

**Exchanging Flesh: Prostitution and Plastic  
Surgery in Seventeenth-Century England.**

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## Abstract

This thesis investigates discourses of shame, sexuality, disease, and the commoditised body in seventeenth-century England. I examine literary and non-literary sources relating to corporal interpretability and the exchange of human flesh in two areas: prostitution and plastic surgery. I consider the relationship between these exchanges and the individual's access to social capital, and explicitly examine the role of shame in facilitating or hindering the trades. Through close readings of fictional and archival prostitution texts (especially *The London Jilt*), I examine representations of sexual and other bodily exchanges as fraught commodity transactions. In conjunction with this, I consider in detail the transplantation of purchased flesh allegedly involved in rhinoplasty, which also posited a shameful commodification of the body. The reconstruction of the nose was most prominently detailed by the Bolognese surgeon Gaspare Tagliacozzi in *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem* (Venice: 1597), and he became synonymous with the highly controversial operation. Histories of plastic surgery currently state that after Tagliacozzi's death in 1599, his procedure disappeared from medical knowledge. I demonstrate that this was simply not the case, and provide a thorough book history of an English translation of *De curtorum chirurgia* that was published in London in 1687 and 1696. In order to account for rhinoplasty's stigmatization, I examine its association with syphilis and the shame associated with that disease, and the manner in which it was thought to enable the patient to 'pass' as healthy. I also trace the popular narrative around Tagliacozzi that suggested he would purchase the skin required for his graft from "the brawny part of [a] porter's bum", and that it would shrivel and die when its donor

did.<sup>1</sup> This discourse provides an as yet unexamined archive through which to understand early modern England's relationship with the commodification of living human bodies.

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders and Hugh de Quehen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), l.i.280.

## Declaration of Originality

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Emily Cock and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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A version of Chapter Two, Part One appears as 'Affecting glory from vices: Negotiating Shame in Prostitution Texts, 1660–1750', in *Performing Emotions*, ed. Philippa Maddern and Joanne McEwan (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

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The thesis is given with love to my parents, who have always provided unflinching support: to Dad, who taught me to love stories, and to Mum, who taught me to love books.

My special thanks go to my sister, Kirsty, who has held the main charge of keeping me sane and enduring my 'interesting' discoveries. And to the friends, family, coworkers and fellow postgrads who have borne with my many inappropriately-timed remarks on syphilis, flogging, and prosthetic genitals.



## Note on the Text

I have retained original spelling in all quotations. I have silently modernised the use of “u/v/w” and “i/j”, and long-s has been printed as “s”.

## Introduction



**Figure 1: Henry Bennet, First Earl of Arlington, after Sir Peter Lely (c1665–1670), © National Portrait Gallery, London.**

## Introduction

His nose is the first thing that you notice. In the portrait that hangs in London's National Portrait Gallery, Henry Bennet, First Earl of Arlington (1618–1685) appears with a black patch covering the top of his nasal bridge (Figure 1). The viewer is instantly distracted from the rich bronze silk cloak in which Bennet is draped, and forced to wonder why he has adopted a fashion usually associated in the seventeenth century with the fop, or the playhouse Lady of Pleasure. Moreover, injuries to the nose were in this period almost inevitably attributed to the rages of syphilis, or 'the pox'. In Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (c.1607), for example, the knight Sir Pockhole is unfortunate enough to find that the pox has "cut the gristle of [his] Nose away, / And in the place [a] velvet plaister stands".<sup>2</sup> Sir Pockhole denies the source of his disfigurement, but the joke lies in the fact it is evident to all. Was the pox the Earl's trouble, too?

In fact, no. Bennet's "velvet plaister" was designed to draw attention to an injury he sustained while fighting for the Royalists in the Civil War. After the Restoration, he used the injury to curry favour with the King. It was a risky strategy, which faltered as his political influence fell. More favoured courtiers began to use the patch as a point of mockery, and Bennet found himself exposed to shaming for his politics, his personal quirks, and his attempt to control the interpretation of his body. A study of the relationship between this interpretability and the individual's access to social capital is the focus of my thesis. Central to my study is the exchange of living human flesh in the practices of prostitution and plastic surgery, particularly rhinoplasty, and I examine the variety of exchanges that enabled, challenged, or accompanied these trades.

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<sup>2</sup> Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1607, ed. Andrew Gurr (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), III.iii.93–94.

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Because the cultural narrative around rhinoplasty suggested that the nose would be corrected using flesh purchased from another person, my investigation parallels modern analysis of the economics of human body parts and products. This is routinely considered alongside prostitution in economic and philosophical criticism as defining the limits of commoditisation in late capitalism—for example, in the influential work of Margaret Jane Radin. There has not yet, however, been a consideration of the relationship between the discourses of prostitution and plastic surgery in the early modern period. The slave who earned his freedom by providing his master with a new nose in earlier accounts of rhinoplasty became a cash-in-hand servant in the English context. The narrative thus increasingly moved toward a commodification of the flesh. I argue that this phenomenon can be productively read as commensurate with the prostitutes' commodification of their bodies and excreta. By tying these two discourses together, as is common for modern studies, new light can be shed on the possibility of transhistoricity in Western culture's concern over corporal commodification, as well as the specificity of this process in the early modern period. Rather than adopting the period's own description of disparate problematic commodity exchanges—from the skin grafts to the labour of the poet, actress, etc—as metaphorical forms of 'prostitution', I advocate the analysis of each of them as the exchanges of (in)alienable products, of which the sexualised commodities within prostitution were just one very particular example.

Where the phrase 'exchanging flesh' appears in early modern texts, it suggests sexual intercourse: Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale* jokes about a maid who "was turned

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into a cold fish for she would not exchange flesh with one that loved her”.<sup>3</sup> The sex that I examine in this thesis is that which is explicitly exchanged for material benefit:

prostitution. I use the economic critiques outlined by Marcel Mauss in *The Gift* (1950) and later theorists to test distinctions between gifts and commodities in prostititional exchanges, and to explore how this distinction affected the parties involved, and the sexual acts exchanged.<sup>4</sup> My title phrase is also intended to evoke the broader exchange economies of the flesh-and-blood authors, prostitutes, bawds, physicians, patients, and so on, who were involved in a continuous exchange of sex, passions, money, and bodily excrements.<sup>5</sup> The flesh is also meant literally, as individuals trade pieces of their old bodies for new. Literary historian Will Pritchard has argued that “As a result of their persistent suspicion of behavioural signs, [Restoration] authors often appealed to bodily signs as truer indicators of personal identity... Behaviour could be feigned, bodies could not”.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, I argue that popular texts show a distinct concern for individuals’ abilities to pass as members of socially superior groups (the healthy, the virtuous) by “feigning” their bodies in significant ways.

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<sup>3</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale*, ed. Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), IV.iv.266–268.

<sup>4</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, 1950, trans. W.D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> Uriel and Edna Foa influentially formulated all human interaction as in some way an exchange. They identified six categories of resources that are open to exchange—love, status, information, money, goods, and services—and noted that social and institutional customs govern the acceptability and terms of these exchanges: *Societal Structures of the Mind* (Springfield: Charles C Thomas, 1974), 124, 150–152.

Prostitution notoriously blurs these categories; see eg. Martin A. Monto and Deana Julka, ‘Conceiving of Sex as a Commodity: A Study of Arrested Customers of Female Street Prostitutes’, *Western Criminology Review* 10.1 (2009), 2–3.

<sup>6</sup> Pritchard, *Outward Appearances: The Female Exterior in Restoration London* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 51–52.

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I explicitly examine the role of shame in facilitating or hindering corporal exchanges and interpretability, and interrogate the commoditised exchange of this and other emotions, such as humiliation. To do this I read contemporary texts on the passions, especially Walter Charlton's *A Natural History of the Passions* (1701), alongside the work of queer theorists such as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. I use these theorisations to interpret previously unexamined archival representations of prostitudinal exchanges, and particularly cases involving the purchase of humiliation-dependent practices such as flagellation.

The reconstruction of the nose was most prominently detailed by the Bolognese surgeon Gaspare Tagliacozzi in *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem* ('On the surgery of mutilations', Venice: 1597), and he became synonymous with the procedure. Histories of plastic surgery currently state that after Tagliacozzi's death in 1599, rhinoplasty disappeared from medical knowledge. I demonstrate that this was simply not the case, and provide a thorough book history of an English translation of *De curtorum chirurgia* that was published in London in 1687 and 1696.

In order to account for rhinoplasty's stigmatization, I examine the procedure's relationship to two linked discourses: corporal alienability in the attempted commoditisation of another's flesh, and the nose's association with syphilis. I trace the popular narrative around Tagliacozzi that suggested he would purchase the skin required for his graft from "the brawny part of [a] porter's bum", and that it would shrivel and die when its donor did.<sup>7</sup> This discourse provides an as yet unexamined archive through which to explore the commodification of living human bodies in early modern England, and a

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<sup>7</sup> Butler, *Hudibras* (1973), l.i.280.

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productive counterpart to my examination of this concern in representations of prostitution.

The nose was also firmly associated with syphilis, which appeared suddenly in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, and rapidly became endemic.<sup>8</sup> In the early modern period, there was widespread confusion about the disease's transmission and pathology; it was often confused with the "Clap", which is now understood as gonorrhoea. Despite this ambiguity, the pox was identified as a sexually-transmitted disease, and attracted increasing shame over the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> As Edward (Ned) Ward put it, a patient's pox would "lead 'em by the Nose into publick Shame and Derision".<sup>10</sup> Like the prostitute, the legible syphilitic was read as a sexual transgressor, and their access to social capital restricted accordingly. Providing a poxed patient with a new nose was cast as the ultimate means of enabling the sexually deviant to pass for healthy, respectable, and valuable.

I employ both ostensibly 'historical' texts focused on prostitutes and their associates (such as accounts of legal cases in newspapers, and the Old Bailey Proceedings), and more brazenly facetious prostitution narratives written for popular consumption, which I term 'whore texts'.<sup>11</sup> I consider in particular the anonymous novel *The London Jilt*

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<sup>8</sup> Syphilis is caused by the spirochaete *Treponema pallidum*, and can be either congenital (passed from the mother to the child *in utero*), or acquired: World Health Organisation (WHO), *Guidelines for the Management of Sexually Transmitted Infections* (Geneva: WHO, 2003), 39.

<sup>9</sup> In its primary manifestation, the disease appears in a chancre at the site of infection, which was usually the penis, rectum, vagina, anus, cervix or vulva: Carolyn Sutton, 'Syphilis', in *Sexually Transmitted Diseases: A Practical Guide for Primary Care*, ed. Anita L. Nelson and JoAnn Woodward (Totowa: Humana, 2006), 210.

<sup>10</sup> Ward, and Thomas Brown, *The Legacy for the Ladies: Or, Characters of the Women of the Age* (London: 1705), sig. M4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> While I share Gustav Ungerer's reticence about the usefulness of "imaginative literature" about prostitution in "recover[ing] the experienced realities of the underworld", these texts are of significant value in considering contemporary discourses of shame, and fiction's mediation of fact: Gustav Ungerer,

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(1683), John Garfield's immensely successful pamphlet series, *The Wandering Whore* (1660), and work by the prolific social commentator Ned Ward. Whore texts were all but universally written by men, and focus on female prostitution.<sup>12</sup> They add a level of commoditisation to the women involved, as they enable the author to sell an emotional experience akin to the commoditised passions exchanged between real prostitutes and their customers. My investigation of plastic surgery draws on medical texts by men such as Tagliacozzi, Ambrose Paré, and Sir Charles Bernard, and the representations of rhinoplasty offered by non-specialist authors such as Samuel Butler in *Hudibras*, and Lady Hester Pulter. These texts provide "true experiences, if not necessarily true accounts" of both fields, and enable discussion of the circulation of prostitution and plastic surgery discourses in early modern society.<sup>13</sup>

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'Prostitution in Late Elizabethan London: The Case of Mary Newborough', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England: An Annual Gathering of Research, Criticism and Reviews*, 15 (2003), 138.

<sup>12</sup> While we know that men and boys sold sex in early modern London, detailed discussion of this fact was not used to sell books in the same way that depictions of female prostitution were. They were not, however, completely ignored; in his attack on "Bawds, Procurers, Pimps, &c", John Disney was careful to include both those "who were employed to seduce, by their perswasions" young women into prostitution, as well as those "who do the same with *Young Men*, or *Boys*, to gratify the *unnatural* Filthiness of Mankind": *A View of the Ancient Laws Against Immorality and Profaneness* (Cambridge: 1729), sigs. B4<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis).

On male prostitution see eg. Rictor Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England, 1700-1830* (London: GMP, 1992); Stephen Shapiro, 'Of Mollies: Class and Same-Sex Sexualities in the Eighteenth Century', in *In a Queer Place: Sexuality and Belonging in British and European Contexts*, ed. Kate Chedgoy, Emma Francis, and Murray Platt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 155–176; Jennifer Panek, "'This Base Stallion Trade": He-whores and Male Sexuality on the Early Modern Stage', *English Literary Renaissance* 40. 3 (2010), 357–392; Randolph Trumbach, 'Male Prostitution and the Emergence of the Modern Sexual System: Eighteenth-Century London', in *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality*, ed. Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 185–201.

<sup>13</sup> Una McIlvenna, 'True, véritable, vera, warhafftige: truth and fiction in the early modern execution ballad', (paper presented at the University of Adelaide, 20 April 2012).



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In order to present prostitution as a useful analytical category, I will be speaking of it in its modern sense, as the gainful exchange of sexual commodities.<sup>14</sup> This is with due regard to the far-broader realm of “whoredom” in which prostitution was routinely classed, but where, I argue, sexual acts feature within gift relationships. Gift exchanges, as Mauss noted, inscribe a personal value on the object and include an ongoing expectation of reciprocity, while the ideal commodity transaction presents clean breaks between buyer, vendor and product, and no expectation of ongoing obligation.<sup>15</sup> Distinguishing between gift and commodity relationships in prostitution texts will serve to negotiate the problem long noted by scholars of early modern prostitution that “Even at law it was difficult to distinguish ‘prostitution’ from other sexual liaisons on the grounds that it involved the exchange of money and goods: for almost any relationship, of any length and in any social context, was bound to do so”.<sup>16</sup> I recognise, however, that prior to the nineteenth century, ‘prostitute’ was still primarily a verb. The term was applied liberally, and usually with greater regard to improper commoditisation than sex. As the author of *Miss C—y’s Cabinet of Curiosities* (1765) noted, “The word *Prostitute* does not always mean a W[hore]; but it is used also to signify any Person that does any Thing for *Hire*”.<sup>17</sup> ‘Whore’, too, was a widely-used term that did not necessarily connote sex for payment. For this point one need only consider the necessary distinction for Bernard Mandeville

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<sup>14</sup> See similarly Lotte van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6; and Laura J. Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 5.

<sup>15</sup> Mauss, 13; Warwick Anderson, ‘The Possession of Kuru: Medical Science and Biocolonial Exchange’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42.4 (2000), 714.

<sup>16</sup> Faramerz Dabhoiwala, ‘The Pattern of Sexual Immorality in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century London’, *Londinopolis*, Ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 95.

<sup>17</sup> Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*, 1.

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between “public whores”, who explicitly engaged in sexual acts for money, and “private whores”, who were women who engaged in sexual improprieties *outside* of prostitution.<sup>18</sup>

Mandeville, following a logic elucidated by St Augustine (354–430) and St Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), argued that public prostitution was a lesser evil than private whoredom. For Aquinas, and medieval writers in general, “‘prostitution’ did not necessarily entail sex for pay, instead, it meant the availability of already debauched women for sexual contact”.<sup>19</sup>

Augustine argued that it was necessary both to enable this outlet, and to maintain a distinction between these “debauched” women, and those who remained honest:

“abolish the prostitutes and the passions will overthrow the world; give them the rank of honest women and infamy and dishonour will blacken the universe”.<sup>20</sup> The medieval “whore”, as Ruth Mazo Karras argues, was any woman who made herself “common”.<sup>21</sup>

The shift away from the idea of whores as sexually insatiable to whores as workers was very much in process at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>22</sup> A 1699 canting dictionary

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<sup>18</sup> Mandeville presented the period’s most famous attack on private whores in his *Modest Defense of Public Stews* (1724), but the division was a common one; in 1622 John Taylor pre-empted Mandeville’s argument that public stews were preferable, and assisted in reducing the demand for the corruption of virtuous women, in *A Common Whore* (London: 1622).

The term appears in *The London Jilt* as a name for a professional prostitute (Cornelia notes bemusement at how men “love much rather to Commit Adulteries, than to Divert themselves with Whores”), but is usually employed as a general term of opprobrium, as when Cornelia and her mother encounter a maid that they have recently dismissed (Sarah), who “began immediately to ring [them] a Peal of injurious Languages, bawling out for a long while *Whores*”: *The London Jilt*, 1683, ed. Charles H. Hinnant (Peterborough: Broadview, 2008), 96, 116; original emphasis.

<sup>19</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, ‘Prostitution and the Question of Sexual Identity in Medieval Europe’, *Journal of Women’s History* 11.2 (1999), 162. Karras argues that in the medieval period the prostitute (‘meretrice’) was in all practical senses of the word, a sexuality, since she “was not a woman who committed certain acts but a type of woman” (161).

<sup>20</sup> *De Ordine*, in *An Augustine Reader*, ed. John Joseph O’Meara (Garden City: Image, 1973), 2.4.12.

<sup>21</sup> Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3. On the continued vulnerability of any exposed woman to accusations of prostitution, see Zuzana Stastna-Wilcox, ‘At the Mercy of the Harbor: Port Life, Prostitution, and Charitable Discipline in Seventeenth-Century Marseilles’, *Mediaevalia* 32 (2011), 240.

<sup>22</sup> Van de Pol traces the same shift in Dutch texts (5).

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by 'B.E.' gestured at restricting the application of the term "Common women", glossing it as applicable to "Whores, Plyers in the Streets and at Bawdy Houses".<sup>23</sup> John Disney in 1729 distinguished frankly between "Common Whores" or "Common Prostitutes", and "the lewdnesse of (or with) unmarried Women, who are not Common Whores".<sup>24</sup> 'Prostitute' does appear occasionally as a noun, however; Ward for example characterises a "Jolly Town Rake" as one who "thinks all Women *Whores* excepting such that himself has made... his *Prostitutes*", while B.E. defines a "*Woman of the Town*, [as] a Lewd, common Prostitute".<sup>25</sup> Despite some questions of anachronism, I will therefore be using the term 'prostitute' to refer to women who engage in explicitly mercenary sex acts.

I use this term deliberately in order to foreground the woman's role as vendor of sexualised commodities. This enables me to consider the specific conditions of such exchanges, and follows the method employed by historians such as Lotte van de Pol and Laura Rosenthal.<sup>26</sup> This framework will also allow me to build on previous studies of the prostitute as an economic figure. The prominence of the 'sentimental whore' in the eighteenth century, for example, who is forced into prostitution by betrayal and/or financial desperation, has been read as a commentary on the evils of commercialism.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> B.E., *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (London: 1699), sig. D1<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Disney, *A View of the Ancient Laws*, sigs. A2<sup>v</sup>, D2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Ward, *The London Terræfilius: or, the Satyrical Reformer. Being Drolling Reflections on the Vices and Vanities of Both Sexes*. Five volumes (London: 1707), sigs. iii.A2<sup>v</sup>–A3<sup>r</sup>; B.E., sig. M8<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Van de Pol argues that "the words prostitution and prostitute may be used analytically; after all my theme is prostitution in the modern sense, although in an historical context" (6). See also Rosenthal *Infamous Commerce*, 6.

<sup>27</sup> On the eighteenth-century rise of the sentimental whore, see eg. Laura Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*; Randolph Trumbach, 'Modern Prostitution and Gender in *Fanny Hill*: Libertine and Domesticated Fantasy', in G.S. Rousseau & Roy Porter (eds.) *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 1987, pp.69-85; Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

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Much of the ambiguity around ‘prostitution’ as an analytical category in this period lies in its widespread use as an allegory for the mercantilism of other human relationships. This was most prominent in regard to marriages contracted for pecuniary reasons, but it was also evoked in the attempted sale of inalienable possessions in pursuits such as writing and acting, or the exchange of women as a means of facilitating male homosocial bonds. These areas have been considered extensively elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> Prostitution’s ties to satire on financial and political dissatisfaction found extreme expression in the Bawdy House Riots of 1668. These riots occurred over the five days following Easter Monday, and involved thousands of apprentices and other Londoners in attacks on brothels around the city.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Both the author and the “Strumpet”, in Ward’s view, were “exposing [their] *Reputations* to supply [their] *Necessities*”: *A Trip to Jamaica: With a True Character of the People and Island*. Fourth Edition (London: 1699), sig. A2’; original emphasis. As Kate Levin argues, the suggestion that publication constituted a form of prostitution continued even for men in the eighteenth century, with Cleland equating his own sense of commodification with his prostitute heroine Fanny Hill: Levin, “‘The Meanness of Writing for a Bookseller’”: John Cleland’s “Fanny” on the Market.’ *The Journal of Narrative Technique* 28.3 (1998), 330–331 and *passim*. See also Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women’s Writing 1649–88*, 1989 (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 156–160, and Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt, eds, *Write or Be Written: Early Modern Women Poets and Cultural Constraints* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Though domestic fictions stressed an ideal of “companionate”, rather than economically-driven marriages, they were still “for all ranks, the main means of transferring property, occupational status, personal contacts, money, tools, livestock, and women across generations and kin groups”: Margaret K. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 151. The wife’s dowry would often represent the most significant single influx of capital a young man could receive (Hunt, 152). See also Elin Diamond, ‘Gestus and Signature in Aphra Behn’s *The Rover*’, *ELH*, 56.3 (1989): 519–541.

On prostitution and the actress see below, note 52.

<sup>29</sup> On the discursive and practical links between these riots and prostitution, see Tim Harris, ‘The Bawdy House Riots of 1668’, *The Historical Journal* 29.3 (1986), 537–556; E.J. Burford, *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels c.100–1675* (London: Peter Owen, 1976), 118; Fergus Linnane, *Madams: Bawds and Brothel Keepers of London* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), 23; James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 165–166 and *passim*; Melissa M. Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660–1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Katherine Romack, ‘Striking the Posture of a Whore: The Bawdy House Riots and the “Antitheatrical Prejudice”’, *Genders* 50 (2009), np. Turner and Mowry extend their analyses here to the wider uses of prostitution in Restoration political and religious satires; on this, see further Rachel Weil, ‘Sometimes a Sceptre is only a Sceptre: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England’, in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone, 1993), 125–156; Julia Marciari Alexander and Catherine MacLeod, eds, *Politics, Transgression and Representation at the Court of Charles II*

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Katherine Romack reads the riots themselves and their representation as the result of “the alienated and objectified condition of laborers more generally”; prostitution is here, in Romack’s words, “not only a synecdoche for but *the privileged emblem* of a new economic and aesthetic order of things”.<sup>30</sup> By combining my own analysis of prostitution with that of the sale of living human body parts in plastic surgery, I build on these studies by placing prostitution within a more nuanced exploration of the limits of human corporal alienation and commoditisation in the early modern period.

‘Plastic surgery’ is also an anachronistic term that requires explication. There was no equivalent term in the early modern period for the range of procedures now understood to fall within this area, and historians such as Sander L. Gilman have employed this term knowingly.<sup>31</sup> Bernard, in his discussion of Tagliacozzi, borrowed the latter’s own title in referring to “those Operations which the *Greeks* call’d *Κολοβώματα*, or *Curtorum Chirurgia*”.<sup>32</sup> Tagliacozzi glossed “curtus” in *De curtorum chirurgia* as meaning both “short” and “mutilated or deformed”, and thus an apt parallel to Galen’s use of “*Κολοβώματα*” for “deformities of the lips, ears, and nose”.<sup>33</sup> The present application of ‘plastic’ surgery rests on its etymological source in the ancient Greek πλαστικός, meaning

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(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Alison Conway, *The Protestant Whore: Courtesan Narrative and Religious Controversy in England, 1680–1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

<sup>30</sup> Romack, 1.

<sup>31</sup> On the issue of ahistorical nomenclature in this field, see further Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 10–16.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Bernard, in William Wotton, *Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London: 1697), sig. Aa2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem*, 1597, trans. Joan H. Thomas (New York: Classics of Surgery Library, 1996), 54.

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that which may be moulded.<sup>34</sup> The term also broaches the divide between ‘aesthetic’ and ‘reconstructive’ surgery; aesthetic surgery is often stigmatised as unnecessary, with at most a benefit to the patient’s mental or emotional well-being, against the medicalised realm of reconstructive surgery.<sup>35</sup> While Tagliacozzi argued that his procedure was reconstructive, popular attacks framed the operation as aesthetic. My considered use of ‘plastic’ thus bridges this divide.

‘Rhinoplasty’ is also technically anachronistic. The first recorded use of ‘rhinoplasty’ in the *OED* is from 1828. In describing “Plastic surgery to reconstruct, repair, or alter the appearance of the nose”, however, it does seem the most fitting term.<sup>36</sup> Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) also gestured toward this terminology in his account of the procedure, in which he referred to Tagliacozzi as a “Rhinurgeon”.<sup>37</sup>

Throughout the thesis, I refer to the popular narrative about the Taliacotian nose as the story of the ‘sympathetic snout’, in order to distinguish it from Tagliacozzi’s actual allograft procedure. I take this phrase from Butler’s well-known account in *Hudibras*, in which he uses it to deride the ineffective new nose Tagliacozzi supposedly crafted from

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<sup>34</sup> ‘plastic, n. and adj.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press.  
<http://oed.com/view/Entry/145291?rkey=oWK41b&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 18 December 2009.

<sup>35</sup> There is extensive modern debate about this distinction. The American Society of Plastic Surgeons’ description of reconstructive surgery as procedures “performed on *abnormal* structures of the body”, while aesthetic operations are any modifications of “normal” appearing anatomical structures, as Diane Naugler highlights, invite careful scrutiny about the definition of the normal: Naugler, ‘Crossing the Cosmetic/Reconstructive Divide: The Instructive Situation of Breast Reduction Surgery’, in *Cosmetic Surgery: A Feminist Primer*, ed. Cressida J. Heyes and Meredith Jones (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 226.

<sup>36</sup> “rhinoplasty, n.”, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press.  
<http://oed.com/view/Entry/243669?redirectedFrom=rhinoplasty>, accessed 18 December 2009.

<sup>37</sup> Martha Teach Gnudi and Jerome Pierce Webster, *The Life and Times of Gaspare Tagliacozzi Surgeon of Bologna 1545–1599* (New York: Herbert Reichner, 1950), 294.

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another man's flesh.<sup>38</sup> The medical doctrine of 'sympathy' proposed communication between bodies whose products came into contact, even if the people *in toto* did not. This doctrine was promoted by medical writers such as Johannes Baptista van Helmont (1579–1644), Robert Fludd (1574–1637), and Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665), and held that bodies could communicate with their parts in spite of distance. This enabled doctors to treat their patients by focussing on a sample of blood, or on the weapon that had wounded them, usually through application of a "sympathetic powder" or "weapon-salve". Sympathy thus explained the actions of *any* body part remote from its owner, including the death of the nose.

I read the representation of medical sympathy, and particularly its engagement with the economic body in 'sympathetic snout' texts as exposing the tension intrinsic to an individual's relationship to his or her own body. The body's liability to 'sins of the flesh' stood between each individual and salvation, while its vulnerability to disease could lead men like King Lear to fear their lack of control and self-containment. Speaking to Goneril, Lear flirts with forgiveness in considering that "yet thou art my flesh, my blood, my daughter", before turning in scorn to clarify that she is "rather a disease that's in my flesh, / Which I must needs call mine".<sup>39</sup> The flesh was an area of particular concern, since its unificatory power was almost axiomatic. Husband and wife became "one flesh" in Genesis 2:24. Children were one's "flesh and blood". The commoditisation of living flesh thus represented a particularly fraught transaction.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Butler, *Hudibras*, l.i.280.

<sup>39</sup> William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. Burton Raffel (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), II.iv.217–218; my emphasis.

<sup>40</sup> The notion that all body parts are not equal is still vividly demonstrated today by reticence over which sections of the body can be transplanted. Fay Bound Alberti remarks, for example, that "the first human-to-

The manipulation of behaviours, physical attributes, and emotional scripts that are read as indicative of particular identifications and identities enables the person or group to access an individual or collective identity to which they are not normatively qualified to belong. Success in this venture is termed 'passing'. I take passing from modern 'identity' criticism, and use it to indicate the "transgression... of cultural boundaries", and the movement that enables "escaping the subordination and oppression accompanying one identity and accessing the privileges and status of the other."<sup>41</sup> The politics of passing impact upon not only the individual's relationship with the group(s) between which they move, but also makes manifest cultural anxieties around the legitimacy and arbitrariness of these distinctions.<sup>42</sup> I take an economic approach to this question, in considering the means by which successful passing provides the individual with enhanced access to social capital.<sup>43</sup> In particular, I consider the extent to which the sexualities of the prostitute and

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human heart transplant, was a watershed moment because it showed that the heart had to be secularised, it had to have all its religious and symbolic significance taken away in order to be cut out of the body and placed into another human being, and it's only by sort of 'disembodying' the heart, if you like, that it can be regarded as an organ in that way": *Heartbreak Science*, dir. Russell Vines; SBS Television Australia, aired 26 December 2010.

More recent has been the controversy over full facial transplantations. As Peter Rowe, chairman of the ethical committee of the British Transplantation Society notes of the victims of significant facial injuries, "The main problem in these people is coming to terms with their new appearance. And they'd have to come to terms with a new appearance anyway. So why are you doing it? If they have to come to terms with a new identity they may as well come to terms with their altered identity as with someone else's identity.... Then there is the disfigurement of the potential donor. One has a duty to respect corpses. They were once living people and one should treat a corpse with respect. All these things are arguable, but they are likely to cause profound disquiet among a substantial sector of the population, we feel": Tim Radford, 'Scientists prepare to turn fiction into fact with first full-face transplant', *The Guardian*, 27 May 2004, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/may/27/highereducation.health>, accessed 21 January 2011.

<sup>41</sup> Elaine K. Ginsberg, 'Introduction: The Politics of Passing', in *Passing and the Fictions of Identity*, ed. Ginsberg (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 1, 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. Sander L. Gilman also reads Jewish engagement with rhinoplasty as an aspect of passing: *Creating Beauty to Cure the Soul: Race and Psychology in the Shaping of Aesthetic Surgery* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1998).

<sup>43</sup> Definitions of social capital vary, but I use it in the common sense in which it encompasses "the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and



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the syphilitic affected their access to social capital, in light of queer economics' insight into the extent to which this can be regulated and restricted on the basis of sexual behaviours and identities.<sup>44</sup> Because the pox was a particularly shameful disease, the patient's effective concealment of it enhanced his or her reputation. This rendered the medical knowledge that would facilitate this concealment *itself* shameful, and contributes strongly to my discussion of its suppression. For Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), "the Value or WORTH of a man, is as of all other things, his Price; that is to say, so much as would be given for the use of his Power".<sup>45</sup> The Marquis of Halifax, for one, emphasised that reputation played a key role in this worth. Writing to his daughter on a wife's role in household management, he stressed that "It is not only his [the husband's] *Money*, his *Credit* too is at Stake": the reputation (credit) maintained through the appearance of capacity for consumption is as important as the money itself.<sup>46</sup> A man's value is as much in his symbolic capital as his material wealth.<sup>47</sup> The passing of the prostitute for a modest woman (or, in some cases, simply a higher level of prostitute), and that of the syphilitic whose nose has been reconstructed produce crises in this regulation. The most effective passing could command the ultimate price: marriage. When Galliard thinks he has

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the assets that may be mobilized through that network": Janine Nahapiet and Sumantra Ghoshal, 'Social Capital, Intellectual Capital, and the Organizational Advantage', *The Academy of Management Review* 23.2 (1998), 243.

<sup>44</sup> Joyce Jacobsen and Adam Zeller propose the term "queer economics" for the body of economic analysis that interrogates "the effects of heteronormativity both on economic outcomes and on economics as a discipline": 'Introduction', in *Queer Economics: A Reader*, ed. Jacobsen and Zeller (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 2. See further M.V. Lee Badgett and Rhonda M. Williams, 'The Economics of Sexual Orientation: Establishing a Research Agenda', 1992, in *Queer Economics: A Reader*, ed. Jacobsen and Zeller (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 13.

<sup>45</sup> *Leviathan* (1651), original emphasis; in Radin, 6.

<sup>46</sup> Korda, 'Household Kates', 123. On the importance of 'the money itself', however, see Curtis Perry, 'Commerce, Community, and Nostalgia in *The Comedy of Errors*', in *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*, ed. Linda Woodbridge (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 40.

<sup>47</sup> Korda, 'Household Kates', 123.

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uncovered Cornelia's true identity in *The Feign'd Curtizans*—that of a low but honest woman, posing as a courtesan, who then poses as a woman of quality—he tells Fillamour,

Death the whore took me, for some Amorous English Elder Brother! and was for  
Matrimony in the devils name! thought me a loving fool, that nere had seen so  
glorious a sight before! and wou'd at any rate enjoy! ... And to advance her price,  
set up for Quality! nay swore she was a Maid! and that she did but Act the  
Curtizan!<sup>48</sup>

By attempting to access marriage through passing, Cornelia challenges the capacity of men such as Galliard to distinguish 'honest' women from whores. The dramatic irony here is that this version of Cornelia's identity is actually the "true" one, and she has in a sense double-passed: unbeknown to Fillamour, Cornelia is in fact the noblewoman with whom he is in love, and who he wants to marry. As I discuss in Chapter Two, the revelation of pox led directly to a drop in the money that individual prostitutes could command, and the services they could provide, as they could be sidelined into lower-paying fetish work (particularly flagellation), the shamefulness of which made them explicitly un-marriageable.

The category of passing thus intersects with my interrogation of shame in the early modern period, in discerning shameful categories and identifications from which people endeavour to pass out of, attitudes toward this behaviour, and the formulation of specific communities predicated on a rejection of passing. The category of passing is also applicable to the products and services these individuals are attempting to 'pass off' as more valuable than they really are. This applies to the commodity exchange *The London*

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<sup>48</sup> Aphra Behn, *The Feign'd Curtizans, Or, A Nights Intrigue* (London: 1679), sig. H4<sup>v</sup>.

*Jilt's* Cornelia offers to Valere under the guise of a gift relationship, for example, or the quack who provides his patient with a new nose that—in the narrative logic of the ‘sympathetic snout’—can only be temporary.

Passing, whether as healthy, as respectable, or in the case of the prostitutes, simply as an effective whore, requires performance. Ties between prostitution and the Restoration theatre have been studied extensively elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> This is therefore not my focus. Nevertheless, I draw on these previous analyses in interpreting the eroticised spectacles available for purchase, and discuss representations of prostitution and the ‘sympathetic snout’ in dramatic texts. The vocabulary of performance permeates my thesis, and is one I am using in the manner now familiar to studies of early modern imposture and ‘self-fashioning’.<sup>50</sup> In prostitutional exchanges that require the woman to act in a certain way, I read these performances as part of the prostitutes’ “emotional labour”.<sup>51</sup> This is particularly so for the production of satisfying BDSM (Bondage, Dominance, Sadism, Masochism) “scenes”, a term I borrow from current BDSM to describe the particular *mise-en-scène* constructed for a period of activity. I distinguish

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<sup>49</sup> eg. Katharine Eisaman Maus, “‘Playhouse Flesh and Blood’: Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress”, *ELH* 46.4 (1979): 595–617; Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Joseph Lenz, ‘Base Trade: Theatre as Prostitution’, *ELH* 60.4 (1993), 833–855; Laura Rosenthal, “‘Counterfeit Scrubbado’: Women Actors in the Restoration”, *The Eighteenth Century* 34. 1 (1993): 3–22; Kimberly Crouch, ‘The Public Life of Actresses: Prostitutes or Ladies’, in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London and New York: Longman, 1997): 58–78.

<sup>50</sup> On female self-fashioning in the seventeenth century see for example Mary Jo Kietzman, *The Self-Fashioning of an Early Modern Englishwoman: Mary Carleton’s Lives* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). Kietzman reads the “self-serialization” of Mary Carleton—who became infamous in the Restoration for bigamy and her feigned identity as the ‘German Princess’—both on and off stage as a “sequence of performances” (3).

<sup>51</sup> Arlie Russell Hochschild discussed this in relation to flight attendants selling their “emotional labor... the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value”: *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 7; original emphasis.

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these performances from the *performative* use of shame within acts that depend upon specific structures and scripts in the whole texts.

Tension today about what can and cannot be commoditised usually focuses—to take Radin’s study as exemplary—on the three areas of sex, body products, and reproduction (paid surrogacy or adoption).<sup>52</sup> Mauss first focussed this question of what can be commoditised, and what can only be given as a gift, noting that this will vary considerably in different times, cultures and circumstances. In the Maussian model, gifts are distinguished from commodities by their “personal value”:

they are never completely alienated from those who made them or gave them.

Gift exchange is intended to create a sense of social obligation... But in more commodified transactions... the relationships between things and their transactors are more independent, incurring little or no social debt. In treating something as a commodity, the residual interests of other people can be denied, and the object appropriated.<sup>53</sup>

As a gift, “the object transacted is not an entity independent from those who give it. Instead, it bears the identity of the giver, and after it is given it bears as well the identity of the recipient and of the relationship between recipient and giver”.<sup>54</sup> In this way, it can become a “possession” (in James G. Carrier’s schema, it is “appropriated”), and both the person and the object, and the people involved in the transaction, can enter a

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<sup>52</sup> Radin, *Contested Commodities: The Trouble with Trade in Sex, Children, Body Parts and Other Things* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

<sup>53</sup> Warwick Anderson, 714.

<sup>54</sup> James G. Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism Since 1700* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 9.

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“relationship of identity”.<sup>55</sup> In contrast, a commodity “is not linked in any significant, personal way to the transactors: it is an alienable and impersonal property”; by extension, the people involved in a commodity relationship are not linked beyond the duration of the exchange itself, and are in no “relationship of identity” with either the object or each other.<sup>56</sup>

The second main concern for Mauss was the effect of this exchange on the relationship of the gift’s source(s) and recipient(s). Parties to a gift relationship, he argues, are obliged to give, receive, and reciprocate, in order to maintain their social bond.<sup>57</sup> The prostitutes establish relationships by gifting what they would otherwise commodify (sex, or even company). The bawds warn their girls not to become so emotionally involved as to give away what they should be charging for, and they cast such actions—in this particular “emotional community”—as a cause for shame.<sup>58</sup> In contrast, shame arises outside this community where sex/intimacy that is gifted as a gesture toward a relationship (usually marriage) is instead commoditised and paid for in an attempt to sever further connection. Tension also arises when products that one group will only offer or accept as gifts are commoditised by another, or an outsider.<sup>59</sup> To demonstrate the prevalence of these

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 10–11.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>57</sup> Mauss, 13–14.

<sup>58</sup> Barbara Rosenwein outlined her influential analytical model of “emotional communities” in ‘Worrying about Emotions in History’, *American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002), 821–845.

<sup>59</sup> I use the term “gifted” to emphasise the specific Maussian conditions of the *gift* exchange here, in lieu of the more ambiguous “given”, which indicates transfer but does not necessarily preclude payment: ‘give, v.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/78553?rskey=HG8ceh&result=3&isAdvanced=false>, accessed June 22, 2013. Cf. ‘gift, v’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/78178?rskey=EIVnab&result=3&isAdvanced=false>, accessed June 22, 2013.

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patterns in representations of prostitution, I perform a close reading of *The London Jilt*, which synthesises a number of scenarios and characters prevalent throughout early modern European prostitution literature.

I argue that prostitution and the sale of living human flesh in rhinoplasty texts are framed as attempts to sell “inalienable possessions”. In such transactions, Carrier explains, “objects are not alienated from the transactors. Instead, the object given continues to be identified with the giver and indeed continues to be identified with the transaction itself”.<sup>60</sup> The Apostle Paul had literalised this relationship with the prostitute in the first letter to the Corinthians, asking “know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is one body? for two... shall be one flesh”.<sup>61</sup> “Sheer property,” in contrast, “is without identity, which makes it alienable”.<sup>62</sup> Inalienable possessions, as Annette B. Weiner details, are “imbued with the intrinsic and ineffable identities of their owners”, and thus carry a “subjective value that place[s] them above exchange value”.<sup>63</sup> Attempts to purchase inalienable possessions are thus claims to their “honour and renown”.<sup>64</sup> I draw upon Weiner’s analysis in order to read the exchange of shameful possessions (especially pox) as an acquisition of their *dishonour* and shame.

Any exchange entered into on the basis of inalienable possessions will be foolish, since uneven. Adam Smith later highlighted this folly in the noblemen who traded the

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Warwick Anderson provides a vivid twentieth-century example of the Fore tribe of New Guinea, whose relationship with medical scientists studying kuru brains disintegrated as the scientists attempted to commoditise as medical specimens what the tribesmen would only offer as gifts (728–729, and *passim*).

<sup>60</sup> Carrier, 20–21.

<sup>61</sup> I Corinthians 6:16.

<sup>62</sup> Carrier, 27.

<sup>63</sup> Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 35.

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inalienable wealth of their honour and birthright for the “trinkets and baubles” of merchants.<sup>65</sup> This is a pattern criticised throughout the early modern period, as each young heir, “turn[s] his *Country Dirt* into *Ready Money*”, and squanders his natural rights and wealth on the gaudy pleasures of the city.<sup>66</sup> In *The London Jilt*, Cornelia mocks the men who, “to satisfie the desire of a little Bit of Flesh... proceed to the losing their Estates, their Reputations, and all they have dearest in the World, and undergo, and forget all manner of Affronts”.<sup>67</sup> This is most ardently so for those men who “[suffer] themselves to be ashamed and affronted a thousand times a day” by the prostitutes, thus irretrievably injuring their honour.<sup>68</sup>

For women, too, honour—which for them was a specifically sexual honour—receives poor recompense in the dresses, praise, coins and fripperies offered by their gentlemen (or bawd) seducers.<sup>69</sup> Cornelia berates the “poor innocent Creatures, who for a Gown, a Crape Manteau, or some such like thing, abandon thus their Honour and their Liberty after a most piteous manner”.<sup>70</sup> As Fainall in *The Way of the World* (1700) reasons, “I’d no more play with a man that slighted his ill fortune than I’d make love to a woman who undervalued the loss of her reputation”.<sup>71</sup> Ward also warns women to “learn

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<sup>65</sup> *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), in Weiner, 35–36.

<sup>66</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. D4<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>67</sup> *London Jilt*, 160.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Ward, for example, speaks of a woman’s “Honour and Vertue as... like the Light of *Glow-worm*... only seated in her Tail” (*London Terræfilius*, sig. v.D1<sup>f</sup>).

<sup>70</sup> *London Jilt*, 98.

<sup>71</sup> William Congreve, *The Way of the World*, 1700, ed. Kathleen M. Lynch (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), l.i.7–9.

themselves to prize what we admire”.<sup>72</sup> Conversely, Mandeville noted, a woman who was trying to get a man to marry her would “bribe his After-Love, by the great Value she seems to put upon her Chastity before she makes him a Present of it”.<sup>73</sup> The honour that is here recognised as properly beyond price to sell, is hoped, too, to be beyond price to purchase.

As Charles Hinnant notes, no services were entirely understood as alienable commodities in the early modern period.<sup>74</sup> Engaging with the specificity of prostitution as an exchange of sexualised commodities is necessary, since unlike writing, or street vending, or almost any other form of labour, sex work caused in the early modern period—as now—a unique level of concern. As Debra Satz notes, “essentialists hold that there is something intrinsic to the sphere of sex and intimacy that accounts for the distinction we mark between it and other types of labor”, primarily through a link between sex and the self, and as a detriment to “human flourishing”.<sup>75</sup> However, as Satz, Radin, Martha Nussbaum and others argue, there is a difficult line in this approach between the commoditisation of sexual services—where it is consensual, and performed by adults—and that of other monotonous or degrading work.<sup>76</sup>

I am very aware of the differences affecting attempts at ‘rational economic’ approaches to sexuality and prostitution in the contemporary period considered by these critics, and early modern England. Prostitution and the experiences of prostitutes differ

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<sup>72</sup> Ward, *The Secret History of Clubs* (London: 1709), sig. U5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Bernard Mandeville, *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*, 1724, ed. Irwin Primer (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 79.

<sup>74</sup> Hinnant, ‘Gifts and Wages: The Structures of Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Fiction and Drama.’ *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42.1 (2008), 3.

<sup>75</sup> Debra Satz, ‘Markets in Women’s Sexual Labour’, *Ethics* 106.1 (1995), 70. See also Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988).

<sup>76</sup> Satz, *Ibid*; Radin, *op. cit.*; Martha C. Nussbaum “‘Whether From Reason or Prejudice’: Taking Money for Bodily Services.’ *The Journal of Legal Studies* 27.2 (1998), 704–705.



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widely between historical periods, cultures, and the status of the women involved. Satz, for example, criticises Richard Posner’s characterisation of a modern rapist—within the “sex and marriage ‘market’” model—as a “sex thief”, citing the “qualitative differences” between one’s body and other fungible property such as a car.<sup>77</sup> As historians of rape have shown, however, during the early modern period rape *was* classed as a property offence. The ‘thief’ was answerable to the woman’s male guardian—usually her father or husband—and financial restitution could be deemed appropriate.<sup>78</sup>

In the patriarchal seventeenth century, a woman’s entry into a prostitudinal economy is fraught with the question of whether she’s selling (or giving away) something that doesn’t really belong to her anyway. That is, virginity was something to be used to profit the father in being able to *give* his daughter in marriage.<sup>79</sup> In some texts this is directly addressed, as the bawds try to convince the girls that their ‘commodities’ are their own to manage. In a sophistic argument, the bawd of *The Honest London Spy* (1725) reasons that,

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<sup>77</sup> Satz, 69.

<sup>78</sup> Rhonda Y. Ntepp, ‘Rape, Theories of’, *Encyclopedia of Victimology and Crime Prevention*, ed. Bonnie S. Fisher and Steven P. Lab (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2010), 729–733, *SAGE Reference Online*, accessed 28 June 2012. Keith Thomas first elaborated the early modern “double standard” that rendered women more culpable than men for extramarital sex, on the grounds that “men have property in women and... the value of this property is immeasurably diminished if the woman at any time has sexual relations with anyone other than her husband”: ‘The Double Standard’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20.2 (1959), 210. Catherine Belsey explores the manner in which rape can suggest “the expropriability of all property” in her reading of *The Rape of Lucrece*: ‘Tarquin Dispossessed: Expropriation and Consent in “The Rape of Lucrece”’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 52.3 (2001), 318.

<sup>79</sup> Women functioned as “the supreme gift” in Claude Lévi-Strauss’ *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, 1949, trans. James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer and Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon, 1969). See also Gayle Rubin, ‘The Traffic in Women: Notes on the ‘Political Economy’ of Sex’, in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157–210; Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

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There's many a Woman has been called a Whore, and yet has not been Dishonest: She that is Married, and lies with another Woman's Husband...is properly dishonest; for she disposes of that which is none of her own; for she has given her self to her Husband, and therefore cannot dispose of her self without his License: But she that is single, and lies with another Man, can't be call'd Dishonest; for she disposes of nothing but what is her own.<sup>80</sup>

By luring the girl into prostitution, the bawd removes her from the marital economy wherein she is usefully confined to “subsidized (and culturally conspicuous) nonproductivity”.<sup>81</sup> That these arguments are given to the shameful bawds are supposed to be direct indictments of their validity.

Along with sexual services, the human body and its parts represent the other areas most fraught with tension around commoditisation today. Blood remains the most visible body part (*pace* scandalous stories of organ theft in exotic locations), following Richard Titmuss' foundational work in *The Gift Relationship* (1970).<sup>82</sup> Human blood was not in great demand in early modern England, although at the close of the seventeenth century the Royal Society was beginning to experiment with blood transfusions and skin

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<sup>80</sup> *The Honest London Spy* (London: 1725), sig. A8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Natasha Korda, 'Household Kates: Domesticating Commodities in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47.2 (1996), 114.

<sup>82</sup> Richard M. Titmuss, *The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), 12. A more recent example is the patenting of genes. The research bodies who desire to patent genes argue that they should be able to recoup funding spent in identifying them, but there is widespread distaste from others about this capacity for ownership of body parts.

Organisations responsible for sourcing human blood and organs for transplantation still routinely construct them as “the greatest gifts”. For a recent investigation of the role of gift characterisation in these areas, see Kieran Healy, *Last Best Gifts: Altruism and the Market for Human Blood and Organs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

transplants between dogs.<sup>83</sup> The Frenchman Jean Baptiste Denis performed the first human blood transfusion in 1667, extracting it from a lamb. Though his patient died, the practice was repeated internationally, with the result that “so many deaths were caused that it was made illegal in France, England and Italy, and in 1678 the Pope forbade it”.<sup>84</sup> Human blood was never suggested for the procedure, but other bodily products were marketed for various purposes in the period. I discuss the commodification of flesh in the purchase of skin grafts within this context.

In Chapter One, I ask exactly what was on sale, or for hire, in early modern prostitution. As Laura J. Rosenthal highlights, “the very question of the commodity—of what exactly the vendor exchanges for money—has long vexed discussions of prostitution”.<sup>85</sup> Synecdochically, the women were ‘commodities’ through the popular use of this term for the female genitals.<sup>86</sup> As commercialised bodies, the prostitutes become indistinguishable from the commodities that they employ to make themselves marketable; they are composed entirely of items “either Painted, Bought, or Stol’n”.<sup>87</sup> Thus, their own flesh and excrements—in its broad early modern sense denoting anything

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<sup>83</sup> Neither were very successful. On the experiments with blood transfusion, see Titmuss, 17, and the account given by Samuel Pepys on November 14, 1665: *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1976). On the attempts to transfer skin and hair between dogs, and cocks’ combs between each other, see T.J.S. Patterson ‘Experimental Skin Grafts in England, 1663–64’, *British Journal of Plastic Surgery* 22.4 (1969), 384–385.

<sup>84</sup> Titmuss, 17–18.

<sup>85</sup> ‘The Whore’s Estate: Sally Salisbury, Prostitution, and Property in Eighteenth-Century London’, in *Women, Property, and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England*, ed. Nancy E. Wright, Margaret W. Ferguson, A.R. Buck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 107.

<sup>86</sup> Gordon Williams provides numerous examples of ‘commodity’ for both the genitals and/or the woman, particularly in a commercialised context, from the late sixteenth century: *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* (Atlantic Highlands: Athlone, 1994), 281–283.

<sup>87</sup> John Dunton, *Bumography: or, a Touch at the Ladys Tails* (London: 1707), sigs. C4<sup>r</sup>, B2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

from the body, including hair, teeth, urine, faeces, and genital fluids—enter into the same economy as their silk patches, gowns, false hair, etc, and circulate in ways designed to reflect their commoditised selves and community.<sup>88</sup> The ‘body natural’ is eclipsed by the ‘body commercial’. Disease, too, as Jonathan Gil Harris argues, becomes commoditised and exchanged within this community and with outsiders, who trade it for both their coins and their own bodily excrements.<sup>89</sup> With careful regard to the role of shame in these texts, I consider how these ostensibly worthless commodities are revalued within a shameful economy. My discussion centres on a close reading of *The London Jilt*, which was published anonymously and with great success in London in 1683. The novel passed for an original English text until Dutch historian Lotte van de Pol identified it as an adaptation of *D’Openhertige Juffrouw, of d’ontdekte geveinsdheid* (‘The Outspoken Damsel, or Hypocrisy Unmasked’), which was published in Amsterdam in 1680–1681.<sup>90</sup> I discuss the novel within a range of original and adapted texts circulating in London at this time, in order to uncover relevant discourses of prostitution.

The passions also enter into the economy of prostitution as something that may be bought, sold, or traded. In Chapter Two I draw on methodologies employed in the ‘history of the emotions’ to examine shame and shaming within this economy, shame as a definitional marker of the ‘true whore’ (and thus indicator of her value), and shame’s commoditisation—shame as something that, in the form of erotic humiliation, the

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<sup>88</sup> ‘excrement n<sup>1</sup> and n<sup>2</sup>’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/65885?rkey=ZBtZ1j&result=2&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 13 November 2010.

<sup>89</sup> ‘[Po]X Marks the Spot: How to ‘Read’ ‘Early Modern’ ‘Syphilis’ in *The Three Ladies of London*’, in *Sins of the Flesh: Responses to Sexually Transmitted Disease in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Kevin Siena (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2005), 109–132; and *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare’s England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 29–51 and *passim*.

<sup>90</sup> Van de Pol, 10.

## Introduction

prostitutes could trade in. I therefore look specifically at fictional and archival representations of purchased and prescribed humiliation practices, especially flagellation. To explore shame in this period I examine evidence within early modern sources to excavate shame's "emotionology".<sup>91</sup> I also test theories of shame postulated by queer theorists such as Sedgwick, and particularly the transhistorical possibilities of Douglas Crimp's "collectivities of the shamed".<sup>92</sup> The second part of Chapter Two focuses on the figure of the bawd, as commodity-turned-vendor in her shift from whoring herself to whoring others, and her increased representation as a shameless, legibly deviant body. The rise of the shameless bawd, I argue, facilitates the rise of the vocally-ashamed sentimental whore in the eighteenth century, as both outside sources and "repenting harlots" increasingly attribute their downfall to "insinuating bawds".<sup>93</sup> This ensured, as Sophie Carter argues, that women still "bore full moral responsibility for the phenomenon of urban prostitution".<sup>94</sup>

The bawd interrupts the "patriarchal imperative of marital alliance, and with it the transmission of property and the reproduction of children" that Valerie Traub in her study

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<sup>91</sup> "Emotionology" was defined by Peter N. and Carol Z. Stearns as "the attitude or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression [and] ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct": 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review*, 90.4 (1985), 813.

<sup>92</sup> Sedgwick, 'Shame, Theatricality, and Queer Performativity: Henry James's *The Art of the Novel*', 1993, in *Gay Shame*, ed. David M. Halperin and Valerie Traub (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Crimp, 'Mario Montez, For Shame', 2002, in *Gay Shame*, ed. Halperin and Traub (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 72.

<sup>93</sup> Ward (attributed), *The Insinuating Bawd: and the Repenting Harlot* (London: 1700).

<sup>94</sup> *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 110. Current sex work advocates such as Laura Agustin also argue that overemphasis on sex trafficking and coercion denies agency to women voluntarily working in the industry, who are deemed incapable of having made an informed decision to enter into sex work: 'The Naked Anthropologist', <http://www.lauraagustin.com/>. See also Jill Nagle, ed., *Whores and Other Feminists* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

identifies as the crux of concern about female same-sex desire in the early modern period.<sup>95</sup> In Chapter Two I consider this interruption alongside a regard for the homoerotics of bawd/prostitute relationships in these texts, and their relation to more frequently considered models of female same-sex eroticism of the early modern period, such as the masculine tribade, and the romantic friend.<sup>96</sup> This became increasingly explicit in accounts—pornographic or otherwise—of prostitutes’ training and careers, such as in the seduction of Fanny Hill by “the hackney’d, thoroughbred Phoebe, to whom all modes and devices of pleasure were known and familiar”.<sup>97</sup> I argue that it is the shamelessness (and indeed, pleasure) with which the bawd seduces the woman into a shameful, economic relation to sexuality that enables her to be read as a “queer” early modern figure.

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<sup>95</sup> *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 181.

<sup>96</sup> The tribade was a semi-monstrous, exotic, masculinised woman, often with an enlarged clitoris that enabled her to penetrate her partner. There has been substantial work on the tribade figure (and her close associate, the hermaphrodite) in recent years, especially since, as Sarah Toulalan notes, “The tribade in particular is representative of how erotic contact between women in this period, and in a phallogocentric culture, was imagined”: *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 138. See also Traub, *op. cit.*; Harriette Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-Sex Literary Erotics, 1550–1714* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); and Katharine Park, ‘The Rediscovery of the Clitoris: French Medicine and the Tribade, 1570–1620’, in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997), 171–193.

The romantic or eroticised friend is most evident in the passionate, but largely asexualised poetics of writers such as Aphra Behn, Katherine Phillips, and Margaret Cavendish.

<sup>97</sup> John Cleland, *Fanny Hill, or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure, 1748–1749* (Ware: Wordsworth, 2000), 17. So common did these scenes become, that the great nineteenth-century pornography bibliographer Henry Spencer Ashbee complained of their tedium in his *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (1877). See for example his comments on *L’Ecole des Biches ou Moeurs des Petites Dames de ce Temps* (1863): “Ce livre est assez bien écrit, mais monotone à la lecture. C’est la répétition de toutes les poses que l’on trouve dans tous les livres de ce genre. Pour qu’un pareil livre se fasse lire sans ennui, il faut qu’il y ait une intrigue, des événements, une histoire enfin, comme dans la “P’utain errante,” “l’Ecole des filles,” et autres semblables” (“This book is well enough written, but dull to read. There is a repetition of all the poses which are found in all books of this type. For a book such as this to be read without boredom, there must be a plot, events, a story, as in the “Putain errante” the “l’Ecole des filles” and others like them.”): *Bibliography of Prohibited Books: Bio-bibliographical and Critical Notes on Curious, Uncommon and Erotic Books, 1877–1885* (New York: Brussel, 1962), i.196; trans. Rachael White, email message to author, 27 July 2008.

