THE 'MAGDALENE'S FRIEND': THE CONTROL OF PROSTITUTES IN GLASGOW, 1840-1890

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SUMMARY

This thesis is a contribution to three areas of sociological interest: the history of sexuality, the history of prostitution and, the more general area of the moral regulation of the working class in the nineteenth century. In order to accomplish this, the following research questions are raised.

First, the system of moral policing and control introduced in Glasgow in the 1870's raises interesting questions concerning the difference between systems of police repression as an alternative to the state regulation of prostitution. The thesis attempts to evaluate the impact of the 'Glasgow System' which was developed as an alternative to state regulation in the 1870's. The Glasgow System was composed of the Glasgow Lock hospital, the Glasgow Magdalene Institution and the Glasgow Police Act (1866).

The second issue addressed in this thesis concerns the internal management of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution. Nicole Rafter has identified 3 techniques for social control used in female penitentiaries in the nineteenth century: 1) physical incarceration of women who violated middle class standards of sexual behaviour, 2) re-socialization, 3) the provision of stipends and rewards to women who successfully completed the two year stay in the Institution. The manner in which these techniques were used to control the sexual and vocational behaviour of the women who entered the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1960 and 1889 are examined.

The final issue examined is the public discourse of the 'prostitution problem' in Scotland in the nineteenth century. Contributions to the discourse came from four main interest groups: the medical profession, philanthropists, local state representatives,

and socialists. By the 1840's the socialists were marginalized. It is argued that through its control over key repressive and ideological apparatuses, such as the Glasgow police and Magdalene Institution the ideas of the dominant bourgeois discourse were reproduced in the institutional practices of these institutions.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1986 Christopher Smout wrote: "The history of the family, and of child upbringing and the place of the woman within and without the home, is so neglected in Scotland as to verge on becoming a historiographical disgrace".[1] At first glance a study which aspires to meet Smout's challenge by focusing on 'prostitution' must appear curious, to say the least. But the relationship between 'prostitution' and the social class and female gender-roles which emerged within the mid-nineteenth century social structure provides a particularly good opportunity to study some aspects of the experience of Scottish women in male-dominated society.

Studies of the sexual behaviour of the Victorians have become considerably more sophisticated since 1970.[2] Theorists have successfully challenged the assumption of a unitary Victorian culture, and a single repressive standard of sexual behaviour.[3] It has been accepted that the contemporary practice of the sexual ideal to which Victorian Scotland paid lip-service fell considerably short of that ideal moral code.[4] Recent studies which address the question of 'prostitution' more directly can be divided into three paradigms: 1) the double standard model, 2) the oppression model, and 3) the problematization model.

The belief that unchastity, in the sense of premarital or extramarital sexual relations, is pardonable for a man, but a matter of grave importance for a women, is generally known as the double standard. Studies which use the double standard to explain the necessity of prostitution in the nineteenth century are problematic for two reasons.[5] First, while the double standard may provide a useful "cultural interpretation", as a methodological approach in a study of Victorian prostitution it is too simplistic.[6] Theorists rely almost totally on secondary sources, and the observations and biases of contemporary authorities such as William

Acton or Sigmund Freud are reproduced as if they were fact. The conclusions drawn are chiefly concerned with middle class male sexuality, as distinct from working class male or female sexuality. The ideology that two categories of women, 'pure' and 'impure', and two standards of sexual behaviour existed in the nineteenth century is uncritically accepted.[7] Second, the model is ahistorical, and non-dialectical. The only class relations analyzed are those between middle class men and working class women, thereby confusing an 'idea' with the actual behaviour of individuals. Because it is non-dialectical it cannot look beyond itself, it is incapable of seeing the relationship between the ideology of the double standard of sexual morality and patriarchal class and gender relations. It ignores the problem of how prostitution became 'problematized' in the nineteenth century.

In contrast, the oppression model argues that studies of prostitution all too freqently either concentrate on the psychological implications or the institutional aspects of Victorian prostitution rather than focusing on the 'prostitutues' themselves and the poverty which drove women to prostitution. Frances Finnegan's study of prostitution in York typifies the most recent use of the oppression model. Her analysis of local newspapers, hospital and penitentiary records, suggests that the main characteristics of prostitution were not simply the exploitation of one class by another, but the sexual exploitation of indigent women by all classes of men. The problem with her conclusion is evident when compared to Judith Walkowitz's study of prostitution in Plymouth and Southampton, who has taken up similar sources yet reached significantly different conclusions.[8]

The problem with the oppression model involves the question of 'agency'. By defining women as passive victims of male oppression, Finnegan fails to recognize women as full historical agents capable of making their own history. Walkowitz, however, opposes the portrayal of 'prostitutues' as "silent victims" of social injustice and male oppression.[9] She portrays 'prostitutes' as important historical actors, as women trying to survive in towns that offered

them only poor wages and unsteady employment. Their move into prostitution was neither "pathological" nor "deviant" but a rational choice given limited opportunities.[10]

In contrast to the double standard model, which focuses on the relationship between male sexuality and the demand for 'prostitutes' and the oppression model, which emphasizes the relationship between prostitution and the sexual exploitation of poor women, the problematization model locates prostitution within the larger social, economic, and institutional structures of the nineteenth century. By conceptualizing prostitution at this level it is possible to perceive contradictions which shaped the market economy of prostitution, while at the same time, examine how changing cultural processes influenced the problematization of prostitution in the nineteenth century.

Unlike the first two models, problematization theorists do not regard labels such as 'prostitution' or 'prostitute' as either valid observational or ahistorical categories. They argue that prostitution, like other forms of sexual behaviour, acquired a new meaning in the nineteenth century. In *The History of Sexuality,* Michel Foucault argues that sexuality is an "historical construct". To demonstrate this point, he used the example of the 'homosexual' and showed that in the nineteenth century individuals who committed felonies such as sodomy, which had generally been recognized as criminal, suddenly became characters as well. Foucault argued that in the nineteenth century the 'homosexual' became a "personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology".[11] His argument can also apply to the 'prostitute' which he does not directly examine.

Others theorists included in the problematization paradigm argue that the 'prostitute' occupied a symbolic place in the sexual and class structure in the nineteenth century. Walkowitz's marxist-feminist analysis argues that the 'prostitute' was "simulaneously an object of class guilt as well as fear, a powerful symbol of economic

exploitation under industrial capitalism".[12] Hellerstein[13] argues that the symbol of the 'prostitute' was used as a threat to women who dared to defy established gender roles, whereas Gordon and Dubois[14] argue that social purity feminists used prostitution as the symbol of male sexual and economic coercion. 'Prostitutes', therefore, were symbolic representations of the economic and sexual vulnerability of all classes of women and prostitution was the end result of the artifical constraints placed on women's social and economic status, such as inadequate wages and employment opportunities, and social class restrictions.

The present study of the policing and control of 'prostitutes' in Glasgow attempts to build on the problematization model by aiming to deconstruct the category 'prostitute' while examining the discursive field in which it emerged in the nineteenth century. This involves: 1) looking at the various complementary and competing discourses in Scotland over a 50 year period: 1840-1890; and 2) examining the institutional supports of this discursive field (the Lock hospital, Magdalene Institution and the Police Act), as they came together to make up what was known as "The Glasgow System" between 1860-1890. This study, therefore, is not an empirical history of 'prostitutes' and prostitution, but raises the more general question of the institutional regulation of working class female sexuality, and demonstrates the process whereby women have resisted sexual and social ideology in the form of laws and institutions designed to control their behaviour.

Methodology: The Problems of Historical Research

Two trends currently exist within the feminist approach to the field of women's history. The first, is to chart the course of sexual inequality and the oppression of women. The second, is to look to the past for evidence of women's power and autonomy rather than subordination. The problem with the first approach involves the question of 'agency', in that it fails to recognize women as full participants in the historical process capable of making their own

history. The problem with the second approach is that by emphasizing women's culture and power it risks losing sight of the social inequalities which have marked women and which have been the basis of patriarchal, class and 'race' relations. Second, while emphasis on agency is by far the most useful perspective, it is however, the most difficult to demonstrate with the sources available. Finally, as Mary Ryan argues, if we are willing to recognize women as full agents in history, we must also face the fact they have participated in the creation and reproduction of the oppression of women of classes and cultures other than their own.[15] The question of women policing other women, however, will not be examined in this study. Although a Ladies's Committee was formed in the Magdalene Institution in 1861, women were not permitted on the Board of Directors until 1913, and if they kept their own records and minute books it appears that they have not survived. Similarily, due to the lack of space and relevant data the activities of the Scottish Ladies' National Association for Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act will not be directly examined in this study.

The empirical data used in this research are the annual reports of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution, the Glasgow Lock Hospital and other Scottish and English female refuges and penitentiaries and charities. Information about the Magdalene Institution also comes from the reports of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, of which the Female House of Refuge and the Glasgow Magdalene Institution were members. The reports of the annual meeting of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution and the Lock Hospital were published regularly in the *Glasgow Herald* and the *North British Daily Mail*. Journalistic accounts of the institution frequently accompany these reports and give behind the scenes insights into the activities of the institutions. Similarly, the testimony of the Chief Constable before the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases in 1881 and 1882 has provided valuable factual and statistical information concerning the Magdalene Institution and the Lock Hospital. The annual reports of these charities were regularly submitted to the Town Council and magistrates and incorporated in the official records of the Registrar-General.[16]

In order to judge the validity and reliability of the data collected by the Glasgow Magdalene Institution it is important to consider the purpose for which it was collected, why it was published and who collected it. After the Magdalene Asylum was transformed and reincorporated as the Magdalene Institution, control over the organization shifted from the ministers and clergy who created it to a prominent group of Glasgow merchants, bankers, industrialists and a variety of professionals. Many of the members of the new 'lay' board of directors were also members, organizers and speakers at the Annual Meetings of the National Society for the Promotion of Social Science held in Glasgow in 1860 and 1874. Their interest in the social sciences has added a dimension to their activities which made them unique. The striking feature of the annual reports of the Glasgow Magdalene is the elaborate and detailed statistical information that the Directors collected, interpreted and published in their reports. This unusual tendency may be attributed to the Directors' acceptance of the standards set by the emerging social sciences.[17] The tendency to study prostitution or other social problems such as illegitmacy, drunkeness, or suicide as a part of a larger examination of the 'moral statistics' of the population was a common feature of mid-Victorian provincial and urban-based statistical societies.[18] Empirical surveys, such as the investigations of William Acton, William Logan and William Tait for example, were intended as preliminaries to action; data on a particular social evil were to be accumulated in order to recommend ameliorative policy.

The Glasgow Magdalene Institution collected statistics on the social class background, family structures and career patterns of approximately 5,000 women who entered the institution between 1860-1890, These statistics included the inmate's age when admitted to the Institution, age of first sexual experience, place of birth, father's occupation, inmate's previous occupation, past education and religious instruction, medical and Lock hospital history, and the placement of inmates after release (sent abroad, sent to other institutions, workhouse, hospitals, domestic service, factory work, public laundries, married, died, discharged as 'untractable',

disobedient, or dismissed for insubordination). Individual case studies and copies of letters sent to the Institution from former inmates are also published in these reports. The annual reports published by the Glasgow Magdalene Institution are therefore a unique and useful data source in that they differ from the annual reports published by other female refuges and penitentiaries, which include very little, if any thing, other than impressionistic data, make no normative judgements, and provide virtually no demographic data on inmates.

Using annual reports as a data base may be considered problematic because they were obviously intended to raise funds. They naturally presented as favorable a picture as possible of the Institution's activities. It is for this reason, however, that they can also be considered to be more useful than private documents, because it is possible to analyze them as a contribution to an on-going public discourse on prostitution. Annual reports are ideologically permeated and through them it is possible to trace the social construction, and changes in the category of 'prostitute'. The reports of the Magdalene reveal a tension between trying to present a portrait of the inmates as 'deserving' daughters of the poor but respectable working class in order to evoke sympathy and subscription, while at the same time, as moral reformers, the Directors were also trying to confront the readers with the harsh realities of the lives of the city's poor which they found abhorent.

What the annual reports will not tell us very much about is the general population of 'prostitutes' in Glasgow throughout the nineteenth century. There is a marked tendency towards selectivity. From the outset, the Directors argued that not all applicants were suitable candidates for reclamation, and they tried to distinguish between those who would benefit from the Home and those who would be a burden and a bad influence on other inmates. Women were rejected who, after the compulsory medical examination, were shown to be either pregnant or 'diseased', or after a lengthy interview were judged to be too 'old in vice' to have any reasonable chance of reclamation.

The reports seldom comment on those who were rejected and there is no indication of how many were rejected. At the other end of the spectrum are the 'sucessful prostitutues', who, after a stay on the streets either married out of the trade, or left voluntarily without ever having been arrested or having need of the Magdalene Institution. What is found in the reports are a carefully selected group of women who were neither pregnant nor 'diseased' at the time of admission and who were judged to be both of reasonable intelligence and amenable to discipline.'[19] In other words, they are the women who 'opted out' of prostitution, but were unable for various reasons to help themselves. In sum, any attempt to study 'prostitution ' based on this data source alone, would produce dubious results. As one writer put it, "it is like attempting to study business solely on the records of the bankruptcy courts".[20]

THESIS OUTLINE

Chapter I is an introduction to two systems for the control of prostitution in Britain. The first section examines the state regulation of prostitution under the Contagious Diseases Act which was enforced in parts of England and Ireland in the 1860's. The second section begins with an introduction to the city of Glasgow in the 1840's, which is followed by questions about the 'Glasgow System', which was intended as an alternative to state regulation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the theoretical issues to be explored in this thesis. Foucault's approach to the history of sexuality is examined and a conceptual definition of 'prostitute' is developed.

Chapter II begins with an examination of the history of the control of prostitution and venereal diseases in Scotland between the 1497 and 1840. The second section examines evidence which suggests that, coinciding with hostility toward 'prostitutes' and fear of venereal disease, there existed a general familiarity with the 'illicit' sexual behaviour. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the structure of prostitution and the brothel system in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the 1840's.

Chapter III examines the mid-nineteenth century discourse on prostitution in Scotland. Before looking at the discourses contemporary definitions of 'prostitute' and prostitution and the causes of prostitution are examined. The four discourses (medical, philanthropic, local state, and socialist) are then examined and the institutional responses outlined.

Chapter IV examines the histories of the three institutions which made up the 'Glasgow System'. The first section looks at the history of the Glasgow Lock Hospital. The next section examines the three stages in the history of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the amendments to the Glasgow Police Act (1866), which increased the power of the municipal police and magistrates to control prostitution.

Chapter V forms the case study portion of this thesis and contains the bulk of the empirical material. The Glasgow Magdalene Institution was intended to control and reform 'prostitutes'. In order to accomplish this the Board of Directors were divided into two committees, the Repressive Committee and the Reclamation Committee. The first section of the chapter tooks at the activities of the Repressive Committee and the second section examines the Reclamation Committee.

Chapter VI analyzes the impact of the Glasgow System on the structure of prostitution in Glasgow. This is followed by an examination of the social control techniques used in the Magdalene Institution. Finally the benefits and limitiations of using Foucault's approach to the history of sexuality in this study of the policing of 'prostitutues' in Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century is examined.

CHAPTER 1

SYSTEMS FOR THE CONTROL OF PROSTITUTION

Introduction

This chapter outlines two systems for the control of prostitution in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. The first system is state regulation which was implemented in parts of England and Ireland in the 1860's. The second system is the system of police repression called the Glasgow System, which was developed in Glasgow as an alternative to state regulation. This chapter concludes by identifying the theoretical issues that will be raised in this thesis. Foucault's appoach to the history of sexuality and a conceptual definition of 'prostitute' are also examined.

The Contagious Diseases Act (women)

On June 20th, 1864, Lord Clarence Paget introduced a "Bill for the Prevention of Contagious Diseases at Certain Naval and Military Stations". The Bill, known as the Contagious Diseases (women) Act (hereafter, the C.D. Act) was intended to be an 'exceptional' piece of legislation designed for the military in an effort to increase the efficiency of the armed forces by decreasing the cost of treating venereal diseases among the bachelor troops. In other words, the Act was a distinctive piece of legislation which regulated prostitution in subjected districts. The Act was enforced in Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheerness, Aldershot, Colchester, Shorncliffe, the Curragh, Cork and Queenstown.

A special branch of the Metropolitan Police, entirely outside the jurisdiction of the local authorities, and answerable only to the Admiralty and War Offices was established. Special plain clothes constables were stationed in subjected districts and assigned the task of identifying the women and forcing their submission to a medical examination. The Bill provided for the establishment of

hospitals, called Lock hospitals, where women with venereal disease could be treated. No provision was made for men, their wives or families. The conditions of the C.D. Act applied only to women officially declared 'common prostitutes'. This term, however, was never properly defined. Consequently the authorities had broad discretionary powers. According to the Act, any woman could be declared a common 'prostitute' upon the testimony of a police inspector, superintendent or medical examiner before a single magistrate. At the trial the burden was on the women to prove that she was not a 'prostitute'. If a woman failed to prove her "virtue" she was forced to undergo a vaginal examination by an army surgeon, and if found to be infected, was sentenced to maximum detention and treatment in a Lock hospital. Failure to comply with the conditions of the Act meant imprisonment for one month for the first offence and two months for every subsequent offence.

The C.D. Act passed all three readings and gained Royal assent by July 21st, 1864. There was no debate at any reading in either House of Parliament. Although originally intended to be restricted to the policing of 'prostitutes' in 16 garrision and naval ports a campaign for its extension quickly arose. Thus emboldened, the Act was amended in 1866. The amended Act, which included Windsor, was a more comprehensive version of the first. After 1868, known 'prostitutes' were forced to undergo an examination every three months, again on the evidence of one appointed official before a magistrate. Suspected women within a ten mile radius of the protected area could avoid the trial by commiting themselves 'voluntarily' to regular examination every three months. This draft of the Act proved ineffective because women avoided the police by simply moving out of the area and commuting to town each night. The C.D. Act was amended for the final time in 1869 when a report by the Association for the Extension of the C.D. Act revealed that it was not succeeding. The resulting and most thorough piece of legislation, extended the Act to six more towns: Canterbury, Dover, Gravesend, Maidstone, Winchester and Southampton, making eigthteen in all. The protected area was extended to a fifteen mile radius of the towns, thus making commuting

expensive and inconvenient. Other loop-holes were avoided by a clause which provided for a five day compulsory incarceration of women before examination, without trial or provision for release by *habeas corpus*.

The Association favoring the maintenance and extension of the C.D. Act was composed of three groups from the higher social strata: the military, the medical profession, and the civilian elite, made up of aristocrats, politicians, and intellectuals. To begin with, the military had initiated the legislation to decrease the cost of treating diseased soldiers, on the grounds that it furthered the military interests of the nation by increasing the efficiency of the troops. Consequently, the military did not push for extension as long as the Act continued to be enforced in the garrison towns. Therefore, it was really the medical profession and the civilian elite who were responsible for the C.D. Acts' change from a limited sanitary measure to a far-reaching piece of social legislation.[1]

The members of the medical profession who supported the Act did so largely in the name of science, which reflected the emergence of a belief that strict scientific laws of social improvement were discoverable and applicable.[2] Unfortunately, their 'scientific' arguments were based on theories that suggested that disease was caused by 'sin' as well as bodily imbalances and excesses. Syphilis, for example, was diagnosed as a natural by-product of a 'prostitute's' 'way of life'.[3] Similarily medical ideology documented two types of women. One pure and the other impure. As such, impure women were potential pollutants of men and reservoirs of infection. 'Prostitutes' were seen as the "purveyors of poison", and prostitution, they believed, tampered with the genetic fitness of the "Anglo-Saxon race".[4] The initial suggestion that the examination of soldiers be included under the C.D. Act in order to discourage soliciting by both sexes was quickly ruled out because the Act was based on the premise that women and not men were responsible for the spread of disease and that while, men would be degraded if subjected to genital examination, the women who satisfied male sexual urges were already so degraded that further indignities scarcely mattered.[5]

Protection for men was supposed to be assured by inspection of women. Hence, by not imposing periodic inspection upon male clientele, the architects of the Act obliterated from the start whatever effectiveness the Act might have had as a sanitary measure.[6]

Medical support for the C.D. Act was complemented by the civilian elite who had the power and knowledge to get the Act passed and extended. The civilian push for extension, however, was just as ideological as the military and medical spheres. For many regulationists, the C.D. Act was another phase of progressive legislation in Victorian public health policy, which reflected the new interventionist approach to social problems.[7] The mid-century sanitary movement perceived public order as synonymous with public health. The registration of 'prostitutes' was considered to be a way of containing street disorder and controlling the lives of the "unrespectable poor".[8]

Further, by the 1850's some segments of the population had come to see prostitution as an inevitable and necessary evil, particularly upper-class libertines who openly defended it as a "time-honored perogative of gentlemen".[9] When couched in pseudoscientific language such as the "spermatic economy", they established it as a physiological necessity, which was seen as crucial if, in light of the trend toward the later marriage age, the premarital virtue of middle and upper class women was to be preserved.[10] Thus, patterned after the state licensed brothels in Europe, some men were beginning to demand that the British state take responsibility for providing safe and clean 'prostitutes'. Although humane concern for 'prostitutes' had little to do with the motivation behind the C.D. Act, those who wished to have it extended throughout the Empire relied heavily on the work of William Acton, a venereologist and reputed authority on British prostitution who provided a humanitarian view of prostitution in order to legitimate this form of sexual exploitation.[11] Acton reported that the working class girls who 'chose' prostitution as a means to earning a living tended to be the most healthy, attactive and intelligent of their class. He argued that

prostitution was "a transitional stage through which thousands of women were constantly passing". It was the state's responsibility to ensure that they passed through the period in their lives with as little permanent physical and emotional damage as possible, since the majority subsequently became wives and mothers or assumed careers as servants in "respectable" middle class homes.[12]

A campaign against the Act had been under way since 1863, but it aroused little attention inside and outside of Parliament until 1870 when a coalition of middle class nonconformist, evangelical clergy, feminists, and radical working men under the direction of Josephine Butler, James Stansfeld and Henry Wilson came together to challenge the Act as immoral and unconstitutional, and called for its repeal.[13] The radical message of the repeal campaign was linked with a enlightened view of prostitution (not unlike Actons') as an irregular and temporary livelihood for adult working class women. Repealers, in contrast to Acton, argued that the regulation system condemned registered women to a life of sin by publicly stigmatizing them and preventing them from finding alternative respectable employment.

The repeal campaign was composed of the National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act (hereafter, NA) and the autonomous Ladies' National Association (hereafter, LNA). Below the surface, however, lay major divisions over strategies and long-term goals, and conflict between secular and religious interests, rural and urban groups, between feminists and anti-feminists, and the working class and middle class activists. The middle class male, dominated NA was basically split into two opposing rural and urban camps. James Stansfeld typified the metropolitan radical group, who were liberal front benchers, temperance enthusiasts, supporters of working class radicalism, and advocates of political economy. Henry Wilson exemplified the provincial liberals, who were generally weathy industrialists and merchants or evanglical clergymen. Although politically important in their own areas they saw themselves as 'outsiders' from London and were hostile to class privilege and were

also advocates of temperance, male chastity and other forms of social purity.[14]

On the whole, the two most common arguments for repeal were based on hostility to a centralized state and the belief that the C.D. Act was immoral. The Act was despised by republican anti-state zealots because it increased the state's power to intervene in the lives of the people, not to mention the increase in taxation, and the assault upon civil liberty and the rights of 'Freeborn Englishmen'. Others condemned the Act for its acceptance and encouragement of vice, which was perceived as an unchristian and appalling characteristic of the decadent aristocracy.[15] They attacked the Act as an "indefensible piece of class legislation".[16] The lack of a clear definition of 'common prostitute' meant that the homes of the poor could be entered at any time and women suspected of incontinence forced into "vile slavery".[17] They also protested against the way in which the Act was enforced. Accused women were not brought to court to be fairly judged. The provision by which women could be made to sign a "voluntary submission" form was used to force frightened women to sign their names or "put their crosses to paper of the meaning of which they know nothing". Once they had committed themselves they were subjected to forced examinations every fortnight, which made a return "to decent life almost impossible".[18]

In the ensuing campaign the metropolitan radicals provided the lobbying expertise and parliamentary finesse, and the provincial liberals constituted the pressure group of rank and file agitators. In fact, they were largely responsible for assembling Liberal Party support.[19] But it was Josephine Butler, the charismatic leader of the LNA who provided the religious and moral fervor with which the C.D. Act was fought.

By and large men fought the Act on religious and political grounds.[20] The women, however, were fighting on behalf of their sex. The feminists fought the Act on two levels: liberal and radical. Liberals attacked the Act on several counts. First, it deprived

working class women of their civil rights and put them at the mercy of the "morals police". Second, it unjustly persecuted the sex who were victims of vice and not the sex who were its main cause. Third, the feminists violently opposed the medical control of women's bodies, particularly the physical examination of 'prostitutes with the speculum, which they regarded as "instrumental rape" with a "steel penis".[21] Fourth, they argued that the state was easing the path of evil by withdrawing the moral and physical restraints by sanctioning vice, and by attempting to provide clean 'prostitutes'. Fifth, they condemned the Act for its lack of definition of 'common prostitute' and 'soliciting', and they accused parliament of conspiring to control women through state sanction and monopoly. Finally, they denied that the C.D. Act was an effective means of suppressing venereal disease and prostitution.[22] Feminists shared the 'enlightened' view of prostitution as an irregular occupation of working class women but in contrast, argued that it was the system of regulation under the C.D. Act, and not prostitution itself, which condemned women to a life of 'sin' by publicly stigmatizing them.[23]

Radical feminists saw the repeal campaign as much more than a crusade for the civil rights of 'prostitutes'. They saw it as a campaign for the rights of all women and part of a larger programme for women's emancipation. They recognized that prostitution served as a paradigm for the totality of the female condition, since it established the archetypal power relationship between men and women which was repeated in a subtle manner within the marriage contracts of genteel society.[24] Consequently, they treated prostitution as the end result of the artificial constraints placed on women's social and economic activity, such as inadequate wages, social class restrictions, and restrictions on the employment of women in industry. Therefore, the long range goals of the feminists were the extension of women's 'separate-sphere', thus giving them the right to maintain identities outside of the family. By exploiting the notion of women's 'innate' moral superiority, feminists used their political activity in the repeal campaign as a way of carving out a place for themselves in the public sphere, and thereby extending their

influence outside of the family in the role of moral guardians of the community.[25]

Feminists legitimated their participation in the repeal campaign through supposed identification with the 'prostitutes' as 'fallen sisters'. Thus, they defended the 'prostitutes' as their sisters and daughters and exploited notions of 'female influence' and the moral superiority of women as a political device aimed at undermining patriarchal authority. Through this egalitarian approach to the 'prostitutes' as individuals whose rights deserved to be respected they demanded that even if they sold their bodies, 'prostitutes' had the right to do so unmolested by the police.[26] It should be kept in mind, however, that although Repealers felt the obligation to stop the sexual exploitation of working class girls by upper-class men they felt the same repugnance and ambivalence toward incorrigible girls as they had toward unrepentant 'prostitutes'. For feminists, and moralists alike, the desire to protect young working class women was a part of a larger programme to control their sexual and vocational behaviour, which in turn reflected their desire to impose a social code that stressed female adolescent dependency. This code was more in keeping with middle class notions of girlhood than with the lived reality of the exposed and unsupervised daughters of the labouring poor. Although many working class parents shared the view of female adolescence, they were frequently forced to send their daughters out to work at the age of thirteen.[27]

On April 20th, 1883 the C.D. Act was suspended and full repeal came in 1886. The impact of the sixteen year period of regulation on the lives of working class females was considerable. Walkowitz argues that the Act and the repressive legislation which accompanied its repeal marked the end of prostitution as a temporary occupation or survival strategy. The medical inspection of registered women left them emotionally scarred, and stigmatized them in ways that prohibited them from moving in and out of prostitution as the female labour market dictated. Legislation, such as the clamp-down on brothels drove women out of their working class neighbourhoods

and with them went traditional support systems and family ties and their integration into the local community. The consequence of similar forms of repressive legislation such as the Industrial School Amendment Act of 1885 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act effectively destroyed the brothel as a family business and undermined the social and economic autonomy of 'prostitutes'. The result of the criminalization of 'prostitutes' meant that women were forced to stay on the streets longer, that pimps replaced family as a source of protection and support, and the labelling of 'prostitutes' as deviant, criminals, and social outcasts was accomplished.[28]

The role of the C.D. Act in late nineteenth century class and sexual politics must be understood within the social and historical millieu which produced it. For many the Act was the logical next step in progressive Victorian public health policy, which reflected the new interventionist approach to social problems. For others it represented the high-water mark in the double standard[29] and a direct attack on emerging class and gender consciousness. For others, it was an assault on civil rights, unchristian in its acceptance of vice and an appalling characteristic of the decadent aristocracy. Whatever the case, the C.D. Act provides an opportunity to examine the impact of repressive legislation on a community, while at the same time explore the relationship between ideological practices and legislation and their manifestation in social policies and institutions designed to control the sexual and vocational behaviour of women.

The central premise of Walkowitz's study of prostitution in Southamption and Plymouth is that the C.D. Act transformed the structure of prostitution in these regulated towns. Her hypothesis raises interesting questions concerning the impact of the Act on port and garrison towns and large industrial cities where the Acts were not enforced. Frances Finnegan's study of 'prostitutes' in York, during the same period, for example, implies that the lives of York 'prostitutes' were largely unaffected by the Act,[30] whereas other evidence suggests that attacks on prostitution by moral reformers, evangelical philanthropists, and rescue workers before and after the

introduction of the C.D. Act was not without impact.[31] Moral reformers claimed success in supressing street soliciting and brothels throughout Britian in areas where the Act was not enforced.[32] One such city is Glasgow, where the C.D. Act was not enforced, but where city officals claimed to have abolished street soliciting, closed all large brothels and driven 'prostitutes' and brothel-keepers from the city by the year 1871. As the Glasgow Police Chief Constable, Alexander McCall reported:

> You may now go along the streets without any interruption from women of that sort. Before such measures were adopted you could scarcely walk any distance without some woman putting herself in your way, or getting hold of you.[33]

Opponents of the C.D. Act in Glasgow argued that state regulation was not necessary in Glasgow because the city had developed its own methods for controlling prostitution.

The Glasgow System: A Special Case

Research Questions

The system of moral policing and control introduced in Glasgow during the period in which the C.D. Act was enforced in parts of England and Ireland raises interesting questions concerning the difference between systems of 'police repression' as an alternative to the 'state regulation' of prostitution. The first of two theoretical issues addressed in this thesis concerns the operation of the 'Glasgow System' which was composed of the Glasgow Lock hospital, the Glasgow Magdalene Institution and the Glasgow Police Act. Was the Glasgow System substantially different from the state regulation of prostitution under the C.D. Act, or did police repression constitute a form of 'veiled regulation'?[34]

The second issue to be addressed in this thesis concerns the internal management of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution. Nicole Rafter had identified 3 techniques for social control used in female

penitentiaries in the nineteenth century: 1) the physical incarceration of women who violated middle class standards of sexual behaviour, 2) re-socialization (moral education, religious, domestic, and industrial training of inmate), 3) the provision of stipends and rewards to women who successfully completed the two year stay in the home and passed the six month 'probationary' period. The manner in which these techniques for the social control of 'promiscuous' women were used to control the sexual and vocational behaviour of the women who entered the Magdalene Asylum between 1860-1889 are examined.[35]

In the course of this study the social construction of the category 'prostitute' will be critically examined. The category 'prostitute' will not be treated as a valid observational category with numbers to be counted, characteristics investigated and history documented, but an emerging 'label' or censure. It was, however, a frequently contested category, whose boundaries were continuously being redefined.

Contributions to the public discourse on the prostitution problem in Scotland came from four main interest groups: the medical profession, philanthropists, local state, and socialists. In contrast to England, where there is evidence of large scale resistence to the regulation of prostitution as seen in the activities of the LNA, those who objected to the C.D. Act in Scotland were more opposed to its extension to Scotland than to the Act itself. Scottish people accepted the need for some form of regulation and their opposition to the Act was motivated by a reaction against the interference of London in Scottish affairs. They argued that Glasgow had developed its own form of control which was working satisfactorily. By 1860, it appears that a coalition of medical men, local state representitives, and philanthropists was formed. This group of moral reformers dominated the discourse and succeeded in marginalizing other contenders, notably the socialists, between 1860 and 1890. Through their control over key repressive, regulatory, and ideological apparatuses, such as the Glasgow Police and the Magdalene Institution

the ideas of these moral reformers were reproduced in the institutional practices of these institutions.

This does not imply that there was no opposition to the dominant discourse. From the outset the socialists contested the analysis of prostitution as the consequence of 'individual' vice or frailty. Indirect evidence of resistance, although less articulate and well-orchestrated can also be inferred from the behaviour of inmates in the Magdalene Institution. In this research I emphasize the extent to which the inmates of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution were affected by the policies and institutional practices directed toward the control of their behaviour. The idea that women are passive objects of social policies is too simplistic; therefore I have emphasized women's capacity for 'agency' (although this is difficult to demonstrate) by focusing on indicators of inmate's 'choice' either in the form of acceptance or resistence to the moral code offered by the Glasgow Magdalene Institution.

The Relevance of Foucault: *The History of Sexualty*

Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* provides a challenge to conventional studies of sexuality. He used the concept of the "repressive hypothesis", to criticize studies which portray sexual behaviour throughout history as a chronicle of increasing "repression".[36] These studies have created the impression that "Victorians procreated by some form of remote control"[37] and that sex was a shrouded in secrecy, confined to the conjugal couple, and only practiced for the purposes of procreation. Foucault argues that these studies are misleading because they provide too narrow an interpretation of the family, mystify class distinctions, and are based on a misinterpretation of power.[38] Foucault argues that the nineteenth century was not a period of sexual repression, but a period of "incitement". He claims that historians have failed to acknowledge that since the eighteenth century, sexuality has been continually and voluably "put into discourse".[39] When "one looks over these last three centuries with their continual transformations,

things appear in a very different light: around the apropos of sex, one sees a veritable discursive explosion"[40] arising from various institutions--medical, religious, legal, psychiatric, educational etc. At the same time according to Foucault, the discourse (language, speech, dialogue), produced by these institutions actually constructed "sexualities" for their various clientele. In other words, through the process of classification and specification these discursive fields created specific "sexualities" for their subjects. "The history of sexuality becomes, therefore, a history of discourses about sexuality",[41] and therefore, has no reality outside of these discourses.[42]

According to Foucault it is through discourses that power and knowledge are joined together. The object of analysis, therefore, is certain forms of knowledge regarding sex, not in terms of repression or law, but in terms of 'power'. Power, for Foucault, does not mean a general system of institutions and instruments of state for the subjugation of the people. It is not a negative term, and it does not exist only in the form of repression, censorship, or prohibition. On the contrary "power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and ritual truth".[43] Power is also "relational". It is not something which is only possessed by the bourgeoise, for example, by virtue if their class position. The relations of power are not superstructural positions: they have a productive function. Power is "omnipresent", it is produced from moment to moment in social relations at all levels. It is "everywhere...not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere".[44] Power, therefore, can come from below. Finally, and most importantly for the purposes of this research, Foucault argues that "where there is power their is "resistance". Just as there exists a multiplicity of force relations which produce power, there also exists a multiplicity of points of resistence. Points of resistance are present in every power network. Hence, there is no single locus of "great Refusal",[45] and likewise, there is no single locus of control.

Returning to the investigation of discoures on sexualty Foucault instructs us to ask the following questions: "...what were the most immediate power networks at work? "How did they make possible these kinds of discourses, and conversely, how were these discourses used to support power relations"? How was the action of these power relations modified by their very exercise, entailing a strengthening of some terms and a weakening of others, with effects of resistance and counterinvestments..."? "How were these power relations linked to one another according to the logic of a great power strategy, which in retrospect takes on the [appearance] of a unitary and voluntarist politics of sex"?[46]

The concept of a discursive field is introduced by Foucault as part of an attempt to understand the relationship between "language, social institutions, subjectivity and power".[47] Social structures and processes are organized through institutions such as the law, the family, the church, and the education system, each of which is located in and structured by a particular discursive field. Discursive fields can be distinguished from each other by their different ways of seeing the world and on the basis of their ideas about the way social institutions should be organized. They provide individuals with a variety of modes of subjectivity.

