems of Paris as an 'enormous tumor.'[117] He specifically took issue with the social segregation between the rich and poor and the proliferation of boarding houses and *chambres garnies* which, he argued, encouraged a rising population density. Most poor women who participated in prostitution on a full-time basis would have led transient lives, moving from one place to another. This would have also been the case for most of the urban poor who experienced highly fluid and mobile existences. In some cases, these women may have been integrated members of particular neighbourhood communities, but to elite male urban reformers, they were often characterized as outsiders. Mercier and English commentators like Charles Horne and Henry Fielding often associated prostitution with the wider urban maladies of moral decline, population density, and contemporary issues of hygiene.[118]

Even in texts where one may expect to see more 'sympathetic' portrayals of the prostitutes, such as those produced by charitable institutions like the Lock Asylum, the women of the sex trade were portrayed as agents of destruction: 'a common prostitute is an evil in a community not dissimilar to a person infected with the plague; who…is daily communicating the contagion to others, that will propagate still wider the fatal malady.'[119] The anonymous author of this 1796 *Account* did not seem to be referring literally to venereal disease, but instead to something more abstract, albeit equally contagious. While describing prostitutes in this manner, the author also later emphasized the prostitutes' victimhood in a call for the reader to consider subscribing to the Lock Asylum.[120] Within this context, the author was shaping the characteristics of the prostitute from being an agent of a 'plague' upon the urban environment to being a victim worthy of pity as a means to an end. This particular transformation offers more evidence of the prostitute's 'shapeless' existence within various cultural constructs.

In 1794, William Blake published a poem entitled 'London' which featured a stanza on prostitutes:

> But most thro' midnight streets I hear
> How the youthful Harlots curse
> Blasts the new-born Infant's ear

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[117] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris,* vol. 1, 873-81.

[118] Henry Fielding, *A Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury* (London: 1749), 49-50; Charles Horne, *Serious Thoughts*; Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol III, 110-11.

[119] Anon., *An Account of the Institution of the Lock Asylum, for the Reception of Penitent Female Patients* (London: 1796), 4.

[120] Ibid, 10.

And blights with plagues the Marriage hearse.[121]

Blake used the term 'plague' in a much more explicit manner than the author of the 1796 *Accounts* (above). Blake even referred to the method of how the 'disease' of the prostitute was passed on: noise. Cycling back to the discussion in Chapter One on noise and general disturbance being issues long associated with prostitution, here we see an explicit cultural connection between the urban environment ('midnight streets'), prostitutes ('youthful Harlots'), noise ('curse') and societal moral decline ('blasts the new-born Infants ear / And blights the marriage hearse').

Mercier, Blake, and the *Accounts* all equated prostitution, in one way or another, to a disease. These observations took place during the latter half of the century, a time when more sympathetic portrayals of prostitution were present within printed sources. This further emphasises the point made in the previous section that, as a whole, the sympathetic approach to prostitution only applied to specific women and not all prostitutes especially within moralist and literary source material (proposals, novels, poems, etc.).

Reformist texts treated prostitution like a plague or a disease that crippled the morality of the urban population by attacking the institution of marriage. This was not only due to the fact that married men formed much of the sex trade's clientele, but that prostitutes contradicted a domestic female ideal and, because of this, were in a category of their own. In the second half of the century, writers like Rousseau and Immanuel Kant characterized women as inherently weak, irrational, and sexually vulnerable, rather than adhering to older ideas that a woman's nature made her more sexually voracious.[122] Historians of both England and France have also observed that the eighteenth century marked an increasing popularity in the notion of domesticity.[123] Qualities of domesticity were centered on women's place within the home and her role as a mother. In *An Account of the Misericordia Hospital* from 1780, the anonymous author reflected upon the 'distresses of prostitution' and how they transformed the nature and character of the 'lovely females' who were 'formed by nature to be the happy mother of numerous offspring.'[124] It is important to keep in mind, however, that this increase in domesticity has, as Karen Harvey has argued, been over-emphasized and that the notion overlooks the role of men in the domestic

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[121] William Blake, 'London' in *Songs of Experience* (London: 1794).

[122] See Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (London: 1799); Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* (Paris: 1762).

[123] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 187-94; Hitchcock, *English Sexualities*, 108-10; Kathryn Norberg, 'The Body of the Prostitute: Medieval to Modern', in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body, 1500 to the Present*, ed. Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (New York: Routledge, 2013).

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sphere.[125] Therefore, it is important that we are careful not to attribute a change in domestic attitudes as the sole cause of the increase in proposals regarding urban prostitution. The concern regarding prostitutes was not necessarily the fact that women were rejecting domesticity, but that they greatly contributed to overall senses of physical and moral urban decline.

I have already extensively explored the first major reform that was both discussed and, to an extent, executed in both cities: institutionalization. Therefore, proposals which discuss different forms of institutionalization will not be addressed at length here. Instead, I am focusing on two of the other 'solutions' to address prostitution within eighteenth century reformist discourse. The first solution centred on the issue of marriage and how it could be reformed in order for more young women to find husbands. Proposals for marriage reforms took different approaches to this problem. These differences are telling of the social anxieties and realities within the urban environment and their relationship to the issue of prostitution. The second major solution was that prostitution, rather than being prohibited, would be legalized and more strictly regulated. These ideas opposed one another because they reflected different ideas about gender, marriage, and the household.