## Introduction

In Chapter Three I add to current scholarship on the history of rhinoplasty in the early modern period. I demonstrate that the procedure was inextricably linked with the reconstruction of a nose that had been lost to syphilis and its mercurial treatments. Because of its association with the pox, the absent nose had become an ubiquitous shorthand for lewdness. It is employed by William Hogarth, for example, in his depiction of Moll Hackabout's syphilitic bunter in *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), while John Dunton joked that "few that Whore have any NOSE to show".<sup>98</sup> So great was the level of shame attached to this procedure's ability to enable the syphilitic to pass as both healthy and morally respectable that the operation was heavily stigmatised, and is not likely to have been performed. I contradict current histories, however, in showing that while the surgery was probably not practiced, medical knowledge of it did not disappear. Instead, a complete English translation of Tagliacozzi's *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem* was published in London in 1687 and 1696, attached to the collected works of the notable Scottish surgeon, Alexander Read: *Chirurgorum Comes: or, the Whole Practice of Chirurgery. Begun by the Learned Dr Read; Continued and Completed By a Member of the College of Physicians in London*.<sup>99</sup> A detailed book history of this text will serve to assess the circulation of the procedure in medical discourse. Considering the special role of the nose as—in Marcus Nevitt's phrase—a "synecdoche of shame", and particularly sexual shame, will also nuance

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<sup>98</sup> Hogarth, *Hogarth: The Complete Engravings*, ed. Joseph Burke and Colin Caldwell (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1968), 136–137; see Figures 12 and 13. Dunton, *Bumography*, sig. G3<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis. Gilman has extensively examined this stigma in the nineteenth century, which he considers the "age of syphilophobia": *Creating*, 34; see also *Making*, 49 and *passim*.

<sup>99</sup> Gnudi and Webster include the 'Read' translation in their book but do not make any further claims for the text.

our understanding of the level of shame attached to the pox in the seventeenth century, and the role of this emotion in medicine during the period.<sup>100</sup>

Having demonstrated the continuance of professional knowledge of rhinoplasty proper, I turn in Chapter Four to discuss what was instead the overwhelmingly dominant discourse about Tagliacozzi's method. The story of the 'sympathetic snout' had its roots in Tagliacozzi's own lifetime, but developed significantly over the seventeenth-century in poems, plays and pseudo-scientific texts, until its inclusion in *Hudibras* solidified its domination of Tagliacozzi's legend. Invariably, the new nose in these accounts would prove ineffectual. This was either due to a mismatched skin tone, so that "it was visible, that the Features of [the patient's] Face *were not Fellows*", and/or through dying when its donor did due to a phenomenon known as 'sympathy', as in *Hudibras*: "when the date of nock was out, / Off dropped the sympathetic snout".<sup>101</sup> The patient's fraud was revealed, and he was open again to shame. The only English exception to the purchased graft is contained in a poem by Lady Hester Pulter, in which she offers to *gift* her flesh to Sir William Davenant, and I consider this poem in detail. Pulter's poem epitomises the manner in which 'sympathetic snout' accounts, and where texts, problematise an economy in which personal value—in its broadest sense—is itself both shamefully deceptive and available for purchase.

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<sup>100</sup> Nevitt, 'The Insults of Defeat: Royalist Responses to Sir William Davenant's *Gondibert* (1651)', *The Seventeenth Century* 24.2 (2009), 295.

<sup>101</sup> 'A Dissertation Upon Noses', in *A Solution of the Question, Where the Swallow, Nightingale, Woodcock, Fieldfare, Stork, Cuckow, and other Birds of Passage Go, and Reside, when absent from us. With the Travels of a Shilling, and a Dissertation upon Noses* (London: 1733), sig. A7<sup>v</sup>, original emphasis; Butler, l.i.283–284.



## **“Selling what they ought to give”: Selling Sex and Valuing the Body in *The London Jilt*.**

In this chapter I examine attempts to commoditise sexual acts in texts of the late Stuart period. I argue that this is a productive means by which an analytical category of “prostitution” can be separated from the moralistic designation of “whoredom”, which was applied to a wide range of behaviours in early modern England. This period marked a shift away from the “whore” driven by sexual desire, to the prostitute driven by financial motives, and I focus on texts that engage specifically with the commission of sexual acts for commercial benefit. I look in particular at the anonymous novel *The London Jilt: or, The Politick Whore* (1683), in which the prostitute heroine and narrator, Cornelia, is frank about the financial motivations for her activities.<sup>1</sup> Though, as Lotte van de Pol remarks, the text has proven “a favourite of historians of seventeenth-century England”, Charles H. Hinnant’s 2008 annotated edition of the novel is as yet the only serious critical engagement with the book’s literary merits.<sup>2</sup> I place the sale of sexual acts within the broader exchange economies of *The London Jilt* and similar whore texts, and consider the attribution of value to objects that are traded within these textual communities. I employ the distinction made by economic anthropologists, following the work of Marcel Mauss,

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<sup>1</sup> *The London Jilt: or, The Politick Whore. Shewing all the Artifices and Strategems which the Ladies of Pleasure make use of for the intreaguing and Decoying of Men; Interwoven with severall Pleasant Stories of the Misses Ingenious Performances*, 1683, ed. Charles H. Hinnant (Peterborough: Broadview, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Van de Pol, 12.

between the “commodity” and the “gift”, and consider how the prostitutes and their customers attempt to use this distinction in steering their relationships.

I argue, however, that the texts work against the women’s attempts to commoditise sexual acts as alienable services. These services are instead constructed as the outputs of inalienable possessions—such as honour—that thus implicate the women *in toto* in the exchange. The women are themselves commoditised, and become indistinguishable from the commodities they use to both facilitate their trade, and (fraudulently) increase their symbolic capital. The prostitutes’ (and in some cases, their clients’) attempts to pass in guises that will provide them with greater access to social capital fail, and they are open again to shaming mechanisms designed to reiterate their true value to themselves and spectators. In Chapter Two I discuss the usability of Douglas Crimp’s concept of the “collectivity of the shamed” when speaking of the emotional communities in which the prostitutes, syphilitics, and other early modern ‘others’ operated. In this chapter I argue that one of the effects of this revaluation of the “world of norms” is economic: it produces a “shameful economy”, in which value is attributed in different ways. I suggest that this is evident not only in the whores’ devaluation of sexual honour, but more remarkably in the attribution of value to those parts of the body that were *most* worthless and shameful. Bodily excrements and base passions (especially humiliation) are rendered separable but inalienable products, and given perverse revaluation in the shameful economy.

In Restoration texts, as Laura J. Rosenthal has argued, prostitutes more often “embody insatiable desire” than pursue merchant sex for purely financial reasons.<sup>3</sup> But although less common, the economic prostitute is not entirely absent from the late seventeenth century; Rosenthal herself “allow[s] for overlap and exceptions” to the eighteenth-century move toward the prostitute as a vendor of commoditised sexual acts.<sup>4</sup> In John Garfield’s *The Wandring Whore* (1660), the economic prostitute appears among “those poor lazy, idle whores who F— for necessity, not pleasure”.<sup>5</sup> In *The London Jilt*, they are the “innocent Creatures who out of necessity are obliged to gain their Livelyhood in Bawdy Houses”.<sup>6</sup> The Whore in *The London Bawd* is careful to stress that she is *not* one of those poor women driven to the trade through desperation: “I make no Price with any man; but take what they freely give; and therefore I can’t properly be said to be a Whore, for Whores are they that trade for Hire and make Bargains before-hand, which I never do”.<sup>7</sup> Another “Witty Wicked... whore” in a 1706 edition of *The Observer* complains that her repeated incarcerations in Bridewell have served only to reduce her income, forcing her to trade more vigorously on release.<sup>8</sup> In pamphlets such as *The Poor Whore’s Lamentation* (1685), the laxity of “private whores” morals are depicted as having “spoil’d

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<sup>3</sup> Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> John Garfield, *The Wandring Whore. A Dialogue between Magdalena a Crafty Bawd, Julietta an Exquisite Whore, Francion a Lascivious Gallant, And Gusman a Pimping Hector. Discovering their diabolical Practices at the Chuck-Office* (London: 1660), sig. iv.B1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *London Jilt*, 116.

<sup>7</sup> *The London Bawd: With Her Character and Life*. Third Edition, 1705 (Teddington: Echo, 2006), 7.

<sup>8</sup> *The Observer* No. 62 (16 October 1706), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

the Trade” of professional prostitutes.<sup>9</sup> The reply to this pamphlet from a “Bully Spark” (which was more than likely by the same author) suggests restricting the “Profession” to a matrilineal right, thus bringing it into accord with guild membership patterns.<sup>10</sup> The *Wandering Whore* of 1663 also complains that “there [are] so many privat whores that a common wandering whore can get no employment”.<sup>11</sup>

In order to isolate “prostitution” from “whoredom”, and thus examine how the selling of sexual acts was constructed in the late Stuart period, I examine in detail a whore text in which the heroine *does* make her mercenary motivations explicit. *The London Jilt*, which was first published in England in 1683 and attributed to Alexander Oldys, features a narrator heroine Cornelia whose career as a prostitute is consciously commercial, as she states (and, moreover, lives according to the rule) that, “not a Man received the least testimony of Affection from me, unless I was assured I should be paid for it with ready Money”.<sup>12</sup> Cornelia, as Melissa Mowry argues, “learns to manipulate the conventions of the heteronormative marketplace most successfully, and, of course, cynically.... Indeed, she is among the shrewdest characters early modern pornography created”.<sup>13</sup> As van de Pol demonstrates, however, *The London Jilt* is not an original text by Oldys, nor do we

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<sup>9</sup> *The Poor Whore’s Lamentation: or, the Fleet-Street Crack’s Complaint for Want of Trading* (London: 1685), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *An Answer to the Poor Whore’s Complaint, In a Letter, from a Bully Spark of the Town, to Mistress Nell, the common Crack of Fleet-Street; containing his Sorrow for her sad Complaint* (London: 1685), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> *The Wandering Whore’s Complaint for Lack of Trading* (London: 1663), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *London Jilt*, 75.

<sup>13</sup> Mowry, 119.

have any firm evidence of his involvement.<sup>14</sup> The book was actually an adaptation of a Dutch work, *D'Openhertige Juffrouw, of d'ontdekte geveinsdheid* (The Outspoken Damsel, or Hypocrisy Unmasked), which was first published in Amsterdam in 1680–1681.<sup>15</sup> The text was so effectively anglicised, and accorded so closely with contemporaneous English texts, that it has been taken for an original English work ever since. *The London Jilt* moved seamlessly into the thriving English whore text market, and enjoyed considerable success. Roger Thompson concluded it to have been “second only to *The English Rogue* in popularity among English bawdy” following his examination of library sale catalogues and booksellers’ collections of the 1680s and 1690s.<sup>16</sup> Hinnant argues that given the number of external references to the book, it “must have been widely known” upon publication, and suggests that it may ultimately have influenced Daniel Defoe’s *Moll Flanders* (1722) and *Roxana* (1724).<sup>17</sup> Mowry also notes that it intersects with topical English political themes, and particularly concerns about republicanism in its depiction of Cornelia’s family’s weakened patriarchal authority, and the characters’ social climbing.<sup>18</sup>

*The London Jilt* belongs to the large group of texts circulating in London that originated on the continent and focused on prostitution and other areas of sexuality. This was also true of their authors; Bernard Mandeville, for example, was born and educated in the Netherlands. The influence of these works, and the importance of addressing their

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<sup>14</sup> Van de Pol, 10. The attribution was originally made by Arundell Esdaile, on whose authority Donald Wing listed the book as Oldys’ in his *Short Title Catalogue*: Roger Thompson, ‘The London Jilt’, *Harvard Library Bulletin* 23.3 (1975), 293.

<sup>15</sup> Van de Pol, 10.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, ‘The London Jilt’, 293.

<sup>17</sup> Hinnant, ‘Introduction’, 9–10.

<sup>18</sup> Mowry, 46–47.

interactions with so-called “English” discourses of sexuality has been most recently emphasised by James Grantham Turner.<sup>19</sup> The texts both influenced native representations, and drew on local details, jokes and practices to authenticate themselves in translation. This was particularly true of texts that have come to be classed as “pornographic”.<sup>20</sup> In his bibliography of libertine literature, David Foxon maintains that “every time a major pornographic book appeared on the continent, it was known in England within a year, and in many cases appeared in translation right away”.<sup>21</sup> Garfield took the title of his *Wandering Whore* pamphlets from *La Puttana Errante* (c.1650), and was himself then copied in titles (eg. *The Wandering-Whores Complaint for Lack of Trading*; 1663), and in ‘Wandering Whore’ character titles elsewhere (eg. *Strange Newes from Bartholomew-Fair*; 1661). Many whore dialogues presented themselves as descendants of Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Courtesans* (which was readily available in English and Latin translations, in addition to the original Greek) or Pietro Aretino’s *Ragionamenti* (1536, and first known in England from 1584).<sup>22</sup> Aretino’s *Sonnetti Lussuriosi* (1534) is a series of obscene poems inspired by and accompanying engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi, from pictures by Giulio Romano, depicting male/female couples in various sexual positions.<sup>23</sup>

Referred to most often in England (somewhat paradoxically) as “Aretino’s Postures”, the

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<sup>19</sup> Turner, *Schooling Sex: Libertine Literature and Erotic Education in Italy, France, and England 1534–1685* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), viii and *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> While obscene, erotic, bawdy and otherwise sexual texts had of course been available in various forms throughout history, most scholars agree with Peter Wagner that it was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that European pornography became “an aim in itself”: *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America* (London: Paladin, 1990), 6.

<sup>21</sup> David Foxon, *Libertine Literature in England, 1660–1745* (New Hyde: University Books, 1965), x.

<sup>22</sup> Julie Peakman, *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 15.

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed account of the series and its history, see Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

## Chapter One

series offered a short-hand for lewdness, and features regularly in English prostitution texts as bawdyhouse decor, training manual, aphrodisiac, and manifesto for the sexual diversity expected of prostitutes: the rules of the Six Windmills bawdyhouse, for example, stipulate that “no one of this Society [will] refuse to do the deed of nature either backwards or any other of *Peter Aretines* postures so long as shee’s pay’d for it”.<sup>24</sup> The discourses of prostitution evident in *The London Jilt* accord well with other English sources—as I will show through comparative examples—while also attesting to the international circulation of texts and ideas in this period.

In *The London Jilt*, Cornelia narrates her progress from childhood, through her career as a prostitute, and finally to death-bed quasi-repentance. Hinnant classes the highly-episodic novel as picaresque, and Cornelia certainly fulfills the role of the worldly-wise picara who manipulates others’ foibles to her own advantage.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Cornelia is an adept manager of her own resources. She schedules her customers with clockwork precision, heaping up clients while holding her keeper Valere in ignorance. This is not because of an insatiable lust, but because it is her most efficient manner of trading. Trying to get Valere out of the house one evening, she explains to the reader that she

had appointed one of my Lovers at seven a Clock, with design to dispatch him about eight, that I might divert my self with another about half an hour after that... for if I had granted them a longer time than an hour, or an hour and a half, I could hardly have served them all four, unless it had

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<sup>24</sup> *Strange & True Newes from Jack-a-Newberries Six Windmills* (London: 1660), sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Hinnant, ‘Introduction’, 9.

been every other fifth or sixth day, which would have rendred my Gains much smaller by the half.<sup>26</sup>

Though she titles them her “Lovers”, it is obvious that Cornelia entertains these men purely for the “Gains” that they bring her.

Cornelia’s business acumen and motivation—which aligns her with the “modern”, commercial model of prostitution—is often demonstrated through juxtaposition with her mother. The mother (who is never named) epitomises stereotypically feminine vices, and especially over-emotionalism: she is driven by anger, greed and lust. When Cornelia’s father is duped by the Rope Dancer, which is the catalyst for her family’s loss of fortune, her mother laments most “for the loss of [their] Goods”, and abuses him in front of neighbours and guests.<sup>27</sup> She is thus responsible for bringing additional shame upon their household. Cornelia accuses her mother of “Unnatural Cruelty”, and her greed and shrewishness are constructed as the cause of her husband’s death: the mother effectively consumes him, and soon “nothing was to be seen in all his Body, but Skin and Bone”.<sup>28</sup> Her widow’s tears are short lived, and she soon takes in paying lovers. This supports the household very well until she contracts smallpox, which combines with her vanity to destroy her value in the prostitudinal economy: seeing her newly “thick, and so ugly” face in a mirror, the mother “Shriek[s]”, and

with both her Hands [scratches] all her face, insomuch that the Blood ran down her Cheeks. In the mean while we prevailed with her so far, that we

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<sup>26</sup> *London Jilt*, 80.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 47–48.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.



brought her again somewhat to her right Sences, and put her to Bed; but she was so troubled and distracted for the Loss of her Beauty, that we had all the pains imaginable to bear with her.<sup>29</sup>

Though the mother resorts to cosmetics, it is “all in vain”; she is mocked and abandoned, and therefore puts Cornelia forward to take over her trade.<sup>30</sup> Cornelia is “vexed” and repulsed by being “Courtied by those same Men, who long before had to do with [her] Mother”, and sends them away in order to establish a new customer base.<sup>31</sup> Soon, however, her mother begins to spend all of their profits on a “Bully” who arrives in “very sorry Apparel”, and who convinces her to marry him.<sup>32</sup> Cornelia sees straight through both his economic motivations, and her mother’s weakness in being “unable to live without the Instrument”, concluding that “*If Lasciviousness renders Maids mad, it makes Widdows Devils*”.<sup>33</sup> The Bully inevitably impoverishes and abandons them, and Cornelia leaves. When she later meets her mother in Newgate Market, “poorly clad, so dirty and thin”, she launches into an attack on “those Women who, being Old and Ugly, abandon themselves

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 74–75.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 76; original emphasis. The money-hungry young man who marries a lusty old woman was a pervasive early modern topos, and figures prominently—for example—in Hogarth’s *Rake’s Progress* (1735). The eponymous heroine of Defoe’s *Roxana* (1724) provided a remarkable criticism of women’s loss of independence (including financial) in marriage: “whoever the woman was that had an estate and would give it up to be the slave of a great man, that woman was a fool, and must be fit for nothing but a beggar; that it was my opinion a woman was as fit to govern and enjoy her own estate without a man as a man was without a woman, and that if she had a mind to gratify herself as to sexes, she might entertain a man as a man does a mistress; that while she was thus single she was her own, and if she gave away that power she merited to be as miserable as it was possible that any creature could be”: Defoe, *Roxana*, ed. Melissa Mowry (Toronto: Broadview, 2009), 171.

to some miserable young Bully”, deriding the “rank flesh” of “old toothless Spouses”.<sup>34</sup>

Cornelia’s rational approach often accords with what would be called the male point of view, which she herself (or, more accurately, the presumably male author) acknowledges: “Men would imagine by my talking at this rate, that I am of their side”.<sup>35</sup> She is quick to point out, however, that this does not mean that she has succumbed to them: “on the contrary, I have always done what was possible to deceive them”.<sup>36</sup>

Cornelia’s only concession to lust is with the Tobacco Merchant, who temporarily causes a crisis in her business sense as she is struck by the “Torments” of the “Flesh”.<sup>37</sup> She sleeps with him without demanding payment, which even her mother can see is a break in her commercial patterns:

This caused great Amazement in my Mother, for I had not yet received from that Lover any Benefit of any great Importance; whereas otherwise I never permitted any one should obtain the least Courtesy from me, till after having frequented me a long time, and that I had drawn from them as much Money, as I could imagine to have an Obligation to them.<sup>38</sup>

That is, she usually waits until she is “Obligat[ed]” to supply the commodity that the gentleman has so dearly payed for. Cornelia is not so rash as to give up her other customers until she has established the Merchant’s sincerity, and they marry after six months. She works for him in their shop for a period of time, flirting with customers in

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<sup>34</sup> *London Jilt*, 93–94.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

order to increase their trade. Women involved in trade were routinely read as placing themselves on sale along with their goods.<sup>39</sup> Donald Lupton, for example, claimed that when female criers were in need of funds “it’s but pawning a Petticoate in *Long-lane* [famous for its pawnbrokers and frippers], or themselves in *Turnebull-streete* [a brothel district] for to set up againe... they are creatures soone up, & soone downe”.<sup>40</sup> Cornelia exemplifies this balance: when the Merchant does not provide sufficient financial benefit for her, she resolves to once again “exercise [her] Body in Labour”, and returns to prostitution.<sup>41</sup> Cornelia reasons that she would be able to leave him “when I had provided my self with the Profits that I had honourably gained by the Labour of my Body, as also all that I could scrape up in the management of our Trade and House-Keeping”.<sup>42</sup> Here Cornelia figures prostitution as a form of employment as logical, available and profitable for women as was household management.

Cornelia’s construction of prostitution as “Labour” is analogous with the arguments made by current advocacy groups for the understanding of prostitution as a

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<sup>39</sup> Turner, “‘News from the New Exchange’: Commodity, Erotic Fantasy, and the Female Entrepreneur”, in *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995): 419–433. See further Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 39–79; Russell West-Pavlov, *Bodies and Their Spaces: System, Crisis and Transformation in Early Modern Theatre* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 170–172; Korda, ‘Vicious Objects: Staging False Wares’ in *Masculinity and the Metropolis of Vice, 1550–1650*, ed. Amanda Bailey and Roze Hentschell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 174–175 and *passim*. William C. Baer also considers this association as a possible factor in the decline of the Exchanges themselves: ‘Early Retailing: London’s Shopping Exchanges, 1550–1700’, *Business History* 49, no. 1 (2007): 43–44 and *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartered into Severall Characters* (1632), in Korda, ‘Gender at Work in the Cries of London’, in *Oral Traditions and Gender in Early Modern Texts*, ed. Mary Ellen Lamb and Karen Bamford (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 125.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

service: of sex work *as work*.<sup>43</sup> There were some other such attempts in seventeenth-century texts, too.<sup>44</sup> The “Wandering Whore” Isbel, for example, announces to the two men who have paid for her services that evening, “I prostrate my self at your feet as your *lawful hired servant*”.<sup>45</sup> Overwhelmingly, however, the rhetoric is of corporal sale and hire; where allusions to labour are featured, they are satirical and negated. Ward recommends, “as a Friend”, that women engaged in prostitution recognise that it can only provide short-term employment, before age and use render them unfit.<sup>46</sup> Each woman should therefore seek additional training, and “make [her] self Mistress of a little *Brandy-Shop*, learn to Weave *Straw-Hats*, Make *Bobbin-Lace*, Foot *Stockins* [sic] in a Stall, or any thing, whereby [she] may get an Honest *Livelihood*”.<sup>47</sup> Richard Head joked that the bawd “trains [new girls] up in the Mysteries of her Occupation; and... quallifie[s] them for her *Profession of a Prostitute*”, while Defoe derided the “Amphibious Life” of women who dabbled in both domestic work and prostitution, “so that in Effect they neither make good Whores or good Servants”.<sup>48</sup> Prostitutes and bawds are said to be drawn to the profession

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<sup>43</sup> See for example Valerie Jenness, *Making It Work: The Prostitute’s Rights Movement in Perspective* (New York: Aldine DeGruyter, 1993), and Melissa Hope Ditmore, Antonia Levy and Alys Willman, eds., *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power and Intimacy in the Sex Industry* (London and New York: Zed, 2010), particularly Barbara G. Brents and Kathryn Hausbeck, ‘Sex Work Now: What the Blurring of Boundaries Around the Sex Industry Means for Sex Work, Research and Activism’ (9–22).

<sup>44</sup> See also Rosenthal, ‘The Whore’s Estate’, 108–109, for the early eighteenth century.

<sup>45</sup> *Wandering-Whores Complaint*, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>46</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *The Canting Academy; or Villanies Discovered*, Second Edition (London: 1674), sig. E4<sup>r</sup>; my emphasis. Defoe, *Every-Body’s Business, is No-Body’s Business; or, Private Abuses, Publick Grievances* (London: 1725), sig. B3<sup>f</sup>.

exactly because it is *not work*; that is, because they are as ‘Mother Craftsbury’ puts it, “great hater[s] of labour, and pains-taking”.<sup>49</sup>

The dismissal of the capacity of prostitution-based services to be alienated as labour accords with the understanding that in this period all services were not yet commodities in themselves; as Hinnant notes, the commoditisation of services could only follow “the transition from a premodern system of clientage and deference to a modern market economy”.<sup>50</sup> It also follows the early modern reading of women and their sexuality as exchangeable property.<sup>51</sup> Many texts render explicit the commoditised nature of the women *in toto*, as they are circulated between both male customers and their bawd managers. Cornelia berates those

Bawds and Hostesses [who] dispose of [the prostitutes’] Money as they please, and live with these poor innocent Females just as the *Turks* do with their Slaves... For they truck, sell, and pawn ‘em too for any Price they pretend, to poor innocent Creatures, who for a Gown, a Crape Manteau, or some such like thing, abandon thus their Honour and their Liberty after a most piteous manner.<sup>52</sup>

She warns prospective harlots that if they catch any diseases in their trade, the bawd will “put you in pawn, or sell you in other places” to pay for mercurial treatments.<sup>53</sup> This was also evident in practice: van de Pol provides several examples of bawds settling debts

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Hinnant, ‘Gifts and Wages’, 3.

<sup>51</sup> See for example Thomas, 210.

<sup>52</sup> *London Jilt*, 98.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

between each other, or incurred by their whores, by selling or transferring the women between bawdy houses.<sup>54</sup> Readings of the prostitutes as property are also evident in an often-repeated joke based on land title, that “what [the bawd] incloses to day, she makes common to morrow”.<sup>55</sup> “Prostitution”—distinct from the all-encompassing immorality of whoredom—should therefore be understood in this period as an attempted commodity transaction, albeit one in which the nature and identity of the commodity at stake was contentious.

Such conflict is enacted in some texts by the *proliferation* of commodities in which the prostitute was considered to deal, as these scenes stage complex systems of bodily exchanges. In addition to the more obvious sexually-traded body fluids (especially semen), popular whore texts repeatedly present an exchange of other excreta, such as blood, faeces, urine and vomit, and Cornelia *routinely* throws, emits and receives these excrements. Cornelia arranges for a tavern drawer to upset a “Chamber-Pot full of Water” upon her from a balcony, in order that she may rendezvous with her spark inside; after which, she delights, she is “no less sprinkled within than without”.<sup>56</sup> In a common analogy of the time, the author declares that a “Whore” not only rots herself, but also acts as “a

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<sup>54</sup> Van de Pol, 172–174. The fostering of these debts by the bawds was considered to be a common means by which they trapped girls into their service. In law, however, they enjoyed little protection; when Mary Sylvester accused Ann Mitchell of theft in 1725, her case was thrown out once it was revealed that she was a bawd who had “served her Time with Mother Needham”, and that Sylvester had “put these Cloaths upon [Mitchell] in order to receive Company”, before she ran away: Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17250630-45 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 30 June 1725, trial of Ann Mitchell.

<sup>55</sup> *Twelve Ingenious Characters: Or, Pleasant Descriptions, of the Properties Of Sundry Persons & Things* (London: 1686), sig. C7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> *London Jilt*, 130.

Close-stool to Man, or a Common-shoar that receives all manner of Filth".<sup>57</sup> Elsewhere, Doll Tireman, in extracting "half a score Guinny-spankers" from "three or four easy Cullies" is said to make them "Bleed freely", while Jonathan Gil Harris suggests that the pox can be read as another corporal commodity in which the whore trades.<sup>58</sup> The exchange of semen, Sarah Toulalan argues, is presented in pornographic works of this period as a key component of the woman's pleasure, and Fanny Hill, for example, records how "the titillating inspersion of balsamic sweets [from her lover, Charles], drew from [her] the delicious return, and brought down all [her] passion".<sup>59</sup> Cornelia also fondly recalls her affair with the particularly effective "Spark who... so swingingly besprinkled [her]".<sup>60</sup> She also refers obliquely to prophylactics, in mentioning that "the Artifice has been found out to prevent a womans being with Child", but notes that "there is in this also a great Inconveniency: for we lose half the Pleasure, by reason that in such Encounters we may support the Agitation, but not the Shower".<sup>61</sup> Male resistance to the use of condoms in this period, despite an increasing awareness of their effectiveness in stopping the spread of venereal diseases, also suggests the importance of this exchange. At the same time, the belief that the man was weakened by this loss of seed and heat

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 41. Rochester similarly abused Mrs Willis with the remark that "Her Belly is a Bagg of Turds, / And her Cunt a Common shore": *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Harold Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 37.

<sup>58</sup> *News from Whetstones Parke, or, a Relation of the Late Bloody Battle There, Between the Bawds and Whores, and How both Parties after a sharp Dispute, and much loss on either Side, were at last Reconciled by the Mediation of the Pimps and Hectors, With The Articles of Peace Concluded upon between them* (London: 1674), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>; Harris, *Sick Economies*, 29–51.

<sup>59</sup> Toulalan, 73–74; Cleland, 45.

<sup>60</sup> *London Jilt*, 131.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

persisted, as orgasm carried its moniker of “the little death”, and “spending” remained the key verb.<sup>62</sup>

The parallel between the man’s seed and his money in this economy is repeatedly stressed. It exists, for example, in repeated scenes of pocket-picking, as women “put one hand in your Cod-piece, and another in your Watch-pocket”.<sup>63</sup> Cornelia’s keeper Philander draws the parallel after discovering that she has both retained additional customers, and faked the pregnancy that he has been financially supporting. He assures her that, had he known of these frauds, his “Money should not have rusted in [her] Coffe[r]”, referring both to his cash and his seed ‘rusting’ in Cornelia’s fruitless womb.<sup>64</sup> In some cases the prostitute consumes the client’s money medicinally, reaping far more benefit from it than from his “balsamic sweets”: Cornelia refers to her receipt of “the Unguent of several Guinies” to ease the pain of her defloration, while in *The Crafty Whore* Thais feigns an illness that requires “ten pieces of Gold (at the least) to dissolve for a Cordiall for me”.<sup>65</sup> Even at the highest level of society, in satires about the King and his mistresses, Charles was berated for an economic policy in which—as one wit saw it—he was throwing money away into an “Embezzling cunt, / That wide-mouthed, greedy monster”.<sup>66</sup> Nowhere is the conflation more obvious than in depictions of Priss Fotheringham’s “chuck office trick”, where the male spectators’ coins are literally thrown into her vagina in lieu of their

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<sup>62</sup> Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity* (New York: Vintage, 2005), 187.

<sup>63</sup> *An Auction of Whores, or, The Bawds Bill of Sale, for Bartholomew Fair* (London: 1691), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> *London Jilt*, 93.

<sup>65</sup> *London Jilt*, 74; *The Crafty Whore: Or, The Misery and Iniquity of Bawdy Houses Laid Open* (London: 1670), sig. D5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> *An Essay of Scandal in Court Satires of the Restoration*, ed. John Harold Wilson (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), lines 10–11.



semen: Priss “stood upon her head with naked breech & belly whilst four Cully-rumpers chuck’t in sixteen Half-crowns into her Commodity”, an act for which she soon became infamous.<sup>67</sup> As Laura Rosenthal notes of Sally Salisbury’s adaptation of this performance in the 1720s, the exchange of money has become the key “erotic action” of the scene.<sup>68</sup>

One of the most fundamental problems posed by the transaction of prostitution was that it commercialised the supposed bedrock of domesticity: heterosexual sex. In Christian teaching, sex formed the marital “debt”; in Maussian terms, it was supposed to function as a gift that established and maintained social bonds. The translation of sex to a commodity was therefore loaded with concern. Indeed, Ward explicitly noted that in prostitution, whores were “Selling what they ought to give”.<sup>69</sup> Importantly, Ward was in this instance referring to a *man* who earned his living as a prostitute—one for whom “*Fornication and Adultery* [are] the only Occupation that he follows for his Bread”.<sup>70</sup> This expands the possible readings of prostitution as property exchange beyond that based on a characterisation of women or *female* sexuality as property: prostitution in all forms can be constructed as illicit commoditisation.

Mauss demonstrated that the manner in which all transactions are constructed affects the relationship between the vendor and recipient, and calls into question the identities of each party, and that of the object exchanged. While gifts are unique by nature, James Carrier adds, “in commodity relationships people think of objects as

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<sup>67</sup> Garfield, sig. i.A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Rosenthal, ‘The Whore’s Estate’, 114.

<sup>69</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. i.D2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. i.D2<sup>r-v</sup>; original emphasis.

abstract bundles of utilities and values that are precisely not unique”.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, Carrier argues, the people involved in these transactions are “fungible”; the vendor is the same to me regardless of “who” it is.<sup>72</sup> The prostitute herself, as I shall argue below, is too indelibly linked to the commodities in which she deals to be entirely fungible. At most, she is akin to those people in service industries whose physical and “emotional labour” is integrated into the commodity at stake.<sup>73</sup> In whore texts this emotional component is often formulated as the performance of desire, which was thought potentially to exhaust the woman’s true sensations of it. In a common analogy, the author of *The Whores Rhetorick* likens his prostitute subjects, whose “Lusts and Carnal affections are wholly mortified” by over-performance, to the “young apprentice” whom the “Fruiterer... to save his Raisins” causes to “surfeit at his first dayes sitting behind the Counter, that he may be sure to have no gusto that way for the future”.<sup>74</sup> Cornelia assures the reader that falsifying desire and pleasure is all part of the prostitute’s job, and that “when misses endeavour to make Sparks believe, by their Counterfeit Motion, that they receive an unspeakable Pleasure; this is not out of a good intention, but to oblige the Cavalier to do his Work the sooner”.<sup>75</sup>

It is the purchaser who is revealed to be the most fungible party in these commodity relationships. Just as Carrier notes his disregard for the cashier who sells him a product, that cashier (or prostitute) is also usually indifferent to whether s/he sells the

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<sup>71</sup> Carrier, 28.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>73</sup> Hochschild, 7. Markman Ellis and Ann Lewis also highlight the way in which the woman’s labour includes the “performance... [of] ‘being-a-prostitute’”: ‘Introduction’, in *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality*, ed. Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 3.

<sup>74</sup> *The Whores Rhetorick, Calculated to the Meridian of London; and conformed to the Rules of Art* (London: 1683), sig. A4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> *London Jilt*, 162.

goods to him or anyone else.<sup>76</sup> Cornelia mocks any man who would think that a prostitute has sex with him out of any personal preference for himself:

when a Woman Exposes her self thus... she either does it to get Money or to satisfy her Lascivious Temper; *if it be for the first Reason, why should she not endeavour to receive it from an other Person as well as you?* And if it be to content her Lust and Lasciviousness, you may firmly believe, that not one Man nor six, are sufficient to extinguish her Flame, and by Consequence you cannot be the only Person that possesses her Favour.<sup>77</sup>

Ward, in *The London Terræfilus*, similarly mocks a “Jolly Town Rake”, “who thinks all Women *Whores* excepting such that himself has made so; for those he distinguishes as his Bosom Friends, and flatters himself with a belief, that neither *Lust or Interest*, but a Passionate Affection for his dead Person, has made them his *Prostitutes*”.<sup>78</sup> This results in a “vain Conceit” that they deal with him alone, “tho’ a Shilling from a *Bayliff*, or his *Follower*” would have the same attraction for them.<sup>79</sup> That a prostitute was by definition “common”, and available to any fungible customer, was axiomatic, but what really riled was that she traded with those whom most English merchants would rather avoid: she dealt with foreigners, religious dissenters, criminals and other outcasts indiscriminately, with adequate payment the only proviso.<sup>80</sup> In this way she allegorised the precarious

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<sup>76</sup> Carrier, 28.

<sup>77</sup> *London Jilt*, 117–118; my emphasis.

<sup>78</sup> Sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Jewish men, for example, are frequently depicted as over-generous keepers, so that some prostitutes have “left off Dealing with Uncircumcis’d Gentiles, and [Trade] as a *Coney-Jobber*, only among *Jews* and

position of the businessman in general, who might find himself shamefully indebted to social inferiors through reliance on their custom.

The fungibility of the prostitute's customers is given dramatic demonstration when one of Cornelia's gallants—with whom she has sex in the dark—turns out to be her husband, the Tobacco Merchant. Approximately two years after their wedding, Cornelia surreptitiously returns to prostitution in order to supplement her income, after her earlier method of stealing from their shop-till results in a vigorous beating from the Merchant.<sup>81</sup> Eventually she starts operating out of a widow's house in Drury Lane. Having grown (rightly) suspicious, the Tobacco Merchant approaches the widow incognito, and arranges an assignation. When Cornelia arrives, she is told that the spark is already there, and desires that she should wait in the bed in the dark for him. She is “not over-well pleased” with the plan, but she consents, “forasmuch as that I did not much care so I got but Money, whether it was with handsom or ugly Men”.<sup>82</sup> After “wantoning and toying” with her he falls asleep, at which point she grabs a light and discovers his identity. Cornelia accuses the widow of having betrayed her, but can tell by her response she is innocent. So, she gives three guineas to the widow to deny knowing her, and one to the housemaid to sneak into the husband's bed, and convince him it was her that he had dallied with. She then bribes an Officer of the Watch that she meets on her way home to call for her in the morning and take her back to the house, where she ‘discovers’ her husband “in Bed with a

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*Infidels*” (Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. E1<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis). Moll Hackabout is also supported by a rich Jewish keeper at the height of her career.

<sup>81</sup> *London Jilt*, 115.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

strumpet".<sup>83</sup> The passion with which she berates him causes him, too, to doubt that he had been able to tell which woman he had slept with the previous evening.

Cornelia cuts through to the interchangeability of men in prostitution when she reasons that, even beyond their fiscal fungibility, they are physically much-of-a-muchness:

Perhaps that some innocent Creature will imagine, that the Constitution of his Thing, and his way of Performing should have made me sensible with whom I had to do: most of those silly Maidens may be pleased to know, that there are so many of those Instruments which resemble one another in Length and Bigness, that there is no great Reliance to be had thereupon; and that you may not be obliged to believe me alone, enquire of all those brave Women, who abandon themselves sometimes to others than their *Husbands*, they will undoubtedly affirm the same thing, unless they are desirous to disown what they are and what they do.<sup>84</sup>

Cornelia here undercuts the high valuation of the penis that appears elsewhere (see below). If any obvious difference exists, it is between this husband and the impotent Squire Limberham (Cornelia's first suitor), whose failure to fulfill the transaction expected marks him out as a defrauder who "could do nothing more than whet [women's] Appetites, without being able to satiate them in the least".<sup>85</sup>

There is an element of this fungibility in the interchangeability of whores with other forms of entertainment available to the gentleman about town looking for

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

amusement. Books, for example, are routinely represented as competing commodities:

*The Whores Rhetorick* opines that “Men do for the most part take the same measures, and are guided by the same principles of Fancy and Opinion, in their choice of Books, as in that of Women”.<sup>86</sup> Cornelia remarks that authors “now must be very careful that Books be not above Nine or Ten Sheets in Bulk, that the Haunters of Taverns and Bawdy House, may by absenting themselves from such places for an Evening or two employ their Money to the Profit of the Bookseller”.<sup>87</sup> The “Jolly Town Rake” in *London Terræfilius* assesses wine and women as interchangeable commodities available for his entertainment, and “values his *Mistresses* after the same manner as they do their *Apparel*; for he always esteems her as the best and finest that was last bought, or that cost him the most Money”.<sup>88</sup> The capacity of wine, women and books to interchangeably satisfy customer desires suggests a commoditisation of these objects.

The interchangeability of sexual partners also evokes a commoditisation of sex. Proverbially, “Joan [was] as good as my lady in the dark”, and in lists of prostitutes such as those provided by Garfield at the end of each part of *The Wandring Whore*, mere geography seems to be the main criteria used to distinguish between the women on offer.<sup>89</sup> Duffet contends that even though prostitutes vary in appearance, they nevertheless offer the same basic product: “little cruising punk and first rate Harlot, /

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<sup>86</sup> Sig. A7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> *London Jilt*, 98.

<sup>88</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. iii.A2<sup>r-v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>89</sup> Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), J57.

...Use but one Mouse-trap to catch trading Varlet".<sup>90</sup> In some of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester's poems, people *in toto* and their body parts are also assessed simply on functionality. It appears in 'Song' ('I rise at eleven') and 'The Disabled Debauchee' in the interchangeability of whore and page, or hand and "lap", and in 'The Imperfect Enjoyment' where "A touch from any part of her [Corinna] had don't: / Her hand, her foot, her very look's a Cunt".<sup>91</sup> Rochester most stresses functionality in 'Song L.R.' where he charges that "The Ladyes have got a new Trick, / As an Arsehole *serves* for a Cunt / Soe a Clitoris *serves* for a Prick".<sup>92</sup> *The Country Gentleman's Vade Mecum* (1699) stages an objective appraisal of prostitutes through a hackneyed equine metaphor:

*A Race Whore, or a Pad Strumpet* [that is, a kept mistress]... will stand you in five times as much in a Year's Keeping, as a race Horse and a Pad together, nay, than a whole Stable of Racers, Pads, and Hunters too. They must be kept finely cloath'd, and nicely drest, and have good Meat in their Bellies beside, or else they'll turn Jades immediately.

But perhaps you may like the Humour of Roveing better, than Keeping any of these Cattle for your own Riding; hire a *Hackney Whore*, as your Citizens do their Horses, for a Journey, and no more.

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<sup>90</sup> *The Empress of Morocco* (1674), in *Three Burlesque Plays of Thomas Duffett*, ed. Ronald Eugene DiLorenzo (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972), epilogue, lines 19–21.

<sup>91</sup> Rochester, 'The Imperfect Enjoyment', in *Works*, lines 17–18.

<sup>92</sup> 'Song L.R.' ('Oh! what damn'd Age do we live in'), in *Works*, lines 10–12; my emphasis.

But then unless you can have 'em at the same Price too, fifteen Pence a side, if you should have occasion to Ride often, you'll find it very chargeable.<sup>93</sup>

The assessment is made on the strictly fiscal basis of whether it is cheaper to “hire” a prostitute when wanted, or keep a mistress; the prostitute must be managed in the same manner as any other property in the gentleman’s personal economy.

Far more often, however, this strict commodification of sex acts fails, as they carry with them the mark of the person offering them. The prostitute is ultimately part of the traded commodity, rather than a vendor able to successfully alienate herself from her product. The value of her commodity varies both according to the product itself—a previously overlooked factor, as I will discuss below—and her own ‘value’ as determined by a myriad of personal and circumstantial factors. This interpretation ultimately resulted in detailed catalogues such as *Harris’ List of Covent Garden Ladies* (first printed in 1757 and reprinted frequently over the next thirty years) that scrutinised the talents, worth and charges of different prostitutes throughout the city.<sup>94</sup> In the Restoration, less detailed lists such as *An Auction of Whores, or, The Bawds Bill of Sale, for Bartholomew-fair* (1691), which pretended to catalogue whores “exposed to Sale, by Auction”, rendered explicit the different costs involved in purchasing women of different qualities (itemised “per piece”). In this text, the women range from “10 Whores” from St James’ Park, “in gorgeous apparel, and well drest” at £1 1s 1d, down to those “in old torn Crape Gowns, without Smocks,

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<sup>93</sup> *The Country Gentleman’s Vade Mecum* (London: 1699), sig. H5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> On the history of *Harris’ List*, see Hallie Rubenhold, *The Covent Garden Ladies: Pimp General Jack and the Extraordinary Story of Harris’ List* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005).



who look as if they were half starv'd... [2d]" and "2399 Whores, whereof are pox'd 2398, lost their Noses 392, at several Prices".<sup>95</sup>

The most compassionate whore texts, including *The London Jilt*, do attempt to differentiate the prostitute from what she is selling. Cornelia presents herself as a vendor of "Merchandise" who compels her customers to "pay dear enough for [her] Commodity".<sup>96</sup> This posited sex as an alienable commodity (as distinct from an "inalienable possession"), the dispersal of which did *not* irrevocably affect the identity of the original holder.<sup>97</sup> The equivalence between sexuality and female honour made this extremely difficult, as one effect of this construction was the capacity of the fallen woman not to be *irrevocably* fallen. Arguments against this model often appear in anti-Popish jokes around the supposed appeal of Catholicism to prostitutes, which to the Protestant mind offered a shamefully commoditised version of salvation, acquired through the purchase of relics, pardons and indulgences.<sup>98</sup> A Protestant whore, Ward noted by contrast, must be one of "those Miserable Creatures who purchase their Money at the Price of their Souls".<sup>99</sup> One pamphlet spuriously signed by "Mother Creswell" (Elizabeth Creswell, a noted bawd) spars with a defender of the Popish Plot, and asserts that "*your Religion [Catholicism], 'tis the best in the World for us, for we can whore and whore again,*

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<sup>95</sup> *Auction of Whores*, sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> *London Jilt*, 121, 144.

<sup>97</sup> Weiner, 6. The additional fear, of course, was that female insatiability meant that "They are empty losses women fear in this kind": Ben Jonson, *Epicoene or The Silent Woman*, 1609, ed. L.A. Beaurline (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), IV.iv.35.

<sup>98</sup> See eg. Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. i.B3<sup>r</sup>. On anti-popery's "only... tangential relationship to actual Catholic belief and practice", see Scott Sowerby, 'Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England', *Journal of British Studies* 51.1 (2012), 28.

<sup>99</sup> *London Terræfilius*, sig. v.A4<sup>v</sup>.

and *Confess and fess*, and obtain *Pardon*, and be *pardoned* to all intents and purposes, and go out in the World after a whole life of *sinning*, as *Innocent as Children unborn*".<sup>100</sup>

The parallel here is that even if sex is an inalienable possession, being tied so closely to female honour, the loss is not necessarily apparent to those who would seek to assess the woman's value. This was not simply in the initial move into prostitution, but also in the distinct ranks of whores from the King's mistresses down to the lowest streetwalkers.<sup>101</sup>

Thus we see criticism of women who are able to slip unnoticed between positions of modesty and shame, as from housemaid to prostitute. Defoe bemoans that the "streets are swarming with strumpets" seeking the small number of available service jobs: they "rove from Place to Place, from Bawdy-House to Service, and from Service to Bawdy-House again, ever unsettled, never easy, nothing being more common than to find these Creatures one Week in a good Family and the next in a Brothel".<sup>102</sup> This ability to pass stands in marked contrast to the noseless syphilitic, or the increasingly legible figure of the bawd. Historians such as Thomas Henderson see an increasing tendency to segregate prostitutes from other women in the eighteenth century, particularly in the establishment

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<sup>100</sup> *A Letter from the Lady Creswell to Madam C. the Midwife, on The Publishing her late Vindication, &c. Also A Whip for Impudence: or, A Lashing Repartee to the Snarling Midwives Matchless Rogue: Being an Answer to that Rayling Libel* (London: 1680), sig. A1<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>101</sup> Lena Olsson quotes Sally Salisbury's boast, "it was always my Ambition to be a *First-Rate Whore*, and I think, I may say, without Vanity, That I am the greatest, and make the most considerable Figure of any in the Three Kingdoms": "'A First-Rate Whore': Prostitution and Empowerment in the Early Eighteenth Century", in *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality*, ed. Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 71–72, my emphasis. See also Turner, *Libertines and Radicals*, 5–10.

<sup>102</sup> *Every-Body's Business*, sig. B3<sup>r</sup>. A significant increase in the number of poor, young women migrating to London from rural areas produced a sexual imbalance that reduced marriage possibilities and increased competition for the limited vocations that women could pursue: Robert Shoemaker, 'Print and the Female Voice: Representations of Women's Crime in London', *Gender & History* 22.1 (2010), 76; Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650–1750* (London: Methuen, 1994), 118.

of Magdalene houses, and by the Victorian period, Amanda Anderson argues, the prostitute was “irredeemably other”.<sup>103</sup>

Within the prostitudinal realm, the high valuation of the maidenhead speaks to the commodity hierarchy as well. When the sisters Marcella and Cornelia disguise themselves as prostitutes in Aphra Behn’s *Feign’d Curtizans* (1679), they pose as virgin courtesans negotiating for keepers, in order to place themselves in the most honourable and valuable position possible in their Roman setting.<sup>104</sup> Virginitiy is a commodity in which the prostitute can trade (honestly or not). It thus enters into the broader question of which sex acts could function as commodities, and how they might be arranged hierarchically, and priced appropriately. Because, I argue, sexual services are *not* inalienable in this period, the hierarchies of these commodities must reciprocally affect their vendors.

Investigations into the prices charged in early modern prostitution have as yet focussed on characteristics of the vendor or purchaser, rather than the sexual acts involved. These factors include the woman’s class, age, beauty, experience, and virginitiy.<sup>105</sup> The problem here, however, is the assumption that when women such as the

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<sup>103</sup> Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 18; Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730–1830* (London: Longman, 1999). cf. Katherine Binhammer, who argues that the early stages of the Magdalen movement instead promote “the benevolent belief that a woman who has fallen is not lost to virtue and can be reclaimed for licit relations”: *The Seduction Narrative in Britain, 1747–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 45.

<sup>104</sup> They adopt this disguise in order to escape a convent and an arranged marriage, thus bringing the play into line with Behn’s wider oeuvre of work against the “legal prostitution” of mercenary marriages, and the encloistering of economically-inconvenient female dependents.

<sup>105</sup> Ungerer, for example, identifies firstly the client’s “affluence”, but also his level of risk; a “high-risk client” such as a soldier could expect to be charged more (167). The cost was also determined by the prostitute’s status and experience; he argues for a higher valuation of the “seasoned practitioner”, with virgins in his records (mainly the Bridewell Court Books) not commanding as high prices (167). In contrast, Sara

street whore Elizabeth Compe say that they will be “naughtie... with anyone for [2]d”, they can only mean one thing.<sup>106</sup> By contrast, whore texts suggest that men were able to pay different rates for different sexual acts, with some “as can pay any price for to s[er]ve their wickedness and *appetites*” since “the persons they have to deal with, they’l endure *any annoyances, punishments or extremities* to get mony by’t, in regard of their poverty”.<sup>107</sup> Tim Hitchcock and Henry Abelove argue that demographic data from the eighteenth century might suggest a narrowing of what was considered to be “real sex” to, as *Rare Verities* described it, “a conjunction of male and female, by fitness of instruments, with an ejection of seed to beget their likeness”.<sup>108</sup> Other historians, however, have uncovered a plethora of the sort of non-reproductive, “arbitrary tastes” that Cleland found so amusing. In a now famous case uncovered by Lawrence Stone, for example, a group of lower-middle-class people in Norwich were involved in practices such as wife-swapping, group sex, and flagellation. In one of the more curious episodes, one of the women sent one of the men a packet of pubic hairs, explaining that “I cut them off my maid while my nurse held her down”.<sup>109</sup> On this, Stone remarks, “the significance... is wholly obscure”.<sup>110</sup> Both flagellation and onanism also received unprecedented public

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Mendelson and Patricia Crawford argue that prostitutes lost value with age and use: *Women in Early Modern England 1550–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 336.

<sup>106</sup> Ungerer, 167.

<sup>107</sup> Garfield, sig. iii.B1<sup>r-v</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>108</sup> In Toulalan, 63. Hitchcock, ‘Redefining Sex in Eighteenth-Century England’, *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996), 72–90, and ‘Reformation of Sexual Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Signs* 37.4 (2012), 823–831; Abelove, ‘Some Speculations on the History of Sexual Intercourse During the Long Eighteenth Century in England’, *Genders* 6 (1989): 125–130.

<sup>109</sup> Stone, ‘Libertine Sexuality in Post-Restoration England: Group Sex and Flagellation among the Middling Sort in Norwich in 1706–07’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2.4 (1992), 514.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 522. This is not a unique reference. Garfield also engages with pubic hair as a fetish: Julietta speaks of a “fellow who helping a Gentlewoman in Horse-back, slipp’t his hand under her belly and tore a tuft of

attention, as hack writers and publishers such as the notorious Edmund Curll revelled in publications like *Onania, or the Heinous Sin of Self-pollution* (1710) and *On the Use of Rods in Venereal Matters and in the Office of the Loins and Reins* (1718).<sup>111</sup>

The most widespread example of an alternative commodity offered by prostitutes must be that purchased by the men who frequent the bawdy houses without actually paying for sex: the price of the prostitutes' company—their “emotional labour”—was incorporated into the inflated cost of food and drinks. Some trial accounts include cases where the customer apparently paid the prostitutes to undress and perform naked “postures”, rather than engaging in intercourse.<sup>112</sup> The tavern scene of Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* (1735) also depicts a woman removing her undergarments in order to dance on the table over a reflective platter that is being carried into the room by the drawer.<sup>113</sup> In another cheap service mentioned by Garfield, “common Jades... sit with their leggs spread over the sides of a chair with their petticoates and smocks in their mouths, whilst their *Comrades* run a tilt at their *touch holes* in that posture, paying twelve pence a time for holing”.<sup>114</sup> Manual stimulation is a cheap act that appears infrequently as a preference, rather than an act of necessity. Rochester, for example, uses it to avoid infection by his clapped mistress in ‘Song’ (“I rise at Eleven”), while in *The Wandring*

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hair off her Commodity, wearing it in a *Bravido* in his hat” (sig. v.A4<sup>r-v</sup>), while Gusman and Magdelana pity poor whores who “have scarce a *tufft of hair* amongst them all to *cover their Cunnyes*”, from whom, “should [their customers] snatch but hairs a piece from them, ‘twere enough to make bare all their spots” (sig. v.B1<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>111</sup> See also Toulalan's reply to Hitchcock, at 66–68.

<sup>112</sup> For example, in the case of Joseph Richmond against Susan Brockway and Mary Gardiner: Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17250827-2 (www.londonlives.org, 24 March 2012), 25 August 1725, trial of Susan Brockway and Mary Gardner.

<sup>113</sup> Hogarth, 153.

<sup>114</sup> Garfield, sig. v.A2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

Whore a “stocked whore called *Ursula*” is paid “half a crown for stroaking the marrow out of a mans Gristle” from her restrained position, and another half crown for exposing her “Twit-twat”.<sup>115</sup> Van de Pol states that in her Dutch sources, “there is no record of it [men paying for prostitutes to masturbate them] until the mid-eighteenth century”, and that these references are also restricted to disease prevention.<sup>116</sup> There is a hint at male masturbation of a female partner in *The London Jilt*, where Cornelia wonders whether the impotent Squire Limberham will at least “put his Hand, where he could do no good with his Gimcrack”.<sup>117</sup> This also occurs in *A Dialogue Between a Married Lady and a Maid* (1740), an abridged translation of Nicholas Chorier’s *Satyra Sotadica* (1660), as Philander brings Octavia to climax by “putting his Finger into [her] C—t, and stirring gently up and down towards the upper part of it”.<sup>118</sup> Manual stimulation is also a staple in representations of lesbian sex, for example in *Venus in the Cloister* (1725), where Agnes asks Angelica, “Take away your Hand, I beseech you, from that Place, if you would not blow up a Fire not easily to be extinguished”, and in Fanny’s dealings with Phoebe in *Fanny Hill*.<sup>119</sup> A mid-century decorated fire tile from the Old Cheshire Cheese depicts *both* masturbation and flagellation, with the central male figure flanked by two active

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<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. ii.B2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> Van de Pol, 192.

<sup>117</sup> *London Jilt*, 70–71.

<sup>118</sup> *A Dialogue Between a Married Lady and a Maid* (1740), in *When Flesh Becomes Word: An Anthology of Early Eighteenth-Century Libertine Literature*, ed. Bradford K. Mudge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 250.

<sup>119</sup> *Venus in the Cloister*, in *When Flesh Becomes Word: An Anthology of Early Eighteenth-Century Libertine Literature*, ed. Mudge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 158; Cleland, 17, 35.

women.<sup>120</sup> For the most part, however, this is a shameful preference, with writers such as the author of a letter to the *Weekly Journal* mocking “Pumpers” who “are pleas’d with the Dexterity of [the prostitute’s] Hand”.<sup>121</sup> While the characteristics of the prostitute and her client certainly affected the cost of her sexual commodities, the nature of the acts themselves also impacted upon what could be charged for them. Moreover, as inalienable possessions of the prostitute, the valuation placed upon the acts extended to her: the whore reduced to vending cheap commodities was herself “cheap”, and open to the shame of this valuation that detrimentally affected her access to social capital.

Determining the value of the body on sale requires first defining the body and its limits. Even things like smell and sound have a physicality in the early modern period.<sup>122</sup> The medical discourse of sympathy presented a system of super-communication between a part and its distant whole. In medicine, the principle could be used to treat an absent patient by working on a sample of his blood. Moreover, it provides suggestive examples of bodily products that we might not consider ‘part of the body’ now. Walter Charleton’s translation of Jean Baptiste van Helmont’s *De magnetica vulnerum curatione* (1621), for example, includes techniques that rest on a connection between the subject and their faecal matter.<sup>123</sup> Sympathy was always a contentious doctrine, but faeces and other excrements do play a role in the prostitution texts that I examine, both as residues of the

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<sup>120</sup> Martin Henig and Katharine Munby, ‘Some Tiles from the Old Cheshire Cheese, London’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 10 (1976), Plate XXIIa.

<sup>121</sup> *The Weekly Journal: Or, The British Gazetteer* No. 55 (14 May 1726), 1.

<sup>122</sup> Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England, 1600–1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 17.

<sup>123</sup> *Van Helmont’s Works Containing His Most Excellent Philosophy, Physick, Chirurgery, Anatomy* (London: 1664), sigs. C4<sup>v</sup>–D1<sup>r</sup>.

incomplete commodification of sexual acts, and as items that are themselves given value in a shameful economy.

The ambiguity of the body is also evident in its modifications, which in this period became irrevocably linked with those women who “Tempt and Dress for Sale”.<sup>124</sup> As Henry Edmonson recorded in 1658, “The reason why they [women] patch or paint is notorious to a Proverb, They who whiten their house mean to let it”.<sup>125</sup> The author of *A Wonder of Wonders: Or, A Metamorphosis of Fair Faces voluntarily transformed into foul Visages* (1662) thunders that “The Breasts [are] shop-windows open, and patcht skin, / Are Signs hung out to sell the Wares within”.<sup>126</sup> These commodities converted the body natural into the body commercial.