As previously stated, for Foucault the study of sexuality is guided by the aim of analyzing, not an essential sexuality, but what various discourses said about sexuality, why they emerged when they did, and some of the consequences of their pronouncements.[48] In order to make this point clearer, consider the case of the 'homosexual' who, according to Foucault, and Weeks, was a creation of the nineteenth century. They argue that the nineteenth century witnessed a new taxonomic and labelling zeal which attempted to classify "scientifically" the characteristics and increasingly the aetiologies of the forms of sexual variety, and in so doing established them as objects of study.[49] For example, Foucault argues that there were no "homosexuals", in the modern sense, in the eighteenth century. There were simply individuals who committed the act of sodomy. A man

convicted of sodomy was simply guilty of a crime. The guilt did not transform him into a particular kind of person, other than a law breaking one.[50]

The Foucaultian analysis of the process of identification, classification and subsequent persecution of peripheral sexualities, can also be extended to the female 'prostitute' in the nineteenth century. This is not to suggest that that century marked some sort of break in the historical process. On the contrary, the changing symbolic role of sexuality was a product of long and complex social changes in Scotland. It has been attributed to a backlash against the relative 'moral' laxity of the preceeding centuries which could not be reconciled with nineteenth century evangelicalism;[51] as well as the consequence of social changes which accompanied industrialization.[52] Accompanying the changes there were also strong elements of continuity, especially with regard to the influence of Christianity, which had always structured basic beliefs and formed the basis of custom and law, if not behaviour.[53] Similarily, in Scotland the Kirk Session had always considered prostitution, adultery, or fornication as punishable felonies; but their perpetrators were regarded as nothing more than the juridical subject of them.[54] Yet between the seventeeth and nineteenth centuries, the climate of continuity and change around the subject of sex, produced a veritable "discursive explosion".[55] "Rather than massive censorship...what was involved was a regulated and polymorphous incitement to discourse".[56] Everybody was talking about sex.

> one had to speak publicly and in a manner that was not determined by the division between licit and illicit...one had to speak of it as of a thing to be not simply condemned or tolerated but managed, inserted into systems of utility, regulated for the greater good of all, made to function according to an optimum. Sex was not something one simply judged; it was a thing one administered. It was in the nature of a public potential; it called for management procedures, it had to be taken charge of by analytical discourse...sex became a "police" matter...[57]

By the mid-nineteenth century the analytic zeal of the public discourses descended upon the sexual and vocational behaviour of working class women. Moral reformers were preoccupied with the question of which women might be labelled 'prostitutes'. A public discourse had arisen, with a view to discovering the truth about the phenomenon, and in the process moral reformers actually 'defined' the phenomenon, giving it a history in the individual women. Like the homosexual, the classification 'prostitute' was invented by moral reformers who attempted to impose an alien interpretation onto the normal, or at least non-perverse activities of the working class woman by labelling them 'prostitutes'. Moral reformers exhibited a compulsion to 'know' this alien other, working class women, to define their activities along bourgeois lines, and to police them. The thrust of discourses, therefore, is control; "control not through denial or prohibition, but through "production", through imposing a grid of definitions on the posibilities of the body".[58]

For reasons that will become more clear, the middle class feminine ideal with its strong emphaisis on women's role within the nuclear family as mother, wife, and daughter, had became the cultural norm against which all other forms of female sexuality were judged. It was used to regulate sexual behaviour and to define a class-specific notion of 'femininity'. The feminine ideal must be understood in relation to the emergence of the middle classes at the end of the eighteenth century, although it must be noted that the process was not as unilinear as bourgeois writings indicated it to be.[59] The domestic ideal was an expression of class confidence, signalling the moral superiority of the bourgeoisie in comparison with the immorality and vice of the aristocracy and the working classes. It was domestic 'respectability', which differentiated the middle class from those outside this category, who were defined as deviant and dangerous.[60] The construction of the feminine ideal was part of the ideology of home, in which woman presided over the 'haven' and it was her duty or 'mission' to make the home comfortable and to keep out corruption and threat. The purity of the home was understood in terms of its difference from the immorality and danger of the streets. If

the home was the site for the definition of normal, 'respectable' sexuality, then the streets were the site for the production of deviant forms. "The public streets were the domain of the fallen, the promiscous, the diseased and immoral". [61]

In the nineteenth century female sexualities were defined in terms of a dichotomy between 'pure' and 'impure', the madonna and the magdalene.[62] The term 'prostitute' was an accommodating category, which could be used to define the behaviour of any women who deviated from the feminine ideal and lived outside of the middle class codes of morality. The attitude to working class women was, therefore, highly contradictory. Whilst on the one hand they were believed to be unnatural and unfeminine as a result of work outside the domestic sphere, on the other hand, as will be seen in later chapters, there was an attempt to domesticate them, thus, bringing them into accord with bourgeois morality.[63] The confusion arose primarily because of the conjunction of the terms 'working class' and 'femininity', with their contradictory signifiers. The first implies one's relation to the mode of production, in this case proletarian, while the second, implied the ideology of domesticity and non-work, or the assumption that what women did in the home was not 'work'.[64] The confusion was never resolved because these concepts were based on class privilege and exploitation and the doctrine of separate spheres. Attempts were made, however, to gloss over these distinctions by training women for work fit for women, such as domestic service, whether paid or unpaid.

Conceptual Definition of a 'Prostitute'

Developing a conceptual definition of a 'prostitute' in this study raises questions about the sex lives, courting customs, and 'morality' of Scottish working class women in the nineteenth century, which are extremely difficult to answer. Historians argue that "chastity" may not have had the same social meaning for working class women, whose courtship and marriage customs differed from those of middle class women.[65]16) Many women who moved inoccasional prostitution through economic necessity had previous sexual

experience, and similarily, the distinction between occasional sex with a lover and clandestine prostitution for money, food, or drinks may have remained fluid.[66] In regions where pre-marital sex and pregnancy and prostitution became common, working class communities accepted them as normal.[67] Generalizations about the subjective attitudes toward sexuality, therefore, are difficult to make. The important point to keep in mind, however, is that there would have been controversy from competing discourses as to who should or should not be considered a 'prostitute' and further, that moral reformers possibly defined certain women as 'prostitutes' who would not have defined their own behaviour as 'prostitution' and who would not have perceived themselves as subjects of that discursive field.

It should now be clear, that once the social and historical construction of the category 'prostitute' is recognized, a naturalistic or empirical study of prostitution or 'prostitutes' would be extremely problematic. Secondly, attempts to define the 'prostitute' were not just technical, but deeply political. Finally if the discourses on the prostitution "problem" in Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century are to be conceptualized as the engineering of bourgeois hegemony in the area of sexuality, this has to be treated as a process rather than automatic consequence of bourgeois economic domination. One must consider the problem of the engineering of 'consent', within the framework of 'agency', or the process whereby some working class women may have accepted the definition of themselves a 'magdalenes' and chose to reform along bourgeois lines, whereas others resisted the bourgeois moral code, it sanctions on their behaviour, and its technologies of power.

For the purposes of this research the term 'prostitute' will be conceptually defined as a censure applied to women whose dress, behaviour, physical appearance or vocation caused them to be labelled 'prostitutes' within the framework of the discoures, as defined by middle class observers. The term 'prostitute' appears in quotations marks in this thesis in formal recognition of the fact that it is a label and not an objective form of human behaviour.

CHAPTER 2

VENEREAL DISEASE AND PROSTITUTION IN SCOTLAND: THE EMERGENCE OF THE PROBLEM AND ITS CONTROL, 1497-1840

Introduction

The following chapter examines the history of the control of venereal disease and prostitution in Scotland from 1497 to 1840. In the first section it is argued that although the techniques for punishing 'prostitutes' changed there is no evidence that the nineteenth century ushered in an age of sexual repression. The next section of this chapter examines historical evidence which suggests that coinciding with hostility toward 'prostitutes' and fear of venereal diseases there existed a casual familiarity with the illicit. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the structure of prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the 1840's.

Earlier Discourses in Scotland

The steps taken toward the control of major epidemic diseases, such as syphilis, are among the earliest Scottish attempts at social medicine. Early attempts at control took the form of forcible isolation and harsh repression. There is little evidence of any constructive attempts to remove the conditions responsible for venereal disease.[1] What is clear, however, is that the attempt to control the spread of contagious diseases by controlling the behaviour of women in Scotland was by no means an eighteenth or nineteenth century phenomenon. Examples of legislation directed at women, with a view to controlling contagion and disease appear in thirteenth and fourteenth century Kirk session and Presbytery records.[2] It is difficult to determine whether authorities perceived the problem to be the women who worked as 'prostitutes'. or syphilis, but it is evident that the link between the two was firmly implanted in the minds of the authorities.

It is unclear whether the first cases of venereal disease were brought to Europe by Columbus in 1490's as a new disease, or whether it was a mutant form of an old disease, but its deadly effects and the inability of contemporary doctors to treat it are well documented.[3] The first attempt to control "glengore", a common name for syphilis, was incorporated in an Edict of the Town council of Aberdeen, dated April 21, 1497. Although the connection between syphilis and sexual intercourse was not made until the sixteenth century, authorities were quick to accuse "licht weman" of the spread of disease, and readily put their opinions into force.[4] The Aberdeen Act demanded that "all light [loose] women"... "dicist from thair vices and syne of venerie" and work for "thair support on pain of being branded" or banished from the town.[5] The same year an Edinburgh Edict aiming at the control of syphilis was drawn up by King James IV, ordering the transportation of all infected individuals to the Island of Ichkeith, where they were to be treated.[6] Any individual who claimed to be able to cure them was to be deported also. The whole operation was to be completed within two days, after which the cheeks of the 'uncured' would be branded with a marking-iron and they would be banished from Scotland.[7]

By 1507, two additional edicts were passed in Aberdeen; the first attempted to quarantine syphilitics by confining them to their homes and the second banned them from entering the vicinity of butchers, bakers, brewers, and launderies.[8] During the same period Edinburgh clergyman passed an edict to protect themselves against syphilis. The Synod exhorted the clergy not to keep their own 'illiegitmate' children in their company, and prohibited the promotion of them in the church.[9]

By 1560, efforts to control the spread of syphilis had proven to be ineffective. An Act was passed in Edinburgh which banished all "whores" from the town and suburbs. The Act gave "whoremasters and harlots" two alternatives: either confess their conversion to a new way of life or face penalites, depending on the number of previous arrests, ranging from public rebuke and carting, to branding and banishment, or punishment to the death.[10] In 1561, an order was

passed by the Council commanding that Lady Jane Stonehouse remove herself from the "toune" on account of her indecent behaviour. This order is notable considering the rank of the person against whom it was issued. In 1561, there were at least seven special enactments issued by the Magistrates and Councils. In 1566, Queen Mary, herself, passed an Act, "to punish committers of fornication". This is not suprising in light of the fact that Mary's second husband, Lord Darnley, and probably her third, Bothwell, had syphilis.[11] Queen Mary also questioned the health of the high church dignitary who was charged to baptize her son James VI. She said that "she would not have a pokie priest to spet in her child's mouth".[12]

In Glasgow, in 1587, female chastity was perceived to be so low that the Kirk Session enacted severe displinary measures. "Harlots" were to be carted through the town, ducked in the Clyde, and put in the jugs on a market day. Female servants were either fined £20 scots. for a single breach of chastity or sentenced to eight days in prison, where they were fed on bread and water, after which they were put in the jugs for one day. "Honest men's daughters were also included, but they would be fined according to the discretion of the Kirk.[13] In the sixteenth century fear of venereal disease was so intense and the public so wrathful that by 1591, a year of escalated persecution of "witches", in cases where witchcraft and syphilis were linked condemned women were not strangled before burning as usual, but burned alive.[14]

By the sixteenth century, magistrates appear to have made a connection between the evils of sex, women and alcohol. In 1580 "A Most Strict Proclamation" was issued against female servants in taverns, "because of fornication and filthiness that is committed by them, as the occasion of intissing youth".[15]

> Because in past times the inquity of women taverners in this burgh [Edinburgh] has been a great occasion of whoredom, insomuch that there appears to be a brothel in every tavern; therefore all vintners of wine may engage women taverners before the next Martinmas hereafter were to be certified, that if their women committed any immoral fault they should have to pay £40, except if they deliver the offender into

> the hands of the bailie, to be banished, according to the law, as soon as the offence comes to their knowledge.[16]

Only two acts relating to the problem of prostitution were passed between the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Scotland. The first, in 1650, prohibited brothel-keeping and ordered the guilty to be "carted and scourged for their vileness, and banished...under pain of shame, disgrace, infamy &c". In the second, an army officer was fired for keeping a mistress.[17]

The last significant Act passed in Scotland prior to the nineteenth century was enacted in 1700. It appears that by this time Town councils were less concerned with the abolition of prostitution, than with its recognition and control.[18]

> The Bailies reported, notwithstanding the great care and pains taken by them to punish common whores and thieves, and banish them from this city, yet they are still found within this city and suburbs, having no mark or distinction to make them known from other inhabitants; and therefore were of the opinion, that, to conform to the custom of the other places abroad, these common thieves and whores should be marked upon the nose, by striking out a piece of the left side of the nose with ane Iron made for this purpose.[19]

This legislation was considerably more than just an attempt to suppress prostitution. It reveals an acceptance of it as an inevitable aspect of social life. The reference to the "custom of other places" is significant, as it was around this time that other European countries began the police and medical inspection of 'prostitutes' and brothels. On the other hand, perhaps the Town Councillors were simply afraid to enact further legislation. William Tait argued that this was because they had already found it necessary to inflict punishment on the "Burgesses for their licentious behaviour", the Baillies and members of Council themselves would be the next parties who would be charged with the crime; and rather than persist in contriving punishments which might soon be inflicted on themselves, they perhaps thought it better to desist from interference.[20]

Instead of branding 'prostitutes', or inflicting other common forms of torture, efforts were redirected toward the suppression of street disorders, and the apprehension of blasphemers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, and other "lewd persons". In addition, a by-law was passed in Edinburgh which prohibited "respectable females from wearing plaids and other parts of dress" that were likely to confuse them with street-walkers.[21] The shift away from physical torture as punishment for sexual offenses does not indicate a relaxing of the moral code or a move toward permissiveness. Foucault argued that if the severity of the codes relating to sexual offenses diminished considerably by the nineteenth century, it was because in many areas the law deferred to the medical profession.[22] The best example of this process is the establishment of the Lock hospitals and Magdalene asylums in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which are two of the agencies for control and surveillance which were put into operation by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[23] As will be seen in chapter 4, traditional techniques for physical punishment of the body, such as "torture as a public spectacle" and public executions were replaced by punishment of a less immediate kind.[24] The new object was not to "punish less, but to punish better, to punish more deeply into the social body".[25] In female penitentiaries medical cure was combined with long periods of penance directed toward the punishment of the soul, which was clearly more in tune with nineteenth century evangelicalism.[26]

Other, rudimentary efforts at sanitary control were evident in addition to legislation. Male and female servants from the Highlands were stripped naked and carefully examined for signs of venereal disease before they were hired.[27] Farmers were advised to supply a separate spoon and fork for every servant, even for a casual labourer, or at least to refuse to engage servants who could not supply their own eating utensils. The one-bed household was discouraged. Mothers were warned against allowing strangers to kiss their children, and not to suckle any infant whose health was uncertain. The background of wet-nurses was to be carefully investigated. By the eighteenth century the spread of syphilis was

attributed to the customs of the poor. This explained why epidemics were most frequent in the autumn when the country was overrun by migrating agricultural gangs, "a class notorious for their promiscuity in eating, drinking, sleeping, and smoking".[28] These were the avenues along which syphilis was believed to pass. The upper classes, however, did not escape. An unclean glass in a wayside inn might bring the disease home with them, and the custom of employing wet-nurses for their children was a continual menance. "The possibility of contagion through sexual connection was often overlooked, sometimes asserted, sometimes denied".[29]

Legislation relating to venereal disease in Scotland appears to have been based on a double standard of sexual behaviour. As stated earlier, Town councils in the 1490's ordered women to give up the trade and syphilitics were transported to quarantined islands.[30] In 1592 the Glasgow Kirk Session demanded that a Lock hospital be established to isolate 'diseased women' from the rest of the community. The Kirk records state, "that the house beyond the stable-green-port for women affected with Glengore (syphilis) be looked after".[31] The Glasgow Lock hospital, however, did not open until 1805. A rational fear of contagious diseases like syphilis, which were barely understood and generally incurable, coincided with a somewhat light-hearted and jovial attitude toward sexual matters as well as a casual acceptance of extra-marital sex. Historical evidence suggests that in Scotland until at least 1820 there was a "tolerant familiarity with the illicit".[32]

Familiarity with the Illicit

In Glasgow around 1820 a complete list of all the "sporting ladies", who would be in the city during the Glasgow Fair was printed on a broadsheet. The list stated their names, characters, where they would be found; together with a list of their different prices.

> To Glasgow Fair, I understand, lately there has arrived to hand,
> Sporting Ladies of every age, In Venus' wars for to engage,
> There's Miss McNab from Edinburgh town, to Glasgow come to play the loon
> She charges high, but she is willing, before she wants--to take a shilling

There's sporting Meg from Aberdeen, the like of her was never seen;
Her price is only half-a-crown, and when she's paid she quick lies down.
There's Jean from Perth, both clean and neat, and Ann from Crieff, who is not blate, and Kate McKay from Iverness, a bonny sporting Highland lass.

In the Candleriggs they all dwell, in the *holy land*, which is known well,
You'll find them there at any hour, to welcome strangers to their door.
From Inverary in the west, comes Miss McNair that's neatly dressed,
She is without crack or flaw, the best that e'er came here awa.
From Hamilton, there's lately too, arrived Nan, Sweet Bett and Sue,
In the High Street, without blotch or stains, you'll find then all in Lucky M--s.

From England too, of the best kind, there has arrived as I do find
Some sporting ladies, frank and free, that won't refuse to sport a wee.
Their price is only half-a-crown, excepting one they call Miss B--n,
And half-a-guinea she must hae, in McK--s they all do stay.
There's Bet, Jean, Kate, and pretty Poly, who ne'er thought shame to blaw the coal, for to increase the lewd desire of men, and then their buttocks fire.
Their price is low, if that's your mind, they swear they're not a jot behind,
The rest; although their price is scant, they'll take a gill before they want.

From Greenock, all the sporting drest, a large assortment of the best,
And if the hire you cannot pay, they'll trust you to another day.
About the gloamin' neat and clean, in the Goosedubs there's to be seen,
Numbers whose price are sma, just twopence or ane gang awa.
Each one is justly advertised, to serve all ranks, if they are pleased;
Their habitations, price, and name, and how they're dress'd and whence they came.
Now to conclued, from what's laid down, from priest unto the country down,
I pray each one for to take care, and don't be caught into their snare,[33]

In 1775 a visitor to Edinburgh could purchase a copy of *Ranger's Impartial List of the Ladies of Pleasure in Edinburgh* for 1 shilling. This little journal contained an annotated list of the names, addresses and ages of fifty "ladies of pleasure". Miss Inglis, for example at Miss Walker's in back of Bess Wynd, was described as

> "short, black hair, bad teeth. and about 24 years old. She is foolishly good-natured, and many one takes the advantage of her upon that account. Notwithstanding, she is no novice at the game of love, for she is remakably fond of performing on the silent flute, and can manage the stops extraordinary well. She twists round you like an eel, and would not loose a drop of the precious juice of nature, not for a kingdom".[34]

Miss Peggy Alexander, at Monteith's Close was described as a

> "smart genteel lass, about 20 years of age, dark hair, good teeth, fine skin, and extremely good-natured. It is something very odd, that this Lady, although admired by most of the male sex, is universally hated by the sisterhood. She has got an very agreeable squint, which sets her off to great advantage. And when she's in action, she heaves her little Cupid's kettle-drums with great agility, and her languishing eyes speak very forcibly the language of love. She can accomodate any gentleman in a genteel manner at her own house.[35]

The editor of Ranger's List stated that prostitution flourished in the courts, the senates, in the halls of justice, the churches, the navy and the armies. He regarded it as harmless as long as the women were careful to avoid "the contaminated embrace". The subject of venereal disease appears to have found a more sobbering outlet in poems and street ballads.

As I was walking down by the Lock Hospital
As I was walking one morning of late
Who did I spy but my own dear comrade,
Wrapped up in flannel so hard was his fate.

Chorus

Had she but told me when she disordered me,
Had she but told me of it at the time
I might have got salts and pills of white mercury,
But now I'm cut down in my prime.

I boldly stepped up to him and kindly ask'd him
Why was he wrapped in flannel so white,
My body is injured and sadly disordered
All by a young woman my own heart's delight.

My father oft told me, and often times chided me
And said my wicked ways would never do.
But I never minded him, or ever heeded him,
Always kept up my own wicked views.

Get six jolly fellows to carry my coffin
And six pretty maids to bear up my pall
And give to each of them bunches of roses,
That they won't smell me as they go along,

Over my coffin put handfulls of lavender
Handsfull of lavender on every side,

Bunches of roses all over my coffin
Saying there goes a young man cut down in his prime.

Muffle your drums, play your pipes merrily
Play the dead march as you go along.
And fire your guns right over my coffin,
There goes an unfortunate lad to his home.[36]

These broardsides, were produced purely for entertainment and sold in the streets. There content demonstrates that contrary to the attitudes of moralists, familiarity and openess on the subject of sex was an integral part of Glasgow's popular culture.[37]

Glasgow in the 1840'

By the 1840's, Glasgow, the industrial megalopolis of textiles and engineering was by far the largest city in Scotland and the second largest city in the United Kingdom. At 275,00, in 1841, the population of Glasgow was twelve times as large as it had been in 1775, and between 1831 and 1841 it had grown by more than one-third. Edinburgh, at 138,00 was only half Glasgow's size and Aberdeen, Dundee, Paisley were only about half the size of Edinburgh.[38]

Glasgow had its fine, airy, healthy quarters, that vied with those of London and all wealthy cities. In contrast with the living conditions of the middle classes, the poor in Scotland, particularily Edinburgh and Glasgow were described as "more wretched than the poor in any other district in the United Kingdom".[39] In the heart of Glasgow, south of the Trongate and west of the Saltmarket, as well as Calton, off the High Street endless labyrinths of narrow lanes or wynds, into which almost at very step debouche courts or closes formed by old, ill-ventilated, towering houses crumbling to decay, destitute of water and crowded with inhabitants, compromising three or four families on each flat.[40] These districts are occupied by the poorest residence of Glasgow. In 1839, J. C. Symons, an Assistant Commissioner on the official enquiry into the conditions of the handloom weavers, gave the following report of this part of Glasgow:

> I have seen human degradation in some of its worst phases, both in England and abroad, but I can advisedly say that I did not believe until I visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, and disease existed on one spot in any civilized country....In some of these lodging rooms we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor, sometimes 15 and 20 in number, some clothed and some naked men, women and children all huddled promiscuously together. Their bed consisted of musty straw, intermixed with ambiguous rags, of which it was difficult to discover any other feature than their intense dirtiness...Thieving and prostitution constitute the main sources of the revenue of this population.[41]

In the 1830's and 1840's the "city-as-slum" and the sense of urban crisis was fuelled by the outbreaks of cholera and typhus epidemic. By the 1851 nearly 13% of the city's population were classified as paupers.[42] C. A. Oakley claims that life in general changed more in the 1840's than in any other decade in Scottish history. Escalated trade union activity and chartist demonstrations suggested to the middle classes that that "Armageddon might be round the next bend".[43]

In 1841 94% of the Glasgow's population were classified as working class. Throughout the decade unskilled workers from the Highlands and Ireland poured into Glasgow. The census of 1841 listed 125,000 Irish-born individuals in Scotland, and in the famine of 1848 there were up to 1000 new arrivals a week.[44] A large percentage of the migrants were women, who came to Glasgow to take advantage of the increased opportunities generated by industrialization. In the 1840's the majority of Glasgow's male work force were employed in the manufacturing of wollen, cotton, and linen cloth, followed by leather goods, furnature, pottery, glass, rope, and wrought iron.[45] The majority of the female labour force were unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in mills (41%), or domestic servants (26.13%), and dressmakers (12%). Of the employed women under the age of 20, 29.54% were domestic servants, 54.28% worked in textile and fabric mills, and 9% worked in dressmaking and needlework.[46]

The labour market in Glasgow offered relatively few opportunities to unskilled and semi-skilled female labour. The high precentage of women in the commercial and industrial sector combined with low wages created serious problems for women in the nineteenth century. The female labour force was extremely vulnerable to seasonal unemployment, which affected the whole spectrum of female occupations.[47] Most historians recognize that the majority of working class women were expected to and had to work when they could. Traditional ideas about women held by peasant and labouring families did not find feminine and economic functions incompatable, and all family members were expected to work.[48] With the exception of artisans and colliers in the west of Scotland, there were few male occupations which brought in a 'family wage'.[49] Periods of unemployment hit women hard, and it was frequently observed that when trade was slow in Glasgow the number of 'prostitutes' increased.

The Prostitution System

Judith Walkowitz argues that the distinguishing features of the system of prostitution in the nineteenth century was first, that most 'prostitutes' worked independently of pimps, and second, brothels were informally tolerated by the poor working class community. Historically British prostitution was always less institutionalized than it was on the Continent, where the system of regulation fostered police corruption, women's dependence on pimps, and on organized brothel systems.[50] William Tait and William Logan noted that there were very few pimps resident among Scottish 'prostitutes' in the 1840's, which supports Walkowitz's claim that the mid-nineteenth century represented the high point for the 'prostitute' as an independent operator relatively unencumbered by third parties who had a vested interest in in keeping her in prostitution.[51] Although it is clear that brothels and 'prostitutes' were informally tolerated by the poor community, the other evidence suggests that Walkowitz may have underestimated the extent to which 'prostitutes' were exploited by the female lodging-house keepers, upon whom they depended for room and board. Just as the women who engaged

in 'prostitution' ranged from those who were clandestine and part-time to the full-time professional, there were also women who let lodging to 'prostitutes' informally as well as the full-time professional female brothel-keepers who ran public brothels. It follows that at each level the rules and norms of the trade would have varied.

The Brothel System

In 1841 the most famous brothel in Glasgow was the "Three-decker" at No. 8 Stirling Street. It encompassed three flats each containing 6 or 7 apartments and its reputation was known as far away as London.[52] The term, 'brothel', commonly refered to a place where more one than one 'prostitute' resided. In Glasgow, brothels of the size and scale of the Three-decker became increasingly rare by the mid-century when the average number of women who boarded and lodged in brothels was only 3 or 4.[53] William Logan divided Glasgow's brothels into three classes, based on the social status of the men who frequented them, which corresponed to the status of the women who resided within a given brothel. He stated that in Glasgow in 1843 there were 450 brothels in total: 60 first class, 180 second class, and 210 third class. Willam Tait, on the other hand arranged the classes of 'prostitutes' in Edinburgh on the basis of their living arrangements alone. Those of the highest status had houses of their own, followed by who lived in rooms of their own, or in private lodgings. Next came then those who were only lodgers in public brothels or lodging-houses, and finally there were those of no fixed address. Tait calculated that there were about 200 brothels in Edinburgh. This number included all houses where "improper" conduct between the sexes was tolerated by managers of the establishments, which included taverns, ginger-beer shops, eating-houses, lodging-houses, and public brothels where larger numbers of women were boarded and lodged.[54]

The first class brothels in Glasgow were supported by wealthy merchants, military officers and "gentleman who moved in the higher circles of society".[55] These brothels were certainly not found in

the poorer districts of Glasgow, but in the more repectable parts of the city, for example on Monteith Row and the vicinity of Blythswood Square.[56] Second class houses were frequented by businessmen, clerks, and shopmen, and were the busiest when univerity term was in session and large numbers of the students were in the city.[57] In second class brothels the women were identifiable by the flambouyant bonnets they wore. They generally walked the streets in an effort to entice men back to their houses. The presence of these women was well known because of their high visability. Logan observed that it was common to see 15 to 20 'prostitutes' between Stirling Street and the lower High Street on Sunday mornings and evenings.[58] In 1843 a Glasgow gentleman from the more fashionable westend of Sauchiehall Street informed Logan that, he had never observed "unfortunate females" in that part of town until the last 12 months. He stated that it was now common to see "genteel looking men coming out of the the parks in the neighbourhoods".[59] Third class brothels were chiefly frequented by persons from the country, mechanics, apprentices, soldiers, and sailors. In third class brothels women could expect to earn 1 shilling per customer, of which the mistress claimed half; inmates therefore depended on what they got from 'robbery' for their survival. Logan stated that robbery was generally not allowed in first and second class houses, unless the visitor appeared to be a "passing stranger". Girls in higher class brothels were prohibited from robbing a regular customer, unless he was intoxicated and in such cases they were only allowed to pilfer part of the contents of his purse, in addition to their "present" which in better brothels could range from 5 shillings to £5.00.[60]

Brothel-keepers and Procuresses

The percentage of men directly involved in the brothel system was noticably small in the mid-nineteenth century. As previously stated. Walkowitz argues that the strong female subculture was a distinguishing feature of the period. The majority of brothel and lodging-house keepers were women. Although not all of these women ran full-service brothels, it was in their interest that their female

lodgers sought out male clients, as it enabled them to charge more rent.[61] Besides lodging single women, formal and informal brothels were operated as family businesses by women who needed to support their dependents. Rather than being hardened professionals, the majority of women who would have been classified by the authorities as brothel-keepers, were poor working class women who, like the 'prostitutes', were trying to earn a living. Walkowitz claims that it was common for female lodging-house keepers to assist 'prostitutes' who were down on their luck.[62] This was no doubt true, particularly among the less professionalized segments of the trade. This fact, however, does not enable us to overlook evidence which suggests that 'prostitutes' were also exploited by "unfeeling and tyranical" brothel-keepers.[63]

Moral Reformers like William Tait were shocked as the "respectable pretensions" of profession brothel-keepers. He observed that the notions which brothel-keepers entertained of themselves and their rank and postition in society was riddled with contradictions. They were proud of the distinguished place they occupied in the ranks of the trade; and they demanded deference and respect from those who they considered to be their inferiors. The least mark of disrespect or inattention from shopkeepers, servants, or dressmakers enraged them.[64]

Tait stated that a kind of freemasonry existed among brothel-keepers which demanded that anyone who dishonoured the profession would be cast off, and every means of malignity was employed to ensure the ruin and disgrace of the establishment of the offending party. Brothel-keepers had a strong incentive to remain on friendly terms with the other houses, as they were in a position to further each other's interests. Whenever one had a full house she would recommend the establishment of a friend to 'gentlemen' or to new 'prostitutes'. Similarily, there appears to have been a correspondence between brothels in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Visitors travelling between cities could expect to receive a note of introduction from the mistress of another establishment, in the same

way that girls were also exchanged when the interest of business required it.[65]

The manner in which brothel-keepers made their money is of interest. The girls who earned the money entered these houses on the condition that they pay an exhorbitant sum for their board and lodgings, in addition to half of their "presents", as the wages were called.[66] This board ranged from 10s to £1 per week depending on the respectability of the house and the rank of individuals who frequented it. The wages in the most respectable houses ranged from £5 to £35 per week. Unfortunately this did not mean that the girls and the mistresses could both become rich. In most cases crafty mistresses managed to cheat the girls out of most of their share. In order to keep up the respectability of the house all girls had to be gaily attired; and it was the perogative of the mistress to suggest and furnish them with these articles of dress. The clothing was rented by the girls at the most exhorbitant rate. From the time the girls entered the house untill they left it their clothes were provided in this way. It was by this dress-system that they are always kept in debt to their mistress. Other methods adopted by mistresses to squeeze money out of the girls, while at the same time trying to attract visiters to their houses, was the practice taking an "airing in a coach", or attending public promenades and entertainments, bathing quarters in summer, and the races. The expenses of these displays were not defrayed by the house, but charged against the girls' earnings.[67]

In lower-class brothels, the dress required was plainer and mistresses did not furnish them in the same manner. The house had an extensive wardrobe, from which girls rented the items they required for the evening. The sum charged for the loan depended on the traditions of the house and the quality of the article. For example, the loan of a blouse for one night, 6d.; for an umbrella, 6d.; for a bonnet, 4d.; a petticoat, 4d.; a shawl, according to the value; and so on with the other articles.[68] In addition to the sum paid for clothes they also paid the mistress from 12 to 15 shillings for their

board per week, plus half of the wages and half of what they stole from clients. Because 'prostitutes' were in debt to the mistressed of the brothels, they were prevented from moving on when they chose to leave. If a girl demanded her release or decamped in the night then she was inevitably forced to leave without her possessions, which were either kept by way of compensation for the debt by her mistress or locked up, and therefore inaccessible. It is not improbable that the habit which brothel-keepers had of keeping the clothes was their only insurance of keeping these lodgers.[69]

Spoony men and Bullies

The male associates of brothel-keepers were known as "spoony men" or "fancy men". A spoony man refered to an individual who provided the financial backing or granted financial assistence when required. In contrast, a fancy man was either partially or wholly supported by a brothel-keeper. The latter were most often a husband or lover, whereas the former was generally respected only for his money. It was the spoony man who set her up in business, leased a furnished apartment or assumed security for the payment of the rent and who generally belong to a higher social class. In contrast the fancy man was an object of her own choice: "In general as man of her own class or sometimes a "student of law or medicine". Lower class brothels seldom had spoony men but almost all had fancy men, who generally served as "bullies" to the establishment. The office of "bully" was to settle disputes by physical force which arose between the girls and their clients. As stated above, bullies were more common in cities like London and Paris than in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Tait stated that London bullies were the "most desperate characters" who "spend the day in the public houses, and the night in brothels, in which they always assist in robbing and often murdering their victims".[70] The husbands of married brothel-keepers either lived in the house or in a separate dwelling with the family if they had children. In some instances neither the husband nor children were permitted to visit the brothel.[71]

The 'Prostitute'

Most recent studies of prostitution attempt to describe lower-status 'prostitutes' as silent victims of social injustice.[72] Walkowitz, however, argues that not all 'prostitutes' conformed to this stereotype. These women were not "dehumanized or defenseless vagabonds", but poor working women trying to survive in bustling dock towns that offered only low wages, unstable employment and hostility to independent young women.[73] A contemporary observer, the editor of the *North Briton* argued that the idea that 'prostitutes' were victims of seduction was very "sentimental" but "erroneous".[74] He accepted that some women "on the town" were victims of seduction, but that they were exceptions to the general rule. He stated that prostitution in Edinburgh was a trade to which girls served an apprenticeship in the same way as they would have done when learning millinery or shoebinding.[75] He claimed that 'prostitutes' and brothel-keepers were regarderd as the "aristocracy of Edinburgh's closes" and little girls fought with each other for the "honour" of runing messages for them. They grew up familiar with the language, the manners, and the "morale" of the brothel. From childhood they were reared in the midst of "crime and vice" and when they reached womanhood they became journeywomen, and walked the street on their own account.

> These girls are the young recruits who are continually swelling the ranks of out Old Town prostitution. As the little boy ties his toysword to his side and sighs for the day he will be able to enlist as a soldier, so do little girls study to imitate the prostitute, as they sigh for the day in which they will, like her, have money to spend. They look forward and upward to the time when they will enter on their teens, and walk the streets like those who they envy.[76]

Although the editor's account is obviously an exaggeration, Walkowitz has demonstrated that 'prostitutes' were an integrated part of the working class community, and their general economic and social profile differed little from that of the rest of the community. Their choice of prostitution was in many ways a rational choice given the set of unpleasant alternatives open to them.[77]

Before concluding this discussion of 'prostitutes' it is necessary to emphasize that there was a great deal of debate between contemporary observers over the length of the 'prostitute's' career. For all reformers except Acton, prostitution was a short career. William Logan believed that 6 years was the average life-time of a full-time 'prostitute'; 8 out of 10 caught syphilis within the first 2 months. For this reason he was not particularily concerned about clandestine or sly prostitution. He believed that few kept this secret for more than a month before they were driven onto the street.[78] Wardlaw and Tait, on the other hand, maintained that the average life span of a 'prostitute' was 4 years, and only 1 in 11 survived to the age of 25. Similarily Captain Miller of the Glasgow Police stated that the average age when women become 'prostitutes' was 15 to 20, and the average duration of her continuing in the trade was 5 years. "The most common termination of the career is early death, and this is to be accounted for by the extremely dissolute life they lead".[79] Dr. Hanny of the Lock Hospital claimed that only 1 woman in 20 survived the first 3 months without contracting syphilis.[80] It should be noted that at this time the medical profession regarded syphilis as a mysterious and recurring disease.