Some of these proposals resemble what Binhammer has labelled as 'sex panic' literature which she claims was specific to the 1790s. Sex panic literature 'promoted a hysteria around, for example, the rise of seduction' and through doing this sought to regulate female sexuality.[126] For example, Binnhammer claims that sex panic literature of the 1790s in England frequently used the trope of the French Revolution to conflate, both literally and metaphorically, female sexuality and the state of the nation itself.[127] The proposals addressing the escalation of prostitution, particularly in London, was also one such manifestation of sex panic literature. However, these were not all necessarily products of the 1790s. In London, proposals and literature addressing the moral panic of London cropped up at various points throughout the century.[128]

Establishing the audiences for proposals regarding the state of prostitution is also somewhat tricky. In cases like Madan's *Thelypthora* (discussed below)*, Mandeville's *A Modest Defence* or the anonymously penned *Code ou Nouveau réglement sur les lieux de prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (and perhaps in all the other proposals), the intended reader was certainly someone who enjoyed reading about prostitution and sex. Additionally, nearly all the proposals mentioned reference

[125] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[126] Binhammer, 'Sex Panic of the 1790s,' *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6:3 (January 1996), 414.

[127] Ibid., 416.

[128] Anon., *Hell Upon Earth (*1729); Anon, *Satan's Harvest Home* (1749); Dunton, *Proposals for a National Reformation of (*1694); Fielding, *A Plan for a Preservatory(*1758); Joseph Swetnam, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle Froward, and Unconstant Women, Or the Vanities of Them* (London: 1733).

classical history and literature frequently. In fact, nearly all of them claim to be offering intellectual solutions to the issue of prostitution by proposing systems similar to those implemented by the ancient Romans or Greeks. This implies the authors were addressing a well read and primarily male audience. These proposals, although they may have been mass-produced, were addressing a particular faction of society: elite men. This is not to say that no one else had access to, read, or discussed them. On the contrary, due to their licentious nature and the subject being prostitution, there is reason to believe that any urban inhabitant may have been interested in the contents of these proposals. However, it does seem rather clear that the authors of these texts had the intention of addressing a specific and relatively small section of society.

Marriage, as a solution to prostitution, seemed to be more popular in London than Paris. In London, Horne and Welch maintained the perception that nearly all prostitutes were single, marginalized women with no families to help them.[129] This, of course, may not have been the case. In Paris, there is evidence of married women selling sex. For instance, 'La St. Jean,' as she is called in a police report, was arrested and taken to the *Hôpital Général* on Christmas Day in 1723. Apart from having contracted venereal disease, she was also recorded as having abandoned her husband to become a prostitute and partake in '*mauvaise vie*.'[130] There are several similar accounts contained within the *Lieutenance de Police* records in which arrested women were recorded as having left their husbands for a life of prostitution.[131] We cannot be certain if women in Paris were leaving their husbands left and right in order to sell sex, or whether they were victims of domestic abuse or were fleeing other family issues and found themselves at the mercy of the 'economy of makeshifts.' These claims can be interpreted as showing the Parisian police's willingness to believe that women could be so easily drawn into the sex trade even after they managed to find a sense of stability in marriage. There is also the possibility that the police simply did not question the husband's word. In reality, the corpus of prostitutes in both cities did not only contain girls who had been abandoned or orphaned by their parents. Other research has shown that Parisian parents often willingly sold their daughters into prostitution in order for them to make a living.[132]

Although I have not found anything within archival criminal evidence in London to match these examples in Paris, it is likely that there were at least occasional occurrences of both

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[129] Horne, *Serious Thoughts*; Welch, *A Proposal*, 2.
[130] BA ms. 10134, 'Affaires des Moeurs, Assassinats et Vols', 1723-1724.
[131] Foucault and Farge discuss the concept of married women being sent to the Hôpital Général by order of their husbands in *Les Désordres Des Familles*, 87; Of a sample of 346 arrests for prostitution between 1735 and 1737, nearly seventy of the convicted prostitutes were married, see BA ms. 10135, 'Affaires des Moeurs, Assisinats et Vols', 1735-1737.
[132] Torlet, *La Monde de la Prostitution*, 35.

married prostitutes and of parents selling their daughters off. This suggests that, in reality, being a part of the patriarchal framework of the household did not necessarily protect women from the sex trade. These cases also undermine the idea that women needed the patriarchal framework of hospital institutions to save them as discussed within Chapter Three.[133] The fear expressed within reformist texts of both cities nonetheless centred on the issue of young, unmarried women populating the streets and causing disorder. The goal of these writers may have been to over-sensationalise the problem in order to sell more copies. Marriage was, at least in London, considered as a viable, easy solution to the problem. The prevalence of both married prostitutes and higher degree of censorship are contributing factors to the lack of comparable documents in Paris. The argument for regulation as a solution to the problem of prostitution, rather than marriage reform, seemed to carry more weight in Paris. This will be addressed later.