The modifications adopted by the prostitutes are designed to increase the appearance of their personal worth. This is most prominently through concealing the effects of venereal disease, but it was also true for those who wished simply to appear younger, or more beautiful.<sup>127</sup> In the preface to the reader, the author of *The London Jilt* asserts that his project is one of exposure. This was typical of writers representing their work as lifting the lid on the city’s underbelly, but carried extra weight in exposing the

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<sup>124</sup> Dunton, *Bumography*, sig. C4<sup>v</sup>, original emphasis.

<sup>125</sup> Tilley W663: “A woman that paints puts up a bill that she is to be let”.

<sup>126</sup> *A Wonder of Wonders or, A Metamorphosis of Fair Faces Voluntarily Transformed into Foul Visages or, an Invective Against Black-Spotted Faces* (London: 1662), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> There is an ironic counter-phenomenon recorded by B.E., where beggars fake injuries in order to *reduce* their symbolic capital, and elicit charity. Glossing “Cleyms”, he records that they are “Sores without Pain raised on Beggars Bodies, by their own Artifice and cunning, (to move charity)” (sig. C7<sup>r</sup>). Similarly, “Domerars” were supposed to fake the loss of their tongues (sig. D6<sup>v</sup>), while the “Tatter-de-mallion” was “a ragged, tatter’d Begger, sometimes half Naked, with design to move Charity, having better Cloths at Home” (sig. M1<sup>r</sup>).



women who “lured [men] by their False Attractions into that bitter Trap of theirs”.<sup>128</sup>

Moreover, the author asserts that re-education in the true meanings of the woman’s markers of beauty will change the way that the reader interprets the prostitute’s body: “it is time, *Reader*, that thou seest our Jilt exposed naked in all her Deformities, that it may so create a horrour in thee for what thou before so eagerly pursuedst, and so fondly adoredst”.<sup>129</sup> These prefaces reveal a tension around the effectiveness of (particularly female) deceptions: they suggest that, without the writer’s expert opinion and guidance, the (presumed male) reader might unwittingly be taken in by a disguised whore. More often, the texts work to reassure the reader that ‘the truth will out’: the whore’s guise will slip, just as the ‘sympathetic snout’ will drop, and the fraud will be revealed. The question becomes whether the consumer can spot the overvalued, faulty commodities, before he makes his purchase.

In prostitution, the most reviled deception is the “second Hand Maidenhead”, which could be achieved through physical and emotional performances.<sup>130</sup> Cornelia relates her own use of this deception when she commences work, at which, she says, “my Maiden-head was sold the first time. Be not amazed, O Reader, that I say the first time, for

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<sup>128</sup> *London Jilt*, 42. The “bitter Trap” refers to a concealed case of pox.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilus*, sig. B1<sup>v</sup>. Debate about using the presence of the hymen as a benchmark for virginity was widespread among medical and legal authorities: Traub, 382–383. After eloping with Squire Limberham in order to punish him for attempting to seduce her despite his impotence, Cornelia is able to convince her mother that she is still a virgin by “let[ting] her try it with her Finger” (73). After a later period of non-activity, Cornelia reflects that “one would have believed by seeing the closing of my *Tuzzy-Muzzy*, that I had recovered a new Maiden-head in my old days” (166). This ambiguity appears elsewhere, too. In *The Country Gentleman’s Vade Mecum*, the bawd promotes “Mrs. Frances” as close enough to, if not technically a virgin: “she’s but just come out of the Country, and has not been upon Duty these four Months, there’s but little Difference between her and a Maidenhead” (sig. H6<sup>v</sup>). So too *The Spectator* mentions girls marketed by their bawds as effectively “a new Woman... since *She has, I assure you, seen none but old Mr. Such-a-one*”: No. 274 (14 January 1712), vol. 2, 568; original emphasis.

I have lost it several times".<sup>131</sup> The combined use of "a certain Water" and performed pain enable her to achieve this deception, until finally "the Orifice became too large, and the Artifices were no longer of any use, so that I was constrained to let the Business take its Course, and to recreate my Gallants for a reasonable Price".<sup>132</sup> She describes such deceptions as "daily" occurrences in the city. Dunton alleged that "Some Girls do sell their Maiden-head" forty times, and the bawd Magdalena in *The Wandring Whore* is also shown to possess numerous methods for "reduc[ing] those preternatural defects, to their Pristine posture and constitution".<sup>133</sup> As Tassie Gwilliam notes, "the presence of virginity in eighteenth-century marketplaces—of texts, marriage, or prostitution—renders it susceptible to all the chicaneries of commerce".<sup>134</sup> Cornelia's resignation at having to charge only a "reasonable Price" after the loss of this stratagem reveals her own knowledge that the previous charges have been inflated based on her customer's fetishisation of the maidenhead as a commodity.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *London Jilt*, 74.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Dunton, *Bumography*, sig. C3<sup>v</sup>; Garfield, sig. ii.B2<sup>r</sup>. Some bawds may have specialised in dealing in 'virgins'; the bawd "Mrs Easton" is cited by Garfield as a noted "Maiden-head-seller" (sig. iii.B2<sup>r</sup>). Even the respectable midwife publisher Jane Sharp revealed a knowledge of "astringent Medicaments, [used] when whores desire to appear to be maids", though insisted her own recipes were intended purely for "cure after Child-birth": Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book, or, The Whole Art of Midwifry Discovered*, 1671, ed. Elaine Hobby (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 203, 214. Such techniques were not new; the medieval *Trotula* gave five recipes for constricting the vagina back to its virgin state, while a sixth-century text recommended the use of leeches to induce a blood clot. For these and others, see Catherine Blackledge, *The Story of V: Opening Pandora's Box* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2003), 144.

<sup>134</sup> Gwilliam, 'Female Fraud: Counterfeit Maidenheads in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6.4 (1996), 518.

<sup>135</sup> *London Jilt*, 74. See further John C. Beynon, "'Traffic in More Precious Commodities': Sapphic Erotics and Economics in *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*', in *Launching Fanny Hill: Essays on the Novel and its Influences*, ed. Patsy S. Fowler and Alan Jackson (New York: AMS Press, 2003), 3–26.

When she returns to business after her marriage, Cornelia stages herself as a new kind of ‘maid’ by performing a version of shame thought to betoken non-whorishness. At Cornelia’s command, her mother serves her as a go-between. She invites some of Cornelia’s “old Gallants” to her lodgings, so that she can stop by and play hard-to-get, thus opening up a “Bargain for this New Maidenhead”.<sup>136</sup> She again relies on the performance of an exclusive gift relationship: “that I might set the better value upon my Commodity, I showed my self too Coy and Disdainful to amuse my self in things of that Nature, insomuch, that one would have thought it had never been toucht with a Finger”.<sup>137</sup> Cornelia thus stages modesty as something that must be courted and—expensively—overcome.

Clothing is routinely used to facilitate, or play with, these deceptions. Christine M. Varholý has identified some cases of men requesting that prostitutes wear the clothing of women of quality, because they, like one Mr Greenwood, “liked not to deale with only comon women”.<sup>138</sup> The cross-class dressing that occurs within the confines of the bawdy house, which is demanded by the customer, is not truly transgressive; it relies on the reiteration of cultural norms—that is, that the clothes indicate a certain social position—for its effectiveness.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, the dress-ups of masquerades, as Terry Castle

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<sup>136</sup> *London Jilt*, 117.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>138</sup> Varholý, “‘Rich like a Lady’: Cross-Class Dressing in the Brothels and Theatres of Early Modern London”, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8.1 (2008), 14.

<sup>139</sup> Laura Mandell, *Misogynous Economies: The Business of Literature in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 75; see also Jonathan Dollimore. ‘Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection’, *Renaissance Drama* 17 (1986): 53–81. Where it functions as an enabling element of cuckolding, mistress/servant, etc, fantasies, these scenes also intersect with the issue of erotic humiliation, and of the emotional component of different sexual acts during this period, which I discuss in Chapter Two.

influentially demonstrated, provided the eighteenth century with a sanctioned, temporary release from social restrictions; even the prostitutes dressed as “women of quality” who solicited customers within the balls formed part of the attraction.<sup>140</sup>

More problematic is the use of clothing to suggest market variety, if not necessarily quality. In *The Politick Whore* (1680), a farce based on Robert Davenport’s *The City Nightcap* (c1624), the Bawd boasts of being able to send for any variety of woman that will please her customers. When Innocentia quizzes her on this fact, the pimp Drudgeo must explain:

Have you not observed the variation of a Cloud, sometimes ‘twill be like a Lyon, sometimes like a Horse, sometimes a castle, and yet still a Cloud[?]... Why so can we make one Wench one day look like a Country Wench, another day like a Citizens Wife, another day like a Lady, and yet still be a Crack.<sup>141</sup>

However she is dressed, the woman will “still be a Crack”—a term that suggested both prostitute and vagina.<sup>142</sup> As Ward notes, the finest clothing is still “no more than a Tempting Coverslut to those Instruments of *Iniquity*, which every Woman may Boast”.<sup>143</sup> These examples note the ineffectiveness of these costumes in changing the woman’s true identity, while Davenport’s also acknowledges the customer’s implication in the ruse. By contrast, the disguises adopted outside of the brothel that are used to suggest honour,

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<sup>140</sup> Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 32.

<sup>141</sup> *The Politick Whore: Or, The Conceited Cuckold*, in *The Muse of New-Market: Or, Mirth and Drollery Being Three Farces Acted before the King and Court at New-Market* (London: 1680), sig. H1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Williams, 326–327.

<sup>143</sup> *London Terræfilius*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

health, or other indicators of increased value, hold the capacity to be genuinely transgressive. The Bawd in *The Honest London Spy* notes that her girls must not be “undervalu’d by their Garbs, by which they do *appear like Quality*”, and thus “[help] me very well to raise my Price”.<sup>144</sup>

These deceptions are only problematic, however, until they are decipherable. The author of *A Wonder of Wonders* (1662) attacks the fashion for wearing black patches on the faces, supposedly to allure lovers (and especially, he suggests, *customers*) and to make the skin appear whiter for the juxtaposition. He argues that, contrary to what women believe, these patches actually reduce their value, exactly *because* they are read as a shameful attempt to increase it. He therefore excuses himself from an attack on those “who by their noble birth and breeding are not of so degenerate a spirit as to *undervalue their worth*, in dishonouring themselves by the foolish and phantastick use and application of such ignoble arts and fashions”.<sup>145</sup> This is in contrast to the women’s notions that “such counterfeit Colours do make them more lovely and amiable, and consequently *more respected* of all sorts of people with whom they may converse”.<sup>146</sup> Because the patches were originally used to hide sores, the author also argues that that is what they will suggest to spectators who do not realise that they are being worn for “fashion”. Children will confuse them with “Bug-beares, Devils, or Infernall Spirits”, while adults will be nauseated, since “they are put in mind of those filthy scabs and purulent sores, unto

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<sup>144</sup> Sig. A5<sup>r</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>145</sup> *A Wonder of Wonders*, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B1<sup>v</sup>; my emphasis.

which such plaisters are commonly and properly applied".<sup>147</sup> The author maintains that those people whose "complexions are deformed", and who thus wear patches to "correct Nature" are "tolerable", as opposed to those who in inventing a blemish work against the beauty placed upon them naturally by God, and who are "in no sort to be admitted".<sup>148</sup> The signifier of deformity is permissible, he suggests, *provided that the deformity is in fact present*. The patches are brought back into legibility, and thus acceptability.

The work of many of these texts is to reassure the reader that ultimately these deceptions will prove unsuccessful. This is often enacted in poems depicting the male writer's observation of an undressing female—such as Jonathan Swift's 'The Lady's Dressing Room' (1732)—that literalise the deconstruction of the blazon.<sup>149</sup> Here, as Rosenthal notes, the "beautiful nymph... dissolves into a pile of commodities".<sup>150</sup> This can be contrasted with the earlier *Epicoene*, where characters who *know* that a woman's "teeth were made i' the Blackfriars, both her eyebrows i' the Strand, and her hair in Silver Street. Every part o' the town owns a piece of her", are nevertheless taken in by the false performance offered by the title character, who though a man is able to pass for a modest woman.<sup>151</sup> In *Newes from Hide-Park*, a "North Country Gentleman" congratulates himself on having overcome the modesty of a woman he meets in the park, and on being allowed into her chambers. As he peeps through the keyhole of her dressing room, however, he is

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<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. C3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> On the blazon see Nancy J. Vickers, 'Diana Described: Scattered Women and Scattered Rhyme', *Critical Inquiry*, 8.2 (1981), 265–279.

<sup>150</sup> *Infamous Commerce*, 2.

<sup>151</sup> Jonson, l.ii.82–85.

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startled to observe her remove her “head-tire and shew[...] her bald pate”.<sup>152</sup> Continuing to undress, “out dropt her eye” and “out fell her teeth”.<sup>153</sup> Finally, “She drew out her Handkercheif [sic] as I suppose / to wipe her high forehead, & dropt down her nose”.<sup>154</sup> The Gentlemen thus concludes that “the Quean had intents to deceive me”, and rather than being the innocent that her “denials” had led him to believe, she had in fact “been too much at tan-tivvee”, since the loss of teeth, the eye and the nose all suggest advanced pox.<sup>155</sup> The ultimate moral of these texts is that women are, in Dunton’s words, no more than “Outside silk and inside lawn; scenes to cheat [Men] neatly drawn”.<sup>156</sup>

*News from Whetstones Parke* (1674) provides an especially vivid deconstruction of the prostitute’s commoditised body in a “bloody battle” between bawds and whores.<sup>157</sup> The women in this text are closer to the lusty harlots of the earlier period than harbingers of the economic prostitute, as they allow petty bickering and jealousy to override their rational economic arrangements. As the community disintegrates, so too do the women themselves:

after Some sharp Expostulations on either side, they came to Blows, and never was a more terrible Conflict beheld, The first onset was given by Gammar *Jilt*, that flung a Bottle of Stepony, and beat out one of *Doll*

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<sup>152</sup> *Newes from Hide-Parke* (London: n.d), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.* Bone and ophthalmological disease are common results of secondary syphilis (Sutton, 214).

<sup>156</sup> Dunton, *Bumography*, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>157</sup> *News from Whetstones Parke*, sig. A1<sup>r</sup>. There is a similar battle in Head’s *The Canting Academy* (1674). Though the scene does not come to violence, the bawd nevertheless attempts to strip the prostitute of the fashionable commodities she has provided, and threatens to “slit... her nose” if she does not comply (sig. E4<sup>v</sup>).

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Tiremons Eys, who in revenge pluckt off the old womans Nose, and flung it just in another Bawds Chops, who Spitt it out out again in the Face of a young Whore that she was Engaged with, Hoods, Scarfs, Pinners, Laces went miserably to Racke, Biteing, Kicking, Scratching, and Confusion fill'd the place, never was there a sadder Sight, here lay a Nose, there an Eye, a little further a Sett of Teeth, here a peice [sic] of a Necklace, there a parcel of Black Patches, and by and by the Ruines of a glorious Tower trod under Foot.<sup>158</sup>

Order returns when the hectors intervene, threatening to “Rib-roast” (beat) the women if they do not “agree”.<sup>159</sup> The text then ends with rules of conduct listed by the men as legal articles (a rational, implicitly ‘masculine’ form), the last of which leaves all further disputes up to “the determination of the Hectors”.<sup>160</sup> The violence of this scene both enacts the destruction of a community based on the commercialisation of female bodies, and reveals the fraudulent means by which they have disguised their whorish natures.

Cornelia’s own physical deceptions are ultimately undercut by the novel’s revelation of them. Within the narrative, however, she enjoys mixed success. The deceptions she practices here as to the value of her commodity are also placed within a broader framework of deception wherein the exchange is not only over-valued, but disguised as a gift relationship. This deliberate misrecognition of the relationship into which she enters enables Cornelia to acquire higher levels of income, and force the

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<sup>158</sup> *News from Whetstones Parke*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A3<sup>v</sup>–A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.



obligation and dependence that Mauss identified as integral to the gift relationship from her unwitting customer.

A pseudo-gift relationship in prostitute narratives is sometimes signalled by a move from cash payments to the exchange of goods. Often, as Tessa Storey notes in her study of early modern Rome, clothing, jewelry, food, etc, simply functioned as substitutes for cash in an economy short of coins.<sup>161</sup> It was particularly suspected that apprentices would be likely to compensate for their lack of ready money with items of trade, and especially those stolen from their masters.<sup>162</sup> The indictment of Elizabeth Elye “for keeping a House of evil Repute” noted that her house “did great damage not only to the Youth of this City, but to their Masters also; for the Witness Swore that there was a Mercer’s Apprentice in the Town that used to bring his Master’s Goods to the Prisoners, and give them to her, and other Lewd and Wicked Women”.<sup>163</sup> But in other cases, Storey argues, these items could “[signify] a comparatively long-lasting relationship, particularly because the courtesan was expected to dress in a manner befitting the status of her long-term clientele, and it was up to the men to see that she could do so”.<sup>164</sup> In *The London Jilt*, such a scenario is most evident when Cornelia is required to pass for her customer’s wife—a situation she manipulates to her best advantage in forcing her ‘husband’ to

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<sup>161</sup> Tessa Storey, ‘Clothing Courtesans: Fabrics, Signals, and Experiences’, in *Clothing Culture, 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 102.

<sup>162</sup> Dabhoiwala, 99; see also van de Pol, 61.

<sup>163</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t16930531-45 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 31 May 1693, trial of Elizabeth Elye.

<sup>164</sup> Storey, 102.

overcompensate her financially in front of their hosts in order to preserve his own honour.<sup>165</sup>

Throughout the novel, Cornelia's receipt of lavish clothing, food, accommodation, and so forth, rather than blunt cash, is provoked by her manipulation of her customer's opinion as to what class of whore she is, and the nature of their relationship.<sup>166</sup> This is in contrast to other, desire-driven Restoration whores, for whom these arrangements, as Rosenthal highlights, often testify to their lack of business sense and susceptibility to "sensuality".<sup>167</sup> Money is the most fungible of possessions, and in any exchange it represents an attempt to commoditise and alienate the object for which it is traded. Its alienability is argued by the prostitutes themselves, even beyond legal realities: after picking a cully's pocket, the Wandering Whore of *Strange Newes from Bartholomew-Fair* (1661) reasons that "I own not his which I my self have in possession. / For when the Cole is gone, the simple Elf / Is not the owner of it, but my self".<sup>168</sup> Prostitutes (or their keepers) usually demanded payment up-front, thus rendering explicit the commodified nature of the exchange, and protecting themselves against legally indefensible breaches of contract. Ward, in paralleling writers and "Strumpets", reasoned that

The only difference between us is, in this particular, where in the *Jilt* has the Advantage, we do our Business First, and stand to the Courtesie of

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<sup>165</sup> *London Jilt*, 143–144.

<sup>166</sup> These misrecognitions are inversely paralleled by examples of "Gentlemen" who are shamefully taken "for a Loose-Fellow" because of their association with lower-class prostitutes, and taken in by constables (Ward, *London Terræfilus*, sig. E1<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>167</sup> *Infamous Commerce*, 21–22.

<sup>168</sup> *Strange Newes from Bartholomew-Fair* (London: 1661), A2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis. Compare Willmore's claim to the right "of possession, which I will maintain" when asked in Behn's *The Rover* what right he has to the portrait of the courtesan, Angellica (in Diamond, 532).

our Benefactors to Reward us after; whilst the other, for her security,  
makes her *Rider* pay for his *Journey*, before he mounts the *Saddle*.<sup>169</sup>

Fotheringham's Chuck Office rules also stipulate that prostitutes and their customers can only proceed "after agreement and receipt of their Bargain before hand, for it is no trusting in this case".<sup>170</sup> Such itemisation and up-front payment conflicted with the broader economic conditions of the city, which was dominated by credit and barter, and where fixed-price retailing would not become conventional until the 1790s.<sup>171</sup> Van de Pol, writing of the same system in Amsterdam, notes that this arrangement, in "a society in which payment in advance was unusual... signalled a lack of credit and trust and was therefore characteristic of dishonourable association".<sup>172</sup> Payment up-front suggested a rejection of any performative value in the cully's promise, rendering it "empty of any real determination".<sup>173</sup> Because a promise must be temporally coded as futural, it also bespeaks a continuing relationship that troubles commoditisation.

The disconnection intrinsic to Mauss' model of the commodity relationship is what Cornelia originally seeks. She commands "ready Money", and only moves toward the guise of exclusivity and a gift economy when she believes that it will bring her greater profit.<sup>174</sup> Cornelia's own understanding of this contrast is evident when she sets out to delude "Alderman B—" into thinking that she has fallen in love with him by consenting to

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<sup>169</sup> Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>170</sup> *Strange & true Newes from Jack-a-Newberries*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> James Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 197–198.

<sup>172</sup> Van de Pol, 186–187.

<sup>173</sup> Hinnant, 'Gifts and Wages', 7.

<sup>174</sup> *London Jilt*, 75.

a non-monetary, gift-based sexual relationship. She therefore “never spoke to him [of money], which was so pleasing to him, that I had him at least three times a Week at my House”, to which he never fails to bring expensive “gifts”.<sup>175</sup> In the most common phrasing for such sexual transactions in the early modern period, she grants him her “favours”.<sup>176</sup> Cornelia is quick to assure the reader that she does not derive sexual satisfaction from her encounters. She says, in fact, that “those old Rusty blades who did it only once in four and twenty hours, were the best, and gave most Money”, since younger men “imagine, because they rarely want Strength and Vigour, that they are not obliged to give money, or at least that they ought not to give much, whereas on the contrary, the others willingly recompence for their Impotence with Cash”.<sup>177</sup> Her assurance serves to undercut the “fear that prostitutes are reaping too much profit, excessive pleasure as well as too much money”.<sup>178</sup> If Cornelia can acquit herself of a debt of pleasure, then the financial arrangement can be square, and the relationship brought under her control. She similarly stresses her acquittal of debt when revenging herself on another customer, Florian, who had imagined that she was “as much smitten with him as he was with me: He began to flatter himself that he was no longer bound to give me Money”.<sup>179</sup> Posing as his wife—at his bequest—Cornelia is able to take charge of his purse, but does not spend all of his money: “for my Intention was not to deprive him of all the sum, tho’ I might have done it

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<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> A lady’s “favour” appears to have grown more specifically sexual over the course of the period, especially as the “last” or “ultimate favour”: Williams, 468–469.

<sup>177</sup> *London Jilt*, 55, 149.

<sup>178</sup> Mandell, 67. This imbalance is brought out again starkly in accounts of prostitutes hired to perform acts in which they are all but unanimously-understood to derive no pleasure—namely, those practices akin to modern BDSM, such as flagellation and faecal play, which I discuss in Chapter Two.

<sup>179</sup> *London Jilt*, 142.

very easily if I had not been afraid of some ill consequence; but I only designed to be paid for the use of my Body, and as he had not the Civility to do it".<sup>180</sup> She is careful not to put herself in his debt.

Encouraging the misrecognition of their economic relationship is profitable because being a "kept miss" was considered far superior to being one of the "Hackney whores" who were "ready to serve every one".<sup>181</sup> "It is certain", Cornelia reasons, that more money is made through such emotional labour, than in outright itemisation of commodities: men "may haunt Misses as a much cheaper Rate, when they know how they must pay every time, than those who have the Fancy, that they are the well-beloved, by reason they never hear 'em speak of reward or recompence".<sup>182</sup> Cornelia enters into such a relationship with the merchant Valere. He proposes to support her, on the condition that she will be faithful to him, and she duplicitously agrees: "as Promises cost neither Money nor Expence, his obliged me to make him such in return, as I had not any Intention to keep".<sup>183</sup> To prevent tautology, it is likely that "Expence" here refers to a more general sense of effort and loss of resources.<sup>184</sup> The consideration she offers in this contract is thus, by her own admission, empty and worthless: it is, to borrow the words of a wise Fool, "the breath of an unfeed lawyer", and subsequently worth "nothing".<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>184</sup> 'expense, n. 1b'. *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/66509?rskey=hUikn6&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 4 September 2012.

<sup>185</sup> Shakespeare, *King Lear*, I.iv.120.

Valere believes that they have entered into a gift relationship, but Cornelia makes her commercial intentions explicit to the reader. She takes additional gallants, since she “had made a Resolution to scrape up on all sides”, and stages a gift relationship with each, professing that he and Valere are her only lovers.<sup>186</sup> Though she does not always deal in cash, she itemises the goods offered to her, and exactly calculates the sexual services required in compensation: “my Caresses were likewise to be recompenced, if not with Money, with a piece of Plate, or a Ring, or some such like matter, that might mount to the value of two or three hundred of a Lady of Pleasures Kisses, which I purchased them with”.<sup>187</sup> For Cornelia, these are clearly not the “ad hoc exchanges... intended to foster the cultivation of personal relationships, [or] a sense of gratitude and loyalty” characteristic of gifts, howsoever much Valere may “misrecognise” them as such.<sup>188</sup>

The deception at work in this relationship is given symbolic expression in Cornelia’s furnishing of her apartment at Valere’s expense. She tells him that she has spent all of the allowance he has given her for the task by buying new furniture in the shops, when in truth she has saved a small remainder by purchasing it secondhand. The extent to which Cornelia forms part of the furnishings of her own apartment is demonstrated in this parallel: like her tables and chairs, she is able to deceive Valere as to her value. Moreover, they are both able to pass for ‘new’, since Valere had been “one of those, whom [Cornelia’s] last Virginities had been sold to”.<sup>189</sup> Cornelia’s boasting

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<sup>186</sup> *London Jilt*, 77.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>188</sup> Hinnant, ‘Gifts and Wages’, 2, 4.

<sup>189</sup> *London Jilt.*, 76.

“Dexterity” with the household stuff reveals the performance at work in her own self-marketing.<sup>190</sup>

It is in this way that Cornelia is most a ‘jilt’. To jilt someone, Thomas Blount wrote, was to “deceive and defeat [their] expectation, more especially in the point of Amours”.<sup>191</sup> This deception is evident in the title’s designation of her as a “politick whore”, which stresses the shrewdness and cunning involved in her deceptive style of whoring.<sup>192</sup> Her name, Cornelia, is also likely to reference the Latin ‘cornu’ (horn), in her role as cornutor for the men such as Valere who think that she is faithful, particularly given the frequency with which its male equivalent, Cornelius, is used for cuckold characters in other texts, such as Sir Cornelius Credulous in *The Politick Whore: Or, The Conceited Cuckold* (1680).<sup>193</sup>

Cornelia’s deception here is in fact a gender-reversal of the relationship deceit increasingly presented as the catalyst for the sentimental whore’s fall. This woman is deceived into thinking that the items presented to her by her ‘lover’ are gifts signifying a relationship; she is then disillusioned by the discovery that they instead function as payment toward her commodity. Once she has repaid this ‘debt’, she is abandoned. Such a situation appears in Defoe’s *Some Considerations Upon Street-Walkers* (1726), where the “Maintenance” and accommodation provided to the prostitute by “Sir James —” leads

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<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>191</sup> ‘jilt, v.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/101309?rskey=6Cz5p6&result=2&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 10 November 2012.

<sup>192</sup> ‘politic, adj. and n. 2b and 2c’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/146885?rskey=qq6MMO&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 10 November 2012.

<sup>193</sup> See further Williams, 310.

to “Hopes” in the deluded woman “of making him like [her] in an honourable Way”.<sup>194</sup> The accommodation turns out to be a bawd’s house, and once Sir James abandons her, the woman is forced to work for the bawd, before she ultimately succumbs to disease, turns thief, and is hanged, though not without first repenting, “awaken’d from [her] Sins”.<sup>195</sup> The sentimental whore’s combination of deception and shame was to become the dominant model in the eighteenth century, as it enabled the reader to sympathise with the situation of the woman.

For Cornelia, however, there is no deception (in her mind) as to the commodified nature of each of her relationships. Where she is deceived by others, it is in different circumstances (the maid, Sarah, for example, informs Philander of Cornelia’s falsified pregnancy).<sup>196</sup> The most prominent swindler in her life is undoubtedly the Rope Dancer, who reappears several times in the novel. When Cornelia is approximately eight years old, the Rope Dancer is responsible for her family’s initial downfall. Playing upon the father’s gullibility, the Rope Dancer appears at their house and lures him into conversation about the acrobatics he is able to perform for his living. Cornelia’s father asks him to teach him. At this point we see the novel’s first example of the dissembling that Cornelia later establishes as a staple of the whore’s trade, in increasing the customer’s desire. She relates how the Rope Dancer “seem’d to refuse him downright at first; but it was only (as I easily perceived afterwards) to enflame the poor Man the more upon this matter”.<sup>197</sup> The

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<sup>194</sup> Defoe, *Some Considerations Upon Street-Walkers. With a Proposal for Lessening the Present Number of Them* (London: 1726), sigs. E2<sup>v</sup>–F1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. F1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>196</sup> *London Jilt*, 93.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.



Rope Dancer gets the father up onto the rope, “twelve or thirteen foot high from the ground”, before removing the ladder, thus stranding him, and proceeding to burgle the house.<sup>198</sup> The father is opened to shame from both his wife and neighbours, who “tho’ they had before their Eyes this tragical Spectacle... burst out alaughing to that degree at [his] Folly, that they were constrained to hold their Sides”.<sup>199</sup> The financial loss and ensuing dissension between Cornelia’s parents cause their business to slide; within three years they relocate to the suburbs, where her father weakens and dies.

When Cornelia next encounters the Rope Dancer it is evident that, although she acts in a manner calculated to her financial advantage, it is the shaming of her family that she most desires to repay. Her opportunity arrives when she is working successfully, with her mother attending her, and the Rope Dancer arrives without suspecting her identity. Shortly after their acquaintance he shows Cornelia a silver box, in which sit portraits of her mother and father. She tells her mother, who immediately wants to “run to a Justice of Peace” and have him arrested, but again asserts her own calculating, economic reasoning against her more emotional mother, putting her off “by reason that it would have been of no advantage to us”.<sup>200</sup> Instead, they set up an elaborate prank that allows them to steal his clothes and money, to the value of approximately £160. They invite him to dinner and spike his drink, so that “he began to act like a Beast and tumble out of the Chair”.<sup>201</sup> They then strip him, and dress him in “an old Cimarra and a rotten Petticoat; and having cut off

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<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

his Moustachoes, I put a Womans Cornet upon his head, with a white Coife".<sup>202</sup> They put him in a (ventilated) coffin, and direct two Porters to carry him to the port of Queen Hive, to be shipped thence to Thisselworth. Cornelia includes a mocking letter explaining her identity to him, and that "I found myself constrained to repair this loss as well as was possible for me".<sup>203</sup> It is evident that, although she makes a monetary profit here, Cornelia takes the most delight in the advantage she gains in shaming him; she notes that she "would willingly have given the fourth part of my Booty... if I could have had the pleasure of seeing him awake", and tells the story to several of her other gallants, despite noting that it causes them to lose trust in her.<sup>204</sup>

Cornelia's "prancks", and other, sometimes highly repetitious episodes that abound in whore narratives, often function similarly to the 'scandals' staged by Brazilian *travesti* prostitutes studied by Don Kulick and Charles Klein. In these staged scandals, the cross-dressed *travesti* deliberately calls attention to his coupling with the male client, in order to shame the client into paying him more money. These actions, Kulick and Klein point out, fulfill the conditions of the "performative gesture: ...a named act that has its own structure, dynamics, and intended consequences".<sup>205</sup> These shaming acts seek to provoke an emotional response in the victim and audience, which is the aspect I will consider in more detail in Chapter Two. But they are also a financial strategy: in these scandals, as in those I wish to highlight in my whore texts, the specified intention of the

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<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 102–103.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 103–104.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 104–105.

<sup>205</sup> Don Kulick and Charles Klein, 'Scandalous Acts: The Politics of Shame Among Brazilian *Travesti* Prostitutes', in *Gay Shame*, ed. Halperin, and Traub (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 313.

prostitute is to procure additional payment (or to keep the already-provided funds without being required to forfeit her own commodity). These shaming acts also serve to lessen the victim's symbolic capital.

The most commonly recycled scandal consists of a relatively simple trick. The woman engages a customer alone in her room, while a male accomplice bursts in and pretends to be her affronted husband. The bully then moves to raise a hue and cry against the cully, unless he pays them more money, or is frightened away before taking his (already paid for) pleasure. This scheme was so well-known that B.E. included it in his 1699 canting dictionary, glossing a "*Bully huff*" as "a poor sorry Rogue that haunts Bawdy-houses, and pretends to get Money out of Gentlemen and others, Ratling [sic] and Swearing the Whore is his Wife, calling to his assistance a parcel of Hectors".<sup>206</sup> Faced with this accusation of having "inhumanely ravished" the man's wife, the ideal cullies protest that "this hubbub may stain our reputation for ever, we're men of quality, and will give you a better satisfaction than the Law will afford for the fact", after swearing to "never speak of it to stain [the Bully's] Credit, and the honesty of [his] Wife".<sup>207</sup> The effectiveness of this ploy rests on the strumpet's ability to pass for a modest woman—that is, a woman of greater value than the prostitute can normatively claim. This in turn increases the symbolic capital of her "husband", and the compensation to which he might be entitled. Defoe engages explicitly with this issue in *Moll Flanders'* case against the Mercer. Moll is able to obtain £150 and a suit of clothes in damages by passing for a "Widow of Fortune",

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<sup>206</sup> B.E., sig. C2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> *Wandering-Whores Complaint*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

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rather than the thief that the Mercer (rightly) calls her.<sup>208</sup> Her appearance is exactly calculated to disguise her true character: she appears “in a new Suit of second Mourning... with a good Pearl Neck-lace, that shut in behind with a Locket of Diamonds... and a very good gold Watch by my Side; so that in a Word, I made a very good Figure, and... I came in a Coach to the Door with my Maid with me”.<sup>209</sup> This is because, as she herself admits, her true identity is of little value in the respectable economy: if “my Name came to be enquir’d into, no Court would give much Damages, for the Reputation of a Person of such a Character”.<sup>210</sup> Moll of course receives her comeuppance for this manner of deception when she marries Jemmy (the Lancashire husband), who it transpires has also fraudulently exaggerated his personal value.

In *The London Jilt* it is the Rope Dancer who achieves the final revenge. Again, this proves a more significant emotional repayment than financial redress. Ironically, the Rope Dancer does so by tricking his way into Cornelia’s house disguised as “a Middle-Aged Woman dressed like a Citizen’s Wife”.<sup>211</sup> He draws a knife upon her, and demands the return of his clothes and money, with interest. Though an alarm is raised before he can take any money, the revenges that he exerts upon Cornelia are symbolic of her criminal—and more specifically, prostitutorial—past. When Cornelia’s maid runs to raise the alarm, she distracts him long enough for Cornelia to release her dog. When the dog attacks him, however, the Rope Dancer enacts a symbolic quartering of him: “he cut open [the dog’s] Belly at one slash with the Knife... insomuch that the poor Creature fell upon the Ground,

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<sup>208</sup> Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 1722, ed. David Blewett (London: Penguin, 1989), 322.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

<sup>211</sup> *London Jilt*, 150.

having still life enough to see his own Entrails drop out”.<sup>212</sup> He then takes a swipe at Cornelia, “cut[ting] [her] over the head”, and she falls down as if dead.<sup>213</sup> Here, a lifetime of feigning the ‘little death’ is evoked in her playing of death proper, which she does successfully enough for him to leave her after hearing the approaching crowd.

Cornelia reflects on how lucky she is to have escaped with only a slash to her forehead, for “tho’ I was so bravely marked yet I thought my self happy in my misfortune, for if I had kept him a night at my House, he would infallibly have robbed me of all that I had in the night, and perhaps he would have marked me ten times as much, if he had not broke my Neck”.<sup>214</sup> But the cutting of her face actually reflects a long tradition of inflicting facial wounds upon sexual transgressors, and particularly in this period, prostitutes. In Amsterdam, this was commonly formulated as a threat to “slice the chops” or give the offender a “red ribbon”, which translated to slicing the corners of their mouth.<sup>215</sup> Van de Pol notes several instances of both men and women threatening this culturally-specific bodily marker, although it was almost unanimously men who enacted the assault.<sup>216</sup> Laura Gowing records similar discourses in early seventeenth-century London, as assailants threatened that they would “slitt your nose and mark you for a whore”.<sup>217</sup> In Richard Head’s *The Canting Academy* (1674), a group of bawds who accuse a prostitute of withholding profits from one of their members threaten that they will “help to strip off

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<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>215</sup> Van de Pol, 52.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 52, 58.

<sup>217</sup> Gowing, ‘Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London’, *History Workshop* 35 (1993), 10.

her cloathes, / And turn her abroad with a slit in her Nose”.<sup>218</sup> The practice was also proverbial in Italy.<sup>219</sup> Facial markings also featured in judicial punishments; the 1650 Adultery Act, for example, prescribed that anyone convicted of bawdry would be “marked with a hot Iron in the forehead with the Letter B”.<sup>220</sup> Ward records the threat of this judicial marking in *The London Spy*, where a volley of abuse to a group of women includes the threat, “Have a care of your Cheeks, you Whores, we shall have you Branded next Sessions, that the World may see your Trade in your Faces”.<sup>221</sup> By attacking Cornelia’s face, the Dancer marks her out as a whore, thus reducing her ability to pass as respectable, in addition to diminishing her beauty and therefore earning potential as a jilt.

Cornelia hides these scars under “Cornets” and other “Forehead-wear of very thick Laces”, but her body by this time is beginning to betray its true history: she notes that within a year of this episode, “my face, my Hands and all my Body became so yellow, by having been too often at the sport... that I was constrained to make use not only of Spanish Paper, but also of Paint, unless I intended to lose my Commerce”.<sup>222</sup> This development enables the author to digress upon the “strange”, or indeed “absolutely incredible” modifications that men and women use to disguise their true bodies and characters.<sup>223</sup> Cornelia identifies women who tie their hands above them when in bed, “only that the Blood may retire, and they seem the whiter”, while others remove “Warts,

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<sup>218</sup> Head, *Canting Academy*, sig. E5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>219</sup> Turner, *Libertines*, 25–26.

<sup>220</sup> ‘May 1650: An Act for suppressing the detestable sins of Incest, Adultery and Fornication’, in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660* (1911), eds. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, 387–389. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56399>> accessed 1 May 2012.

<sup>221</sup> Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat, in Eighteen-Parts* (London: 1703), sig. vii.L2<sup>r</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>222</sup> *London Jilt*, 155.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

Freckles, or some such other like Deformities in their Faces” with “biting Waters”.<sup>224</sup>

“Young wanton Youth[s]” are also guilty of appearing “beribbon’d, painted and curl’d”, with their bodies “strait laced, that they may acquire a long and handsome Shape”.<sup>225</sup>

Elsewhere she notes that aged single women will tighten their facial skin under their caps, so that “no Wrinkles are discovered, because the Fore-top is so strongly fastened, that the Forehead in spite of Teeth must seem smooth; and tho’ this causes a terrible pain in the Head, yet they will not complain of it”.<sup>226</sup> This effort, she says, will only last until the woman secures a new husband, at which point the truth can be let out. Cornelia relies on corsetry to give herself the figure of a younger woman. By lacing herself “as streight underneath as [she] could bear it”, Cornelia raises her softened, naturally sagging breasts to the point—she notes—that they “swell’d in such a manner, that I could rest upon ‘em with my Chin; and were so hard to feel to, that I should still have been taken for a real Maid”.<sup>227</sup>

Cornelia also modifies her body in order to falsify a pregnancy when she learns that her keeper (the fifty-year-old Philander, who believes himself to be in an exclusive gift relationship with her) desires it. The role of women in reproduction was arguably their point of most value. The anti-maternalism of prostitutes was widely believed, both in the supposition that any child produced would be neglected or even murdered, and in a

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<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. For an earlier example of this image, see Quinten Massy’s (1465–1530) ‘An Old Woman (The Ugly Duchess)’, which clearly shows the wrinkles of the old woman’s breasts laced too tightly into her corset. On sagging breasts as characteristic of both age and non-reproductivity, see Valerie A. Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies: A History of Infant Feeding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986), 171.

popular medical opinion that women working as prostitutes would in fact be barren.<sup>228</sup>

Cornelia reveals her belief in this theory, though ultimately finds it to be groundless: “That my Territory was so frequently cultivated by five Men; and that by this reason it seem’d there could not arise any Fruit, by reason that I figured to my self, that the too great abundance of Humidity would be capable of stifling it in its Birth”, she finds herself pregnant.<sup>229</sup> Cornelia’s approach to the pregnancy is perhaps her most brutally economic moment: she is “not over-joyed”, and fears for the pain and risk to her “Beauty” that will reduce her income.<sup>230</sup> She contemplates abortion, but instead resolves to “make use of it to [her] best advantage” by duping each of her gallants into believing himself the father, and providing money.<sup>231</sup> When the girl is stillborn, she echoes the distraught Valere, “who fancied himself the Father of it”, in “pretend[ing] likewise to be very much afflicted”, while in reality she is pleased that the child will not present “inconveniences” for her trade.<sup>232</sup>

This episode imminently inspires her false pregnancy with Philander. This man is entirely mistaken as to the economics of their relationship. He courts her with expensive

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<sup>228</sup> Nicholas Fintanus in *The Womans Doctour* (London: 1652) attributed prostitutes’ infertility to the mingling of “many, and various [men’s] seeds”, and that the “neck of the Matrix is made so slippery, that it cannot retain the mans seed”: in Maurizio Calbi, *Approximate Bodies: Gender and Power in Early Modern Drama and Anatomy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 65. William of Conches in the twelfth century rested his argument on the Galenic idea that orgasm was necessary for conception since the woman needed to release her ‘seed’. Thus, women “who only perform coition for money and who, because of this fact feel no pleasure, emit nothing and therefore engender nothing”: Thomas Laqueur, ‘The Social Evil, the Solitary Vice, and Pouring Tea’, in *Solitary Pleasures: The Historical, Literary, and Artistic Discourses of Autoeroticism*, ed. Paula Bennett and Vernon A. Rosario II (New York: Routledge, 1995), 158. Richard Bunworth in *The Doctresse* (London: 1656) also said that prostitutes were infertile due to the “slipperiness” of their wombs (sig. D1<sup>v</sup>). This belief was not ubiquitous: Magdelana in *The Wandring Whore* often mentions contraceptives, and Hogarth shows a child we assume to be Moll’s in plate five of *A Harlot’s Progress* (Hogarth, 138).

<sup>229</sup> *London Jilt*, 88.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.



presents, while she feigns a coyness that suggests a virgin worth and modesty: “I made him find in me as much Honour and Reservedness as if there had never a Finger come therein”.<sup>233</sup> Cornelia’s eventual concession to him is framed as her ultimate gift that binds him to her; meanwhile, she notes, she is actually entertaining around fifteen other customers.<sup>234</sup> After Philander mentions his desire for a child with her, she conveniently produces the desired commodity. When explaining how she achieves the swelling effect, she specifies that she does not use the obvious cushion, “for those Artifices are something too innocent, and we should receive a great deal of shame and scandal thereby, if the imaginary father should unluckily think of feeling when the Child began to live, for it is a hard matter to deny one to feel *what belongs to him*”.<sup>235</sup> She instead manipulates her corsetry to let out her stomach, which also enables her to tighten herself again when entertaining other clients. This is so effective that Philander even thinks he can feel the child moving, and more strongly on the right side which suggests that it is, even more valuably, a son and possible heir.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 91; my emphasis. False pregnancies are a regular occurrence in whore texts, as are true, commoditised ones, in which several ‘fathers’ are duped into providing financial support. The other domain of false pregnancy in this literature is that of the woman who ‘pleads her belly’ to avoid execution. Although most find a lie sufficient, some counterfeit physical proof. Jenney Voss, after a life of crime, is caught stealing a silver tankard; after which, she “should then have received Sentence of Death, but that she pleaded her Belly: The better to colour which, and to make the Jury of Women believe she was quick with Child, tho indeed she was not, she Drank about a Gallon of New-Ale and Honey, and so deceived them, hoping in this time to gain her Pardon”: *The German Princess Revived: or The London Jilt, Being a True Account of the Life and Death of Jenney Voss* (London: 1684), sig. A4<sup>v</sup>. She of course fails, and is executed after the next Sessions. The effect was likely to be simple bloating; ‘Captain’ Alexander Smith also records this “old strategem” in his *General and True History of the Lives and Actions of the Most Famous Highwaymen* (1714): Siân Rees, *Moll: The Life and Times of Moll Flanders* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2011), 13.

<sup>236</sup> *London Jilt*, 91.

The areas of the body that are depicted as *worth* faking are those which will be most effective in increasing the value of the body as a commodity in total, and the personal worth of the subject. For women this is most obviously evident in the manipulation of the body to suggest youth, virginity and reproductive potential, as with Cornelia's examples above, and in the face which, as Alexander Read noted, "is the [body's] market place, especially in women".<sup>237</sup> The different value that could be attached to different areas of the body, and different bodily excrements, and thus their value as commodities to trade in this economy, is an issue that connects to the role of the nose, and the value of the flesh available for its reconstruction, which I consider in detail in Chapters Three and Four. As Ariane M. Balizet highlights, the question already appears in *Romeo and Juliet*, as Juliet wonders what of Romeo makes him essentially Romeo: "What's Montague? It is nor hand nor foot, / Nor arm nor face, nor any other part / Belonging to a man".<sup>238</sup> In the section of *Chirurgorum Comes* "Concerning Chirurgeons Reports before a Magistrate, upon their view of a wounded Person", different parts of the body are given explicit weighting, for the purposes of assessing harm in cases of "maiming", "wounding", or "mutilating".<sup>239</sup> A definition of maiming, as the harshest verdict, requires harm to a "Member", which the author classes as a part "which is able to

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<sup>237</sup> *Somatographia Anthropine. Or a Description of the Body of Man* (London: 1616), sig. Z3<sup>r</sup>. Compare the passage in *Strange Newes from Bartholomew-Fair* (1661) wherein the Wandering Whore uses the phrase for her genitals: "To entice young punys[,] I lye as open as Noon-day, sit down at the dore, set one foot to the right, the other to the left, as far distant as I can spread my imperfect Limbs, and cry Lads: her's [sic] a can of the best liquor in the fair, claping my hand on my market-place, and saying, here's your Ware boys" (sig. A2<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>238</sup> ll.i.83–85, in Ariane M. Balizet, "'Enamoured of thy Parts': Dismemberment and Domesticity in *Romeo and Juliet*", *Early Modern Literary Studies* 19 (2009), 1.

<sup>239</sup> This section is based on the work of Fortunatus Fidelis, who published what is generally considered to be the first textbook on medical jurisprudence, *De Relationibus Medicorum* (Palermo: 1602); Jason Payne-James, 'The History and Development of Clinical Forensic Medicine Worldwide' in *Clinical Forensic Medicine: A Physician's Guide*, ed. Margaret Stark (Totowa: Humana Press, 2005), 4.

perform a perfect action”.<sup>240</sup> Thus, he reasons that “if the Teeth, Lips, Ears or Nose be cut off, you cannot say a Member is cut off: for tho these parts were taken away, yet the Animal will be deprived of no action thereby”.<sup>241</sup> Such texts lead us toward a hierarchy of the body, which can then be challenged within the shame economies established in texts like *The London Jilt*.

The ‘truth’ of this hierarchy of value becomes evident, I argue, through the shameful characters of those who reject it. In *The Honest London Spy* (1725), the bawd is depicted presenting a lesson in body valuation to a young woman (Nora) who has just arrived in London from Lancashire. Convincing her to enter her employment as a housemaid, the bawd then lays the groundwork for Nora’s true vocation, saying that she will on occasion need to dress well and entertain gentlemen visitors. When she mentions that they may kiss her, Nora objects, to which the bawd asks,

Where’s the hurt of kissing ye? You are but a raw Girl, you don’t know the custom of our Town; we make nothing here of letting Gentlemen kiss us, and feel us too sometimes.... nor do I think it any Crime; if I take you by the hand, don’t I feel you? And is not your Lips the same Flesh and Blood? And so is every other part of your Body.<sup>242</sup>

Cornelia also reasons that “tho several Men of a nice and disdainful Humor, make it a Trade to criticise upon persons, who *make their profit on that part of the Body* [the genitals]; yet I do not think that herein they have any great reason; *For the Fist and the*

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<sup>240</sup> *Chirurgorum Comes: or the Whole Practice of Chirurgery* (London: 1687), sig. Gg7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Gg8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>242</sup> *Honest London Spy*, sig. A8<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

*Tail are made of one and the same Flesh*, and *Sweating* is as easily got by that, as by the most laborious Trade that is exercised".<sup>243</sup> Nevertheless, most texts maintained that "a Cunny [was] the deerest piece of flesh in the whole world", and rightfully so.<sup>244</sup> Garfield is here quoting the infamous bawds' cry of "*No mony no Cony*", which echoed the rhetoric of the market.<sup>245</sup> The construction of prostitution as 'selling flesh' is rampant, with the bawd reviled as one who "lives as openly, by the sale of human flesh, as the butcher does mutton or beef", and B.E. describing her as a "Flesh-broker".<sup>246</sup>

Most striking in these texts is the value given to bodily excrements. Juxtaposing the women who count inalienable possessions such as their honour too cheap, men are seen to engage in practices that commoditise things that are shameful to place value on. In Chapter Two I will focus on the shameful purchase of humiliation among those who engage in practices such as flagellation. Here, I am concerned with scenes in prostitution texts that place value on what were supposed to be utterly worthless human excreta: urine, vomit, and faeces. These excrements function in lieu of the *expected* exchanges of prostitution. In *An Auction of Whores*, a constant system of exchange is set up between the author, reader/customer, and prostitute. The customer's money entitles him to both the pamphlet and the women,

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<sup>243</sup> *London Jilt*, 53; my emphasis. There may also be a joke here about the contraction of a venereal disease through prostitution, since sweating (fluxing) was a vital part of the mercury cure.

<sup>244</sup> Garfield, sig. i.A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, original emphasis. There is a similar theme on the penis as the most valuable part of malekind. On the significance of the penis in this period, see David M. Friedman, *A Mind of its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (Penguin: New York, 2003).

<sup>246</sup> Rubenhold, 174; B.E., sig. E4<sup>v</sup>.

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Some whereof will smile in your face, and yet be ready, behind your backs, to cut your Throats for Sixpence. Others will chuck you under the Chin, with their Left-hands, and with their Right be picking in your pockets. Some will be so drunk, when you carry them to the Tavern, that they will p[iss] on your knees, and hug and kiss you at so damnable a rate, that the stink of their breath will be ready to smother you, and force you to spew. Others will put one hand in your Cod-piece, and another in your Watch-pocket. Others will keep you in discourse, till their Partners carry away your Hat, Cloak, Cane and Gloves[.] Some will spew in your face, when you are busy with them, whilst you are already half stifled by the stink of their breath.<sup>247</sup>

Here is a complex exchange of money, blood, vomit, breath, sex, clothing, and even life itself, which can be valued at as little as “Sixpence” in this economy. The motif appears again in Rochester’s ‘Song’ (‘I rise at eleven’), wherein he writes that,

I send for my *Whore*, when for fear of a *Clap*,  
I Spend in her hand, and I spew in her *Lap*:  
...Then slyly she leaves me, and to revenge th’affront,  
At once she bereaves me of *Money*, and *Cunt*.<sup>248</sup>

Rochester directly equates his money and access to his whore’s “Cunt”, which is so devalued by its association with the “Clap” that it is only worth his vomit. In this non-reproductive economy, however, this is worth as much as his “Spend[ings]”; just as in ‘The

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<sup>247</sup> *Auction of Whores*, sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>248</sup> Lines 3–8, original emphasis.

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Imperfect Enjoyment' he notes of his lover that her body parts are ultimately interchangeable, since "Her hand, her foot, her very look's a Cunt", here his seed is reduced to the level of all his other bodily excreta.<sup>249</sup> In *The London Jilt* this paradox is most evident in the climactic scene with Cornelia's final narrated customer, the German, with whom she stays in Antwerp. Cornelia relates how, coming to bed "beastly drunk", the German's

jogling did so raise the Wine, the Meat, and all the *German* had eaten that Evening, that in a moment he Vomited upon my Face a pot of Filth, and this Evacuation being followed by three or four more of the same nature, I began to fear that Night would have been the last of my Life; for being so weary that I could hardly draw my Breath, which perhaps made me open my Mouth something too wide, there entred into my throat such a great quantity of that villainous stuff, that I thought I had been stifled... as I was busy in cleaning my Mouth, my Stomach received the Air of this insupportable stink, so that I vomitted all I had therein, with such a Violence, that I began to bleed at the Nose. In the mean while as I could not cry out I made such a noise with my Hands against the Beds teaster that at length one of the Maids came up with a light.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Line 18. David Farley-Hills notes that Rochester draws similar equivalencies with his poetry, which he describes as "th' Excrements of my dull brain"; poetry is rendered the "psychological equivalent of ejaculation or defecation": *Rochester's Poetry* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 204.

<sup>250</sup> *London Jilt*, 163.

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The German is compelled by the landlady to pay for the soiling of the sheets, but is more importantly made to pay by Cornelia for the shaming that she receives from this woman and her maid. After “studying of the means to make him pay for this disorder”, she stages an accidental spilling of the full chamber pot onto his face.<sup>251</sup> At this she assesses the value of her own form of physical release: “as I saw the Piss still trickling from his Hair into this poor Wretches Eyes, I was taken with so great a desire to laugh, for I would willingly have given a Guinney or two to have eas’d and given that satisfaction to my Breast”.<sup>252</sup> Cornelia stresses that the urine in the pot is the German’s; she has faked her input, and thus provides nothing in this transaction. She notes with surprise that “there was still in his Body humidity enough remaining, to fill the Chamber pot”, after “he had so swingingly skinned the Fox”.<sup>253</sup> Hinnant glosses this phrase as a “Slang expression for come to a sexual climax”; however, it is actually referring to the German’s vomiting, which has here replaced his semen as the consideration that Cornelia receives in the exchange.<sup>254</sup> Her repugnance at this valuation of her proffered commodity is what provokes her revenge.

Read economically, this and similarly effluvia-rich episodes of the novel represent far more than the “scatological” mode found “distasteful” by Thompson, or—in Bonnie Blackwell’s reading—as emblems of Cornelia’s “progressive moral degradation.”<sup>255</sup> At the least they taint the commodities exchanged with the mark of their vendor, testifying to their inalienability. More substantially, however, their exchange in this particular realm

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<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>254</sup> Hinnant, *London Jilt*, 164<sup>n</sup>; on “skinning the fox” see Tilley F652.

<sup>255</sup> Thompson, ‘The London Jilt’, 290–291; Blackwell, ‘How the Jilt Triumphed over the Slut: The Evolution of an Epithet, 1660–1780’, *Women’s Writing* 11.2 (2004), 150.

revalues them. The author of a letter to the *Weekly Journal*, published on May 14, 1726, writes vehemently of the “Folly and loose Behaviour” of “a particular Society of self-conceited Buffoons”.<sup>256</sup> In addition to the “Flogging Culls” who enjoy being flagellated, “Pumpers” who “are pleas’d with the Dexterity of [the prostitute’s] Hand”, and “Shackling Culls” who engage in bondage and voyeurism, the author ‘Philogynus’ (literally, ‘woman lover’) also describes activities that may be said to engage in this most shameful sort of commoditisation.<sup>257</sup> First, he describes the “Snarling Culls” who lie under the whores’ table while they eat, pretending that they are dogs; meanwhile, “the Women eat the Flesh and throw [the men] the Bones”.<sup>258</sup> While the bones here function as props in a particularly theatrical fantasy of humiliation, they are also here transformed from worthless items into desired commodities. This perverse revaluation is made even more explicit in his final “Sort of Men”,

who make Women drink Claret till they p[i]ss White-Wine, and then drink it with more Content and Pleasure, than some People wou’d take in tossing up a Glass of downright Lisbon, or Mountain [wines]; nay, [they] will not scruple (Oh swinish and brutish Action!) to lick up the very Excrements of Nature.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> *The Weekly Journal: Or, The British Gazetteer* No. 55 (14 May 1726), 1.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*



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Garfield also records a customer of Magdalena's bawdy house who will pay to be allowed to "shite in one of our wenches mouth's".<sup>260</sup> Thus, the most conventionally valueless of human excrements—urine and faeces—are given value in a shameful economy.

The negotiation and interpretability of value—both personal and in the alienable commodities on offer—is a key concern of whore texts like *The London Jilt*. For prostitutes like Cornelia, success is dependent upon her ability to navigate both the normative economy, and a particular shame economy; the failed alienation of sexual commodities leave prostitutes at risk of commoditisation themselves. In the next chapter I will look more specifically at the emotionology of shame in these textual and historical communities.

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<sup>260</sup> Garfield, sig. iii.B1<sup>r</sup>.