> In the majority of cases the poor suffering wretches have no means of cure:--and even when these means are provided, the malady is ever recurring; shattering, in an incredibly short period, the soundest constitutions, deforming the fairest and emaciating the stoutest and healthiest frames, bringing on premature exhaustion, and an early grave...the disease when it has fairly pervaded the system, and begins to make this manifest by its external ravages...its effects are, extensive, severe, and loathsome ulcerations; the destruction of the eye-sight, and of the palate and tonsils; the rotting of the flesh from the bones; the exfoliation of the bones themselves till the whole frame becomes a mass of living corruption.[81]

Acton, however, argued that contrary to popular opinion, 'prostitutes' did not "die in harness", but, eventually, became the wives and mothers in all social ranks".[82] He rejected the theory that a 'prostitute's' career involved "the swift decline and ultimate loss of health, modesty, and temporal propriety", Rather Acton

maintained that the downward spiral described by Tait and Wardlaw, from pampered concubine to the haunts of dissipation and death, was a rare exception. 'Prostitutes' no longer died from venereal disease, but from the same illnesses as the population in general.[83] He argued that 'prostitutes' generally passed through their careers less worse off than their male clients and were in better health than 'respectable' working class women of the same age, who were overworked, malnourished and possibly mothers of large families by the age of 25.[84] Further, whatever was the initial cause of the move into prostitution the majority returned to a "more or less regular" lifestyle within 4 years. Bearing in mind their healthy bodies and "excellent constitutions", Acton argued that during their career these poor working class girls gained a knowledge of life far above their stations. It was not suprising, then, to find that a former 'prostitute' should look to the chance of amalgamating with society at large, and the possibility of a respectable marriage. Thus, the better class of 'prostitutes' became the wives of men of every social grade, "from the peerage to the stable".[85] Others amassed small fortunes and became small shopkeepers, lodging-house keepers, opened brothels, public-houses or emmigrated.[86]

Summary

In an attempt to try to analyse the emergence of the 'prostitution problem' it is necessary to grasp the point that illicit sexuality did not become more repressed by the nineteenth century. There is no evidence that the nineteenth century ushered in an age of sexual repression. On the contrary by the nineteenth century the sexual behaviour which had always been punishable began to be spoken of, regulated and policed in new ways. If there ever was only one discourse on sex it had vanished by the nineteenth century, with the emergence of a multiplicity of discourses produced by a whole series of mechanisms operating in different institutions.[87]

> The Middle Ages had organized around the theme of the flesh and the practice of penance a discourse that was markedly unitary. In the course of recent centuries, this relative uniformity was broken apart, scattered, and multiplied in an

> explosion of distinct discursivities which took the form of demography, biology, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, ethics, pedagogy, and political criticism.[88]

For the purpose of this research it is important to note that prostitution was regulated and punished in new ways by the nineteenth century. As stated, 'prostitutes' were no longer dragged through the town, dunked in lakes or whipped and branded, for although it was still a punishable crime, punishment was administered in new ways. The shift from punishment as torture--a "public and theatrical specticle"--to more economically and politically discreet forms is characteristic of the nineteenth century prison reform. Interest was transferred from the body to the mind--a "coercive, solitary and secret mode of punishment replacing one that was representative scenic and collective".[89] What remained constant, however, was the attempt to control the spread of diseases by controlling women's behaviour. Efforts to enforce disiplinary measures against 'harlots', "witches", servants and bar-maids, as well as women of higher social rank such as Lady Jane Stonehouse, "honest men's daughters", and women wealthy enough to hire wet-nurses indicates efforts to control women of all social classes to some extent. Further sex became a matter that required the social body as a whole, and virtually all of its individuals, to place themselves under surveillance".[90] Most influential in this process was the medical profession as exemplified by the sanitary instructions and advice; such as encouraging farmers to provide their servants with separate eating utensils, the condemnation of the one-bed household, censures against kissing and new child-rearing practices.

> In the same period, the analysis of heredity was placing sex (sexual relations, venereal diseases, matrimonial alliances, perversions) in a position of "biological responsibility" with regard to the species: not only could sex be affected by its own diseases, it could also, if it was not controlled, transmit diseases or create others that would afflict generations.[91]

It is important to note, however that strict controls adopted by the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century were not immediately or

directly imposed on the working class; on the contrary, "the most rigorous techiques were formed and, more particularily, first applied, with the greatest intensity, in the economically privileged and politically dominant classes".[92] It was the sexuality of bourgeois children that was first problematized and bourgeois women were the first women to be medicalized.

> The bourgeoisie began by considering that its own sex was something important, a fragile treasure, a secret that had to be discovered at all costs. It is worth remembering that the first figure to be investigated by the deployment of sexuality, one of the first to be "sexualized", was the "idle" woman. She inhabited the outer edge of the "world", in which she always had to appear as a value, and of the family, where she was assigned a new destiny charged with conjugal and parental obligations. Thus there emerged the "nervous" woman, the woman afflicted with "vapors": in this figure, the hysterization of women found its anchorage point.[93]

For the most part the working class escaped the deployment of "sexuality", for a long time, but evidence of the increasing efforts to control the sexual behaviour of the working class can be seen throughout the nineteenth century. The escalation of the effects of urbanization, in the form of overcrowding, epidemics, prostitution and venereal disease which threatened to contaminate the bodies of the bourgeoisie, was necessary before the working class was recognised as possessing a "body and a sexuality". In addition, "there had to be established a whole technology of control which made it possible to keep the body and sexuality, finally conceded to them, under surveillance".[94]

> schooling, the politics of housing, public hygiene, institutions of relief and insurance, the general medicalization of the population, in short, an entire administration and technical machinery made it possible to safely import the deployment of sexuality into the exploited classes: the latter no longer risked playing an assertive class role opposite the bourgeoise; it would remain the instrument of the bourgeoise's hegemony.[95]

To conclude, by the mid-century public attitudes toward prostitution shifted from tolerance to efforts to control it.

Voluntary organizations such as the Glasgow Lock hospital and Magdalene Institution emerged and became effective agents in the efforts to control illicit sexual behaviour and reform working class women through moral training and religious education.[96] At the same time philanthropists and pressure groups campaigned for repressive legislation which increase the role of the state in poor working class communities which were regarded as the breeding-ground for 'vice' and prostitution.

CHAPTER 3

INCITEMENT TO DISCOURES: "CAUSES" AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the discourse on prostitution. There were great number of overlapping points of agreement, especially on the contributing causes of prostitution between the discourses. They can be differentiated, however, by the different institutional responses they adopted or supported to control the 'problem'. Before looking at the discourses it is necessary first to 1) examine the contemporary definitions of a 'prostitute', and prostitution, and the preceived causes of prostitution. From there the four discourses will be introduced, compared and contrasted. Finally the institutional responses will be examined.

Contemporary Definition of a 'Prostitute'

Before looking at the contemporary definitions of 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' it is necessary to re-emphasize that they are neither valid observational nor ahistorical categories with numbers to be counted, characteristics investigated and history documented, but an emerging label or censure, which encompassed a varying constellation of women's behaviour which moral reformers found threatening. The significance of recognizing that they are socially and historically constructed categories enable one to see that the debates over who was and who was not a 'prostitute' were not just technical, but deeply political. Moral reformers exhibited an obsessive interest in the question of which women might be labelled 'prostitutes'. Contributions to the public discoures on the 'prostitution problem' came from all directions, each determined to discover a reason, an explanation, and the truth about the phenomenon. In the process, they actually defined the phenomenon. The 'prostitute', was given a history, a past, a childhood, a character.

There may be valid psychological theories which account for the Victorian middle class male's fascination with the subject of prostitution and illicit sexuality, but this is beyond the scope of this study.[1] What is clear, however is that Victorians could not easily ignore the presence of large numbers of women in the streets, whose dress, physical appearance, occupation, or behaviour led to their being labelled as 'prostitutes'.

In their efforts to describe the most disturbing aspects of prostitution, reformers did not always distinguish between 'prostitutes' and mill-girls or any of the other groups of working class women who regularly congregated, unescorted by men on the streets.[2] Similarily, unmarried mothers and 'prostitutes' were not always seen as mutually exclusive, because it was believed that an unmarried mother had "taken the first step in prostitution", not just because she was unchaste but because it was virtually impossible for a woman alone to support herself and her child.[3] What is most striking about mid-nineteenth century attempts to define 'prostitutes' and 'prostitution' is that there was little attempt to systematize it. Apparently they felt quite confident in their ability to recognize a 'prostitute' if they saw one.[4] For example, Chief Constable McCall of the Glasgow Police stated that :

> The test of a prostitute is, that the women is known to be going about the streets by the police, following no other occupation, and earning her livelihood in that way.[5]

On the basis of McCall's definition a 'prostitute' was any woman found in the streets who could not give a satisfactory account of how she earned her living. This could easily have included the unemployed and casual labourers, who would not have been seen as entirely virtuous: if not exactly non-workers, they were not 'good' workers.[6]

The situation was not so very different for women who could give a satisfactory account of how they earned their living. For example, Alexander Patterson, surgeon at the Glasgow Lock Hospital, stated that the 4,147 mill-workers, servants, machinists, washerwomen,

dressmakers, etc. who had entered the hospital between 1870 and 1880 were either "regular avowed prostitutes, or young women who had more or less given away to immoral practices". Even though only 496 gave 'prostitute' as their occupation, Patterson stated "we know the others also, but they do not admit it".[7] The Glasgow Lock hospital maintained the following definition of a 'prostitute':

> in the vast majority of those cases the patients were prostitutes of one kind or another, that is to say that they were women consorting with more than one man.[8]

Although Patterson recognized that many of the factory labourers worked at their occupations during the day and in the evenings took to the streets to supplement their small wages, his attitude indicated that he would have defined many women as 'prostitutes' who would not have defined their own behaviour as prostitution. It can be concluded then that one indicator of whether a woman was a 'prostitute' was whether nor not she had an occupation. Proof of employment, however was not enough. Other variables, such as her behaviour in public and 'feminine' appearance were also included in the labelling process.

William Acton defined the 'prostitute' with less emphasis on her employment status

> She is a women who gives for money that which she ought to give only for love, who ministers to passion and lust alone, ...She is a woman with half of the woman gone, and that half containing all that elevates her nature, leaving her a mere instrument of impurity.[9]

Acton argued that a 'prostitute' was only "half a woman". Women who were 'prostitutes', were not acting in accordance with any natural urges. The distinction was based on the belief that women were innately asexual. Because 'prostitutes' were sexually active in public, they were not natural women, but "woman with half the woman gone".[10]

Others defined women as 'prostitutes' on the basis of their behaviour in public. The following are descriptions of women at the

Glasgow Fair, but they could just as easily be applied to the behaviour of women at any traditional working class leisure activity such as dance-halls, theatres, public houses, or other places where 'respectable' women with 'feminine sensibilities' did not go.[11] It should be noted that 'prostitutes' were not the only group defined by their sexual behaviour, other working class girls were regarded as "fallen women"[12] even though they were not necessarily "regular prostitutes".

> The ground was teaming with street girls, some of them might be mill girls--many of them were successful in their attempts to lead lads and boys away with them, two gaily dressed girls picked up three young men and went off to the Green...The Bridgegate was filled with drunken people cursing and swearing. Saw frequently drunk females carried off between two men. Several mill girls were under the influence of drink, and in the power of the men who were with them. Saw thirteen couples lying on the green; two couples of whom were in the very act of prostitution; also thirty couples squatting on the grass, some of them arose as we approached...Their talk was odious and repulsive...Went home with feelings of disgust on account of these scenes, and feelings of burning shame that such disgrace should be tolerated by our authorities.[13]

> At the shows saw 94 prostitutes, also a large number of very young girls like mill-workers, scarcely distinguishable from prostitutes in their conduct. Saw 5 young prostitutes squatting on the grass in a very immoral manner; also one couple lying on the grass. (We speak confidently of the purpose, because a policeman on the Green assured us with an oath that no woman went to the Green after a certain hour, save for that purpose)...The conversation that arose was too filthy to be repeated here.[14]

In addition to the interchangeability of the categories 'prostitute' and 'mill-worker', the reporter objected strongly to their dress and general demeanour. These, however are directly related to social class. Factory workers were generally regarded as 'unfeminine'. Their rough voices and garish dress, and the habits of drinking and swearing were the result of one form of working class socialization. It was on the basis of their public demeanour, their lack of 'femininity' that reformers labelled them 'prostitutes'.[15] There is a significant class distinction in the labelling process.

Theorists defined the 'prostitute' in accordance with bourgeois notions of 'femininity' which was based on the doctrine of separate spheres. Women whose life-styles did not conform to middle class standards were regarded as 'deviant' and unnatural. Because of the realities of working class life, especially among the very poor, the 'unfeminine' woman would always be found among the poor, where overcrowding, "uncaring and immoral parents", and lack of proper religious education, meant that they were excluded from the "position and education" which confirmed the 'character' of higher class girls. 'Prostitutes', therefore, were almost always viewed as working class girls.[16]

In short, the critera for defining which women would be defined as 'prostitutes' was quite open-ended. Margaret Sumner argues that this should not be suprising considering the fact that reformers were more concerned with the practical control and identification of 'prostitues' than academic or philosophical discussions.[17]

Contemporary Definition of Prostitution

Definitions of the act of 'prostitution' are equally as ambiguous but are clear examples of what Foucault described as the process whereby the emphasis shifted from the act to the actor. Ralph Wardlaw, for example distinguished between "fornication" and "prostitution". The former defined as "the act of illicit intercourse" and the latter, by the fact that the act was committed "for hire". He concluded that any women who "voluntarly [surrended] her virtue" or was known to consort with more than one man was a 'prostitute'.[18]

> The evil then, now to be considered, is,...the *illicit intercourse of the sexes*. The female who submits to this is guilty of prostitution. The very first offense is prostitution. I am aware that the propriety of the word may be questioned. *Fornication* and *prostitution* have been distinguished; the former as meaning the act of illicit intercource generally, the latter as including the idea of the act being committed *for hire*. And Johnson defines prostitution as "the life of a public strumpet". It is little worth our while to dispute about the precise shades

> of difference between different terms, I consider the word prostitution as, equally with *fornication* and *whoredom*, applicable to the woman, who, whether for hire or not, *voluntarily surrenders her virtue*. But the first offense does not constitute her who has been guilty of it a prostitute....To form the character and to justify the designation, there must be the *voluntary repetition of the act*...A prostitute is generally understood as one who makes her livelihood of whoredom.[19]

In the same light Tait argued

> There is a distinction between the terms prostitution and prostitute, besides that which exists between a certain course of conduct and the individual who follows it. By prostitution is understood merely an act; while prostitute is always employed to denote a person who habitually follows the course of conduct implied in successive acts. Prostitution may arise from various causes; but by a prostitute is generally meant a person who openly delivers herself up to a life of impurity and licentiousness, who is indiscriminate in the selection of her lovers, and who depends for her living on the proceeds arising from the life of prostitution.[20]

On the basis of these definitions prostitution was seen as a status or a style of life. It was not perceived solely as an act: the exchange of sex for money. It involved the sale of sex in an offensive manner as a means of earning a living. The 'prostitute' was not just a women who could not give a satisfactory account of how she earned a living, she was a woman with the woman "half gone", who delivered herself up to a life of impurity, by making her living by 'whoredom'. The definitions of a 'prostitute' and prostitution were clearly a moral condemnation, a censure, rather than descriptions of a definite practice. As Foucault would argue, fornication or prostitution are no longer acts which begin and end, but a "life form". Emphasis shifts away from controlling the act, to the control of the actor.

To summarize, prostitution was not just the performance of a specific mode of behaviour, it was also defined in terms of general character, mannerisms, and way of life.[21] Reformers labelled women 'prostitutes' who where considered to be 'unfeminine', 'bad workers'

and 'dangerous'.[22] Moreover, what lay behind these definitions of prostitution and 'prostitutes' was a contemporary vision of the 'ideal-type' of working class woman. In the process of defining the 'prostitute' reformers also defined her antithesis, the ideal working class daughter, wife, and mother. This definition was not a direct copy of the middle class feminine ideal, but was designed distinctly for the working classes. The working class feminine ideal was defined as pious, thrifty, and concientious, and above all, "she could not display aspirations above her class in either her personal or domestic adorments".[23]

'Causes' of Prostitution

In order to understand the contemporary definitions of a 'prostitute' more clearly it is necessary to examine the perceived causes of prostitution. Reformers were unable to construct a cultural model that would make a poor woman's move into prostitution comprehensible within the terms of her social and cultural world. For middle class reformers, working class culture represented a totally negative culture. From their point of view, only a "degenerate social milieu that spawned an aliented, antisocial personality would explain a woman's entry into prostitution".[24] They believed that the first step to amelioration was to identify the environmental factors which created the evil. Their studies of the causes of prostitution were intended to predict those vocations, leisure activities, and personality traits which would lead to a "woman's downfall".[25] Any sympathy for the 'prostitute' arose because of her miserable childhood, and not her present situation.[26] In their attempt to define the causes of prostituion reformers were particuarily concerned with the occupations most likely to lead it it. They idenitified two which were most dangerous: domestic service and factory labour.

Domestic Servants

In the case of the domestic servant, it should be noted first that domestic servants formed the largest class of self-supporting

females.[27] In 1862 they accounted for 21% of the employed population of Scotland.[28] Second, the majority of these women were unmarried and lived in the houses of middle class families and were feared as a source of "contagion and corruption". Most theorists had one story to tell of wet-nurses communicating venereal disease to the children of respectable parents.[29] Third, as solid members of the middle class , reformers had ample opportunity to observe the habits, manners, and morals of their own female servants. Contact with their servants was probably the only contact that many had with working class women, and through their roles as employers they had considerable power or influence over them.[30] The fact that most domestic servants were women, and the majority of women applying to magdalene asylums were former domestic servants, provided grounds for their concern about their behaviour, and especially their sexual behaviour.

> Incontinence prevails extensively among the class of domestic servants...Like illegitimacy, or prostitution, statistics prove unequivocably that immorality in that class upon which much of the happiness of the community depends, and whose interests are so intimately bound up with our own that its sin and shortcomings, its errors and waywardness, cannot but touch us to the quick. To the domestic servant all our figures point. They tell us that our maids fill the country with illegitimate children, and swarm the streets as prostitutes.[31]

Finally, the adolescent domestic servant occupied a contradictory position in Victorian social structure. She challenged middle class notions of female adolescent dependency and girlhood as a time of innocence and pleasure. Middle-class families were motivated by an attempt to minimize the contrast between the lives of poor servants and their own daughters. The plight of the juvenile servant, whose labour made it possible for middle class women to spend their days in leisure, had great metaphorical force, but the reformation of her condition would have meant an uncompromising challenge to the social system.[32]

Factory Labour

The expansion of the market economy, and the commercialization of traditional female tasks transformed women's household based methods of extending the family budget. Traditionally, women earned money through such activities as sewing and washing, which had never alarmed the Victorian public sphere as they were seen as supplementary to domestic chores. Throughout the century, increasing numbers of single and married women were forced to leave their families and village communities to find wage-earning employment in factories, cotton mills and other industries in Glasgow. The changing pattern of women's work was seen as a challenge to the division of labour dictated by the doctrine of separate spheres because it undermined the foundations of the patriarchal family.[33] Controversy over the presence of working women in the 'public' arena was an integral part of the public discourse on the prostitution problem.

In the case of female factory labour, moral entrepreneurs took the mill-worker to typify working class women in general because they worked outside of the home, alongside men or in direct competition with men, in an area which, unlike domestic service,[34] defied the doctine of seperate spheres. It is important to note that unlike the domestic servant, whose activities were confined to the domestic sphere, female factory labourers were a potential political threat. Sharing the same working conditions as men, they were often involved in the same political movements.[35] Elspeth King argues that in some areas female industrial action had significant impact on trade union development.[36] Further, Scottish women were prominent among the Owenite socialists.[37] In the eyes of the bourgeoisie, female factory workers had one foot in the 'feminine' sphere of the home and the other in the 'masculine' world of social production. Because they were financially independent and in some cases relatively well paid, they were perceived as not fulfiling the 'natural' role of the female sex, that of dependence on and ministering to men.[38] Indeed, for some,

> they were 'bad' mothers and 'bad' housekeepers. They 'failed' in the role which bourgeois opinion considered to be definitive of women's nature. Given the material circumstances under which they lived, they could have appeared in no other way. They could not be ministering angels, and this was understood by middle class comentators as being a result of their 'unnatural' independence as wage labourers...It is interesting that prostitutes were usually said to be unmarried, and often said to be childless, since it is the single working class female who represents the greatest antithesis to the bourgeois definition of womanhood. The economically independent singlewoman was very much a product of the industrial revolution, of the same processes which provided the basis for the ideology of the whole women. As Ivy Pinchbeck remarks, the industrial revolution meant that for the first time an unmarried woman could actually be better off than a married one.[39]

Reformers recognized that during depressions in the trade cycle, when unemployment was high there was an increase in the number of 'prostitutes' on the streets.[40] They agreed that the unstable market for semi-skilled and unskilled female labour[41] and low wages were common causes of prostitution, but they were at a loss as to what should be done about it. Their faith in private enterprise and the Poor Law committed them to the belief that anyone who was prepared to earn an honest living could do so if they tried. Tait's study of prostitution in Edinburgh demonstrated that this was not true, but they ignored his suggestions. Rather than examining the possibility of wage controls they devoted their attention toward rating which occupations were at greater risk.[42] They argued that the chances of a women "straying from the path of virtue" was intimately linked to her choice of occupation. The riskiest occupations were the mills, the threatre, shop assistants, argicultural labour, bar maids, seamstresses, street-beggars, and message girls.[43] Reformers noted that in light of the low wages paid to working women in these trades, they were frequently drawn to prostitution by "cruel and biting poverty".[44] However, vicious inclinations acquired early in life, or "evil training", bad associates, and an indecent mode of life, were just as likely to expose women to temptations as her occupation.[45]

Working Classs Leisure Activities

In the nineteenth century and later, when most working class housing was uncomfortable and overcrowded, the working class in Glasgow spent their leisure time on the streets,[46] since among other things promenading in the streets was cheap, pleasant, and an important part of young people's courting rituals. Promenading was not confined to the working classes for young middle class men or "mashers" were also known to haunt Sauchiehall Street.[47] In the climate of the high moral tone set by Queen Victoria after her marriage in 1840, working class street culture was just one of many leisure activities to earn the censure of moral reformers. The presence of large numbers of 'unaccompanied' women on the streets presented a direct challenge to deeply cherished values of feminine purity and raised questions about Scottish "manhood" and pre-marital and extra-marital sexuality.[48] Female employment was not the only cause of prostitution. It was feared that women who participated in certain forms of working class leisure activities were in moral danger. An observer remarked with regard to the behaviour of women at the Glasgow Fair, that he had never seen so many drunken women or heard such "profane and filthy" language in his life.[49]

Reformers were anxious about the effects of other leisure activities such a dancing schools, public-houses, and threatres, espcially because these were also a source of entertainment for middle class sons.[50] The greatest temptation of all, however was alcohol: as stated previously, the connection between drink and prostitution was already identified as a social problem in the seventeenth century. The evils of drink were well known to Scottish evangelicals who believed that a women who drinks "will do anything".[51] They argued that when the moral tone of the females was that low, it was logical that the morality of the males would follow it. In order to elevate the moral tone of working class females, education and moral training were prescribed.[52] If moral reform was, as Walkowitz argues, an attempt to remake working class culture, then it appears that many groups believed that the fastest path to

reconstruction lay through controlling the behaviour of that class's women.

Personality Traits

In addition to occupations and leisure activites, a common cause of prostitution was believed to be the personality traits, character defects and bad habits possessed by many working class girls. These were explained as being environmentally induced and the result of socialization in working class families. These features could therefore be modified through moral education and religious training, but unattended would led to prostitution. The most dangerous were those personality traits related to ambition, such as the desire for property, which led to theft and love of finery, which in turn led to vanity and pride. The latter were condusive to the development of ideas above one's station and thereby increased the likelihood of being seduced by false promises. It should be noted that 'seduction' was defined as a class relationship, where a man of higher rank enticed a "female from a life of chastity, by money or false promises....solely with the intention of gratifying his own lust".[53] It could not occur between individuals of 'lower rank'. Reformers acknowledged that upper class girls, rather were occasionally seduced, but the problem here was not the sexual behaviour of higher class girls, it was their governess's and ladies maid's. It was stated that seduction by their employer's friends or officers was the most frequent cause of prostitution among higher ranking servants. When house-servants were seduced it was usually by university students or soldiers, Further, comparatively few mill workers were led astray by seduction. This group, it was argued most often had 'illegitimate' children by shop assistants or apprentices; "but the loosness of their character" led Tait, for one to conclude that "no deception was necessary to decoy them".[54]

It is clear that Scottish reformers' analysis of the causes of prostitution contained two messages for the Victorian public. The first, directed at middle class males, stressed the moral and

physical contagion possessed by the women. Tait, for example, argued that the injurious consequences of prostitution were by no means confined to the women who pursued it. He claimed that every family and every social class was exposed to the effects of prostitution, although he implied that the middle and upper classes suffered more, because they had the most to lose. He stated that prostitution had the following deleterious effects on the family lives of 'respectable' society: it brought immeasurable shame to the families of young females who "went astray"; it corrupted the morals of young men and led to stealing and dishonesty, causing shop assistants, clerks and apprentices to steal from their employers and driving sons to steal from their fathers to finance their "carnal pleasures"; it brought financial ruin or bankruptcy and disgrace on the families of the men who supported it; incontinent and unfaithful husbands, "careless and dissipated" wives, and contaminated wet-nurses, communicated contagious diseases to children, the effects of which worsened mental and physical health for generations; it was a common cause of suicide amongst men who brought poverty and dishonour upon themselves and their families and lost 'caste' in society. Finally, prostitution was the principal reason why the students of literature, science, law and medicine, who resorted to taverns and brothels to relieve the boredom of study failed in their courses.[55]

Reformers also intervened in the name of patriotism and nationalism.[56] Foucault argues that this period was the first time that a society affirmed that its future and its fortunes were tied not only to the might of its citizens, but to the manner in which "each individual made use of its sex".[57] Tait, for example, argued that the history of all nations proved that an increase in prostitution invariably resulted in revolution, as evidenced by the large numbers of 'prostitutes' prior to the French, Spanish and American Revolutions.[58]

It is important to note however that 'disgust' was not the only reaction to the presence of 'prostitutes'. They were also thought of as 'fascinating' and 'seductive'.[59] Tait argues that for as long as

'prostitutes' were allowed to roam the streets men, young and old, would be tempted.

> From boyhood to manhood his life is one continued fight against it...He cannot pass along the street in the evening without meeting with, and being accosted by women of the town at almost every step. Their fascinating smile--their artful and familiar conversation, are sure to attract his attention. The freedom with which they approach him, the affection and friendly maner in which they ask after his health and invite him to their lodgings, together with their handsome figure and beautiful appearance, are too much for any one whose conduct is not governed by powerful religious principles.[60]

It was not just women who were easily identified as 'common prostitutes' who were regarded as endangering the morals of young men. Reformers were also concerned about the corrupting behaviour of the seamstresses and factory-girls, and part-time 'prostitutes', who posed as workers, who had long "ceased to be virtuous", and who were known to frequent dancing schools and theatres.[61]

The second message was directed toward all classes of women. The image of the 'prostitute' was held up as a threat to women who refused to conform to the 'feminine ideal' promoted by the middle class moral code. Women who drank, or exhibited unnatural pride, vanity, or love of fine dress were more or less doomed to a life of prostitution. As will be seen, the list of causes ran the gamut of the female life cycle. At any stage, and often through no fault of her own, such as extreme poverty, death of a spouse or desertion a women could be faced with prostitution. Although there is evidently truth in this,[62] the message inherent in the discourse is not based on an analysis of political economy, but a moral message directed at controlling the sexual and vocational behaviour of working class women and girls.

Reformers stressed that working class girls had to be taught that chastity and virginity were the

> Priceless jewel in her honour--however plain her person--however humble her rank may be--which, without the deepest shame and detriment, she dare not give away. Thus let us strive to meet the early prostitution, so sadly prevalent,

due to congenital and absolute ignorance of even the barest morality, as well as to force of vicious parental example searing the conscience which barely begun to live.[63]

Summary

Reformers defined the 'prostitute' as both a helpless victim and a threatening social problem. As victims 'prostitutes' were portrayed as individual 'fallen woman'. Either as girls from 'respectable' families, who had been drugged or duped by artful rakes, or as harmless domestic servants who had been 'led astray' and then abandoned by their lovers. Nead argues that defining 'prostitutes' in terms of their own guilt, as victims rather than oppressors, was an effective way of disarming them of their power. The image of the 'prostitute' as a "wretched outcast, ravaged by feeling of remorse and shame" was part of the attempt to deflect the power and threat of working class women.[64] Conversely, 'prostitutes' were also portrayed as a threat to society. In these cases it was usually in roles that directly defied the ideology of separate spheres, such as factory labour. Unlike cases of the seduction of individual 'helpless' servants, as hordes of undisciplined factory workers, their political power was evident. According to many reformers, factory workers had never been 'seduced', rather they were said to have generally loose morals. They entrapped virtuous middle class men, spread contagion and fraternized with socialists on the shop floor. As evidenced by the hierarchy of occupations most likely to lead to prostitution, reformers implied that the further women strayed from the home the greater their chances of becoming 'prostitutes'.

Finally, there was the problem of ambition. Individual causes of prostitution, such as, irritable temper, dishonesty and desire for property, love of dress, desire for beauty, and pride, conflicted with the class position working class girls, who had no legitimate means of gratifying material desires and no right to hold ideas above their station. It should noted that in an ostensibly highly

materialistic Victorian society where status was related to material possessions, it is not suprising that young women in service and the clothing trades, who spent their working lives surrounded with other peoples beautiful things would dream of the day that they might own silks of their own. It was perhaps the strengh of their ambition and the higher expectations that led many working class girls to resist subordination and dependency traditionally expected of them.[65] Reformers, however, had every hope that with the proper amount of moral training and religious education 'defiant' tendencies could be modified or subdued.

Incitement to Discourse

Foucault argues that by the middle of the nineteenth century throughout Europe sexual matters had become characterized as much more than sporadic activities, to be either condemned or tolerated. He argues that sex had become something which needed to be managed and regulated "for the greater good of all". Sex was no longer something which individuals judged from a safe distance, "it was something to be administered...It had to be taken charge of by analytical discourse...sex became a 'police' matter".[66]

Public interest in prostitution began around the time that nineteenth century statistical societies and the Registrar-General began to publish the results of large numbers of statistical inquiries into the living conditions of the nation's poor. These studies defined many of the traditional rural and working class living arangements as 'social problems' and aroused a wave of social consciousness in many evangelical physicians, clergy and professionals who awakened to what they called 'the moral state of the nation'.

> We in Scotland for a long period flattered ourselves that we were the most virtuous people on earth, and we had repeated it so often that we not only firmly believed it ourselves, but had gone far to persuade other people that it was true...however, statistical inquiries came into fashion and they have been gradually conducted with more and more

> accuracy, until we are now becoming acquainted with our social state and position as they really exist, and not as we fondly imagined them to be. These inquiries, now adopted and carried out by the State have brought to light many unexpected facts, and none so sad, so painful, as the wide-spread licentiousness of men and women.[67]

The Scottish establishment, which had long claimed moral superiority over their European neighbours were seriously shaken by statistical exposes of illegitimacy and infanticide rates, prison convictions, prostitution, infant mortality, intemperance, and particularly studies which reflected badly on the sexual and moral behaviour of working class women. The 'illiegitmacy' rates were published for the first time in the 1850's, and Scots were shocked to find that illegitimacy was on average higher in Scotland than in England and most parts of Europe.[68] "Morality" in large towns was often gauged by the amount of illegitimacy and the mothers of these infants were classified as 'prostitutes'. As one commentator remarked, "...this is not incredible; in fact, the transition from the maternity of bastard children to street-walking will appear almost inevitable, when the attendent circumstances are considered".[69] The attendant circumstances was the fact that it was virtually impossible for a single mother to support herself and her child.[70]

From amongst these studies of female behaviour, they study of prostitution become one of the most popular, and was frequently replicated. Inspired by A.J.B. Parent-Duchatelet's study of prostitution in Paris (1839), Scottish moral reformers attempted to reconstruct the size, structure, and demographic background of 'prostitutes'. By the 1840's four distinct groups contributed regularly to the public discourse on the prostitution problem in Scotland and other parts of Britain. Although there is a considerable amount of overlap among discursant's political and religious persuasions, these theorists often used their roles as professionals to legitimate their participation in the public discourse. These groups will be identified as shaping the: medical , philanthropic, local state, and socialist discourses. The medical,

philanthropic, and local state discursants were heavily influenced by evangelicalism, which distinguished them from the socialists, because the former emphasized the necessity for the resocialization of individual women, while the latter emphasized the need to reorganize society itself. In Scotland, evangelicals never ceased to be orthodox Calvinists and Presbyterians Scottish evangelicals were fervently religious, puritanical, and anxious to see their ideals adopted by society as the accepted norms.[71] Nineteenth century evangelical reformers first wished to transform individuals, and to help each personally to make his or her own way to the throne of Grace, and only secondly did they want to reform society in order to make the individual's path to Salvation an easier one.[72]

Scottish moral reformers were influential throughout the United Kingdom. On the basis of their biases and prejudices, however well meant, they were among the first to 'problematize' prostitution in a distinctly 'Victorian' way. Through their own distinct and contradictory styles they alerted society to the realities of life for poor working class women. Their writings established the basis for the discourse of problemativation and the interventionist social policies which would follow later in the century.

The Philanthropic Discourse

Scottish Evangelicalism did little to soften the Calvinist orthodoxy of the time, for most clergy continued to believe that evil and injustice, caused by human wickedness was God's will. This rigid determinism prevented any fundamental challenge to the attitudes of the church to deteriorating social conditions which were also seen as God's will. At no time did any group of churchman in Scotland challenge the legitimacy of the existing social heirarchy. The stance of the church and clergy was basically ameliorative.[73] Yet this does not mean that the church did not produce evangelicals who were disturbed by the living conditions and poverty of the urban poor, but their business remained the salvation of souls. Olive Checkland argues that the nineteenth century saw the attempt by the Church of

Scotland and other Scottish Churches to "stay the tide of secularism and to recall the nation to God and to his worship".[74] In this, the philanthropic movement, composed of clergy and lay individuals were a central driving force. Based on Calvinist philosophy which concerned itself with all aspects of the life of the people, their campaign urged patience and humility; for in this way men and women could confront their problems without moral collapse.[75]

The representatives of the philanthropic discourse to be discussed here were Ralph Wardlaw, whose early attempt to analyse and expose the problem is indicative the religious attitude toward prostitution in the 1840's[76] and William Logan, a Glasgow city missionary between 1843-1870 who represents the hands-on philanthropic attempt of a churchman to collect the "moral statistics" of the city. Another member of this group, R.V. Somerville, held midnight meetings in the 1860's in an attempt to draw 'prostitutes' out of their haunts and into the sphere of the church, whereas by 1860 J.D. Bryce of the newly opened Glasgow Magdalene Institution was offering Glasgow's 'prostitute' population a surrogate family and a substitute for home. Finally, by 1880 the coalition of Free Churchmen and congregationals had formed who were determined that the C.D. Act would not be extended to Glasgow. The following section examines some of the more prominent individuals involved in the debates.