In 1780, Martin Madan published his famous defence of polygamy entitled *Thelypthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin*.[134] As a former chaplain of the Lock Hospital in London, Madan had seen first-hand the effects of prostitution and venereal disease and offered a unique solution to the issue. Rather than adhering to what he perceived as an unrealistic promise of celibacy outside the marriage bed, Madan suggested it would be better if men had to take direct responsibility for the women with whom they had conjugal relations. Essentially, he suggested that men having the ability to take in multiple wives would eradicate the need for prostitution. What made Madan's proposal particularly controversial, apart from the suggestion of polygamy, was that it publicly inferred that men had to take responsibility for participating in the sex trade. Therefore, Madan's proposal, rather than being a critique directed at the unordered portions of society (prostitutes, vagrants, etc.) instead formed a direct attack on ordered society and the contradictions therein. That is, Madan was critiquing the unwillingness of men to take both personal and financial responsibility for their uncontrolled sexual desires.

Naturally, Madan's thesis had its fair share of critics and should be read as a rather controversial contemporary take on the subject of prostitution. Most of his critics took issue with his contentious views on the institution of marriage and his proposal for polygamy and cited religious doctrine to refute Madan's claims.[135] The anonymous author of *A Letter to the Rev.*

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[133] See Chapter Three, 131-91.

[134] Martin Madan, *Thelypthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin* (London: 1780).

[135] For more on the critiques of Mandeville, see Irwin Primer ed., *Bernard Mandeville's "A Modest Defence of Public Stews": Prostitution and its Discontents in Early Georgian England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). There were many contemporary critiques of Madan's *Thelypthora*. Some of the more prominent ones include: Thomas Haveis, *A Scriptural Refutation of the Arguments for Polygamy Advanced in a Treatise called Thelypthora* (London: 1781); Thomas Wills, *Remarks on Polygamy and in Answer to Mr. M—d—n's Thelypthora* (London: 1781).

You would think it very ridiculous, insomuch, you would laugh heartily, to see a fine young

girl of only thirteen, going to be married to a young man of eighteen, but to see the girl

upon the town wallowing in the misery of prostitution, you would think perfectly natural.[142]

Horne perceived marriage as a safeguard against women joining the sex trade. The document seems less focused on the schematics of marrying off potential prostitutes and more directed at the promotion of the institution of marriage itself.

The underlying fear within *Serious Thoughts*, although never specifically stated, seemed to be that the existence of prostitution somehow would prevent young women from ever marrying. This could, according to Horne, have a disastrous effect on the 'natural' order of society. It is unclear exactly which aspect of the 'unnatural' tendency of prostitution made it such a threat. Young people living in London were less likely to marry in their teens than in their late twenties.[143] There is also the possibility that the 'unnatural' element of prostitution to which Horne was referring was the lack of procreation. This may have been rooted in deeper concerns regarding the perceived lack of reproduction and concerns related to the physical and moral decline perceived to be taking place in both Paris and London. In this case, prostitutes, figures who seemed to exist on the margins of patriarchal control, were blamed for the existence of other more longstanding issues regarding marriage and urban decline.

The idea that it was the abundance of young, single women in London that were at issue (rather than prostitutes) can also be supported by the anonymously authored *The Evils of Adultery and Prostitution* published in 1792. One element of reform suggested in this proposal was to 'discourage celibacy and encourage marriage.'[144] The author of the proposal suggested, referring to the practices of the ancient Romans, placing restrictions on single, older women in order to encourage women to marry at a young age. An example that the author gave was not allowing unmarried women to inherit anything from wills or estates from anyone who was not a blood relation. In addition, single men would be subject to high taxes and disqualified from holding 'offices of trust and honour.'[145] Some other suggestions the proposal made were for brothels to be policed more effectively and for adultery to be punished more harshly. The author also called for a change to 'the whole system of female education: every part of it, upon the present plan, is favourable to looseness and principle of manners.'[146]

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[142] Ibid.

[143] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993), 83-85.

[144] Anon., *The Evils of Adultery and Prostitution with an Inquiry into the Causes of their Alarming Increase and Some Means Recommended for the Checking of their Progress* (London: 1792).

[145] Ibid., 62-63.

[146] Ibid., 70.

According to the author, women's education was excessively luxurious, too focused on music or dancing, and with too much free time spent reading novels, gambling or attending balls or parties. In this case, the women receiving an education of this kind were less likely to be street prostitutes and more likely to end up as courtesans. The root of the problem, according to the author, was not necessarily prostitution, but young women being free to engage in idleness. The prostitute represented the epitome of the young, single woman who was unoccupied with matters of the household or family and instead chose to spend her time engaging in other activities (masquerades, gambling, drinking, etc.). Although the author was not specifically writing about working-class single women, we do know that there was an overall increase in single young women in both France and England during this period. For these women, it was survival, not idleness, that motivated them to sell sex. Amy Louise Erickson states that, even after the possibility of monasticism was removed during the Reformation, twenty per cent of English women remained unmarried throughout the early modern period.[147] Olwen Hufton argues that the rate of unmarried women in France increased from 6.6 per cent (those born between 1690-1691) to 14.5 per cent by the end of the eighteenth century.[148] In both cities, single women often worked in domestic service or the textile trades which were associated with the sex trade. The entanglement of this type of work with the sex trade is indicative of the role the sex trade played within the economy of makeshifts.[149] Single women, like prostitutes, experienced liminal lives, and were both a part of, and marginalized from, a society in which they represented anxieties relating to overcrowding and disorder.[150]

Another proposed reform was, rather than altering the institution of marriage, to allow licensed prostitution to take place under strict regulation. This was explored in both Paris and London. Horne's work seems to be a response to this idea which, in the eighteenth century, dates as far back as 1724 with Bernard Mandeville's *A Modest Defence of Public Stews*.[151] Mandeville, a physician by trade, also wrote a number of highly popular works on the nature of society. His works were, for the most part, rather controversial because of their cynical take on the nature of society. For example, one of his main points of view seemed to be that society relied on vice in

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[147] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property*, 83-85.