## **“The Custome of Sinning taketh away the Sense of Shame”:**

### **Shame and the Bawd.**

The circulation of prostitutes’ bodies and their products through the streets of London represented a shameful commoditisation of the body and its parts, and a failed commoditisation and alienation of its services. In this chapter, I explore the role and negotiation of shame in prostitution texts—some explicitly fictional, such as Thomas Otway’s *Venice Preserved* (1682), and some claiming reportage, such as the Old Bailey Proceedings. In Part One I consider the emotionology of shame as it can be discerned through representations of BDSM practices, and a shameful sexual economy more broadly.<sup>1</sup> I examine the hierarchization of sexual acts within this economy, and the construction of flagellation and other alternative sexual practices as the shameful last recourses of aged and/or diseased prostitutes. In Part Two, I examine the bawd’s role in this commoditised sexuality. I argue that her brazen presentation of a legibly shameful body marks her as the embodiment of failed social and judicial shaming practices. The rise of this shameless figure, I argue, enabled the opening of a space for the victimised sentimental whores of the eighteenth century, who were “taken into [the bawds’] Hands without any the least Suspicion, previous Temptation, or Admonition to what Place they

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<sup>1</sup> BDSM: Bondage, Dominance, Sadism, Masochism. Bondage and discipline “includes any play that employs restraint and corporal punishment”; domination and submission “can encompass any practice that explicitly involves power”; sadism and masochism “focuses on physical play, in the form of pain and intense sensation”: Julienne Corboz, *The S&M Experience: Affirmations and Transgressions of Self* (dissertation, University of Melbourne, 2003), 14.

[we]re going”.<sup>2</sup> In each section, I utilise elements from modern queer theory to interrogate the significance of shame in these texts, and the bawd’s corruption of young women to her non-normative sexual economics. In later chapters, I will use these interrogations of shame and the legibly deviant body to examine the role of the nose—specifically, that of the syphilitically-destroyed nose—in this period, and the impact of this upon medical culture and other areas. These chapters also contribute to my overarching concern with the early modern body on sale, in both prostitution and skin grafts.

## Part One

### **“Affecting glory from vices”: Negotiating Shame in Prostitution Texts.**

When Richard Steele qualified his use of the term “whore” in 1712, he stressed that it should only be applied to those women who had lost all sense of shame. Provided that a woman had enough “Good” left “to be ashamed”, or at least to appear so, she was not a true whore:

We shall therefore, according as the Circumstances differ, vary our Appellations of these Criminals: Those who offend only against themselves, and are not Scandals to Society, but out of Deference to the sober Part of the World, have so much Good left in them as to be ashamed, must not be huddled in the common Word due to the worst

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<sup>2</sup> Richard Steele, *Spectator* No. 266 (4 January 1712), ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) volume 2 of 5, 536.

of Women; but Regard is to be had to their Circumstances when they fell, to the uneasy Perplexity under which they lived under senseless and severe Parents, to the Importunity of Poverty, to the Violence of a Passion in its Beginning well grounded, and all other Alleviations which make unhappy Women resign the Characteristick of their Sex, Modesty.<sup>3</sup>

Previously, Steele had written of an encounter with a “strange Creature” in Covent Garden who delivered her proposition with an attempt at such shamelessness, as “she affected to allure [him] with a forced Wantonness in her Look and Air”.<sup>4</sup> Steele saw through her performance, however, and was struck with pity, prompting him to give her a crown. At this, “the poor Thing sighed, curtsied, and... turned from [him]”.<sup>5</sup> Sensing the girl’s shame at both her prostitution and receipt of charity, Steele credits her with exactly the innocence and ill-usage by “cruel hands” that would differentiate her from “the worst of women”.<sup>6</sup> Defoe also remarked on the true shamelessness of “common Strumpets”; walking between Charing Cross and Ludgate, he noted that,

I have evry now and then been put to the Halt... [by] an *audacious* Harlot, whose *impudent* Leer shewd she only stopp’d my Passage in order to *draw my Observation on her*; at other times, by Twitches on the Sleeve, *lewd and ogling* Salutations; and not infrequently by the more profligate *Impudence* of some Jades, who *boldly* dare to seize a Man by

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 274 (14 January 1712), vol. 2, 568.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 266 (4 January 1712), vol. 2, 534–535.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 535.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

the Elbow, and make *insolent* Demands of Wine and Treats before they  
let him go.<sup>7</sup>

English whores, he said, were especially immodest: “we see those Creatures so triumphantly throwing off, in order to gain customers, that Modesty, which in all Ages and all Nations besides, was thought a necessary Masque, and help’d them to succeed in their Designs”.<sup>8</sup> The possibility that modesty was actually nothing but a “Masque” adopted by virtuous women not only exposed the difficulty with which true virtue might be read, but brought its very existence into question.<sup>9</sup>

When passing as Squire Limberham’s wife in *The London Jilt*, Cornelia confirms her true whore identity through a shamelessness that necessitates a conscious feigning of modesty:

I cast down my Eyes upon the Ground just as if I had been out of  
Countenance, but I can assure, that Shame had taken its last leave of me  
for above a Year before, for I had seen so much, and heard so many  
things in my Mothers House, that I was wholly a Stranger to growing  
Pale or blushing.<sup>10</sup>

“Daniel Dogerel” noted that it was too easy for one to “look [as] demure as Bawd in Cart”, referring to arrested women’s performances of shame and penitence that would secure

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<sup>7</sup> *Some Considerations Upon Street-Walkers*, sig. B1<sup>v</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Jennie Mills, ‘Rape in Early Eighteenth-Century London: A Perversion ‘so very perplexed’’, in *Sexual Perversions, 1670–1890*, ed. Peakman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 156.

<sup>10</sup> *London Jilt*, 68.

them from worse punishments.<sup>11</sup> A conscious performance of shame was itself shameful, since it usurped the supposed inevitability of shame in the transgression of socially-mandated standards of behaviour. It also exposed shame's vulnerability to forgery, and the difficulty of discerning performative from performed shame.

The judicial system did its best to both prompt and use shame in punishing and reintegrating prostitutes and other criminals through publicising devices like the pillory. The shaming effect of these punishments was so powerful that anyone treated in such a manner was open to their scandal. In 1647 the Leveller Richard Overton complained that the politically-motivated arrest of his wife had been undertaken in such a way as to expose her to a whore's shame: the Lords' "order that she shall be cast into the most infamous Gaole of Bride-well, that common Centre and receptacle of bauds, whores, and strumpets, [was] more fit for their wanton retrograde Ladies, than for one, who never yet could be taxed of immodesty, either in countenance, gesture, words or action."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, her resistance to arrest resulted in her being dragged through "the dirt and the mire of the streetes", so

that for the future... she should not passe the streets upon her  
necessary occasions any more without contumely and derision, scoffing,  
hissing and poynting at her, with such or the like sayings, as, see, see,

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<sup>11</sup> Daniel Dogerel, *The Life of Cato the Censor* (London: 1714), 24.

<sup>12</sup> In Ann Hughes, 'Gender Politics in Leveller Literature', in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, ed. Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 179.

there goes a strumpet that was dragged through the streetes to  
Bridewell.<sup>13</sup>

Overton's remarks also highlight the ongoing, informal shaming inflicted by communities on members arrested for these offences.

Historians such as Robert Shoemaker and Sarah Toulalan argue, however, that by the eighteenth century "shame was no longer something that was understood to be public"; rather, among populations who increasingly did not know or particularly care what their neighbours were up to, shame "became interiorized".<sup>14</sup> While the reintegrative shaming of women away from prostitution remained popular, its effectiveness was increasingly interrogated. Shaming punishments could only be effective if the woman was "Convicted by her own Conscience".<sup>15</sup> In fiction the brazen harlot of the Restoration gave way to the sentimental whore, whose confessional narratives were testimonies to her interiorised shame.

For example, concessions of shame play a significant role in *Moll Flanders*. Moll concedes a sort of pleasure in her shame when she knows that it is expected and that the experience of it will enable her salvation: "I was cover'd with Shame and Tears for all things past, and yet had at the same time a secret surprizing Joy at the Prospect of being a true Penitent".<sup>16</sup> These acknowledgements dominate the century; to take one other example, 'Leucippe's' letter to *The Theatre* relates her deception by a Man of the Town,

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Toulalan, 122. See also Shoemaker, 'Streets of Shame? The Crowd and Public Punishments in London, 1700–1820', in *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500–1900: Punishing the English*, ed. Simon Devereaux and Paul Griffiths (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 232–257.

<sup>15</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. v.A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 366.

and abandonment in a bawdy house. In garnering the reader's sympathy, she is up-front about the shame that she says taints any possible sexual enjoyment:

though I was the slave and instrument of delight to others, I very seldom or ever had a moment of sincere satisfaction; for the pleasures of a loose life carry but half the will with them; and the diffidence, the want of respect, and the consciousness that neither has any value for the other, pollute the enjoyment, and pall the gratification in secret but mutual shame and contempt.<sup>17</sup>

As ultimate proof of her shame, she points out that she has not become a bawd, but has instead offered herself as a lesson and warning to others.<sup>18</sup>

The rise of the ashamed sentimental whore was accompanied by a heightened narrative importance of the shameless whore-turned-bawd, who represented both the prostitute community (her identity as bawd relying on the women she could offer), and the failure of judicial shaming practices. The rise of the bawd would in fact lessen this signification of community, as she moved from a co-conspirator of the wanton strumpet, to a predator upon her female commodities. In the late-eighteenth century, Cindy McCreery argues, both bawds and the "male customers... who promote prostitutes' presence on the streets are sometimes shown as members of [the prostitutes'] subculture, but are more often depicted as outsiders".<sup>19</sup> The manipulation and performance of shame by these women brought into contention both the legibility of the

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<sup>17</sup> *The Theatre* No. 6 (19 January 1720), sig. E1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> McCreery, 40.



emotion itself, and its role in restricting them and others from engaging in “shameful” activities. Judicial punishments, particularly flagellation, also increasingly featured in sexual tableaux in both literature and reality, in ways that suggested new avenues of ‘desirable’ shame.

Shame is both a powerful token of secular modernity and one of the most primal passions of Judeo-Christianity—the first emotion of post-Lapsarian man in Genesis 3:7.<sup>20</sup> Shame differs from guilt or embarrassment by centring on faults of being: whereas one feels guilt for something one has done, shame “attacks your sense of self”.<sup>21</sup> As Walter Charlton explained, “*Shame... ariseth from an unwary discovery of some Defect or infirmity in us*”.<sup>22</sup> Drawing on the work of psychologist Silvan Tomkins, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick writes of shame as a “sensation whose very suffusiveness seems to delineate my precise, individual outlines in the most isolating way imaginable”.<sup>23</sup> Shame’s isolating effect was well known to early modern people, and of increased importance in an era in which the self was still defined primarily intersubjectively. Speeches about shame routinely highlight the fact that it dissociates the individual from the group. A sermon against sleeping in church asks,

Is it not a shameful thing to have the Minister call out aloud to awaken you? and then the Eyes of all the Assembly are upon you as one that is ridiculous: as much to say, Who is that shameless Wretch...? let us see

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<sup>20</sup> One shame and modernity see Norbert Elias, *On the Civilising Process*, 1939, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon, 1982).

<sup>21</sup> Elspeth Probyn, *Blush: Faces of Shame* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2005), xii.

<sup>22</sup> Charlton, *A Natural History of the Passions*, Second Edition (London: 1701), sig. H1<sup>r</sup>v; original emphasis.

<sup>23</sup> Sedgwick, ‘Shame, Theatricality’, 50.

him, that we may set some remarks upon him. Who would not blush then at so shameful a thing condemned by God, reprov'd by the Minister, detested and abhorred by the People?<sup>24</sup>

This is the purpose of shaming practices—inculcating the isolation of abjection.<sup>25</sup>

Simultaneously, however, shame produces “interpersonal bridge[s]” by generating sympathy, or—more powerfully—exposing the witness to his or her own shame.<sup>26</sup> While the viewer does not share the other’s identity, since their “precise, individual outlines” are crucially preserved, he or she is forced to “recognise that [s/he] too is prone to shame”.<sup>27</sup> Such recognition of shared abjection enables the formulation of what Douglas Crimp terms “collectivities of the shamed”.<sup>28</sup> Crimp cites Michael Warner’s argument that

A relation to others [in queer contexts] begins in an acknowledgement of all that is most abject and least reputable in oneself. Shame is bedrock. Queers can be abusive, insulting, and vile towards one another, but because abjection is understood to be the shared condition they also know how to communicate through such camaraderie a moving and unexpected form of generosity.... Queer scenes are the true *salons des refusés*, where the most heterogeneous people are brought

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<sup>24</sup> *A Serious and Seasonable Invective against Sleeping in the Church, Briefly Shewing the Sin, Shame and the Danger of it* (London: 1683), 1.

<sup>25</sup> I am not using “abjection” in the Kristevan sense, but rather—like Crimp, and Warner below—in its more literal sense of degradation, which may produce shame.

<sup>26</sup> Sedgwick, ‘Shame, Theatricality’, 50.

<sup>27</sup> Crimp, 72.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

into great intimacy by their common experience of being despised and rejected in a world of norms that they now recognise as false morality.<sup>29</sup>

Shame forces both humbleness and creativity, as those within the collectivity reinterpret their identities and behaviours in contradistinction to dominant cultural ideologies.<sup>30</sup>

The whore texts' underworld can be productively considered along similar lines. Within the abjected emotional community, markers of shame inflicted by the "world of norms" are reconfigured as signs of identity and belonging.<sup>31</sup> For example, Ward's *Secret History of Clubs* profiles a "No-Nose Club", whose members' disfigurement attests their shameful history of venereal disease.<sup>32</sup> Together, however, "they began to Jest, and be as Merry with one anothers Iniquities, as if their Sins were their Pride, and their Sufferings their Glory, every one being as free of their past Vices and Intrigues, as Gossips o'er their Ale, are of their Husbands Infirmities".<sup>33</sup> Similarly, Moll Flanders' Londonish shame upon arriving in Virginia and discovering her mother's branding as a thief is mitigated by her mother's insistence that, in a penal colony, it is no marker of deviance: "my Mother

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<sup>29</sup> *The Trouble With Normal* (1999); in Crimp, 72.

<sup>30</sup> Tension between those who advocate utilisation of abject queer collectivities, and more dominant "gay pride" movements, has become a significant factor in current LGBTIQ activism and popular culture; from its geographic embodiment in the American television series *Queer as Folk*, of Liberty Avenue's nightclubs and bath-houses against the suburbia of "Stepford fags", to ambivalence about gay marriage rights from figures such as J. Jack Halberstam and Rachel Maddow who are concerned over losing "the creativity of subcultures": *Queer as Folk*, Showtime, 2000–2005; Maddow in Marisa Guthrie, 'Rachel Maddow: How This Wonky-Tonk Woman Won TV', *Hollywood Reporter*, 10 May 2011 <<http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/rachel-maddow-msnbc-243775>>, accessed 31 December 2011; Halberstam, *Gaga Feminism: Sex, Gender, and the End of Normal* (Boston: Beacon, 2012), 114 and *passim*. For other criticism of assimilationist LGBTIQ movements see Halperin and Traub (particularly their introduction, 'Beyond Gay Pride'), and Matilda Bernstein Sycamore, ed., *That's Revolting! Queer Strategies for Resisting Assimilation* (New York: Soft Skull Press, 2008).

<sup>31</sup> Ungerer also says of the women involved in prostitution that "The least one can say is that marginalization had forged a nurturing culture for the benefit of prostitutes in need, particularly in 'childbed'" and provides some examples of prostitutes and bawds helping each other (170).

<sup>32</sup> Sigs. D2<sup>v</sup>–D8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. D6<sup>v</sup>.

(smiling) said, you need not think such a thing strange, *Daughter*, for... some of the best Men in this Country are burnt in the Hand, and they are not ashamed to own it".<sup>34</sup> Ward expressly criticised this reframing of shame in penal colonies in recounting his visit to Jamaica. Of the female residents of Port Royal, he noted that,

They are such who have been *Scandalous* in *England* to the utmost degree, either *Transported* by the *State*, or led by their *Vicious Inclination*; where they may be *Wicked*, without *Shame*; and *Whore* on, without *Punishment*. / They are Stigmatiz'd with *Nick-Names*, which they bear, not with *Patience* only, but with *Pride*.... *Swearing*, *Drinking*, and *Obscene Talk*, are the principal Qualifications that render them acceptable to *Male Conversation*; and she that wants a perfection in these admirable Acquirements, shall be as much Ridicul'd for her *Modesty*, as a *Plain-dealing Man* amongst a Gang of *Knaves*, for his *Honesty*.<sup>35</sup>

To the outside world, Ward describes Port Royal as "the very *Sodom* of the Universe".<sup>36</sup> But within it, the acceptance of "Stigmatiz[ation]" offers the possibility of a collectivity forming. In fact, it is the "Ridicul[ing]" of others for their "Modesty" that most threatens this formation, as the collectivity establishes its own "norms" and hierarchies of compliance. In Crimp's formulation, the performance of pride closes off the possibility for shame collectivities because it excludes those who remind ourselves and others of our

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<sup>34</sup> Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 134.

<sup>35</sup> Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

abjection. As David Caron adds, pride also “produces an additional level of shame—it makes us ashamed of our shame”.<sup>37</sup> The abjection of outsiders both hinders their integration into the community, and threatens the collectivity as a whole. In whore texts, the performed pride of the literary bawds and whores includes the shaming of those with whom they might otherwise be expected to form a “collectivity”. The level of shame attributable to different acts and desires comes to the fore. The prostitutes’ clients are my primary focus here, and most particularly those who request— to borrow a current term—‘non-vanilla’ activities.<sup>38</sup> Other examples of those routinely berated by the bawds and prostitutes would include “private whores”, and sodomites.<sup>39</sup>

An example of this shaming appears in John Garfield’s *The Wandering Whore* (1660), where the client Francion is duped into thinking that he has impregnated the prostitute Julietta. He reveals both his culpability and his shame at association with her in replying, “I hope not so, I would not be discredited nor discovered for a thousand Pounds”.<sup>40</sup> Each gallant’s desire and gullibility in falling for the women’s tricks reveal him to be shamefully at their mercy; the customer is “A Cully to each *Wappin* [Wapping]

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<sup>37</sup> Caron, ‘Shame on Me, or The Naked Truth about Me and Marlene Dietrich’, in *Gay Shame*, ed. Halperin and Traub (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 120.

<sup>38</sup> See Lauren Rosewarne for definitions of “vanilla”: *Part-time Perverts: Sex, Pop Culture, and Kink Management* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011), 1–23.

<sup>39</sup> The whores’ and bawds’ verbal abuse of sodomites is often couched in economic terms, and in this might be compared to their complaints against the private whores who also steal their trade: see eg. Garfield, sigs. iv.A2<sup>v</sup>–A3<sup>r</sup>. Stephen Shapiro argues that the period’s depiction of male and female prostitutes as hostile competitors is grounded in class anxieties; the authors aim to prevent awareness of “an urban, plebeian society that recognises its internal differences and nonetheless maintains a self-conscious solidarity against middle class attitudes” (157). Cf. Norton’s reading of these texts as evidence of “malevolence genuinely felt by the female prostitutes of London towards the mollies” (68).

<sup>40</sup> Sig. iv.B1<sup>v</sup>.

Whore”.<sup>41</sup> His shame is then redoubled through the women’s narration of the pranks; for “your Back’s no sonner [sic] turn’d, but she tells her Stallion you’re a nasty, sickly, feeble Fellow, and that as soon as she has perswaded you out of the Settlement and the new Furniture, she’ll first affront you, and then leave you”.<sup>42</sup> As Warner argues, shame does not need to be seen as perceptible to the victim in order for the shamer to feel power, as his example of the sixteenth-century French habit of slapping and verbally abusing the corpses of dead men demonstrates.<sup>43</sup> Garfield’s bawd, Magdelana, shares this opinion; she “love[s] not to hear evil spoke of the deceased,” on the grounds that she may herself be subjected to such indefensible slanders.<sup>44</sup> The important thing for her is that she is able to brazen out whatever shaming tactics are thrown at her—an agency, of course, that the dead do not have.

Shame was depicted in the early modern period as a passion to be read on the body, and particularly in the face. Thomas Wright in *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1604) noted that “Superiors may learne to conjecture the affections of thir [sic] subjectes mindes, by a silent speech pronounced in their very countenances”.<sup>45</sup> Charlton remarked that shame “puts us for the most part to the *Blush*, which is its proper Sign”.<sup>46</sup> Sedgwick

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<sup>41</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. i.A3<sup>v</sup>. Cf. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White on nineteenth-century gentlemen’s shame at their attraction to their ‘mere’ domestic staff: *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), 160–161.

<sup>42</sup> *Country Gentleman’s Vade Mecum* (London: 1699), sig. H8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Warner, ‘Pleasures and Dangers of Shame’, in *Gay Shame*, ed. Halperin and Traub (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 290.

<sup>44</sup> Garfield, sig. iv.A3<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> In Naomi Baker, *Plain Ugly: The Unattractive Body in Early Modern Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 71. See also Katherine Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>46</sup> Charlton, sig. H1<sup>v</sup>. As a critic of cosmetics maintained in 1662, “The Maidens blush shews Grace, but sable spot / Bewrayes proud shamelesse vice that blushes not” (*Wonder of Wonders*, sig. A4<sup>r</sup>).

also highlights the physical manifestations of shame that render it “a form of communication”: “Blazons of shame, the ‘fallen face’ with eyes down and head averted—and, to a lesser extent, the blush—are semaphores of trouble and at the same time a desire to reconstitute the interpersonal bridge”.<sup>47</sup> Both Sedgwick and early modern writers read the blush as involuntary, which for Sedgwick renders it a less effective signal of “desire” for communication than other, self-conscious displays.<sup>48</sup> To say that an act would cause even a bawd to blush—thus displaying *real* shame—was one of the period’s strongest indictments.<sup>49</sup> In early modern texts, anxiety over such signals’ ambiguity is prevalent in the deceptions of whores who are able to pass for modest women by counterfeiting postures of sexual shame. Conceding shame through these signals can function as a means of connection with those individuals or groups (actual or imagined) before whom you are ashamed—a means of asking for approbation, or for the assurance that you have nothing to be ashamed of. This invitation for sympathy became a prominent feature of sentimental whore narratives.

In contrast, the ostentatious performance of pride functions as a means of closing off this invitation. Charlton refers to this “contempt of Shame” as “*Impudence*”, and a performance: “no Passion, but a certain *Vice* opposite to Shame”.<sup>50</sup> Like those in Warner’s formulation who embrace their abjection from the “world of norms” in recognition that it

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<sup>47</sup> Sedgwick, ‘Shame, Theatricality’, 50.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> See eg. Dunton, *Bumography*, which announces that homosexual acts in either sex are enough to make the famous bawd Elizabeth “Cresswell (were she living) blush” (sig. D1<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>50</sup> Charlton, sig. H1<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis. The distinction between impudence and shamelessness is also evident in *The Prentices Answer to the Whores Petition* (London: 1668), which says to the prostitutes soliciting in their doorways that their “damned impudence hath made [them] shameless” (sig. A1<sup>r</sup>).

is driven by a “false morality”, the people who Charlton sees as most likely to embrace “impudence” are those who have been subjected to “grievous *contumelies*”.<sup>51</sup> These, Steele had noted, were in fact greater cause for shame on the part of the accuser: “Calling Names does no Good; to speak worse of any Thing than it deserves, does only take off from the Credit of the Accuser, and has implicitly the Force of an Apology in the Behalf of the Person accused”.<sup>52</sup> The victim may accept the proffered shame, or forcefully reject it, and Ward notes that women’s modesty may be preyed upon through this means. He writes of a corrupt pimp-turned-constable, who will have an associate accuse a woman in public of harlotry in order to convince her that she must be doing something immodest, and “when once he has thus Captivated a poor Cloven Mortal, Convicted by her own Conscience, he *be-Devils* the silly *Harlot* with his sweetning and souring till he has empty’d her Pockets”.<sup>53</sup> The effects of unjust shaming are also evident in his characterisation of a gossip, who “can make a *Whore*, or a *Cuckold*, so very Cunningly with her Tongue, that a Man shall believe his Wife to be the one, and himself the other, tho’ they are, in Truth, neither”.<sup>54</sup> Actual transgression is not required for the woman to take on the shame of a whore.

In contrast, Chalton says that once the subject is “accustomed” to experiencing such unjustified shaming (what Thomas Hobbes described as “the disgracing of another

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<sup>51</sup> Warner in Crimp, 72; Charlton, sig. H2<sup>r</sup>, original emphasis. Disney echoed these concerns in his pamphlet on the Society for the Reformation of Manners: *An Essay Upon the Execution of the Laws Against Immorality and Prophaneness* (London: 1708), 153–154.

<sup>52</sup> *Spectator* No. 274 (14 January 1712), vol. 2, 568.

<sup>53</sup> *London Terræfilius*, sig. v.A3<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.



for his own pastime”) he can come to disregard this particular construction of dishonour, and

by degrees comes to despise [it], of no force to hinder his enjoyment of commodities belonging to his body, whereby he measures all *good* and *evil*; thereby freeing himself from many necessities and streights to which honor would have obliged him.<sup>55</sup>

So re-educated, Charlton laments, the man may learn to “be ashamed of virtuous actions, or affect glory from vices”.<sup>56</sup> Freedom from the constraints of honour enables the collectivity; however, once the bawd becomes an utterly shameless character who “affects glory from vices”, thus placing herself above others in a shameful economy, the collectivity’s formation is again at risk.

Both “bawd” and “whore” function in this period as “injurious names”: “a name that interpolates its object as a certain type of subject, through which they are scorned and degraded”.<sup>57</sup> As one writer expressed it in 1699, “their very Names, the very Title of a *Bawd*, and a *Whore*, is sufficient to fright a Sober Man, not only from their Embraces, and Conversation, but even out of all manner of Lustful Thoughts and Inclinations”.<sup>58</sup> Both “bawd” and “whore” could be used as general shaming insults, in which case, Gowing

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<sup>55</sup> Hobbes in ‘contumely, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press. <http://oed.com/view/Entry/40628?rkey=T87Nd4&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 6 December 2011; Charlton, sig. H2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Charlton, sig. K6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Belinda Johnston, glossing Judith Butler: ‘Renaissance Body Matters: Judith Butler and the Sex That Is One’, *International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies* 6.1–2 (2001), 85.

<sup>58</sup> *Country Gentleman’s Vade Mecum*, sig. H3<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

argues, they related “only opaquely to actual sex”.<sup>59</sup> Court records show that this continued to some extent into the early eighteenth century.<sup>60</sup> Significantly they have the power to insult even among the professional harlots of *The Wandring Whore*. In one incident, a prostitute called Susan Leming is tricked by her company and left with a tavern bill she cannot pay; she is abused by the tavern staff and “called W— to her face for her labor”.<sup>61</sup> This is the only occasion in Garfield’s pamphlets in which the word “Whore” is censored, typographically emphasising the shaming, “injurious” nature of the word in this particular context. The shaming of women through such injurious titles serves to secure the speaker’s own position.<sup>62</sup> Steele notes this behaviour in “the rigider Part of Womankind”, who “speak... with so little Mercy” of other women’s faults, many of which he says should rather inspire “pity”. He represents such attacks as themselves shameful, dubbing the accusers the “over-offended Ladies, the outrageously virtuous”.<sup>63</sup>

Garfield positions *The Wandring Whore* as itself a shaming mechanism: he will “discover” both the public and “private whores”, and “what they commit in private, shall

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<sup>59</sup> Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 59.

Used in this sense, the term ‘bawd’ continues the general tradition of sex-mad older women, particularly widows, who lose their heads and their business sense over a young man; one might remember Chaucer’s Wife of Bath signing her property over to her violent fifth husband, Jankyn.

<sup>60</sup> See for example: Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t16940418-27 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 18 April 1694, trial of Jonathan Easden; Bridewell Royal Hospital: Minutes of the Court of Governors, 6 January 1689 – 8 August 1695, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, BBBRMG202010497 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, 2 August 1695; Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17220907-64 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 7 September 1722, trial of Susan Higner.

<sup>61</sup> Garfield, sig. iv.B1<sup>r</sup>. Leming may have been a real woman; she reappears in *Select City Quaeries* (London: 1660), sig A3<sup>v</sup>–A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Blackwell, 145.

<sup>63</sup> *Spectator*, No. 266 (4 January 1712), vol. 2, 536.

be published and proclaimed upon the house tops”.<sup>64</sup> In dramatic contrast is Ward’s preface to *The London Spy*, in which he claims that his “*Design... is not to Affront or Expose any Body*”, and in fact mocks “any unhappy Sinner, [who] thro’ the Guilt of his own Conscience, shall prove himself such an Ass, to take that Burthen upon his own Shoulders, which Hundreds in the Town have as much Right to bear as himself”.<sup>65</sup> Inviting the reader’s impudence, Ward renders shame itself shameful.

Garfield addresses the capacity of judicial shaming practices to be undermined, as characters placed in the stocks behave less than contritely. On one occasion, “*Honor Brooks the rammish Scotch whore*” stood before “*W—the Butchers son in the Stocks*”, “tickling the Knobs [testicles] thereof till [he] burst out with laughing”.<sup>66</sup> On another, a stocked whore called “*Ursula* had half a crown for showing her Twit-twat there, and half a crown for stroaking the marrow out of a mans Gristle”.<sup>67</sup> Mal Cutpurse’s ‘autobiography’ includes similar examples, as her crew of pickpockets use the pillory as a distraction for their craft. This is either through one of their members having deliberately got himself

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<sup>64</sup> Garfield, sig. iv.A2<sup>v</sup>. Distinguishing fact from fiction in this text is difficult, but important for Garfield’s professed intentions. Garfield certainly includes some factual references in his text, such as Priss Fotheringham’s chuck office trick. He stresses the truthfulness of his lists of whores, bawds, thieves and panders by suggesting that some “have threatened the Publisher hereof, and offered large Sums for his Apprehension” (sig. ii.B4<sup>r</sup>). Some of the names on this list are verifiable, or ambiguous enough to seem true (the likelihood of at least *one* London whore called ‘Betty Smith’ must have been fairly high!), while others appear to be puns and jokes: “Butter and Eggs” (sig. ii.A3<sup>r</sup>; this may be a version of “battered bun”, which was a term for a prostitute), the “Queen of Morocco” (sig. ii.A3<sup>v</sup>), “The Cherry Garden / Black Swan” (sig. v.B2<sup>r</sup>), the bawd “Mother Cunny” (sig. ii.A2<sup>v</sup>), and the too-marvellously-punning-to-be-true, “Cock Chambers” (“cock” meant both prostitute and penis; sig. iii.A4<sup>r</sup>). While he shames the women, he also—arguably greater vehemence—issues damning assessments of their husbands, who must either be ignorant (thus stupid), indulgent (thus uxorious), or actually acting as pimps, to allow their wives to whore.

<sup>65</sup> Ward, *London Spy*, sig. i.A2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis. Similarly, a supposed letter from a bawd to one of her customers is published in *The Spectator* anonymously, because, Steele explains, his “Intention [is] not to expose the Persons but the Thing”: No. 274 (14 January 1712), 534.

<sup>66</sup> Garfield, sig. ii.B2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

placed in the stocks, or revenge for the attempt to shame Mal as punishment for wearing men's clothing: at which, she relates, "my Emissaries... in revenge of this disgrace intended me, spoyled a good many [spectators'] Cloaths by cutting of part of their Cloaks and Gowns, and sending them home as naked behind as an Apes Tayle".<sup>68</sup> There was also the possibility that the crowd would hail rather than condemn the pilloried figure. Defoe famously received flowers rather than the expected dirt and debris when he was pilloried for seditious libel in 1703.<sup>69</sup> So ineffective does Mal find her sentence to "stand and do Penance in a White Sheet at *Pauls* Cross during morning Sermon on a Sunday", that she reflects "They might as soon have shamed a Black Dog as Me, with any kind of such punishment".<sup>70</sup>

The insufficiency of simple public exposure is evident in the infliction of additional, more physical punishments. These could be official whippings administered in "the relative privacy of the bridewells", or popular violence.<sup>71</sup> Bawds in particular could expect rough treatment upon the scaffold, which I will discuss in Part Two. In reality, according to Randolph Trumbach, the majority of brothels were run by men or a married couple.<sup>72</sup> Richard and Amy Holland, for example, were charged with "keepe[ing] and maintainin[ing] a lewde disordered and infamous bawdy house... where many fights and outrages in the

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<sup>68</sup> *The Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith. Commonly Called Mal Cutpurse. Exactly Collected and now Published for the Delight and Recreation of all Merry disposed Persons* (London: 1662), sigs. D11<sup>v</sup>–D12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Shoemaker, 'Streets of Shame', 245.

<sup>70</sup> *Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith*, sig. D11<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>71</sup> Toulalan, 115; Shoemaker, 'Streets of Shame', 237–238. Shoemaker notes that people who were not breaking the law, or who weren't arrested, were sometimes punished by crowds using the same sort of practices as those given officially (235).

<sup>72</sup> Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume One, Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 126–127.

night time are committed".<sup>73</sup> The whore texts' bawdy houses, however, were always headed by a bawd who was herself a former whore. This ensured that "women alone bore full moral responsibility for the phenomenon of urban prostitution", since, as Steele noted, "a Woman of the Town is not thoroughly and properly such, without having gone through the Education of one of these [bawds'] Houses".<sup>74</sup> The bawds are represented as physically grotesque in ways that deliberately evoke both their former whoredom and current success, in obesity and flamboyant attire (tokens of prosperity), and physical signs immediately legible to the late-Stuart audience as the effects of venereal disease, such as the sunken nose or ulcerous legs. As such, the bawd stands as a symbol of the inefficiencies of judicial shaming methods, which must be impotent against those who "glor[y] in [their] shame".<sup>75</sup> For the zealous and influential Society for the Reformation of Manners cleric Josiah Woodward, the women brought to such a level of shamelessness could only be shocked from it by God himself:

The black Guilt of this Sin [of uncleanness] brings an intolerable Shame  
with it... And tis' a Token of a Person's being hardned to the most  
desperate pitch, when by Custom and the Devil's powerful Infatuation  
they arrive to such a *Brow of Brass*, as to know no Shame in these ways.  
*A Whore's Forehead*, is a Proverb for the highest Impudence. But the  
less Shame they know hence, the more overwhelming will their Shame

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<sup>73</sup> John L. McMullan, *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld 1550–1700* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 128. cf. Dabhoiwala, who argues that while "Men were certainly heavily involved in the trade, both as husbands and independent keepers... most bawdy houses were kept by women", usually in combination with a more respectable occupation such as victualler (93). Van de Pol concludes that in Amsterdam, "the organization of prostitution was largely in the hands of women" (24).

<sup>74</sup> Carter, 110; *Spectator* 266 (4 January 1712), vol. 2, 536.

<sup>75</sup> *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post* 127 (6 May 1721), 2.

and Confusion be hereafter, when the Fire of the last day shall melt down the brazen Forehead.<sup>76</sup>

Those who have succumbed are irreclaimable by human hand, he says: “the greatest Punishments of Humane Laws” serve at best as “a Fence set to keep People out of this *Horrible Pit*”.<sup>77</sup> It is “an insupportable mixture of *Shame* and *Sorrow*” that may most effectively bring a subject “like *Judas*, to a Hanging Repentance”.<sup>78</sup> Recording a visit to women in Bridewell, a reporter for *The Observer* noted that

they were not asham’d to own themselves to be Whores, but said it was their Profession, and a Trade they had learn’t; nor were they asham’d of beating *Hemp*, or the Discipline of Whipping, for I found it was a common thing to them, they esteem’d it neither a Scandal nor Punishment, but a Misfortune common to their Employment.<sup>79</sup>

In contrast, he argues, shaming through judicial means may have most effect upon those men for whom “the Notion of *Honour* has supplanted that of *Religion*”:

They do not esteem the *Commission* of a Sin a Scandal, they’ll own themselves to be *Lewd*, and will Glory in their *Debauchery*; but to be stigmatiz’d as such by the just Lash of the Law, is what they dread and fear, and what they account Scandalous.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Woodward, *A Rebuke to the Odious Sin of Uncleaness* (London: 1701), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A8<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>78</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. v.A4<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>79</sup> *The Observer* No. 62 (16 October 1706), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A1<sup>v</sup>.

The possible insufficiencies of public shaming when not accompanied by ethically-effective personal shame, and the contrition and behavioural change it should engender, were thus starkly exposed.

The punishments inflicted on the bawds and other offenders were now also appearing far more frequently in scenes depicting them as *desirable*. Flagellation for sexual purposes, in particular, received a significant boost in representation during the period in pornographic texts such as *Venus in the Cloister* (1680), as well as more popular entertainments like Otway's *Venice Preserved*.<sup>81</sup> The beginning of the eighteenth century also witnessed “the final great debate over the meaning of flagellation as a spiritual practice” in continental Catholicism, in particular through rival publications from Jean-Baptiste Thiers and Abbé Jacques Boileau, which paid unprecedented attention to the practice's erotic potential.<sup>82</sup> B.E. glossed “Flogging” as “a Naked Woman's whipping (with Rods) an Old (usually) and (sometimes) a Young Lecher”, but this specification of voyeurism varies in other depictions; often it is only the man being flogged who is open to

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<sup>81</sup> There are, however, earlier references. Sir John Davies in the 1590s writes of one who “comes to sollace with his whoore / He sends for rods and strips himselfe stark naked”: cited in Malcolm Jones, ‘Print of the Month: The Cully Flaug'd’, *British Printed Images to 1700*, December 2007 <<http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/research/printOfTheMonth/december2007.html>> accessed 2 August 2012.

The particular appeal of flagellation to the English that earned it the nickname *le vice anglais* would popularly be ascribed to the prevalence of whippings as punishments in English schools. Toulalan argues that although there are some seventeenth-century references to the taste being developed in schools, this association was not automatic (100, 102–105). See also Ian Gibson *The English Vice: Beating, Sex, and Shame in Victorian England and After* (London: Duckworth, 1978); Vern L. Bullough, Dwight Dixon and Joan Dixon, ‘Sadism, Masochism and History, or When is Behaviour Sado-Masochistic?’ in *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Sciences: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 47–62. By the nineteenth century the desire to be whipped was supposed to be so widespread, that a patient of Krafft-Ebing alleged that “every prostitute keeps some suitable instrument (usually a whip) for flagellation”: Alison Moore, ‘Rethinking Gendered Perversion and Degeneration in Visions of Sadism and Masochism, 1886–1930’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 18.1 (2009), 142.

<sup>82</sup> Niklaus Largier, *In Praise of the Whip: A Cultural History of Arousal* (New York: Zone, 2007), 198–203.

## Chapter Two

exposure.<sup>83</sup> For example, in ‘The Cully Flaug’d’ (c1700), the flogging prostitute (there are coins on the side table) raises her skirts, and her customer turns to view her genitals.<sup>84</sup> In contrast, see ‘Flagellation’ (1752), in which only the floggee’s cut buttocks are exposed.<sup>85</sup>

Ward records the existence of “flogging schools”, stocked with

a great Number of *Flogging Instruments*, for the Secret *Flagellation* of *Superannuated Sodomites*, ty’d with various Ribbons of all sorts of Colours. The Rods, some consisting of finer Twigs, and others Thicker, distinguish’d from one another by the binding of the Handle; so that every Beast, from the *Buff-Hided Leacher*, to the *Lamb-Skin’d Cully*, understood, by the Colour, how to call for a *scourge* that was most agreeable to the Tenderness of his *Cutis*.<sup>86</sup>

He says that the mistress of this school “has ten times more Business than the most Noted Midwife in St. Giles’s Parish”, in order to suggest—hyperbolically—that these shameful sexual activities have actually overtaken reproductive sexuality in the most notorious bawdyhouse districts.<sup>87</sup> Birch twigs are the most commonly referenced instruments in this period, though in medieval ascetic ceremonies they were considered the most severe option.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> B.E., sig. E5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> ‘The Cully Flaug’d’ (c1700), in Jones ‘Print of the Month: The Cully Flaug’d’, *British Printed Images to 1700*, December 2007 < <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/research/printOfTheMonth/december2007.html> > accessed 2 August 2012.

<sup>85</sup> ‘Flagellation’ (1752), in Brand, ‘A little light spanking, 1752’, *The Georgian Bawdyhouse*, <http://georgianbawdyhouse.wordpress.com/2012/03/29/a-little-light-spanking-1752/>, accessed 27 May 2012.

<sup>86</sup> *London Terræfilius*, sig. iii.C3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. iii.C4<sup>r</sup>. The prostitutes who worked in the parish of St Giles-without-Cripplegate (named for the patron saint of beggars and cripples) were stereotyped as among the lowest women available.

<sup>88</sup> Largier, 78.



Historical enquiry has followed the period itself in focussing on physiological rationales for the practice, particularly thanks to the period's key work on the subject, Johann Heinrich Meibom's *De Flagorum Usu in Re Veneria et Lumborum Renumque Officio* (1629).<sup>89</sup> Here, essentially, whipping warmed the blood and enabled an erection, especially for those whom age rendered, "Shrivell'd, unmoist, like a dead wither'd Flow'r, / Depriv'd, and void of all vivifick Pow'r".<sup>90</sup> This continued to be a popular belief; in attempting to defend herself against theft charges in 1735, Jane Anslow argued that she had well-earned the money from her prosecutor Palmer Grice, "especially, as I had taken so much Pains, for I wore out a Bunch of Rods before I could make any thing of him".<sup>91</sup> St Francis de Sales, who was a late defender of flagellation on spiritual grounds, also drew on physiological rationales: flogging "heats up the heart and purifies it" of the depression borne of a "dry and cool temperament", and "the outer sensation generated by this practice will drive away inner troubles and sadness".<sup>92</sup> As Toulalan points out, however, one must consider the emotional component of both the practices themselves, and their textual function as sexual fantasies.<sup>93</sup> The reader, after all, cannot feel the whip. In her reading of these scenes, Toulalan also argues that "the aim of flagellation for sexual purposes is... enhanced pleasure, not pain or humiliation".<sup>94</sup> While I agree that the

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<sup>89</sup> This was reprinted in English by the notorious bookseller Edmund Curll as *On the Use of Rods in Venerial Matters and in the Office of the Loins and Reins* (1718). Curll was prosecuted for obscenity.

<sup>90</sup> *The Impotent Lover Describ'd in Six Elegies on Old-Age* (London: 1718), sig. l1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17350116-9 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org), 9 August 2012), 16 January 1735, trial of Jane Anslow, Ann Thomas, and Hannah Low. Anslow's defense was unsuccessful.

<sup>92</sup> Largier, 47.

<sup>93</sup> Toulalan, 95. Many of the acts depicted in these texts can be matched in prosecution documents for the period (Turner, *Libertines*, 147).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid* 129.

presented aim of this practice is pleasure, I would argue that it is precisely *through* humiliation that pleasure is achieved. In understanding the manipulation and performance of shame and humiliation in these “scenes”—to borrow the term used in modern BDSM—we also need to examine those practices in *The Wandering Whore* and elsewhere that do *not* include physical pain, such as coprophilia or animal role-playing.<sup>95</sup> In this way, the emotion involved in these scenes becomes something included in the price: a commodity.

It is productive here to consider the distinction made in current BDSM between the erotic potential of pain (Masochism) and that of erotic humiliation (Submission). In BDSM theory, erotic humiliation is differentiated from shame primarily through its association with hierarchy. As Amelia Ziv explains,

shame can be a solely intrasubjective affect, while humiliation always involves a relationship—coming from the Latin *humilis*, meaning ‘low’, it assumes hierarchy, hence a relationship. Shame can function as an ethical affect, whereas humiliation has no such ethical dimension.<sup>96</sup>

The desire to be humiliated may be a cause for shame, but the desire *to* humiliate may also be a source of shame. The distinction is evident with Charlton, who distinguishes between shame and “*Vicious humility*”, which he glosses as “*Dejection or Poorness of Spirit*”.<sup>97</sup> His differentiation is also ethical: shame can “[teach] more wariness for the

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<sup>95</sup> The importance of pain in BDSM practices has recently come under scrutiny by clinical researchers, who have instead found an insistence among practitioners that it serves only a “peripheral function” in establishing the required power dynamic: Jonathan Powls and Jason Davies, ‘A Descriptive Review of Research Relating to Sadomasochism: Considerations for Clinical Practice’, *Deviant Behavior* 33:3 (2012), 228.

<sup>96</sup> Amelia Ziv, ‘Shameful Fantasies: Cross-Gender Queer Sex in Lesbian Erotic Fiction’, in *Gay Shame*, ed. Halperin and Traub (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 169.

<sup>97</sup> Charlton, sig. G8<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

future”, while men in the other “base and servile temper” will only “descend to shameful submissions”.<sup>98</sup> This humility “utturly [sic] cows” the subject, and effectively cripples him.<sup>99</sup>

Several episodes in Restoration whore texts appear to suggest this form of humiliation. One notable example is the man who, like Senator Antonio in *Venice Preserved*, pretends that he is a dog, in this case hiding under the table and “snarling” at the genitals of surrounding whores.<sup>100</sup> More than simple nudity, the practice suggests a desire for humiliation that may be coupled with or in contradistinction to the client’s negotiation of shame around this desire. In a letter to *The Weekly Journal*, ‘Philogynus’ also describes such men, who he refers to as “Snarling Culls”:

these provide an handsome Entertainment for their Ladies of Pleasure,  
lye under the Table while the Women eat the Flesh and throw them the  
Bones, which they receive, and, (like a Dog when afraid of an Interloper)  
keep a continual barking whilst they are at their Operation.<sup>101</sup>

In his account, even nudity is not required of the women, who can be entertained by their cullies’ easily-satisfied desires.

Gusman mentions the act within a list of clients’ “odd lecher[jies]” that are keeping Magdalena busy: “she’s hard put to’t to please a *yong Merchant* in L— street,” for example,

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<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. H1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Garfield, sig. iii.B1<sup>r</sup>; Otway, *Venice Preserved*, ed. Malcolm Kelsall (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), III.i.82–125.

<sup>101</sup> *The Weekly Journal: Or, The British Gazetteer* 55 (14 May 1726), 1.

who will not be contented with doing the business, but will have half a dozen Girles stand stark naked round about a Table whilst he lyes snarling underneath as if he would bite off their whibb-bobs, and eat them for his pains; another will needs shite in one of our wenches mouth's (which is odd lechery)[,] another who has brought rods in his pockets for that purpose, will needs be whip't to raise lechery and cause a standing P— which has no understanding at all, and would quickly cool my courage; a fourth would fayn be bugging some of our wenches, if the Matron could get their consent, but had rather be dealing with smooth-fac'd Prentices.<sup>102</sup>

His descriptions offer multiple possible subject identifications for the reader, while the acts themselves illustrate the shift away from what Harriette Andreadis calls the “narrowly focused genital, particularly male genital, definition of sexuality that was pervasive in early modern England”, toward a rising visibility of, in John Cleland’s phrase, “those arbitrary tastes for which there is no accounting”.<sup>103</sup>

The role of shame and humiliation in the satisfaction, representation and even understanding of such “arbitrary tastes” is ambiguous. Garfield presents some acts within a carnivalesque framework that ameliorates their negative readings, while others are positioned as unquestionably negative. The descriptions of “that abominable sin of *Sodomy*” as “vicious actions [that] are onely to be whispered amongst us”, and accounts

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<sup>102</sup> Garfield, sig. iii.B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Andreadis, 58; Cleland, 17.

of bestiality, are damning.<sup>104</sup> Gusman asserts his incomprehension of these “odd lecher[ies]”, as if “understanding” the appeal would be too shamefully close to the desire itself. This suggestion of shame even in comprehension is similarly evinced in a contemporaneous sermon against sodomites, which proclaimed that “surely very few of the *damned* will have less to say for their Sin than you; for ‘Tis a Riddle to all virtuous Minds to find any Temptation in your odious Vice”.<sup>105</sup>

Fanny Hill’s bawd, Mrs Cole, is memorably vitriolic against the “unsex’d male-misses”, while Fanny is so filled with “rage and indignation” at seeing the “criminal scene” of two men in the next room that she falls and knocks herself unconscious before she can have them arrested.<sup>106</sup> The women are significantly more ambivalent about Fanny’s flagellant client, Mr Barville. Julie Peakman and Toulalan have argued that in comparison to later eighteenth and nineteenth-century pornographies, seventeenth-century texts lack the same “feelings of shame in desiring to be whipped to achieve sexual congress”.<sup>107</sup> These “feelings” are, indeed, made explicit in *Memoirs*, which Toulalan describes as “a

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<sup>104</sup> Garfield, sig. iv.A3<sup>f</sup>. Dunton also stated that “Sodomy’s so vile a Crime, / ‘Tis LASH enough to name the Sin”: ‘The He-Strumpets: A Satyr on the Sodomite-Club’ (1707), in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England: A Sourcebook*, ed. Rictor Norton. 1 December 1999, updated 15 June 2008 <http://www.rictornorton.co.uk/eighteen/dunton.htm>, accessed 27 April 2012.

<sup>105</sup> *The Sodomites Shame and Doom, Laid before them with great Grief and Compassion. By a Minister of the Church of England* (London: 1702), 2; original emphasis. The idea that discussing shameful acts could itself be shameful carried Biblical weight: “Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. / For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret” (Ephesians 5:11–12).

<sup>106</sup> Cleland, 150–151. This is, of course, not until after she has described the scene in detail. On the ambivalence of sodomy in *Memoirs*, see Peter Sabor, ‘From Sexual Liberation to Gender Trouble: Reading *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* from the 1960s to the 1990s’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.4 (2000), 561–578; David M. Robinson, *Closeted Writing and Lesbian and Gay Literature: Classical, Early Modern, Eighteenth-Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 37–83.

<sup>107</sup> Toulalan, 92 and *passim*; Peakman, *Mightily Lewd Books*, 166–172.

defining moment” in pornographic flagellation.<sup>108</sup> Barville, who enjoys both flogging and being flogged, is ashamed of the fact, and displays

a habitual state of conflict with and dislike of himself for being enslaved to so peculiar a taste by the fatality of a constitutional ascendant that render'd him incapable of receiving any pleasure til he had submitted to these extraordinary means of procuring it at the hands of pain.<sup>109</sup>

Mrs Cole also notes that the act must be treated with “secrecy”, and so “be preserved safe from the ridicule that otherwise vulgarly attended [it]”.<sup>110</sup> Barville, unlike the stereotypical erotic floggee, is a young man, which is part of his shame. It is also clear, however, that he *desires* humiliation. Barville stipulates that he be tied down—“a circumstance”, according to Fanny, “no further necessary than, I suppose, it made part of the humour of the thing, since he prescribed it to himself, amongst the rest of the ceremonial”.<sup>111</sup> Barville’s “ceremonial” is a strictly prescribed performance, as Fanny records that “according to my cue, [I] play’d at forcing him to lie down: which, after some little show of reluctance for form’s sake, he submitted to”.<sup>112</sup> An element of dominance and submission is thus required to create a satisfying “scene” for him.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* This scene remained controversial through to the twentieth century; in the novel’s 1963 obscenity trial, it was singled out by the chief prosecutor Mervyn Griffith-Jones for disapproval (Sabor, 562).

<sup>109</sup> Cleland, 138–139.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> While they do not necessarily suggest a desire for humiliation, other historical examples of flagellation reveal the importance of fantasy in constructing erotically-satisfying scenes for these customers. In Amsterdam in 1722, a Jewish customer requested specifically of the bawd Susanna Jans that a married woman be found to flog him (she costumes the prostitute involved with a wedding ring), while in July 1725, Guillam Sweers was arrested receiving a flagellation in the brothel of Geertruij Jussan, to whom he had detailed his exact requirements over several months (van de Pol, 194).

Importantly, though Barville first achieves orgasm exclusively through whipping, he is subsequently able to redeem himself by providing Fanny with the “infinitely predominant delight” of intercourse.<sup>114</sup> Here he stands in direct contrast to Fanny’s next customer, who merits only two paragraphs and is possessed of the “fooleries of a sickly appetite”, consisting of a “delight in combing fine tresses of hair” and a fetish for women’s gloves.<sup>115</sup> Proceeding no further, he is derided by Fanny for behaving as if “a distinction of the sexes had not existed”, and dismissed as an “innocent and insipid trifler”.<sup>116</sup> He is held up for shame. Similarly, several of the possessors of “arbitrary tastes” in *The Wandering Whore* are content to merely indulge in such trifles, and for this they are heartily derided.

While prostitutes were usually represented as enjoying their work, Garfield depicts those paid to receive a flogging as among the “whores who F— for necessity, not pleasure”.<sup>117</sup> This is further evidence of the period’s acknowledgement of women who were driven to prostitution for commercial reasons. Meibom didn’t consider that women derived pleasure from receiving or administering floggings—a suggestion that shifted in the nineteenth-century toward an increased depiction of women who “positively revel in administering the birch”.<sup>118</sup> Hesitation to receive the birch contrasts with a literary history of feminine desire to be sexually dominated that stretches at least back to Ovid. In the nineteenth-century, too, sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing pathologised masochism as

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<sup>114</sup> Cleland, 144.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 145–146.

<sup>117</sup> Garfield, sig. iv.B1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Gibson, 277.

characteristic of an extreme feminine sexuality—an “aberration of excess”.<sup>119</sup> Fanny is aroused after her whipping from Barville, recording that “such violent, yet pleasingly irksome sensations took possession of me that I scarce knew how to contain myself”.<sup>120</sup> She similarly reports an “arriv[al] at excess of pleasure through excess of pain” in losing her virginity to Charles, who with “one violent merciless lunge sent [his machine] imbrew’d, and reeking with virgin blood, up to the very hilt in [her]”.<sup>121</sup> This violent matrix of female pain, pleasure and blood became an increasingly prominent feature of eighteenth-century flagellation and defloration narratives.<sup>122</sup>

For Betty Lawrence, however, whom Gusman names as willing to satisfy this particular inclination, there is clearly no pleasure: she “will serve the Cure, *suffering* you to whip the skin off her buttocks”, and expect recompense “for her *patience* and *punishment*”.<sup>123</sup> For this she can only charge a crown (five shillings).<sup>124</sup> By way of contrast, Francion offers up to “Five pounds for a pure untoucht Maiden-head”.<sup>125</sup> While low charges may indicate a lack of demand, they might also suggest that prostitutes submitted

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<sup>119</sup> Alison Moore, 140. Krafft-Ebing pathologised masochism in *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) along with sadism, fetishism and homosexuality, noting that “While sadism may be looked upon as a pathological intensification of the masculine sexual character in its psychical peculiarities, masochism rather represents a pathological degeneration of the distinctive psychical peculiarities of a woman”: Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study*, 1886, twelfth edition, ed. and trans. Victor Robinson (New York: Pioneer, 1947), 201. For masochism and sadism in modern psychiatry, see Bullough, Dixon and Dixon, *op. cit.*

<sup>120</sup> Cleland, 143.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 44–45.

<sup>122</sup> On the eighteenth century’s “defloration mania” see Peakman, ‘Initiation, Defloration, and Flagellation: Sexual Propensities in *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*’, in *Launching Fanny Hill: Essays on the Novel and its Influences*, ed. Fowler and Jackson (New York: AMS Press, 2003), 153–172.

<sup>123</sup> Garfield, sig. ii.A2<sup>r</sup>; my emphasis. Lawrence may have been a real woman; she reappears—again with a connection to flagellation—in *A Strange and True Conference between Two Notorious Bawds, Damarose Page and Pris Fotheringham* (London: 1660) (Toulalan, 119), and in *Strange & True Newes from Jack-a-Newberries Six Windmills* (sigs. A2<sup>v</sup>, A4<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>124</sup> Garfield, sig. ii.A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. ii.B1<sup>r</sup>.



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to the practice as a last option, perhaps when age, venereal disease, or other infirmities had left their other services undesired, thus amplifying the shame involved.<sup>126</sup> Cornelia discovers this late in *The London Jilt*, as she finds herself kept by Maximus, a man of “a very Brutish humour”, who often threatens to cane her. She reasons that “since my age was encreased, and that my Beauty was diminished... I found my self constrained... to endure much more than I was used to do before.”<sup>127</sup>

There is further evidence for my hypothesis in a trial account from 1718, wherein one Bridget Noland was accused of picking the pocket of John Williams on the ninth of June.<sup>128</sup> Williams claimed that he was walking along Fleet Street one evening when he met Noland walking in mixed company. Noland and another woman approached him and asked that he escort them home. Williams assented, and when he reached their lodgings in White Friars joined them for a drink. Soon after, Williams testified, the women “pulled up their Coats about their Wa[i]st, and told him, now he had seen what they had, they must see what he had, and fell to unbuttoning his Breeches, and in the mean time pickt his Pocket”.<sup>129</sup> The Landlord, hearing the disturbance, sent for a Constable, who arrested Noland. In her account of the proceedings, however, Noland stated that Williams had solicited the women’s attention, and now cried robbery in order to avoid payment:

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<sup>126</sup> Toulalan also places prostitutes who consent to be whipped at the “lowest end of the market”, suggesting that they might agree to it after “having become accustomed to it if she had previously been punished for carrying on her trade by a carting or a whipping in Bridewell” (119).

<sup>127</sup> *London Jilt*, 157.

<sup>128</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17180709-32 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 9 July 1718, trial of Bridget Noland. On the circulation of these printed proceedings, and other criminal accounts, see Shoemaker ‘Print Culture and the Creation of Public Knowledge about Crime in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century London’, in *Urban Crime, Prevention, Surveillance, and Restorative Justice: Effects and Social Technologies*, ed. Paul Knepper, Jonathan Doak, Joanna Shapland (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2009), 1–21.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

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The Prisoner denied the Fact, saying he came in with the other Woman in the Furbelow-Scarf, and went up Stairs, and was upon the Bed with her with his Breeches unbutton'd, *but would not lie with her, saying she had the Pox*, but gave her a Shilling to fetch Rods to Slogg him with, and that when he came to pay his Reckoning it was 5 s. and he said he had lost his Money.<sup>130</sup>

The episode raises several remarkable points, the first being that Noland would administer the flogging for only a shilling, the other four in the bill being presumably for drinks.