Ralph Wardlaw: Exposure and Analysis of the Problem-1840's

The Scottish campaign against prostitution was opened by two individuals: one medical, William Tait, and the other clerical, Ralph Wardlaw. In 1840, the same year that Tait published *Magdalenism*, Wardlaw, a senior and respected Congregationalist minister in Glasgow, petitioned by "38 ministers of the gospel" and "11,000 fellow citizens of all religious persuasions" gave four lectures on female prostitution. These were delivered first in Glasgow before an "exclusively male audience", including the Lord Provost and Town Council. The lecture series was so popluar that it was repeated some

weeks later in Edinburgh for the newly formed Society for the Protection of Young Females.[77] Although Tait had focused on the lives of 'prostitutes', and Wardlaw upon the clients, both Tait and Wardlaw intended to shock, and in this they succeeded. They felt the need for action was so imperative that some exaggeration was justified.[78] In his third lecture, *On the Guilt and Causes of Prostitution,* Wardlaw firmly placed the blame upon men. He was obviously aware that his all-male audience were not all blameless and he seized this opportunity to deliver a powerful sermon to the "thoughtless and the hypocrites" who had come to listen.[79] Wardlaw passionately rejected the safety-valve theory which maintained that the existence of 'prostitutes' made the world safe for virtuous women.

> What special title have the wives and daughters of those who employ this plea for prostitution , to the protection of their virtue, more than other wives and daughters...is some inferior class to be sacrificed to the Demon of Lust, for the benefit of those above them?[80]

William Logan: City Missionary-1840-1870

William Logan became a city missionary in Glasgow in 1840. Since his career began in 1838, his crusade to reform 'fallen women' had taken him through the lock wards of hospitals and workhouses and missions in London, Leeds, Rochdale, Manchester, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cork, and Bradford.[81] In Glasgow Logan was appointed to "one of the lowest districts" in the city. He became a familiar visitor to first, second and third rate brothels, the wards of the Lock hospital, the Female House of Refuge, the Magdalene Asylum and police offices. He observed little difference in the systems of prostitution between cities with the exception that girls in Glasgow "were more depraved" and their supporters less ashamed of their conduct or afraid of their "good name".

> There is one respect particularly in which the harlotry of Glasgow is more debased and unnatural than in any other place of which I have knowledge; but so disgusting, that even amid the plain speaking of this publication it cannot be described. In England, there is at least an understood acknowledgement of the prohibition of nature. In Glasgow

there is none. Can the harlots be more debased without their paramours sharing in the deeper debasement.[82]

R.N. Somerville: The Midnight Meeting-1860's

In 1860 Rev. R.N. Somerville, of Anderston Free Church, broke the ice among his congregation when he announced his "congregational plan" to aid 'fallen women' by beginning midnight meetings in Glasgow.[83] Midnight meetings were closely associated with other forms of rescue work and Sommerville and his assistant "Mrs. R".[84] worked informally with the Glasgow Magdalene Institution. On the evenings of the meetings, the promoters distributed invitations to 'prostitutes', which often promised them free refreshments, usually tea, coffee, and cakes. As guests discovered, their hosts mixed these with religious sermons. The object was to entice and subsequently reform as many 'prostitutes' as possible.[85] The men and women of Somerville's church volunteered to stand on street corners and distribute printed invitations to street-walkers inviting them to the meeting. After the meeting and sermon the following proposal was made: "If any person be willing to forsake her sinful life we shall aid her in every possible way".[86] The organization promised to provide work, and accomodation for women who were ready to begin a 'new life'. A constant welcome was extended at the church and volunteer Ladies promised to visit each girl daily and to stand by her in all her needs. Over a period of 17 months, 72 girls were taken into the congregation, but only 36 displayed any signs of true 'penitence'.[87]

J.D. Bryce: A Substitute for Home-1860-1880

Checkland claimed that the "philanthropy of piety" involved more than going out to the community and homes of those in need. There was also a range of challenges which required an alternative strategy which amounted to the provision of "a substitute for home itself".[88] The establishment of magdalene asylums, female refuges and penitentiaries for destitute and homeless women and girls were

common responses to the prostitution problem, which reflected part of a larger movement to 'colonize' the poor. Penitentiaries were established for orphans, the physically and mentally disabled, and 'prostitutes'. In these homes a 'problematic' segment of the female working class were isolated from the more respectable community, and 'voluntarily' underwent intensive re-socialization, moral education and industrial training, and were thereby restored to 'respectablity'.[89] The most energetic advocate of the institutional approach in Glasgow was J.D. Bryce, a merchant, who was on the Board of Directors of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution, the Female House of Refuge, and Female House of Shelter.

The C.D. Act and the Scottish Churches-1860-1880

The position on the C.D. Act divided Scottish Churches. The Church of Scotland was reluctant to enter into conflict with the government and said absolutely nothing against the Act,[90] although individual ministers let it be known that they opposed it.[91] The Free Church Assembly and the United Presbyterian Synod, as well as ministers from the Reformed Prsbyterian, Congregational, Evangelical Union, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic churches responded immediately with petitions for repeal. The Presbyterian Church and the Free Church in Glasgow began sending petitions in 1871 condemning the Act, and by 1882 similar petitions had been received by the House of Commons from Aberdeen, Inveness, Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Banff, Hamilton, Jedburgh, Dundee, Campbelltown, and Perth.[92] The Churches objected to the Act on the grounds that it was immoral and cruel. They objected to the state sanctioning of "vice" and argued that the Act encouraged prostitution and caused physical and mental suffering to the women involved.[93]

Although the C.D. Act was never extended to Glasgow, in 1879 a burgh commisioner of Maryhill, 2 miles from Glasgow applied to have the Act extended to that area. Maryhill was the military center for the West of Scotland. Under the conditions of the 1869 Act, this would have meant that the city of Glasgow would have come under its

jurisdiction.[94] There was such strong opposition to this suggestion that the matter was soon dropped.[95] The Churches supported the view that although some form of legislation was necessary to suppress prostitution, they maintained that the Scottish Police Acts were adequate to this end.[96]

The Medical Discourse

The contributions of medical 'experts' to the discourse on prostitution represent four distict streams of thought within the medical profession during the mid-nineteenth century: evangelical, state regulation, moralist, and police repression. William Tait typifies the evangelical-medical approach. His study of prostitution in Edinburgh in 1840 represents the earliest attempt to analyze and expose the problem. William Acton's analysis of the causes of prostitution in the 1850's laid the foundations for the English experiment in state controlled prostitution.[97] Moralist, James Miller's contribution in 1859, on the other hand, is a reaction to the English system. Miller argued that police repression was superiour to the state regulation of 'vice'. Finally, Alexander Patterson's testimony before the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases in 1880 represents Glasgow's response the the prostitution problem.

William Tait: Exposure and Analysis of the Problem-1840's

The evangelical approach is typified in William Tait's survey of prostitution in Edinburgh, which was by far "the best description of early Victorian prostitution and the social and economic conditions in which it flourished".[98] His work as the house surgeon of the Edinburgh Lock Hospital, the Midwifery Dispensary, and secretary of the Edinburgh Society for the Protection of Young Girls provided him with first hand knowledge of the living conditions of Edinburgh's 'prostitutes'. He claimed to know "more than three-fourths of all the common 'prostitutes' in Edinburgh" by name.[99]

There are traces of evangelicalism in each of the medical doctors who contributed to the discourse on prostitution, but Tait is distinguishable by his emphaisis on 'prostitutes' as people rather than carriers of veneral disease.[100] No writer showed as much compassion for the women without ever sentimentalizing them.[101] Evangelical doctors, like Tait, condemned male sexual licence as a threat to the family and to congugal love.[102] They upheld the traditional puritan ideal of a patriarchal "marriage of affections" consecrated in the home, a zone of intimacy and refuge from the competitive world of work and politics. Their demand for a single standard of sexual conduct and for purity of sexual relations was uncompromising. They claimed that the powerful male sex drive, which was stronger than women's, could be kept under the control of a "rightly balanced duly principled, and well exercised mind".[103] It was control of "sexual passions" that separated "civilized man from animals".[104] Men who allowed their sexual desires to dominate their natures were "unmanly men".[105] Tait took the point so far as to argue that any man who could not control his lust belonged in a "madhouse".[106]

Evangelicals also concerned themselves with strengthening the patriarchal family. They sought to reimpose the moral and social authority of the father over extra-familial relations at a time when it was assumed that the social and material basis of paternalism had been eroded.[107] They stressed that while employers had the right to exact their "quantum of labour" they ought also to appear as moral agents before their employees.[108]

> We maintain that the employer, while benefiting by the comparative cheapness of female labour, is bound to appear on the scene in a moral capacity. We attack the mere materialism of transactions, contracts, and engagements. the master...is not quit of his duty when he pays the stated wage.[109]

As defenders of the patriarchal family they regarded 'prostitutes' as a source of pollution and a constant temptation to middle class sons.[110] More threatening still to respectable society were the

clandestine 'prostitutes' who as servants were able to infiltrate the sanctity of the middle class home.[111] Tait, for example, cautioned young men to be on the look out for clandestine 'prostitutes' who ritually pricked their forefingers with needles in order to pass as 'respectable' steamstresses.[112]

William Acton: State Regulation-1860's

William Acton (1857), an English venereologist and crusader for the Contagious Diseases, Act represents the sanitary approach which was instrumental in generating an intellectual climate either sympathetic to the C.D. Act or, like Miller and Alexander Patterson, vehemently opposed to it. Acton's contribution to the discourse is important because his work became an important plank of the regulationist platform.[113] Acton, who campaigned for the Act of 1864 and its extension to the entire civilian population, became the target of anti-regulationist propaganda in Scotland. Acton stressed the need for a compromise between strict moral principles and the realities of social life. His task was to make state regulation palatable to a population whose ideas and values had been shaped by evangelicalism.[114] He demanded the state regulation of prostitution which was already tacitly sanctioned by British society.[115] Acton argued that since the state concerned itself with all preventable forms of disease, venereal disease should be no exception.[116] He explained that he did not wish to make the "path of sin less dangerous for the sinner". It was probably an unhappy coincidence that curing disease also made prostitution less hazardous; however, he stated that the benefit to society and the thousands of "miserable women" should not be abandoned merely because it entailed this consequence.[117]

Kenneth Boyd argues that the "well-scrubbed Christian" was one of the consequences of evangelical movement, and the other was sanitary reform. Efforts to improve the level of public health of course owed a great deal to the deterioration of the urban environment and to advances in medical science, which held out the possibility not

only of halting this deterioration but making the population as a whole healthier than ever before. But it owed even more to the evangelical frame of mind; and while public health professionals eventually dropped the evangelical doctrine, they retained its moralizing tone. Their therapeutic spirit was not accompanied with the view of a 'new moral world', or a reaction against the church, as was seen in Owenite socialism, but emerged within the context of evangelical Christianity.[118]

James Miller: Medical and Police Intervention-1859

Later evangelicals like James Miller (1859), professor of surgery at Edinburgh Univeristy, exhibited a narrowed and moralistic approach to the 'prostitution problem'.[119] Miller's attitude toward prostitution was extremely old fashioned; apart from references to Acton. "the whole book could have been written by an illiberal presbyterian divine in the 1830's".[120] It was intended to be an attack on Acton's thesis, "but it emerged as little more than an unintelligent attempt to shout him down".[121]

By the second quarter of the century massive urban growth made already existing social problems appear more prominent than ever before. As a result, attitudes to poverty, public health and the quality of housing all underwent some transformation, and prostitution was linked directly to them all. Miller was concerned that certain theaticals, the ballet, modern fiction and plays pushed the moral tone of society downward.[122] The moralist's writings on prostitution relied heavily on the language and format of earlier studies, though they were harsher in their condemnation of lower-class life and morality. They lacked the measure of sympathy and practical understanding of the life of the poor which distinguished Tait's work.[123] They skirted around the discussion of the economic causes of prostitution, concentrating instead on the unsanitary housing and on inferior moral education. Miller was particularily concerned with the demoralizing social environment. He believed that through education and religion the self-control and self-respect of the masses would

increase.[124] Freed from major political anxiety by the defeat of Chartism in 1848, many reformers hung on to the zeal for social reform which had accompanied it, The moralists of the 1850's concentrated increasingly upon intemperance. censorship, moral education and sexual purity to divert attention away from the real issues such as female unemployment and poverty which caused prostitution.[125]

Alexander Patterson: The Glasgow System-1860-1880

The fourth participant in the medical discourse was Alexander Patterson, the surgeon at the Glasgow Lock hospital who endorced the Glasgow System of police repression as an alternative to the state regulation of prostitution. Patterson claimed that for thirty years he had been familiar with the streets of Glasgow and without the slightest hesitation he affirmed that they had improved since the new Police Act was enforced in 1870.[126] The main objective of the Police Act was to repress public prostitution and to reduce the number of brothels and 'prostitutes' in Glasgow, He claimed that there was no better means of diminishing sexual vice or disease than by police administration. He concluded that the success of the Glasgow System proved that legislation such as the C.D. Act, was unnecessary. A voluntary Lock hospital, with abundant accomodation capable of classifying the patients, "well-baited with every comfort and necessary appliance", and by kind treatment and without the power to detain patients compulsorily, was the sole power that was necessary to induce women to stay in the hospital until cured.[127] It was the opinion of supporters of the Glasgow System, like Patterson, that a voluntary system of care and cure had distinct moral superiority over a compulsory system such as that provided by the Contagious Diseases Act.[128]

The Socialist Discourse

Robert Owen: New Lanark

Evangelicals dominated public discourse on the prostitution problem, but theirs was not the only voice raised in protest against prostitution. There were other interested groups who were particularly sensitive about the sexual exploitation of working class women by upper-class men. "On public platforms and in their journals, working class critics used the discussion of prostitution as a rhetorical opening to hammer away at the corruption of the old moral order and the exploitative character of class relations under industrial capitalism".[129] By the 1840's a socialist view of prostitution, later endorsed by the Fabians and by Engels had emerged in the writings of Robert Owen, who an industrialist, "cotton-spinner, socialist, social reformer, social scientist, and economist",[130] was a founder of a model community in New Lanark, a few miles from Glasgow.[131]

Owen believed that an individual's character was strictly a product of his or her environment. Contrary to his contemporaries, who believed that poverty was the consequence of sin and part of the Divine Order, Owen believed that poverty caused idleness, intemperance and ignorance. As the masses were lifted out of poverty, as they were better fed, housed, and clothed and given culture and education so would their characters improve.[132] He began with this conviction early in 1800 and tested it in his model community at New Lanark. The model communities were based on cooperation rather than competition. He believed that competition led to poverty in the "midst of plenty, and to a savaging of the relationship between man and man, between classes and between members of the same class".[133] Owenite communities, therefore, were regarded with hostility by the ruling class who called them "socialist and subersive".[134] Although Owen had no direct interest in New Lanark after 1828, male and female Owenites, many of whom were also Chartists, were active in Scotland throughout the 1830's and 1840's.

Criticisms of the marriage system existed in the writings of Tait, Acton, Wardlaw, Miller and Logan, but none attacked the institution of marriage as directly as Owen did in the 1820's. According to Owen the "present marriages of the world, under the system of moral evil in which they have devised and are not contracted, are the sole cause of all the prostitution".[135]

> ...it is said that the chastity of women could not be secured without the legal bond of marriage. It may with much greater truth be said that it can never be secured with the legal bond of marriage...Was there ever a period in the history of man when the vilest prostitution was so universal over the world as at present? And is there a single vice in the whole catalogue of crims which so degraded the human character, or inflicts the same extent of misery in its votaries, and upon society in general, as prostitution? No: but the miseries endangered by prostitution, and suffered by individuals and their families, friends, and connections, are generally hidden from public gaze and inspection, and care covered by darkness of night, or concealed in dens of wretchedness...The pure and genuine chastity of nature is to have connection only with affection; and prostitution arises only when connection induced or forced without affection; and it is always induced or forced by artificial causes, or forced by some necessity of law or custom, when it takes place without affection.[136]

The importance of the family in the nineteenth century is crucial to understanding the impact of Owenism. Owen saw the family as the main bastion of private property and the guardian of bourgeois individualism and self-interest which he abhorred. Disharmony in society was rooted in the family. It isolated people and served as an organ of tyranny by which women were subjected to the rule of their husbands. Owenties demanded that the community replace the private family, and advocated the communal education of infants from the age of two in order to undermine familial influences. His ideas further inspired devotees in separate campaigns for woman's sufferage, divorce legislation, and birth control.[137]

Like the evangelicals, Owenite socialists manipulated the theme of prostitution for their own political ends, but in opposite ways. Owenites used their wide definition of the causes prostitution, which

included poverty and the deficient or maleducation of women and self-competition, to launch as attack on what they saw as the corruption of bourgeois society.[138] Whereas Scottish clergy like Wardlaw and Logan, on the other hand, listed the influences of socialist ideology among their causes of prostitution, 'illegitimacy', and wife desertion.[139] Logan accused socialists of seducing young female factory workers, and warned industrialists against hiring socialists as foremen.[140] Wardlaw used the occasion of his first lecture on female prostitution to attack Owenite philosophy on the marriage question and defined prostitution as the "socialism of brutes".[141]

> A class of persons, that has recently risen up among us, and whose members have given themselves a "local habitation and name", whose system of principles disowns the word illicit altogether. In regard to the intercourse of the sexes, they deny that legitimate authority of any restriction, admit no rule but that of natural impulse, and reduce us to the socialism of the brutes...at the foundation of the "New Moral World", [we are told that] religion, property, and marriage are the real originators of all existing evils--the Pandora's Box, from which have issued all the various and countless "ills that flesh is heir to;"--and that no God, on property, and no marriage, are the true panacea for the world's vices, and the world's woes![142]

Owenites retaliated by accusing Wardlaw of slander and "gross misrepresentation of socialist views relative to the "intercourses of the sexes", and challenged him to debate the socialist doctrines related to "marriage and divorce". Wardlaw, incidently, refused to attend the debate "in a hall of avowed Athesim".[143]

Robert Wilson: Working-men's League

Little direct concern was given to the economic problems facing women, except by Engels and Margaret Irwin later in the century.[144] Concern for the sexual exploitation of working class women, however, is seen in the working class agitation surrounding the C.D. Act. Robert Wilson, a Glaswegian, described himself as a "*bona fide* working man, occupied ten hours a-day", unshackled by the influences which "froze the feelings", sealed the "lips of those who are falsely styled

the noble and the great". Wilson objected to the assumption that working class men would not protect their wives and daughters form the abuses under the C.D. Act. He stated that "working men are honourable, and often more honourable...[and] love their wives and daughters as well, often better than many who call themselves gentlemen".[145] In the name of "patriotism and religion" Wilson demanded that the C.D. Act be repealed. Working-men's Leagues for the Repeal of the C.D. Act were formed early in the 1870's in Glasgow and Edinburgh. They were extremely active throughout the campaign in distributing tracts, collecting signatures and members were promenent speakers at open-air meetings.[146]

Local State Discourse

Local state representatives such as the Glasgow police and magistrates hesitated to speak out against the prostitution problem in the same way that the medical doctors and philanthropists took to the streets and pulpits. For the first half of the century the police appear to have "been reluctant agents of moral reform who justified their laissez-fair policy" by minimizing street disorder.[147] By the 1850's their inactivity came under attack and they were forced to respond to public pressure. The actual effectiveness of police repression before 1870 is difficult to judge. the Glasgow police carried out a survey of brothels in 1849 and concluded that there were 211 brothels housing 538 'prostitutes' in the city. The number found walking the streets was 509.[148] By 1882 the police and magistrates were given greater powers to supress brothels, to prosecute brothel-keepers and to keep 'prostitutes' from making too great a nuisance of themselves on the streets. These powers, granted by various local and national enactments, were not fully employed at first, by 1870 when Captain McCall became Chief Constable the police and courts seem to have become more willing to use their statutory power to punish offenders.[149] In relation to participation in the public discourse local state participation took place behind the scenes by responding to the complaints of private citizens and pressure groups, although

they were willing to provide reformers with the statistical material which appeared in their work.

Summary

To summarize, Scottish moral reformers used their roles as professionals to legitimate their participation in the public discourse on prostitution. In the identification of the causes of prostitution there was a great deal of overlapping points of agreement betweeen reformers. With the exception of Owen, reformers accepted the importance of material causes but as environmentalists their cure was restricted to moral education. Education and reform, however, were only prescribed after the fear of physical contamination or political threat was diffused. In their attempt to depoliticize 'prostitutes' they were often portrayed as helpless victims. As will be seen in the following section, the discursants are most clearly distinguished by the wide range of institutional solutions they adopted or supported to aid the reform of 'prostitutes'.

Institutional Solutions to the Problem

In the control and suppression of prostitution the role of the medical profession, was accorded a vigilante role. Miller argued that a system of legal recognition and surveillance was defensible only on sanitary grounds, as it applied to venereal disease, and to this end the expertise of the medical profession was called upon.

> The medical man must be conjoined with the policeman in this dirty and degrading work. With speculum in hand, he must go from brothel to brothel, and from door to door, examining patient by patient systematically, and entering an offical report on each; like a railway porter, with a hammer in hand, examining axle by axle in a newly arrived train, to see whether any may be heated or no.[150]

Logan, Wardlaw and Somerville believed that it was the clergy who had a special role to play in the battle against prostitution. With the image of 'Mary Magdalene' to encourage them, churchmen set

out to reclaim 'fallen women'. Logan claimed that no other professional could so prudently and without damage to his character attempt to rescue "unfortunate females".[151] From the pulpit they should warn of the "snares of the devil".[152] Parents needed to be warned to watch the morals of their sons, and masters and mistresses needed to be encouraged to keep a vigilant eye on their young domestics. Female domestics needed to be warned of flatteries, false promises, vanity and the other numerous and nameless arts of the "liers-in-wait for their virtue".[153] Wardlaw urged parochial ministers and the pastors of dissenting congregations to augment their district schools in the poor locations of the city where literacy levels were lowest, to set up reading classes for young factory workers and to teach the principles of religion which were most likely to safeguard virtue.[154]

Local state authorities also had some responsibility. The police and magistrates were to close brothels, suppress street soliciting and maintain order on the streets. Tait argued that prohibitions against street-walkers would reduce the number of 'prostitutes', which in turn would decrease the temptation of young men to frequent them, and therefore reduce the number of frauds and robberies perpetrated for the purpose of supporting the women met in the streets.[155] Miller argued that prostitution did not just affect the parties involved, it was a crime against society.[156] In addition to the supression of brothels and soliciting he demanded that a special police force be established to maintain order in the streets. Miller did not care if a crack down on brothels would tend to drive women from the area: "We would have the law follow them wherever they go, till these *rebels of society* are finally dispersed and utterly discomfited.[157] In 1840 the punishment for "seduction" was restricted to cases where "the unhappy victim had been drugged or was under the age of twelve". There was no law against the seduction of girls over 12. Wardlaw argued that purvoyers and procuresses should be punished as murderers, with "death".[158]

Reformers argued that while philanthropists should show no sympathy for the "system and trade" the girls required compassion and pity.[159] They all took a special interest in the "newly fallen" and victims of seduction. Acton and Miller suggested that efforts be made to find them domestic employment as wet-nurses, Miller argued that he would never recomend that a "confirmed prostitute", accidently pregnant, suckle a child, but there were no drawbacks in the "case of the simply 'unfortunate'".[160]

Moral Education of Working-class Girls

William Tait's programme for amelioration was based on the rejection of two frequently argued propositions, 1) that prostitution was necessary because it had always existed; and 2) the existence of 'prostitutes' safe-guarded the virtue of middle class women.[161] He claimed that nothing but the low state of the morals of the community rendered prostitution necessary. Tait's programme for moral reform involved an attack on the causes. Most important was early childhood moral and religious education of working class girls, which would counteract any "defects of character", which were likely to lead her astray.

> Judicious training in early life would do much to subdue the feelings of pride, or give it a proper direction, and ought on no account to be neglected. Were this attended to, it is very improbable that the feeling would ever afterwards be discovered to be a cause of prostitution. Servants, instead of being too proud to submit to the directions of a master or mistress, would consider it a duty and an honour to obey.[162]

On the question of amendments to the law, philanthropists, like the medics, called for heavier fines for brothel-keepers and street-walkers and harsh penalties in cases of seduction. The philanthropists, however, expressed a special interest in juvenile prostitution. Wardlaw was particularly interested in the work of the Edinburgh and Glasgow auxiliaries of the London Society for the Protection of Young Females and Prevention of Juvenile Prostitution.[163] The objectives of this society were: 1) to make

'prostitutes'. especially juveniles, aware of Magdalene Institutions for their reformation; 2) to call public attention to the increase in prostitution and to gather statistical information and to induce clergymen to present the subject to their congregations; 3) to expose and punish persons involved in the prostitution trade. In addition to the problem of juvenile prostitution, Logan called attention to the Governor of the Prisons of Glasgow's report. The Governor stated that a chief cause of prostitution was juvenile begging. He argued that the "promiscuous" charity of kind-hearted citizens encouraged "vagrancy". The practice of giving coins to street-beggers had to stop because these children became accustomed to depend on charity for support and grew to dislike honest labour and prefered a life of idleness and "debauchery to one of toil and self-denial".[164]

Philanthropists used the fact that middle class girls seldom if ever entered the Lock hopital and House of Refuge as an example of what education and moral training could accomplish. Wardlaw attributed the "virtuous" behaviour of these girls to the excellent education and the moral discipline they received from their parents. He urged that this mode of child-rearing be extended to the children of the working classes.[165] Philanthropists were concerned about the neglected education of working class children. They believed when parents were indifferent to whether their daughters earned money by theft or honest employment, the daughters would learn to regard prostitution as just one of many means in her choice of earning a livelihood.[166]

Suitable Employment of Women

While everyone acknowledged that poverty, unemployment, and insufficient wages were causes of prostitution,[167] Tait was the only one to suggest that females be encouraged to enter male dominated trades.[168] Acton, on the other hand, equated the "free-trade in female honour" with female labour. On the question of female poverty Acton stated that the solution to the problem lay in domestic training and emigration. Acton identified the lack of domestic training in the

education of working class girls as a problem. "Girls are taught sewing in our parish schools, and very properly, because, even with a view to domestic service, sewing is an important accomplishment; but they are not taught anything about household work".[169] Acton argued that the larger cities contained a surplus of "the sewing female population, and the immense milliners' and tailors' and shirtmakers' establishments hardly absorb the overflow, while they profit to the very utmost by the glut of the female labour market". The multitudes of "half-starved women" who were the direct result of the system, could be avoided had "household work" formed part of their education. Acton claimed that the market for properly qualified domestic servants in Britain and the colonies was not half full, while that for every description of needlework was overstocked.[170]

Tait, on the other hand, suggested that women take up positions as shop assistants, tailors, furniture polishers, and engravers. He also went so far as to suggest the creation of a price control board for the control of prices of goods, under the penalty of a fine, thereby ensuring that female labour earned an adequate wage. Further, he argued for the necessity of re-examining the management and distribution of the poor fund and doubling the amount currently awarded to widows with children.[171] His recomendations, however, were ignored.

On the domestic servant question, Tait claimed that although he had no wish to see servants kept in "chains of bondage" he believed that a lot of prostitution was caused by improper surveillance of servants.[172] In order to best supervise the interests of female servants, on this point, Acton proposed legislation giving "third-parties the right to apply for bastardy orders".[173] He argued that few young women were more exposed to "temptation to immorality than domestic servants, especially in houses where men servants were kept; if the pregnancy of any servant came to the knowledge of her master, he should have the right to make her condition known to the magistrate. The same principles would apply to the cases of shopkeepers and other employers of female labour".[174] Further, Acton

claimed that employers who failed in this obligation would be guilty of a miscarriage of justice and should be charged in place of the child's father. Acton complained that in "this utilitarian and self-seeking age" the duties between the classes are often forgotten. Nostalgic for the feudal system Acton claimed:

> The duties of man to man, the personal obligations and mutual responsibilities of life, formed beautuful and attractive features in the feudal system...Now that man is no longer inseparably linked to man, this idea has weakened, and masters are tempted to imagine that if they pay their servant's wages, and provide them wholesome food, they have done all they ought to do. Labour is free, and service optional: based upon contract...the rights of man are remembered, the duties of man forgotten...by a strange anomaly, class hatreds and class distrust grow with the growth of freedom.[175]

In Favour of Female Penitentiaries

Miller and Tait demanded an increase in the number of female penitentiaries, magdalene asylums and street missionaries. Tait argued that a well run institution could accomplish much good.[176] These asylums would provide temporary refuge, religious and other 'necessary' instruction, such as reading, sewing, washing and glazing curtains, to penitent 'prostitutes'. In addition, attempts should be made to reconcile inmates with family and friends, and "restore the females to their former status in society--or to procure for them such a situation as they are qualified to undertake, after their residence for a certain period in the institution".[177] Tait claimed that asylums were most beneficial to women whose education and instruction in the ordinary household duties had been neglected. Besides having the principles of religion "strictly inculcated" in them, they were also taught to read. Those who had been brought up in "habits of idleness", were trained to industry, and those who were "slothful and indolent" became "useful and honourable" members of society".[178]

> The time which elapses during their residence in these charities is sufficient to wean them from those habits that were both immoral and offensive, and to train them to new ones; and they are thus, at the termination of their

probationary life, prepared to meet with virtuous society, and able to conduct themselves in the world.[179]

Logan and Wardlaw, like Miller and Tait, demanded an increase in the number of penitentiaries for reforming women.[180] Wardlaw acknowledged that Lock hospitals were necessary for the cure of the body, but he argued that without making provision of the cure of the soul, they possessed "somewhat of a revolting aspect of places for refitting their inmates for the renewed prosecution of their vice and guilty career". After a patient left the hospital she should be sent to an institution for moral and religious discipline and training.[181] Logan was equally unimpressed with the work of the Lock hospitals and, questioning their cost effectiveness, claimed that if one quarter of the time and money which was devoted to curing women was appropriated for the detection of their procuresses and supporters, governments would not be called upon for so many grants for erecting prisons and penitentiaries.[182]

Wardlaw was extremely critical of the state of penitentiaries in Glasgow. He stated that the Female House of Refuge, having been made possible by an extension of the Magdalene Asylum, benefitted only three categories of women: 1) adult women under 25; 2) adolescent girls who voluntarily agreed to enter the asylum as an alternative to prison; and 3) indigent girls who, because of their poverty, were considered to be "at risk".[183] Wardlaw claimed that provision should be be made for women over 25. In addition, the terms of the Industrial Schools Act were intentionally general, giving the Board freedom to use its discretion on all cases for admission and requiring the consent of the inmate to remain in the institution for a specified time. Inmates were seldom admitted "as prostitutes", but rather as "delinquents" of other description. Wardlaw and J.D. Bryce believed that a separate penitentiary should be established for "prostitutes", as such, catering to women who were not yet associated with other forms of deviancy encountered in the House of Refuge.[184]

Against Female Penitentiaries

Reformers were not united in their opinion of female penitentiaries. One philanthropist, who was critical of them argued that they "crush unaided labour". The "anonymous" Sabbath school teacher observed that public institutions supported by state funds or charitable donations could afford to cut the prices of the work done by inmates. He reported that the Female House of Refuge washed and dressed plain shirts of 2½ d., whereas the usual price charged by wash-women who worked from their homes was 3 d. each. "Girls who do not know where their dinner is to come from, call at some of our warehouses soliciting work, it is denied, because these warehouses send their work to the House of Refuge for Females". These institutions force down the price of female labour.[185]

Owenite socialists were also critical of female penitentiaries. They regarded them as decidedly infficient in arresting the "monster evil" of prostitution. It was useless, they argued to bolster up, at an enormous expense of time and labour, these institutions, mis-named charities, which only prolonged suffering by "palliating its extremities and industriously diverting the attention of the public from investigating the causes of evil".[186] The socialist critique of prostitution was integrated into its criticism of middle class paternalism. An 1841 article on "British Female Penitentiaries" stated that "if grave and virtuous" and "repentent gentleman snatch from the vortex of prostitution one sorrowing victim, their sons are ready on the other side, to thrust in fresh ones". When women leave the refuge, "What have they then?" Nowhere was an "unprotected and needy woman safe from the immoral and pernicious approaches of the 'superior' sex", "Socialism" was the only refuge: "It is in Socialism alone that the conditions are to be found of the annihilation of this atrocious--this master vice of civilized life".[187] They argued that the 'prostitutes' who entered institutions simply made room for others to take their place. "Of every five daughters born per annum, one will turn into a prostitute; we shall be loath to increase this foul system by the further

multiplication of asylums...They perceive clearly the lamentable position of the class for which they play champion, but in their haste to abolish the effects, they ought to think of the cause".[188]

The Reverend Somerville was also critical of female penitentiaries because girls became too dependent on them. Through his midnight meetings Somerville merely tried to draw them out of their old haunts, and put them under the charge of a respectable individual.[189] He argued that the moment a girl "falls" an invisible wall arose between herself and the rest of society, and he hoped that his scheme would help to break down the wall by helping women become independent. The attraction of the midnight meeting plan was that girls never became dependent because there was no charitable allowance or institution. Somerville stated that when a girl came to them, "we honestly tell her we cannot give her money". Girls were told that they must earn their own bread and buy their own clothes. All they received from the "congregational plan" was employment in sewing or factory work, and after work was secured, lodgings were found with respectable families.[190] The congregation protected itself against financial loss by refusing to give the girls money or clothes, which they feared would be pawned at the first opportunity. They would not even give the girl money to get whatever possessions she might have had back from the pawnbroker.[191]

On the question of midnight meetings Acton argued that of all the philanthropic practices, the holding of midnight meetings was the most "useless" of the private measures adopted for eliminating "public wrongs". He complained that these public exhibitions and appeals designed to excite feelings were incapable of producing durable impressions. He explained that what midnight meeting seldom achieved, the medical inspections and hospital detentions guaranteed: namely, permanent reform.[192] The editor of the Magdalen's Friend, the 'watch-dog' journal of the philanthropic movement, was not as critical of midnight meetings, as he was of Somerville. The editor argued that Somerville and his congregation did not know what they were doing. He was very critical of Somerville's suggestion that a period

of penitence in an asylum was not necessary to return a girl to respectable society. The editor stated: "Let him not suppose that his work is done if he can only snatch a girl from the streets and place her in a position of honest industry". Society was entitled to extract its 'pound of flesh'. The editor argued that penitentiaries could not be done away with. A period of probation was necessary, because society was entitled to some retribution. Further, on sanitary grounds, "we should view with suspicion the sudden and indiscriminate re-absorption of the unhealthy element into the social community". Furthermore, "society must not open wide her arms to receive back her prodigals unless they give genuine token of penitence".[193]

> We care not how short the period of probation be, and we would in many cases reduce it to merely nominal existence; but without this security the public have a right to demur at the unconditional re-admission of fallen women to their former status. The effect of such treatment would disorganize society...technically speaking, a great gulf is supposed to separate the criminal offender from the sound proportion of the community...We should be sorry to remove this landmark, or to see it carelessly infringed by the exercise of an unbounded clemency. The object of punishment is two-fold: the reformation of the criminal and satisfaction of the injured party, then no punitive system can be considered complete which does not embrace these two-fold attributes.[194]

While Tait, Miller, Wardlaw and Logan demanded that private charities make provision for more Magdalene institutions, Acton argued that female refuges were totally ineffective. He stated that the trouble with female asylums was that the directors knew nothing of the natural history, habits, and career structure of prostitution.[195] The central error which lay at the heart of the penitentiary system was the old idea, "once a harlot always a harlot". On the basis of this premise, people believed that every women who entered an ayslum, was a "women snatched from an otherwise interminable life of sin". On the contrary, Acton argued that sooner or later most women tired of the trade and through the natural course of events were reabsorbed into the general population. It was society's responsiblity to assist them while they were in the trade and not after they had left it.[196]

Acton objected to the practices of asylums for three reasons. First, they were too limited in scope. Upper and lower class 'prostitutes' never entered them. As stated Acton believed that 'prostitutes' only followed the trade for a couple of years and most of them were perfectly capable of "rescuing" themselves. Penitentiaries only collected "paupers", and individuals who, for reasons of ill health, and loss of personal attractiveness had given up prostitution. Acton argued that these cases would be better off in a "workhouse".[197] Second, the institutions had a low success rate. Acton stated that most women entered the asylum "under the influence of some momentary impluse, and are liable to return as suddenly as they left it".[198] He argued that philanthropists merely offered lodging to a "promiscuous herd of vicious women on the off chance that some few may really reform and succeed in breaking off old habits". Third, was the problem of the two year period of incarceration. Acton argued that the seclusion of inmates did little to prepare them for the trials of the real world. In fact, they became less capable of coping with pressures than they had been when they entered the institution.[199] He questioned whether one should spend so much time and money on individuals who would either escape from the asylum at the first opportunity, or who would relapse immediately upon release.[200]

Acton stated that prostitution would never be suppressed by private, irregular, and unsystematic efforts; rather what was needed was a combined effort and regular machinery. He argued that 'prostitutes' had to be helped while in the trade, and not after. A sudden change in lifestyle simply could not change old habits. His plan proceeded on the principle that change must be gradual and satisfactory reformation could not be accomplished by sudden change from one mode of existence to another. True reformation demanded bringing them into contact with virtuous men and women, who would encourage them to acquire habits of cleanliness, decency, and self-respect. "The [revelation] that their mode of life is a fatal mistake, will thus arise gradually in their minds; and if this growing conviction had for its companion the knowledge that a change is

possible", permanent reformation would result. He argued that this could not be accomplished by voluntary association, nor by disjointed efforts, but by a system supported and enforced by authority.[201]

The role of the medical profession in the suppression of prostitution was through the regular inspection of 'prostitutes'. With the same elements of vigilance seen in Miller's work, Acton claimed that under the C.D. Act, women in garrison towns were taught to "respect themselves", they were "less dirty and less disreputable". Acton stated, that with the careful selection of health inspectors, the 'prostitute's' weekly check-up brought them face to face with a "man who disapproves and stands aloof from her life of sin". He would shame her into cleanliness and thereby help her to leave the trade.[202] Medical inspections would also lead to the detention of large numbers of women in hospitals and would give to ALL the opportunites that penitentiaries gave only to a few.