[148] Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, 256.

[149] See Introduction, 22, for more on the economy of makeshifts and prostitution; See also Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*, 69-127.

[150] Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community*, 52, 86; Pamela Sharpe, 'Dealing with Love: The Ambiguous Independence of the Single Woman in Early Modern Europe,' *Gender and History* 11, no. 2 (July 1999), 209-32.

[151] Bernard Mandeville, *A Modest Defence of Public Stews or, an Essay upon Whoring As it is now practis'd in these Kingdoms* (Glasgow: J. Moral, 1724). A second edition was printed in 1740 in London for a 'T. Read in Dogwell Court, White-Fryars, Fleet Street.'

order to maintain a sense of economic prosperity.[152] Thus his piece on prostitution also supported this notion by accepting the sex trade as a necessary evil.

Like other proposals discussed in this chapter, *A Modest Defence* appealed widely to those who were interested in content associated with prostitution. However, allusions to classical literature and history indicate that Mandeville's intended audience may have been the smaller group of classically educated men.[153] Mandeville received a fair share of criticism pertaining to the moral implications of such a proposal. However, others saw Mandeville's solution as adding to the problem of population decline rather than solving it. According to critics like Welch, for example, the subject of public stews 'alienates the mind from matrimony.'[154] The last iteration of Mandeville's proposal was published in 1745. However, writers addressing prostitution in the following decades, while they may not have been writing direct responses to Mandeville's claims, may have been keeping *A Modest Defence* in mind. This speaks to its prolific nature among the proposals mentioned here.

Mandeville's overall idea to create licensed, public 'stews' was not entirely new. It was, in fact, a reinvention of a much older idea. In both Paris and London, licensed prostitution had been standard practice during the medieval period. Before Henry VIII abolished licensed prostitution, the Southwark area of London was the destination for public stews.[155] Municipal decrees in Paris during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries established the areas, down to the names of the streets, where prostitution was to be confined.[156] This is an important point considering the findings on urban landscape and prostitution from Chapter Two.[157] As I have argued, prostitution in ghe eighteenth century was no longer confined (if it ever had been), but dispersed with a certain degree of concentration in some areas. The discourse concerning the need to confine prostitution to one particular area speaks to this. According to Farr, attempts had been made to regulate prostitution in Dijon as early as the sixteenth century.[158] Fournel, within his *Traité de la Seduction*, wrote a short history of prostitution in which he praised the ancient Romans for making prostitutes wear special robes, and having their hair covered in a yellow or red powder in order to distinguish them from 'honest women.'[159]

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[152] Other popular works by Mandeville include *The Virgin Unmask'd, or Female Dialogue Betwixt an Elderly Maiden Lady and her Niece on several Diverting Discourses* (London: J. Morphew, 1709); *The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Public Benefits* (London: 1714).

[153] Primer, *Bernard Mandeville's "A Modest Defence of Publick Stews"*, 107.

[154] Welch, A Proposal (London: 1758), 119.

[155] For more on this, see Ruth Mazzo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[156] Bronislaw Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 214.

[157] See Chapter Two, 82-130.

[158] Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 139.

[159] Fournel, *Traité de la Seduction*, 403.

What made eighteenth-century proposals of this kind different from those of previous centuries is that they were motivated by newer urban phenomena. Medieval London and Paris were much smaller than they would become in the eighteenth century as they both grew exponentially. Other changes had occurred during the interim period. As mentioned, occurrences of venereal disease had greatly increased. This was Mandeville's greatest concern, most likely due to the fact that he was a physician by trade. He remarked that the disease had within the past two centuries 'made such incredible Havock all over Europe.'[160] His primary objective seemed to centre on the issue of public health and his plan would curb the physical dangers of prostitution by having physicians readily available. The connection between both physical and moral degeneration as well as to unregulated prostitution was particularly palpable here.

All of the proposals discussed in this chapter mention venereal disease. It would seem that Mandeville's primary focus was on the health concerns related to an uncontrolled sex trade and less on the moral implications. Although Mandeville found that vice was necessary to the functioning of society, he acknowledged the degeneration that could take place if the sex trade went unchecked. He took issue with the current state of the sex trade because its unregulated nature meant that men would spend excessive amounts of money on it, causing them to live beyond their means and putting their families in jeopardy. It also allowed for the more frequent murdering of 'bastard infants' and caused a detriment to affection between husbands and wives.[161]

Mandeville also recognised that prostitution was more agreeable when confined to the brothel. This was, of course, no new innovation, but a continuation of what was already being practiced within the contested space of the neighbourhood (as Chapter One demonstrates).[162] Although he shared his idea for the licensing of 'public stews', he did not offer a plan for how these stews would function. Rather, his piece was, as entitled, a 'defence' of licensed prostitution. However, he did dedicate *A Modest Defence* to the 'Gentlemen of the Societies of the Reformation of Manners.' This detail indicates that he was attempting to persuade these contemporaries that prostitution was not a pestilence that could be eliminated through harsher laws, punishments, or higher numbers of arrests.[163] Instead, it was something that had to be tolerated and shaped in order to meet the needs of urban society. As a disease upon the urban body, it had no cure. The sex trade, according to Mandeville, was part of what kept the urban body functioning and had to be maintained in order to prevent disorder. Much of what

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[160] Mandeville, *A Modest Defence*, 20.
[161] Ibid., 21-23.
[162] Ibid; See Chapter One, 39-81.
[163] Mandeville, *A Modest Defence*, v-xiv.