Secondly, it suggests that flagellation might have served as a sexual service that poked prostitutes could provide. Thirdly, the flogging is specifically offered here as an *alternative* to sexual intercourse, not a *prelude* to it, thus complicating readings of flagellation that focus on its role as an erectile agent.<sup>131</sup> In another theft case from 1718, the defendant, Mary Betts, alleged that Samuel Abthorp and another man had compelled her into his room at the Crown Tavern. Thereupon,

one held her, and the other attempted to lye with her, which she would by no means permit; that then the Prosecutor call'd the Drawer and bid him bring some Oil, and some Feathers, with a large Pewter-Dish, and Six penniworth of Whipcord. Upon which she reply'd, she did not know what he meant: That he then told her, she must either flog him, or he

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*; my emphasis.

<sup>131</sup> See eg. Toulalan, 130.

would do *so and so*. To which she reply'd, she had heard of Flogging, but never of doing *so and so*.<sup>132</sup>

Betts does not admit to going through with either activity; having successfully repelled the men, she says, they demanded that she contribute to the tavern reckoning, and accused her of theft when she refused. Here, again, flagellation is presented as an end in itself.

Noland's and Betts' accounts are of course coloured by their nature as defence testimonies, which were eventually rejected. Their suggestions of flogging-without-intercourse may have been intentioned to function as shaming slurs against their accusers' masculinity. Susanna Hutchins, who unsuccessfully argued that she had received her prosecutor's money in payment for a vigorous whipping, was accused by the court of presenting "an extravagant Sally, designed to render the Prosecutor ridiculous".<sup>133</sup> The court's protection of this prosecutor is echoed in legal reports that seek to preserve even the victims of particularly shameful crimes from exposure. The trial account for the death of the Huguenot writer Peter Anthony (or Pierre Antoine) Motteux, for example, records only that he died in a bawdyhouse on February 18, 1718, and suffered "a Crime of that heinous nature, that it was almost beyond the Power of words to aggravate it".<sup>134</sup> A contemporary account alleges that this was an erotic asphyxiation mishap: Motteux was "suppos'd to have been strangled by Whores, who forgot to cut the cord They ha[d] ty'd

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<sup>132</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17180110-61 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 10 January 1718, trial of Mary Betts; original emphasis.

<sup>133</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17240521-33 (www.londonlives.org, 18 March 2012), 21 May 1724, trial of Susanna Hutchins.

<sup>134</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17180423-1 (www.londonlives.org, 20 February 2012), 23 April 1718, trial of Edward Williams, Elizabeth Williams, Elizabeth Simmertown, Elizabeth Shepherd, Mary Roberts and Percival Hutchinson.

ab<sup>t</sup> hi[s] Neck to provok[e] venery".<sup>135</sup> Mary Wood's elaborate claim that John Tennant "ask'd her to whip him, and brought Rods; that she did whip him behind, and he not being contented with that, gave her half a Guinea to whip him before" was also considered too scandalous to be true.<sup>136</sup>

If Noland's and Betts' accounts must be questioned, there is nevertheless support in the case of Ann Richardson, also from 1718. Richardson alleged that the guinea she was accused of stealing from John Willis was instead given with the request that she flog him.<sup>137</sup> It is unclear from the case report whether sexual intercourse was included in the price, which would be remarkably high in comparison to accounts such as Noland's. Yet it was apparently not so high as to be completely unbelievable, since Richardson was acquitted of the theft. Susan Brockway and Mary Gardner were also able to acquit themselves of theft charges laid against them by Joseph Richmond in 1725 by testifying that the money was instead a payment for flogging and "strip[ing] [them]selves naked, and shew[ing] him Postures".<sup>138</sup> Notably, while Richmond admitted to offering payment for the women to pose naked for him, he would not admit to requesting flagellation. Abigail Smith also successfully defended herself against theft charges by explaining that

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<sup>135</sup> David Hopkins, 'Motteux, Peter Anthony (1663–1718).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19423>> accessed 23 February 2012.

<sup>136</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17190903-4 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org), 9 August 2012), 3 September 1719, trial of Mary Wood.

<sup>137</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17180110-23 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org), 23 September 2011), 10 January 1718, trial of Ann Richardson.

<sup>138</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17250827-2 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org), 24 March 2012), 25 August 1725, trial of Susan Brockway and Mary Gardner.

“the Prosecutor would needs have sent her for a Penniworth of Rods to have flogg’d him with; which because she would not do, he charg’d her with robbing him”.<sup>139</sup>

The construction of flagellation or other alternative sexual practices as the last commodities available to diseased whores may also assist in interpreting the third scene of *A Harlot’s Progress*.<sup>140</sup> Here, having lost her rich Jewish keeper, Moll has become a common whore facing imminent arrest. Though she is still outwardly alluring, Hogarth hints that she is already hiding venereal disease through the inclusion of her noseless, syphilitic bunter, and vials on the windowsill that, as N.F. Lowe notes, indicate Moll’s attempts at personal treatment.<sup>141</sup> Art historians have identified that the witch’s hat and birch bundle on the wall imply Moll has gone into some fetish work, but without fully appreciating how far this means she has slipped.<sup>142</sup> Hogarth’s inclusion of the witch’s hat alongside the birch is unusual and suggestive. Ian Bostridge notes that steeple hats were indeed customary by the 1730s for stereotypic images of witches.<sup>143</sup> This style of hat had been modish under James I, but by the end of the century was associated with the rural and unfashionable, representing within the witch costumes of the eighteenth-century masqueraders a “fossilized image of the plebeian countrywoman”.<sup>144</sup> This representation

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<sup>139</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17171204-16 (www.londonlives.org, 9 August 2012), 4 December 1717, trial of Abigail Smith.

<sup>140</sup> Hogarth, 136,

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*; N.F. Lowe, ‘The Meaning of Venereal Disease in Hogarth’s Graphic Art’, in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, ed. Linda Evi Merians (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 169.

<sup>142</sup> Mark Hallett and Christine Riding, *Hogarth* (London: Tate, 2006), 82.

<sup>143</sup> See eg. Hogarth’s *The Sleeping Congregation* (1736), and ‘Procession at the Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon’ (1769): Ian Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Its Transformations c.1650–c.1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 161–162.

<sup>144</sup> Bostridge, 170. The masquerade is also referenced in scene two, where a mask sits on a table in the front left corner.

of the witch rendered her more absurd than threatening—a quaint manifestation of early modern irrationality. By pairing the witch’s hat with the whipping birch, I argue, Hogarth speaks to the items’ role in/as sexual fantasy, and the shameful emotional regime they evoked.

Flagellation was unique for its connection to outside shaming practices, which significantly affected its emotional regime. Whipping formed part of well-established rituals in legal and religious contexts, in schools, and in the private home, each of which took advantage of a “precise sense of theatrical staging” inherent in the act.<sup>145</sup> The emotional regime in which sexual flagellation was framed might therefore be supposed to draw on the broader connotations of the practice in non-erotic contexts, presenting a matrix of both painful and desired shame; or, desired humiliation. In her defence testimony, Brockway suggested that Richmond wanted both his personal flogging, and that of the women, to echo the emotional conditions of the schoolroom: she testified that Richmond “gave Mary Gardner Money to fetch a Penny-worth of Rods, for him to whip us a-cross the Room, and make us good Girls; and then for us to whip him to make him a good Boy”.<sup>146</sup> The association is made even more explicitly in the derisive account given by Ward of one “unnatural beast” who, “to the shame of his Age”,

gives Money to those Strumpets which you see, and they down with his Breeches and Scourge his Privities till they have laid his Leachery. He all the time begs their Mercy, like an Offender at a Whipping-Post, and beseeches their forbearance; but the more importunate he seems for

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<sup>145</sup> Largier, 13.

<sup>146</sup> Trial of Susan Brockway and Mary Gardner, *op. cit.*

their favourable usage, the severer Vapulation [flogging] they are to exercise upon him, till they find by his Beastly Extasie, when to withhold their Weapons.<sup>147</sup>

Here his consciously-performed scene of a judicial shaming is enough to produce the “Beastly Extasie” of orgasm. While old men who required whipping to produce an erection could be treated with some humour, those who made no pretence to follow-up intercourse could expect only shame.

Moreover, such scenes, and the non-painful, physiologically-unexplained practices suggest a shifting emotional dimension that is yet to be fully understood. While John Milton’s Satan would have been surprised to find a man might “[live]... who loves his pain”, these men were well known to legal and medical authorities such as Meibom, and sources of fascination and humour in popular texts.<sup>148</sup> What the official discourses on flagellation and other such practises did not discuss, however, was the role of desired shame or humiliation in these scenes. Also at stake is the role of these and other acts in the economies of shame within textual and historical communities such as that of prostitution, where most extant sources are based. By focussing on the whores’ shaming of the men who desire such humiliation, the authors of these texts might be said to fracture any budding “collectivity of the shamed”. The negotiation of shame is shown to play a vital role in not only defining the true whore against the fallen woman, as Steele

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<sup>147</sup> *London Spy*, sig. C8<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1667, ed. Frank Allen Patterson (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1961), IV.888.

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would have it, but also in formulating the emotional community in which these women could operate.



## Part Two

### **“My own Base Sex seduc’d me first to Sin”: The Role of the Bawd.**

In *The London Jilt*, Cornelia’s mother makes for a very poor bawd. She fritters away Cornelia’s income on a stallion, and is unable to control her emotions in a way that will benefit her economic network, first in failing to control her attacks on her innkeeper husband, and subsequently in numerous irrational decisions when she is supposed to be managing her own and then Cornelia’s sexual affairs. In the economy of prostitution, her failings are shameful. In this section, I consider the *successful* bawd, who evolved in this period into a specifically professional role: as a woman, a former prostitute, and a shameless corruptor of others into explicitly economic sexuality.

The rise of professional prostitutes like Cornelia as distinct from the sexually-voracious whore supposed a more explicit, and troubling, commoditisation of sexual acts. When these acts were construed as “inalienable possessions”, the women themselves were also commoditised. A woman’s move from prostitute to bawd thus represented a shift from commodity to vendor. Because she was explicitly represented as a former prostitute who had been subjected to judicial shaming mechanisms and the informal shaming of social mores and venereal disease, the bawd also embodied the failure of external shaming systems that were not accompanied by internal, ethically-effective personal shame. The rise of the shameless bawd helped facilitate the emergence of the victimised, vocally ashamed sentimental whore in the eighteenth century. While prostitutes and syphilitics might attempt to pass for more honourable persons, and thus

increase their access to social capital, bawds who are brazen in their self-presentation as bawds, who resist passing, highlight the tenuousness of this regulation of access. It was the bawd's special role as corruptor of young women into economic sexuality that singled her out for approbation. She was the one who was responsible for girls' devaluation of their possessions to commodities in a shameful economy, and their entry onto the market. She then added insult to injury by proving an adept defrauder of both her customers and employees, who are more properly understood in this economy as products.

Like "prostitute", "bawd" became an increasingly economic, professional identifier at the end of the seventeenth century. Originally, "bawd" referred to any person who acted as a go-between in a sexual transaction. A bawd could be male or female: Pompey, for example, is referred to as a bawd in *Measure for Measure*.<sup>149</sup> The term was often applied to those who arranged marriages for their own benefit, rather than necessarily illicit liaisons. In the late seventeenth century, however, "bawd" became both gender and occupation-specific, and in 1706 Edward Phillips defined it in his Dictionary as "a leud Woman that makes it her Business to debauch others for Gain".<sup>150</sup> From the bawd's long history as function, it became a professional identity.<sup>151</sup> In comparison, what might now be considered an equivalent term, "pimp", had not yet settled into a purely masculine application; the English Rogue, for example, berates "the maid (who was [his wife's]

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<sup>149</sup> Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, 1604, ed. J.W. Lever (London: Methuen, 1965), II.i.221–232. On the role of bawd figures in the medieval period, see Gretchen Mieszkowski, *Medieval Go-Betweens and Chaucer's Pandarus* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

<sup>150</sup> 'bawd, n.1', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press.  
<http://oed.com/view/Entry/16346?rskey=2Lksfs&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 24 June 2008.

<sup>151</sup> On the bawd as function, see Panek, 'The Mother as Bawd in *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *A Mad World, My Masters*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 43.2 (2003), 434.

pimp)”, while B.E. included the not-yet tautological “Cock-pimp” in his 1699 canting dictionary.<sup>152</sup> Qualifiers were now required for gender or marital variations: “cock-bawd” was introduced as a term for a male performing this function, while a “marriage-bawd” organised nuptial affairs for profit.<sup>153</sup> The inclusion of one “John Harris” in a list of “Bawds” confuses Roger the Countryman in a 1706 edition of *The Observer*. As he wonders how a man could be described as such, the *Observer* explains that it must be an abbreviation, since “the Men that procure Whores at *London*, have the Title of *Cock-Bawds*”.<sup>154</sup>

While the term could still be applied to a freelance procuress, it was now more commonly used for the manager of an organised bawdyhouse. *The Country Gentleman’s Vade Mecum* (1699), for example, distinguished between a Procuress and a Bawd, specifying that the latter “generally keep *Seraglio’s* [sic] of their own”, while the former match make in more public spaces like the playhouse.<sup>155</sup> The bawd was thus tied far more closely to a distinct prostitute community. The *Vade Mecum* author also describes the bawd as “the very Dregs both of a *Jilt* and a *Procurer*”, thus marking her as both a former whore, and at the lower level of the sex market as a merchandiser: the women who she

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<sup>152</sup> Head, *The English Rogue*, 1650 (London: Four Square, 1966), 123; B.E., sig. C8<sup>v</sup>. Other applicable terms from B.E. include “*Cock-bawd*, a Man that follows that base Employment” and “pimp”, which is glossed as “the same as *Cock-bawd*” (sigs. C8<sup>v</sup>, I5<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis).

<sup>153</sup> Thomas Shadwell noted in 1676 that “Your Marriage-Bawd, your Canonical-Bawd is worst of all; they betray people for their lives-time”: ‘marriage, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press. <http://oed.com/view/Entry/114320?redirectedFrom=marriage>, accessed 13 September 2009. See further Williams, 263.

<sup>154</sup> *The Observer* 62 (16 October 1706), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>155</sup> Sig. H4<sup>v</sup>–H5<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

can offer, who are professional (because institutionalised) prostitutes, are inferior commodities to the 'kept misses' that the procuress peddles.<sup>156</sup>

In this freshly economic role, the bawd epitomises a commoditised form of sexuality. She is an exemplary entrepreneur, whose rhetoric is designed to commoditise the women, sexual resources, and other goods at her disposal, and to market them to her own best advantage. The bawd of the *Vade Mecum* spruiks her wares as

sound and active, but because *Trading's dead, and Money's scarce, and you look like a civil Gentleman, and because I'd encourage you to come again, you shall have one of 'em for a Crown, and that's the lowest; but, for Moll and Kate, Joan, Margery, Abigail, &c. you know the Fare I suppose, and though I say't my self, there's ne'er a Gentlewoman in the whole Trade can shew a better Warehouse of such sort of Goods that I can, nor afford a better Pennyworth.*<sup>157</sup>

The procuring of new commodities is the bawd's primary concern: "grown past her own Labour... she sets up for a Procurer of fresh Goods for her old Customers".<sup>158</sup>

Representations are often at the moment of first contact; a regularly repeated scene is that of the bawd meeting the coach arriving in London (such as Needham greeting Moll Hackabout).<sup>159</sup> Head noted that "The Market-places to which a Bawd resorts to buy Tools for her Trade, are Inns, where she enquires of the Carriers for Servant Maids, and according as they are handsome she entertains them, and trains them up in the Mysteries

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. H6<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. H7<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>158</sup> *London Bawd*, 4.

<sup>159</sup> Hogarth, 134.

of her Occupation".<sup>160</sup> This trope highlights the bawds' commoditisation of the women; Steele for example tells of going to collect "some Provisions which were sent by a Waggon out of the Country", and in doing so finding "the most artful Procuress in the Town, examining a most beautiful Country-Girl, who had come up in the same Waggon with my Things".<sup>161</sup> Women thus number among the fresh goods imported into the capital.

The bawd often operated out of her own tavern, or bawdy house that also provided food and drink, in order to increase her profits. In *The Merry Milkmaid of Islington*, Wenchlove refers to these other lines of produce when he jokes to Mother Red Cap (actually the Lady Lartezim, which he well knows), "how goes Cakes and Maidenheads?"<sup>162</sup> Like the forged maidenheads, it was a truism of the period that these other goods would only be passing for quality, and shamefully overpriced. In some texts, puns make the alliance explicit, such as when one of Duffet's Whores in *The Empress of Morocco* (1674) praises Mother Gifford's ability to "[sell] tough Hen for Quail and Partridge".<sup>163</sup> They might also be forced upon an unwitting customer. See for example the exorbitant bill laid out by Garfield's Magdalena for the client Francion, which included: £1 "for broaching a belly unwemmed and unboarded"; 10s "for *Magdalena's* fee"; 2s 6d for the hector, Gusman; 10s "for providing *Julietta* [the prostitute] with a fine holland smock to make the business more amiable"; 5s "for dressing perfuming and painting"; 5s "for occupying the most

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<sup>160</sup> *Canting Academy*, sig. E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> *Spectator* 266 (4 January 1712), vol. 2, 536.

<sup>162</sup> Thomas Nabbes (att.), *The Merry Milkmaid of Islington, or the Rambling Gallants defeated*, in *The Muse of New-Market: Or, Mirth and Drollery Being Three Farces Acted before the Kind and Court at New-Market*. (London: 1680), sig. D1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> Epilogue, line 50. The identification of "G—that Witch" as Gifford is DiLorenzo's, following a similar reference in John Dryden's *Sir Marten Mar-all* (IV.i.213–216). Duffet continues the avian language later, making the parallel explicit; he describes a new prostitute as "Dainty Virgin Pullet", and a nearby "brace of Jinnyes" (Epilogue, 80–81).

convenient and close box in the room”; £1 for wine; 10s “for Pickled Oysters, Anchova’s [sic], Olives and Capers, to make the Sack go merrily down”; 10s “for sweet Meats, Sugar-cakes, Peaches and Walnuts”; £1 “for Musick”. Total: £5 12s 6d.<sup>164</sup>

The bawd was an uncommon woman in that she legally existed. That is, keeping a bawdy house was one the few crimes for which the woman’s husband was not held accountable under the law of *feme covert*: “A wife”, Blackstone wrote, “may be indicted and set in the pillory *with* her husband, for keeping a brothel: for this is an offence touching the domestic oeconomy or government of the house, in which the wife has a principal share”.<sup>165</sup> As Sophie Carter concludes, this reveals that the bawds “warped the norms of domestic order and violated the ideals of feminine domesticity, and consequently forfeited the legal privileges granted to the model wife”.<sup>166</sup> Although some writers complained that “A lewd Woman shall be sent to Bridewell, and whipp’d, whilst her black Instructress in the Mysteries of Iniquity, shall go Scot-free”, in reality this law *was* enforced, and sometimes with deadly consequences.<sup>167</sup> A report for May, 1695, records the pillorying of “a Notorious Old Bawd... against whom the Rage of the People was so Violent, that it is said, she was almost Kill’d by their throwing at her”, while Needham was effectively stoned to death by the crowd after being placed in the pillory for three days in 1731.<sup>168</sup> Disney noted that some ancient societies had executed bawds, but that “our modern Civilians are agreed, that the punishment of Bawds with *Death*... was

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<sup>164</sup> Garfield, sig. i.B3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>165</sup> Carter, 107; orig.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *The Observer* 90 (22 January 1702), 1.

<sup>168</sup> *Intelligence Domestick and Foreign* 5 (28 May 1695), 1; *Grub Street Journal* (6 May 1731), 2.

too severe”.<sup>169</sup> In modern Europe, he says, “the custom is, to inflict an *arbitrary* punishment, at discretion of the Judge.... [T]hey are sometimes use’d to be *publicly whipped, with a paper Cap upon their Heads*”.<sup>170</sup> He resolves, however, that this is, “*a ridiculous punishment... for so vile a Crime*”, and that death would in fact be fitting.<sup>171</sup>

In the emerging occupational model, the bawd had almost inevitably served an apprenticeship as a prostitute. She was, *The London-Bawd’s* author noted, “the *Refuse* of an Old Whore, who having burnt herself, does like Charcoal help to set greener wood on fire”.<sup>172</sup> The “*Superannuated Whore*” would turn bawd, “when age and Distemper has render’d her Nausious to all *Masculine Society*”.<sup>173</sup> Yet, in the early modern period it was not considered inevitable that a woman who engaged in an act of prostitution would remain in that field, or that she could automatically be classed as a prostitute. In Cutpurse’s ‘autobiography’, she specifies that when detailing the dangers of the occupation, she “speak[s] of *Common and Continuall Strumpets*”.<sup>174</sup> Shaming mechanisms such as carting or the pillory were designed to (re)awaken the prostitute’s sense of shame, and return her to an “*Honest Livelihood*”.<sup>175</sup> What was increasingly certain was that for those women who were not reclaimed, who lacked “so much Good... as to be ashamed”

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<sup>169</sup> *View of the Ancient Laws*, sig. C4<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> *London Bawd*, 4; original emphasis. References to bawds as burnt charcoal appear in several texts during this period, and may serve as a source for Mrs Cole’s name in Cleland. Another possible source is in “cole” as a cant term for money.

<sup>173</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilus*, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>174</sup> *Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith*, sig. G4<sup>v</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>175</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilus*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.

their fate was dire.<sup>176</sup> The career of a prostitute was acknowledged to be a short one.

Moreover, whether she succumbed to the pox and death, or found later employment as a bawd, the woman who entered into prostitution was thoroughly devalued in the marriage economy.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as noted above, most prostitutes worked as individual streetwalkers, and most brothels were managed by men or married couples. Nevertheless, where texts present female homosocial networks, with bawds firmly in charge, and it is true that within the bawdy houses, other “superannuated whores” could have worked as cooks or domestic staff, musicians, dancers/entertainers, midwives, laundry women, charwomen, and waitresses, especially if the house also functioned as a tavern.<sup>177</sup> The conspiratorial communities established within texts like *The Female Fire-Ships* (1691), *The Crafty Whore*, and so on, can be seen as both a response to and source of male anxieties about female collusion. Earlier ‘parliament of women’ texts, which often included celebrity bawds among their members, served a similar purpose, while also functioning—as numerous critics have highlighted—to satirise aspects of contemporary politics.<sup>178</sup>

The male hectors and bullies who do appear within these prostitute narratives are there as hired muscle, and are never involved with preparing the women for the task like the bawds are. In *The London Bawd*, a debate between a “Bawdy-house Crew” seeking to establish who is in charge resolves unequivocally in the favour of “Old Mother Damnable”,

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<sup>176</sup> Steele, *Spectator* 274 (14 January 1712), vol. 2, 568.

<sup>177</sup> McMullan, 129.

<sup>178</sup> See for example Mowry, *Bawdy Politic*, and Turner, *Libertines*.



whose recruitment of the others, and experience and management of the trade, renders her “mistress of [them] all”.<sup>179</sup> It was the bawd’s role as corruptor that most concerned early modern commentators: in *Ward’s Secret History of Clubs*, the women meet under the title of “the Bawds’ Initiating Club”, thus highlighting this element.<sup>180</sup> The men are not responsible for the girls’ introduction or training. The girls instead receive their “Education... under some skilful Matron in Iniquity”; they have “*Whores to their Mothers, Rogues to their Fathers, Bawds to their Tutors*”.<sup>181</sup>

When presenting a prostitute as a victim deserving of sympathy, the corrupting bawd was a useful villain figure, especially since, as noted above, the fault remained with women. This scenario required the girl to be ignorant as to the bawd’s identity. Whore texts and legal records routinely depict country girls agreeing to positions in service, etc, only to find themselves unwittingly placed in a brothel, or raped. Moll Hackabout’s encounter with Needham is, for example, usually read as “an image contrasting the innocence of youth with knowing decrepitude”.<sup>182</sup> Moll is here an innocent victim (albeit one whose later actions reveal her to also be a victim of her own greed and folly in cuckolding her rich Jewish keeper), with the inclusion of infamous rapist Colonel Francis Charteris in the background, already fondling his genitals, indicating her fate. Moll’s corruption is prophesied by the mirroring of her profile with the bawd. The scene begs

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<sup>179</sup> *London Bawd*, 7–8.

<sup>180</sup> Sig. U2<sup>r</sup>. Dan Cruickshank argues that this focus continued into the nineteenth century: *The Secret History of Georgian London: How the Wages of Sin Shaped the Capital* (London: RH Books, 2009), 36.

<sup>181</sup> Ward, *London Spy*, sigs. i.B4<sup>v</sup>–B5<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>182</sup> Hogarth, 134; Cockayne, 49. For an overview of the recent debate over Moll’s innocence in this scene (which has not drawn heavily on the question of Needham’s legibility), see Charlotte Grant, ‘Visible Prostitutes: Mandeville, Hogarth and ‘A Harlot’s Progress’,’ in *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality*, ed. Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 104.

the question, however, of whether Moll is supposed to recognise the woman as a bawd, and, as a related issue, whether the reader is supposed to; if she does, her defense is compromised.

The Adultery Act of 1650 insisted that bawds should be easily recognised as such by the unsuspecting public. It stipulated, “That all and every person and persons who shall... be convicted... by confession or otherwise, for being a common Bawd, be it man or woman, or wittingly keeping a common Brothel or Bawdy-house, shall for his or her first offence be openly whipped and set in the Pillory, and there marked with a hot Iron in the forehead with the Letter B” and thereafter imprisoned for three years. For a second offence, the punishment was death.<sup>183</sup> Like the branding that Moll Flanders’ mother receives as a thief, the Bawd’s distinctive “B” was to serve both as a source of ongoing shame, and a warning to those she encountered that she could not be trusted.

Many, however, felt that this obvious mark was unnecessary. Pepys suggested that he could intuit from appearances whether a woman was a bawd; on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, 1662, he “went to a little house behind the Lords’ house to drink some Wormewood ale, which doubtless was a bawdy house—the *mistress of the house having that look and dress*”.<sup>184</sup> He does not explain what about her appearance led him to this conclusion, but other texts go to great lengths to describe bawds’ characteristic appearances. The bawd is in some ways comparable to the early modern witch, in that a discursive process transformed physical traits that were in themselves not uncommon into marks of bawdry.

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<sup>183</sup> Firth and Rait, eds., ‘May 1650: An Act for suppressing the detestable sins of Incest, Adultery and Fornication’.

<sup>184</sup> In Dabhoiwala, 93; my emphasis.

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These traits were most commonly tied to age or venereal disease, and were expressly constructed as self-imposed: as Ward noted, the “Wrinkles in the Forehead of an Old *Bawd*... express the Lewdness of her Youthful Practices”.<sup>185</sup> The bawd’s body, as Johnston notes of the witch, “was one of [her] own doing, a sign of her own guilt”.<sup>186</sup> Whereas, as Jocelyn Wogan-Browne points out, the chaste body was one without history, the body of the salivated prostitute or bawd was one in which her lewd history was literally oozing out of her, “drop[ping] by piece-meal to the Grave”.<sup>187</sup>

Regardless of her chronological age, in terms of her cultural age the fictional bawd of the late Stuart period is *old*.<sup>188</sup> The manner in which any person spent their youth was thought to steer the effects of aging upon their body, so that “Honor is due to the aged, not to all, but to the righteous: to all others their gray haire are the displayed banners of God’s judgement, a Crown, but a crown of thorns”.<sup>189</sup> The characterisation of the bawd is enmeshed with that of older women in general, and especially the sexual older woman, or the one who was accused of witchcraft for her meddling, knowledge, lack of conformity and obvious male guardianship, and general nuisance.<sup>190</sup> It is important to note, however,

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<sup>185</sup> *London Terræfilius*, sig. iv.C1<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>186</sup> Johnston, 134.

<sup>187</sup> Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, ‘Chaste Bodies: frames and experiences’, in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 24; Ward, *Insinuating Bawd*, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>188</sup> See Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane for “chronological”, “cultural” and “functional” old age: ‘Introduction’, in *Women and Aging in British Society Since 1500*, ed. Botelho and Thane (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), 4.

<sup>189</sup> John Reading, *The Old Man’s Staffe*, in Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 58.

<sup>190</sup> On the older woman and the stereotypical witch in the seventeenth century, see Alison Rowlands, ‘Stereotypes and Statistics: Old Women and Accusations of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe’ and Botelho, ‘Images of Old Age in Early Modern Cheap Print’, in *Power and Poverty: Old Age in the Pre-Industrial Past*, ed. Susannah Ottaway, Botelho, and Katharine Kittredge (Westport and London: Greenwood, 2002), 167–186, and 225–246.

that the bawd is not often actually compared to a witch in any more than a general term of opprobrium.<sup>191</sup> In the medieval period, “From regarding [older women] as ‘go-betweens’ in sexual vice it was one step to see a diabolical purpose behind aging women’s ordinary actions”.<sup>192</sup> By the late seventeenth century, as the ‘Age of Reason’ took hold, the witch was not as threatening as the bawd, because the bawd was universally acknowledged to be real. The fantasy witch became a comedic figure as a favourite costume of the masqueraders—all black hat, cat and broomstick. As noted above, it is this image that is evoked by the inclusion of the witches’ hat in Plate Three of *A Harlot’s Progress*. This shift is also evident in Duffet’s parody of *Macbeth*. Here, the three witches have been transformed into whores and bawds, whose most powerful spells lie in their all-too-mortal sexuality, and venereal diseases. For one Shop-keeper who answers the demand for payment with “be damn’d you Whore!”, for example, the affronted witch curses him thus:

In Hackney Coach, I’le thither sail,  
Like wanton Wife with sweeping Tail;  
... To sweating Tub I’le youth confine,  
Where he shall dwindle flux and pine,  
Though white Witch Surgeon drench and noint,

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<sup>191</sup> Nor were bawds perceived as magical. When a disproportionate number of those William Boghurst described as “common hackney prostitutes... unclean beasts full of old sores, itch, scab and suck like” in the brothel districts survived the plague outbreak of 1666, it was not interpreted as evidence of divine or demonic powers, but as suggesting that the pox conferred immunity from the disease. This resulted in a number of men seeking out infection: Neil Hanson, *The Dreadful Judgement: The True Story of the Great Fire of London 1666* (London: Doubleday, 2001), 19.

<sup>192</sup> Lois W. Banner, *In Full Flower: Aging Women, Power and Sexuality* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1992), 168. See also Katharine Kittredge, “The Ag’d Dame to Venerly Inclind’: Images of Sexual Older Women in Eighteenth-Century Britain”, in *Power and Poverty: Old Age in the Pre-Industrial Past*, ed. Ottaway, Botelho, and Kittredge (Westport and London: Greenwood, 2002), 247–264.

I’le have at least a Joint.<sup>193</sup>

Supernatural threats have been overtaken by the very real dangers of syphilis.

The bawd’s experience of aging is also tied to menopause. Patricia Crawford estimates that for most early modern women menopause began between the ages of forty and fifty.<sup>194</sup> While this age would have been out of reach for most women born in the poorer parishes in which prostitution flourished (for example, Roger Finlay estimates the life expectancy in the similarly poor suburb of St Mary Somerset at 21 for 1606–1653), real-life madams such as Cresswell and Sarah ‘Mother’ Mosely passed this age.<sup>195</sup> *The London Bawd* cites forty one as the age at which the title character “was forc’d to leave off Whoring and turn Bawd”.<sup>196</sup>

Menopause was thought not only to leave women un(re)productive, but also to give them a defeminised biology. Renaissance models of the “one-sex” body held that masculine and feminine anatomies existed on a sliding scale, the result of different balances of heat and fluids within what was morphologically the same body.<sup>197</sup> Hence

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<sup>193</sup> Duffet, Epilogue, lines 23, 27–28, 34–37.

<sup>194</sup> Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Longman, 2004), 66–67. Jane Sharp noted that the menses “begin commonly at fourteen years old, and stop at fifty, or in some sixty years old” (215).

<sup>195</sup> Finlay in Marsha Urban, *Seventeenth-Century Mothers’ Advice Books* (Gordonsville: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 10. Mosely is recorded as dying “at a great age” in 1675: E.J. Burford and Joy Wotton, *Private Vices-Public Virtues: Bawdry in London from Elizabethan Times to the Regency* (Robert Hale: London, 1995), 48. Cresswell was already a highly-successful bawd in the 1660s, which suggests that she had reached an advanced age before her death in approximately 1698: John Callow, ‘Cresswell, Madam (d. c.1698)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6672>, accessed 8 December 2012. See also Aki C.L. Beam, ‘Should I as Yet Call You Old?: Testing the Boundaries of Female Old Age in Early Modern England’, in *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations*, ed. Erin Campbell (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 95–117.

<sup>196</sup> *London Bawd*, 4.

<sup>197</sup> On the pervasiveness of this model see Laqueur, *Making Sex: The Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990).

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followed tales of girls overheating or overexerting themselves to the point that their vagina dropped out to become a penis, or fluctuating hermaphrodites.<sup>198</sup> This balance was also affected by lifecycles. At menopause, a woman's body was thought to heat up with the retained blood, which effectively shifted her physiology closer to the masculine state.<sup>199</sup> Many of the other symptoms of menopause also accorded with a more masculine body, such as balding, and the growth of coarse facial hair on the upper lip and chin. Beards appear on a number of the bawds, such as the fictionalised Mother Creswell, whose chin is "graced with about a dozen hairs placed much after the same order they are in an old Puss, [which] resembled that moss or down, which may be seen to sprout from a Dogs T[ur]d".<sup>200</sup> Duffet's bawd Mother Stephania swears "by the beards of [her] renowned Predecessors".<sup>201</sup> This representation persisted; satirical images from the end of the eighteenth century continued to show bawds as ugly, overweight women with facial hair.<sup>202</sup> Deficiencies in calcium absorption caused by hormonal changes resulted in osteoporosis and teeth loss, the latter of which was also associated with syphilis.

This perceived loss of femininity is evident in a number of whore texts. In *The Roaring Girl* (1608), Moll suggests that bawds were already known for wearing masculine doublets.<sup>203</sup> The English Rogue, on first seeing the bawd in the corner, describes a "thing

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<sup>198</sup> See for example Ambrose Paré's account of Germaine Marie Garnier, whose penis dropped out as "he... was rather robustly chasing his swine": *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 32.

<sup>199</sup> Botelho, 23.

<sup>200</sup> *Whores Rhetorick*, sig. B9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>201</sup> Duffet, sig. B2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> Cruickshank, 45.

<sup>203</sup> Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl*, ed. Andor Gomme (London: Ernest Benn, 1976), 4.1.49–50.

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sitting in a chair by the fireside, with a pipe of tobacco in *its* mouth, and a quartern of strong waters by *its* side”.<sup>204</sup> The *Whores Rhetorick* author had maintained that “A whore is a whore, but a whore is not a woman”, since she failed to follow any of the standards set for proper femininity.<sup>205</sup> As these descriptions continue, the bawd’s body becomes less and less female, and in many instances begins to test the boundaries of the human.

The fictional Creswell has:

as many furrows in her Face, as Hairs on her head, her Eye-brows were thick and hoary, her eyes appeared the most fruitful parts about her, sending forth a certain yellow matter.... [T]here was an uninterrupted communication between her mouth and nose in the outside as well as within, held by means of cero[t]e humours that constantly distilled from one to the other; her Breasts appeared like a pair of Bladders, without the least particle of Air within, and which had hung some ages in the smoak of a Chimney.<sup>206</sup>

She also has a beard, skin the colour of “half-tanned Leather”, and long fingernails akin to “tallons”.<sup>207</sup>

Creswell’s fatness is also a standard bawd trait. This representation was built on wider readings of the fat body in the early modern period, which “is dangerous in so far as

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<sup>204</sup> Head, *English Rogue*, 75; my emphasis.

<sup>205</sup> *Whores Rhetorick*, sig. H3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, sigs. B8<sup>v</sup>–B9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*.

it refuses to maintain the sharp boundaries of the individualised body”.<sup>208</sup> When linked to gluttony, fatness signified a weight upon the soul; to be “lightsome”, Roy Porter points out, meant “not just being free from surplus fat but the carefree quality of a soul unoppressed”.<sup>209</sup> Read in light of the bawd’s increasingly professional, particularly *economic* significance, her obese body marks her consumption and her lack of productivity. Ward comments at length on the economic incapacity of obese women in his attack on a widow contemplating remarriage, as he reminds her that “the Cart-Load of *Blubber* that you drag about with you [will]... render you incapable of being a *Helpmate* to your Husband, which is the Duty of a Wife”.<sup>210</sup> That is, the bodily unfit are also incapable of providing any significant economic contribution. Instead, they are a storehouse of others’ products: the bawd has grown fat upon the sexual commodities of her whores. This is a common trope in modern literature; Sedgwick for example notes of the work of Charles Dickens that, “big people are people who contain, who hog, the resources, and little people are people who’ve had the resources whittled away from them and consumed by the big people”.<sup>211</sup> Yet, she notes, this body can be read optimistically, “as figuring plenitude and lots to give”.<sup>212</sup> The bawd’s body may be said symbolically to be ‘made up’ of the bodies of her prostitutes, as she signifies the prostitute community

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<sup>208</sup> Elena Levy-Navarro, *The Culture of Obesity in Early and Late Modernity: Body Image in Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, and Skelton* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 152. See also Lucia Dacome, ‘Useless and Pernicious Matter: Corpulence in Eighteenth-Century England’, in *Cultures of the Abdomen: Diet, Digestion, and Fat in the Modern World*, ed. Christopher E. Farth and Ana Corden-Coyne (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 185–204.

<sup>209</sup> Roy Porter, *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and Doctors in Britain, 1650–1900* (London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 60.

<sup>210</sup> *London Terræfilius*, sig. iii.B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>211</sup> Sedgwick and Michael D. Snediker, ‘Queer Little Gods: A Conversation’, *The Massachusetts Review* 49.1–2 (2008), 202.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*



wherever she goes. More literally, however, the fat bawd is a sign of “plenitude” to her male customers because she is a successful bawd: she is in possession of commodities to offer her customers.

Authors such as Garfield routinely preface their descriptions of bawds, and the world of prostitution they occupy, with protests that they do so in order that readers may learn to recognise and avoid the women and their tricks; that is, “to discover the persons, who like Spiders, watch all opportunities for trappanning”.<sup>213</sup> They warn of the prostitutes’ and bawds’ abilities to pass among the unknowing as respectable women, thus increasing their symbolic capital. Often, a pair poses as a young woman and her mother, or aunt, who seek to rent a room, and ask questions that the reader is supposed to recognise as suspicious, even if the landlord does not. One bawd whose letter appears in *The Spectator*, offering a new girl to one of her clients under the guise of domestic service, presents the girl as her niece, newly arrived from the country. Praise for the girl serves to heighten her value: she desires work in a milliner’s (which was a profession widely associated with prostitution); she is “a little Woman, which I know your Lordship likes”, with “a fine complexion”, and is “ignorant of the Ways of the Town”, which indicates virtue, but more specifically virginity and lack of disease.<sup>214</sup> By framing this exchange as an attempt by the bawd to pass off her business with the nobleman as a respectable woman seeking employment for her niece, the author suggests her attempt to fraudulently access the social capital that is denied her as a bawd.

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<sup>213</sup> Garfield, sig. i.A1<sup>v</sup>. Readers occasionally used similar justifications; Pepys for example explained his own consumption of the pornographic novel *L’Ecole de filles* with the rationale it “doth me no wrong to read for information sake” (9 February 1668).

<sup>214</sup> *Spectator* 274 (14 January 1712), 569. On the link between millinery and prostitution, see Carter, 15.

More often, however, there is no attempt at deception on the bawd's part. If they were uniformly accused of passing off commodities (whether women or victuals) for greater cost than their value, they were nevertheless considered disarmingly forthright about their own professional identity. The letter quoted above was actually a close copy of one that appeared in *The Observer* four years earlier, signed by "Rachell Pershall".<sup>215</sup> Here, *The Observer's* 'editor' *does* read Pershall as a bawd offering a new prostitute to her customer. He also believes that the girl is Pershall's "own Flesh and Blood", which he considers an even greater disgrace.<sup>216</sup> In presenting herself shamelessly as one in receipt of ill-gotten booty, the bawd occupies a position that might be thought of as the opposite of the 'deserving poor', in which the sentimental whore would find some refuge; that is, the 'undeserving wealthy'. Laura Mandell has recently argued that the bawd acted as a Girardian scapegoat for anxieties surrounding the capitalist in the early eighteenth century; by identifying the bawd as the epitome of "the unsavory aspects of capitalist enterprise", authors could "cleanse" other merchants from the association.<sup>217</sup> The tainting of money obtained through shameful means is evident in the cant terms for it, such as "Quiffing Cole", where "quiffing" specifically referred to sex with a prostitute.<sup>218</sup> It is the filthiest of lucre.

As noted above, one of the effects of a shame collectivity is the reinterpretation of actions, beliefs or other personal characteristics that the "world of norms" considers

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<sup>215</sup> *Observer* 90 (22 January 1707), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> Mandell, 64.

<sup>218</sup> *News from Whetstones Parke*, sig. A1<sup>r</sup>; '† quiffing, n.' *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/156532?redirectedFrom=quiffing>, accessed 8 December 2012. See also Williams, 1129.

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shameful. The corruption of women into the world of prostitution was certainly considered such by the wider early modern community. For textual bawds, however, these successes are a source of pride. The bawds “so far excell the lewdest of Men in all Manner of Obscenity, that it would make a Rake blush, and the worst of Libertines abjure the Conversation of all Mercenary harlots to be witnesses of their Impudence.”<sup>219</sup> The bawds and whores act with a level of self-interest that was itself considered shameful for women, who were supposed to labour, effaced, in the service of the household.

In many ways the bawd’s management of the girl’s sexuality—her training in how to make best financial use of it—paralleled criticism about mothers’ roles in arranging financially useful marriages. Women who use their daughters as commodities ripe for exchange are rhetorically charged with bawdry: Ward speaks of one widow with “two very pritty Daughters, who often do her the Service of ready Money; the Handsomest she calls her *Gold*, and the Other her *Silver*”, who by “Prostitut[ing] their Charms” serve as currency in her business affairs.<sup>220</sup> Bawds are seen to adopt girls and the denomination “Mother”, so becoming “figure[s] of deviant matriarchal authority”.<sup>221</sup> The bawd as anti-mother comes out in the 1658 translation of Lemnius’ *Secret Miracles of Nature* where he writes that “Some Bawds” try to persuade women that “Mothers afford very little to the generation of the child, but onely are at the trouble to carry it... as if the womb were hired by men”.<sup>222</sup> The juxtaposition was a frequent rhetorical device, the Church of England

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<sup>219</sup> Ward, *History of Clubs*, sigs. U4<sup>v</sup>–U5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>220</sup> *London Terræfilius*, sigs. iii.B4<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>221</sup> Carter, 110.

<sup>222</sup> Crawford, 82–83.

often being figured as a mother figure, in opposition to the “Roman Whore” of Catholicism.<sup>223</sup>

In contrast to the mother arranging a marriage, however, the bawd who arranged for another woman’s entry into prostitution expressly devalued, if not removed her from the marriage economy. The despoiled prostitute was not only unmarriageable but, in the popular imagination, barren. The bawd thus hindered the “patriarchal imperative of marital alliance, and with it the transmission of property and the reproduction of children”, that Valerie Traub identifies as the crux of concern about female same-sex desire in the early modern period.<sup>224</sup> The “Mother” bawd, in recruiting other women into childlessness, reproduced her own lack. This lack was both reproductive and sexual. Steele bemoaned the inclinations of both “the impotent Wenchers and industrious Haggis who are supplied with, and are constantly supplying new Sacrifices to the Devil of Lust”, but who “can only lay waste and not enjoy the Soil”.<sup>225</sup> The bawd plays a primary role in the sexual corruption of the young woman, and as such should be read within broader concerns over female-female sexual activities in the period.

Some whore texts have already been read in this way. Denise Walen has considered Fernando de Rojas’ bawd *Celestina* (from *La Celestina*, 1499) within a frame of “triangulated homoeroticism” that rests on her professional need to assess women according to their appeal to men, and her masturbation of Areusa *under the pretence of*

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<sup>223</sup> For example see Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

<sup>224</sup> Traub, 181.

<sup>225</sup> *Spectator* 274 (14 January 1712), vol. 2, 567.

relieving her hysteria, or green-sickness.<sup>226</sup> This is a repeated insinuation. For the unmarried woman, medical treatises on green sickness recommended genital massage—sometimes including digital penetration—in order to induce an “hysterical paroxysm”.<sup>227</sup> Though this practice continued from Hippocrates to the 1920s, there were concerns throughout this time as to the propriety: the Dutch physician Pieter van Foreest *insisted* that a male physician should “ask a midwife to assist”.<sup>228</sup> But even this was of concern to writers such as Nicholas Culpepper. In his popular *Practise of Physick* (1655), he advised first marriage as a remedy for green-sickness, or, if that were not possible,

the genital Parts should be by a cunning Midwife so handled and rubbed as to cause an evacuation of the over-abounding sperm. *But that being a thing not so allowable*, it may suffice whilst patient is in bath to rub her belly in the Region of the Womb.<sup>229</sup>

The “experienc’d Bawd” of *Fifteen Plagues of a Maiden-Head* (1707), of whom the “plagued” maiden seeks advice, and whom she remarks “soon grop’d the Cause” of her

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<sup>226</sup> Walen, *Constructions of Female Homoeroticism in Early Modern Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 108–112. Gregory Hutcheson also considers the homoerotics of this text: ‘Leonor López de Córdoba and the Configuration of female-female desire’, in *Same Sex Love and Desire Among Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Francesca Canadé Sautman and Pamela Sheingorn (New York: Palgrave, 2001). Hutcheson uses Adrienne Rich’s model of the “lesbian continuum”, arguing that Celestina has a broad range of “woman-identified experiences”, and that she eschews institutions designed to control women (“patriarchal manhood, economic exploitation, the nuclear family, compulsory heterosexuality”). Rich outlined her model in ‘Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence’, *Signs* 5.4 (1980): 631–660. Douglas Bruster has also examined bawds’ professional need to “look at [prostitutes] with and through her customers’ eyes”: ‘Female-Female Eroticism and the Early Modern Stage’, *Renaissance Drama* 24 (1993), 18.

<sup>227</sup> Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm: “Hysteria,” the Vibrator, and Women’s Sexual Satisfaction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 1.

<sup>228</sup> Blackledge, 258.

<sup>229</sup> Traub, 84; my emphasis.

complaint, might thus be supposed to be taking both a theoretical and practical approach to her diagnosis.<sup>230</sup>

The fear that *any* independent female communities could turn sexual was not new. Earlier anti-clerical satires such as Pietro Aretino's *Ragionamenti* (1536) included convent orgies, with Erasmus also complaining that there were more cloistered women "who copy Sappho's behaviour than share her talent".<sup>231</sup> Traub, Andreadis and other historians suggest, however, that the mid-seventeenth century heralded an "increasing suspicion" about female intimacy:

the sharing of beds, kissing and caressing, and exclusive friendships... represented as unexceptional until the mid-seventeenth century, begin to be construed as immoral, irrational, a threat to other women as well as to men.... [A] discursive regime of impossibility [was] gradually displaced by a governing logic of suspicion and possibility.<sup>232</sup>

Such a position has also been held by Catherine Craft-Fairchild and Terry Castle, in contradiction to studies by Lillian Faderman, Lynn Friedli and Trumbach (among others) who cited the legal invisibility of female same-sex unions in comparison to men, and literary responses to Molly Clubs and sodomy trials as proof that "lesbian sexuality was treated more tolerantly than male homosexuality".<sup>233</sup> Writers such as Dunton feared that

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<sup>230</sup> *Fifteen Plagues of a Maiden-Head* (London: 1707), sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>231</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, 'The Girl with No Interest in Marrying', in *Erasmus on Women*, ed. Erika Rummel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 31.

<sup>232</sup> Traub 19–20; Andreadis, 4–7 and *passim*.

<sup>233</sup> Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Morrow, 1981), 29. See also Friedli, 'Passing Women: A Study of Gender Boundaries in the Eighteenth-Century' in *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment*, ed. G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Castle, 'Introduction', in *The*

women left alone would “raging, seize on their own Kind.... *And Man... mimick in each others Arms*”.<sup>234</sup> Dildos make an appearance among riggish female couples in bawdy works such as Edward Howard’s *‘Fricatrices; or, a She upon a She’* (1673), and the anonymous *Monsiuer Thing’s Origin: or, Seignior Dildo’s Adventures in Britain* (1722). French prostitutes were rumoured to use the same name for the clitoris and dildo—gaude mihi, or godemiche—reflecting the belief that each could be used among the women to render male company irrelevant.<sup>235</sup> Old stories of men infiltrating all-female spaces dressed as women also led to accounts of disguised Sapphic seductions in *The English Rogue*, and Giles Jacob’s *Treatise of Hermaphrodites* (1718).

Within the critical literature, there are currently three main groupings for female same-sex relations in the early modern period, with whom the bawd holds several similarities. First, and with the longest pedigree, is the tribade: a semi-monstrous, masculinised woman with an enlarged clitoris, usually relegated in contemporary reports to exotic locations. As midwifery-writer Jane Sharp noted, “In the *Indies* and *Egypt* they are frequent, but I never heard but of one in this Country, if there be any they will do what they can for shame to keep it close”.<sup>236</sup> Corporal and underworld exoticisation is also evident in the bawd’s characterisation, as I have discussed above.

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*Literature of Lesbianism: A Historical Anthology From Ariosto to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Andreadis, *ibid*; Traub, *ibid*; Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*.

<sup>234</sup> Dunton, *Bumography*, sig. D1<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>235</sup> Turner, *Schooling Sex*, 152.

<sup>236</sup> Sharp, 40. Trumbach argues that the ‘masculine’ woman only becomes a legible queer figure at the end of the eighteenth-century: ‘London’s Sapphists: From Three Sexes to Four Genders in the Making of Modern Culture’, in *Third Sex/Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Zone, 1996), 111–136. The hermaphrodite tribade is not recognisable without the help of an anatomist (and even then, could shift unexpectedly, a la those in Paré). Susan Lanser also positions the mid-eighteenth century as the point at which “there emerged a construction of the sapphist not as secretly

The second are the romantic or eroticised friends, epitomised in this period by the poetry of Aphra Behn, Katherine Phillips and Margaret Cavendish, who asexualise and separate their behaviours from the monstrous tribades and in doing so are able to write relatively openly about love between women. This is played out in texts such as Phillip's 'To My Excellent Lucasia, on our Friendship', Behn's 'To the fair Clarinda, who made Love to me, imagin'd more than Woman', and Cavendish's closet drama *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668). For the bawd, encomia are crucial tools in her rhetorical seductions, praying on female vanity. She also employs arguments characteristic of seductive rake characters, or *carpe diem* texts such as Andrew Marvell's 'To His Coy Mistress' and Robert Herrick's 'To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time'.

The third class, only more recently given attention by critics such as Toulalan and Turner, are those women who appear within pornographic works such as Jean Barrin's *Venus dans le Cloître* (1683). As Martha Vicinus notes, such representations should not instantly be dismissed, since "such culturally influenced male fantasies, derived from both pornography and high art, had a lasting impact upon the public (and, occasionally, the private) image of the lesbian".<sup>237</sup> Sexual, but not monstrous (lacking, for example, the

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hermaphroditic but as *visibly* mannish—mannish in her public rather than private parts, mannish in her behaviours and accoutrements despite her self-presentation as female and her probably female anatomy": 'Queer to Queer: The Sapphic Body as Transgressive Text', in *Lewd and Notorious: Female Transgression in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Katharine Kittredge (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 29–30.

<sup>237</sup> Vicinus, 'They Wonder to Which Sex I Belong: The Historical Roots of the Modern Lesbian Identity', *Feminist Studies* 18.3 (1992), 476. The most well-studied of these episodes is Phoebe's "break[ing]" in of new prostitutes in Cleland (17). For feminist criticism of *Memoirs* as purely fulfilling male fantasy see Janet Todd, *Women's Friendship in Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); Patricia Meyer Spacks, 'Female Changelessness: Or, What Do Women Want?', *Studies in the Novel* 19.3 (1987), 273–283; Nancy K. Miller, "'I's" in Drag: The Sex of Recollection', *The Eighteenth Century* 22.1 (1981), 47–57. Lisa Moore challenges these readings, pointing out that the entire novel is framed as the response of one woman to another's erotic desires (Fanny writing to a female reader), and represents female-female eroticism in England when it was customarily banished to exotic realms: *Dangerous Intimacies: Toward a Sapphic History of the British Novel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 53–55.



enlarged clitoris of the tribade), these women are primarily depicted in same-sex encounters as preludes or ersatz to heterosexual ones, whereupon, as Fanny Hill put it, they would renounce “this foolery from woman to woman”.<sup>238</sup>

In addition to these echoes of recognisable (and recognised) homoerotic engagements and discourses, the bawd also functioned in a manner that might be better understood as queer. As Traub noted above, manifestations of intense female intimacies could in many cases be tolerated in this period, *provided* that they did not interfere with broader gender or familial structures. By contrast, the bawd’s introduction of younger women into prostitution inevitably did so. The prostitute in this sense parallels, but also vividly inverts, Theodora A. Jankowski’s framework of early modern “queer virginity”, wherein, as she points out, to remain a virgin, placing oneself outside of the patriarchal marriage norm, was to render oneself “queer”.<sup>239</sup> Likewise, the bawd seduces the woman into a particularly shameful, here economic relation to sexuality.

Fanny Hill explicitly notes that women are easily as effective sexual corruptors as men: “this I know, that the first sparks of kindling nature, the first ideas of pollution, were caught by me that night; and that the acquaintance and communication with the bad of our own sex is often as fatal to innocence as all the seductions of the other”.<sup>240</sup> As Sedgwick and Emma Donoghue have highlighted, the corruption of the young woman in

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<sup>238</sup> Cleland, 37.

<sup>239</sup> Jankowski, *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

<sup>240</sup> Cleland, 18.

this period is centred in knowledge, rather than any physical act.<sup>241</sup> As Donoghue notes in her reading of Denis Diderot's *La Religieuse*,

What [the Mother Superior] is really seducing [Sister Susan] into is knowledge; nothing physical the Superior can do constitutes a sin for Susan as long as Susan's mind stays pure. Only if the Superior can get the young nun to admit to sexual (and specifically lesbian) knowledge, to feel the same shame, will she be able to accomplish the seduction.<sup>242</sup>

Similarly, it is only when the bawd has compelled the prostitute to feel, and then reject shame around commoditised sexuality, that she has made her a real whore.

This corruption through knowledge and shame is evoked in the texts' comparisons of the bawd and her prey to Eve's temptation in the Garden of Eden; wherein, as Eve says at Genesis 3:13, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat". The bawd is "the very Emblem of the *Serpent* that betray'd *Eve*; the Cursed *Executrix* of *Eve's* Perfidy that seduc'd *Adam*, and ought to be shun'd and dreaded by her own Sex as much as the Devil".<sup>243</sup> In *The Insinuating Bawd and the Repenting Harlot*, the Harlot likens herself to Eve in order to lessen her culpability by shifting fault onto the Bawd "who seduc'd [her] first to Sin".<sup>244</sup> She notes that for Eve, "'Twas not the Fruit, but what the Tempter said, / That her weak Nature to his Will Betray'd"; similarly, the "very Words" of the bawd provoke in her "A

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<sup>241</sup> Their observations are both based on readings of *La Religieuse*: Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 23–51; Donoghue, *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture, 1668–1801* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 191.

<sup>242</sup> Donoghue, *ibid.*

<sup>243</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. ii.B2<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>244</sup> Ward, *Insinuating Bawd*, sig. B1<sup>v</sup>. Cockayne reads the bawd in this text as "disgusted at her own wretchedness... [and] hold[ing] herself as a warning to the young harlot" (49). It is the *harlot*, however, who is offering herself as a lesson to the reader; she fully satisfies the model of the repentant whore vocalising her shame in order to elicit the reader's sympathy, in the face of the shameless bawd.

warm Desire [that] tho' ev'ry Fibre glides".<sup>245</sup> It was relatively common to represent the serpent as a woman, as, for example, in the temptation scenes of Michaelangelo, Hugo van der Goes and Cornelis van Haarlem. In van der Goes' work, as in the later John Roddam Spencer Stanhope's, the physical decrepitude of the female serpent represents a post-Fall version of Eve, thus enhancing Eve's culpability as she elects to ignore the fate presented to her.<sup>246</sup> This prophetic mirroring is evident in bawd/prostitute encounters, too.

As with the flagellants discussed in Part One, whose emotional involvement with their sexual activities has been undervalued, the pleasure that the bawds received—or were *said* to have received—in their corruption of the women they brought to prostitution has been overlooked in discussions of queer early modern sexualities. This is despite ample evidence of a lesser focus on gender in discerning normative sexual behaviours in this period.<sup>247</sup> The professionalised bawd is “a Treacherous *Seducer* of both

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<sup>245</sup> Ward, *ibid.*, sigs. B2<sup>v</sup>– C1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>246</sup> Pamela Norris, *The Story of Eve* (London: Picador, 1998), 319. Some historians have argued that the female serpent is actually a representation of Lillith, who in the apocryphal version of Genesis is the one to tempt Eve to betray Adam: Catherine Kovesi, ‘Women, Lust, and Sacred Space in Early Modern Italy’ (paper presented at the University of Adelaide, 1 June 2012).