Against the State Regulation of Prostitution

Miller's programme for the amelioration of prostitution is really a debate with Acton. Miller criticized the three main propositions in Acton's work: 1) the suggestion that prostitution was the inevitable consequence of a "closely packed population"; 2) the assertion that prostitution was a transitory state through which thousands of women were constantly passing, and that it was in the community's interest to "see her through" that period;[203] and 3) the conclusion that since prostitution was a transitory stage, it ought to be "recognized" as an "inevitable evil" which ought to be regulated and controlled, so as to do as little harm as possible, both to the parties involved and the community at large.[204]

Miller argued that prostitution was not a "temporary state". He did not believe that after a few years of "sowing wild oats", women left it, "little the worse if any". On the contrary, Miller supported Tait's assertion, that "perhaps not less than one-fourth or sixth of all who have embraced this course of sin die annually".[205]

Miller demanded that prostitution be "recognized as a vice and crime to be reformed, not as an inevitable necessity to be mollified and endured". He accepted that venereal diseases should be controlled, but he claimed that it was no argument for the state regulation of prostitution. Miller argued that the first step toward the suppression of prostitution was to refuse to "recognize it as an institution of society".

> We denounce it not only as a sin, but as a crime--we would give the law the same hold of it as over the offences against morality and the state--and we would have one and all of us, not strangers to patriotism and principle, earnestly engaged in the complex but continuous process of gradual, yet sure removal, by drying up the sources from which it springs.[206]

SUMMARY

The mid-nineteenth century public discourse on prostitution emerged in the 1840's with the work of William Tait and Ralph Wardlaw, and despite the differences in their analysis of the problem, the impact of their work on the discursive field was considerable, as evidenced by the extent to which their ideas influenced the writers of the 1850's and 1860's such as Acton, Logan, and Miller. The striking feature of the period between 1860 and 1890, however, is the absence of any "well-informed" essays on prostitution of the kind that flourished in the 1840's and 1850's. The popularity of the subject had not declined but new writings were usually the "hack-work" of journalists or scissor and paste compilations of older works.[207] For example, neither Logan nor Acton added any significant information to the second editions of their studies. In fact, by 1870 Logan had become so influenced by the temperance movement that by the time *The Great Social Evil* was published in 1871 he was blaming alcohol alone for causing prostitution. Even the socialists, who promised to abolish female poverty, said very little about prostitution except that it would vanish in the future.

By the 1860's, the temper of the discourse had moved away from the earlier attempts to expose the problem toward the establishment of institutional structures designed for treatment and control. Reformers had succeeded in discrediting Owenites, by using their theories of sexuality against them. With the move toward state regulation in parts of England, the controversy over the C.D. Act, and the efforts to increase the power of the police in Glasgow attention was directed away from serious discussions of the institutional causes of prostitution such as female poverty, the double standard and sexual exploitation. In Glasgow between 1870 and 1890, public discourse on the problem was devoted to debate over the virtues of the Glasgow System, as opposed to state regulation, which demonstrates the shift away from serious attempts to understand the causes of female prostitution toward a preoccupation with the social control of the sexual and vocational behaviour of individual working class women.

As previously stated, what lay behind contemporary definitions of the 'prostitute' was a vision of an ideal-type working class woman. Similarily, reformers were also interested in creating a cultural model of an ideal-type working class family, because as environmentalists they attributed the bad habits and personality flaws and other 'causes' of prostitution to the socialization of working class girls. Tait argued that when parents were guilty of immoral conduct and conversation in the presence of children, the children soon learned to imitate.[208] The 'ideal' working class couple, were social "equals" in every respect, they did not marry until their late 20's and certainly not until, they could maintain, by "honest labour" a humble but suitable home. Before marriage, both had learnt to be "industrious and chaste; afterwards they chose honest labour, while loathing personal defilement and dishonour".[209] Like middle class women, the ideal working class woman was devoted to her dual role as wife and mother. She had knowledge of household duties and domestic economy, which were the basis of "happiness and security in the married state".[210] The young man had learnt the value of self-control and sober industry, which made him a good husband. Reformers were sensitive that the future of the Empire

depended on a reliable and disciplined working class family, and especially upon the devoted and confident wife and mother. In their view, under these conditions class conflict and difference would be eliminated.[211]

The next chapter will look at the institutions established in Glasgow in order to control the 'prostitution problem'.

CHAPTER 4

REPRESSION OF PROSTITUTION IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY: "THE GLASGOW SYSTEM:" 1805-1870

Introduction

The following chapter examines the historical development of the three institutions which made up the "Glasgow System". The first section looks at the history of the Glasgow Lock hospital from the time it opened in 1805 to 1880. The next section examines three stages in the history of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution, from its opening as the Magdalene Asylum in 1812, to its incorporation with the Girls' House of Refuge in 1840 and finally with is re-incorporatioin as the Magdalene Institution in 1859. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the amendments to the Glasgow Police Act (1866) and the subsequent increase in the power of municipal police and magistrates to control prostitution in Glasgow.

The Glasgow System

"The Glasgow System for the Repression of Vice" was used as a model for the suppression of prostitution. Promoters argued that it was more successful than state regulation under the C.D. Act, because it did not violate women's civil rights or cause "the destruction of social consciousness", which was believed to be the consequence of state regulation. State regulation, it was argued by opponents of extension, destroyed individual responsibility and produced "cynicism, corruption, and deep seated moral degradation in all classes of society".[1] The Glasgow System was composed of three institutional responses to the prostitution problem which encompased "repressive law, municipal vigilance, and organized benevolence".[2] The Glasgow Lock hospital, established in 1805 was a voluntary, nonstatutory public charity designed for the reception of indigent female venereal disease patients, who were generally considered to be 'prostitutes'. The Glasgow Magdalene Asylum, established in 1815, and

re-incorporated as the Glasgow Magdalene Institution in 1859, was also a voluntary public charity. The official policy of the Magdalene Institution was two-fold: first, to reclaim females who had been "led astray" from the "paths of virtue", and second, and more important, to "dry up sources of prostitution" and repress the growth and the extent of the "Great Social Vice" in Glasgow.[3] After 1860 Reclamation and Repressive Committees were formed to accomplish these goals. The final component of the Glasgow System, was the Glasgow Police Act (1866) which provided the municipal police force and magistrates with new and extensive powers to imprison or fine 'prostitutes' and brothel-keepers and to enter private property or any establishment suspected of harbouring 'prostitutes'.

Although it was composed of three formally separate institutions, the Glasgow System was made up of three interdependent parts. The Lock hospital, which performed the curative function and the Magdalene Institution, which played the reformatory role, depended upon each other in the exchange of inmates. No woman with venereal disease was admitted to the Magdalene and it was the practice of the Lock hospital to encourage inmates to enter the Magdalene Institution once they were cured. Both charities depended upon the local state. The Lock Hospital received police and pauper cases and the Magdalene Institution frequently sent deputations and petitions to the Chief Constable and magistrates demanding the suppression of prostitution in Glasgow. Both charities participated in public agitation for amendments to the Police Act, and after it was implemented praised its impact.[4]

The Glasgow Lock Hospital

By the middle of the nineteenth century most large industrial towns had a Lock hospital. The term 'Lock', was derived from 'Loke', a house for lepers. Medieval authorities were unable to distinguish between the ulcerous conditions of venereal disease and leprosy.[5] According to William Acton the origin of the term 'lock' came from the french word *loques*, meaning rags, bandages, lints. These hospitals

acquired the name because the first one of this kind was founded on the site of the medieval leper house in Southwark.[6] 'Prostitutes' became the social lepers of the industrial revolution, as syphilis replaced leprosy as the symbol of social contagion and disease.[7] By the late eighteenth century cases of syphilis were either treated in Lock hospitals or in separate wards of infirmaries, or in separate buildings on the grounds. In general, the patients in Lock hospitals were poor working class women, who were presumed to be 'prostitutes'. Medical authorities, reflecting the attitudes and prejudices of the community at large, were ambivalent about treating these cases, and many general hospitals would not admit female venereal cases without a character reference or other evidence of 'respectability'.[8] In Lock wards and hospitals in-patient facilities were reserved for females; workingmen and sailors were often treated as out-patients, while wealthy men and women were treated for veneral disease privately in their own homes.[9] Throughout the nineteenth century the Glasgow Lock hospital was the only hospital which treated venereal disease in women. The Royal Infimary had a Lock ward, but it only admitted men.[10]

The founding of Lock hospitals reflected the awakening philanthropic concern over the problems of illegitimacy, prostitution, and moral and physical contagion, as well as the need to provide medical care for patients rejected by other hospitals. It also represents what Foucault terms the 'structure' of confinement. By structure he meant both a physical and psychological reality, an institution that embodied the principle of exclusion of "social deviants" from society.[11] The debate surrounding the opening of the Glasgow Lock Hospital began with the announcement of a preliminary meeting in 1805.[12] The most controversial issues can be seen in a series of letters to the editor of the *Glasgow Courier* which appeared regularly from January to August, 1805.

The debate surrounding the establishment of a Lock hospital in Glasgow was based on two underlying issues: 1) the medical/scientific versus the Judeo-Christian understanding of the meaning of disease and 2) the state's responsibility to cure it. The most frequent objection

to the hospital involved a struggle between those who maintained a strictly religious perception of disease as God's punishment of sinners. Venereal disease, for example, was explained as the direct "scourage of the crime, inflicted by the Deity to diminish its frequency".[13] Those who opposed the Lock hospital objected to medical intervention on the grounds that it was wrong to interfere with the will of God. They argued that the presence of a Lock hospital would encourage illicit sexual activity and increase the number of 'prostitutes' by breaking down "the barriers between virtue and vice".[14]

Supporters of the Lock hospital maintained a more scientific understanding of disease and attacked the logic of the opposition's argument. "Let it be a question for the polemic when treating of the necessity and origin of evil to enquire for what purpose it exists".[15] They regarded the notion of "disease as punishment for sin" as unscientific and old-fashioned, and claimed that only education and information made it possible to influence the mind and thereby to change the behaviour that caused the sickness. But first it was necessary to cure the body. Supporters recognized that the rapid industrialization of the cotton industry, which brought great wealth to some inhabitants of the city, also brought "vice, wretchedness and disease". A spokes person for the hospital explained that it was in the interests of future generations to narrow the definition of disease, "to one disease, *unrelieved by any other* charity, to the cure of a malady which if allowed its scope in the present generation however viciously acquired, poisons in a future one, the spring of hope and life".[16]

> why should it not be *allowed* to alleviate the suffering of our fellow creatures, and if it neither restores fathers to their families nor children to their parents, in the name of God of Mercy, let it at least assist in diminishing the load of human misery.[17]

Other objections to the institution were that a hospital where 'vicious diseases' were treated would increase the amount of prostitution by diminishing "women's horror" of it. Supporters

challenged this by arguing that fear of disease could not logically be used to prevent or punish the crime. One writer argued:

> The progress of vicious habit among individuals in an advanced state of society, is neither to be checked nor regulated by fear, and least of all by the fear of a contingency to which we are exposed only in the moment of greatest inducement...We are not now to be governed as children or savages, solely by the dread of the lash. The Spartan youth were educated through fear, and discovery and punishment were but incentives to fresh acts of cautious depredation.[18]

Among the other objections to the Lock hospital was the fear that it would return "vicious inmates" to the streets "unimproved and unreformed, prepared to run a new course of debauchery".[19] Others were concerned that, just as the insane aslyum had "increased the number of lunatics" so would the presence of the Lock hospital increase the number of 'prostitutes'.[20] Opponents identified the "radical defect" of the plan in its single-minded concern with the cure of the body. It stopped at the very point where it should "proceed with redoubled vigor".[21] Opponents asked: Is that all? After having cured the body, is there no provision to be made for the mind? After having relieved the miserable wretch from the tortures of disease, is she again to be left to herself? Opponents accused the supporters of calculating "to lessen the pains of wickedness". They argued that the most desirable addition would be to extend the object of the Hospital from *cure* to the *reformation* of the patient.[22]

Supporters accepted that ultimately it would be preferable to try to diminish the "vice of prostitution" that caused the miserable disease in men and women. But before that could be accomplished it was imperative that the community accept the responsibility for the cure of the victims. One writer argued that the cure of the disease ought to be of immediate concern to the benevolent, the moralist, and above all to the politician, who must be interested because the "primary supports of every state are the health and strength and activity of its citizens".[24] The tendency to equate nationalism with the citizen's sexual behaviour identified by Foucault[25] is evident in the demand for

a Lock hospital. It was not seen as simply a moral or a medical issue, but reflected a deep concern for the political might of the nation. Supporters argued that the security of the country did not depend as much on its financial resources, as "the virtue, the vigour and the activity of its citizens, which render the state invulnerable".[26]

Public discussion concerning advisability of the establishment of a Lock hospital in Glasgow reveals tensions between traditional and modern approaches to the treatment of disease and civic responsibility. Interested parties on both sides of the issue, however, agreed that a Lock hospital should not be constructed without provision being made for a magdalene asylum, where "serious penitence should be cherished and confirmed".

> There cannot be a better time for addressing one of these unhappy females than when she has experienced the fatal effects of dissipation. In such a situation, oppressed with disease, uncertain of life, and looking forward with a tremendous anxiety to another world, she listens to exhortation, and is alive in every hope. Then is the time to remove the load that oppresses her heart and disturbs her peace...He beseechs her to reform, and turn to the paths of virtue. She is convinced; she is changed; and becomes, in place of burden, a comfort to society.[27]

Both supporters and opponents demanded that the city make some provision among its charities for a home for repenting 'prostitutes'. The possibility of a magdalene asylum made the idea of a Lock hospital more palatable to its opponents.[28] It was also seen as a necessity by the supporters of the Lock hospital who, incidentally, were not all in agreement as to whether the Lock hospital and the magdalene asylum should be established as separate institutions. Nor was there any agreement as to which institution was the more urgently needed or the more effective. In terms of sheer numbers, one writer argued, a Lock hospital was more urgently needed because of the overall ineffectiveness of female refuges. He argued that in the last 7 or 8 years the magdalene asylums in Edinburgh and London only claimed to have reformed 98 'prostitutes' between them, whereas the Lock

hospital near Hyde Park "cured" 300 women annually. He concluded that in the present state of society, where vice can never be totally suppressed, it is preferable to control disease in Lock hospitals, in order to ensure that new victims of "debauchery and artifice" were not required to replace the sick and diseased.[29]

In 1805 the supporters of the Lock hospital were victorious, and the Glasgow Lock Hospital opened on August 7. It was the third to be opened in the country. The others were in London (1746), Westmoreland (1792), Newcastle (1813), Manchester (1819), Liverpool (1834), Leeds (1842), Edinburgh (1758), Bristol (1870), and Birmingham (1881).[30] In 1805 a house in Rottenrow was purchased and converted into a hospital. It initially had 11 beds, but by 1810 the number was increased to 20. In 1846 a new site was acquired, still in Rottenrow. The new hospital had 7 wards with 45 beds, extendable to 80 beds should they be required.[31] In the first fifteen months, 54 patients were admitted, 42 were dismissed as cured, and 3 patents were dismissed as"irregular", which meant that they either demanded their release before the doctors considered them to be cured or were forced to leave owing to their misconduct.[32] Applicants were admitted without charge unless they were of the "superior class" who could afford to pay a guinea. In 1870 30 women paid; in 1881 only 8 could afford to do so.[33] Similarly, individuals who applied for admission more than twice were expected to pay a guinea on their third admission. Many who could not afford to pay went to the Lock hospital in Edinburgh where there was no such regulation.[34] Throughout the nineteenth century the principle treatment for syphilis was mercury. A mercurial vapour bath was installed in the Lock hospital in 1854. Mercury continued to be used throughout the century,[35] and although in 1882 Alexander Patterson, the hospital surgeon, noted that it caused the destruction of the nasal cavity and blindness, the treatment continued to be used.[36]

Although the hospital had no power to detain patients against their will, it had the character of a reformatory or prison.[37] In 1870 the hospital adopted a policy that all patients would be detained

by force until cured. Women were forced to sign a contract promising to abide by the rules of the establishment and to remain in the hospital until released by the surgeon.

GLASGOW LOCK HOSPITAL,
DIRECTIONS TO THE PATIENTS ON THEIR ADMISSION,

_____ *, the ____ Day of* _____ *, 187___.*

*Name,*_____,

YOU, being admitted a Patient into this Hospital, are to observe the following directions;--viz.,

I, You are to remain here until you are discharged,

II, You are to behave yourself *soberly, decently,* and *regularly,* avoiding all swearing, quarreling, and the like, and exactly observing the rules of the house; for, on any complaints of misbehaviour, you will be discharged, or sent to the Police Office,

III, You are to get out of bed at Seven o'clock in Summer, and eight o'clock in winter; and immediately wash and clean yourself before breakfast,

IV, You are to make your own bed, assist in cleaning the Ward, and do any other services in your power for those who are not able to help themselves; also to assist in the Washing House on such days as may be named by the Matron,

V, You are to go regularly to bed, by Seven o'clock in the Evening in winter, and Eight in summer,

VI, You ARE NOT TO GO OUT OF THE HOSPITAL, ON ANY PRETENCE WHATEVER, UNTIL YOU ARE REGULARLY DISCHARGED; and if, after this caution, you go out, you will not be suffered to return into the house,

VII, You are to attend, quietly and orderly, Divine Service, as required, to the instructions given in the Ward by the Chaplain of the Hospital, or by such as may be appointed by the Directors,

VIII, You are not to receive any liquor or provisions not supplied by the Hospital--tea, butter, and sugar, excepted; nor to bring into the Hospital any books, without leave of the Chaplain,

IX, You are to attend to any orders that may be given by the Maton, Superintendent or Nurse,

Having heard read the above Directions and conditions, on which I have been admitted to the LOCK HOSPITAL, I now agree to abide by them in all respects,

*Name,*_____

Source; Patterson, Alexander, "Statistics of the Glasgow Lock Hospital Since Its Foundatiomns in 1805", *Glasgow Medical Journal,* 6 (December), 1882, p, 408,

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The directors quickly noticed that women became frightened, and either refused to enter, or to sign; and of those who did sign,

many refused subsequently to abide by the terms of the contract.[38] After a year compulsory detention was abandoned and the directors solved the problem by threatening to not readmit those who demanded to be released early. Alexander Patterson had opposed compulsory detention from the beginning. He argued that it was unfair to "imprison" women simply because they were suffering from a "disease inflicted upon them by the opposite sex". He used 'reverse-psychology', and 'shame' tactics in order to get patients to conform to the expectations of the hospital.

> When I first came on duty there, there were a number who came and interfered with me during the visit hour, the time I take to examine the patients. I told the superintendent...that I could not put up with that sort of thing; he said that it had always been so. I took the opportunity of going up to the wards, and I told the girls, in as kindly a manner as I could speak to them, that it was no pleasure to me to come there to attend them, and that they must see that none of their number were allowed to disturb the business as it was being carried on, because if so, I should at once resign my appointment, I said it lay with themselves; if a girl came down and asked for their dismissal, or interfered in any way during the currency of the examinations, I would at once stop work for the day, and those who remained must do without further care until my return at the following visit. That stopped it at once, and we had little trouble with them afterwards.[39]

On the whole, the Glasgow Lock Hospital did not have very much trouble convincing patients to stay until "cured". A cure was pronounced when patients no longer had any "visible marks of venereal disease about them".[40] After the enforcement of the Glasgow Police Act, the hospital claimed that it was difficult to get the women to leave.[41] Between 1871 and 1881, only three women were discharged "irregular" and this was not because they demanded to leave, but because they were discharged for fighting. Patterson appears to have taken a great deal of personal interest in the welfare of his patients, and the evidence he presented to the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases reveals that he felt compassion for them. He refused to allow medical students permission to use the hospital to observe venereal diseases because he had found that on examination days, if the surgeon was accompanied by a stranger, patients refused to enter

the room. Patterson stated that contrary to popular opinion, 'prostitutes' never totally lost their sense of shame, and was therefore of the opinion that compulsory examination of women under the C.D. Act destroyed the last remnants of modesty. He believed that the 'voluntary' system of care and cure used in Glasgow was morally superior to that provided by the C.D. Act. in that it rendered reclamation possible.[42]

TABLE 4-1: The number and occupation of the patients admitted during the ten years between 1 January 1870, and ending 1st January 1880.

Mill Girls	1,381	Shop Girls	19
Domestic Servants	1,057	Ragstore Workers	18
Prostitutes	496*	French Polishers	18
Machinists	152	Barmaids	12
Washerwomen	122	Shirtmakers	12
Bleachfield Workers	92	Rope Workers	11
Needlewomen	85	Brick Workers	11
Housewives	79+	Fancy Box Makers	11
Hawkers	75	Tobacco Spinners	10
Charwomen	66	Stay Makers	10
Farm Servants	51	Hair Workers	9
Dressmakers	48	School Girls	9**
Warehouse Girls	48	Calenderers	9
Bookfolders	44	"From Home"	9
Pottery workers	36	Various Employments	66
Tailoresses	28		---
Confectioners	27		240
Millners	20		3,907
	---		---
	3,907	Total	4,147

+ The majority of these would have been expected to produce a marriage certificate. It was generally accepted that these women had been infected by their husbands.
* The eldest was 22; the youngest 15; average age was 18.
** The average ages were between 7-14, the youngest was 7 and the surgeon stated that she "contracted the disease herself".

Source: Patterson, Alexander, "Statistics of the Glasgow Lock Hospital Since Its Foundations in 1805". *Glasgow Medical Journal*, 6 (December), 1882, p. 408.

The occupations given by the patients admitted between 1870 and 1880 are of interest because they document the variety of occupations open to women during this period and the social class to which women labelled 'prostitutes' belonged, which in this cases was the working class.[43] Patterson argued that although the majority of women gave an occupation other than 'prostitute' he believed that their statements were unreliable[44] and that they were all 'prostitutes' of "of one kind or other".[45] Patterson explained that patients tended to list the last occupation at which they had worked or were trained when admitted to the hospital even if it had been years since they were last in employment. (See Table 4-1)

In the case of part-time 'prostitutes' Patterson admitted that, prior to contracting syphilis, many worked at their occupations during the day and in the evenings took to the streets in order to supplement their wages. After they left the hospital they would return to their employment. Patterson noticed that women avoided the label 'prostitute' for as long as possible. He regarded this as a healthy sign, because as long as a woman refused to recognize herself as a 'prostitute' there was hope of reforming her. He stated that the "fact that they avoid giving themselves the name shows that they are ashamed of the calling".[46] Similarily, Patterson believed that the younger the 'prostitute' the greater the chances of reforming her. The hospital placed younger women in wards apart from the older more "hardened prostitutes", and provided religious instruction in an effort to reclaim them.[47]

After a woman 'voluntarily' entered the Glasgow Lock hospital she was examined with a speculum. This was similar to the way women were examined in areas where the C.D. Act was enforced. In both cases this proceedure was compulsory. The Lock hospital did not admit women who would not submit to the examination, which Patterson admitted was a physically "painful process" and at times chloroform was necessary to make it endurable, especially among young women who were "newly fallen".[48] Patterson argued that it was impossible do a proper scientific examination without using a speculum, although he admitted

that he would not use a speculum on a "virgin", where the hymen had not been perforated. He added: "although it is not often that we meet one, but we do sometimes".[49]

The cultural significance of the controversy around the use of the speculum to inspect the cervix cannot be over-emphasized. The vaginal speculum was developed in Paris to inspect 'prostitutes' in the State run Lock hospitals. Walkowitz argues that when it was introduced to the British medical profession in the 1840's and 1850's as a general gynaecological tool, many doctors revolted, reminding proponents of the speculum's sordid origins. "The speculum emanated from the syphilitic wards of the hospitals at Paris, and it would have been better for the women of England had its use been confined to those prostitutes institutionalized".[50] Speculum examinations were only recomended for 'prostitutes' and considered a shocking "immorality" when imposed on 'virtuous' women: "the female who has been subjected to such treatment is not the same person in delicacy and purity that she was before", The uterus, the heart of female reproductive mysteries, had been violated. Medical journals reported cases of women whose minds had been "poisoned by the experience". Many regarded the speculum examination as voyeuristic and degrading, and it was regarded as "instrumental rape" with a "steel penis" by anti-C.D. Act activists.[51] It is important, therefore, to keep in mind that the distinction between compulsory examinations under the C.D. Act and supposed 'voluntary' examinations under the Glasgow System had substantial cultural significance, especially when one remembers that neither the Lock hospital nor the Magdalene Institution would accept a woman who refused to submit to this examination, and as Patterson stated "prostitutes in Glasgow had no where else to go".[52]

Between 1870 and 1881, the population of the city of Glasgow rose from approximately 550,000 to 700,00, while the number of admissions to the Lock hospital decreased from 598 in 1969 to 349 in 1881. Patterson attributed this remarkable feature to the rigid enforcement of the Glasgow Police Act. He testified to the Select Committee that the year 1870 was the dividing line, because the Act led to a

decrease in the number of brothels and 'prostitutes' and the amount of extra- and pre-marital sexual intercourse among the population. This resulted in an overall decrease in the amount of venereal disease in the city. As can be seen from Table 4-2 in 1869, the year before the Police Act the Lock hospital recorded the highest number of admissions in its history, after which the number of admission fell steadily.[53] The decrease in admissions also coincided with a general recognition by the British medical community that venereal diseases were no longer as severe has they had been. This tendency can been seen in Table 4-2, as evidenced by the decrease in deaths from syphilis and the length of stay in the hospital. Although Patterson attributed this to the fact that women entered the hospital earlier because of the friendly and competent treatment they received there, he also had to admit the influence of extraneous variables such as the decrease in the severity of the disease among men as well as women, and the general health and sanitary improvements in the city which had reduced the severity of other diseases as well.

> A female who lives in an ill-ventilated dwelling, or who is in worse sanitary condition, will have probably a worse attack, or will be in a worse state than one who lives in a clean well-ventilated house...The buildings are very much better [now]; and altogether the sanitary regulations are much better than they were 20 years ago...many years ago we had outbreaks of typhus fever, and fevers of that description, and they are very much less now than they were 20 or 30 years ago, because the overcrowding has been put to a stop; and it tells upon syphilis as well as older diseases.[54]

Patterson argued that compulsory detention was not necessary in Glasgow because women knew that they would be admitted to the hospital without any difficulty . This spread by word-of-mouth throughout the city. Although he was not prepared to claim that all 'prostitutes' with syphilis, gonorrhea and other venereal diseases came to the hospital, he believed that sooner or later most found their way there. He stated that the hospital had no trouble keeping patents until "cured" since the Glasgow Police Act had been introduced in 1870, in fact "as a rule, we can get them to remain as long as we please".[55] In the case of "avowed prostitutes" some would "stay all of their days

with us, in fact they had to be sent away" (these were women between 18 and 22 remember). This was attributed to the extremity of their need and general poverty since "they were more comfortable than they were at home".[56] In sum, the hospital needed no other powers than it already possessed in order to keep women until 'cured'. Patterson believed that the 'voluntary' system used in Glasgow was superior to the the C.D. Act because frequent speculum examinations destroyed the last remnant of modesty in women, and with it went the last remnant of hope of reclamation.[57] On the question of whether or not the C.D. Act should be extended to Glasgow, Patterson stated that "they would not have it in Glasgow"[58] where people were strongly opposed to any recognition of "vice".[59] Patterson argued that the C.D. Act had not reduced disease in regulated areas and that there was clearly no reason to introduce it in Glasgow: "We have done without it so far very well".[60]

Finally, it should be noted that, although there were intended to be links between the Magdalene Asylum and the Lock hospital they were independent institutions from the beginning, with their own Board of Directors, administration, subscribers, and management style. By 1810 the cry for a Magdalene Asylum was heard again. After five years of operation the directors of the Lock hospital stressed the urgent need within the city for an asylum or female refuge. They claimed that although the patients admitted were "reduced by their own misconduct to the lowest state of poverty and disease" they were still the proper objects for commiseration and charity. The directors were concerned because these patients, for the most part, had been abandoned by their families and friends, and, owing to the contagious nature of their diseases, were refused admission into other hospitals and benevolent institutions. The directors argued that many of these women had "some principles" remaining and with proper care "might be rendered virtuous". The directors urged that the city establish a Magdalene Asylum or "some fund" to prevent the necessity of females returning to their former "immoralities" after they were released from the hospital.[61]

TABLE4-2: Statistics of the Glasgow Lock Hospital From its Foundations in 1805 to December 1881.

Number of Admissions for 75 Years.		Number of Irregulars.	Number of Deaths from all Causes.	Average Cost for Each.	Population of the City.	Average Night	Average Deaths.	Comparison of Admissions with the Population.
1801	—	—	—	—	77,385	—	—	—
1805-1810	380	9	4	—	—	—	—	—
1811	107	1	1	81/6	100,749	68	0·935	1 in 941
1811-1820	1754	2	9	—	—	—	—	—
1821	364	10	—	31/	147,043	44	—	1 in 404
1821-1830	2950	83	22	—	—	—	—	—
1831	334	9	—	28/5	202,426	32½	—	1 in 606
1831-1840	3012	79	36	—	—	—	—	—
1841	412	3	5	22/5	255,650	29½	1·214	1 in 621
1841-1850	2983	15	15	—	—	—	—	—
1851	232	—	2	33/6	329,096	29½	0·862	1 in 1419
1851-1860	3344	32	16	—	—	—	—	—
1861	407	6	1	22/9¾	395,503	26½	0·246	1 in 972
1861-1865	1736	10	2	—	—	—	—	—
1866	493	2	2	26/10	City, 477,732 Suburbs, 101,930	26½	0·406	—
1867	482	5	—	25/6		27	—	—
1868	593	19	1	22/2		22	0·169	—
1869	598	10	—	19/		23	—	—
1870	534	14	—	22/		23	—	—
1871	394	—	—	30/0½	593,554	29½	—	1 in 1506
1872	369	—	1	35/3	Pop. of City, 510,816 Pop. of Suburbs, 193,620	30	0·271	—
1873	405	—	1	39/8		42	0·247	—
1874	436	—	1	36/9¾		33	0·229	—
1875	402	—	—	37/4¾		32	—	—
1876	424	—	—	35/2		28	—	—
1877	422	—	—	36/9		28	—	—
1878	426	—	—	31/7		26	—	—
1879	343	—	—	40/1		29	—	—
1880	385	—	—	34/6		26	—	—
1881	349	3	3	36/8	704,436	27	0·860	1 in 2018

Total Admissions for 75 years	25,070	
Total Irregulars	318	1.3%
Total Deaths	122	.5%
Average Nights	27	

The population of the city in the year 1821 was 147,043 and there were 364 patients admitted that year. In 1881 the population was 704,436 and at the same rate there ought to have been 1,744 patients admitted for that year, whereas 349 were admitted.

Source: Patterson, Alexander. "Statistics of Glasgow Lock Hospital Since its Foundations in 1805--With Remarks on the Contagious Diseases Acts, and on Syphilis. The Glasgow Medical Journal. 6 (December 1882), p. 406.

History of Female Penitentiaries

Female penitentiaries were usually charitable institutions which relied on voluntary subscriptions and support. They also relied on the co-operation and willingness of inmates to conform to the rules of the establishement because they lacked the statutory power to enforce their expectations.[62] Female penitentiaries served two social control functions: sexual control and vocational control.[63] According to reformatory advocates themselves, their purpose was twofold: to rescue and to reform. Those they intended to rescue were not the female felons with long criminal records usually found along with male felons in state prisons, but rather female misdemeanants, a population of minor offenders who they called 'fallen women' or 'prostitutes', and who were not hitherto subjected to state punishment.[64] These women usually came to the magistrates' attention early in their careers, which indicates a recognition of a difference between a 'prostitute' and a 'criminal', at least in the early stages of the life of a recently 'fallen women'. Reformers believed that it was imperative that such women be reformed, otherwise they would become criminals. Reformers were critical of the penal system for the part it played in 'hardening' potential recruits. The system of bringing 'prostitutes' before the court and subjecting them to prison sentences in gaols or bridewells, which was the usual experience of the women who escaped the clutches of the penitentiary, was believed to aid their corruption. The reformers' solution was to entice these women into direct care and personally to supervise their reformation, which involved persuading a women 'voluntarily' to commit herself to a long period of incarceration, religious indoctrination and a great deal of hard work.

It should be noted that no functional equivalent to a Magdalene Institution existed to control men's sexual behaviour. When men were arrested for petty offences and vagrancy, which indirectly led women to penitentiaries, they were either fined or sentenced to short gaol terms, just as women had been before penitentiaries were established. Thus, the founding of institutions like the Magdalene

legitimated the double standard. The Magdalene Institution was also an informal branch of the criminal justice system because it was nonstatutory, yet it had the socially sanctioned authority to incarcerate women for up to two years for misdemeanors. These were not offenses for which men served long-term prison sentences, which clearly indicates the operation of a double standard.[65]

The first female penitentiaries were founded in Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century. None appeared in Britain until the Magdalene Hospital was established in London in 1758,[66] followed by the Lock Asylum (1787), the London Female Penitentiary (1807), the Maritime Penitent Refuge (1829), the London Society for the Protection of Young Females and Prevention of Juvenile Prostitution (1835).[67] The reluctance and delay of the British to undertake formal rescue work is related to its popular association with Roman Catholicism. The public were suspicious of female penitentiaries because they resembled "popish convents".[68] In Scotland the public were hesitant about supporting institutions where internal transactions were concealed from the public.[69] By 1860, however, there were no longer any traces of this sentiment, as evidenced by the fact that at least 60 females refuges existed throughout the United Kingdom.[70]

The first Scottish penitenitary was the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum established in 1797, followed by the Glasgow Magdalene Asylum in 1812. The first step in the social control process was to separate potential inmates from the rest of the community. The purpose of incarcerating young women who violated middle class standards of 'femininity' served two functions; first, 'respectable' citizens were safe-guarded against the corruption and disease, and second, it prevented inmates from becoming more "hardened in wickeness" through association with their underworld companions either in the streets or in the prisons.