Mandeville calls for as a solution to prostitution was something that was already taking place. Instead of dismantling an entire system of dealing with prostitution, Mandeville was proposing, instead, to strengthen the ongoing practice of tolerance.

In France, licensing of prostitution was not merely explored but actually carried out in the post-revolutionary period. This was spurred by a 1789 proposal by L.P. Bérenger which detailed a forty-nine step plan laying out the specifics of a state-regulated sex trade.[164] Less than a decade later, following a decree in 1798, the Paris police were obliged to 'supervise brothels and those who reside there or who are found there and to furnish the means of preventing and containing contagious diseases.'[165] Prostitution was de-criminalized in 1791, but, as Clyde Plumauzille argues, there were more complex issues regarding prostitution that arose during the revolutionary period.[166] While the most dramatic changes regarding prostitution occurred during and after the revolutionary period, there were nonetheless sentiments in favour of regulation decades before the Revolution.

Code ou Nouveau réglement sur les lieux de prostitution dans la ville de Paris was published anonymously in London in 1775.[167] The first two-thirds of the text focus first on the origins of prostitution and then on the '*inconvénients.*' The author defined nine major problems associated with the sex trade which include venereal disease and the disorderly nature of brothels and '*mauvais lieux.*' Anxieties regarding the nature of population levels and reproduction were expressed when the author laments the loss of young women who give their bodies to prostitution when they could better serve the '*patrie*' by becoming mothers. The author also did not approve of the fact that prostitutes were able to mix with 'honest citizens' or that they deceived others with a 'veil of modesty.'[168] Despite these problems (and others that were listed) the *Code* recommended that prostitution be legally sanctioned and regulated.[169]

The reforms the author of the *Code* suggested would have involved limiting the number of brothels in Paris to twenty-four. These twenty-four brothels would be divided into three groups of eight based on the socioeconomic groups that they would serve. Each house would contain fifty prostitutes who would be selected by the *supérieure*, or procurer, of each house. The *supérieure* was, in essence, the same as a procurer, but would be held accountable for maintaining the brothel to the police who would make routine visits. Women had the option to leave if they got

[164] Lauraut-Piérre Bérenger, *De La Prostitution: Cahier et Doléances d'un Ami des Moeurs Adressés Spécialment Aux Deputés du Tiers-État de Paris* (Paris: 1789).
[165] Cited from Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, 97.
[166] Plumauzille, *Prostitution et Revolution*, 7-17.
[167] *Code ou Nouveau réglement sur les lieux de prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (London: 1775).
[168] Ibid., 59-60, 122-23.
[169] Perhaps, this was written as an impassioned response to Rétif de la Bretonne's *La Pornographe* (Paris: 1769).

married or became pregnant and would receive adequate support.[170] In addition, if a woman wished to repent, she could tell the *supérieure* who would then make a request to the police for her to be sent to a house for penitent prostitutes such as *Bon Pasteur*, *Les Madelonettes*, or *Sainte-Pélagie*.[171] The author acknowledged that prostitution was a sin for which one could repent, yet they also accepted it as a necessary evil that should, within a certain context, be tolerated.

The author was careful not to critique the measures that were currently being undertaken by the police to regulate sexual license or prostitution. This stands in contrast to Mandeville who, essentially, was critiquing the measures taken by the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. The *Code*, however, suggested a system that would neatly slot into the existing political and social institutions without dismantling them and emulate their emphasis on discipline. Institutions like the *Hôpital Général* and the *Affaires des Moeurs* would not cease to exist. They would, in essence continue to function in a similar way. In addition, prostitutes would be grouped into three main classes which would keep elite prostitutes and their clients separate from everyone else.

Regardless of whether they were critiquing the status quo, both Mandeville and the *Code* seemed to be offering the suggestion that the licensing of prostitution did not equate to dismantling society. In fact, the argument was, as Mandeville suggests here, that licensed prostitution would contribute to an orderly society: 'The Public Stews will not encourage Men to be lewd, but they will encourage them to exercise their Lewdness in a proper Place, without disturbing the Peace of the Society.'[172] This further supports the evidence presented in Chapter One which suggests that policing methods worked to contain prostitution rather than eliminate it. It is hard to determine the extent to which the authors of *Code* and *A Modest Defence* were aware of policing practices and methods when it came to prostitution. We can at least assume that both authors were relatively aware of the overall tolerance with which prostitution was regarded not only within 'official' policing systems, but among urban inhabitants as well.

Marriage reforms and licensed prostitution, as solutions to the problems associated with the sex trade, reveal the elite male attitudes and anxieties regarding the gendered and sexed order of urban society. All of these proposals, as well as those which suggested institutionalization as a solution, were exploring whether prostitution should be excluded from or integrated into an ordered, patriarchal structure. Indeed, it seems as if integration was not necessarily specifically aimed at prostitutes, but at single women in general. According to the proposals concerning marriage reform, by integrating single women into a household through marriage, they would be less tempted to sell sex. In addition, allowing prostitution to exist, but excluding it from

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[170] *Code,* 134, 148.