<sup>247</sup> Trumbach, for example, argues that men were able to pursue sexual relationships with women or boys, provided that they adhered to other social hierarchies (eg. class or marriage): *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 3–22. More recently, Judith M. Bennet has suggested that the more fluid “category” of “lesbian-like” behaviours might “allow us to create a social history of poorly-documented... lesbianisms”: “‘Lesbian-Like’ and the Social History of Lesbianisms”, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9:1–2 (2000), 3. Marilyn Morris also argues for “a more nuanced view of intimacy [attained] by turning attention toward the visible emotional, spiritual and economic aspects of same-sex relationships”: Morris, ‘Objects of Desire, Identity and Eros in the Writings of Lord Hervey and Charlotte Charke’, in *Sexual Perversions, 1670–1890*, ed. Peakman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 73. See also Robert Matz, ‘The Scandals of Shakespeare’s Sonnets’ *ELH* 77.2 (2010), 477–508.

*Sexes*” to a commoditised sexuality that includes the troubling (and contested) fungibility of sexual actors.<sup>248</sup>

Any threat posed by Cornelia’s mother, the failed bawd, is contained by her lust: she can “not live without the Instrument, and therefore she judged it more proper to accept a poor Devil, than to remain untill’d any longer”.<sup>249</sup> The professional bawd, in contrast, is most threatening because her pleasure lays in her success. Ward notes that “She is so Naturally Prone to Corrupt others, that her highest Felicity consists in seducing her own Sex”.<sup>250</sup> Ward in fact suggests that it is this most shameful of pleasures that most threatens the bawd’s hold on her business sense: “rather than be without the Office, when a favourable Opportunity happens in her way, she will give her Labour Gratis for the pleasure of holding the Door”.<sup>251</sup> In this scene, she has accepted an emotional pleasure for her commission in the exchange, rather than her customary fiscal remuneration.

In the late seventeenth century, the image of the bawd solidified into a well-known stereotype that was grounded in her shameless, illicit commoditisation of sexuality and people as sexual actors. She was “a Wretch whose very *Calling* shews her to be one of the Devil’s prime Factors, who drives a *Trade* in Sin, and makes it her *business* to corrupt the Innocent and Virtuous; and then to *entail* Misery and Ruin upon them”.<sup>252</sup> Her brazenness in this business exposed the insufficiencies of external shaming mechanisms, while also opening a shame space into which the “victim” prostitute would soon fall.

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<sup>248</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. ii.B2<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>249</sup> *London Jilt*, 76.

<sup>250</sup> Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.* There is also an element of scopophilia in this scene that is borne out by the frequent depiction of voyeurs in pornographic texts from this period. On this, see further Toulalan, esp. 161–193.

<sup>252</sup> *Honest London Spy*, sig. A4<sup>r-v</sup>; my emphasis.

The characterisation of the bawd was also heavily engaged with questions of the interpretability of the shameful body. In the next two chapters, I will extend this investigation to the interpretation of the syphilitic body in a study of the destruction and reconstruction of the nose. Like *The London Jilt's* Cornelia, or other prostitutes, who purchased body modifiers (cosmetics, corsetry, etc) in order to increase their access to social capital, the reconstruction of the syphilitic's nose through the rhinoplasty technique brought to prominence by Gaspare Tagliacozzi facilitated a fraudulent passing for physically and morally healthy. Because the most widespread understanding of this procedure stipulated that the nose would be reconstructed using a graft of flesh *purchased* from another person, this investigation also builds on my earlier chapters' work on prostitution as a problematic exchange of bodily products. Tying these two fields together enables a nuanced examination of the commodification of living human bodies and their parts in early modern culture.

## **“Lead[ing] ‘em by the Nose into publick Shame and Derision”: Pox and Plastic Surgery in the Seventeenth Century.**

This chapter explores the special role of the nose as a signifier of shame in the early modern period. I argue that the increased shamefulness of syphilis led to an increase in the importance placed on the nose as evidence of sexual immorality. This resulted in hesitation among surgeons to reconstruct the nose in the manner detailed most famously by the Bolognese surgeon Gaspare Tagliacozzi in *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem* (Venice: 1597). English knowledge and practice of rhinoplasty is held by modern medical historians to have disappeared after Tagliacozzi’s death. They claim that the practice only reappeared at the end of the eighteenth century thanks to the new influence of Indian medicine. As I aim to demonstrate, however, professional knowledge of the procedure did in fact persist through the seventeenth century. To show this, I will provide a publication history of the full translation of *De curtorum chirurgia* that was published in London in 1687 and 1696, attached to the collected works of respected Scottish surgeon, Alexander Read (sometimes recorded as ‘Reid’; c1580–1641): *Chirurgorum Comes: or the Whole Practice of Chirurgery. Begun by the Learned Dr Read; Continued and Completed By a Member of the College of Physicians in London.*<sup>1</sup>

To understand why rhinoplasty was anathema to seventeenth-century Europe, and specifically England, it is necessary to consider the particular role of the nose in this culture. Injuries to the nose, either accidental or punitive, had been constructed since

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<sup>1</sup> Unless noted, all quotations are from the 1687 edition.

antiquity and in many cultures as *inhonesta vulnerum*—dishonouring wounds. Read himself cited the phrase, which originated in Ovid’s *Fasti*, in the 1634 edition of *Somatographia Anthropine, or a Description of the Body of Man*, noting that “The Nose as it is the chiefe beauty of the Face, if it be whole and proportionable; so if it bee violated or deformed, it disfigures the face most, and therefore the Poet calls the wounds of the Nose, *inhonesta vulnera*. As if they did dishonest a man”.<sup>2</sup>

As Sander L. Gilman has argued, various discourses of honour have centred on the nose in different periods—he writes, for example, of its importance in Jewish stereotypes and identity politics.<sup>3</sup> He also notes its association with sexual honour, thanks to its function as a sign of syphilis, and explores representations of the diseased or missing nose in the nineteenth century in particular, which he dubs the “age of syphilophobia”; “the syphilitic nose,” he writes, “marked the body as corrupt and dangerous”.<sup>4</sup> The eroded nose therefore became an easy marker of a debauched lifestyle, and its restoration, Gilman argues, an unacceptable means of enabling its owner to pass as healthy.<sup>5</sup> While not discounting the shame associated with syphilis in the nineteenth century, I aim to demonstrate that in the seventeenth century—which Gilman does not consider in detail—the pox, and efforts to conceal it, received a hitherto underestimated level of shaming. Gilman, following current plastic surgery histories, denies any knowledge of rhinoplasty between Tagliacozzi and the late eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> I argue that in ignoring

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<sup>2</sup> Sig. Z4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Gilman, *Making*, 91, 132–137.

<sup>4</sup> Gilman, *Creating*; 34. *Making*, 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Making*, 75 and *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, 73.

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seventeenth-century references to Tagliacozzi, and the contribution of Read's editing "Physician", Gilman and other historians of sexual health and culture have significantly underestimated the level of shame attached to the pox in the seventeenth century, and the significance of the nose as a legible signifier of the disease during this period.

Tagliacozzi was born in Bologna in 1545, the son of a satin-weaver.<sup>7</sup> He rose to become a highly-respected surgeon whose reputation spread throughout Italy. In 1597 he published his most significant work, *De curtorum chirurgia*.<sup>8</sup> This text provided a detailed account of how the reconstruction of a damaged or missing nose, lip or ear could be performed using skin grafted from the arm. The University of Bologna, where Tagliacozzi had both studied and taught, held his work in such high esteem that they erected a statue to him in their anatomy theatre—holding a nose. This was erected in approximately 1640; it was replaced with a wooden copy in 1734, and remained until the medical school was bombed in World War Two.<sup>9</sup> Tagliacozzi himself evidently considered the procedures outlined in *De curtorum chirurgia* to be his greatest medical contribution; in a 1588 autograph, Tagliacozzi signed himself "narium et aurium primus reformato", the 'first restorer of noses and ears'.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 13, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Printed by Gaspare Bindoni in Venice; a pirated version was produced in the same year and city by Roberto Meietti, and a third, octavo edition in Frankfurt in 1598 by Johann Saur: Gnudi and Webster, 136, 183–184. The octavo edition was given the alternate title of *Cheirurgia Nova... De Narium, Aurium, Labiorumque defectu, per institionem curtis ex humero, arte, hactenus omnibus ignota, sarciendo* ('New surgery... for mending defects of the nose, ears and lips with grafts from the shoulder, by arts hitherto unknown'). There are approximately forty copies of *De curtorum chirurgia* currently in library collections in the UK, USA, Australia and Canada.

<sup>9</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 258.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.



Though *De curtorum chirurgia* was praised in scientific circles, Tagliacozzi was said to have received immediate criticism from the Catholic Church. After his death in 1599, rumour arose that his body was exhumed after the nuns of the adjoining convent complained of bloodcurdling screams from his tormented soul. His biographers, Martha Teach Gnudi and Jerome Pierce Webster argue convincingly that this “reinterment” was likely to have been simply the removal of his body upon completion of his tomb in November 1603, which rumour then blew out of all proportion; the convent in question, San Giovanni Battista, had after all allowed his daughter, Lucrezia, to later join them as a nun.<sup>11</sup>

Tagliacozzi was not the first to employ a skin graft or flap to reconstruct the nose to provide patients with “the greatest benefits of all: a tranquil mind and a pleasing appearance”.<sup>12</sup> The operation had been performed in India for centuries, with the first accounts traceable to the sixth-century BCE *Suśruta Samhita*.<sup>13</sup> In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, four eminent Continental surgeons—Theodoric, Bishop of Cervia (1205–1298), Lanfranci of Milan (d.1315), Guy de Chauliac (c.1298–1368), and Pietro d’Argellata (d.1423)—alluded to the possibility of reattaching a severed nose, although of these only Theodoric actually believed it to be possible.<sup>14</sup> Tagliacozzi is likely to have

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>12</sup> *De curtorum*, 205. A “skin flap” remains attached to its original site in order to ensure adequate blood supply; in contrast, a “skin graft” is entirely severed from its donor site, and must therefore have new connections made between blood vessels to enable the graft to take: Paulo Santoni-Rugiu and Philip J. Sykes, *A History of Plastic Surgery* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 80.

<sup>13</sup> David Hamilton, *A History of Organ Transplantation: Ancient Legends to Modern Practice* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 10.

<sup>14</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 109.

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learnt about rhinoplasty from the Sicilian Branca family.<sup>15</sup> Branca de Branca, working from the “Indian method”, had taken a flap of skin from the cheek, while his son, Antonie Branca, had taken a flap from the upper arm, which created less facial scarring.<sup>16</sup> The Neapolitan poet Elisio Calenzio (1440–1503) recommended Antonie’s services to a noseless friend, and this letter was published in his *Works* in 1503:

Orpianus, if you wish to have your nose restored, come here. Really it is the most extraordinary thing in the world. Branca of Sicily, a man of wonderful talent, has found out how to give a person a new nose, which he either builds from the arm or borrows from a slave.<sup>17</sup> ...Now if you come, I would have you know that you shall return home with as much new nose as you please. Fly.<sup>18</sup>

The earliest account of the Brancas’ work is provided by the historian Bartolommeo Fazio (d. 1457), but this was not published until 1745, and their method was best known from Calenzio’s letter.<sup>19</sup> Etienne Gourmelen, chief of surgery at the royal college in Paris, included the letter in *Chirurgicae artis* (‘Surgical art’. Florence: 1580). The letter’s

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 110.

<sup>16</sup> Gilman, *Making*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> The sentence as included by Gourmelen is “Brauca Siculus, ingenio vir egregio, didicit nares inserere, quas vel de brachio resicit, vel de seruis mutuatas impingit”: (Paris: 1580), 173. ‘Mutuatas’, from ‘mutuor’, can be used in the sense of “borrowing”, but can also be rendered as “to take for one’s use, to derive, obtain, get, procure”: Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 1879 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 1181. Gnudi and Webster’s translation as “borrow” suggests that Calenzio considered the attachment of the new nose only temporary. As he precedes other ‘sympathetic snout’ accounts, however, and there is nothing in the rest of his letter to suggest that the operation would be unsuccessful, it is perhaps better translated as “procuring”. Santoni-Rugio and Sykes similarly employ this sense in their translation, stating that Branca restores the nose “either by supplying it from the arm of the patient or by affixing upon the part the nose of a slave” (176).

<sup>18</sup> In Gnudi and Webster, 112.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

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historiographical contribution in seventeenth-century England is demonstrated by Sir Charles Bernard's (1652–1710) account of the procedure's history. Offering an openly-sketchy account, in which he notes his reliance on Gourmelen, Bernard writes that:

Who this *Orpianus* was, is not material to enquire; nor can I, I confess, say much of this *Brauca* (or *Branca*, as *Taliacotius* calls him, who seems to know no more of Him or his History, than what he transcrib'd from *Gourmelenus*; and *Gourmelenus* himself, no more than is express'd in this Epistle of *Calentius*, which affords but little light into the History;) though it is very probable that he was the same person whom *Ambr[ose] Parey* mentions to have practis'd this way of Inoculating Noses some Years before his time in *Italy*.<sup>20</sup>

The German military surgeon, Heinrich von Pfolspendt, writing in 1460 (although his book was not published until 1858) also recorded a nasal reconstruction in such a manner that led Gnudi and Webster to suggest that he took his method from Antonio Branca.<sup>21</sup> He suggested that the method would be useful “To make a new nose for one who lacks it entirely, and the dogs have devoured it”, and his account is remarkable for the level of professional secrecy that his teacher—possibly Branca—recommends for administering the procedure.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Bernard, in Wotton, sigs. Z5<sup>r</sup>, Aa3<sup>r-v</sup>; original emphases.

<sup>21</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 113.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

Tagliacozzi's method of grafting skin from the arm is often denominated the "Italian method" in order to distinguish it from the facial skin flaps used in the "Indian method".<sup>23</sup> Tagliacozzi's own synopsis of the procedure is as follows:

The skin is taken from the anterior portion of the upper arm and is joined to the mutilated part with sutures. Next, the skin is secured with suitable bandages until the skin and the defect grow together. Once there is a firm adherence between the two, the skin is removed from the arm and molded into the shape of the missing part[.]<sup>24</sup>

Provided that the surgeon was skillful, and paid close attention to his patient during and after the procedure, he says, the new nose would become both "strong and stable".<sup>25</sup>

Even before the publication of *De curtorum chirurgia*, Tagliacozzi found his method the subject of attack and, most distressingly for him, professional misunderstanding: respected medical writers such as Ambrose Paré published condemnations of rhinoplasty based on misrepresentations of the procedure. This situation compelled him to write a defense of his work to the distinguished anatomist Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606), who had visited Tagliacozzi in Bologna and written approvingly of his methods, and who published the letter as an appendix to the second edition of *De decoratione* ('On decoration'. Frankfurt: 1587).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See for example Shan R. Baker, *Principles of Nasal Reconstruction* (New York: Springer, 2011), 3–5, and Thomas Gibson, 'The Prosthetics of Ambrose Paré', *British Journal of Plastic Surgery* (1955): 3–8.

<sup>24</sup> Tagliacozzi, *De curtorum*, 54.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 136.

Early professional criticism of Taliacotian rhinoplasty focussed on the likely pain and inconvenience, and a basic scepticism as to its effectiveness. Tagliacozzi's procedure also became associated with a rumour that first appeared around the Branca family, that the material used to reconstruct the nose could be taken from someone other than the patient. The first known account of this story is the letter from Calenzio, quoted above, which was cited repeatedly over the following centuries, although it is likely Calenzio was himself merely reporting rumours.<sup>27</sup> This myth was, in fact, to become the predominant popular knowledge of Tagliacozzi. In modern parlance, Tagliacozzi advocated an "autograft" (a graft taken from the patient him or herself), while in the legend that took over he was associated with a "homograft" or "allograft"—that is, a skin graft taken from someone else. Though Tagliacozzi considered that "the skin flap [could], in fact, be procured from another person's body", he wrote that in practice it would not suit, since "the skin flap must be firmly sutured to the mutilated nose or lips until the parts coalesce" and the body immobilised.<sup>28</sup> "Would two people ever consent to being bound together so intimately and for so long?" he asks; "I certainly cannot imagine it."<sup>29</sup> His work was countered, however, by more widely-read authorities such as Paré and Johannes Baptista van Helmont who stated that he *had* purchased his grafts from servants or slaves.

Many writers also thought that the reconstruction would be achieved through use of the patient's, or donor's, *flesh*, rather than the skin that Tagliacozzi in fact specified.

Paré expressed his concern that "the flesh that is taken from the arme, is not of the like

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>28</sup> Tagliacozzi, *De curtorum*, 75.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

temperature as the flesh of the nose”.<sup>30</sup> The new nose would not be able to pass for an original, which Paré considered the operation’s primary objective. Tagliacozzi addressed these misconceptions in his letter to Mercuriale, stipulating that “far from using the aid of flesh (if by flesh we understand the substance of the muscles) and excavating a hole or cavity on the arm... only the skin of the arm is taken for union with the nose”.<sup>31</sup> He also boasted that previous gentlemen had received new noses at his hand, “so resembling nature’s pattern, so perfect in every respect that it was their considered opinion that they liked these better than the original ones which they had received from nature”.<sup>32</sup> Though he conceded that the skin could initially appear unhealthy, he advised that sunshine would, “help the colours of the nose and the graft to harmonise with the rest of the face and will rid them of pallor or lividity by suffusing them with a manly and attractive ruddiness” and provided some recipes for balms that would assist the process.<sup>33</sup>

In practice, Tagliacozzi’s procedure would have been extremely painful and dangerous, with a high risk of infection. The patient was stuck in an awkward position for at least several days—in Paré’s account, forty days.<sup>34</sup> Paré thought the pain and lack of verisimilitude not worth the difficulty “both to the patient suffering, and also to the Chirurgical working”, and instead recommended an artificial nose “of gold, silver, paper or

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<sup>30</sup> Paré, *The Workes of that famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey, Translated out of Latine and compared with the French by Th. Johnson* (London: 1634), sig. Dddd4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Letter to Mercuriale’, in Gnudi and Webster, *The Life and Times of Gaspare Tagliacozzi: Surgeon of Bologna, 1545–1599* (New York: Rechner, 1950), 137.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>33</sup> *De curtorum*, 206.

<sup>34</sup> *Works*, sig. Dddd4<sup>v</sup>.

linnen clothes glewed together”, of which he provided illustrations.<sup>35</sup> Such artificial noses had been used by men such as the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), whose own had been injured in a duel. Paré himself records that these were occasionally less than successful; he noted a “younger brother of the family of St. *Thoan*... [who was] weary of a silver nose” and therefore sought out a surgical solution in Italy, which was performed “to the great admiration of all those that knew him before”.<sup>36</sup> It is likely that these false noses—which sought neither to enable the patient to pass as healthy, or to do so through the body of another—were the main recourse available for seventeenth-century patients, following the heavy criticism of Taliacotian interventions. In *Strange and True Newes from Jack-a-Newberries* (1660), for example, the orders of the Chuck Office include “That a Nose of Wax be provided for [the bawd, Pris Fotheringham]... in case her Nose should drop off this Summer it being in a fair way already”.<sup>37</sup>

Both Gourmelen and Gabriele Fallopio of Modena (1523–1562) thought the procedure too painful to rationally undertake, with Fallopio adding that he “would rather lack a nose than undergo this treatment”.<sup>38</sup> Francis Bacon (1561–1626), although impressed by the stories that he had heard of the procedure, understood it to be a purely cosmetic operation, sought by

certain Persons of Monstrous Noses, [who] have had the exuberant Parts  
and Bunches thereof pared down; and the Nose trim’d to a moderate

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> In Gnudi and Webster, 283, 121. Tagliacozzi addresses Gourmelen’s criticism in *De curtorum*, 79–81.

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size; then making an Incision in the fleshy part of the Arm, they have held the trim'd Nose therein for a time, and thence procured it handsome.<sup>39</sup>

A related rumour had dogged Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (1422–1482), whose sunken nasal bridge was supposed to have been surgically-procured for the sake of increasing his field of vision.<sup>40</sup>

Tagliacozzi addressed these concerns in three ways. First, he argued that accounts of rhinoplasty's pain and difficulty had been greatly exaggerated:

the operation, does not prove as difficult as practically everyone until now has seemed to believe, even the most illustrious men. For it is generally thought that the severity of the pain and the endless anguish involved in this operation are so great that it is better to keep the mutilated nose. But this is an absolutely mistaken idea. On the contrary, the patients find the procedure so bearable that apart from the work itself [i.e., the result], it wins universal admiration.<sup>41</sup>

Second, he stressed that there were many uncontroversial operations more “tedious, difficult, and harmful”: his examples include tracheotomies and amputations.<sup>42</sup> At least one of Tagliacozzi's recorded patients did think the pain worthwhile. Camillo Porzio (1530–1580), after himself receiving a new nose, wrote to Cardinal Girolamo Seripando

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<sup>39</sup> *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon*, Volume 3 (London: 1733), sig. Fff4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> On this myth, see Henri P. J. Winters, ‘Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (1422–1482): The Story of his Missing Nasal Bridge’, *British Journal of Plastic Surgery* 35 (1982), 247–250; Santoni-Rugiu and Alessandro Massei, ‘The Legend and the Truth About the Nose of Federico, Duke of Urbino’, *British Journal of Plastic Surgery* 35 (1982), 251–257. The story is still related to tourists visiting the Duke's portrait in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

<sup>41</sup> ‘Letter’, 138.

<sup>42</sup> Tagliacozzi, *De curtorum*, 91–102.



about the marvel of the procedure, requesting financial support for *De curtorum chirurgia*'s publication.<sup>43</sup> He appears to refer to the rumoured pain and inconvenience mentioned by Paré, *et al*, when he notes that "It is indeed true that I have suffered the greatest trials", but stresses his enthusiasm that the operation is "of such excellence and so marvellous that it is a great shame of the present century that it is not published and learned by all surgeons for the benefit of all".<sup>44</sup>

Third, Tagliacozzi emphasised that he did what he could to make the patient comfortable, both physically and emotionally. Generally, pain provided limited grounds for hesitation in early modern medicine; however, numerous medical texts of this period reveal their authors' concern for their patients' discomfort. Read writes in his discussion of suturing, for example, that the surgeon should "Pinch [the patient] hard, that the paine of the tongues or pincers may take away the sense of that which follows".<sup>45</sup> When outlining procedures for trepanning, he stresses such practices as warming the room ("for there is nothing more enemy to the braine than cold"), and stopping the patient's ears with "lint or bumbast" so that blood could not enter them, and the patient "may not heare the noyse of the Trepan or other instruments which haply might affright him".<sup>46</sup> He also includes descriptions and illustrations of medical instruments designed to lessen the patient's fear, which Crooke originally took from Paré. Crooke writes of the penknife that,

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<sup>43</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 118.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Somatographia Anthropine* (1634), sig. Z4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Aa6<sup>v</sup>.

“because some faint-hearted Patients are afraid of this Instrument,” doctors have devised means of concealing them, such as under a coin, or in canes with spring mechanisms.<sup>47</sup>

Tagliacozzi also shows concern for the patient’s emotional comfort, stating that “all [their] anger, grief and worry [must be] barred”.<sup>48</sup> Given his adherence to the Galenic conception of the passions as both psychological *and* physical states, it is unclear how much of this concern for the patient’s emotional state is compassion, and how much medical necessity.<sup>49</sup> In explaining how the body should be prepared for the procedure he is attentive to both the passions and the ‘non-naturals’: food should be chosen carefully, and the climate of the patient’s room maintained according to their constitution.<sup>50</sup> In *De curtorum chirurgia* he discusses at length the different preparations for three of the four main constitutions (choleric, melancholy and phlegmatic); evidently his patients were rarely a healthy sanguine.<sup>51</sup>

Fielding H. Garrison influentially suggested that Tagliacozzi received official criticism from the Catholic Church, and that this drove the suppression of his work.<sup>52</sup> Gnudi and Webster have questioned the level of the Church’s animosity, citing particularly the revealed fallacy of Tagliacozzi’s exhumation, and the official approval of *De curtorum*

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. X7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Letter’, 137.

<sup>49</sup> The humoral basis of Galenic medicine posited that both physical and mental wellbeing rested on the balancing of four humours: blood, choler (yellow bile), melancholy (black bile) and phlegm. For a detailed discussion of the role of the humours in early modern culture, see Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

<sup>50</sup> There were six ‘non-naturals’ considered influential upon health: sleep, exercise, air, diet, excretion, and emotion. For a detailed discussion of their role in early modern medicine, see Levy-Navarro.

<sup>51</sup> 121–123.

<sup>52</sup> Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*, 1913, Fourth Edition (Philadelphia and London: WB Saunders, 1929), 226–227.

*chirurgia* granted by the Bolognan Inquisitor (or one of his vicars) and the Council of X.<sup>53</sup>

They nevertheless suggest that the widespread resistance to Tagliacozzi's method might be attributable to a belief that "Tagliacozzi was acting contrary to the laws of nature and defying the very will of God, to which, so taught the Church, all men must bow in humble resignation".<sup>54</sup> Catholic nations did offer support to those afflicted with the pox, and were particularly noted in England for their houses for the *incurabili* (patients considered past remedy).<sup>55</sup>

In English texts, resistance to Tagliacozzi's method is not framed in particularly theological terms. There were some who criticised *any* medical interventions as interfering with divine punishments, or alternatively the bounty of corporeal abjection and pain "that promised to rescue the spirit from the mire of shameful carnality".<sup>56</sup> Physicians such as John Cotta, on the other hand, defended their work through scripture: in 1612 he stated that they "that perswade the sicke that they have no neede of the Physition, call God a lyar, who expressly saith otherwise; and make themselves wiser than their Creator, who hath ordained the Physition for the good of man".<sup>57</sup> He glossed this statement with references to Matthew 9:12 ("They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick") and Ecclesiastes 38:2 ("For of the most High cometh healing, and he shall receive honour of the king"). For the protestant English, resistance to the

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<sup>53</sup> 184.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

<sup>55</sup> On the *incurabili* houses, see Laura J. McGough, *Gender, Sexuality and Syphilis in Early Modern Venice: The Disease that Came to Stay* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>56</sup> Virginia Burrus, *Saving Shame: Martyrs, Saints, and Other Abject Subjects* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 47.

<sup>57</sup> Cotta, *A short discoverie of the unobserved dangers of severall sorts of ignorant and unconsiderate practisers of physicke in England* (London: 1612), sig. E3<sup>r</sup>.

reconstruction of the nose was linked to faith only in so far as they saw in it an echo of the commoditisation of salvation in Catholicism. Through reconstructing the nose, which could otherwise be read as a sign of the individual's sexual misbehaviour, the patient would be able to pass as healthy, in every sense. As I have argued above, this passing was more important for its ability to gain the individual fraudulent access to social capital, than in any exclusively sin-based schema.

On occasion, Tagliacozzi and his supporters attacked, rather than defended themselves against those “wrongheaded... men... who not only disapprove of *any* operation (including mine) because of the potential for pain or harm, but who also revile surgery to the point of slander”.<sup>58</sup> Tagliacozzi sought to cast shame upon rhinoplasty's detractors, attacking those who “circulated fictitious rumours that bear a strong resemblance to old wives' tales and that cannot be substantiated either through reason or the senses”.<sup>59</sup> Tagliacozzi made some effort to address circulating concerns about the grafts' tenacity in Book Two, but his frustrations are evident in his announcement that “it is in fact equally stupid to try to refute vain and ignorant opinions or to waste words or effort no matter what the subject” and he must therefore “abandon this argument and return to the topic of the treatment of the engrafted parts”.<sup>60</sup> His friend Marc Antonio Ulmi derided those who had “written childishly about” rhinoplasty, while Porzio considered its neglect “a great shame”.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *De curtorum*, 102.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 80–81.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>61</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 118, 272.

Tagliacozzi's derogation of criticism for his procedure as "old wives' tales" drew upon the broader gendering of gossip as shamefully female in the early modern period. This was a common criticism around women's influence in medical matters: Read also berated the "empyricall knaves, filthie bauds, and bold queanes, who daylie minister medicaments boldly".<sup>62</sup> Not only could their suspicions cause patients to refuse treatment, but they also caused emotional turbulence within the patients that could hinder their recovery. Cotta wrote vehemently against the "Common and vulgar mouthes [that] easily incline scandalously to prejudice the things they know not".<sup>63</sup> In writing of "Women their custom and practise about the sicke", he not only lambasted women's lack of reason and general unfitness to practice medicine, but also attacked their common practice of gossiping around the sickbed in a manner that might cast doubt upon the male physician's authority and prescriptions.<sup>64</sup> Bernard, criticising a variety of medical procedures that "respectable" surgeons and physicians would not engage in, including rhinoplasty, bemoaned that they were "now, to the reproach of the Age... almost solely in the Hands of Old Women and Mountebanks".<sup>65</sup> These men's remarks signal an attempt to move Tagliacozzi's procedure from the realm of popular shame and critique, into the allegedly dispassionate, modern, masculine sphere of medical practice.

Tagliacozzi followed established custom in dedicating his work to a prominent Bolognese family, thus invoking their protection and support for his endeavor. As Mario Biagioli notes, these exchanges between writers and patrons served as "gifts" that

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<sup>62</sup> Read, *The Chirurgicall Lectures of Tumors and Ulcers* (London: 1635), sig. B5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Cotta, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. D4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Bernard, sig. Z8<sup>r</sup>.

established connections and obligations to both parties, according to the Maussian model.<sup>66</sup> Tagliacozzi's selection of Sir Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrato, reveals an additional level of stratagem, however, on account of the fact that, as he writes "the house of Gonzaga has always been known for its prowess with swords".<sup>67</sup> Having already been attacked for his work's propriety, Tagliacozzi emphasised in this dedication that he was writing "a book dealing with martial injuries to military men", thus moving even further from the realm of the "old wives".<sup>68</sup> In listing previous patients he stressed that the "gentlemen" had lost their noses in duels.<sup>69</sup> Robert Fludd, in his 1631 rhinoplasty case history, stated that the patient was a nobleman who had "lost his nose in a fight or combate".<sup>70</sup> Later military surgeons, such as Von Pfolspunt and Mattheus Gottfried Purmann (1648–1721) did express interest in the procedure's application. Purmann, writing in 1684 on "The manner in which noses that have been shot, hewn or cut off can be restored", explicitly countered the prevailing myths and associations about Tagliacozzi.<sup>71</sup> The copy of *Chirurgorum Comes* in the library of the University of Aberdeen contains an inscription on the back flyleaf that may also suggest the owner was a maritime surgeon at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was a field that, like military medicine (with which it often overlapped) stressed practicality, and which often encountered violence; the owner of the book records being attacked by

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<sup>66</sup> Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1993), 36–54.

<sup>67</sup> *De curtorum*, vii; Gnudi and Webster, 126.

<sup>68</sup> *De curtorum*, viii.

<sup>69</sup> 'Letter', 139.

<sup>70</sup> Fludd, *Answer to M. Foster; or, the sqesing of Parson Foster's sponge, ordained by him for the wiping away of the weapon-salve* (London: 1631), sig. S2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 296.

pirates while returning from Jamaica in 1708.<sup>72</sup> Gnudi and Webster argue that the interest of such surgeons “bears out the contention that plastic procedures were more commonly used for mutilations received in combat than for those resulting from disease”.<sup>73</sup> As I will demonstrate shortly however, examination of broader medical and popular works suggest that the stress laid upon noble, military applications was at least in part a strategic response to the surgery’s increasing association with venereal disease.

Histories of plastic surgery currently state that following Tagliacozzi’s death, his rhinoplasty method was neglected, and then quickly lost; no one in Europe considered this to be surgery worth undertaking, and only the ridicule of *Hudibras* and other satires reminded people of surgeons’ brief incursion upon the legibly deviant body.<sup>74</sup> As John Symons wrote in 2001,

The story of the revival of skin-grafting for rhinoplasty in Europe is well-known. The technique was described and successfully performed in sixteenth-century Italy by Gaspare Tagliacozzi (1546–99), but then fell into disuse and mythical folk-memory.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> He neatly records sailing from Cork, Ireland, to Port Royal, Jamaica, between March 7<sup>th</sup> and April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1708. In recording their return journey, departing for Bristol on May 28, he includes (in a far less disciplined hand) details of their encounter with pirates on June 8, which resulted in the death of four men.

<sup>73</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 297.

<sup>74</sup> For the standard history of the procedure as disappearing between Tagliacozzi and the end of the eighteenth century see eg. Edward Zeis, *The Zeis Index and History of Plastic Surgery 900BC to 1863AD, 1863–1864*, trans. TJS Patterson (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1977), 13–14; Garrison, 226–227; I. Eisenberg, ‘History of Medicine: A History of Rhinoplasty’, *South African Medical Journal* 62 (1982), 289; Gilman, *Making*, 73; John Symons, ‘A Most Hideous Object: John Davies (1796–1872) and Plastic Surgery’, *Medical History* 45 (2001), 395; Stephanie Pain, ‘A nose by any other name’, *New Scientist* 191.2566 (2006), 50–51; Santoni-Rugiu and Sykes, 195; Hamilton, 19–20.

<sup>75</sup> Symons, 395.

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The first new rhinoplasty cases from India were reported at the very end of the eighteenth century, and European attempts are said to have recommenced in the early 1800s. The most influential Indian case report was that of a bullock driver attached to the British army, named Cowasjee, which was recounted in the *Madras Gazette* in 1793, and in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* the next year. This illustrated article, titled 'A Singular Operation', stated that Cowasjee had been taken as a prisoner of war by "the Tipu who cut off his nose and one of his hands.... For about 12 months he had remained without a nose, when he had a new one put on by a man of the brickmaker caste, near Pauna. This operation... has been practiced from time immemorial".<sup>76</sup>

Paulo Santoni-Rugio and Philip J. Sykes write to the same effect as Symons, attributing the loss of Tagliacozzi's method to the "attitude of the Church", and the "pure envy" and "misunderstanding", of medical figures such as Andrea Vesalius (1514–1564) and Paré.<sup>77</sup> Gilman, too, reads the references to Paré and Tagliacozzi in Addison and Steele's *Tatler* of December 7, 1710, and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1769) as suggesting "a world that already [knew] stories about how, *once upon a time*, surgeons were able to provide new noses", since "the procedures associated with Tagliacozzi [had] already been lost to Western surgeons for a century and a half".<sup>78</sup> Stephanie Pain, writing for the *New Scientist* in 2006 stated that after Tagliacozzi, rhinoplasty "quickly died out: the church disapproved of it and there were malicious, but unfounded, rumours that a Tagliacozzi nose had a tendency to drop off. The ancient art of fixing noses vanished from

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<sup>76</sup> In Santoni-Rugiu and Sykes, 198.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 195.

<sup>78</sup> *Making*, 63, 73; my emphasis.



Europe”.<sup>79</sup> A 2010 exhibition on the history of this field at The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh’s Surgeons’ Hall Museum also passed silently from Tagliacozzi to the end of the eighteenth century.

The problem with this “well-known” history, however, is that it is not quite true. Tagliacozzi’s procedure was not lost. Gnudi and Webster located approving references to Tagliacozzi’s method across the period, including Mattheus Gottfried Purmann (Germany: 1684), Johann Municks (Utrecht: 1689), Johann Saltzmann (Strassburg: 1712), Reneaume de la Garanne (France: 1719), Nils Rosen von Rosenstein (Upsala: 1742), and Angelo Nannoni (Italy: 1761) who says that he actually witnessed the successful reattachment of a severed nose.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, in 1687, and again in 1696, a full English translation of Tagliacozzi’s treatise on noses was published in London by “a Member of the College of Physicians”, attached to the collected works of Alexander Read: *Chirurgorum Comes: or, the Whole Practice of Chirurgery*. This text, which presents “a remarkably accurate exposition of the substance of Tagliacozzi’s treatise”, has been surprisingly under or ill-used by historians of plastic surgery and other medical fields.<sup>81</sup> This is despite the fact that it is now available in a large number of university libraries in the original, and many more through microfilm and electronic copies (such as the Early English Books Online database). Most library catalogues even include Tagliacozzi as one of the text’s authors. The authors of an article published in *The Lancet* of November 16, 1823, mention in their overview of rhinoplasty history—albeit with incorrect attribution—that “The nasal operation was

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<sup>79</sup> Pain, 50–51.

<sup>80</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 304.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

recommended by Dr. Read, in his 'Chirurgorum Comes,' printed in London, in 1687".<sup>82</sup>

Furthermore, Gnudi and Webster actually provide the relevant sections as an appendix to their biography of Tagliacozzi. Gnudi and Webster make no further claims for, or investigations into *Chirurgorum Comes*, nor have any of the historians who have used their book apparently explored this work. I argue that in failing to do so, they have underestimated the social forces that prevented surgeons from utilising this medical knowledge.

Read was born in Banchory in approximately 1580, and died in 1641.<sup>83</sup> He was a respected surgeon and physician in London for many years, and published a number of lectures and practical dissertations on wounds and other surgical matters. He was still being cited alongside medical authorities such as Nicholas Harvey in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by writers like Robert Johnson and Richard Wiseman; Johnson refers to Read as a "famous Physician, and ingenious Anatomist Doctour".<sup>84</sup> John Marten, in his 1701 treatise on venereal diseases, referred to him as a "great Man".<sup>85</sup> Most obviously, Read's name evidently carried enough academic weight to warrant a publication of his surgical writings over forty years after his death.

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<sup>82</sup> 'Nasal Operation', *The Lancet* 1.7 (1823), 234. This article was reprinted as 'M. Garengot's Story' in the *Journal of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery*, 44.3 (1969), 287–288.

<sup>83</sup> Walter Menzies, 'Alexander Read: Physician and Surgeon 1580–1641', *The Library* 4.12 (1931), 46. Menzies' essay is currently the most substantial investigation of Read's life and work.

<sup>84</sup> Johnson, *Enchiridion Medicum: or, a New Manual of Physick* (London: 1710), sig. H5<sup>v</sup>; Wiseman, *Eight Chirurgical Treatises* (London: fourth edition, 1705), 206.

<sup>85</sup> Marten, *A Treatise of all the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease, in Both Sexes*, Fifth Edition (London: 1707), sig. T6<sup>v</sup>.

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Read was educated by his father James Read, the minister of Banchory Ternan, then at King's College, Aberdeen, before travelling in Wittenberg, Bohemia and France.<sup>86</sup>

Early in his career he practiced in the west of England, the Midlands, and around the Welsh border, before moving to London.<sup>87</sup> He was incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1620,

then Doctor of Physic by letters from King James I the next day, a foreign brother of the Barber-Surgeons' Company and a candidate of the College of Physicians in 1621, and a

Fellow in 1624, in which year he also received his medical degree from Cambridge.<sup>88</sup>

Throughout his publishing career, Read promoted his works as primarily 'chirurgical', which probably impacted upon their intended and resulting audience. He presented his

works as training manuals, stating, "I am not so in love with my own labours, as to think that they can profit such as have made reasonable progress in it [surgery]".<sup>89</sup> His three

major publications to 1657—*The Manual of the Anatomy or Dissection of the Body of Man* (1638; reprinted 1638, 1642, 1650, 1655, 1658), *Most Excellent and Approved Medicines*

*for Most Diseases and Maladies Incident to Man's Body* (1651) and *Chyrurgical Lectures on Tumours and Ulcers* (1635)—were included in William London's *Catalogue of the Most*

*Vendible Books in England* in that year.<sup>90</sup>

*Chirurgorum Comes* consists of Read's publications on tumors and wounds, with additions provided by his anonymous editing Physician. The Physician attests that he has

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<sup>86</sup> Menzies, 47.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>89</sup> *Manuall of the Anatomy or Dissection of the Body of Man*, Third Edition (1642), sigs. A4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> London, sig. Aa2<sup>v</sup>. This listing was repeated in the 1658 edition. *Most Excellent and Approved Medicines* was a compilation volume drawn from Read and other medical writers' works, published by an anonymous "Doctor in Physick".

borrowed these from other “English Chirurgeons... [endeavouring] to make use of such in each particular, as have been remarkably Famous therein”.<sup>91</sup> Despite this patriotic proposal, his sources prove cosmopolitan, as he uses the work of Frenchman André du Laurens (1558–1609) for the King’s Evil (scrofula), the Italian father of forensic medicine, Fortunatus Fidelis (1550–1630), for legal reports on wounds, and Peter Chamberlen (1601–1683) for midwifery.<sup>92</sup> For “stones”, primarily of the kidneys, he cites Johannes Groenevelt (1648–1716), who had emigrated to London from the Netherlands.<sup>93</sup> Finally, Tagliacozzi is enlisted for matters “concerning the supplying of a Nose, Lip, or Ear artificially”, which occupy fifty pages of *Chirurgorum* (1687) (sigs. Tt3<sup>r</sup>–Yy3<sup>v</sup>). The Physician also adds two apparently original treatises on venereal disease and embalming, the latter of which is the only part of the book to have received recent attention.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> Laurens was Professor of Anatomy and Chancellor of the University of Montpellier, and published *De mirabili strumas snandi vi solis Galliae regibus christianissimis divinatus concessa* (‘On strumas miraculously cured by the sole and divinely rendred power of the most Christian Gallic Kings’) in Paris, 1609: G. W. Bruyn and Charles M. Poser, *The History of Tropical Neurology: Nutritional Disorders* (Canton: Science History Publications, 2003), 39.

Fidelis published what is generally considered the first textbook on medical jurisprudence, *De Relationibus Medicorum* (Palermo: 1602): Payne-James, 4.

Chamberlen’s grandfather (William), father, and uncle (both Peter) formed a successful midwifery dynasty after emigrating to England as Huguenots. One of the men—it is not clear which—invented the obstetric forceps, which became a family secret. Chamberlen attended Queen Henrietta Maria at the birth of the future Charles II, rose to Physician in Ordinary to the King, and was actively engaged in the teaching and regulation of midwifery: Peter M. Dunn, ‘The Chamberlen Family (1560–1728) and Obstetric Forceps’, *Archives of Disease in Childhood* 81.3 (1999): 232–234.

<sup>93</sup> Groenevelt practiced successfully in London until he was charged with malpractice in 1694, and incarcerated three years later—fortunately for the Physician, after the publication of *Chirurgorum*.

<sup>94</sup> Where, ironically, it is universally attributed to Read. See for example: Jolene Zigarovich, ‘Preserved Remains: Embalming Practices in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33.3 (2009), 65–104; Louise Noble, ‘The *Fille Vièrge* as Pharmakon: The Therapeutic Value of Desdemona’s Corpse’, in *Disease, Diagnosis and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 135–150, and “‘And Make Two Pasties Of Your Shameful Heads’: Medicinal Cannibalism And Healing The Body Politic In *Titus Andronicus*’ *ELH* 70.3 (2003), 677–708; Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19.

The 1687 edition was published in octavo in London “by Edw[ard] Jones, for Christopher Wilkinson at the Black Boy in Fleetstreet, over against St. Dunstans Church”, and the 1696 edition by “Hugh Newman, at the Grasshopper in the Poultry”. Some copies of the 1687 edition were released with a different title page, indicating that they were “printed by Edw[ard] Jones, for Christopher Wilkinson; and sold by John Salisbury at the Atlas in Cornhil”. Wilkinson’s and Salisbury’s shops would have been far enough apart not to be in too fierce competition, but this appears to have been the only such collaboration. Fleet Street, and particularly the area around St Dunstan Church (now St Dunstan in the West), had been a notable area for booksellers and printers since the late fifteenth century.<sup>95</sup> The 1696 edition, of which only two known copies survive, appears on comparative analysis to comprise left-over copies of the 1687 text, with a new title page attached.

Wilkinson had been selling books at the Black Boy since at least 1671, and did so until his probable death in 1693.<sup>96</sup> At this point his widow, Elizabeth, took over his business: titles from 1693 and 1694 are advertised as available from “Mrs. Wilkinson at the Black-Boy in Fleetstreet”.<sup>97</sup> In late 1694 or early 1695 she went into business with Wilkinson’s former apprentice, Abel Roper, despite her son Christopher also having been

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Kate Cregan and Jennifer Richards each discuss Read’s abridgement of Crooke in light of anatomical pedagogy: Cregan, *The Theatre of the Body: Staging Death and Embodying Life in Early-Modern London* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Richards, ‘Useful Books: Reading Vernacular Regimens in Sixteenth-Century England’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 73.2 (2012), 247–271.

<sup>95</sup> Edwin Beresford Chancellor, *The Annals of Fleet Street and Its Traditions and Associations* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1912), 819.

<sup>96</sup> The earliest reference to Wilkinson that I have found is on the title page of Fabian Philipps’ *Regale Necessarium* (1671). Paul Morrison in his *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1955) from Wing’s *STC* places Wilkinson’s career between 1688 and 1693 (145).

<sup>97</sup> The first text to list Elizabeth as the distributor instead of Christopher is *Bibliotheca Meggottiana* (London: 1693).

freed by patrimony into the guild in August, 1694.<sup>98</sup> The last text connected to “Mrs Wilkinson”, *Bibliotheca Wilkinsoniana*, is a catalogue for an auction of the books of an R.D.H. Wilkinson of Oxford, to be conducted on November 15, 1694. The first text listed as being issued by Elizabeth Wilkinson and Roper is also dated at 1694 (*Praxis almae curiae cancellariae*); discrepancies in Lady Day dating, however, mean that this may have been printed up to March 25, 1695. Wilkinson and Roper’s joint publications appeared between 1694 and 1696, and included *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (att. Mary Astell; 1696), plays by Thomas D’Urfey, Richard Norton, and Joseph Harris, and the first copies of Roper’s thrice-weekly newspaper, the *Post Boy*, for which he is now best known. Roper then traded alone at the site into the eighteenth century; the latest text I have found for him here is dated 1711.<sup>99</sup> Roper died on 5 February 1726, but little is known of his activities after a trial over contents of the *Post Boy* in August 1714.<sup>100</sup> The exact reason why Wilkinson and Roper chose not to, or could not, issue the second run of *Chirurgorum Comes* is unclear, nor am I certain how Hugh Newman came to publish it.

The title page for the 1687 edition notes that it was licensed on February 15, hence its occasional dating to 1686. While exact sales figures for Wilkinson’s edition are obviously unavailable, certain deductions might be made from the current distribution of surviving copies. The first edition of Wing’s *Short Title Catalogue* (1951) recorded copies of

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<sup>98</sup> Roper was first apprenticed to another Abel Roper (not his father) from 6 October 1679. At an unknown date he was “turned over to Mr Wilkinson not at the Hall”, for which he was fined 2s. 6d, as described in his entry of freedom (7 November 1687): D. F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1641–1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974), entries 3903, 4924, 4926.

<sup>99</sup> *The Speech of the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper, in Her Majesty’s Court of Exchequer, on Friday the first of June, 1711. to the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford* (1711) .

<sup>100</sup> G. A. Aitkin, ‘Roper, Abel (*hap.* 1665, *d.* 1726)’, revised M. E. Clayton, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24070>, accessed 1 July 2011.

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the 1687 edition in the British Library, and the university libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Harvard, McGill, Yale, the New York Academy of Medicine, and Yale Medical School.<sup>101</sup> By the second edition of Wing's catalogue (1988), Corpus Christi College, the Royal School of Medicine (London), the Wellcome Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the universities of Manchester, Sheffield, and Toronto also held copies.<sup>102</sup> Several other American and British libraries have since acquired copies; I have located thirty-six copies of the 1687 edition and two of Hugh Newman's 1696 edition in library collections.<sup>103</sup> Private copies have also appeared for sale in recent years. The library of Eugene Coutiss, for example, which as the sales catalogue touted, encompassed "The History of Plastic Surgery", featured one copy of the 1687 edition.<sup>104</sup> Further investigation into the provenance of these surviving copies would provide additional information about the circulation of Tagliacozzi's method. The 1687 copy that is now held in the University of Glasgow Library, for example, carries the signature of John Stirling (1666–1738) on the title page. Stirling was Principal of the university from 1701 to 1727, and was a significant

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<sup>101</sup> Donald Wing, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), R427.

<sup>102</sup> Wing (1988), R427.

<sup>103</sup> I have also found editions at Newcastle University, Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, University of Aberdeen, Boston College, Brown University, College of Charleston, College of Physicians of Philadelphia, Dartmouth College, Des Moines University, National Library of Medicine (Bethesda, MD), Northwestern University, University of Florida, University of Kansas, University of Minnesota, McGill University, Huntington Library.

<sup>104</sup> This sold for US\$4,830, firmly overshadowed by the copy of *De curtorum chirurgia* that fetched US\$25,300: 'Dr. Courtiss History of Plastic Surgery Sale', 9 February 2000, <[http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot\\_details.aspx?pos=6&intObjectID=1710875&sid=>](http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?pos=6&intObjectID=1710875&sid=>) accessed 16 February 2010.

In September 2009 a copy went on sale through Bonhams in the UK, selling for only £144: '29 Sep 2009 11 a.m. Oxford Printed Books and Maps', *Bonhams* <<http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17163/lot/147/>> accessed 16 February 2010.

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donor to the university library.<sup>105</sup> In this period, the university, and Scotland more generally, enjoyed a burgeoning medical culture; the capacity for students or staff to access *Chirurgorum Comes* through the university library is an intriguing possibility.<sup>106</sup>

Two advertisements for *Chirurgorum Comes* appeared in *The London Gazette*, on June 30 and July 4, 1687. Each advertises that it is to be sold by Wilkinson at the Black Boy, and both advertisements were probably placed by him. The *Gazette* was established in 1665 and was the official journal of the Court. In the 1680s it experienced its highest circulation levels to date among a “socially superior, more dispersed readership”, largely thanks to the Austro-Turkish war and its effects on English trade in Asia and the Mediterranean, as well as domestic upheavals such as James II’s accession and the Popish plot.<sup>107</sup> Between 1683 and 1695, the *Gazette* enjoyed a “near monopoly” on newspaper advertising.<sup>108</sup>

Wilkinson advertised frequently in the *Gazette* between 1682 and 1689.<sup>109</sup> He even utilised it when seeking information about thefts committed against friends in 1684 and 1687.<sup>110</sup> While he placed a number of advertisements for individual books, the vast majority of those involving his wares are for the catalogues of upcoming library auctions

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<sup>105</sup> ‘John Stirling: Biography’ *University of Glasgow*  
<<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH1187&type=P>> accessed 22 August 2012.

<sup>106</sup> On medicine and surgery in late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scotland see for example Charles W.J. Withers and Paul Wood, eds., *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002).

<sup>107</sup> Phyllis Margaret Handover, *A History of the London Gazette 1665–1965* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1965), 22–23; R. B. Walker, ‘Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650–1750’, *Business History* 15:2 (July 1973), 115.

<sup>108</sup> Walker, *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> I have located sixty five advertisements between Issue 1792 (18 January 1682), and Issue 2494 (21 October 1689).

<sup>110</sup> Issue 2012 (26 February 1684), 4, and Issue 2252 (16 June 1687), 4.



and print sales: 27 catalogues in 42 advertisements, against 11 individual books with 18 advertisements. The much higher rate of catalogue listings is fairly easily explained, since most of the catalogue sales involve a number of interested booksellers who would probably have shared the costs: the charge per advertisement by 1693 was 10 shillings, which was substantially more than that of its closest competitors, the *Post Man* and the *Post Boy* (2s 0d—2s 6d).<sup>111</sup>

Wilkinson's decision to target the better-heeled readers of *The London Gazette* suggests that the buyers of *Chirurgorum Comes* may not have been Read's original, or intended audience. Read's treatises are characterised by an intensely practical tone. In 1616, for example, he produced a summarised version of Helkiah Crooke's monumental *Microcosmographia* (1615), released as *Somatographia Anthropine*, most probably at the request of their shared publisher, William Jaggard.<sup>112</sup> Read released an extended version of his text, "With the Practice of Chirurgery, and the use of three and fifty Instruments" in 1634.<sup>113</sup> At 154 pages against Crooke's original 1111, this volume, which Read claimed was "set forth either to pleasure or to profit those who are addicted to this Study" would have been far more within the reach of the average medical student.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, as Read explains in his preface, "this small volume... being portable may be carried without trouble, to the places appointed for dissection".<sup>115</sup> In 1639 he also provided a supporting preface for a textbook by Owen Wood that aimed to help people "who are either farre

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<sup>111</sup> Walker, 116.

<sup>112</sup> Menzies, 53–54.

<sup>113</sup> *Somatographia Anthropine* (1634), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> *Somatographia Anthropine* (1616), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

remote, or else not able to entertain a learned Physician".<sup>116</sup> This down-to-earth style meant that Read tended to pale a little in comparison to medical innovators such as Harvey, although Read's annotations and underlinings in his own copy of Harvey's *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis* (1628) make it clear that he engaged with new publications in his field.<sup>117</sup> Even if not the most dynamic of medical authorities, Read's practical style and professional success earned him a strong reputation as a sound medical educator, and it was no doubt this reputation that the anonymous Physician and his publishers wished to capitalise on, even forty-odd years after Read's death.

But was Read's reputation also the problem? Young surgeons looking for innovative techniques may have been put off by Read's name. *Chirurgorum's* editing Physician argued that "If any would have been at the pains and charge of Translating *Read* into Latin, I question not, but e're this he had obtained the Suffrages of the Learned, to have been one of the best Chirurgeons that ever writ".<sup>118</sup> Read was actually sufficiently fluent in Latin to correct errors in others' books, including Harvey's; his use of English was thus a conscious marketing decision that accords with his practical, even populist ethos. By the 1696 edition of *Chirurgorum*, the printers had added to the title page information that the text also contained "by way of Appendix, Two Treatises, one of the *Veneral Disease*, the other concerning *Embalming*", perhaps with a mind to spicing up the sound of the contents.

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<sup>116</sup> Wood, *An Alphabetical Book of Physicall Secrets, For all those Diseases that are most predominant and dangerous (curable by Art) in the Body of Man* (London: 1639), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> Menzies, 69. Biographers of William Harvey have used Read's scepticism about the circulation of the blood to paint him as a conservative who held on to Galenist principles in the face of Harvey's work. R.K. French provides an admirable overview of the debate, and defence of Read: 'Alexander Read and the Circulation of the Blood', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 50.4 (1976): 478–500.

<sup>118</sup> 1687 edition, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

Wilkinson's attention to *Chirurgorum*, and the number of extant copies, does suggest that he was actually successful selling a few copies. The presence of this technical information in medical circles at the end of the century encourages further investigation into traces of this practice, and discussion among medical professionals, than has been thought necessary by historians who have taken as read Addison and Steele's claim "that the Art of making Noses [was] entirely lost".<sup>119</sup>

Understanding early modern England's resistance to Taliacotian rhinoplasty requires an examination of the cultural significance of the nose in this period. Aside from its connection with the pox, the nose had a long tradition of sexual association. A long nose was said to indicate a correspondingly large penis, or a woman's lasciviousness.<sup>120</sup> Some also considered the width of the nostrils to be indicative of testicle size.<sup>121</sup> Whore texts thus repeatedly feature women who have lost long noses, or authorial surprise that they should still have one. Richard Head describes a bawd whose nose is "so long that it was a fit resemblance of the elephant's proboscis or trunk" and hangs down to meet her chin, but adds that, given her presumed history of prostitution, it must be noted "with all wonder... that she had any".<sup>122</sup> Similarly, John Dunton advises a whore's imaginary painter to "Make her NOSE short, tho' Nature did not so; / For few that Whore have any NOSE to

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<sup>119</sup> *The Tatler* No. 260 (5–7 December 1710), 2.

<sup>120</sup> Blackledge, 211–213.

<sup>121</sup> Paul-Gabriel Boucé, 'Some Sexual Beliefs and Myths in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Boucé (Totowa: Manchester University Press, 1982), 31. Mark S. Dawson finds continued stereotyping of large nostrils, and flat or hooked noses as evidence of poor character in the eighteenth century: 'First Impressions: Newspaper Advertisements and Early Modern Body Imaging, 1651–1750', *Journal of British Studies* 50.2 (2011), 297.

<sup>122</sup> Head, *English Rogue*, 75.

*show*".<sup>123</sup> Noses are among the easily-detached body parts strewn amongst the feuding whores and bawds in *News from Whetstones Park* (1674), while another "Repenting Harlot" curses her "Insinuating Bawd" with the desire that "her Nose fall[s]".<sup>124</sup>

Syphilis can destroy the patient's nose in several ways. Firstly, babies born with congenital syphilis can lack nasal cartilage, resulting in a sunken bridge, or simply a hole: this is the Phantom of the Opera's problem in Gaston Leroux's novel, and thus the reason that his parents cast him out.<sup>125</sup> Both the disease itself and the mercury treatment that was standard in the early modern period caused bone and cartilage damage. Many of the facial injuries reported are probably attributable to gummatous syphilis (a manifestation of tertiary syphilis), which can take between one and forty six years to develop, and is characterised by lesions of the skin or bone.<sup>126</sup> The origins of syphilis are still hotly disputed, and during the late medieval and early modern periods were closely linked to nationalist and ethnic prejudices; it was, the Physician noted, the "Disease, with whose Name one Nation now upbraids another".<sup>127</sup> While most of Europe referred to it as *de morbo gallico* (the French disease), the French termed it the Neapolitan disease, the Dutch called it the Spanish pox, and others attributed it to the New World, or to Jews and

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<sup>123</sup> Dunton, *Bumography*, sig. G3<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>124</sup> Ward, *Insinuating Bawd*, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>125</sup> We are told, for example, that "His nose is so little worth talking about that you can't see it side-face; and *the absence* of that nose is a horrible thing *to look at*" (11, original emphases), and that thus "in public, he wore a pasteboard nose, with a mustache attached to it, instead of his own horrible hole of a nose" (271). He is "a subject of horror and terror to his parents" (344): *The Phantom of the Opera* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1911). See further Gilman's discussion of the nose in this book in *Making*, 50–53.

<sup>126</sup> Sutton, 216.

<sup>127</sup> *Chirurgorum Comes*, sig. Yy4<sup>r</sup>.