> While these unfortunate women are in the midst of their wicked companions, there is no time allowed for them for deliberation. The tide of licentiousness rushes so imperceptably and forcibly upon them, that they are unable

> to offer any resistence till they are entirely overpowered and overwelmed by it. While they continue amongst their associates they must act as others act, till they become so hardened in wickedness, that it is of indifference to them whether they are doing right or wrong. A moment's reflection on the dangerous nature of their conduct so alarms and distresses them, that they hasten to drown their grief in dissipation, or by joining in the sinful conversation and merriment of the brothel. If they think of returning to their friends, they see that their habits, manners, and mode of conversation are so gross and offensive, that they are no more in a fit state to associate with virtuous people.[71]

Magdalene Asylums attempted to effect social control by controlling inmates' sexuality, through training them to accept middle class standards of 'femininity', especially, chastity. They sought to achieve a vocational control function, by teaching them domestic skills which they were to utilize either as dutiful daughters, nieces, and wives in their own families or as servants in the homes of others.[72] Finally, institutions recognized that not all candidates were suitable for the marriage market, so they insured that inmates would received industrial training. this not only created a disciplined industrial labour force, but also provided former inmates with a 'respectable' way of earning an income.

Although the general philosophy of female penitentiaries did not vary significantly from institution to institution, the techniques used to achieved these ends did. Examples of contrasting approaches can be seen in the administration of the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum and the London Female Penitentiary. These demonstrate that by 1840 conflicting and shifting ideologies among rescue work had emerged, which indicates a shift in the attitude toward "fallen women".

The external affairs of the London Female Penitentiary were managed by a committee of gentlemen, and the internal affairs were run by an equal number of "married ladies". The women's committee was responsible for the reception of applicants for admission, and the management of the day to day affairs of the home. In order to ensure that applicants were "sincerly desirous of reformation" every female

was subjected to a probationary period of three months. If succcessful she was fully admitted, but could still be expelled, "if she displayed a refractory or incorrigible temper, or refused to conform to the established regulations and discipline of the house". While in the penitentiary inmates were given religious instruction.

Inmates were employed in plain seam and fancy needlework, and all branches of household and laundry work including washing, ironing, and mangling family linen. A Director of the penitentiary indicated the importance they attributed to work when he stated that

> Industry prevails throughout the whole house. Each female is regularily engaged in some useful and profitable employ. Thus habits of application and diligence are forming, the dangers of idleness repelled, and the means of virtuous and honest subsistence put into the hands of many who have lived on the wages of iniquity.[73]

In addition to the importance of hard work, the London Penitentiary stressed the importance of the "cultivation of social affections", and inmates were encouraged to form friendships and to workalong side girls with similiar talents and aptitudes.

> each female is gradually inured to industrious habits; she is instructed in some branch of useful and profitable labour, best suited to her capacity and turn of mind...And in the same class, attention is paid to separating those whose tempers do not agree, and to encourage the exercise of kind affections, by gratifying them in the preference of particular associates, provided this appears to be founded on commendable principles.[74]

The administration of the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum, however, was considerably different for the London Female Penitentiary. In contrast to the friendly admission proceedure of the Penitentiary, during the late 1830's every female admitted to the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum had to have her head shaved. She was then put in solitary confinement for two to three months, which was intended to provide her with time for undisturbed reflection. During this time she was employed in sewing, and was permitted to see only the matron, chaplain, superintendents and visiting members of the ladies'

committee, who provided instruction and advice. At the end of this period, if she had acted consistently and had given satisfactory evidence of a desire to reform she was allowed to join the other inmates in the workroom and to become a regular member of the Asylum.[75]

The purpose of head shaving was to repress the desire to get out, common to many after a few days residence in the Asylum. The directors found that

> In such a state of mind, it was found almost impossible to instill proper principles; but, by the adoption of the practice allied to, an advantage has been gained, as no women likes to leave the Asylum without her hair; and before it has grown a proper length, she has become habitutate to her situation, and by instruction and example, made to see the sinful course she has been pursuing. This effect has failed in only two out of fifty cases![76]

According to Tait, the only advantage of head shaving would be if the directors sold the hair to raise money for the support of the institution! William Logan also abhored head shaving; he accepted that in some cases it might be necessary to shorten the hair, but not so as to make the person feel ashamed "to look up for several weeks". He stated that head shaving had a "bad effect on the mind of a depraved female: self-respect is lost as a consequence".[77]

Further, Tait failed to see any advantage in isolating new inmates. Separation from other females was cruel and threatened their love of society and friendship. "Nothing depresses the human spirit more than solitary confinement".[78] He suggested that the length of the probationary period should depend on the temprament of the girl, how long she had been on the street, her education and employment history and her rate of progress. For example, he suggested that an unemployed domestic servant who had only been on the street a couple of weeks should be fully rehabilitated within "six months or a year". Tait's suggestion that magdalene institutions move away from corporal punishment represents the trend away from traditional techniques of physical punishment of the body, and their

replacement with punishment of a less immediate kind.[79] The old techniques were replaced with carceral or disciplinary methods. Doctors, clergy, and philanthropists took over from the public executioner and Kirk and developed theories which justified new forms of punishment intended for "changing the mind". The subject was to be observed, retrained, and rendered obedient, "surveillance and not just punishment became the object of the exercise".[80]

Tait was extremely disturbed by the used of violent control measures, including corporal punishment used in Edinburgh. He demonstrated that, although the principles upon which these institutions were established and the regulations by which they were governed were similar, there was a striking difference in their success rates. The Magdalene Hospital in London had a success rate of 64%; the London Female Penitentiary, 59%; the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum 39%, although the Bon-Pasteur in Paris was even less successful than Edinburgh. The success rate was determined by the number of women who remained in an institution for the full 2 year period. Tait attributed the difference between success and failure to the way in which an institution was managed.[81] He argued that head shaving combined with the other harsh modes of disipline peculiar to the Edinburgh Asylum and The Bon-Pasteur accounted for their low success rate.

Tait urged the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum to adopt the 'familialist' model used in the London Penitentiary, with its system of positive reinforcement for good behaviour. He argued that the best way to gain a new inmate's confidence and trust was through flattery rather than force. Inmates should not be overly constrained and ought to be encouraged to make friends. In this way those of similar tastes and "dispositions would unite and the utmost tranquillity and peace will reign throughout the establishment".[82] Newcomers should be assigned a couple of older inmates to act as 'big sisters'.The value in this was that inmates who had been in the institution for a while, from similar family backgrounds and past 'troubles', having "seen the error of their ways" would have a much

more positive influence on a newcommer than the matron, superintendents or visiting ladies' committee.[63] The expediency of depending on peers to socialize newcomers to conform to the norms of the institution should not be overlooked. Neither should its similarity to the boarding-or finishing-school system, which had become important part of the middle class girl's experience of 'femininity' in the nineteenth century.[64] The familialist model, with its emphasis on developing a surrogate-family for inmates will be developed further in Chapter 5.

The History of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution

The Glasgow Magdalene Asylum: 1812-1840.

Stevenson MacGill, professor of divinity at Glasgow University and secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Penitence, was one of the first citizens of Glasgow to solicit support for the Magdalene Asylum which opened in 1815.[65] MacGill argued it was in the public interest to support the reclamation work undertaken by the Society for the Encouragement of Penitents. He pointed out that the reformation of offenders would not only diminish "social evil", but also relieve the community of the burden and nuisance caused by the presence of 'prostitutes'.[66] In his effort to convert a suspicious if not hostile public, MacGill became a spokesman for the "unhappy individuals", for whom he believed the public should feel only pity. In the process McGill helped to generate what Edward Bristow calls the "cult of sentimentality", which denied 'prostitutes' free will, and which was a popular psychological defense mechanism which flowed from the double standard.[67] McGill's work is of particular interest in this study because it reflects the Magdalene Asylum's intital attitude toward 'prostitutes' and reveals a very early attempt to shape public opinion in the direction of compassion toward 'fallen women'.

MacGill did not begin his analysis with a description of the material circumstances of the lives of these "unhappy individuals", because he feared that:

> They presented a picture of the human depravity and wretchedness, too loathsome, and shocking for the public eye; from which retreating, sickened and appalled, your dread and abhorrence might be apt to overcome the workings of compassion.[88]

Rather, he summoned the public to consider what these individuals "have been, and what they possibly still may be". In reference to the personal histories of these women, MacGill pointed to the existence of many young women who had only recently "fallen", and who were still capable to feeling guilt and shame, emotions which moral reformers believed quickly vanished among these women. MacGill emphasized that not all of the young 'prostitutes' of Glasgow were the daughters of "ignorant and destitute" classes, but the children of "pious parents", who had been forced to leave the counsel and protection of their families by moving to the city in search of employment. Once they were in the city they "became victims of seduction" and fell into the "society of the wicked" with its corrupting habit of "profligate conversation and example".[89]

> From one step to another, and by a progress easily conceived, they pursue their course of depravity and arrive at a stage of very dreadful wickedness. In drunkness, debauchery, theft, the riot and noise of shocking passions, and with a rude levity, ill concealing the misery of a diseased body and a wretched mind, they spend those days which once passed in innocent pursuits...Yet though they have fallen, they have not sunk to total insensibility...they think of former days, their former prospects, their father's home, and the hopes of their parents.[90]

MacGill attempted to arouse public sympathy and moral and financial support for the Magdalene Asylum by portraying "magdalenes" as the unfortunate daughters of the "respectable" working class. MacGill reminded the public that an institution like the Magdalene Asylum was the only way forward for females who desired reformation.

> But how shall they return? The way seems to them shut up...and their resolutions and strength are feeble. Is not this the situation of thousands, who wanted only to hear some encouraging voice, to see some ray of hope, to discern some opening pointed out by a friendly hand, and to receive some assurance of shelter, some chance, though at a distant period, *as a hired servant,* of being admitted into their fathers house...How many a wretched female, by friendly interference in the moments of contribution, might have been saved from a wretchedness too deep and dreadful to be thought upon![91]

The Glasgow Magdalene Asylum was located on the pasture land on the north side of Parliamentary Road east of the Lunatic Asylum which opened in 1812.[92] But as Tait later argued in the context of Edinburgh, so the Directors argued that only in a rural environment removed from the bustle of active life and circumstances of temptation could the young females could practise their penitence undisturbed.[93] The Asylum was supported by the "scanty benevolence" of the city and by collections in congregational, espiscopalian, and parish churches.[94] The building consisted of three stories and provided accomodation for approximately thirty-four inmates. The dormitory contained 17 bedrooms, each designed to accomodate 2 or more inmates as circumstances required. The building also contained apartments for the superintendents, 4 working and eating rooms, and a chapel for divine service. Each room was "fitted up in a plain, but handsome manner".[95] The building was surrounded by an acre of "properly enclosed" land, in which the inmates were ocasionally permitted to walk. Prior to 1816-17, however, the state of the "grounds had not permitted them to do so",[96] which meant that the 30 women in the home at that time were never allowed to go outdoors.[97]

Women came to the Magdalene Asylum voluntarily. After being admitted they were expected to take a "hot or cold bath", and were given a uniform. They were then expected to make clothes for the Asylum, either by sewing, knitting or embroidery. The problem was that the majority of the inmates had never held a steady job. In fact many were totally unskilled and illiterate. This was compounded by their extremely bad health, undernourishment, and

incapacity for much exertion, which was evidently their reason for entering the Asylum. Once admitted, it appears that it may have been rather difficult to get out.[98]

It was the policy of the Asylum that women were retained until they demonstrated to the Committee that they were capable of a "change of life", whereupon they were either reunited with their families or found jobs in domestic service.[99]

The daily routine in the asylum was designed on the principle of an efficiently run home, characteristic of family life among the 'respectable' ideal working class. In summer, inmates arose at 6 a.m., but in winter they were allowed to sleep until it was light. There were allowed fifteen minutes for their private devotions before they began their work. Before breakfast, the 'sisters' gathered with the matron for "family worship". Breakfast was at 9 a.m., after which the inmates resumed their employment, either by doing domestic chores around the Asylum or by working on revenue generating projects such as making corsets, children's dresses, and baby linen. Dinner was at three and supper at eight, after which there was family worship. It was not unusual for inmates to work for an hour or two after supper. Time was set aside each day for the education of inmates who could not read and each girl was given her own Bible as soon as she was able to read. Throughout the day the matron was expected to take every opportunity to instruct inmates in the principles and duties of religion.[100] The entire inmate population were examined every three months in reading, repeating portions of the Scripture and the Catechism.

Despite the strict rules and regulations 215 women applied for admission between 1815 and 1822, but only 180 of them were accepted. Among these women, 22 were eventually provided with employment in 'respectable' domestic service, 40 were reunited with their relations, 3 married, 36 left the asylum at their own request (several of whom subsequently found employment), 32 were dismissed for improper conduct, 28 ran away, 1 died, and 21 remained in the

home when the Annual Report for 1822 was written.[101] Those who 'behaved' well for the first year after they left the Asylum received 1 guinea.[102] By 1839, 649 cases had been admitted, the proportion sent out to work or reunited with relatives being 38%.[103] Returning a girl to her family or placing her in domestic service was basically the only criteria the asylum used to classify inmates as 'restored'. Later in the century, certain types of employment such as work in mills or warehouses were added to the classification, but initally it would appear that the asylum only felt comfortable placing girls in situations where it appeared that they would be dependent upon others for food and board, and where they hoped girls would be closely supervised. This point reveals something about how the Directors perceived the position of women in public 'paid' employment.

The House of Refuge for Females: 1840-1859.

In the 1840's the accomodation and buildings were enlarged as a result of the activities of the reformatory school movement of 1837. A house of refuge for boys had opened in 1837 to aid boys discharged from prison. It was seen as a preventative measure to divert boys who, from destitution or exposure, were at risk of becoming juvenile delinquents. By 1840 it had proved itself to be an important service in reducing both crime and the cost expended on the prosecution of 'juvenile criminals'. The Lord Provost was exhorted to open a similar institution for girls. But to save costs it was decided that instead of erecting a new establishment, the Magdalene Asylum might be extended and adapted for this purpose. That year the entire property of the asylum was renovated in order to accomodate 150 inmates.[104] In 1841 an Act of Parliament placed both institutions under one board of commissioners, provision being made for their common support by a tax on the city, (one penny on the pound on city rents of £12 and up). The resulting establishment was called "The House of Refuge for Females", and the 'Magdalene' as a separate institution ceased to exist. Its name disappeared from the list of city charities until 1860.[105]

The formal dissolution of the Magdalene Asylum does not mean that philanthropists terminated their crusade to reform "fallen women". The Directors only permitted the Asylum to be transformed into a girl's reformatory on the condition that room would be reserved for 40 'prostitutes' under the age of 25. The remainder of the Institution was to be inhabited by children and adolescents who, after being charged or convicted of a crime, had "consented" to go there as an alternative to prison.[106] The benefits of the Refuge were also extended to indigent girls and orphans "at risk" of falling into crime.[107] The Act, however, did not prevent the Commissioners from continuing to admit suitable young women or rejecting unsuitable cases.[108] When the House of Refuge opened in October 1840, 12 'prostitutes', or "magdalene cases" were received: 6 cases were under the age of 14, the youngest being 11; and the remaining 6 were young women under 23 years of age.[109]

The House of Refuge rapidly became over-crowded and the indiscriminate mixing of children and young women at varying degrees of delinquency suited no one. From the viewpoint of the Magdalene Asylum, mixing children and "criminals" with "magdalenes" gave the house a penal character, thus making admission to it less desirable than previously. The House of Refuge maintained that these two classes of inmates were best kept apart. In 1850, additional buildings were erected, and separate quarters were allotted to the magdalenes. Thus, the segregation of children and "magdalenes", impossible before the building had been renovated, was introduced. With the exception of the chapel and one common corridor the inmates of the two instutions no longer had any opportunity to meet.[110] Although the Asylum and the House of Refuge continued under the same administration, they formed two separate departments and the Magdalene Asylum could once again be considered a separate institution.[111]

The renovated building contained accomodation for 200 children between 8 and 16 years of age and 70 women between 16 and 25. There was a separate dormitory for every 30 inmates, and a separate

workroom. This was considered to be a great improvement over the old structure because it allowed inmates to be carefully classified and meant that inmates no longer had to work in the same room in which they slept. There was a classroom where inmates were taught reading, writing, geography, arithmetic and received their daily Bible lesson. Twenty women were employed in the public laundry belonging to the institution and the remainder were occupied with needlework.'[112] Because the majority of the women and children who left the institution went into domestic service, emphasis was placed on training for service. The laundry, washing-house and kitchen were used as a training laboratory, in which experience in washing, ironing, and plain cooking could be acquired. The matron believed that fancy needlework and crocheting should not be taught: "It unfits for more useful occupation, and has a dissipating tendency upon the mind".'[113]

The House of Refuge and the Magdalene Asylum continued to occupy the same premises for almost 20 years. While the renovations in 1850 had been a great improvement, the Directors of the Magdalene division were hardly satisfied. The introduction of the Youthful Offenders Act in 1854 was the last straw. Under the terms of this Act, the Magistrates could now commit offenders under the age of 16 to the Institution without the consent of the offender or the consent of the Directors. In addition, the Act made it imperative that every offender sentenced to the reformatory first complete a mandatory fourteen day prison sentence. Once admitted to the reformatory, the detention period ranged from between two and five years.'[114] The Act had many advantages for children because it kept them out of the adult prisons, but it altered the character of the institution considerably, at least according to J.D. Bryce, the spokesman for the Magdalene Asylum. Bryce, a well known in Glasgow's philanthropic circles, played a leading part in alerting the public to the existence and spread of the 'social evil' in Glasgow.'[115]

Bryce believed that there was a qualitative difference between a 'magdalene' and a 'criminal'. He argued that many girls tried

under the Act for public order crimes such as vagrancy, disturbing the peace, or petty theft or vandalism were also found to be guilty of sexual misconduct. In these latter cases, they were removed from among children and placed with the women. This meant in such cases the offender was punished for her sexual behaviour rather than the crime she was charged with.

Bryce was outraged that a 'magdalene' should be forced to associate with the 'criminal' element in the Refuge, which was in part because of his idealized image of 'fallen women'.

> This was offensive and irritating to the women, as it gave their department a penal aspect, quite opposed to its real character, for, notwithstanding the stigma of the name common to both, the two branches differed entirely.[116]

He believed that the Asylum's connection with the House of Refuge, its mixing of 'magdalenes' with 'criminals' and its penal character greatly inhibited the asylum's ability to perform rescue work. Many female penitentiaries like the Magdalene Asylum were not interested in the hard-core 'professional prostitute'; their efforts were directed towards sexually promiscuous young women who needed to be taught the conventional code of female propriety.[117]

> Considering the name of the institution, and the appearance in keeping with the name, its high walls and massive gates giving it quite the look of a prison. To knock for admission requires a degree of courage hardly consistent with tenderness of feeling. It may be done by the bold and shameless, but we ought not to require such an effort from the crushed and shrinking spirit.[118]

The Glasgow Magdalene Institution: The Family Home System

In 1859 the 20 year union of the House of Refuge and the Magdalene Asylum came to an end. The Magdalene Asylum, was reincorporated as the Magdalene Institution, and recieved a Royal Charter in 1866. The new Board of Directors abandoned the old house on Parliamentary Road, altered its formal structure and set out to extend its sphere of influence. The first Board of Directors, unlike

the Board of Directors of the old society, included only two ministers. It was a lay body and its laymen consisted of 63 of Glasgow's most prominent citizens many of whom were also members of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science. The board was divided into 5 executive committees. These included: 1) Homes' Committee; 2) Repressive Committee; 3) Finance Committee; 4) Plant and Buildings' Committee; 5) Work Committee; This Board was made up of, among others: 15 Glasgow merchants, 4 writers, the Lord Provost, 5 manufacturers, 1 shipowner, 2 professors, 2 ministers, 3 bankers, 1 medical doctor, 1 brewer, and 1 architect.[119]

Much of the work was accomplished because of the zeal of J.D. Bryce, who was driven by the belief that there was a 'better class' of 'prostitute' on the streets whom the Magdalene Institution had hitherto been unable to reach. In reference to the 407 inmates discharged between 1850-1858, Bryce noted that more than half had been domestic servants of low rank, 244 had serious drinking problems, 145 were former convicts, 126 had been in the Lock hospital, and 135 were illiterate. These figures Bryce argued:

> 'indicate a very low class of inmates. And it is a remarkable fact that more than four-fifths of those astray were led astray by companions of their own sex. It would be wrong, however, to conclude that such is the case with females of a better class, who, to a large extent are the victims of seduction'.[120]

It was this 'better class' that Bryce wanted to attract to the new Magdalene Institution.

In order to attract such women, Bryce believed that it would be necessary to abandon the previous approach to the moral reform of 'fallen women' in favor of a more modern approach, inspired by the work of John Blackmore's Moonlight Mission[121] which Bryce had observed in London.[122]

> Of old there was much in the manner of admission to deter the best class from coming to the House. There was the ordeal of an examination by the Directors--hair was cut--and an obligation to remain for a period of two years was

> exacted--but all this has long since been done away, every faculty is given for the reception of young women lately astray.[123]

Bryce argued that rather than erecting another large building for the Institution, the "Family Homes System", composed of smaller homes of a more private character would be more suitable. This would enable the classification the inmates in a manner impossible in a single institution. The homes would operate as a small family unit, each headed by "a kind, motherly woman of humble position in life".

> Where there is but one establishment, the attempt to discriminate and assort according to character is mistaken for partiality, and creates bad feelings. All must be received on common footing, but how repulsive to the female of better caste, to be placed with the grossly depraved![124]

Further, Bryce demanded that the two year residence requirement be abolished because it would inevitably lead to discontent. "The Asylum", he wrote, "however eagerly sought, is soon viewed as a place of confinement, and the Superintendents are regarded more as keepers than friends". Bryce intended that the young women should regard residence in the Home as a "privilege", rather than an obligation. Bryce also wanted to abolish institutional dress and the harsh discipline which characterized the old regime.

> The sameness of dress, too, in public Institutions, gives an aspect of crime or pauperism. The uniformity is perhaps more pleasing to the eye than the ordinary mixture of attire, but neither this, nor the unbroken silence of the work-room are natural. Why should not every inmate retain her individuality, and speak and act with freedom enjoyed in a well regulated family? Reading of an instructive and entertaining kind would both occupy and inform the mind, and liberty of conversation would promote cheerfulness. Nor should music be forgotten. Together with sacred melodies, moral songs of a cheerful character might be employed with advantage. They would not only enliven the work-room, but imprint useful lessons on the memory. There is a danger of making religion a weariness by the constant repetition of its truths.[125]

Bryce's proposal was accepted by the Board of Directors and in 1860 two 'experimental' houses were secured; one on Parson Street and

another on Chatham Place, Stirlings' Road. This provided accomodation for 42 inmates. Each case was carefully screened. The Directors reserved places in the Houses for the "better class" of applicants and arranged that applicants of "lower social grade" be sent to the Magdalene Department of the House of Refuge, where they retained control of a number of places. In order to better carry out the classification process, it was decided that a Probationary Home be acquired. Such a home would provide the Directors with a means of discriminating between the two 'classes' of applicants. A 14-day probationary period was established, during which characters could be judged, capacity for work determined, and desire for reform tested. This involved the task of weeding out those who desired admission not so much from "hatred of of their evil habits" as from the pressure of destitution, from those applicants who sincerly desired an "opportunity for well-doing" and "restoration to the paths of virtue".[127] The Directors also found that it was best to separate the older inmates from the newer ones. It was hoped that the probationary period would prevent "the advantages of the Home from being thrown away upon unsuitable cases".[128] In addition, it would avert the disappointment experienced when "inmates considered hopeful...left the Home at the instigation of women who entered in a spirit unfavourable to their own reformation, and injurious to the well-being of others around them".[129]

A house in Bath Street became the first Probationary home. It provided accomodation for 10 additional inmates as well as rooms for the secretary and board meetings. All applications were received at Bath Street, and were either rejected, placed in Parson St. or in the house in Chatham St., or sent to the House of Refuge. A visiting committee was appointed to exercise surveillance over the two homes. The matrons were expected to communicate instructions, both secular and religious to the inmates. The Homes were regularily visited by "earnest Christian gentlemen of the City", and "Christian ladies", who volunteered their services as visitors of the Homes.[130]

The first Ladies' Auxiliary was formed in 1861. It consisted of volunteers, who appear to have been actively recruited by the gentlemen on the Board of Directors and the wives of clergymen of several denominations. Circulars, calling upon Christian ladies to come to the aid of the 'fallen', were sent by various clergymen's wives to ladies in their congregations, a women's meeting was held, and the services of 100 volunteers were allocated to three departments. Twenty ladies were assigned the duty of visiting the Homes regularly, for imparting religious and secular instructions and taking a general personal interest in the inmates. Eight ladies were given the responsibility of supplying clothes, under the matron's approval, to girls entering and leaving the Homes. The remaining ladies were assigned to fund raising. In 1868, a committee for community surveillance and the visitation and supervision of inmates on probation in domestic service and other employment was added to the list of the auxiliary's responsibilities. It should be noted that although their work was essential to the running to the Homes, as is indicated by the number of appreciative comments heaped upon them by the Directors in the annual reports, women were not permitted to sit on the Board of Directors until 1913.[131] This may have been for legal reasons, but it may also reflect a general unwillingness among the Directors to work with women of their own class. Josephine Butler noted this as a characteristic of Scottish men, who refused to allow women to attend repeal meeting some years after mixed meetings were common in England.[132]

Bryce's plan lasted only three years. By 1863 a shift in attitude is apparent in the policy decisions of the Directors. They concluded that the plan to attract a 'better' class of 'prostitute' was a fantasy. After careful review of the statistics they had observed that the classes of cases had been exactly the same as those reported when they were linked with the House of Refuge. The females who solicited entrance to the Homes continued to be of a "lower order", with only a small proportion from the middle class; no application had been received by a "fallen" women from the higher ranks of society. Contrary to their expectation that among the ranks

there would be found 'prostitutes' who would be averse to enter an "institution" like the Female House of Refuge, being "accustomed, in earlier and better days, to the comforts and elegancies of a well-appointed family circle",[133] the Directors concluded that "such a class [did] not exist".[134] "Among the victims of prostitution in Glasgow, there [were] few, if any who [were] really well born and highly-educated".[135] Furthermore, since the applicants were the same as those admitted to the House of Refuge, their goals would be accomplished more effectively by adopting the "regime and disipline" used in large penitentiaries.[136]

The era of the "cult of sentimentality"[137] came to an end, and the 'cult of the individual' was ushered in. The careful selection of statistics led rescue workers to conclude that prostitution was caused by the individual's inability to cope. A careful balance between religion and work was all that was necessary to teach these women the social skills they lacked, and this required that the institutions to be arranged accordingly.[138] In 1864 plans were made to replace the detached Homes with a large institution where inmates would be placed under a course of "mild discipline and continuous education".[139]

The Glasgow Magdalene Institution: The Lochburn Home

Like the first Asylum, this home would also be located in the country, away from the demoralizing influences of the city. It would provide not only a suitable environment for physical and moral reformation, but also an ideal location for the addition of a laundry operation which would be a valuable source of partial "self support" for the Institution.[140] Between 1864 and 1867 the leases at Chatham Place and Bath Street were teminated. The home at Parson Street was kept, however, to provide a probationary home for new inmates.[141] The property on Parliamentary Road occupied by the Female House of Refuge, was also sold. The Commisioners of the House of Refuge were glad to be relieved of the charge of the Magdalene department because it did not come within their scope. Through the sale, the

Magdalene Institution acquired £5,000.00 from the building, and regained control of £2,4000.00 in legacies intended to remain with the Institution.

The new Lochburn Institution opened in 1867 and was located in Maryhill. It initially provided accomodation for 90 inmates, but was extended in 1870 to meet the increasing demand for admissions brought about by the strict enforcement of the Glasgow Police Act. The facility contained recreation and sewing wards, a reading and writing room, board-room, matron's room, dining-rooms for the Superintendents and inmates, and 10 separate apartments for Superintendents overlooking the dormitories.[142] The laundry and washing-house, about 40 feet from the main building, provided employment for about 40 workers in 1868. The Directors were pleased with the results:

> Now, our Magdalene Institution...is not only a refuge to unfortunates, but what is of still more consequence, it is a training school for them in good conduct and in some homely branches of usefulness and of what may prove remunerative occupation.[143]

The popularity of laundries among penitenitaries work helped to cut the cost of inmates' confinement. More important, laundry work served a symbolic function: through laundry work women daily performed a cleansing ritual. They enacted "penance for their past sins and purged themselves of their moral contagion".[144] Economic necessity reinforced this ideology in the making of the "sanctimonious sweatshop".[145] It is not suprising then, that the Directors of the Magdalene embued it with great moral significance. Laundry work, they wrote:

> [is] an employment not only more healthful and more remunerative, but, in its moral tendencies, far superior to needlework, which although a useful and necessary branch of female education, is monotonous and less profitable.[146]

Pressure for admission to the Institution continued throughout the 1870's. In 1869, a small flat in Renfield Street was obtained for a Probationary Home, thus providing accomodation for 11

additional inmates. By 1870, overcrowding forced the Probationary Home to move to two flats on 25 Renfrew Street, which were capable of handling 20 probationary cases.[147] In 1873, the adjoining flat was leased, which provided an additional 5 places, plus a more convenient work-room.[148] In 1874 the Probationary Home changed locations again, this time to a tenement on Stirling Road in the vicinity of Grafton Square. This property consisted of 700 yards of building ground covered by a four-story tenement. The new location provided accomodation for 40 inmates.[149] In 1877 a laundry was added to this home.[150]

During this period of expansion the Lochburn Home was constantly occupied to full capacity. The accomodation provided by the Lochburn Home and the Probationary Home totalled 180. By 1875, Lochburn accomodated 130 cases and Stirling Road 50, thus exceeding their combined capacities by 20 women.[151] Throughout the latter part of the decade, the Magdalene Institution claimed to be dealing with 400 cases annually. In 1878, the Directors revealed that during the 19 years of the Institution more than 3,000 young women had been restored to lives of "respectability".[152] By 1884, this figure exceeded 4,000,[153] and in 1905 the Institution reported that 7,540 inmates had been received, although they did not go so far as to claim to have restored them all.[154]

The pressure for admission to the Lochburn Home fluctuated throughout the 1880's. The number of admissions to the Institution did not necessarily mean an increase in total number of 'prostitutes' in Glasgow. Glasgow experienced a depression between 1877-1883.[155] The difficulties women faced finding employment were severe.[156] Further, the clamp down on brothels and street-soliciting made it very difficult for women on the streets to earn a living. Many must have entered the Institution merely to escape harassement and frequent fines.

Trade depressions also decreased the amount of laundry work available to the Industrial department, by increasing competition for

work between commerical laundries and charities. The Magdalene Institution was not the only charity in Glasgow that did laundry work.[157] Lack of work in the Homes inevitably led to disipline problems and increased the dependence on public subscription to defer the costs of maintaining girls when they could not earn their keep by working in the laundry.[158]

Throughout the 1870's and 1880's laundry work became an increasingly important part of the annual revenue of the Magdalene Instutution. The Directors boasted that the revenue from the laundry not only paid for two-thirds of the cost of maintaining the homes but also played an indispensible part in the training of girls for "future usefulness". Prior to 1886 all the work in the laundry at the Homes had been done by hand, but as a result of steam technology it became clear to the Directors that the laundry would have to be modernized if it was going to compete with commerical enterprises. In order to finance the modernization of the laundry, the Directors began to actively solicit funds. In 1884 they claimed that at least £2,000 would be required to modernize the machinery and extend the plant. "It would be no kindness", they explained

> to the inmates merely to give them the shelter of the Homes for a given period, and to keep them in semi-idleness, the condition of idleness having been the bane of many of them in the past. On the contrary, an endeavour is made to impress them with the dignity of labour, and to teach them self-respect and independence, thus raising them to a higher moral platform, to breathe a purer and nobler atmosphere.[159]

The patrons of the Magdalene Institution responded loyally to the plea for additional subscriptions and the money was raised within the year, and steam engine and boiler and washing and calendering machines were added.[160] The Directors were beginning to regard the laundry more and more as a competitive business. They began to advertise in annual reports and charity pamphlets. In order to pass this entrepreneural spirit on to the inmates and to entice them into taking a more active interest in the "domestic and industrial" work of the Institution, the Directors introduced a system of profit-sharing.

Premiums varying from one shilling to 7s 6d and were allocated to girls according to merit, conduct, industry, and the class of promotion obtained. Thus, every inmate would be made to feel that the "prosperity of the Homes, [was] her prosperity in which she [had] a direct personal interest".[161] By 1909, the Directors observed that a laundress that become a highly skilled occupation, such great strides had been made in the Laundry trade since the

> time when it was thought that any female could wash and dress clothes. It has become a skilled industry that can only be successfully pursued after a period of prolonged and careful training; and to bring such women as the inmates in the institution up to this high standard is not an easy task.[162]

On the basis of these attitudes it is obvious why the two year residence requirement was firmly reinstated after J.D. Bryce's plan was rejected. The Directors were attempting to create an industrial labour force, and they had no time to deal with individual problems. But the debate on the appropriate length of stay never totally subsided. Many of the Directors felt that a four month stay would enable the Institution to reach as many girls as possible, while others argued that keeping girls for such short periods was too expensive because by the time she was physically capable of earning her keep, she was likely to leave the Institution. In 1868, one year after the first laundry in the Lochburn home opened, the Directors settled the debate on this issue. By concluding that a two year residency was necessary, the financial motives behind their decision are only too clear. Further, although the Directors never ceased to espouse the claim that it was a 'voluntary' organization, subtle incentives, such as the premium scheme or the promise of new clothing etc., which were reinforced by the activities of the police on the streets, were used to keep inmates in the home. More will be said about this in the next section. It is sufficient to add, however, that in 1910, residence requirements were still debated and the Directors were still concluding that:

> By continuing in the home for this period a girl has some chance of profiting by the religious and other influences brought to bear upon her. She has also, in addition to her

outfit, the nucleus of a bank account to her credit, and the Home has some return for the expense of her training for a better life.'[153]

To summarize the history of the Magdalene Institution, it is useful to examine the changes in the Institutions' policies between 1812 and 1860. First, the changing definition of which women were 'prostitutes'. and second, the Institution's role as a diversion agency. At least four distinct phases of the discourse can be located in the asylum after it opened. To begin with one of the principle motives behind the establishment of the Asylum was to provide 'prostitutes' with an alternative to the streets or the prisons. The contradiction however, was that the Directors did not intend to accept 'hard-core prostitutes', they only wanted to recruit the newly 'fallen' and 'victims of seduction'. In other words, their idea of a 'prostitute' was not a pre-existing woman who was readily identifiable by a criminal record, rather, they developed their own definition of a 'prostitute'. In effect, inmates of the Asylum were the product of the discourse which the Directors controlled. In the case of the first phase, she was defined by McGill as a "magdalene" and "unhappy daughter" of the poor but honest working-man, conveniently modeled after the popular perception of Mary Magdalene in the Bible.

The second phase, however, marked a change in the discourse, with the association of the "magdalene" with the "criminal" in the House of Refuge. The movement to divert children from the adult prison system initiated by the Juvenile Department led to the Directors of the Magdalene Asylums temporary loss of control over the discourse, which lasted until the Youthful Offenders Act total control over the admissions. Directors of the Asylum would no longer tolerate the missing of 'criminals' with 'magdalenes'.

In the third phase, the "magdalene" was rescued from association with criminality by J.D. Bryce, who was determined that the categories be distinguished from each other. For as long as

Bryce controlled the internal discourse the "magdalene" was once again the sentimental "victim" for whom reform meant 'cheerful conversation', "sacred melodies and moral songs". In contrast, in the last phase indentified so far, a new discourse emerged. The subject of the discourse was no longer defined as a helpless "victim", but a threatening social problem which could only be controlled by a regime of discipline and hard work, although the pendulum never swung back so far as to recommend a return to head shaving and solitary confinement. In conclusion it is important to note that with each change in the internal management of the Institution the Directors re-defined their clientel, and demanded the right to pick appropriate candidates for their programme, and in so doing they actually created the subjects.

In *Visions of Social Control,* Stanley Cohen discusses the community control movement of the 1970's. He uses the concept of "destructuring" to describe the process whereby interest groups in the community attempted to decrease the size, scope and intensity of the formal deviancy control system. Cohen's argument can be usefully applied to the situation in Glasgow in the nineteenth century, where interest groups, and philanthropists were clearly dissatisfied with the role of prisons, bridewells and workhouses in the control of young female misdemeanants, paupers, and orphans. The Magdalene Asylum was intended to divert women from the prison and workhouse systems. Similarily the House of Refuge was intended to divert young offenders from the adult prison system. While the re-incorporation of the Magdalene Institution was a second attempt to divert criminals and juvenile delinquents away from "magdalenes".