[171] Ibid., 155.

[172] Mandeville, *A Modest Defence*, 76.

respectable society, was a way to maintain order by regulating the location of the sex trade. However, as the *Code* suggests through its hierarchical brothel structure, there was also an attempt, at least in terms of representation, to integrate prostitutes into an existing hierarchy in order to diminish their liminal qualities.

III. Conclusion

Eighteenth-century commentators, artists, and novelists were, whether they were explicit about it or not, greatly concerned with prostitutes. Especially within the context of urban life, the prostitute represented a multitude of other, wider concerns regarding order and society. Because of this, several different tropes characterizing prostitutes as caricatures (both in a pictorial and literary sense) were constantly in circulation. However, as I have argued, this was not a linear change as many London historians of the subject have argued. In Paris, historians have been more accepting of a longer sense of continuity but are more willing to place prostitutes of this period into distinct categories. In short, both of these approaches have led to over-simplified claims regarding the representation of urban prostitution during the eighteenth century.

That is not to say change did not occur at all during the eighteenth century, but that perhaps we should consider these changes as overlapping with and contradicting other longstanding archetypes. Perceptions of prostitution did change, but not as neatly as has been described thus far. Not only were there strands of continuity throughout the eighteenth century, but there also seemed to be a struggle between 'new' and 'old' ideologies regarding the prostitute. However, it is important not to consider historiographical idealizations of the prostitute ('libertine whore,' 'virtuous courtesan,' etc.) as rigidly held archetypes during the period in question. Rather, these categories were fluid, dynamic and complex. In representations like *Progress of a Woman of Pleasure*, how can we explain the implied blame placed on the main subject of the print if we are to also understand her as a fallen woman? Within cultural adaptations such as this, the prostitute's ambiguous place within society is made visible. The proposals brought forward in the second half of the eighteenth century in both cities represent a clear struggle to make sense of this more widely felt sentiment.

The contradicting points of view regarding prostitution as a disease unearth more poignant fears regarding the decline in the urban population and the decrease in morals both of which concerned the issue of seduction. The trope of prostitution as a disease has not been investigated nearly as much as it should be considering its prominence in reformist texts throughout the century. Contemporary reformers in Paris and London, especially in the latter half of the century, seemed to be grappling with two options: whether prostitution was a disease

worth eradicating or a necessary evil in need of rigid control. The prostitution as a disease trope also brings up the question of whether prostitution, as an activity, was the problem or whether the individual women who made a living from the sex trade were. Only certain individual women were granted the status of 'fallen women.' Instead, the collective imaginary of prostitutes overwhelmingly centred on widely-felt problems in two rapidly expanding and changing urban environments.

Conclusion

In Paris and London, both urban authorities and commentators attempted to separate prostitutes from the rest of urban society both physically (through confinement) and culturally. These attempts reflect the elite, male points of view not only regarding prostitution, but urban society in general. In reality, urban life was complex, chaotic, fluid and dynamic in both cities. Judith Walkowitz has made the poignant observation that 'new' and 'old' ideas of prostitutes are merely reflections of changing urban concerns.[1] The gradual, complex changes in ideas regarding prostitutes therefore reflect much broader concerns of urban decline. In the case of the eighteenth century, these concerns largely dealt with reconciling the fluid social nature of the urban environment and that, in general, one's place in society was not often as distinct as it would have seemed in more rural environments. Although there were other smaller cities and towns in France and Great Britain, none matched or even came close to the sheer magnitude or population density in either Paris or London. Urban inhabitants and authorities therefore were constantly grappling with the fact that although their respective societies placed high degrees of value on one's placement (social, legal, criminal, etc.), this was being constantly undermined by the nature of urban life. Alongside other controversial urban figures (vagrants, street sellers, etc.), the prostitute reflected the mixed up, chaotic nature of urban life especially when seen among more 'honest' urban inhabitants.

The presence of prostitution within contested urban space (i.e. the neighbourhood) contributed to wider felt urban anxieties. Prostitutes were a part of the spatial negotiation that took place among neighbours which further emphasises their role as integrated members of neighbourhood communities. In general, prostitution was largely tolerated in both Paris and London. I have further demonstrated this through examining the police and court records on a case-by-case basis. Urban authorities (police, constables, and the watch) were reluctant to become entangled in neighbourhood disputes particularly in regard to the vaguely defined offence of prostitution. Historians have widely accepted this to be the case without exploring the ways in which tolerance was limited and shaped according to local context.[2] Through exploring neighbourhood complaints regarding the occurrences of disorderly houses in Chapter One, I have demonstrated that tolerance of prostitution was entirely conditional within the contested space of the neighbourhood. Tolerance was fragile and tied to concepts of urban disorder as defined by urban inhabitants rather than by an overarching set of laws. The collective concerns

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[1] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 2.
[2] Benabou, *La Prostitution*; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex*; Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*; Henderson, *Disorderly Women*; Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges*; Pluskota, *Prostitution and Social Control*; Torlet, *Le Monde de La Prostitution*.

regarding prostitution were not only in regard to general safety and morality, but the perceived fragility of ordered society against the backdrop of the chaotic urban environment. Visible, audible and disorderly prostitutes represented the upheaval of patriarchal values.