Arabs expelled from Spain in the fifteenth century.<sup>128</sup> Unremarkably, it was a French doctor, Jacques de Béthencourt, who first proposed the replacement of *morbus gallicus* with the geographically-neutral, but far more source-stigmatizing, *morbus venereus* in 1527.<sup>129</sup> This national ‘othering’ of the pox has been explored successfully to demonstrate the use of pathology in nation formation during this period.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, this tendency was frequently recognised at the time. By 1697 it was so prevalent in England that Dunton, with his customary cynicism, was compelled to confess that “instead of saying the *French pox*... there may be as good reason to call it the *English-Pox*, and *London Disease*, rather than the *Neapolitan Disease*”.<sup>131</sup> Its later designation as the “*alamode*” (*à la mode*) disease served both as a satirical jab at the apparent popularity of the ailment, but also as a Gallic epithet, particularly given the relative recentness of the phrase’s appearance in English.<sup>132</sup> ‘Syphilis’ was the name of a character in a 1530 poem by the Italian humanist and physician, Girolamo Fracastoro, but did not become a popular term for the disease until the late eighteenth century.<sup>133</sup>

There was also widespread confusion about the exact pathology of the pox. For many writers, the pox represented merely an advanced stage of the clap: there was one

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<sup>128</sup> Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson and Roger French, *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 6, 11–12; van de Pol, 68.

<sup>129</sup> Andrew Cunningham and Peter Grell Ole, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine, and Death in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 249.

<sup>130</sup> On nationalism, race, and the pox, see Arrizabalaga, *et al*; Cunningham and Ole; and Roze Hentschell, ‘Luxury and Lechery: Hunting the French Pox in Early Modern England’, in *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 133–158.

<sup>131</sup> *The Night Walker*, quoted in Williams, 323; original emphasis.

<sup>132</sup> The *OED* places the first English use of ‘*a la mode*’ in 1649, but doesn’t include syphilis among its list of definitions. On English Francophilia and the pox see Hentschell.

<sup>133</sup> Harris, ‘Po(X) Marks the Spot’, 110.

venereal disease that might manifest itself in different symptoms in different people. The Physician's passages on "the Venereal Disease" elide syphilis and gonorrhoea, and he says that shifts from "a virulent Gonorrhoea" to "the Malignity of a confirmed Pox" had become less frequent "within an hundred years last past".<sup>134</sup> The author of *An Herculeon Antidote against the POX* (1698), in criticizing the work of quacks, also frames the pox and clap as existing within the same pathology: "I do believe thousands of people in this City of *London*, have been brought from a Gonorrhœa to a General Pox, only with taking Mercurial Medicines."<sup>135</sup> The ambiguities surrounding the pox's pathology also enabled different symptoms to suggest venereal disease in different periods and media. While the absence of the nose became the number one sign in the late seventeenth century, 'spots' had fulfilled this function in the early part, as Harris has argued.<sup>136</sup> Exceptions in both periods are fairly easy to come by, however; for example, there is the knight Sir Pockhole in Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (c.1607), from whom the pox has "cut the gristle of [his] Nose away, / And in the place [a] velvet plaister stands", and the spotted Mother Needham in *A Harlot's Progress*.<sup>137</sup> Beaumont's knight actually attempts to avoid the shame associated with the disease by attributing his missing nose to the chivalrous and sword-happy Rafe's enemy, professing that his nose was "cut" by a "furious fiend, / With sharpest instrument of purest steel".<sup>138</sup> The mock-heroic nature of the play,

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<sup>134</sup> *Chirurgorum Comes*, sig. Yy4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> *An Herculeon Antidote against the Pox* (London: 1698), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>136</sup> Harris, 'Po(X) Marks the Spot', 109–132.

<sup>137</sup> Beaumont, III.iii.93–94.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, III.iii.91–92.

his name, and the nature of his ‘injury’, however, would have left no doubt in the minds of his audience as to the true, particularly *impure* cause of his disfigurement.

There was also a significant amount of confusion surrounding the disease’s (or diseases’) transmission. Many physicians maintained that venereal disease could be transmitted by means other than sexual intercourse, as healthy people came into contact with the tainted bodily excreta of the infected. Bed sheets and clothes, for example, that had been touched by the infected person were considered by some to be capable of transmitting the disease, since as Daniel Sennert explained, “the contagious inquisition [pollution], sent forth from the body infected with the venereal disease, may adhere to the garments”.<sup>139</sup> Read’s editing Physician identifies possible sources of transmission in birth—from mother to baby—or through breastfeeding, by which either the infant or nurse may be infected.<sup>140</sup> He also asserts that children, their “flesh, being of a more lax and rare texture” might catch the pox by lying naked in the same bed as an infected person.<sup>141</sup> Given the frequency of bed sharing during this period, this would have been a reasonable cause for concern. Implicit in this statement are two interesting assumptions about contemporary sexual practices. Firstly, since it is only children who can claim the defense, adults will be presumed to have had sexual contact. Such a position is emphasised by his subsequent insistence that “adult Persons can scarce contract it without impure Coition, albeit they lye in Bed together”, and it remained the general perception, both popularly and among the medical profession, that immoral behaviour

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<sup>139</sup> Hentschell, 151.

<sup>140</sup> *Chirurgorum Comes*, sig. Yy4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

was the primary source of the pox.<sup>142</sup> The statement also serves to preclude the possibility that the child may have caught the disease through sexual contact with their bedmate. Kevin Siena takes a similarly suspicious approach to cases used by medical writers to demonstrate non-sexual forms of transmission between men; for example, he cites Turner's cases of infection through sheet-sharing, and the case of an infected cabin-boy brought in by the ship's captain.<sup>143</sup> The infection of minors with venereal disease could, as Trumbach demonstrates, be used as evidence in rape trials.<sup>144</sup> The surgeon charged with inspecting the ten year old Grace Price in 1698, for example, testified that "she was spoiled in her privy Parts, and that she could not be infected with the Venereal distemper but by carnal Knowledge of a Man".<sup>145</sup> Though this surgeon was adamant, other medical and legal professionals still accepted ambiguity of transmission as grounds for acquittal; the 1716 trial of "Mary Pewterer, alias Finch" for assisting in the rape of nine-year-old Phillis Delpeck was dismissed on the grounds that the jury did not think "the Evidence of so young a Child sufficient to convict the Prisoner", although "two Nurses of St. Thomas's Hospital swore, they never saw a Person more afflicted with that Disease [pox] than she

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<sup>142</sup> *Chirurgorum Comes*, sig. Yy4<sup>r</sup>. On the pox as evidence of sexual activity, see for example Ward's warning to an over-amorous maid, that if "your Spark should happen to strike Venereal Fire into your Tinderbox of Iniquity, how would you do in a great Family, where so many Eyes are upon you, to extinguish it by a Course of Physick without discovery? And if once you are detected in so Scandalous a Condition, my Lady, for her Honour's sake, must turn you off to the wide World, lest she brings a Slander upon her own Reputation, by keeping a Whore so near her" (*London Terræfilius*, sig. v.D2<sup>v</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>143</sup> Siena, 'The strange medical silence on same-sex transmission of the pox, c.1660-c.1760', in *The Sciences of Homosexuality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kenneth Borris and George Rousseau (London: Routledge, 2007), 16, 301.

<sup>144</sup> Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, 213 and *passim*.

<sup>145</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690-1800*, t16980114-38 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org), 23 September 2011), 14 January 1698, trial of Henry Simpkins. See also Middlesex Sessions, *London Lives, 1690-1800*, LMSMPS507010084 ([www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org), 23 September 2011), 21 April 1708, trial of John Bristoll.



had been”.<sup>146</sup> Non-sexual means of transmission were promoted by quacks eager to diagnose the pox in possible patients, and thus prescribe their own medicines; advertisements list hyperbolically diverse ‘symptoms’, and advise that the disease is “not always got by foul Women, as some think; but sometimes doth happen by Falls, Bruises over-Straining &c”.<sup>147</sup> As Hentschell writes, the ambiguities surrounding the pox served only to exacerbate anxiety around it: “As in the early years of AIDS in the western world, the myth of [non-sexual] contraction... served to create a panic befitting a disease so closely associated with sexual immorality... engender[ing] anxieties that *anyone* could contract the disease and thus be susceptible to the shame and fear associated with it”.<sup>148</sup>

It was not just the pox itself that marked victims’ bodies. Both the disease and the mercury treatment that was standard in the period caused bone and cartilage damage, while mercury’s stimulation of the saliva glands could also lead to gangrene around the mouth and sinuses, contributing to the destruction of the nose.<sup>149</sup> Mercury promoted the evacuation of poisonous bodily fluids, or humours, through sweating or salivation; loose women who have been subjected to the treatment are regularly referred to as “fluxed” or “salivated” whores. Mercury was first advocated in the late sixteenth century, and was commonly administered as ointments, frictions or through fumigations. A number of the standard mercury treatments are illustrated on the title page of *Venus Belegert en Ontset*

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<sup>146</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17160906-24 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 6 September 1716, trial of Mary Pewterer.

<sup>147</sup> *At the Sign of the two Faces, upon Great Tower-Hill, a little above the Gun-Tavern. Lives a Physician, of above twenty Years Experience in the Cure of all Diseases incident to the Bodies of Men, Women, and Children; but more especially the Pox, or Venereal Diseases* (London: 1699), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> Hentschell, 153; original emphasis.

<sup>149</sup> John Emsley, *The Elements of Murder: A History of Poison* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 35, 39.

(‘Venus Beleagured and Relieved’: Amsterdam, 1685) by the Dutch physician Steven Blankaart (1650–1702).<sup>150</sup> In the background one patient salivates into a pot through a funnel attached to his face; in the centre another sits in a fume tub while a doctor catches his or her sweat and saliva in a cup. This image was copied, with some variations, for John Sintelaer’s *The Scourge of Venus and Mercury* (London: 1709), and titled “The Martyrdom of Mercury”.<sup>151</sup> On the left, a doctor now scrapes purulent matter from a patient’s legs, while to the right, steam rises from a patient’s mouth as the doctor cauterises his gangrenous gums. In the foreground of both images sits an emaciated patient with advanced syphilis, his/her legs covered in sores, and with a bandage tied around his/her head to suggest the decomposed nose. In the English adaptation, a dog gnaws at the patient’s ulcerated feet, adding a macabre touch that also draws upon the animal’s sexual symbolism.

From its earliest usage, physicians recognised the dangers of mercury. In 1612, Cotta reflected on the

well knowne and vulgar remedies of the named French disease, which...  
leave behinde them such a rottennes, and weaknesse ofttimes of the  
bones and sinewes, as suffereth few of our Mercurials to live, to know  
their age in health, especially who thoroughly knew the silver-salve in  
their youth. Hence toward declining age (if not before) some fall into  
consumptions and marasmes, some lose their teeth, some have the

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<sup>150</sup> Claude Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (London: Polity Press and Basil Blackwell, 1990), 34–35.

<sup>151</sup> Sintelaer, *The Scourge of Venus and Mercury, Represented in a Treatise of the Venereal Disease* (London: 1709). The landscaped illustration is inserted between sigs. A8<sup>v</sup> and B1<sup>r</sup>.

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palate of their mouth rotted, some the very bones of the head eaten,  
some by convulsions their mouthes and faces set awry.<sup>152</sup>

Cotta nevertheless supported the use of mercury, and instead attacked those “vile people and unskilfull persons” who administered this and other medicines incorrectly, or attempted their own quack experiments.<sup>153</sup>

Many, however, did advocate other treatments. Tagliacozzi himself recommended the use of guaiacum and sarsaparilla.<sup>154</sup> Timothie Bright also wrote of successful treatments with these plants, as well as “essence of the Primrose and Couslip”.<sup>155</sup> Whore texts are riddled with alternative cures and preventatives. In *The Wandering Whore*, Julietta records how after each client, she urinates forcefully: “for I know no better way or remedy more safe than pissing presently to prevent the French Pox, Gonorrhoea, the perilous infirmity of Burning, or getting with Childe.”<sup>156</sup> Part of the ‘joke’ in these remedies may well be that we are supposed to recognise their inefficiency: whores cannot be trusted to be clean. Given the proximity (or overlapping) of bawds and midwives in many texts, these jokes also function as broader swipes at women’s role in medicine, which was being challenged in this period through male physicians’ increasing dominance in

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<sup>152</sup> Cotta, sig. B3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> *De curtorum*, 125–126.

<sup>155</sup> Bright, *A Treatise Wherein is Declared the Sufficiency of English Medicines* (London: 1580), sig. D4<sup>r</sup>, original emphasis.

<sup>156</sup> Garfield, sigs. i.B2<sup>v</sup>–B3<sup>r</sup>.

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obstetrics and gynaecology.<sup>157</sup> Alternative treatments for the pox failed to catch on, and mercury enjoyed an increasing monopoly at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>158</sup>

While there is some debate as to the level of shame attached to the pox in its early years, by 1662 John Graunt was able to note that “only HATED persons... have died of this too frequent malady”, since as the early Barnabe Rich had explained, “in poore men we use plaine dealing, and call it the Poxe, but in great personages, and a little to gilde over the loathsomeness, we must call it the Gowt, or the Sciatica”.<sup>159</sup> There is evidence that some men took specific precautions against venereal disease. Marten recorded a patient “accomodat’d” by his partner’s hand, in the belief that this would prevent transmission of the clap, while the prostitute Bridget Noland, on trial for theft in 1718, testified that her prosecutor “would not lie with her, saying she had the Pox, but [instead] gave her a Shilling to fetch Rods to Slogg him with”.<sup>160</sup> Condoms were primarily associated with disease prevention, rather than contraception.<sup>161</sup> They were also not very popular, as evidenced by physician Daniel Turner in 1717:

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<sup>157</sup> See further Adrian Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery: Childbirth in England, 1660–1770* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995); Julie Sanders, ‘Midwifery and the New Science in the Seventeenth Century: Language, Print and the Theatre’, in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 74–90.

<sup>158</sup> Quétel, 84.

<sup>159</sup> Healy, 162.

<sup>160</sup> Marten insisted it was “possible to get the Infection that way, and that by Friction or rubbing the *Yard* with a warm Hand, just wet with virulent *Venereal* Matter, the *Pocky* contagious Miasms may enter into the Pores of the erected heated *Yard*, and prove infectious”: Porter, “Laying Aside Any Private Advantage”: John Marten and VD’, in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, ed. Linda E. Merians (Lexington: University Press Kentucky, 1996), 55; original emphasis. Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690–1800*, t17180709-32 (www.londonlives.org, 23 September 2011), 9 July 1718, trial of Bridget Noland.

<sup>161</sup> Cruickshank, 170.

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The *Condom* being the best, if not only Preservative our Libertines have found out at present; and yet by reason of its blunting the Sensation, I have heard some of them acknowledge, that they had often chose to risk a *Clap*, rather than engage *cum Hastis sic clypeatis* [with spears thus sheathed].<sup>162</sup>

Joseph Cam attacked the condom as an “Invention too commonly in use amongst the Salacious Lechers”, and suggested that they could themselves contribute—in a disconcertingly queer fashion—to the transmission of “Dry Poxes”:

Men are, by this wicked Deceit, Clapp’d by Men, since it is not unusual for these vile Houses to have Setts of these Machines [condoms] by them, which they give to their Customers for Use; and these having been often used by Persons sorely infected, the Venom is never carefully wash’d off, but sticks close to the Inside of them, and upon Friction it is warmed and put in Motion, and gives the unwary Combatant the very Disease he is endeavouring to avoid.<sup>163</sup>

Cam also felt that condoms, in addition to their inefficiency in preventing the transmission of the pox, exacerbated the sin of the act, since their contraceptive capacity turned “Fornication into the reputed Crime of *Onan*”.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Mark Lipton, ‘The Condom in History: Shame and Fear’, in *Culture and the Condom*, ed. Karen Anijar and Thuy Dao Jensen (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 98; original emphasis.

<sup>163</sup> Cam, *A Practical Treatise: Or, Second Thoughts On the Consequences of Venereal Disease*, 1724, Third Edition (London: 1729), sigs. E2<sup>v</sup>–E3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E2<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

In *The Wandering Whore*, Gusman announces that “the french Pox is nothing amongst Friends”, yet he later recounts a tale of a woman castrating one of her former lovers because he had “given [her] the *running of the reins* [gonorrhoea]”.<sup>165</sup> In a gruesome case from 1723, a prostitute who had given the pox to a nobleman was sought out by his friends, stripped naked, covered in corn, and left for a turkey to peck at; she died in under three weeks.<sup>166</sup> Advertisements for quack venereal cures stressed their own discretion, in addition to efficiency, in distinguishing themselves from the time-consuming, and body-marking mercurial treatments; in one 1700 example, “Dr. Rivers” promises to provide patients with “an Effectual Cure, by a *Safe, Easy, and Pleasant Method*, without any Confinement from *Business*, or knowledge of their nearest *Relations*, even their very *Bedfellows*.”<sup>167</sup>

Upon its initial appearance in plague proportions at the close of the fifteenth century, theologians were quick to describe the pox as a mass-punishment from God. As early as the 1520s, however, the focus had shifted to its role as a personal punishment, most particularly for sexual sins, above the sins of the populace.<sup>168</sup> The aptness of the disease’s effects on the genitals was duly noted; Francisco Lopez de Villalobos considered it a fitting punishment for *luxuria*—which in the medieval period denoted both sexual lust and a broader decadence—since, as he recorded smugly in 1498, it fulfilled “that just and equitable maxim, for like sin a like penance” since “the guilty organ is the organ which

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<sup>165</sup> Garfield, sigs. i.A2<sup>v</sup>, iv.A4<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>166</sup> Rosenthal, ‘Sally Salisbury’, 105.

<sup>167</sup> Dr. Rivers, [...] *for all Venereal Maladies. By Dr. Rivers, who, by this Assiduous Care and Daily Practice, hath for several Years render'd himself Famous in this City, for the cure of the Alamode-Distemper* (London: c1700), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>168</sup> Cunningham and Ole, 261.

suffers".<sup>169</sup> This rhetoric of poetic justice continued: Ward's Repenting Harlot noted in 1700, for example, that "The parts that Sin'd the most, most Torment felt".<sup>170</sup>

Doctors such as Daniel Sennert, John Spinke, Cam and Turner speak of their shame at association with poxed, and therefore debauched, patients. Turner, for example, advised young surgeons to keep these patients at a distance on physical *and* moral grounds, since "you will hereby make yourselves mean, [and] be despised of all those of Reputation".<sup>171</sup> Turner, Sennert, and other physicians also refused to disclose information on 'preventatives', since, as Sennert explained, "I do not believe that those things can be taught with a good conscience, by which so many men are encouraged to lust, whom perhaps the fear of this Disease might have frightened from it; and therefore we will say nothing of these medicines".<sup>172</sup> This stigmatization may help explain why Read's editing Physician chose to remain anonymous when releasing his translation of *De curtorum*.

The disease's association with economic, non-reproductive sexuality arguably exacerbated its stigma. In some origin myths, the disease was even thought to originate in the fetid mixing of fluids in the whore's womb. Jacques Béthencourt had suggested in 1527 that it might arise through a corruption of the male and female seeds, or male seed and menses, while in 1596 the Italian physician Aurilius Minadoi argued in his *Tractatus de Virulentia Venera* that it was instead derived from a mingling of multiple men's seeds.<sup>173</sup> The popularity of this theory in England is, however, debatable; Siena locates its first

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<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

<sup>170</sup> Ward, *Insinuating Bawd*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> Siena, 118.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>173</sup> On homophobia of this theory see Siena, and Winifred Schleiner, 'Moral Attitudes Toward Syphilis and its Prevention in the Renaissance', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 68 (1994), 389–410.

mention in English in Sennert's treatise of 1660, where he writes that "[Minadoi] thinks this evil proceeded first, when women were made very unclean, when they had received a mixture of seeds".<sup>174</sup> It also appears in the vile *An Essay of Scandal* (1681), an attack on Charles and his mistresses, which describes Nell Gwyn as a "stopped-up whore," who though she is "Daily struck, stabbed, by half the pricks in town; / Yet still her stubborn courses come not down / But lie and nourish old diseases there".<sup>175</sup> Prostitution as an "exchange" of the client's money for the whore's pox is trotted out regularly, while more remarkable is the suggestion elsewhere that the whore could actually control to whom she gave the pox; as one scurrilous poem of 1615 put it, "Yf you have golde she showes her arsse, / yf you have none shee burnes your tarsse".<sup>176</sup> Women's 'deliberate' infection of their partners continued to be a popular misogynist trope throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>177</sup> So synonymous with disease did prostitutes become, that Thomas Duffet wondered if one should steal from "Wenches their Claps—then what are they?"<sup>178</sup>

The level of stigma attached to the disease, and its tell-tale nasal disfigurement, not only shifted over the course of the century, but, as Rich and Graunt's remarks suggest, they varied according to the patient's class and gender. For example, Sir John Suckling (1609–1642) described an imaginary debate between notable authors of the period over

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<sup>174</sup> Siena, 123.

<sup>175</sup> *Essay of Scandal*, lines 44–47.

<sup>176</sup> C.E. McGee, 'Pocky Queans and Hornèd Knaves: Gender Stereotypes in Libelous Poems', in *Oral Traditions and Gender in Early Modern Texts*, ed. Mary Ellen Lamb and Karen Bamford (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 144.

<sup>177</sup> Linda E. Merians, 'Introduction', in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, ed. Merians (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 7.

<sup>178</sup> *Empress*, Second Prologue, lines 31–33.



which of them most merited “The Laurel that had been so long reserv’d”.<sup>179</sup> As part of this discussion he includes fellow writer and high profile, incarcerated Royalist, Sir William Davenant (1606–1668), who was famously noseless after a bout of the pox. Suckling’s mockery of Davenant’s injury is relatively gentle: he describes it as a “foolish mischance”, and writes that Davenant “Modestly hoped the handsomnesse of’s Muse / Might any deformity about him excuse”.<sup>180</sup> “And surely”, Suckling says,

the Company would have been content,  
If they could have found any President [precedent];  
But in all their Records either in Verse or Prose,  
There was not one Laureat without a nose.<sup>181</sup>

Though the gathered authors rule that Davenant’s disability must render him unfit for pre-eminence, they accept his situation more generally.

In contrast, Lady Hester Pulter (c.1607–1678), who also wrote a poem addressing Davenant’s deformity, suggested that she would be open to far greater loss of reputation were she to carry a similar injury. In the poem, ‘To Sr. W. D. Upon the unspeakable Loss of the most conspicuous and chief Ornament of his Frontispiece’, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four, Pulter is driven through “pitty” to offer her own nose to Davenant as a replacement.<sup>182</sup> Ultimately, however, she must retract her offer, on the grounds that

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<sup>179</sup> John Suckling, *Fragmenta Aurea. A Collection of all the Incomparable Peeeces, written by Sir John Suckling* (London: 1646), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>180</sup> Sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> Pulter, ‘To Sr. W. D. Upon the unspeakable Loss of the most conspicuous and chief Ornament of his Frontispiece’, in *Early Modern Women’s Manuscript Poetry*, ed. Jill Seal Millman and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), line 4. See below, page 257 and following.

it would leave her open to the charge that she herself had lost that member to the pox, and she instead proposes a graft from her leg.<sup>183</sup>

That the marked nose carried cultural weight during this period is also evident in a rumour unearthed by Evelyn Lord in her study of the Hell-Fire Clubs. In 1712 there was said to be a group of men, known as the Mohocks, roaming the streets of London at night committing random acts of violence, including the slitting of victims' noses. While the actual existence of the group was later challenged, sufficient concern was extant during the period for Queen Anne to issue a Royal Proclamation against them.<sup>184</sup> Whether the cutting of noses was a recurrent practice of the group or not, its prominence as a purported offence testifies to the importance granted to the mutilation of the nose during this period.

By the late Stuart period, when the anonymous Physician chose to release his translation of *De curtorum chirurgia* attached to Read's works, the missing nose that could not be traced to battle was instead synonymous with the pox, and thus with the shame of that disease. Addison and Steele caution the "young Men of this Town... to regard every Town-Woman as a particular Kind of Siren, that has a Design upon their Noses".<sup>185</sup> They warn the young sparks that "the Art of making Noses is entirely lost" and that therefore they must not "follow the Example of our ordinary Town Rakes, who live as if there was a *Taliocotius* to be met with at the Corner of every Street".<sup>186</sup> Drawing on the contemporary ambiguity of the clap and the pox, they refer to Tagliacozzi as "the first Clap-Doctor that

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<sup>183</sup> Line 20.

<sup>184</sup> Lord, *The Hell-Fire Clubs: Sex, Satanism and Secret Societies* (London: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>185</sup> *Tatler* 260 (5–7 December 1710), 2; original emphasis.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*; Gilman, *Making*, 63, 73.

[they] meet with in History". Such articles demonstrate Tagliacozzi's synonymy, and that of rhinoplasty itself, with the pox and its effect on the nose during this period. Why, then, did the Physician and his publisher, Christopher Wilkinson, issue a translation of *De curtorum chirurgia* at this time? Why attached to the works of Dr Read? In the final section of this chapter, I will address these questions, and consider the counter-discourses adopted (ultimately unsuccessfully) by supporters of Tagliacozzi's technology.

Analysis of Read's medical philosophy and level of engagement with rhinoplasty is made possible not only by his published works, but also by the preservation of his library in Kings College at the University of Aberdeen. The Deed of Foundation of Bursaries here records that Read donated to his alma mater a "certaine number of choyse buikis and volumes of divinities, medicyne, and other faculties and sciences, for helping and supplieing the decayed library", as well as globes, quadrants, mathematical instruments, and £100 sterling, probably between 1630 and 1632.<sup>187</sup> French has identified 113, primarily medical titles in the university library as originating from Read, which may easily be done through either the donor inscriptions on the title page, or Read's distinctive manner of highlighting text by ruling a red line both above and below the beginning of the sentence.<sup>188</sup> This marking-up, to which he also adds notation in the margin, corrections to printing errors, poor grammar, or incorrect Latin, and in well-thumbed works an index of his own design, enables us to follow his engagement with these books quite clearly.

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<sup>187</sup> Menzies, 479, 493. Shona MacLean Vance lists Read's deathbed wealth at "over £946": 'Reid, Alexander (c.1570–1641)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23323>, accessed 6 July 2012.

<sup>188</sup> French, 479.

Wilhelm Fabricius Hildanus' (1560–1634) *Opera Chirurgica* (Frankfurt: 1620), for example, was evidently a favourite work, carrying extensive marking-up throughout and a well-developed index added to the last leaves. Others, such as Cotta's *Short Discoverie* are carefully engaged with in some sections, then silently passed over in others. As French observes, Read's notation "very rarely" disagrees with the text, instead denoting its importance; thus, in many cases, "We may perhaps... take Read's silence for disagreement".<sup>189</sup> Read's suitability as a flagship for the translation of *De curtorum chirurgia*, and his engagement with this procedure and the treatment of venereal disease is in some manner therefore recoverable. Moreover, this evidence suggests the need for a re-examination and appraisal of the circulation, and perhaps even practice of this procedure in this period.

In his highly-abridged revision of *Microcomographia*, which he hopes "will prove profitable and delightfull to such as are not able to buy, or have no time to peruse the other", Read does include a section of significant length on "some offences about the Nose, and the Eares".<sup>190</sup> Here he concedes the importance of the nose as the "chiefe beauty of the Face", and the nature of its injuries as "*inhonesta vulnera*".<sup>191</sup> In treating a broken nose he stresses that the binding should "not [be] too hard, least you make the Nose crooked and sadled, which beside the inconvenience it brings with it, will be a great disfiguring to the Face".<sup>192</sup> Elsewhere he notes the importance of taking as much care as possible in treating all facial wounds, in order to assist the patient's mental and social

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<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 484.

<sup>190</sup> *Somatographia Anthropine*, sigs. A3<sup>v</sup>, Z4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Z4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Z5<sup>r</sup>.

wellbeing; he stresses the need “to avoyd scarres which will make the face deformed. For that is the market place, especially in women”.<sup>193</sup> In a later text, Read reiterated the importance of care for aesthetics when dealing with “Wounds in the Instruments of the Senses”, stating that “In these wounds we must, to the uttermost of our endeavour, labour to procure a fair *Cicatrix* or Scar: see the Nose is the most eminent part of the Face, and but a small Scar will easily be discerned in it”.<sup>194</sup>

At this point in *Somatographia*, Read details treatment for a fractured nose, including diagrams of the “small pypes, or tunnels” which are to be inserted into the nostrils to provide both shape and air holes.<sup>195</sup> He continues:

But if a part of the Nose be cut, and there be any quantity of flesh remaining, whereby the wounded part may receive life and nourishment, it will be good to sew it up; otherwise the wound cannot be restored, unlesse it bee by that quaint device of taking a new nose out of the skinne of the Arme, with the description of which operation I will not trouble my selfe nor you at this time; or a new nose counterfeited as *Pareus* [Paré] teaches.<sup>196</sup>

His reluctance to elaborate on this “operation” might simply be attributable to economies of space in this particular work, which is evident throughout the text; in discussing fractures of the skull, for example, he lists a range of possible symptoms for use in diagnosis before adding bluntly “The reasons why all these be signes of a Fracture, I must

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<sup>193</sup> The illustration for this suture (a “dry Seame”) thus aptly features a female patient: sigs. Z2<sup>v</sup>–Z3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> Read, *A Treatise of the First Part of Chirurgie* (London: 1638), sig. Bb2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>195</sup> *Somatographia*, sig. Z5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

not here unfold, you must take my word for the present”.<sup>197</sup> His reference to the practice as “quaint” is also far greater praise than it first appears; the current suggestion of pleasing, but somewhat condescending old-fashionedness does not appear until the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>198</sup> At this time it suggested rather something “characterized or marked by cleverness, ingenuity, or cunning”.<sup>199</sup> Moreover, in the *First Part of Chirurgie* Read stated that,

If the Cartilage be wholly cut off, then a new Nose is to be framed of the skin of the arm. Of this *Taliacotius* hath written at large, and I will touch this practice in my προσθετικη, which I made the third part of Chirurgery.<sup>200</sup>

Read’s “third part of Chirurgery” unfortunately never appeared, but this note reveals his knowledge of, and faith in Tagliacozzi’s method, and suggests that elucidation of the procedure would not have been unwelcome.

A verdict on whether Read would have been as open to the addition of the treatise on venereal disease, or the inclusion of Tagliacozzi’s method in a period wherein it would be inevitably connected to syphilis, is a little more elusive. Notes in his library reveal that he was certainly engaged with the subject of venereal disease and possible surgical treatments. The section of his copy of Fabricius that deals with gonorrhoea is carefully

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<sup>197</sup> Sig. Z6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>198</sup> ‘quaint, adj., adv., and n.2’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/155830?rskey=LdWjQC&result=2&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 25 September 2011.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> Sig. Bb4<sup>r</sup>.

marked-up, although the later chapter on syphilis is not.<sup>201</sup> The sections in Cotta's *Short Discovery* touching on the French Disease are also highlighted.<sup>202</sup> Read did not, however, speak at any great length in his own work on cures for venereal disease, though perhaps this might in part be attributable to the lack of *surgical* intervention available for such illnesses in the period.

Read recommends Tagliacozzi's procedure for those whose nasal "Cartilage [has been] wholly *cut off*".<sup>203</sup> In this way he eschews the link with the whore whose nose, as Sterne later decried, had been lost "with dire disgrace... sapped by the unrelenting rage of Syphilis".<sup>204</sup> Instead he aligned it with those who had found themselves noseless through no fault of their own. This, indeed, was to be the key challenge for rhinoplasty advocates for much of the procedure's history, going back to Tagliacozzi's defense in his Dedication that he intended his work to be of use to "military men".<sup>205</sup> This is not to say that Tagliacozzi avoids reference to the pox entirely; though he does not explicitly suggest that the procedure will be used for such events, he notes in his discussion about preparing the body for the operation that any venereal taints must be treated beforehand.<sup>206</sup>

Aside from the pox, the nose had been the site for marking or reading any number of stigmas on guilty bodies across different cultures, and it would continue to do so. As Berlin plastic surgeon Johann Friedrich Dieffenbach (1792–1847), wrote in 1834:

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<sup>201</sup> Sigs. R5<sup>r</sup>–R6<sup>r</sup>, and sigs. Xx3<sup>v</sup>–Xx4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> Sigs. B3<sup>v</sup>–B4<sup>r</sup>, C2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>203</sup> *First Part of Chirurgie*, sig. Bb4<sup>r</sup>; my emphasis.

<sup>204</sup> Laurence Sterne, *Yorick's Meditations Upon Various Interesting and Important Subjects* (London: 1760), 18.

<sup>205</sup> Tagliacozzi, *De curtorum*, viii.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 125–126.

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a man without a nose [arouses] horror and loathing, and people are apt to regard the deformity as a just punishment for his sins. This division of diseases, or even more their consequences, into blameworthy and blameless is strange. . . . As if all people with noses were always guiltless! No one ever asks whether the nose was lost because a beam fell on it, or whether it was destroyed by scrofula or syphilis.<sup>207</sup>

A key strategy for those sympathetic to nasal reconstruction was thus to choose demonstration patients very carefully—reports of Cowasjee’s and other Indian patients’ noses drew heavily on their positions as victims of ‘barbaric’ enemy war practices, where the custom was “not to kill but to cut off the noses with the upper lips of the enemies”.<sup>208</sup>

The paragon story of the early seventeenth century was first recorded by Hildanus, and is included in *Chirurgorum Comes*. This case centers on the Duke of Savoy’s attack on Geneva in 1590, wherein, “a Virgin fell into the hands of the Soldiers, whose Chastity when they had attempted in vain, they being enraged cut her Nose off”.<sup>209</sup> Two years later, her nose is restored “so artificially, that, to the Admiration of all, it appeared rather Natural than Artificial”, and we are told that she “continues unmarried” in Lausanne at the time of writing (1613).<sup>210</sup> In his original account, Hildanus identifies this woman as

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<sup>207</sup> In Gilman, *Making*, 51.

<sup>208</sup> *British Madras Government Consultation Book* (1679), in Gilman, *Making*, 76. The same attitude is evident in Edward Theodore Withington’s 1894 medical history, where he writes of rhinoplasty as “an operation specially demanded in a land where despotic rulers and jealous husbands were singularly addicted to mutilating their victims”: *Medical History from the Earliest Times: A Popular History of the Healing Art* (London: The Scientific Press, 1894), 29.

<sup>209</sup> *Chirurgorum Comes*, sig. Yy3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*



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“Susannah N”.<sup>211</sup> As a besieged Virgin who loses her nose defending her chastity against an army, she was the ideal defence against charges that the surgery would be primarily used for poked debauchees.

As these texts show, medical knowledge of Taliacotian rhinoplasty did not simply *disappear*, but neither were surgeons (at least openly) willing to use his techniques. Sir Charles Bernard, who as serjeant-surgeon from 1702 and Master of his Company from 1703 was perhaps England’s leading surgeon at the close of the seventeenth century, held a copy of *De curtorum* in his sizeable library, and was a firm defender of the procedure.<sup>212</sup> He noted that Tagliacozzi had “brought [the practice of rhinoplasty] to Perfection; and (whatever Scruples some who have not examin’d the History, may entertain concerning either the Truth or Possibility of the Fact) practis’d with wonderful Dexterity and Success, as may be prov’d from Authorities not to be contested”.<sup>213</sup> He also thought it, a most surprising thing to consider, that few or none should have since attempted to imitate so worthy and excellent a Pattern [as Tagliacozzi’s], especially in an Age wherein so many deplorable and scandalous Objects do every day seem either to beg or command our Assistance.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Withington, 288.

<sup>212</sup> Ian Lyle, ‘Bernard, Charles (bap. 1652, d. 1710)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2238>, accessed 26 October 2010; J. Harvey Bloom and R. Rutson James, *Medical Practitioners in the Diocese of London, Licensed under the Act of 3 Henry VIII, c.II: An Annotated List 1529–1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 39.

Bernard’s copy is recorded in Jacob Hooke’s *Bibliotheca Bernardiana: or, a Catalogue Of the Library of the late Charles Bernard, Esq, Serjeant Surgeon to Her Majesty* (London: 1711), sig. B4<sup>r</sup>. The sale of Bernard’s library was one of the biggest book auctions of the early eighteenth century: Jeremiah Stanton Finch, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Browne and Dr. Edward Browne, His Son* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 11–12.

<sup>213</sup> Bernard, sig. Aa2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. Aa2<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>.

Bernard's critique placed the onus directly onto the surgeons, whose reluctance to "examin[e] the History" of rhinoplasty had led to its neglect. His insinuation is that they too had fallen for the story of the 'sympathetic snout'.

Bernard's "few" present an intriguing possibility, although other evidence suggests that it was unlikely that surgeons in London were experimenting with this procedure at the end of the seventeenth century. The Royal Society was at that time conducting somewhat half-hearted experiments in grafting skin from one dog to another, the transfer of cocks' combs, and the transplanting of animal hair. These experiments, which took place under the direction of Robert Hooke in 1663–1664, were delayed when the Society was required to prepare a more entertaining program for the King, and then had to be abandoned when the dog ran away.<sup>215</sup> There is no association made with Tagliacozzi in discussions about these transplants.

Finally, Read himself offers tantalizing evidence of engagement with Tagliacozzi's procedure. He had in fact owned *two* copies of *De curtorum*: the standard, two-volume folio edition, and the almost-identical Frankfurt octavo edition. Neither, unfortunately, carries any annotations from Read. Nevertheless, his possession of multiple copies demonstrates his interest in Tagliacozzi's method. Gnudi and Webster point out that the alternative title of the Frankfurt edition has led some writers and bibliographers to mistake it for an entirely separate work, where in actual fact it differs only very slightly in the prefatory material.<sup>216</sup> Even the images, which must have been re-produced separately to obtain the new size, are otherwise identical. Read, too, may have believed it to be a

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<sup>215</sup> Patterson, 384–385.

<sup>216</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 193.

unique follow-up work, particularly if he had ordered it on repute. Alternatively, he may have bought it for its small, far more practical size; here I must be reminded of his profession in his own work that his books, “being portable may bee carried without trouble, to the places appointed for dissection”.<sup>217</sup> Could it be possible he obtained the smaller copy so that he might have it to refer to in his own surgery? Could he have planned, or could he have performed, his own attempts at ‘the Italian method’? Read’s possession of both editions of *De curtorum* invites further archival research into his and his medical circle’s engagement with this work, in a period historians have currently written off as the dark ages of plastic surgery.

Despite Tagliacozzi’s, Read’s and Bernard’s attempts to cast rhinoplasty as the saviour of “military men”, or besieged virgins such as “Susannah N.”, these were not the stories that stuck. Instead, the absent nose became irrevocably associated with the sexually immoral, frequently employed by textual and visual artists in a manner that reiterated the connection in the popular imagination. It carried this association well into the nineteenth century. Rhinoplasty was subsequently framed as an attempt to conceal the history of a sexually perverse body, enabling the patient to pass as healthy and virtuous and providing them with fraudulent access to social capital. The medical knowledge itself did not disappear, as I have shown, but became a shameful commodity in which surgeons were unwilling to trade.

Moreover, Taliacotian rhinoplasty was soon overwhelmed by the story of the ‘sympathetic snout’, in which the nose was reconstructed with flesh bought from another person. As I will discuss in the next chapter, the grafting of *others’* flesh appeared to

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<sup>217</sup> *Somatographia Anthropine* (1634), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

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commoditise pieces of the living human body like never before, but in fact paralleled the prostitutes' hawking of their own "commodities". It thus furthers my inquiry into the discourses of shameful bodily exchanges in the early modern period. These representations also continue my investigation into the trade in fraudulent bodies, and the period's interest in uncovering their truths.

## **“Off Dropt the Sympathetic Snout”: Reading Rhinoplasty.**

As we have seen, medical understanding of rhinoplasty did not simply ‘disappear’ from England after Gaspare Tagliacozzi’s death in 1599. Respected surgeons such as Alexander Read and Sir Charles Bernard praised the idea of reconstructing the noses of people unfortunate enough to have lost them. When Bernard was writing at the end of the seventeenth century, however, the practice had become synonymous with disguising the disfigurements wrought by the increasingly-shameful disease of syphilis. This link contributed significantly to the neglect of the technology: the association of the procedure with syphilis, a shameful disease, meant that both the patient and the surgeon would be dishonoured. The syphilitic patient passing for healthy—like the prostitute passing for a ‘modest’ woman—gained what the wider community saw as unfitting access to respectability and other manifestations of social capital.

But the story of rhinoplasty developed another strange twist. Though Tagliacozzi had staunchly prescribed an autograft—that is, that the skin used to reconstruct the nose would be sourced from the patient’s own arm—popular and (increasingly) medical understandings of the technique presumed the use of a homograft, also called an allograft, wherein the transplant would be taken from the body of another person. These accounts also dug deeper into the other body, from whom “flesh”, rather than just skin, was said to be required. In early stories, this would be a slave who was paid with manumission; in later English accounts, any man who was willing would be paid handsomely for his flesh, which narrowed over the century to a slice of his buttocks. The

attribution of the flesh to a lower-class arse was, I argue, a deliberate means of shaming the procedure. This version also denigrated rhinoplasty's success, since it was said that the new nose would inconveniently expire with the source. Like the flesh and other bodily products traded in the shameful economy of prostitution, the flesh here received a valuation significantly different to that which it was normatively granted. This is the story of the 'sympathetic snout'.

This curious adaptation of events fed on a number of different cultural anxieties, as the grafts crossed boundaries of class, ethnicity and propriety. Moreover, the use of others' flesh commoditised the living human body in a way that explicated the implicit exchange of bodies inherent in other areas of early modern, and increasingly capitalist society. The purchase of lowerclass *male* flesh for the reconstruction of a wealthy male nose proposed a disarming state of corporal alienation to any male reader who might have grown accustomed to the increasingly hackneyed allegorical use of female prostitution for his own "alienated and objectified condition".<sup>1</sup> Just as prostitution laid bare the capacity for the most intimate of human interactions and body parts to be assessed and valued, so too the body's other constituents could now be commoditised. I read this problematic commoditisation of the living body as parallel to that involved in prostitution. The flesh used for the nose reconstruction was represented unequivocally as still a part of the original owner, rather than of the patient. Sensation inflicted on the nose would be felt by the donor, or vice versa—a phenomenon explained through the medical discourse of 'sympathy'. The privileging of the bond between the donor and his flesh over that of the recipient positions the graft as an "inalienable possession", which resists

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<sup>1</sup> Romack, 1.

commoditisation. The ‘sympathetic snout’ narrative thus serves as further commentary on the commercial (in)alienability of the body in the early modern period, and historicises these continued debates for the present day.

In Shakespeare’s most famous engagement with commercialised flesh, a “pound / Of... fair flesh” functions as collateral for a loan agreement between the merchant Bassanio and the moneylender Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>2</sup> As has been widely noted, the language of exchange saturates this play, and the relationships between flesh, blood, ties of flesh-and-blood, and wealth, form an ongoing concern.<sup>3</sup> When proposing to accept Bassanio’s “flesh” as collateral for Antonio’s loan, Shylock argues that his offer is very generous, one of “friendship”, since human flesh has no exchange value in itself: “A pound of man’s flesh taken from a man / Is not so estimable, profitable neither, / As flesh of muttons, beef or goats”.<sup>4</sup> In this arrangement, Luke Wilson argues, human flesh only becomes valuable in its destruction, which Antonio recognises as equivalent to his own.<sup>5</sup> Unlike the graft that is purchased to reconstruct a nose, Shylock does not desire the pound of flesh as a literal object; he values it at more than “twenty times the sum” of

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<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010), I.iii.149–150.

<sup>3</sup> Clayton Koelb, ‘The Bonds of Flesh and Blood: Having it Both Ways in *The Merchant of Venice*’, *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature* 5.1 (1993), 107–113. See further Ronald A. Sharp, ‘Gift Exchange and Economies of Spirit in *The Merchant of Venice*’, *Modern Philology* 83.3 (1986), 250–265; Karen Newman, ‘Portia’s Ring: Unruly Women and Structures of Exchange in *The Merchant of Venice*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38.1 (1987), 19–33.

<sup>4</sup> I.iii.165–167.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, ‘Monetary Compensation for Injuries to the Body, A.D. 602–1697’, in *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*, ed. Linda Woodbridge (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 30. For other readings of the ‘pound of flesh’ in *The Merchant of Venice*, see James Shapiro in *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), who reads it in regard to circumcision (Shylock the Jew’s ‘cut’ displaced onto Antonio), and Janet Adelman’s *Blood Relations: Christian and Jew in The Merchant of Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), who also relates it to circumcision.

Antonio's debt precisely because it is weighted with Bassanio's life, and Antonio's honour.<sup>6</sup> This weighting ensures that only 'specific performance' of the contract will gratify him, since nothing else can be found of sufficient value to him for a satisfying exchange.

The flesh of the 'sympathetic snout' story, in contrast, is (a) explicitly valued, (b) useful in itself, and (c) its extraction is not intended to harm either the source or recipient. Wilson's reading is based on lists of compensation values for bodily injuries, which posit an utter alienation of the body; for Shylock, he argues, and in "the logic of the list", "once it's severed or damaged, [the flesh is] no longer yours, no longer implies any whole from which it comes, no longer shares in the identity of the person injured".<sup>7</sup> In contrast, I argue, the flesh used for reconstructing noses in the story of the 'sympathetic snout' is still explicitly figured as part of the vendor.

The 'sympathetic snout' narrative acquired numerous significations as it was co-opted by different writers. After considering accounts that follow the usual pattern, wherein a lower-class male's flesh was purchased to reconstruct another man's nose, I will turn to the one example of this period that dramatically differs from the norm. In the 1640s, Lady Hester Pulter addressed a poem to the notably noseless Cavalier poet Sir William Davenant, offering to *gift* him a slice of her leg for the reconstruction of "the most conspicuous and chief Ornament of his Frontispiece". This poem, which appeared only in her manuscript collection, offers a remarkable point of divergence from the dominant

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<sup>6</sup> III.ii.293. Differences between such literal and weighted interpretations of Bassanio's flesh are translated in the trial scene and in the abundant legal-literary criticism of the play into the relationship between the 'letter' and 'spirit' of the law.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson, 32.



representation of Tagliacozzi's procedure. Though she does not attempt to sell him the flesh, the graft is nevertheless unsuccessful. By removing the graft from the discourse of commoditisation, Pulter's poem highlights what I argue was the period's greatest anxiety around the procedure, and which accounts for its suppression; that is, that the operation was first and foremost associated with wrongfully hiding the evidence of shameful venereal disease.

The popular version of Tagliacozzi's story was most influentially included in Samuel Butler's (1613–1680) great comic-epic, *Hudibras* (1662–1663):

So learned Taliacotius from  
The brawny part of porter's bum,  
Cut supplemental noses which  
Would last as long as parent breech,  
But when the date of nock was out,  
Off dropped the sympathetic snout.<sup>8</sup>

This was to become the image invoked by any mention of Tagliacozzi well into the eighteenth century: a man who took the "flesh" for his "supplemental noses" from a porter's (or other service figure's) "bum". When the donor died (that is, at the "date of nock"), the nose would also putrefy and drop off, due to the medical doctrine of sympathy. All of the patient's work to hide whatever dishonourable deed had lost him his nose would in this version be for nought, as his fraud was ultimately revealed.

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<sup>8</sup> Butler, l.i.279–284.

Rhinoplasty had always been dogged by miscommunications and misconceptions. Medical and popular accounts (between which the line was often very hazy) combined to produce a wide array of fantastical errors. Rumours that Tagliacozzi was dabbling in unwholesome, even supernatural medicines arose during his lifetime.<sup>9</sup> The idea that the graft would be taken from someone other than the patient actually predates Tagliacozzi; the poet Elisio Calenzio was the first to suggest this version of events, where he attributed it to Antonie Branca.<sup>10</sup> Even in the eighteenth century, some writers expressed skepticism about Calenzio's report. Nicholas Andry de Bois-Regard noted of Calenzio's account, "as Fictions are very common amongst the Poets, is it not probable that this is nothing else?"<sup>11</sup> Despite such hesitations, Calenzio's report was highly influential. As his letter and other allograft reports circulated, Tagliacozzi's actual writing and personal role in the issue became less and less important to popular understandings of rhinoplasty.

In England, the most influential medical account of Tagliacozzi's supposed use of others' flesh for his new noses was provided by the Flemish physician Johannes Baptista van Helmont (1579–1644) in *De magnetica vulnerum curatione* ('On the magnetic cure of wounds'). This was first published in Paris in 1621, then in Cologne in 1624, and within his collected works in Amsterdam in 1648 and later editions.<sup>12</sup> In 1649 this controversial treatise on the magnetic or sympathetic cure of wounds was translated into English with some of van Helmont's other works by Walter Charleton, former physician to the now-late

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<sup>9</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 243.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 282-283.

<sup>11</sup> de Bois-Regard, *Orthopædia: Or, the Art of Correcting and Preventing Deformities in Children* (London: 1743), 48.

<sup>12</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 288.

Charles I, who added examples wrought from England's most prominent supporter of sympathetic cures, Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665). Van Helmont cites the nose episode within a series of examples designed to illustrate the capacity of detached body parts to communicate with the body whole through sympathy, which I will discuss in further detail below.

As his *pièce de résistance*, van Helmont included Tagliacozzi's alleged nose transplant as the "one experiment [that], of all others, cannot but be free from all suspect of imposture, and illusion of the *Deville*":

A certaine inhabitant of *Bruxels*, in a combat had his nose mowed off, addressed himself to *Tagliacozzus*... a famous *Chirurgion*, living at *Bononia* [Bologna], that he might procure a new one: and when he feared the incision of his owne arme, he hired a *Porter* to admit it, out of whose arme, having first given the reward agreed upon, at length he dig'd a new nose. About 13. moneths after his returne to his owne countrey, on a suddaine the ingrafted nose grew cold, putrified, and within a few dayes, dropt off. To those of his friends, that were curious in the exploration of the cause of this unexpected misfortune, it was discovered, that the Porter expired, neer [sic] about the same punctilio of time, wherein the nose grew frigid and cadaverous. There are at *Bruxels* yet surviving, some of good repute, that were eye-witnesses of these occurrences.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *A Ternary of Paradoxes. The Magnetick Cure of Wounds. Nativity of Tartar in Wine. Image of God in Man* (London: 1649), sig. D1<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

Certain that he has proved his point, he asks, “I pray, what is there in this of Superstition? what of attent and exalted *Imagination?*”<sup>14</sup> Van Helmont met with immediate criticism for his book, and Charleton in fact rescinded his belief in sympathetic cures four years later, after coming to doubt the veracity of Digby’s evidence.<sup>15</sup>

Van Helmont’s account clearly states that Tagliacozzi removed the flesh for the replacement nose from the porter’s arm, rather than, as the developing popular account would have it, his backside. A 1664 edition of van Helmont’s works continues with this translation.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Robert Fludd (1574–1637) provided an account of the ‘sympathetic snout’ in his 1631 defense of sympathetic medicine. His rendition of the “famous and remarkable” story stipulated that,

There was a certaine Lord, or Nobleman of Italy, that by chance lost his nose in a fight or combate, this party was counselled by his Physicians to take one of his slaves, and make a wound in his arme, and immediately to joyne his wounded nose to the wounded arme of the slave, and to binde it fast, for a season, untill the flesh of the one was united and assimulated unto the other. The Noble Gentleman got one his slaves to consent, for a large promise of liberty and reward; the double flesh was made all one, and a collop or gobbet of flesh was cut out of the slaves arme, and

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Mark A. Waddell, ‘The Perversion of Nature: Johannes Baptista Van Helmont, the Society of Jesus, and the Magnetic Cure of Wounds’, *Canadian Journal of History* 38 (2003), 179–197; Elizabeth Hedrick, ‘Romancing the Salve: Sir Kenelm Digby and the powder of sympathy’, *British Journal for the History of Science* 41.2 (2008), 181.

<sup>16</sup> *Van Helmont's Works Containing His Most Excellent Philosophy, Physick, Chirurgery, Anatomy* (London: 1664), sig. Eeeee2<sup>r</sup>.

fashioned like a nose unto the Lord, and so handled by the Chirurgion,  
that it served for a natural nose.<sup>17</sup>

Though Fludd's account of the gouging of a "gobbet of flesh" from the slave's arm is obviously erroneous, his attribution of the new nose to the arm remains correct.

Unfortunately for this nobleman, Fludd continues, the manumitted slave travelled to Naples, and "fell sicke and dyed, at which instant, the Lords nose did gangrenate and rot".<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, Fludd says, the surgeon cut off the gangrenated part of the nose, and constructed a new, and ultimately successful nose from the patient's own arm.

Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) also recorded that the patient's face would be tied to the slave's wounded arm, and sufficient flesh cut out and shaped into a nose by the "Rhinurgeon".<sup>19</sup> Kircher thought this account absurd, a story "which I should say happened in Utopia rather than... in Italy".<sup>20</sup> Kircher was a supporter of sympathy, and already thought that the dominance of the 'sympathetic snout' story threatened whatever scientific standing medical sympathy might achieve.

Butler mocked sympathy elsewhere in *Hudibras* as the trade of "mountebanks" and "quack[s]", and revealed his knowledge of van Helmont's work in a lurid recounting of the latter's laying of a "red-hot spit" on an enemy's "dung".<sup>21</sup> He also appears to have been the first author to specify that the graft would be taken from the "porter's bum". In doing so, he amplified the shame and humour in the story. Later texts followed suit, and

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<sup>17</sup> Fludd, sig. S2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 294.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 293.

<sup>21</sup> Butler, *Hudibras*, l.ii.230–240, in Bynum, 16–17; van Helmont, sig. C4<sup>v</sup> (quoted below).

even used Butler to reinterpret information provided about the procedure in earlier medical texts. A satirical ‘Dissertation upon Noses’ (1733), written to accompany an advertisement for a quack sympathy cure, included the story of the Taliacotian nose as evidence of sympathy’s power. Here, the author provides van Helmont’s account of the nose transplant, accompanied by Charleton’s translation, in which the Latin specifies only that the nose was carved from the man’s “Carne”, which is translated as “flesh”.<sup>22</sup> For the identity of this flesh, he then turns to the familiar quotation from *Hudibras*, which, he says, “hints, that it was out of his Posteriors”.<sup>23</sup> The ‘Dissertation’s’ account of Tagliacozzi is based on a *Tatler* article on “the Rise of that fatal Distemper which has always taken a particular Pleasure in venting its Spight upon the Nose”.<sup>24</sup> This article also took *Hudibras* as its starting point for a discussion of Tagliacozzi’s method. Subsequently, Addison and Steele also state that the graft was “cut out of those Parts that are not exposed to the Sun”.<sup>25</sup>

References to Tagliacozzi (often in the Latinate form, Taliacotius) in the eighteenth century inevitably employ the myth about the porter, with direct quotation or at least the obvious influence of *Hudibras*. Ellis Veryard in his account of travels on the Continent records seeing the statue of “the late famous Physician and Chyrurgeon *Gabriel Tagliacozzo*” at the University of Bologna,

who is said to have had the Secret of supplying noses, Lips, Ears, and  
other mutilated Members; to which purpose he has publish’d his

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<sup>22</sup> ‘Dissertation’, sig. A7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Steele and Addison, *The Tatler* 260 (5–7 December 1710), 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

*Chirurgia Curtorum*, where he tells us a Story of a certain Gentleman that lost his Nose in a Rancounter, and had it supply'd by him with a piece of Flesh cut from another Man's Back-side, and so artificially chap'd and join'd that any one would have taken it for natural; but that the Fellow, from whom it was taken, happening to die some time after, the Gentleman's Nose rotted off by sympathy.<sup>26</sup>

He then quotes the relevant lines from *Hudibras*, as did William Bromley in 1691.<sup>27</sup>

Thomas Salmon lifted Veryard's account almost verbatim, including the quotation from Butler, in 1731, and Charles Thompson also used Butler to gloss his account of a visit to Bologna in 1752.<sup>28</sup> *Hudibras* continued to be a standard inclusion in *Lancet* authors' discussions of rhinoplasty throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Though it was by this time usually cited with amused skepticism, the story of the 'sympathetic snout' remained the key association of rhinoplasty.

It seems safe to suggest that most people would only have heard of Tagliacozzi through Butler's poem. This can be partially accounted for by the limited print run, in Latin, of Tagliacozzi's text; far more people would have read *Hudibras* than would have

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<sup>26</sup> Veryard, *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks, As Well Geographical, As Historical, Political, Mathematical, Physical, And Moral; Taken in a Journey Through the Low-Countries, France, Italy, and part of Spain; With the Isles of Sicily and Malta* (London: 1701), 144–145.

<sup>27</sup> Bromley, *Remarks on the Grand Tour of France and Italy. Perform'd by a Person of Quality, in the Year 1691* (London: 1705), 88–89.

<sup>28</sup> Salmon, *Modern History: or, The Present State of all Nations* (Dublin: 1731), III.927; Thompson, *The Travels of the Late Charles Thompson, Esq; Containing His Observations on France, Italy, Turkey in Europe, the Holy Land, Arabia, Egypt, and Many Other Parts of the World*, Three Volumes (London: 1752), I.96.