But merging of the Asylum and the Refuge, released a whole new set of problems, owing to the increase in the total number of inmates and the fact that many were of a classification not intended to be subjects of that institution. In other words, the "wrong" populations were getting in and desirable clients were being kept out. The result was a power struggle between the Directors, with each wanting to select only those clients most likely to

benefit from their programme and to divert those who would be a liability onto other institutions. The power struggle led to the separation of the institutions. The new institution, the Magdalene, differed from the House of Refuge because it selected a class of "soft delinquents" who had committed less serious offenses and had less serious criminal records. Moreover, the Institution also admitted clients who had not committed any offenses at all. The Magdalene, therefore, suplemented rather than replaced the House of Refuge. Further, each system evolved "experts" who established monopolistic claims over select population of clients. "Only the experts know what to do (knowledge) and only they should be allowed to do it (power).[164]

The consequence of this "decarceration strategy" between 1840 and 1860, for example, was that the system as a whole expanded, which meant that more females of a greater age range were incarcerated than previously. With each new phase, ideology or discourse a new class of female was drawn into the system, which began to include women who had escaped notice before the Magdalene Institution opened. The purpose of the Magdalene Institution was to incarcerate part of the population not previously reached, namely those variously defined, as "prostitutes", "magdalenes", "unfallen", which are the equivalent to what social workers now call girls "in trouble", "at risk", "pre-delinquent".[165]

In conclusion, by the middle of the nineteenth century the process became more interventionist than it had been at the beginning of the century and a greater percentage of the female working class population became potential clients. Instead of reducing the amount of stigmatization, labelling, and the overcrowded prisons, intervention now came earlier, and was more intensive, it swept in more forms of deviance, through extension to those not yet formally adjudicated. In the following section the activities of the Glasgow police will be examined, in order to see how they provided a link between the ideology of the Magdalene Institution and the 'real' women on the streets.

The Glasgow Police Act

In the early nineteenth century Glasgow had many large brothels, some like the notorious "Triple Decker", occupying two or three flats. It was believed that day and night the streets were thronged with 'prostitutes' who were constantly in the habit of molesting the passengers in the streets with their soliciting. During all hours of the day, and chiefly in the afternoon and evening, they sat in the windows of those brothels, "with their persons partially exposed, and making signs to the passers-by so that they might attract them".[166]

> It used to be a quite a common thing on fine summer afternoons for the keepers of such houses to bring out a squad, as it were, of women who were living in the house with them and parade the principle streets dressed up in their best clothes, and making a circuit around and back to their houses, so as to let it be known where they were to be had.[167]

At night the houses were brilliantly lit up, and sounds of "riot were to be heard at all hours", or so it appeared to Alexander Patterson who recalled that soliciting was so common and so impudent "that in many parts of the city a foot passenger had to leave the pavement and take to the middle of the street".[168] Most people regarded the presence of these women in the community as a nuisance to be endured. Therefore, prior to 1870 the police seldom interfered with brothels unless sent to investigate a crime or theft said to be committed by the inhabitants.[169] Legislation granting municipal authorities the power to suppress brothels and soliciting was included in the Police Act of 1843, which was amended in 1862 and again in 1866. The Acts, however, remained a "dead letter" until Alexander McCall was made Chief Constable in 1870.[170]

The sections of the Police Act 1866 (88, 136, 137 & 142)[171] that were directed at the suppression of brothels enabled a constable, upon the sworn testimony of a private citizen, to apply to the magistrate for a warrant which would be valid for 30 days. The constable then had the right to enter the establishment at any time day or night and

to arrest the manager of the house if individuals inside were found to be in the "act of prostitution". If the charge was proven the manager or proprietress of the house was fined either £10.00 or sentenced to 60 days in prison. For a second offence the house was closed, and the magistrates, instead of inflicting a fine, which was of little consequence to keepers of higher class brothels, were sent to prison for 60 days. The motivation behind this legislation, which incidently was designed for women as brothel-keeping was believed to be a female profession, was to force them out of the trade by making it unprofitable. McCall claimed that the threat of prison was "rather a frightening thing for women of that sort".[172] In his testimony before the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Act in 1882 McCall reported when he was appointed Chief Constable in 1870 there were 204 brothels in Glasgow, by the end of that year there were 79 and these were "low class". By 1879 the number had been reduced to 22 brothels of the "very lowest class".[173]

The powers under the Act, (section 149, sub-section 30) with regard to soliciting and street disorder stated that "every prostitute, or nightwalker loitering in any road or street, court, or common stair, or importuning passengers for the purpose of prostitution shall be liable to a fine of 40 shillings or 14 days imprisonment.[174] But this legislation did not require that a complaint be filed against a women by a private citizen, the testimony of a constable before a magistrate being all that was necessary for conviction.[175] The only "test of a prostitute" was "that the woman is known to be going about the streets by the police, following no other occupation, and earning her livelihood in that way".[176] McCall admitted that this legislation could be oppressive if not judiciously handled, but he had faith in his constables' ability to use their descretion. Many of the women charged prostitution either lived alone or shared accomodation with other with women. McCall claimed that cases of mistaken identity were doubtful because there was no difficulty finding out whether a women was a 'prostitute'.[177] He was confident that the police constables who testified against women were familiar with her and her habits

> ...and has known her for months, or for years, and has seen her out at all hours of the night apparently doing nothing to earn a livelihood. You may well know a prostitute as you would know as sweep; a man with a black face may not be a sweep, but at the same time you would say he was a sweep.[178]

The motivation behind the strict enforcement of this legislation was to force these women to either find 'respectable' employment or be driven out of the city. As can been seen from Table 4-3, in 1870 the number of known prostitutes living in brothels was 559, by 1871 the number was reduced to 181, and by 1879 there were only 37. In the Criminal Returns for 1871, McCall claimed:

> In the city, during the year vigorous action was taken for the suppression of open female prostitution. A large majority of the unhappy women of the streets are thieves as well as prostitutes, and practice their blandishments merely as a decoy and cloak for purposes of robbery. The moral clearances of the streets has considerably diminished the number of thefts from the persons; but more important even than the preservation of property, it has also, I trust, by removing seductive temptations, saved the youthful and thoughtless of both sexes from straying from the paths of virtue, and been much improved by the comparative absence of loose females. Brothels also have been subjected to strict surveillance. Wherever private complainers appeared before the magistrates with a complaint against such houses, warrants have been issued, and the keepers of them prosecuted, if men and women have been found in them for improper purposes. (McCall, A. Select Committee of the House of Commons.[179]

The effective administration of the Police Act depended on repression and reform. The repressive measures involved, first, the suppression of brothels and second, the suppression of street soliciting. The measures were accomplished through the intensive policing of neighbourhoods where these activities were known to thrive. The Police Act, however, did not stop with the suppression of prostitution *per se*. The authorities were also concerned with reforming the women who were directly and indirectly affected by the Act, and in order to facilitate reform the Lock hospital and Magdalene Institution were more than eager to lend a hand.

Table 4-3; The Number and Rent of Brothels in Glasgow and the Number of Prostitutes living in Brothels during each year from 1870-1879.

	Number of Brothels	Number of Prostitutes	Total Rent of Brothels	Average Rent of Brothels
1870	204	559	£1,965 8s	£ 9 12s 9d
1871	79	181	£ 692 11s	£ 8 15s
1872	50	103	£ 482 2s	£ 9 12s
1873	20	32	£ 202 5s	£10 2s 3d
1874	24	30	£ 240 2s	£10
1875	40	57	£ 291 2s	£ 7 5s 6d
1876	38	71	£ 268 18s	£ 7 1s 6d
1877	38	72	£ 374 19s	£ 9 17s 3d
1878	20	39	£ 213 6s	£10 13s 3d
1879	22	37	£ 208 11s	£ 9 9s 6d

Prior to this survey the last taken in Glasgow was in March 23, 1849, The number of brothels were 211; the number of prostitutes found in brothels was 538; and the number found walking the streets, 509; total prostitutes 1,407. The population in 1849 was 314,000 in 1881, 510,816.

Source: *Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases,* 28 (July 1881), App.21.

As was stated, McCall claimed to have reduced the number of brothels in Glasgow from 204 in 1870 to 79 in 1871 and the number of 'prostitutes' decreased in proportion to the reduction of brothels. It is unfortunate that the city police did not attempt to record the number of 'prostitutes' who lived independently. Unlike Patterson, McCall admitted that statistical evidence in reduction of brothels did not prove that "vice" was less frequent; he testified however, that on the basis of the number of rooms and the amount of rent for these houses, it was clear the introduction of rigorous policing indicated that brothels were no longer luxurious or elaborate, but "miserable places", of very low description.[180] Apparently in 1882 no "person pretending to be a respectable man" would have set foot in a brothel where the rent was only £9.00 per year.[181] Further, McCall argued that the appearance of Glasgow's 'prostitutes' after 1870 indicated that they were not growing rich off the decrease in

competition. He argued that fewer 'prostitutes' meant the greater likelihood of catching disease, and he remarked that judging from their appearance times were hard.

> They are not the kind of women that were in Glasgow at the time that those brothels were in full operation; they were better dressed, what you might call respectable creatures; now they are most miserable creatures, going about the streets perhaps barefooted in many cases.[182]

On the question of clandestine or secret prostitution, McCall stated that there was no evidence that the Police Act had indirectly increased illicit sexual behaviour. From the statistics of the Registrar-General, McCall argued, contrary to those who felt that the suppression of brothels would "lead to the debauching of respectable and virtuous women" and increase 'illegitimacy', that the rate of 'illegitimate' births had decreased in Glasgow in porportion to the population. In 1869 the percentage of 'illegitimate' births was 9.7%, whereas in 1879 it had decreased to 8.1% (see Table 4-4).

Table 4-4; The Percentage of Illegitimate Births to the Total Births in Glasgow in each Year from 1869 to 1879.

Year	1869	9,7%	1873	9,4%	1877	8,1%
	1869	9,5%	1874	8,9%	1878	8,1%
	1870	9,1%	1875	8,4%	1879	8,2%
	1871	9,1%	1876	8,1%		

Source; Report of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths, &c, cited in; *Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases,* 28 (July 1881), App.21.

To further his point, McCall demonstrated that the number of crimes commited by 'prostitutes' in brothels and on the streets had also been reduced (see Tables 4-5 and 4-6). He argued that while there had been an increase in the amount of crime reported, the value of property taken with and without violence had been reduced.[183]

Table 4-5; Reports to the Police of Thefts committed by Prostitutes on the Streets of Glasgow during each Year from 1860 to 1879; with the Amount of Money or Estimated Value of Property Stolen.

Year	Reports of thefts	Estimated Amount	Year	Reports of Thefts	Estimated Amount
1860	401	£2490 6s 11d	1870	332	£1522 19s 4d
1861	449	£2629 13s 4d	1871	259	£ 765 19s 8d
1862	472	£2637 17s 9d	1872	188	£ 679 17s 4d
1863	467	£2116 17s 3d	1873	256	£1086 1s 9d
1864	569	£2796 1s 2d	1874	271	£1126
1865	574	£2118 12s 6d	1875	277	£1012 14s
1866	578	£2319 7s 5d	1876	241	£ 986 7s 8d
1867	554	£2930 1s 6d	1877	263	£ 886 10s 5d
1868	538	£2275 10s	1878	350	£1564 18s 2d
1869	463	£2131 14s 6d	1879	450	£1877 2s
	5067	24,446 2 4		2887	11,508 19 4

Source; *Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases,* 28 (July 1881), App.21.

Table 4-6; Reports to the Police of Thefts committed in Brothels in Glasgow during each Year from 1860 to 1879; with the Amount of Money or Estimated Value of Property Stolen.

Year	Reports of thefts	Estimated Amount	Year	Reports of Thefts	Estimated Amount
1860	125	£ 256 1s 6d	1870	75	£1647 9s 8d
1861	170	£ 776 14s 6d	1871	99	£ 777 8s
1862	169	£ 792 17s 2d	1872	39	£ 228 19s 6d
1863	264	£ 980 10s 2d	1873	8	£ 21
1864	302	£1353 9s 4d	1874	12	£ 21 19s 6d
1865	340	£1520 3s 4d	1875	9	£ 31 13s
1866	405	£1488 11s 4d	1876	11	£ 33 4s 9d
1867	638	£3574 6s 6d	1877	7	£ 55 12s
1868	708	£2284 4s	1878	16	£ 77 6d
1869	683	£3547 14s 8d	1879	32	£ 182 15s
	3804	16843 12 6		808	3,077 1 11

Source; *Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases,* 28 (July 1881), App.21.

McCall concluded that the application of the law by authorities had been very advantageous to the community at large. He argued that

viewed from the materialist stand-point of profit and loss in property, the benefits were indeed tangible; but he added that when one looked at the situation from a moral and social point of view the benefits were uncalculable. With the removal of 'prostitutes' and "seductive temptations", the streets of Glasgow were at last safe for the "youthful and thoughtless and also intoxicated and foolish adults".[184] McCall did not believe that young men deliberately went to brothels. Rather he argued that it was more of an "impulse" triggered by contact with women in the streets, "and being caressed by them in a kind of way, and seduced to go to their places".[185] In short, "taking away the temptation in the streets from the men lessens their desire to use prostitutes".[186]

Summary

In order to summarize it is necessary to examine the relationship between the Magdalene Institution and the Lock hospital and the Police Act. The motivation behind the system of moral policing carried out in Glasgow after McCall became Chief Constible in 1870 was to make the prostitution trade "so hard and unprofitable" that women were "glad to take refuge" in the Magdalene Institution.[187] The conditions of the system, frequent harrassment, fines, and imprisonment, gave women three choices: leave the city, find 'respectable' employment if possible, or enter the Institution (see Table 4-7). The increase in admission to the home after 1869 suggests that many women had no other option than to "voluntarily" commit themselves.[188] The Magdalene Institution repeatedly acknowledged the role the police played in increasing applications for admission.[189] Therefore, the former did not function independently of the police.[190]

Similarily, before a woman was admitted to the Magdalene Institution she was expected to submit to a compulsory medical examination by the Institution's medical officer and if she was found to have venereal disease, was sent to the Lock hospital to be cured (see Table 4-8). Following this she was sent back of the

Institution where, if she passed the probationary period, she would be expected to stay for two years.[191] The Magdalene Institution would not admit women who refused to submit to the medical examination, yet they maintained that the examination was "voluntary".[192]

Table 4-7: The Number of Women Admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution from 1860 to 1889, (not including those already in the Home)

Year	#	Year	#		Year	#	
1860	183	1870	104		1880	244	
1861	230	1871	189		1881	209	
1862	186	1872	147		1882		
1863	136	1873	146		1883		
1864	147	1874	218		1884	224	T,D,
1865	114	1875	173		1885	195	T,D,
1866	57	1876	242		1886	227	T,D,
1867	111	1877	251		1887	204	
1868	86	1878	276	T,D,@	1888	127*	
1869	80	1879	244	T,D,	1889	181	

*Decrease attributed employment opportunities associated with the International Exhibition held in Glasgow that year,
@Years of Depressions in Commerce and Trade cited in Cage, A,R,, 1987,

Source; Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution,* 1860-1889,

In conclusion, one must bear in mind the critics' assertion that the action of the police in the city did not so much suppress prostitution as scatter the women and either forced them to resort to more private measures or move to the suburbs. McCall accepted that both of these were possible, but he was not concerned with other parts of the country as his official duties and responsibilities were confined to Glasgow. And like Patterson he believed that sooner or later all clandestine 'prostitutes' ended up in Lock hospitals with venereal diseases.[193] McCall was convinced that the measures taken by the police had reduced the number of brothels and 'prostitutes' in Glasgow without increasing clandestine or secret prostitution. He

used a combination of the Lock hospital statistics, the Magdalene Institution statistics, 'illegitimacy' rates and crime statistics as proof that there was less temptation toward "vice" in the city. He testified to the Select Committee that Glasgow had no need for the C.D. Act because it had accomplished the same results without the state regulation of prostitution. McCall argued that when a brothel was closed down the 'prostitutes' either left town, found 'respectable' employment or entered the Magdalene Institution.[194]

Table 4-8; The number of times females in the Glasgow Magdalene Institution had been admitted to the Lock hospital

	1860-1869		1870-1879		1880-1889*		1880-1889	
Lock Hospital	total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
Once	345	25,9	385	19,6	242	16,1	972	20,2
Twice	97	7,2	128	6,5	60	4,0	285	5,9
Three times	24	1,8	45	2,3	14	,9	83	1,7
Four times	4	0	5	0	--	--	9	0
Five times	1	0	--	--	--	--	1	0
Never	807	60,6	1369	69,6	1164	77,6	3340	69,6
Not ascertained	53	4,0	35	1,8	20	1,3	108	2,2
	1331	99,8@	1967	100	1500	99,9	4798	99,6@

*Data for 1882-83 missing.
@Discrepancy due to rounding off numbers.

Source; Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*, 1860-1889.

The next chapter will examine the control mechanisms used by the Magdalene Institution more closely in order to see how they intended to reform the inmates.

CHAPTER 5

THE GLASGOW MAGDALENE INSTITUTION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the activities of the Magdalene Institution between 1860 and 1889. The objectives of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution were two-fold: first, to rescue women from prostitution and second to repress the growth and the extent of the "Great Social Vice" in the city.[1] The first section of this chapter looks at the activities of the Repressive Committee, which was responsible for the control of prostitution. The second section examines the social control mechanisms used by the Reclamation Committee, which was responsible for reforming 'prostitutes'.

The Repressive Committee

The activities of the Repressive Committee were intended to extend the influence of the Magdalene Institution well beyond the reformation of 'fallen women'. The Committee was responsible for the effective dissemination of information through the authorities, the press, and other agencies, and the creation of an "enlightened" public sentiment in the community on the question of public morality. Between 1860-1889, the activities of the Repressive Committee involved lobbying for amendments to the Glasgow Police Act, campaigning against nude models in art schools, and lobbying for the banning of the "demoralizing influences" of 'low entertainment', in theatres, public exhibitions and the Glasgow Fair.

The Repressive Committee: 1860-1869

The first victory in the Repressive Committee's battle against 'social evil' was their campaign to close Parry's Theatre. They described Parry's Theatre, at the foot of Saltmarket Street, as the "lowest place in Glasgow". For many years it had been regarded as a

breeding ground of prostitution and crime and a very "hotbed" of obscenity. The theatre opened for three shows nightly, and a fourth on Saturday. It was capable of holding 700 people, and the audiences were generally youth of both sexes between 10 and 20 years of age. The extent of its "evil influences" was believed to be enormous. In 1864, for example, the Insitution admitted a girl who reported to have been "led astray" at the age of 12 in Parry's Theatre.[2] In 1860 the Repressive Committee succeeded in having the theatre closed down. It was subsequently purchased by a John Henderson, a Director of the Magdalene Institution, who had it converted into a meeting place for prayer services on Sunday and for "innocent and useful recreation for the working classes on week nights".[3] According to Allen McLaren, the practice of purchasing or leasing property containing offending establishments was a fairly common method of social reform in cases where Scottish Magistrates were slow or hesitant to act.[4]

The Repressive Committee also focused its attention upon another "immorality" which was practiced in the same part of the city, the yearly "saturnalia" held on Glasgow Green at the foot of Saltmarket Street. They argued that the Glasgow Fair holiday had become a prolific source of "evil", especially to young women. In 1859, for example, the Magdalene Institution admitted 4 girls who attributed their "fall" to these "seasons of riot and debauchery".[5] Other evidence loosely supports this description of the Fair. Historians claim that by the 1860's the upper working class had become increasingly able to leave the city for its holiday, and the Fair became more stridently frequented by the 'lower' working classes. The Glasgow roads to ruin at that time, were summed up as "dress, drink, and the Glasgow Fair.[6]

The Glasgow Fair was instituted in the 12th century by William the Lion, as an annual event when the wares of merchants were brought to the city from the surrounding area and exhibited and sold. By the nineteenth century, however, the Fair had been reduced to a horse and cattle market, and its main purpose was simply as a social event. The Fair attracted travelling shows, circuses and freak and side shows

from all over Britain.[7] It had 5 acting theatres, 9 exhibitions, 6 peepshows, 2 waxworks, and a circus. Ground was rented to them by the Town Council, which welcomed this revenue, and it was therefore reluctant to close it down.[8] The Repressive Committee cited two reasons why it should be abolished: first, it had out-lived its usefulness; and second, it had become associated with "crime and vice" and was so "mean and vulgar" as to have lost the features of "entertainment in any reasonable sense".[9] The Repressive Committee reported that at Fair time large numbers of known 'prostitutes' flocked to the city, and this group was supplemented by an even more notorious group of seasonal 'prostitutes', who "ply their horrible trade only at certain times". Further, the number of brothels in the neighbourhood multiplied, as did cases of seduction, and the entertainment and shows which were a part of the event were seen as demoralizing.[10]

Eager to take the law into their own hands, in 1863 the Repressive Committee instigated an independent fact finding mission in order to provide grounds on which to demand that a formal inquiry be held into the Fair's future. The Committee conducted a survey of the neighbourhood over a three week period. Data was collected by the personal observations of gentlemen of "undoubted character and intergity". The area was divided into four districts: on the west, Stockwell Street; on the north, Trongate and Gallowgate; on the east, Charlotte Street, and the River consitituted the southern district. The reporters were instructed to enquire into the activites of brothels, singing saloons, and penny-reels, and all houses of accomodation whether permanent or temporary, especially for boys and girls.[11]

Drawing upon the results of their survey, the 'spies' concluded that "Glasgow Green at Fair time [was] just one huge brothel". The results indicated that the four districts contained 119 brothels. The northern district, for example, which was normally inhabited by 1,070 families, during Fair week contained 43

public-houses and 47 brothels. In other words, one public-house for every 25 people and a brothel for every 23 families.[12]

LIST OF BROTHELS

Street		# of Brothels	Street		# of Brothels
31	Saltmarket	13	37	New Wynd	1
46	"	1	33	"	1
71	"	2	28	"	1
78	"	3	34	"	1
136	"	1	40	"	1
7	Princess Street	3	56	"	1
12	"	1	77	"	5
30	"	7	93	"	1
29	"	3	98	"	1
71	"	1	29	Gallowgate	4
5	King Street	1	39	"	3
8	"	3	48	"	1
30	"	4	98	"	1
37	Trongate	5	112	"	14
43	"	6	121	"	1
49	"	14	132	"	2
-	Laigh Kirk Close	3	138	"	2
72	Back Wynd	3		Total	----
76	"	3			119
31	New Wynd	1			

Source: *Abstract of Reports Relative to the Glasgow Fair of 1863*, p. 11.

The motivation behind keeping such careful track of the street names and addresses of the brothels, was that the Committee considered sending letters to the landlords asking them if they knew what was being done with their property. In many cases the owners knew perfectly well the purpose for which the property was leased. In fact, brothel-keepers were reputed to be preferable tenants to 'respectable' working people. Brothel-keepers always paid their rent in advance, and were charged more. At one point the wife of a Government official in Glasgow let several furnished houses for 'second-class' brothels, and visited them regularly to collect the rent. Another citizen who had been "knighted for his public service

and was highly regarded for his philanthropy" kept brothels and shebeens (unlicenced drinking establishments) all over the city.[13]

The Committee were extremely disturbed by what they observed at the exhibitions and shows. Singing Saloons and Penny Reels, which were cheap dance halls,[14] were reported to be the greatest sources of "social evil". Two reporters recorded their visit to the saloons as follows:

> We visited the Jupiter and Shakespeare Saloons. In the entrance to the Jupiter there is a cellar where Penny Reels are held, but it had such a forbiding appearance that we deemed it inexpedient to venture down to see them...The Jupiter was filled with young people, and a few working men with their wives. The performers were of the lowest class, and profane oaths were frequent. We also visited the Shakespeare, and think this the most dangerous because the most fascinating. We heard some comic songs which had a very immoral tendency being *double entendre*...At 10:30 the place half filled with persons of dissolute habits, chiefly prostitutes, with a sprinkling of young men.[15]

As for the Penny Reels:

> On July 16th, I found in close No. 46 Saltmarket, a place for Penny Reels, filled with 30 women, chiefly bad girls, 10 boys about 16 years of age, and a blind fiddler. In No. 68 Saltmarket, I found in a Penny Reel place 34 women, a few men, and two women with children in their arms. In No. 78 I found two Penny Reel places, and in them about 50 young girls, 10 known prostitutes and a number of men...It is reported that in connection with those Penny Reels, are houses of accomodation let out by the half hour, and frequented even by boys and girls for immoral purposes, during the Fair.[16]

The Committe reported that the removal of the shows would be a public benefit, as it would lessen the temptations which the Fair presented to a large class of the population. They claimed that many boys in the district had been caught stealing money from their employers, and missed work in order to attend the shows. In the case of young girls, the temptation of the shows was more "deplorable", many being led away from "chastity and virtue", as well as from

"truth and honesty". They concluded that no youth could visit the shows without their moral feelings being blunted.[17]

The performances at the other exhibits were without exception reported to "deprave the tastes and impair the moral feelings" of all who attended them. Audiences generally consisted of, 'loose' women, mill girls, boys, the 'lowest' class of working people, and the occasional respectably attired person. The following provide adequate accounts of what the Committee saw as objectionable behaviour at these exhibits:

> 7th, July--Noticed a most unseemingly exhibition outside on the stage of Brown's Royal Hiberian, a man dressed as a young women, going through immoral antics-lifting her skirts, exposing what seemed bare legs: again as a young lady of fashion, with large crinoline; this scene was immoral in the extreme--some respectable people turned away from the sight, limbs exposed in every variety of attitude, crinoline raised as high as the waist, altogether it was horrible.[18]

> 15th, July--I witnessed a performance in the Hiberian, what is generally known as dumb-acting, signs being used instead of words. The characters acted conveying the idea of a family, consisting of a mother and a father, and two daughters, the mother whose wardrobe seemed scant in the extreme, as the petticoat was exceedingly short, took every opportunity of falling on the stage, causing her clothes to be turned up in a very unseemly way.[19]

> We saw a women dancing upon a tight rope which ought not to have been allowed, as her person was exposed at times in a most unseemly manner; the audience was chiefly composed of boys and girls. We also saw three of the male performers acting immodestly toward three mill girls whilst they were sitting together in a corner of the show.[20]

The Committee concluded their report by recomending that attention be called to the very large number of girls and young women, who, while employed part-time as mill-workers, carried on the trade of prostitution. They stated that the number of women working as seasonal and clandestine 'prostitutes' was exceedingly large, and supplied, to a large extent, the gaps created by those afflicted with venereal disease among the regular population of known 'prostitutes'.

In addition, they directed attention to the overall low moral state prevalent among working class women and girls. They argued that when the moral tone of the females was so low, it was logical that the morality of the males would follow the same course . In order to elevate the moral tone of working class females, the Committee prescribed education and moral training. Repressive measures alone, they argued, would simply be inadequate.[21]

With regard to brothels and soliciting, the Committee demanded that the police and magistrates exercise their powers more rigorously.[22] They stressed that magistrates should award prison sentences rather than fines to those charged with brothel-keeping and harbouring 'prostitutes'. They argued that in the past these offences had been too little "considered and punished", and too often depended upon a breach of the peace. Finally, they demanded that after a certain hour all 'prostitutes' found loitering on the streets be taken up by the police of the respective beats.[23] The implications of the last order inevitably included any women whose dress, physical appearance, occupation or behaviour called her "chastity" to be questioned. This is evidenced by the fact that in their reports the label 'prostitute' is used randomly to include female factory workers, actresses and other young women whose presence at the Fair called their character into question.

As for the future of the Glasgow Fair, in 1866, licences for booths were restricted to the ground outside the railing of the Green. The Committee still insisted however, that the Fair be abolished as a general holiday. They suggested that it would be far more "rational, moral, and pleasure-giving", if employers arranged to provide holidays for their own workers at different time of the year.[24] In 1870, the town council discontinued the licences for the 'Shows' altogether. This event was heralded as a victory in the Committee's crusade to suppress the "souces of evil". They stated, hypocritically, that they had no desire to see the holidays of the working classes abridged, or their "innocent amusements and recreations lessened".[25] In the end

Glasgow Green ceased to be used for the Fair all together, and what remained of it was moved to Vinegar Hill.[26]

Throughout the decade the Repressive Committee also campaigned against the use of young women as nude models in Art Academies on the grounds that it was intolerable that public buildings should be used for this purpose in "a Christian country". They sent numerous petitions to Parliament and the House of Commons demanding that this flagrant abuse of public money be discontinued. They were unsuccessful, however, in achieving the results they expected, and the matter was eventually dropped.[27]

The Repressive Committee: 1870-1879

By the 1870's the Magdalene Institution was running with self-confidence and zeal. On December 20th, 1869 the Committee marched into the Magistrates' Committee General Meeting and demanded that attention be paid to the "great and growing" prevalence of solicitation and loitering by 'prostitutes' in the streets. After the Directors left the matter was discussed, and it was resolved that the terms of the deputation would be "met as far as practicable by a more stringent enforcement of the provisions of the Police Act".[28] Four days later, Chief Constable Miller received notice from the magistrates directing him to "put the law in force strictly in this respect and bring all offenders before the magistrates that the streets and thoroughfares may be kept clean". The Chief Constable sent copies of this notice to all of his superintendents,[29] and McCall, who replaced Miller as Chief Constable some months later, ensured that these orders were carried out. The fact that the orders of the Repressive Committee were responded to so promptly gives a clear indication of the influence they possessed.

As a consequence, in 1870 the Magdalene Institution was forced to increase the number of beds in its house at Lochburn, (thereby increasing accomodation to 120), and to lease 2 flats on Renfrew Street which could accomodate an additional 20 'probationary' cases.

The extension was necessary to meet the increased demand for admission "owing to the enforcement of the Police Act against soliciting and streetwalking".[30] The following year the homes were overcrowded again and another extension was contemplated.

> --a state of matters which they believe was mainly owing to the wholesome enforcement of the police against street solicitation and improper houses. This much needed repressive action on protecting the virtuous, and making the practice of vice more difficult; whilst, at the same time, the experiences of the past year's work have proved that it has led to a desire on the part of many to be delivered from a life of evil.[31]

By 1873, however the Repressive Committee was forced to demand that the civic authorities play closer attention to the number of brothels in the suburbs. They were particularly concerned about Hillhead,[32] where brothels had increased as a direct result of the clamp down in the center of Glasgow. They noted that "already one or two brothel-keepers from the city have attempted to establish themselves in the neighbouring localities".[33]

In 1874 the Institution was still pressed for space and it was forced to ask the public not to make any "extraordinary efforts to reach the fallen, until some means [had] been taken to enlarge the probationary home".[34] Early in the decade a wave of religious revivalism hit Glasgow. It was spearheaded by the Moody and Sankey Campaign, and vigorous crusades to suppress vice and reform the 'fallen', were comming from all directions. This caused problems for the already overcrowded Magdalene Institution. On two occasions in 1874, for example, the Institution was invaded in the middle of the night by hoards of "fallen women" coming from midnight meetings, which had been led by people like Mrs. Poole, whose renowned Midnight Suppers were "not connected with the Institution".[35]

> To have refused the care of these unfortunates, who under such an impulse sought shelter, would have been to fail in the chief objective of the Institution; and even so, at the cost of much inconvenience and an undesirable disturbance to the system of the Homes, all thus brought were received. But this drain on the capacity of the Homes and its

consequences, warned against a repetition of such admission, until that capacity should be rendered more elastic.[36]

The Repressive Committee: 1880-1889.

Throughout the 1870's and 1880's members of the Magdalene Institution's Board of Directors regularly attended public meetings and debates against the extension of the C.D. Act.[37] However, they did so as private citizens and not as representatives of the Magdalene Institution, perhaps wanting to protect it from controversial political issues. This does not mean that the Magdalene Institution escaped the notice of the opponents and supporters of the Acts.[38] Scottish repealers frequently quoted from its annual reports as a way of demonstrating the efficiency of the Glasgow System. Similarly, regulationists and other repeal coalitions argued that the Glasgow System was not really voluntary but a form of "veiled regulation". By the time that the C.D. Acts were repealed in 1886, the Directors had already turned their attention to other issues, such as the Criminal Law Amendement Act (1885).

In 1885 section 5, of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was designed for the protection of women and girls. It raised the age of consent of girls from 13 to 16 years of age, and increased the power of the authorities to deal with brothel-keepers and imposed harsh fines and prison sentences for individuals charged with procuring. This reflected fears of the "white-slave trade" and child prostitution dominant in the late nineteenth century.[39] The Magdalene Institution believed that the strict enforcement of this Act would go a long way in diminishing prostitution and its agencies, and improving the moral tone of the community. They added, however, that they would have preferred to see the age of protection extended to 18 years of age.[40]

By 1896 enrollment began to fall, which was attributed to the opening of other institutions with similar objectives. The Salvation Army, for example opened an institution which accomodated 140 inmates. The Directors were slightly hostile toward the new "competition".[41] In 1899, the Directors argued that "Not many years ago this was the only institution of the kind, now there are several".[42] Although the number of inmates began to decline the campaining activities of the Repressive Committee continued. They maintained an active interest in new pieces of legislation and kept their eyes on other institutions around Glasgow. Evidence suggests that they were influential is seeing that 'unsuitable' applicants found their way into more suitable institutions, and thereby, struggled to maintaining a monopoly over the inmates most likely to benefit from their programme.

In 1895, the Committee reported that it was relieved that the Factory Act had not included the regulation of laundries in charities and benevolent institutions. They argued that such an Act would have meant their financial ruin. In 1898, they supported the Habitual Inebriates Bill for Scotland, which had the power to institutionalize inebriates after a third conviction. They hoped that it would take some of the pressure off them.[43] By the end of the century many of the original Board of Directors had died and a new generation of reformers and professional social workers began to taken their places.[44] The annual reports continued to retain their old muckraking tone, which often meant revelling in old victories and nostalgia, as the Directors struggled to keep the 'moral panic' around the prostitution problem alive.

In 1911 representatives from the Magdalene Institution attended a conference dealing with extension and better enforcement of the following pieces legislation: The Education (Scotland) Act (1908); The Cleansing of Persons Act (1897); The Children Act (1908); The Aliens Act (1905) and other repressive legislation designed for the

suppression of juvenile prostitution. In the early twentieth century attention turned toward juvenile prostitution in Glasgow and the seduction of young girls in Italian ice-cream parlors and Temperance Hotels.[45] In 1910, there were 25 cases of "girls reported as defiled:" 20 had venereal disease, 2 were pregnant, and 3 had been raped.[46] Ice-cream parlors were notorious and many doubled as brothels. They attracted many young girls and men, the Inquiry singled out Brazilian soldiers, who seduced young girls in exchange for chocolate, sweets, trumphey scarves, cheap jewellery etc.[47] Juvenile 'prostitutes' were also known to frequent taxi-stands in Hope Street where drivers allowed them to use the cabs when they picked up a man. In order to suppress this behaviour the Inquiry pressed for more prosecutions under the Acts listed above, where penalties were harsher than those of the Police Act.[48] In 1913 the Magdalene Institution spoke favourably of the Mental Deficiency Bill, which was due to come into operation later that year. They hoped that it would help to secure the safety of many of the young women, who were frequently admitted to the Magdalene Institution and who they judged to be hardly responsible for their actions.[49]

In conclusion, it is necessary to look very briefly at the change in the description of the 'prostitutes' who were putting pressure on the institution for admission. The concern about the large number of 'feeble-minded' applicants implies either a shift in the discourse, which suddenly included other causes of prostitution. It demonstrates the shift away from defining 'prostitutes' as morally deficient towards an analysis of them as mentally retarded, and anticipated the mid-twentieth century Freudian definition of 'prostitutes' in psychoanalytic terms, as psychopaths and nymphomaniacs. Conversely, the change in the characteristics of applicants may also indicate a change in the social profile of Glasgow's poor and desperate women which began to include a greater number of women who were not seen a suitable cases for the Magdalene. In either case it suggests that as always, the Directors intended to control the quality of inmates admitted to the Institution.