Despite the extreme differences between their legal systems, the definition of prostitution was equally ambiguous in both cities' legal discourses.[3] However, this ambiguity played out differently in each urban context. In Paris, this meant that most of the women arrested as prostitutes had been guilty of *prostitution publique*, or, prostitution coupled with particularly disorderly activity defined on a temporal and spatial spectrum.[4] In London, the disorderly activities associated with prostitution (nightwalking, keeping a disorderly house, pickpocketing, vagrancy) were what criminalised the offence of prostitution. Because London and Paris had different systematic mechanisms for addressing prostitution from a legal standpoint, the outcomes of cases played out differently. However, this should not detract from the shared preference for informal neighbourhood policing. Furthermore, ruptures of tolerance in the court and police records demonstrate a shared value held among both urban inhabitants and authorities in Paris and London. This shared value was one's place in society which encompassed not just the physical, but the legal, social, and cultural placement of individuals within all aspects of urban life.

From the outset, the prostitute was 'matter out of place': living at the margins of ordered society.[5] However, the realities of the urban landscape, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, suggest that the sex trade and its associated activities were not separate from, but an integral part of the reality of chaotic urban life. Indeed, city life was experienced from the street itself and through traversing the urban landscape of which the prostitute was a prominent physical feature. From a birds-eye point of view, Paris and London actually appear quite similar from the outset. Both cities were built up around major rivers and seemed to expand in similar ways over time. However, to the average eighteenth-century inhabitant, Paris and London would have felt and appeared entirely distinct from the perspective of the ground. Ultimately, Paris and London were different urban landscapes which catered to different kinds of activity related to the sex trade. In addition, as topographical features were added or changed, new (albeit unintended) opportunities and venues for sex work were created. The increasingly higher availability of sidewalks in London may have made it easier for prostitutes to operate on a more mobile basis whereas in

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[3] See Introduction, 13-23.
[4] Jousse, *Traité de la Justice*, vol. I, 18.
[5] For more on this concept regarding urban history, see Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1966).

Paris the streets were less suited for walking.[6] In both cities, the new availability of pleasure
gardens also contributed to the availability of outdoor sex work at all hours of the day and night.
When prostitution was visible, its presence on the streets raised anxieties pertaining to the fluid
dynamism of the urban landscape. Through mapping spaces of the sex trade, I have emphasized
its nature as being widespread, yet localised throughout both Paris and London. Localisation
particularly occurred in specific types of areas (commercial and recreational). This pattern
suggests a clear correlation between certain activities and those of the sex trade.[7] The sex trade
played a significant role in shaping the urban landscapes of Paris and London throughout the
eighteenth century. In addition, as Paris and London expanded and became increasingly
urbanised, opportunities for sex work adapted alongside these broader changes throughout the
period. In both Paris and London, urban authorities and reformers were constantly struggling
with the ever-present quality of prostitution and sought solutions that further marginalised
prostitutes socially, culturally and institutionally.

     The ultimate solution for prostitution on a day-to-day, practical basis and on a large-scale
institutional one was to confine it. Sex work that was confined indoors was the most preferable
variety not only within the small-scale context of the neighbourhood, but in wider ranging
cultural and institutional discourse as well. If the sex trade could not be limited to such a space,
then prostitutes themselves were confined and reformed within specific institutions. Both cities
had institutions which functioned to confine prostitutes. Overall, space and confinement within
a specific space played a significant role in shaping the lives of alleged former prostitutes within
prescribed institutional discourses. I have demonstrated that while Focault's interpretations
about the role of space in confining and reforming inmates may have some merit, they are
negated by any sense of community that took place among confined populations.[8] These
institutions were demonstrative of contemporary notions of charity and treated prostitutes with
both compassion and repression. Both sets of institutions, at least in theory, attempted to reform
prostitutes in order to place them back into honest society by 'increasing their value.'[9] The
commodification of the prostitute reflects the notion of these women as canvases onto which
eighteenth-century reformists and moralists attempted to project idealised womanhood. I
demonstrate in Chapter Three, through the examining institutional records and commentaries of
Salpêtrière, *Bon Pasteur*, the Lock Asylum, and the Magdalen Hospital, that perhaps these

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[6] See Chapter Two, 82-130.
[7] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 196; Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 124-55; Olwen Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 69-127; Idem., 'Women and the Family Economy in Eighteenth-Century France', *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (1975).
[8] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 195-228; See Chapter Three, 177-89.
[9] See Chapter Three, 131-91.

institutions treated former prostitutes more similarly (at least in theory) than when studying them in isolation. These similarities exist despite the major differences among institutions and legal settings. Additionally, especially in regard to London, evidence from institutions like the Lock and the Magdalen have been used to argue that there was a distinct marked shift in the perception of prostitutes after 1750 and that the women of the sex trade were treated with increasing compassion (rather than repression) in the latter half of the century. However, I have demonstrated that each of the institutions mentioned (including the Parisian ones), existed along a sliding scale between compassion and repression throughout the period.