<sup>29</sup> See for example: 'St Thomas's Hospital', *The Lancet* 1.6 (1823): 204–205; Robert Liston, 'Reunion of Divided Parts—Reconstruction of the Nose', *The Lancet* 24.606 (1835): 40–43; John Houston, 'A Lecture on the Modern Improvements in Surgery', *The Lancet* 44.1113 (1844): 393–400; 'Report of the Clinical Society of London', *The Lancet* 109. 2806 (1877): 841–844; 'Plastic Surgery', *The Lancet* 165.4256 (1905): 806–807.

had access to *De curtorum chirurgia*. One result of *Hudibras'* omnipresence in reference to Tagliacozzi was that eighteenth-century annotators of the text were the only ones to use any imagination in explicating Tagliacozzi's biography. In an edition published in 1732, the editor explains that, "This *Taliacotius* was chief Surgeon to the Great Duke of *Tuscany*," who "found out a Way to repair lost and decay'd Noses":

[he] wrote a Treatise, *De Curtis Membris*, which he dedicates to this great Master, wherein he not only declares the Models of his wonderful Operations in restoring of lost Members, but gives you Cuts of the very Instruments and Ligatures he made use of therein; from hence our Author (*cum Poetica Licentia*) has taken his *Simile*.<sup>30</sup>

This edition was reprinted a number of times during the century, without amendment to the footnote which, as Gnudi and Webster point out, contains significant "misstatements of fact, beside which poetical license pales" in its misidentification of Tagliacozzi's position, his book's title, and the target of its dedication.<sup>31</sup>

The reconstruction of the syphilitic's nose is repeatedly cast as an attempt to conceal the patient's history of venereal disease. Health is itself a privileged category, but the now absolute connection between the pox and sexual impropriety fixed the disease as a moral concern. Tagliacozzi thus recurs throughout this period in jokes about the passing of a character for healthy, and thus morally respectable. Syphilis was overwhelmingly diagnosed through a person's nose; thus, the new nose could be considered alongside all

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<sup>30</sup> Butler, *Hudibras. In Three Parts. Written in the Time of the Late Wars* (Dublin: 1732), 29–30<sup>n</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>31</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 298 (quoting the 1775 edition).



of the other purchased body parts that both women and men were thought to employ in order to pass as virtuous and wholesome. As with the exposures of these deceptive practices in prostitution texts such as *News from Whetstones Parke* and *The London Jilt*, Taliacotian noses are often written as humourously self-revealing: as in *Hudibras*, the patient's "sympathetic snout" must ultimately "drop", and expose them. In several texts, the failure of these noses to enable their new owners to pass actually predates their dropping. The defeat is often achieved through racial means. In the *Tatler* article, for example, a Portuguese man, whose "Complexion was a little upon the Subfusk, with very black Eyes and dark Eyebrows" has the misfortune to receive the skin of a porter "that had a white *German* Skin, and cut out of those Parts that are not exposed to the Sun, it was very visible that the Features of his Face were not Fellows".<sup>32</sup> The doctor therefore,

got together a great Collection of Porters, Men of all Complexions, black, brown, fair, dark, sallow, pale, and ruddy; so that it was impossible for a Patient of the most out-of-the-way Colour not to find a Nose to his Liking.<sup>33</sup>

This and other elements of the article are repeated in the 'Dissertation', with some variations (for example, the patient is now Spanish). The 'Dissertation' also added illustrations of the different noses available, including one that clearly shows a very white nose on a dark-skinned gentleman's face.<sup>34</sup> The particular attacking of men of colour, or inferior 'complexions', in these pamphlets highlights the 'sympathetic snout's' affiliation

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<sup>32</sup> *Tatler* 260, 1; original emphasis.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Sig. A7<sup>v</sup>.

with much broader racist and nationalist discourses that had been attached to syphilis throughout its history. The recasting of the patient held up to derision as Spanish in 1733, for example, is probably the result of the residual Anglo-Spanish tension that followed the Treaty of Seville (1729), and which culminated in the so-called War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1748). Sexual shame is here linked to racial shame, as the “subfusk” Portugese or Spaniard attempts to pass for healthy through the body of a white man. Addison and Steele allege that Tagliacozzi's customers are overwhelmingly Continental: “It is reported, That *Talicotius* had at one Time in his House Twelve *German* Counts, Ninteen [sic] *French* Marquisses, and a Hundred Spanish *Cavaliers*, besides One solitary *English* Esquire”.<sup>35</sup> The “solitary” Englishman is more specifically a gullible young country gentleman, who is quickly seduced by “the Beauties of the Play-house”.<sup>36</sup> He is deliberately anomalous, as he is described as “so very irregular, and relaps[ing] so frequently into the Distemper... that in the Space of two Years he wore out five Noses”; Addison and Steele hold him up as a moral example to the “young Men of this Town” to beware London's “Sirens”.<sup>37</sup>

Early stories stipulated that Tagliacozzi sourced his graft from a slave. This did not necessarily suggest any particular ethnic group (and thus skin colour for the graft) in this period, although the Slav lands were the primary source of slaves for Italian traders between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.<sup>38</sup> From the second half of the fifteenth century, Sub-Saharan African slaves appeared more frequently; however, they never

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<sup>35</sup> *Tatler* 260, 2; original emphasis.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Robin Blackburn, *The Making of Modern Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492–1800* (London and New York: Verso, 1997), 54.

“constitute[d] more than a small minority of any slave population in a city of northern Italy”, and their presence in southern Italy decreased rapidly from the sixteenth century as the market shifted to the New World.<sup>39</sup>

The incompatibility of differently-raced bodies arises in both medical and more popular discourses in the period. For example, a poem by Thomas Jordan, ‘To a Blackamoor that married a deformed Spanish woman, and was jealous of an English Gentlemen’, addresses the question of offspring.<sup>40</sup> In this poem, the Englishman berates “Black *Don de Negroe*” for supposing that he would deign to commit adultery with his dark-skinned wife,

When, (Heaven knows) ‘tis such a Creature, none  
But one that doubts the Resurrection  
Would meddle with; a face Men flye in drink...  
...[a] strange muddy medly of things horrid[.]  
...Dost think I’ll deal in Charcole? smack a smother?  
And dig in one hell to deserve another?<sup>41</sup>

Though the title states that she is “deformed”, the Englishman’s abuse rests entirely on her colouring, noting that intimacy would be like kissing black smoke (“smack[ing] a smother”). Most particularly, he argues that any child begot between them would be “a py’d Kitling with a dappled face... / A speckled spawn... joy twisted with disaster / Or jert

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<sup>39</sup> Sally McKee, ‘Domestic Slavery in Renaissance Italy’, *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 29.3 (2008), 311–312.

<sup>40</sup> Jordan, *The Muses Melody* (London: 1680), sigs. B5<sup>v</sup>–B6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B5<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

[jet] congregate with Alabaster".<sup>42</sup> Though one cannot take this piece of vitriolic trash *too* seriously, it nevertheless presents an interesting biological situation in which the parents' different skin-tones refuse to mix in the child—they are, he suggests, too different. The result will be a "py'd" or piebald child (now also known as partial albinism), examples of whom he may well have seen exhibited in London.<sup>43</sup> The difference between bodies was more than skin deep, as is evident in contemporary discussions about the different effects of diseases among different peoples; the pox, for example, was sometimes said to be gentler on natives of the New World, where it was supposed to have originated.<sup>44</sup>

The lack of attention that early accounts of Taliacotian allografts actually pay to the colour of the slave's skin (in contrast to the later English satires) may suggest that it was close enough to be immaterial to the graft's aesthetic success. But it may also indicate—especially for those grafts that focus on the flesh, rather than the skin—that a difference in skin tone was not the primary issue. What mattered in the use of the slave's flesh was that it represented the ultimate imposition upon another's body. But what is then remarkable is that these slaves, whose bodies were, in theory, entirely within their master's control, were paid with freedom. Manumission was not uncommon in Italy, either as payment for long-term service, or within the conditions of a master's will, but the freed slaves of living masters were usually held within a system of *patronatus*; they

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Piebaldism became more prominent in the eighteenth century, perhaps in part due to increased contact with black slaves: see for example Jessie Dobson, 'Mary Sabina, The Variegated Damsel', *Annals of The Royal College of Surgeons of England* 22.4 (1958): 273–278. On black people, and theories of blackness in early modern England, see Imtiaz H. Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

<sup>44</sup> See Bright's lengthy discussion on the matter, at sigs., B8<sup>r</sup>–C5<sup>r</sup>.

were required to continue working in the household for a specific period of time.<sup>45</sup> That the slave who provided the flesh from the graft was apparently freed so unconditionally as to allow him to leave Italy, suggests an acknowledgement, at least intratextually, that this form of bodily commodification transgressed even the limits of acceptable demands upon the slave body.

Allograft stories are unequivocal in classing the nose as still a part of the source body, rather than the recipient's. Moreover, neither the new owner of the nose, nor the original, could be said to fully control the flesh. More widespread belief in the idea that flesh could act independently to the individual's will, or carried memory, is apparent in concerns over the weaknesses and temptations to which it could succumb.<sup>46</sup> This was particularly so for women, who were considered to be far more at the mercy of their uncontrollable bodies; the flesh of a lustful widow, for example, was held to be tormented by the memory of marital sex. As *The London Jilt's* Cornelia says, to explain her mother's retention of a money-sucking stallion, they are weak, because "their Flesh [is] too Lustful, through the remembrance of past Delights".<sup>47</sup> Ward also records a widow troubled by "such an unseasonable Rebellion in the Flesh" in *London Terræfilius*.<sup>48</sup> In *Hudibras*, as in most other accounts of Taliacotian rhinoplasty, this tension is placed within the discourse of sympathy. Proponents of sympathy maintained that detached body parts and products

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<sup>45</sup> McKee, 312.

<sup>46</sup> Beliefs about memory held in transplanted organs still exist; this was explored, for example, in the 2009 documentary *Heartbreak Science*.

<sup>47</sup> *London Jilt*, 76.

<sup>48</sup> Sig. i.C4<sup>v</sup>.

could communicate with and/or impact upon the body whole from a distance. Like the widow's lust, or disease, sympathy suggested a loss of control over one's own body.

Van Helmont and other writers brought sympathy to prominence in the seventeenth century as a philosophy of medicine, though it was always controversial. The principle could be applied in a variety of different ways. Van Helmont wrote that a doctor might, for example, treat a patient in isolation by working on a sample of his or her blood, or cease milk production in a mother weaning her child by pouring some of it onto a fire.<sup>49</sup> Others, he warned, might utilise the phenomenon to less amiable effect; for example, he advised that if anyone

Hath... with his excrements defiled the threshold of thy doore, and thou intendest to prohibit that nastinesse for the future, doe but lay a red-hot iron upon the excrement, and the immodest sloven shall, in a very short space, grow scabby on his buttocks: the fire torrifying the excrement, and by *dorsall Magnetisme* driving the acrimony of the burning, into his impudent anus.<sup>50</sup>

Sympathy not only brought the control of the body into question, but also physiologised the extent of its alienability.

In the seventeenth-century, sympathetic cures were most prominently at work in treatments targeting a weapon that had wounded the patient. The 'spirit' within the blood might be brought under control again if the weapon had been—in a sense—punished. Fludd's *Answer to M. Foster* (1631) was an extensive defense of the doctrine in

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<sup>49</sup> Sig. C4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Sigs. C4<sup>v</sup>–D1<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

reply to William Foster's *Hoplocrisma Spongus, or A Sponge to Wipe Away the Weapon Salve* (1631). Fludd provided numerous examples of such 'weapon salve' cures, and used it to explain popular phenomena such as the belief that a corpse would bleed in the presence of his or her murderer.<sup>51</sup> In this pamphlet, Fludd was required to defend sympathetic medicine from allegations of unholy association. Thus, in addition to including a version of the 'sympathetic snout' story, Fludd credited the well-respected Sir Walter Raleigh with sympathetic powers. According to Fludd, Raleigh was able to "suddenly stop the bleeding of any person (albeit hee were farre and remote from the party) if he had a handkirchers, or some other piece of linnen dipped in some of the blood of the party sent unto him".<sup>52</sup> That he did so without shame or qualm, Fludd reasoned, should be evidence enough for any rational mind that his powers owed nothing to improper forces.<sup>53</sup>

Fludd's account of the 'sympathetic snout' contrasted the *success* of an autograft with a failed allograft. Here, he argued, was irrefutable evidence of the agency of sympathetic communication:

The slave being healed and rewarded, was manumitted, or set at liberty, and away he went to Naples. It happened, that the slave fell sicke and dyed, at which instant, the Lords nose did gangrenate and rot; whereupon the part of the nose which hee had of the dead man, was by the Doctors advice cut away, and hee being animated by the foresaid

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<sup>51</sup> Sig. P2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Sig. S2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

experience, followed the advice of the same Physician, which was to wound in like manner his owne arme, and to apply it to his wounded and mutilated nose, and to endure with patience, till all was compleate as before. He with animosity [i.e. spirit] & patience, did undergoe the brunt, and so his nose continued with him untill his death.<sup>54</sup>

Following the death of the slave, he reasons, “neither the tall Hills of Hetruria; nor yet the high Appenine mountaines could stop the concourse and motion of these two spirits, or rather one spirit continued in two bodies, as a line being stretched out from two extremes, of so farre a distance.”<sup>55</sup> The Calabrian philosopher Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) also concerned himself with the question of whose spirit or soul was contained within the grafted flesh. He evidently believed the ‘sympathetic snout’ story, stating that he had seen many noses that had been re-made by the Calabrians of Tropea, but warning that the graft must be taken from the patient’s own body. Reflecting on the ‘sympathetic snout’s’ demise, he wrote, “Of whose soul was the [re-made] part of the nose living, of the slave, or of the master? If of the master, why did it die when the slave died? If of the slave, why did it continue to live away from him, since any members cut off perish?”<sup>56</sup> Campanella concluded that possession of the graft must be transferred to the recipient, contrasting the “worm” in the belly that remained an entirely alien body.

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<sup>54</sup> Sigs. S2<sup>v</sup>–S3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Sig. S3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> In Gnudi and Webster, 286.



Nevertheless, he believed unequivocally the story that “should the other person die, the portion of the nose made from his arm dies”.<sup>57</sup>

Sympathy is the primary theme of the anonymous ‘Dissertation on Noses’; the pamphlet is, in the end, an advertisement for sympathy-based medicines. The ‘Dissertation’ was published with two other short works in which a small dose of science is extended through droll satire: ‘The Travels of a Shilling, from Q[ueen] Elizabeth’s Time, to K[ing] Geo[rge] Ild’s Reign’, and an exploration of the migratory patterns of birds between Earth and the moon.<sup>58</sup> The pamphlet is an advertisement for “Dr. *Chamberlen’s* Famous Anodyne Necklace For Children’s Teeth, FITS, *Fevers, Convulsions, &c*”, which relied on the same principle of “*Sympathetic Influence*” as purported to be demonstrated in the stories of donors’ distant effects upon their noses.<sup>59</sup> The necklace also features as the happy final purchase of the travelling shilling. Anodyne necklaces were popular for both teething toddlers and venereal diseases during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>60</sup> They are frequently referenced in visual representations of venereal diseases, such as in the fifth plate of Hogarth’s *A Harlot’s Progress*, where an advertising pamphlet lies near the dying Moll.<sup>61</sup>

It is in discussions of these necklaces that the anti-Popish element of sympathy criticism is sometimes made explicit; the attribution of special powers to distant parts of

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> The destination of migratory birds was a question that had occupied the English for a long time, and the moon was offered as one suggestion by Dryden in *The Hind and the Panther* (1687): Francis Doherty, *A Study in Eighteenth-Century Advertising Methods: The Anodyne Necklace* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon, 1992), 241.

<sup>59</sup> Sig. A1<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>60</sup> Doherty, 91.

<sup>61</sup> Hogarth, 138; Porter, *Bodies Politic*, 15.

the body smacked for some of the veneration of holy relics. Van Helmont had in fact compared the power of sympathy utilised in weapon-salve cures and the healing properties of relics in *De magnetica vulnerum curatione*, for which he was accused of heresy.<sup>62</sup> Francis Doherty records a “bitter war for control of the [sympathetic medicine] market” in 1717, in which one supplier was evidently accused of deriving his treatments from “Dead People’s Skulls”.<sup>63</sup> This was, the supplier wrote,

A rare Artifice! a choice Preface, an Introduction to a Belief of Romish Tales! No wonder the Relicks of their Saints are held in such Estimation, when the Skulls of indifferent Persons can effectually remove all manner of Ailments in Old and Young, and be instrumental in the Cure of Clap and Pox.<sup>64</sup>

These “cures”, and the reconstruction of the nose, are also tied by other post-Reformation English satires to the shamefully commoditised version of salvation offered by ‘vile Popery’ through the purchase of relics, pardons and indulgences.<sup>65</sup>

Sympathy had always been a controversial doctrine, but in the early eighteenth century it was increasingly relegated to the realms of quackery. Van Helmont was sneered at by a chronicler from London’s Royal College of Physicians as “childishly credulous”, and derided for “those dreams, and doting fantasies, with which in obscurity he amused his rambling imagination, that render him... an object of contempt”.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the

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<sup>62</sup> Waddell, 190–191.

<sup>63</sup> Doherty, 45.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>65</sup> See eg. Ward, *London Terræfilius*, sig. i.B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> H. Pemberton, *The Dispensatory of the Royal College of Physicians, London* (London: 1746), 31.

prominence of the Taliacotian ‘sympathetic snout’ brought sympathy into the sphere of satire, as this system of physical supercommunication hyperbolised, at the same time as it physiologised, the communicative potential of the emotion.

Despite the ‘Dissertation’ neglecting to mention venereal disease of any kind, anodyne necklaces were by this period fairly synonymous with that ailment, and Dr Chamberlen might reasonably suppose that some of his patients would not be infants.<sup>67</sup> The author’s oblique references to venereal complaints continue with his remark that Tagliacozzi’s “House” became “a kind of Hospital for the *Fashionable* Cripples of both Sexes”, drawing upon the characterisation of syphilis as the “*alamode* disease”, while also directly plagiarising from the *Tatler’s* description.<sup>68</sup>

The purchase of flesh to reconstruct the nose required an explicit commoditisation of the body, which aligned it with the purchase of inalienable bodily products in prostitution. As with the shame-based economy’s revaluation of supposedly valueless products within prostitution, the valuation performed within this exchange defied dominant cultural ideologies, in granting substantial value to products that were otherwise useless. Contrary to Shylock’s opinion, a piece of “fair flesh” was now, as a literal object, worth a slave’s unconditional freedom.

A range of human body products was sold in the early modern period. The commoditisation of the body produced by the transplantation of flesh for the reconstruction of a pocky patient was therefore not entirely unique. Commercialising

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<sup>67</sup> As their use in images like Hogarth’s shows. Doherty also notes a pattern of necklace advertisements appearing alongside treatises on venereal disease, even when the necklace itself is not specified as targeting that ailment (53 and *passim*).

<sup>68</sup> ‘Dissertation’, sig. A7<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis. For the characterisation of syphilis as the ‘*a la mode* disease’, see for example Dunton’s *Bumography*. For other examples see Williams, 12–13.

body parts is the hyperbolic epitome of “base brokerage” in John Marston’s *The Scourge of Villainie* (1599). The profligate heir would sell the lead that covers his father’s coffin, “that strangers eyes may greeete / Both putrefaction of [his] greedy Sire, / And [his] aborred viperous desire”, and would ultimately even “Weare [the] Sires halfe-rot finger in his hat” for decoration.<sup>69</sup> Yet Louise Noble writes of the diverse uses of “mummia” (broadly, mummified bodily excrements) for medical purposes during the period.<sup>70</sup> The effectiveness of mummy was often explained in terms of sympathy, as in van Helmont’s discussion in *De Magnetica*, and it featured in weapon-salve recipes.<sup>71</sup> The circulation of saints’ relics was another area in which human body parts were explicitly bought and sold. However, since the flesh required by Tagliacozzi needed to be alive, the exchange for which he became infamous was more akin to that of the hair-seller, wet nurse or live-tooth seller, whose positions were to grow increasingly problematic over the eighteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Ward’s uneasiness with the thriving turn-of-the-century market for live hair is evident in *The London Spy*, where he worried about the ubiquity of advertisements for “*Money for Live Hair, upon [each] Barbers Window.*”<sup>73</sup>

Cultural narratives of this period hold that such items were never fully alienated from their source. Moreover, they carried the power to communicate the qualities of their

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<sup>69</sup> Marston, *The Scourge of Villainie*, ed. G. B. Harrison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), ‘Satyre III’, lines 16–21.

<sup>70</sup> Noble, *Medical Cannibalism in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>71</sup> Van Helmont, sig. D1<sup>r</sup>; Hedrick, 162.

<sup>72</sup> Mark Blackwell examines the transplantation of human teeth in the late eighteenth century: “‘Extraneous Bodies’: The Contagion of Live-Tooth Transplantation in Late-Eighteenth-Century England”, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28.1 (2004): 21-68. On wet-nursing see Marilyn Yalom, *The History of the Breast* (New York: Knopf, 1997), 105–115. On the cultural significance of hair, see Angela Rosenthal, ‘Raising Hair’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38.1 (2004), 1–16.

<sup>73</sup> Ward, sig. v.H8<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

source body to their recipients. Elias Henckel warned that “Drinking the blood of a criminal who has been beheaded is likely to result in the acquisition of his criminal character and the pursuit of a career of crime”, while Robert Boyle, in writing to Dr Richard Lower about the progress of the Royal Society’s experiments with dog blood transfusions, wondered “whether the blood of a mastiff, being frequently transferred into a bloodhound, or a spaniel, will not prejudice them in point of scent”.<sup>74</sup> Breast milk was also thought to carry with it the qualities of the woman producing it, adding pressure to parents in regard to their selection of wetnurse.<sup>75</sup> The significance of removed hair in this period may also be nuanced when regard is given to the examples of pubic hair collection cited in *The Wandring Whore*, and Stone’s case of the Norwich swingers.<sup>76</sup> While these instances may be cases of shameful revaluation, the collection of locks of head hair from loved ones had long been a custom of courtship or mourning. As Nehemiah Grew bemoaned, “One Curle, sometimes, like a Screw, will work its way into a Heart of Oak. A Lock of Hair, will draw more than a Cable-Rope”; their status as inalienable possessions enhances their exchange value.<sup>77</sup>

The sale of the flesh debases the lower class porters who commoditise their bodies for the sake of squeamish nobles. But the transaction also exposes the nobles’ dependence on the porters: they are shamefully at the mercy of their commodities. This situation parallels the commodification of flesh integral to prostitution, and the shameful

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<sup>74</sup> Noble, *Medical Cannibalism*, 31; Titmuss, 17.

<sup>75</sup> Yalom, 106–107.

<sup>76</sup> Garfield, sig. v. A4<sup>r-v</sup>; Stone, 514.

<sup>77</sup> Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra: Or a Discourse of the Universe as it is the Creature and Kingdom of God* (London: 1701), 64.

dependence it rendered within the customer. Addison and Steele include a story of “Three *Spaniards*, whose Noses were all made out of the same Piece of Brawn”—that is, the same porter’s backside.<sup>78</sup> One day the three gentlemen felt their noses painfully “shoot and swell extremely”; upon investigation, they found that the porter had been beaten up, and that thus the injuries sustained by his rump had been sympathetically transmitted to their noses. The three men therefore track down the perpetrator of the attack, and deal with “him in the same Manner as if the Indignity had been done to their own Noses”.<sup>79</sup> Addison and Steele conclude this episode by joking that “In this and several other Cases it might be said, That the Porters led the Gentlemen by the Nose”.<sup>80</sup> But the tension in this joke exposes an unfortunate side-effect of the transplantation, in that the Spanish noblemen are forever linked, and moreover “led by” their noses’ “Original Proprietor”—a man base enough to sell his own flesh.

Such anxieties around the procedure manifested themselves in ever-more detailed accounts. Carolus Musitanus recorded another story of a man too afraid to blow his new nose, lest it fall off; his physician reassured (and surprised) him by grasping him by the nose and marching him around the room.<sup>81</sup> In a mid-eighteenth-century satire on artificial beautifiers, ‘Madame Roxana Termagant’ hyperbolically proclaims that she has procured the services of “a great grand-daughter of Professor TALIACOTIUS, who pares, scrapes, grinds, and new models overgrown noses, cuts off crooked or flat ones to the stumps, and ingrafts new ones on the roots of them from an Italian’s snow-white posteriors, who has

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<sup>78</sup> *Tatler* 260, 2; original emphasis.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 284.

been fed with nothing but white bread and milk, purely for this purpose.”<sup>82</sup> When Voltaire translated the Tagliacozzi episode from *Hudibras*, he added his own twist to the ending. He concluded that after the man from whom the graft had been taken died, and the nose had subsequently fallen off, it would then be reattached to the man’s backside, and buried with him.<sup>83</sup> Since Voltaire does not mention any reshaping of the flesh to its original state, we can assume that he intends the grotesque image of a nose sticking out from the man’s buttocks. His account might have been influenced by the *Tatler’s* discussion of *Hudibras* and Tagliacozzi, which also stated that “it was always usual to return the Nose, in order to have it interred with its first Owner”.<sup>84</sup> This version of events reiterated the ‘true’ identity of the flesh; that is, that it unequivocally still belongs to the original owner, and was thus inalienable.

Gnudi and Webster interpret Butler’s crediting of Taliacotian noses to “the brawny part of Porter’s Bum” as a relatively simple decision to utilise “that part which has eternal comic appeal to mankind, his *derrière*”.<sup>85</sup> I would argue, however, that this use of the most shameful part of the body added to the stigmatisation of the procedure. It drew on traditional links between the face and the genitals, which particularly in darker satirical works incorporated the anus and buttocks. An anal/vaginal confluence especially occurs as a crude scatological marker of misogynist disgust, such as in Garfield’s description of “Satchel C—[,] *Greens* wife who has both holes broken into one”, and the “fierce intestine

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<sup>82</sup> *Have At You All: Or, the Drury-Lane Journal* (London: 1752), sig. S2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Voltaire, *The Works of M. de Voltaire* (London: 1770), Volume 12, 168.

<sup>84</sup> *Tatler* 260, 2.

<sup>85</sup> Gnudi and Webster, 297.

bustle” of “*Warring Tarse*” in Rochester’s ‘In the Fields of Lincolns Inn’.<sup>86</sup> A.D. Harvey has suggested that the increasing visibility of sodomites (primarily through publicised legal cases) and flagellation as a sexual practise may have led to an increased perception of the sexual significance of the male buttocks from the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>87</sup> The association of the face and genital region was also evident in long-standing beliefs about the capacity of bystanders to guess at a person’s hidden genitals from their visible facial features.<sup>88</sup> The transplantation of the backside to the face literalised these links.

The satirical linking of Taliacotian noses with the buttocks is occasionally more oblique. Tagliacozzi was more subtly introduced into James Smith’s mock-epic *The Loves of Hero and Leander*, which was printed anonymously in 1653 as part of a collection of verses attacking Davenant’s *Gondibert* (1651).<sup>89</sup> This highly absurd, and broadly-speaking pornographic riff on the popular story shamefully implicates Tagliacozzi in an ignominious realm of bodily excrements (“flegme”—a throat “Oyster”—faeces, urine), and crudely-described sexual intercourse and masturbation.<sup>90</sup> After his ill-fated swim, the prone Leander is approached by a curious Watchman, “with bill so brown”, who goes by the

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<sup>86</sup> Garfield, sig. i.B2<sup>r</sup>; Rochester, lines 275–276, original emphasis. For the scatology of this and other of Rochester’s poems, see Peter J. Smith, ‘The Wronged Breeches: Cavalier Scatology’, in *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology*, ed. Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 154–172. For its debated attribution to Rochester, see Harold Love, ed., *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>87</sup> A.D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England: Attitudes and Prejudices from the 1720s to the 1820s* (London: Phoenix, 2001), 38

<sup>88</sup> See above, page 196.

<sup>89</sup> *Certain Verses Written By Severall of the Authours Friends; To Be Re-printed with the Second Edition of Gondibert. With Hero and Leander the mock Poem* (London: 1653). This poem, as Nevitt argues, serves predominantly to satirise the syphilitically-noseless Davenant for the perceived weakening of his Royalist loyalties, and the “fragmentary nature” of his poetic attempts: “Davenant and his book”, Nevitt writes, “are figured as aggregates of detachable bits and incomplete pieces” (295).

<sup>90</sup> Sigs. B2<sup>r</sup>, B4<sup>r</sup>.



name of Warton.<sup>91</sup> The “bill” in this passage is a deliberate pun; the brown bill was the Watch’s standard weapon during this period, while here it also refers to the watchman’s nose.<sup>92</sup> Warton, “[running] at *Leander* with his bill”, apparently trips:

He lifts up bill to cleave a rock,

Bill fled from hands, Nose stuck in nock.

*Leander* with a start did rise,

And breaks his [Warton’s] nose fast by his eyes.<sup>93</sup>

Warton’s nose is then stuck in Leander’s buttocks until after Leander has sex with Hero. Then, in a moment of post-coital relaxation, “Out flew the nose with such a thump, / That *Heroes* [sic] Father in next room, / Did leave his bed and in did come”.<sup>94</sup> When Warton and the other watchmen arrive to demand the nose, Hero’s father—like Marston’s profligate—has it pinned in his hat like a token of victory. Failing to wrestle it from him, the noseless man is transformed through the “pity of the Gods” into an owl, so that his shameful flat face will never be exposed to daylight.<sup>95</sup>

Following this transformation, Warton is said to have “clapt his wings and flue to *Tod*”, where “*Tod*” is glossed as “A famous Surgeon in his time”.<sup>96</sup> The most likely contender for this position is Tagliacozzi, although the abbreviation used is unusual.

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<sup>91</sup> Sig. C2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> ‘bill, n.1, 2a and 2b’. *OED Online*, Oxford University Press  
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/18986?rskey=8Nke45&result=2&isAdvanced=false>, accessed 20 August 2011.

<sup>93</sup> Sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> Sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Sig. C7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Sig. D1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Sig. D1<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

Warton's tracking of his nose also makes more sense if we can consider that the author was familiar with the Taliacotian myth, and thus the sympathetic communication thought to occur between the nose and its original owner. A Taliacotian influence would also explain why the nose is specifically lost in Leander's backside.

Davenant inspired another particularly striking, and as yet unrecognised, riff on the Taliacotian myth. This is contained in a poem by the Hertfordshire noblewoman, Lady Hester Pulter (1607–1678), entitled 'To Sr. W. D. Upon the unspeakable Loss of the most conspicuous and chief Ornament of his Frontispiece'.<sup>97</sup> The poem appears in the manuscript collection *Poems Breathed Forth by the Noble Hadassas*, which seems to have been compiled between 1645 and 1665.<sup>98</sup> The manuscript was only discovered in the mid-1990s by Mark Robson, who suggests that many of the poems appear to have been written during Pulter's periods of confinement.<sup>99</sup> This would date them to approximately 1625 to 1648, though Elizabeth Clarke notes that some of the poems can be dated to the 1660s.<sup>100</sup> Concern for her children's welfare, and Pulter's Royalist politics form the two major themes of the volume.<sup>101</sup> 'To Sr. W. D.' can be reliably dated to after 1643, since the second line references Parliament's removal of Cheapside Cross in that year, and Marcus

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<sup>97</sup> There is some debate about her date of birth, since there are no official documents and clues within her poems provide some conflicting evidence: Elizabeth Clarke, 'Hester Pulter's 'Poems Breathed forth By The Noble Hadassas' Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection MS Lt q 32.', in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*, ed. Jill Seal Millman and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 112. Nevitt has discussed this poem and its connection to Davenant, but without reference to its place in the Tagliacozzi 'canon'.

<sup>98</sup> Mark Robson, 'Pulter, Lady Hester (1595/6–1678).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68094>, accessed 13 August 2011.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Clarke, 112.

<sup>101</sup> Clarke, 111.

Nevitt dates it to after Davenant's 1652 release from the Tower of London, where he had been held for his Royalism.<sup>102</sup>

Davenant had contracted the pox in the late 1620s or early 1630s (in 1633 he refers to himself as a "long-sick Poet") and in the 1630s he was famously noseless.<sup>103</sup> He was treated with the customary salivation by the Queen's physician, Dr. Thomas Cademan (whose widow he later married), and addressed public poems of thanks to him that conceded his receipt of "*Deuill Mercurie*", and thus acknowledged the venereal nature of his distemper.<sup>104</sup> As Nevitt explains, Davenant's nose became a popular target for people attacking his political or literary habits.<sup>105</sup> John Aubrey alleged that Davenant had "gott a terrible clap of a Black handsome wench... which cost him his Nose", and Mary Edmond credits Davenant himself as Aubrey's source for this information.<sup>106</sup> Suckling's attribution of Davenant's noselessness to a "foolish mischance / That he had got lately travelling in *France*" plays on the pox's popular denomination as the 'French disease'.<sup>107</sup> Davenant's "notched" nose was to become the most common joke levelled at him, and is clearly visible in the only known portrait of Davenant, by John Greenhill, which was engraved by William Faithorne and included with Davenant's posthumous complete works in 1673.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Nevitt, 287.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 287, 304.

<sup>104</sup> Mary Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 45–46.

<sup>105</sup> Nevitt, 295 and *passim*.

<sup>106</sup> In Williams, 957; Edmond, 44. For a discussion about whether this prostitute was black, or merely black-haired, see Habib, 157–159.

<sup>107</sup> Sig. A4<sup>v</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>108</sup> Edmond, 'Davenant, Sir William (1606–1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7197>, accessed 12 February 2011.

In 'To Sir W.D.', the staunchly Royalist Pulter was primarily attacking Davenant for what she perceived was an increasing likelihood that he would defect to serve the Parliamentarians.<sup>109</sup> Here, sexual honour is tied to political honour, with the corruption in Davenant's nose at risk of spreading to his "Fame [and] Brains", as he may "Trample... that Honour in the Dust / In beeing a Slave to those are Slaves to Lust".<sup>110</sup> After losing his nose to seduction, his next episode ("Some Coy young Lass") might take his mind: Pulter references the episode in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, where the eponymous hero is jilted by his beloved, Angelica, in favour of an African soldier, Medore.<sup>111</sup> Orlando loses his wits, and can only recover them after his friend Astolpho collects them from the moon, where they sit in a jar, and forces Orlando to snort them. Pulter reminds Davenant that he will have no such recourse: "You could not then snuf up your Brain / Though all your strenght [sic] you should expose / [Since] You want the Organe cal'd a Nose".<sup>112</sup>

Pulter suggests that she is currently "unknown" to Davenant, but the reports she has heard have moved her "extreamly".<sup>113</sup> "In pittty", she says,

I think noe man  
But would his Leg or Arm expose  
To cut you out another Nose  
Nor of the Female Sex thers none  
But'ld bee one flesh though not one Bone

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<sup>109</sup> Nevitt, 290

<sup>110</sup> Lines 44, 51–52.

<sup>111</sup> Nevitt, 289

<sup>112</sup> Lines 40–42.

<sup>113</sup> Lines 4, 9.

## Chapter Four

I though unknown would sleight the pain  
That you might have soe great a gain  
Nay Any Fool did he know itt  
Would give his Nose to have yo<sup>r</sup> Wit.<sup>114</sup>

Pulter's hesitation to be of the same "Bone" as Davenant may be a reference to the skeletal damage caused by syphilis, which as "rotting shins" was almost as proverbial as the missing nose: *The Country Gentleman's Vade Mecum* (1699) notes of women sunk through pox to street prostitution that "they can inform you sufficiently, or else you may read it in their Looks; their very Legs will direct that they have Rid hard in former times".<sup>115</sup> The holey stockings worn by Moll's syphilitic bunter in the Bridewell scene of *A Harlot's Progress* may also suggest this symptom.<sup>116</sup>

Pulter refers to the strain of Taliacotian mythology that stipulated that the donor would actually "give his [own] nose" to the unfortunate patient. For Pulter, this remedy presented additional problems, since the donation of her own nose would leave her open to the charge that she herself had lost that member to the pox: only God, "that Bright eye above / Would know twere Charity not Love".<sup>117</sup> "Love" is here a euphemism for sexual intercourse and venereal disease. Pulter's compromise is that Davenant "Excuse my Nose [and] accept my Leg" as a source for the skin graft.<sup>118</sup> While this may have carried some sexual connotations in itself, it is highly unlikely that there would have been a suggestion

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<sup>114</sup> Lines 4–12.

<sup>115</sup> Sig. H5<sup>v</sup>. See also Dawson, 298; Williams, 127–130, 857–858.

<sup>116</sup> Plate Four (Hogarth, 137). The syphilis of Moll's ever-present maid can be read in her missing nose, black spot, and holey shins.

<sup>117</sup> Lines 17–18.

<sup>118</sup> Line 20.

of the buttocks at this time; that first seems to have appeared in *Hudibras*. The leg, in Pulter's logic, would have been a place of the body easily covered.

Any chance that Pulter's discussion of a skin transplant is purely fantastical, or rhetorical, can be dismissed by her immediate reference to the detrimental effects of sympathy, exactly as they had been promoted in England by writers like Fludd. After Davenant has received her donation, she writes, he will need to pray for her continued good health, since his nose will expire when she does:

But yet besure both night and Day  
For mee as for your Self you pray  
For if I First should chance to goe  
To visit those sad shades below  
As my Frail Flesh there putrifies  
Your Nose noe doubt will Sympathize<sup>119</sup>

Pulter emphasises the Maussian obligation established by her gift: Davenant must now pray "For [her] as for [him] Self", as her physical safety is now in his interest. Like the Spanish noblemen who found themselves "led by the nose" by their grafts' source, Davenant will be tied through debt to his donor.<sup>120</sup>

Within the discursive tradition of Taliacotian transplants, Pulter's poem is unique in a number of ways: the flesh is to be gifted on account of Pulter's "pitty", rather than paid for in cash (for a servant) or freedom (for a slave), and in contrast to the customary male servant, Pulter is a high-ranking English woman. The fact that Pulter did not publish

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<sup>119</sup> Lines 21–26.

<sup>120</sup> *Tatler* 260, 2.

this poem also removes it from the commoditised print realm in which the other accounts of Taliacotian noses circulated.

Pulter does not state conclusively whether the new nose with which she could provide Davenant would be successful. Though she considers what his fate might be if he were to lose it again through a sympathetic dropping, her object is not primarily the effectiveness, morality or success of the Taliacotian reconstruction; she is first and foremost concerned with warning Davenant that she can only provide him with a new nose once, and that if he ruins that one through similar bad behaviour, he will lack “Nose, or Fame [good reputation], or Brains.”<sup>121</sup> This bad behaviour is coded in Pulter’s poem as both moral *and* political foolishness.

Pulter’s reticence nevertheless demonstrates that there is still more to these exchanges than the problem of paid-for flesh. Even when the graft is gifted, it is still to be used to enable the problematic reclamation of “Fame”. Medical hesitation to engage with Tagliacozzi’s technology may well have reflected this problem, which would only increase in the “medical marketplace” of the eighteenth-century, in which as Roy Porter notes, “healing was practiced more as a trade than as a profession.”<sup>122</sup> It was thus even further subject to popular prejudices and moral concerns. Rhinoplasty became a type of medical knowledge that was itself shameful.

Satirical texts about the dropping of the ‘sympathetic snout’ therefore seem to reassure the reader that the truth will out: the syphilitic who attempts to reclaim lost access to social capital through the disguising of their shameful sexual history will fail.

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<sup>121</sup> Line 44.

<sup>122</sup> Porter, ‘Laying Aside’, 51.

Jonathan Gil Harris has offered an economic reading of the pox as a “commodity” that can be exchanged in this period.<sup>123</sup> This is certainly true in its close association with a specifically economic system of sexuality—that is, prostitution. In extending Harris’ reading, however, I argue that the pox is transformed into an “inalienable possession”, the holding of which (here, negatively) affects the value of the possessor. Attempts to purchase “inalienable possessions”, as Annette B. Weiner highlights, are claims to their “honour and renown”; the acquisition of pox, on the other hand, is a claim to its shame.<sup>124</sup>

So intrinsic is the pox’s dishonouring, these texts postulate, that the patient’s attempt to *deceive* onlookers, and any surgeon’s assistance in this attempt, is shameful. This is evident when we acknowledge the large number of pamphlets that *did* provide advice on how to treat syphilis: there was a long-running search for remedies, with physicians such as Timothie Bright and John Cotta early advocates of alternatives to mercury.<sup>125</sup> Easing the suffering of venereal patients was therefore never beyond the pale.

The *reconstruction* of the nose, however, enabled the patient to pass as healthy, with all of the moral and social superiority that provided. In a slight variation on the myth in William Congreve’s *Love for Love* (1704), for example, Valentine avows to Mr Foresight that he should have “Taliacotius trim the Calves of Twenty Chairmen, and make thee Pedestals to stand erect upon, and look Matrimony in the Face”.<sup>126</sup> While alluding directly to the widely-recognised effects of syphilis on the legs, Congreve also highlights the capacity of Tagliacozzi’s skills to conceal Foresight’s extramarital misdemeanors before he

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<sup>123</sup> ‘[Po]X Marks the Spot’.

<sup>124</sup> Weiner, 35

<sup>125</sup> Cotta, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>; Bright, sig. D4<sup>r</sup>,

<sup>126</sup> Congreve, *Love for Love*, ed. M. M. Kelsall (London: Benn, 1969), IV.i.453–455.



attempts to pass with the respectable face of “Matrimony”. Irony forms the joke here, since both the audience and Valentine (who is speaking within the freedom of a feigned madness) know that it is the naïve Foresight who is the victim of an adulterous wife.

In the “Divertisements” section of *London Terræfilus*, Ward addresses the capacity of Taliacotian noses and similar falsifications to deceive onlookers. Though he does not explicitly refer to Tagliacozzi in this section, his discussion of “a certain Eminent Face changer, so highly Skill’d in the Art of *Transmutation*, that he will give a New Face for an Old one” can be read as a reference to these types of procedures.<sup>127</sup> These transformations are always designed to enable the owner of the face to pass for a higher level of respectability, and thus gain greater access to social capital:

a *Turn-Coat Rogue* may look as Honest as a *Saint*; and a *Cut-Throat Hipocrite*, according to the Mode, put on a Countenance of *Moderation*; *Bullies* may look as Stout as *Heroes*; *Whores* as Virtuous as *Angels*; and Tallow-Fac’d she *Quality* as Wholesome as their *Chamber-Maids*; *Knaves* may look like *Guides*; *Blockheads* like *Scholars*; *Dunces* like *Divines*; and *Time-serving-Tools* like *Staunch Politicians*.<sup>128</sup>

The “Tallow-Fac’d she *Quality*” are those women rendered pale, as Richard West noted in *The Court of Conscience* (1607), through being “diseased with the Poxe”.<sup>129</sup> “[I]n a little time,” Ward cautions, “we shall not be able to know the *Good* from the *Bad*; the *Wise*

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<sup>127</sup> Sig. E3<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*; original emphases.

<sup>129</sup> Williams, 112.

from the *Foolish*; or our *Friends* from our *Enemies*".<sup>130</sup> These transformations will "reconcile our Differences"; that is, he warns, they will remove any advantage held by those who can justify their superiority by birth or behaviour.

Emphasising that these faces are more than products of the cosmetics or similar bodily additions featured in the likes of *The London Jilt*, Ward specifies that they are in fact transplants; the payment that the "Face Changer" demands is the customer's old face. These "Old Countenances", in which the sins of their owners can be read, will find value as apt "Vizards... [for] the *Black Prince* and his *Smooty Retinue*, to save their handsome Faces from being Scratch'd in the Woods" while hunting.<sup>131</sup> Their shameful faces have received the same revaluation outside the "world of norms" as the body products exchanged within *The London Jilt* and other prostitution texts discussed in Chapter Two.

Even the diagnosis of pox, as some medical writers complained, could in fact be more contingent upon the status of the patient than their symptoms. The author of *Medicina Flagellata* (1721), in attacking unscrupulous medical men, mocked doctors who read the same symptoms as scurvy in "sober discreet" individuals, and as the pox in those "appearing inclined to Wantonness by reason of [their] Youth, or sly Countenance".<sup>132</sup> To borrow the vocabulary established around HIV/AIDS by the corrupt lawyer Roy Cohn in Tony Kushner's play *Angels in America*, the pox became a disease for those without

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<sup>130</sup> *London Terræfilus*, sig. E3<sup>r</sup>; original emphasis.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Medicina Flagellata: Or, the Doctor Scarify'd* (London: 1721), sig. D1<sup>v</sup>.

“clout”.<sup>133</sup> Those with sufficient access to the complex cocktail of political, social and economic power that comprised early modern “clout” could avoid the shame of the pox.

The full effect of “clout” on the reading of the syphilitic nose is apparent in differentiating the representation of two sample nose-patch-wearing individuals in mid-seventeenth century Britain. The first, as the court satire *On Several Women About Town* puts it, “was a bouncing widow with a patch on her nose, / Who loves fucking better the older she grows, / And has learned of the Tartar to frig with her toes”.<sup>134</sup> John Harold Wilson identifies this widow as Margaret Brownlow, who is elsewhere referred to as “patch Brownlo [sic],” “probably”, Wilson says, “because she wore a patch to cover a facial blemish”.<sup>135</sup> I argue, however, that as with so many other references to patched or false noses, the insinuation here is that the patch she wears covers a venereally-induced disfigurement. Brownlow’s other appearance in this set of satires is in company with her sister, Elizabeth, Lady Herbert, and they are both accused of “kindling” fires, with which they have “charitably warmed the fools o’th’Town, / Where thousand hearts and pricks are melted down”.<sup>136</sup> Fire was a highly unoriginal euphemism for the pox in this period; to take just one example, the English Rogue likens his pox-scarred penis to the post-Great Fire of London cityscape, as “now it is much like Paul’s Steeple turn’d / A stately thing

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<sup>133</sup> Kushner, *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes*, 1993 (New York: Theater Communications Group, 2003), Act I, Scene 9.

<sup>134</sup> *On Several Women About Town* in *Court Satires of the Restoration*, ed. Wilson (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), lines 29–31.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>136</sup> *Satire on Both Whigs and Tories* in *Court Satires of the Restoration*, ed. Wilson (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), lines 145–147.

before the top was burn'd."<sup>137</sup> Whether Brownlow actually wore a patch or not, her representation with one is here a pointed attack designed to insinuate sexual incontinency and the shame of venereal disease—to align her with debased, pox-ridden whores—and thus to denigrate her position.

Compare Brownlow's representation with the extant portraits of Cabal minister Henry Bennet, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Arlington (1618–1685). One of these was painted by Sir Peter Lely (c.1673), and the other (artist unknown) now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery (Figure 1). Bennet is also depicted with a patch on his nose, which he wore to cover an injury sustained in the Civil War.<sup>138</sup> Other engravings held by the gallery, including one by Jacobus Houbraken, after Lely, also show Bennet with the black patch across his nasal bridge.<sup>139</sup> The unsigned portrait was completed c.1665–1670, at which time Bennet was well known for his "knowledge of foreign affairs and a formality of manner".<sup>140</sup> He had been made a baron in 1663, and served in both the House of Commons and House of Lords.<sup>141</sup> By the completion of Lely's portrait, which depicts him in full military regalia, he had been created Earl of Arlington and Viscount Thetford, and a knight of the Garter.

Bennet's brazenness about this patch discounts it as a sign of shame to the viewer—it cannot possibly mean what they think it might mean. Bennet appears to have relied on this fact, as well as his projected "clout" to steer viewers' interpretations away

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<sup>137</sup> Head, *English Rogue*, 120. See further Williams, 486–488.

<sup>138</sup> B.D. Henning, ed., 'Bennet, Sir Henry (1618–85)', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660–1690*, 1983 <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/bennet-sir-henry-1618-85>, accessed 14 November 2012.

<sup>139</sup> For example, National Portrait Gallery catalogue numbers NPG D29368, NPG D29365, NPG D29371.

<sup>140</sup> Osmond Airy, 'Bennet, Henry, Earl of Arlington', *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1908), Vol. 2, 230.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 231–232.

from the pox. In addition to his obvious benefits of gender and nobility, Bennet's "clout" in the National Portrait Gallery's portrait is particularly centered in his ostentatiously full formal coat of brown, or bronze silk (perhaps taffeta); this type of voluminous silk drapery was a common signal of wealth and power in portraiture.<sup>142</sup> Bennet's patch is *not* designed to hide his injury—rather, it draws attention to it. Like so many royalists, Bennet used his service in the Civil War to curry political favour after the Restoration; to this end, he used his nose as a signifier of his loyalty, and a shaming mechanism against those who would challenge his contribution and authority.<sup>143</sup> Ward later remarked that such interpretations of the body were used frequently by "Officers with Old English Aspects, whose Marshal Faces were adorn'd with weather-beaten Wrinkles, cross'd with Hacks and Scars, those rugged Beauty Spots of War, which they wore as true marks of their undaunted Bravery."<sup>144</sup> As Tagliacozzi and the later supporters of plastic surgery noted, however, these "martial injuries to military men" were still open to misinterpretation, and to mockery.<sup>145</sup> When Arlington's influence in court fell, he did find this aspect of his appearance transformed into a point of ridicule. He was attacked for the shamelessness with which, through drawing attention to his scar, he used his body to manipulate others.

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<sup>142</sup> Madeleine Seys, email message to author, 15 November 2012.

<sup>143</sup> A similar example from later in the eighteenth century is that of prominent military figure Charles Cathcart, 9<sup>th</sup> Lord Cathcart (1721–1776), as painted by Joshua Reynolds (Manchester Art Gallery). Cathcart was shot in the face at the Battle of Fontenoy in May 1745, and "proudly wore a black patch on his face for the rest of his life": H. M. Scott, 'Cathcart, Charles Schaw, ninth Lord Cathcart (1721–1776)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4885>, accessed 15 November 2012.

<sup>144</sup> Ward, *London Spy*, sig. ix.O3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> Or feigning. The reprobate Pistol in *Henry V* had long ago exposed the ambiguity of male body markers by revealing his plan to get "patches" for the "cudgelled scars" he received in his brawl with Llewellyn, "and swear [he] got them in the Gallia wars": Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, 1599, ed. Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), V.i.77–78.

One contemporary remarked that, “scars in the face commonly give a man a certain fierce and martial air, which sets him off to advantage, but it was quite the contrary with him,” adding sarcastically that “this remarkable plaster so well suited his mysterious looks, that it seemed an addition to his gravity and self-sufficiency.”<sup>146</sup> In embellishing his injury in order to increase his value within the Court, Bennet could be read as no better than those common women we saw attacked in *A Wonder of Wonders* for attempting to increase their personal beauty and value by using patches to suggest non-existent flaws, and thus make their faces seem fairer for the juxtaposition.<sup>147</sup> After all, Violet Barbour notes, the skirmish at Andover in which Bennet received his scar may actually have been his *only* experience of battle.<sup>148</sup> The contemporary historian Laurence Echard recorded that as of 1674/1675,

As the Credit of this Earl declin’d, so several Persons at Court took the liberty to act and mimick his Person and Behaviour... and it became a common Jest for some Courtier to put a black Patch upon his Nose, and strut about with a White-Staff in his Hand, in order to make the King merry.<sup>149</sup>

Bennet’s declining clout meant a loss of control over the interpretation of his own body.

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<sup>146</sup> *Memoirs of the Court of Charles II by Count Grammont*, in Violet Barbour, *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State to Charles II* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1914), 47.

<sup>147</sup> Sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> Barbour, 11.

<sup>149</sup> Laurence Echard, *The History of England. From the Restoration of King Charles the Second, To the Conclusion of the Reign of King James the Second, and Establishment of King William and Queen Mary* (London: 1718), Volume 3, 372.

The power to interpret the body, and negotiate the shame accepted and projected by it and the self more generally was a source of great cultural anxiety, and significantly affected the fate and representation of both prostitution and plastic surgery in early modern England. As Roy Cohn's doctor reminds him, avoiding the stigma of a disease does not defeat the disease itself: the truth will out in the body. Whether *Medicina Flagellata's* hypothetical patient was diagnosed with scurvy or pox, he would still need to contend with the physical manifestations of the disease. What would change for him would be the diagnosis imposed by social opinion as to the justice, morality, causation, or other facets of his condition. This would also affect the treatments available to him; for the syphilitic, this included any capacity to reconstruct the nose. As I have demonstrated, even when medical writers knew about Tagliacozzi's actual autograft procedure, and successful cases, they were still insufficiently prepared to contend with the prejudicial shaming of syphilitic association.

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Reading individuals' character, rank and value through their physical appearances has long been recognised as a particular obsession of early modern England. This has been held evident in the period's ongoing concern over areas like sumptuary laws, or the policing of gender norms through pamphlet wars along the lines of *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir* (1620). As I have shown, the discourses of both prostitution and rhinoplasty engaged with this strategic control of corporal interpretability, and the individual's negotiation of both internalised shame and the attempted shaming mechanisms of other parties. In prostitution texts like *The London Jilt*, the purchase of false bodies through corsetry, cosmetics, teeth, eyes, padding and merkins is framed as deceptively-achieved symbolic capital: they either seek to pass for "better", and thus pricier whores, or—horror of horrors—as respectable women. This purchase of disguises that enable the individual to pass as someone entitled to higher access to social capital is also evident in representations of Taliacotian rhinoplasty. Here, however, in accounts of the 'sympathetic snout', the passing inevitably fails—the syphilitic who attempts to "stand erect... and look Matrimony [or anyone else] in the Face" through the acquisition of a new nose is betrayed by the inalienability of the flesh.<sup>1</sup>

In all of the examples that I have found, the patients receiving these grafted noses are men. They are not, however, the fashionable fops or mollies who were also criticised by contemporaries for 'faking' their bodies, but in a manner that abruptly dismissed them

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<sup>1</sup> Congreve, *Love for Love*, IV.i.453–455.



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as effeminate—the “young wanton Youth[s]...whose Bodies are strait laced, that they may acquire a long and handsome Shape. And... who like women, make use of *Spanish Paper* to give a red Colour to their Cheeks: And thus beribbon’d, painted and curl’d, do these ‘Squires strut it about the Streets’”.<sup>2</sup> Reconstruction of the nose is instead tied to a socially and economically empowering appearance of health and virility, opening up a space in these sources for further investigation into the relationship between disease, corporal self-fashioning and masculinity in this period. It invites ongoing transhistorical study of masculinity and the cultural history of plastic surgery. Modern advertising for a Christies sale that included a copy of *De curtorum* touted its origins in an era “When Real Men Had the Nose Jobs”, and “techniques for repairing noses and ears lost to swordplay were zealously guarded by barber-surgeons”.<sup>3</sup> The early modern surgeons’ overemphasis on “martial injuries to military men”, as I have shown, was in part a response to the procedure’s unfortunate association with syphilis.<sup>4</sup> In the United States, which dominates the global plastic surgery market, rhinoplasty is overwhelmingly the single most common surgical cosmetic procedure for men today, and the second for women behind breast augmentation.<sup>5</sup> That the *New York Times*’ article expresses surprise at the association of rhinoplasty with “Real Men” reflects anxiety around embodiment and the regulation of

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<sup>2</sup> *London Jilt*, 142.

<sup>3</sup> ‘When Real Men Had the Nose Jobs’, *New York Times* (2 January 2000), 5.

<sup>4</sup> *De curtorum*, viii.

<sup>5</sup> The American Society of Plastic Surgeons records 61,771 rhinoplasty procedures performed on men in 2012, which accounted for 30.26% of male procedures (the next most popular was eyelid surgery/blepharoplasty, at 29,050 procedures, and 14.23%). 180,913 rhinoplasty procedures were performed on women (13.42% of all female cosmetic surgery), behind 286,274 breast augmentations (21.24% of total female procedures). Men thus accounted for 25% of all rhinoplasty operations: American Society of Plastic Surgeons, *2012 Plastic Surgery Statistics Report* (2013) <http://www.plasticsurgery.org/news-and-resources/2012-plastic-surgery-statistics.html>, accessed 25 June 2013.

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normative masculinity today, which is an important area of ongoing study in the medical and social sciences. As my analysis of Taliacotian rhinoplasty suggests, this discussion may benefit from further historicization through study of the early modern and intervening periods.

Furthermore, the suppliers of these grafts—with the notable exception of Lady Hester Pulter, who of course offers to *give* Davenant her flesh—are also men. While representations of female (and, to a significantly lesser extent, male) prostitution from this period have often been read as metaphors for wider economic concerns, less has been done on the work of other representations as commentary on the economic significance of the human body. As I demonstrate in my reading of the exchange and valuation of bodily products in *The London Jilt*, the representation of prostitution could be used to comment on not only the sale of sex as a failed commodity exchange, but also on the alienability or inalienability of other body products. The story of the ‘sympathetic snout’, in emphasising the failure of the flesh graft to be successfully commodified and transferred to a new owner, also illustrates the inalienability of the living human body. Because the bodies in these texts were almost exclusively male, their ongoing examination will enable an unprecedented focus on the commoditisation of *male* bodies in the early modern period.

My thesis contributes to extant scholarship into the intersections of medical, sexual and economic discourses in the early modern period, and introduces the history of Taliacotian rhinoplasty to this discussion. Though the association of prostitution and plastic surgery in the seventeenth century may not be immediately apparent, I hope to have demonstrated that they shared key concerns in their engagement with shame,

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corporal legibility and (in)alienability, and sexual health and behaviour. Plastic surgery thus requires an ongoing consideration in histories of sexuality, as much as prostitution and whore texts' engagements with venereal diseases have enjoyed in histories of medicine. Considering these two bodies of concern together also serves to historicise current debate over the sale of human body parts and services (reproductive, sexual, etc) as defining the limits of commoditisation today. In the discourse of the 'sympathetic snout', the flesh of the porter's "bum" joined that of the prostitute's "commodity" as a vended piece of the living human body. When the exchanges fail, these acquisitions, like prostitutional sex, or syphilis, or medical, sexual, or other illicit knowledges, are proven to be not only insufficiently alienable, but also to comprise a particular realm of shameful economics. Evidently, for early modern England, there were some things that could not be exchanged.

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