The realities of the complex place that prostitution occupied within Paris and London were echoed within cultural representations of the urban sex trade throughout the eighteenth century. The fluidity, dispersion and tolerated nature of sex work seemed difficult for contemporary artists and authors to comprehend. Through comparing the nature of some of the themes present within representations of prostitution in both cities, it is clear that the subject warrants more attention. I have demonstrated in Chapter Four that, although there were some changes to the ways in which prostitution was represented throughout the eighteenth century, most historians of the subject in London have inaccurately accepted these changes as linear.[10] Any changes that did occur should be considered gradual and part of a complex web of perspectives on prostitution. The emergence of 'new', more compassionate cultural approaches occurred and coexisted alongside older, harsher ones. In Paris, rather than adhering to a linear timeline, there is a tendency among historians to focus on the distinct contemporary social and economic categories of prostitutes. There is little acknowledgement that such categories may have been deliberately crafted in order to understand the sex trade as an entity separate from the rest of urban life. In reality, as I have shown, the sex trade and its members were integrated into not only the large-scale urban landscape, but the smaller contested space of the urban neighbourhood.

The tropes of prostitution and its links to progress and deception directly related to concerns regarding seduction. In London, progress and seduction were more closely aligned whereas in Paris, deception was more commonly associated with seduction within the context of prostitution. Through exploring and comparing representations of prostitution in Paris, I have unearthed a new trope: prostitution as an urban disease. The solutions to the problem or 'disease' of prostitution on the urban body in both Paris and London reiterated collective anxieties regarding an uncontrolled sex trade. A common prescribed solution to prostitution was marriage reform. By incentivizing marriage, making it a punishment, or simply making it easier,

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[10] See Chapter Four, 192-236.

reformers were admitting that prostitution was a direct threat to patriarchal values.[11] However, at the same time, in proposals where prostitution is defended as a 'necessary evil' and it is argued that it should be tolerated, prostitution was presented as an integral, vital part of patriarchal society.[12] As within the legal contexts, the cultural representation of prostitutes was complex and contained contrasting ideas of how the sex trade fit into urban society in both Paris and London.

In general, perspectives on prostitution remained relatively unchanged until after the 1789 revolution in Paris.[13] During the revolutionary period, prostitutes were even more widely tolerated and seldom arrested.[14] Further changes came about in both cities in the nineteenth century as urban concerns became more focused on health and the spread of disease. In Paris, although prostitution had technically been legalized, prostitutes could still be arrested if they broke regulations, did not appear for medical exams, or caused disturbances. In London, there were conflicting debates in the early nineteenth century which, as Tony Henderson argues, were perhaps a result of the vaguely defined legality of the offence itself.[15] Rather than calls for increased tolerance, prostitution would eventually be more strictly policed in the nineteenth century than it was in the eighteenth which would, eventually, drive it underground.[16] However, the legal, cultural, and institutional approaches to prostitution remained largely unchanged throughout the eighteenth century in both Paris and London. If there were traceable continuities in the ways prostitutes were perceived within the cultural and institutional discourses across the long eighteenth century, it is worth considering what other continuities historians have missed in the study of not only urban social dynamics, but crime, gender and sexuality during the same period.

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[11] Ibid., 219-35.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Plumauzille, *Prostitution et Revolution*, 1-19.
[14] Benabou, *La Prostitution*, 501.
[15] Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, 93.
[16] Harsin, *Policing Prostitution*, 6; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 1.

Appendix

Progress of a Woman of Pleasure:
Transcription of Captions

1. Your first step for preferment will be to a great Lady of King's Place.

2. I see you now waiting in full dress for an introduction to a fine Gentleman with a world of money!

3. You are Now in High keeping and you accompany your Adonis to the Masquerade in the character of a Bacchante.

4. Not being used to the champagne and not possessing the sweetest temper in the world in liquor you give your keeper sample of it in flinging a glass of wine in his face!

5. You are now turned off, and your only consolation is that your hair dresser promised to marry you.

6. He loves you to distraction but he thought you'd have an annuity of 200 a year! I hear you roar out "You dirty rascal, I could get the smartest linen Drapers's man in London with that money!"

7. You now move to Marylebone and exhibit yourself in the promenade on Oxford street.

8. Having Met with a Crown customer you tell him to go treat his wife and brats at Bagnigge Wells—you expected at least five guineas from him!

9. You take a bumper of Brandy to comfort you after the disappointment and you drink! Bad luck to all scaly fellows!

10. You now dance away at the Hop in Queen Ann Street East and cartwate all the men with your airs and graces.

11. You wind up ending the evening with a boxing match and a warrant and two black eyes salute you in the morning.

12. You are now over head and ears in debt and I see you shifting or removing your little wardrobe to Covent Garden.

13. You are glad of a half Crown customer now, in a prentice boy who has just robbed his master's till.

14. You are now the mistress of a player who principally lives by gambling; you ride out with him, cut a dash and run him in debt; and to give him a sample of your spirit before you part you exercise a horsewhip on his shoulders.

15. You are now in a sponging house, heart sick at disappointment from all your friends and you supply yourself with gin.

16. Having in a few years been the mistress of two highwaymen, a Qui Tam Attorney and two shipment who were transported, I now see you at your last shift pawning your silver thimble for a groat to purchase a breakfast.

17. Your sun is now setting very fast and I see you the servant of a woman who was formerly your servant; you live on board wages, which seldom affords you more than a bunch of radishes and a pint of porter for your dinner.

18. You take sick in the service of this female monster and she turns you out of doors fearing your funeral expenses should fall upon her.

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