The Reclamation Committee

The purpose of the Reclamation Committee was to reclaim women who had "gone astray". The Committee was concerned with the daily activities of the Institution, such as the moral education, religious instruction, academic education, and industrial training of the inmates. It was also responsible for the satisfactory placement of inmates who successfully completed their training. Nicole Rafter has demonstrated that female penitentiaries like the Magdalene Institution developed a variety of techniques of social control to encourage moral reform: 1) the act of incarcerating women for sexual misconduct; 2) infantilization; 3) intensive moral education, domestication, and industrial training, 4) disrupting of family ties; 5) an informal parole system; 6) community surveillance; 7) emmigration, and; 8) the transfer of inmates to state institution where they could be held indefinitely.[50]

Penitentiaries like the Magdalene Institution had little interest in 'professional prostitutes'; instead they focused their attention on susceptible women who might respond positively to their programmes for the least amount of cost.[51] The Committee preferred to admit women who were neither pregnant nor 'diseased' at the time of admission, who were judged to be both of reasonable intelligence and amenable to discipline, and who, above all, were desirous of reform and willing to submit to the discipline of the Institution. In other words, from among the women driven from the streets of Glasgow by the repressive regime of the city police, only a fraction could reasonably expect to find shelter in the Magdalene Institution, which incidentally, was the only charity in the city in the 1860's willing to admit this segment of the female working class population. Before looking at the activities of the Magdalene Institution it is necessary first to examine the other female refuges in Glasgow in order to establish that the Magdalene Institution had a special place in the community.

Other Institutions for Working-Class Women

The Night Asylum for the Houseless opened in Glasgow in 1837. It was designed to provide an alternative to the 'low' lodging houses and farmed-out houses by providing free sleeping accomodation for homeless adults and children. The Asylum operated on the premise that "the morals of the poor [were] much effected by their circumstances". They argued that far too often one became desperate with the other. They believed that criminal and promiscuous behavior in young women originated from "contamination" received in cheap lodging-houses, in which they had been forced to live as young children.[52] Shelter in the Asylum even for a single night was an attempt to prevent young women from moving into prostitution. In 1841 the Night Asylum opened a Female House of Industry, which was administed by volunteer Ladies. It was designed to provide employment for friendless and homeless women.[53] The law prohibited the Night Asylum from admitting "known prostitutes" or street beggars. This meant that the directors were faced with the constant dilemma over what to do with the young women in early stages of prostitution, who had been refused admission to the Magdalene Institution. The Magdalene Institution had an agreement with the Night Asylum regarding women classified as "in danger of going astray".[54] The Magdalene had arranged to send them to special places in the Night Asylum, but this was no help to the 'prostitutes', who were often turned away from both establishments.

The Home for Deserted Mothers was established in 1873, and although it was expected to decrease "vice and crime" and take pressure off the Magdalene Institution, it restricted admission to women who had become pregnant by their first sexual experience ("first time fallen"). Inmates were expected to pay for all expenses connected with themselves and the rearing and upbring of their children. The Home was governed by a Ladies' Committee and matrons, who took charge of the infants while their mothers found employment. Inmates had to agree to report to the Home regularly and the Ladies' Committee had to be satisfied that children were being properly cared for and the mothers were conducting themselves properly.[55]

In addition to these charities for those women who were able to provide evidence or proof of 'good' character, there were institutions like the Young Women's Christian Association, which opened in 1874. The Y.W.C.A. ran an all women boarding house and kept a reading-room in cooperation with the Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union in the center of town so that mill-workers who were often forced to leave the factories at noon would not be forced to wander the streets. They also offered religious and secular classes for female factory-workers, but only young women of 'respectable' character were invited to enrol.[56] In addition to the Y.W.C.A., the Anderston Girl's Home provided lodgings for 'respectable' working girls. The Home for Servants Out-of Place provided homes for domestic servants and other young women of 'good' character whilst out of employment.[57]

The charities that provided services for women who could not demonstrate 'proof' of character were far fewer than those designed for 'respectable' working class women. As stated, even the Magdalene Institution rejected women whom they considered to be too "old in vice". Two notable exceptions were the House of Shelter for Females and the Prison Gate Mission (Whitevale Home).

The House of Shelter was established by 'Ladies' in 1850. Its purpose was to provide homes for women who had been in prison but were "desirous to reform" and to support themselves by "honest" labour. The Shelter was first located in the East End, close to the prison, because the plans of the operation then included attendance at the prison gate in order to catch the attention of newly released inmates. This approach was abandoned when it was discovered that it was more effective to recruit potential applicants while they were still inside. Women were expected to stay in the Shelter for one year. They were employed in needlework, and the Managers kept the wages in return for lodging, food, and clothing. Inmates who remained the full year were given suitable clothing for service or other work and provided with certification of good conduct from the Managers. For the duration of their stay in the Shelter women were not permitted to go out or "above all things" to have contact with

their former companions. In the Shelter they were provided with a library and a conservatory. A plant was given to any inmate who promised to care for it, and prizes were periodically awarded for the best specimen. The directors observed that some inmates showed "more concern for the little plant than they [had] for themselves or their own welfare".[58]

The Prison Gate Mission located on Whitevale Street was established around 1878 by two 'Ladies'. It was unique because, although it provided accomodation for women released from prison, it recognized that many women were so accustomed to a "wild and careless" lifestyle that they could not possibly endure the restraints found necessary in connection with the House of Shelter. The distinctive feature of the Prison Gate Home was that there was no compulsion for the women to prolong their stay, although every effort was made to induce them to do so until they had made a little money from their work, or found employment. In return for room and board inmates paid 1s 6d a week. By virtue of the fact that as little restraint at possible was placed upon the inmates in Whitevale, it appears to have been far less patronizing than the others. Finally, unlike the Magdalene Institution, Whitevale and the House of Shelter accepted an older age group of inmates, many of whom were problem drinkers who had spent their lives passing in and out of prison.[59]

Another source of shelter for destitute women was the poorhouse. Between 1845 and 1894 Scottish poor relief took two forms: outdoor relief or placement in the poorhouse. By the mid-nineteenth century Glasgow had three poorhouses. The Parochial Board was responsible for allocating funds to the "disabled" and "destitute". In order to deter the able-bodied unemployed who had no "right" to relief[60] from applying, they frequently offered this group indoor relief, which was obviously less popular, and those who refused were denied assistance.[61] Throughout the history of poor relief in Scotland, the majority of applications were from women with children and aged women, reflecting the low wages and lack of employment opportunities for women. For the most part, whether an applicant was offered

outdoor relief or a place in the poorhouse depended on resources available.[62] Poorhouse rules were very elaborate and strict but difficult to enforce except by discharging troublesome inmates. A system of inducements was used to get inmates to participate in the maintenance of the institution; women and young girls did housework, and the men shoemaking, tailoring, and contructional repair. But there was no compulsion, and Scottish institutions remained "poorhouses" and not "workhouses". Most inmates spent their days in idleness and were free to come and go as they pleased.[63]

Indoor relief was generally reserved for the mothers of 'illegitimate' children, deserted wives and the families of persons in prison, as well as the "idle, immoral or dissipated". The authorities argued that refusal to provide anything other than indoor relief to the mother of an 'illegitimate' child meant that she would inevitably become a 'prostitute'. But they admitted that the poorhouse was the worst place for a newly "fallen" and impressionable young woman, because she was forced to associate with women of "low character", and before long any chance she had of regaining her lost character would be destroyed. She would either drift into the ranks of prostitution or, by having child after child, become a chronic burden on the parish. The authorities stated that the only women fit for the poorhouse were 'hardcore prostitutes', who could not be trusted to use outdoor relief wisely. They recommended that 'virtuous' women be diverted to other charities, and that girls after their "first lapse" should be diverted to specialist institutions either owned by religious communities or philanthropists.[64]

In addition to the accomodation available for destitute working class women during this period it is necessary to note that the police statistics for 1863 indicate that 3,477 females received shelter in the Police offices that year, many of whom were 'prostitutes' who had been unable to gain admission to the Night Asylum or any other charitable or state institutions, yet unable to earn enough at their trade to buy a space in the cheapest lodging-house.[65] In sum, the

Magdalene Institution played a special role among Glasgow's female refuges. It provided accomodation to women who were not virtuous enough to gain admission to the Y.W.C.A, (once established), but who, at the same time, needed protection from the corrupting influences of the House of Shelter and the poorhouse.

The Reclamation Committee: Moral Statistics

The Reclamation Committee collected statistics on the inmates' social class background and family structure, in order to establish trends and recommend ameliorative policies. As previously stated many of the Directors of the Magdalene Institution were members of the Local Committee for the National Society for the Study of Social Sciences (S.S.A.) and participated in the the Society's annual meetings held in Glasgow in 1860 and 1872. S.S.A. meetings were held annually in different British cities and were events of national importance. Though many Conservatives took part, it was primarily a Liberal forum, although meetings attracted radicals and socialists like Robert Owen.[66] The belief that held these diverse groups together was that for every social problem there was an optimal ameliorating measure which could be discovered by scientific investigation and by patient discussion between all interested parties.[67]

Between 1857 and 1886 the S.S.A. was an active agent of social reform in Britain. In 1862 the *Times* described it as an "outdoor Parliament", a "peripatic Parliament in which "every man is his own representative, in which women are enfranchised, in which small minorities may find a voice for their crochets, and in which unappreciated philosophers of both sexes may meet together to talk over the welfare of the world".[68] On the whole, the S.S.A lacked a clear concept of the social system, an analysis of structural interactions between individuals or classes and a theory of the social basis of the state.[69] Its analyses of social problems, therefore, was atheoretical and fragmented. Those who gathered "moral statistics" viewed society as an atomized collection of individuals and tended to

see social problems as rooted in individual weakness. Although they were willing to recognize that certain social situations could tempt and exacerbate this underlying moral frailty. According to Walkowitz, one consequence was that investigators assumed an oftentimes contradictory stance toward their working class subjects and even toward their empirical methods. While they felt entirely removed and alienated from the class of subjects under examination, they were shocked at the abuses of industrialization and urbanization, and 'prostitutes' were perceived as social casualties of these developments.[70] This ambivalence is manifested in their analyses by a tension between moralizing and environmentalism. Bearing in mind these limitations, it should be noted that the exhaustive and detailed information collected by the Magdalene Institution reflected their acceptance of the standards set by such social science associations, which was an approach considered progressive in its time.

The Inmates: Social Class Postition and Family Background

Age at Admission

Approximately 81.3% of the women admitted to the home were under 24 years of age (see Table 5-1). Although this reflects the Committee's preference for this age group, it is necessary to note that by 1889 more inmates were above 18 years of age, which may have been a result of the Police Act. The Committee prefered younger women because they believed that they would not have been on the streets long enough to acquire too many bad habits, serious drinking problems or links with the criminal underworld. In addition to 'prostitutes', the Committee also accepted a small number of women who had "not fallen", but as can be seen these were relatively few.[71]

The Orphans and Single-Parents Families

81.6% of women were either orphans or deprived of a parent in some way: 42% were orphans; 18% were fatherless and 21.6% were motherless. The Committee looked upon the orphan and semi-orphan

state of these young women with great concern. They were appalled by the "unmanliness" and "unutterable baseness" of some men's pleasures: "It is the orphan child that is the proper victim of your manly seducer!"[72] They also blamed "the heartlessness" of

Table 5-1: Age reported when admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution, 1860-1889.

AGE	1860-1869 total	%	1870-1879 total	%	1880-1889* total	%	1860-1889 total	%
Under 18	501	37,6	757	38,4	507	33,8	176	36,7
Above 18	774	58,1	1179	60,0	967	64,5	292	60,9
Not ascertained	37	2,7	31	1,5	26	1,7	94	2,0
Not fallen	19	1,4					19	1,4
Total	1331	99,6§	1967	100	1500	100	4798	100

Approximately:	1	under 12
"	5	under 14
"	4,8%(221)	between 14-16
"	22,1%(1062)	between 16-18
"	17,8%(852)	between 18-20
"	18,7%(896)	above 24 years of age.

*Data for 1882-83 missing.
§Discrepancy due either to rounding of numbers.

Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*, 1860-1869.

female proprietors and brothel-keepers who preyed on helpless orphan girls.[73] It should be noted that the Directors recognized a tendency for individuals to present themselves as orphans, when such was really not the case (see Table 5-2). But for the most part there was little doubt that inmates were orphans or deserted children.[74]

The Committee resolved that the high representation of orphans among the 'prostitute' population could be avoided if more charities for female orphans were established, "to protect the weaker sex in

tender years".[75] While Glasgow had facilities for destitute and orphaned girls during this period, most were unsuitable. The competition between charities for subscriptions, combined with class prejudices, meant that few charities could afford to cater to classes which were not judged as 'deserving' poor. The result was that most charities catered to children of the 'classes' above those generally associated with the inhabitants of the Magdalene Institution.[76]

Table 5-2: Parental status of individuals entering Glasgow Magdalene Institution, 1860-1889.

	1860-1869		1870-1879		1880-1889*		1860-1889	
PARENTAGE	total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
Orphans	585	44,0	791	40,2	641	42,7	2071	42,0
Father dead	206	15,5	394	20,0	266	17,7	866	18,0
Mother dead	278	21,0	438	22,2	322	21,4	1036	21,6
								81,6
Both alive	207	15,6	315	16,0	237	15,8	759	15,8
Not ascertained	55	4,1	31	1,6	34	2,3	120	2,5
Total	1331	100	1967	100	1500	99,9@	4798	

*Data for 1882-83 missing.
@Discrepancy due to the rounding off of figures.

Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*, 1860-1869.

For example, the Glasgow Protestant Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls, only accepted a few carefully selected "charity" cases, and the majority of the girls were supported by guardians or friends at a cost of £8 per year. Further, they never accepted girls of "known bad character" or "immoral habits".[77] The Homes for Destitute Children did not accept Roman Catholics, or girls over 10,

and applicants had to be from the Glasgow area. The Home for Servants Out-of-Place only accepted Roman Catholics of "certified good character". The Training School, Temporary Home and Free Registry for Friendless Servant Girls and the Girls' Home required a character reference. While The Whitevale Refuge for Children accepted the children of "careless and unprovident parents" they had to be Roman Catholic.[78] It is evident, therefore, that the age at which a girl was orphaned, as well as her family background, would have greatly influenced the care she would have received during this period.

In addition to their concern for orphan children the Directors also called attention to the problems of children from single-parent families, especially those without mothers, who they argued were in the most "desolute and dangerous" condition. In many cases orphans were more readily taken up by the philanthropists, state homes and charities, whereas children with disrupted family situtations or alcoholic parents were usually left with relatives and hired keepers, or were left to fend for themselves.[79] They argued that the children of "drunken dissipated parents" deserved more sympathy "on account of their wretched surroundings".[80]

First Sexual Experience

The Directors of the Magdalene Institution were extremely concerned with the period in life in which inmates were first "seduced from virtue". They recorded that over one-quarter of the inmates were sexually active before they reached the age of 16, and 50% by the age of 18. Case studies suggest that women's first sexual experience was not conducted on a commercial basis, but with a boyfriend. N.O. had been promised marriage,[81] while I.K. had fallen in love with a married man.[82] On the other hand, mill-girls like J.L.[83] and J.M.[84] hung around public-houses with their female companions and were basically just out for a good time. Bryce recorded that over half of the women admitted to the Institution between 1851 and 1859 had been sexually active for 2 years before entering the Home.[85] This implies that the pattern of seduction,

Table 5-3; Age of First Sexual Experience (led astray) reported by inmates of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution 1680-1889

AGE OF FIRST SEXUAL EXPERIENCE

	1860-1869		1870-1879		1880-1889*		1869-1889	
	total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
Under 14	68	5,1	77	3,9	51	3,4	196	4,1
14-16	403@	30,2	468	23,8	253	16,8	1124	23,4
16-18	385	8,9	478	24,3	381	25,4	1244	25,9
							2564	53,1
18-20	186	13,9	303	15,4	276	18,4	765	15,9
20-30	151	11,3	333	6,9	246	16,4	730	15,2
							1495§	31,1
Rescued from imminent danger	83	6,2	240	12,2	231	15,4	554	11,5
Not ascertained	55	4,1	68	3,4	62	4,1	185	3,6
	1331	99,7	1967	99,9	1500	99,9	4798	99,6+

§At least 3,6%(166) were above the age of 24,
*Data for 1882-83 missing,
@26 females of these were probably under 14 years,
+Discrepancy due to the rounding off of figures,

Source; Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution,* 1860-1869,

followed by the birth of an 'illegitimate' child and a life of prostitution, which was the picture promoted by sentimental philanthropists, may have been the exception rather than the rule (see Table 5-3). However, sordid tales of seduction and trickery which presented women as helpless victims were frequently relied upon, as they were obviously effective fund raisers.

> G.H.,[24] native of Belfast. While a resident in her father's house she was seduced by a young man, who would have married her, but her parents disapproved, as he was very dissipated. Then her father died, and she found employment in a warehouse. Six months passed away, when dullness of trade caused her to lose her employment. She

> then found her way to Glasgow... Penniless and sad, when walking along the street one day, she was accosted by one seemingly a lady, who, remarking her dejected look, invited her to reveal her sorrows. Glad of sympathy, she told her story, and was at once invited to her home. During the evening she was pressed to take spirits...The next day she found into what kind of a house she had been decoyed. What was she to do? To go out was to face starvation; so the poor, frendless, hopeless girl consented, after a struggle, to remain.[86]

Employment History

Domestic Servants

In addition to the high percentage of orphans and friendless women, there was the large number of domestic servants who entered the Institution. The statistics indicate that between 1860 and 1889, of the inmates who gave employment, 52.4% had been domestic servants at one time or another. It is not hard to believe that when servants got into trouble, for what ever reason, while employed in 'respectable' households, they would have been dismissed immediately and without character references. Without a character reference it would have been very difficult to find another situation. So many would have had to look for work in factories or mills where proof of 'character' was less important. This explains employment histories like "Service & Factory", for may would have worked in factories prior to entering the Institution, but still continued to defined themselves as domestic servants, which may have been more prestigious in some cases.[87] The large number of former domestic servants was predictable since it was the most common form of female labour at that time. The Directors were obviously concerned that girls were seduced while living in the same houses as 'respectable' middle class families. This presented a particular problem since placement in domestic service was what the directors hoped to arrange for inmates (see Table 5-4).

The Committee explained the high percentage of servants in a number of ways. A portion were uneducated country girls who had

Table 5-4: Most common types of employment held by females prior to being admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution betweem 1860-1889.

Previous Employment	1860-1869 total	%	1870-1879 total	%	1880-1889* total	%	1860-1889 total	%
Country Service	22		48		60		130	
Domestic Service	208		604		386		1198	
Service & Factory	155		303		69		527	
Service & Sewing			26		4		30	
Service & Cleaning					4		4	
Service/Country/Domestic	310						310	
Service & Dressmaking	3						3	
Service & Warehouse	9						9	
	680	51,0	981	50,0	523	34,8	2211	46,0
Factory	234	17,5	431	21,9	324	21,6	989	20,6
Other Work§	228	17,1	323	16,4	464	31,0	1015	21,1
No Steady Employment	124	9,3	114	5,8	133	8,9	371	7,7
Not Ascertained	38	2,8	118	5,8	56	3,7	212	4,4
	1331	99,9@	1967	99,8	1500	100	4798	100

*Data for 1882-83 missing.
§For details of "Other Work" see Appendix A
@Discrepancy due to rounding off numbers.

Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*, 1860-1869.

fallen in with bad companions, and a portion had taken employment in service of a "low and inferior kind". There were also 'casual' factors like "inordinate love of dress" and "heedlessness of restraint", and a general improper upbringing. In sum, these were predictable cases. However, the Committee were forced to recognized that there were also a number of girls who had been employed in "respectable households". In light of this they reminded the public

of its obligation to supervise the religious education and moral training of young female servants.[88] In the following passage, obviously intended to make middle class readers feel uncomfortable, the Directors warned that the practice of keeping separate summer and winter homes, which had become common among the middle classes, contributed to the problem because servants were left unsupervised during the summer.[89]

> Scenes of profligacy occur in houses of which respectable occupants may never hear, and at which they would be dismayed--male visitors being admitted in their absence...Nor do the young men of the family left in town during the week always escape uninjured.[90]

Further, because domestic servants were in constant danger of falling in with bad company, the Committee offered practical advice, such as changing the servants' day off to a week day rather than Saturday night, which they regarded as the most "dangerous evening of the week".[91]

Factory Labourers

Of the inmates who gave their previous employment, 23.4% were factory labourers. The decrease in the precentage of domestic servants and increase in factory work and "Other Work" indicates an increase in the variey of employment open to women by the 1880's. Yet this does not mean that seasonal unemployment or overall job instability or low wages were altered in any way. Factories and mills were believed to employ 'bad girls'. Many people believed that the women employed in these establishments lacked moral supervision. The mixture of men and women, and the late hours which put unescorted women on the streets, were adversely commented upon, and many maintained that chasity was unknown in these establishments.[92] It is for these reasons that the Institution prefered to place inmates in domestic service where they hoped they would be closely superivised.

Table 5-5: Religious and secular education attained by females prior to admission to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1860-1889.

EDUCATION	1860-1869 total	%	1870-1879 total	%	1880-1889* total	%	1860-1889 total	%
Could read	1032	77,5	1435	73,0	1260	84,0	3727	77,6
Could not read	262	19,7	532	27,0	223	15,0	1017	21,1
Not ascertained	37	2,8			17	1,3	54	1,2
Could write	457	34,3	753	38,2	859	57,3	2069	43,1
Could not write	837	62,9	1214	61,7	610	40,7	2661	55,4
Not ascertained	37	2,8	31	2,0	68	1,4	136	
Sabbath School	824	61,9	1279	65,0	1072	71,4	3175	6,1
No Sabbath	466	35,0	671	34,1	390	26,0	1527	31,8
Not ascertained	41	3,0	17	,9	38	2,5	96	2,0
	1331	100	1967	100	1500	100	4798	100

*Data for 1882-83 missing.

Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*, 1860-1869.

The Committee attributed inmate's 'social problems' to their lack of secular and religious education, although the statistics indicate that general literacy levels increased rapidly between 1860 and 1889 as a result of the Education Act (1872).[93] However, few of the women who were recorded as "can read", could in fact read well (see Table 5-5). Similarly, still fewer of those recorded as "can write" could do so with "ease or correctness".[94] This should not be surpising considering the Directors' observation that no woman of "education and intelligence" had ever applied for admission to the Institution.

> This again reveals the baseness and the grossness of those men who find in our rude, ill-mannered, and miserably educated street-girls the companions of their pleasure. The bold coarse women who, for a few short months flaunt themselves on our streets in satin and velvet of the

extremest dyes, are worthy companions of the men who make them what they are; but they are not educated even to the extent that our poorest charity children are.[95]

Place of Birth

Table 5-6: Place of birth reported by females entering the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1860-1889.

Place of Birth	1860-1669 total	%	1870-1879 total	%	1880-1889* total	%	1860-1889 total	%
Glasgow	411	30,9	673	34,2	523	34,9	1607	33,5
Parts of Scotland	580	43,5	817	41,5	683	45,5	2080	43,3
Parts of the U.K.	267	20,0	399	20,3	246	6,4	912@	19,0
Abroad	12	,9	30	1,5	24	1,6	66§	1,4
Not ascertained	61	4,5	48	2,4	24	1,6	133	2,8
	751	99,8+	1150	99,9+	817	100	4798	100

@ 12,5% (600) females were born in Ireland.
§ At least; 2 Cape Good Hope; 1 Austraila; 1 Barbadoes; 7 America; 14 India; 3 France; 2 Germany; 2 Gibraltar; 1 Falklands; 2 Malta, 1 Newfoundland, Canada; 9 At Sea.

*Data for 1882-83 missing.
+Discrepancy due to rounding off numbers.
For more details see Appendix B

Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution,* 1860-1869.

The vast majority (43.3%) of the young women admitted to the Magdalene Institution were born in Scotland (see Table 5-6). Of those born in Scotland, the city of Glasgow constituted the single most important source. England, Ireland, and Wales, were the birthplaces of about 19% of the inmates, but the majority of these women were born in Ireland. By the 1870's, a small porportion were born outside of the United Kingdom in places such as: Malta, India, the Falklands,

Australia, and the United States. The fact is, however, that 33.5% came from Glasgow, next in the order of suppliers came Ireland (12.5%), then the counties close to Glasgow which, like Glasgow, were effected by industrialization, such as Lanarkshire, Renfewshire and Ayrshire. A large number also came from Edinburgh, perhaps reflecting the limited job opportunities as well as Edinburgh's strict policing practices. There is definitely a sprinkling of country girls, but the majority appear to have been born and raised within industrial urban society like Glasgow.[96]

Summary

Although precise evidence regarding the background of inmates in the Glasgow Magdalene Institution will never be known, and because of the selection process, what is known cannot be generalized to Glasgow's total 'prostitute' population. The records provide limited information which is of sociological and historical interest and confirms the results of similiar studies in other regions of Britain.[97] From the results, however, it is possible to construct a social profile of approximately 5,000 women who entered the Magdalene Institution between 1860-1889. To begin with, it is evident that with very few exceptions inmates came from the 'lower working class'. Their own occupations indicate that the majority were either domestic servants or unskilled factory labourers, who worked in trades that were frequently overstocked and subjected to seasonal unemployment.

None gave 'prostitute' as an occupation, even though they had no resaon to conceal it. Apparently they either avoided this label, because they did not think that it applied to them, or they chose to define themselves instead by the occupation to which they were trained or last worked, however briefly that might have been. The high percentage of domestic servants is interesting because it reveals humble origins and economic vulnerability. Inmates were not high

ranking servants, but 'low ranking' servants-of-all work, who were engaged in situations of 'low description'. The Directors repeatedly described their inmates as having been brought up in poverty with little or no education. On the question of education, they recognized that although an increasing number could read and write, few could do so with ease and efficiency. In 1906 the Directors described the inmates as the most "hapless and helpless of their sex: orphan girls, motherless girls, ill-used stepdaughters, and girls of weak intellect".[98]

Their migration patterns are not different from the general population. Most were either natives of the city or recent migrants from the country side. Throughout the nineteenth century young people were forced to leave their native communities for the cities in search of work. In poor working class families this included girls as well as boys. Once they left home girls were expected to become financially independent and in a strange city could not always turn to family or friend in times of trouble. It was that independence which shocked middle class observers because it contradicted their notions of childhood as a time of innocence and feminine domesticity.

A characteristic which was said to precipitate the move to prostitution was early sexual experience, the age of which increased throughout the century, possibly as a result of changes in the age of consent legislation which defined certain practices as crimes which were previously tolerated. The theory of seduction by middle- and upper-class men does not appear to fit the overall pattern of women's first sexual experience seen in the Magdalene Institution. Inmates appear to have had their first sexual experiences on a noncommerical basis with a man of similar social status. The Directors developed a double standard model of female sexual behaviour to explain this tendency. They argued that the concept of 'seduction' only applied to girls from 'respectable' families, whereas girls of 'lower rank' were usually corrupted by their companions of similar social backgrounds. The Magdalene Institution does not mention inmates' children, which is probably because it did not accept women who

intended to bring their children with them. Other evidence suggests that 'prostitutes'' children seldom survived infancy. Some Victorian authorities maintained that 'prostitutes' quickly became infertile as a result of venereal infections. Tait argued that few 'prostitutes' had children because a high proportion of their infants died within a few weeks because of syphilitic infections. It is also likely that they were prone to miscarriage, abortions, and stillbirths, as were other women of their class.[99]

Bryce's survey suggests that most inmates spent a year or two on the streets between their first sexual experience and their appearance in the Institution. This trend is confirmed in other studies of Victorian prostitution.[100] Their employment patterns indicate that they either drifted from job to job or engaged in full or part-time prostitution, possibly until they contracted venereal disease and entered the Lock hospital, where they decided to enter the Magdalene Institution. The statistics indicate that the majority of inmates were in their late teens. Only a few were over 24 years old, which either supports Acton's assertion that the mid-twenties was the time when most women left the streets to resume 'respectable' employment or married and settled down, or reflects the fact that the Institution refused to admit women over twenty-five.

Walkowitz argued that for most women the move to prostitution was circumstantial rather than premeditated. On the whole there is little to distingush them from the large body of poor women who had to eke out a precarious living on the urban job market. Although there was a change between 1860 and 1889 in the areas of age of first sexual experience, education, and occupation, these are variables which may have effected the female population in general and these changes did not imply, any change in women's economic situation.[101] What the statistical information shows more clearly is the selection process as it operated in conjunction with two premises: 1) the Directors perception of the causes of prostitution, i.e. uneducated, young, broken home; and 2) their model of reclamation, which required 'newly fallen' women who would respond quickly to programme.

A 'Fresh Start'

The Directors believed that everything that could be done for these young women was done by the Magdalene Institution. They hoped that the education classes and the industrial training in the laundry department, in addition to the other "elevating" influences of the Institution, would provide the inmates with the advantages of a "fresh start" in life. In order to accomplish this, inmates would have to learn the middle class standards of propriety. The first step, was the act of incarceration, thereby separating them from their families, friends and support networks.

Moral Education

The two main social control functions employed by the Institution were moral education, and industrial training. The first, moral education, was accomplished through a regime of hard work and Bible reading. The primary goal of the Institution was that each inmate should receive her own Bible as soon as she had learned to read. The significance of this was that the scriptures would reveal the extent of the inmate's sin, defilement, and guilt, she would learn to accept herself as a 'sinner'. Therefore, her punishment took the form of guilt and prayer as opposed to the old regime of hair cutting, or solitary confinement. By concentrating on sin and the need for forgivness, some inmates may have became obsessed with their past sins and shame, and this was regarded as a "change of heart". Further, by individualizing the punishment the Directors could gloss over the consequences of class inequalities, poverty and hypocrisy which were responsible for her troubles. Second, through Bible stories inmates were taught a morality centered on self-sacrifice and duty. Through the Christian chain of command which paralleled the Victorian social class hierarchy and sanctioned female inferiority, self-abnegation and duty, she would learn her appropriate gender-role and social class position.

The psychological implications of this therapy are beyond the scope of this study but it is imporant to note that in her study of the York Female Penitentiary, Frances Finnigan argues that the fierce religious indoctrination was inappropriate for girls from poor and neglected backgrounds, who for whatever reason were so desparate to leave prostitution that they entered the Institution. It placed additional strain on the inmates, resulting in frequent run aways, dismissals, and letters from former inmates who were reduced to spiritless demoralised creatures, entirely lacking in self-confidence and betraying a morbid senses of dependence on the Matron.[102] Many of the letters sent to the Matron of the Magdalene Institution suggest that the feelings of humility, subservience and loneliness dominated these women's perceptions of themselves and their situations, which was probably the reason that they were selected for display in the annual reports. It was interpreted as a sign of deep 'penitence' and true reformation.

> Dear Miss Nott,...I have a very nice letter from my brother, telling me that his wife and himself freely forgive me, and if I do what is right that they will make me their sister, as I ought to be; so you see I have much to thank God for- the only friends of my own that I wanted to think of me are going to love me as a sister. And see the other friends that I have got. I want you to pray for me every day, that I may not get proud of my sinful self because my friends are so kind to me. I want to make everybody like me, but I want to be very humble.[103]

> Dear Miss Nott, I am sorry for not answering your letter before this time, but I have been so busy, cleaning, and whitening the house, that I never have a spare moment. I am keeping well, and still in my place, and doing the best I can to please my mistress, not only to please my mistress but to please the Lord of all, who has done so much for me, and who has given me a clean heart, who has cleansed me of all my iniquities, and what was it all for, because I trusted him, and knew I was a lost sinner...[104]

> Dear Miss Nott,...I am still staying on in this place, although I find the work very heavy...My mistress offered me a day at New Year, but I said I would rather stay at home, as I had no one to visit...and I thought you would be too busy, so I did not go out at all; but I hope you enjoyed a very happy New Year...[105]

> Dear Miss Nott,...I have many hours of sorrow and deep remorse over my past life, but in the midst of it this text always seems to come to mind: "I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me, for I have redeemed thee"....He has redeemed me, not because I am sorry for my sins, but because Jesus died for me. In my situation I have charge of six children...I have whole charge of them..Although I feel very unworthy, I do try prayerfully to lead them in the right path.[106]

In addition to religious education, inmates were provided with a general secular education which ranged from reading, writing, letter writing, special classes in geography, financial management, music, singing and weekly lectures on "homely and interesting" subjects[107] and Gospel Temperance meetings and special Bible classes.[108] Education classes were intended to be a pleasant break from the other activities of the day, and it was believed that it was important that inmates develop their minds. With the exception of the work in the laundry, what is striking about the evening curriculum and special events is the overall "gentility", and similarity to the manner in which middle class women might spend their evenings. The emphasis on "gentility" reflects how closely the Directors associated middle class manners with reform. Inmates were not intended to become learned or, "Ladies", but simply to appreciate the values associated with a "Lady".[109]

Industrial Training

Education was suplemented with training in domestic service and laundry work so that inmates could support themselves after they left the Institution. The majority of inmates had previous experience as domestic servants, but by their past employment records they were defined as less than satisfactory workers: 'saucy, undependable and had run off with young men'. The Institution intended to return inmates to the domestic labour force as competent and submissive domestics. Implicit in the process of training inmates for service is the social control mechanism of infantilization. From the moment women entered the Institution they

were reduced to the status of children. They were supervised by a motherlike matron and fatherlike directors, and after they were released would either be sent back to their families or placed in service where they would continue to have dependent status. Rafter argues that the very concept of an institution dedicated to the rescue and reform of women under 30, was rooted in the perception of women as child-like creatures.[110] As stated, over one-half of the inmates were former servants, and if the Directors saw the contradiction in sending women back into the very same situations that had got them into trouble in the first place, they soothed their consciences with the knowledge that the education inmates recieved would neutralize and fortify them against evil influences and temptations.[111]

One quarter of the inmates had previous work experience in mills and factories. The Director obviously recognized that not all of its inmates would be suitable for domestic service or the marriage market. Considering the large number of orphans and the growing demand for female labour in industry, plus the obvious financial benefit of the laundry in the Institution, they included industrial training in the regime. In the process they promised to turn out a skilled and well-disciplined industrial labour force.

What did the Magdalene Institution intend for the futures of "fallen' women", and exactly to what social position did the Directors believe they could properly aspire? They believed that with the proper help and guidance it was possible for an former inmate to rise to a respectable position within the working class community. Respectability, however was class related. In cases where inmates took positions as servants in middle class homes it was never intended that they should disguise their past. The opportunity to serve 'respectable' people was definately implicit in what they meant by a 'fresh start'.

Informal Probation and Community Surveillance

> When the girl, having got this fresh start, is once more out in the world, the Homes have a new function to discharge for

her help and benefit. To them she turns as indeed a home, and to the Matron as indeed a mother, without this tie maintenance of the cure would in many cases be followed by relapse.[112]

In order to ease the transition upon leaving the Institution, which the Directors acknowledged was considerable, they established an informal parole system. Inmates were expected to keep in touch with the Institution for at least six months, and were invited to come back to the home for advice or assistance in case of difficulty. Representatives of the Ladies' Committee made regular visits to girls in their new situations, and paid bonuses to inmates who 'behaved' in their new employment for at least six months. It is clear then, that there was certainly some incentive to remain in contact with the Institution. A great deal of evidence suggests that former inmates returned to the Institution for advice and assistance in times of need.[113] Former inmates who moved out of Glasgow wrote regularly to the Institution to inform the Matron of marriage, birth of children, career success, general well being and of course to collect their bonuses:

Dear Miss Nott,...I had my sister and brother seeing me last Friday, and I got the train with them. Jane expected me to come to Edinburgh. Her mistress was going to get me a place. Their housemaid is leaving at the term; but I told Jane that I could not leave my place for six months.[114]

M.D. called for the purpose of getting one of the Superintendents to go with her to purchase a dress and some other articles she wanted. Her mistress, when paying her wages (£4), engaged her for the next half-year, and said she was quite sensible that she had done her utmost to please. This being the end of the first year since she left the House, she has saved £1, which entitles her to the premium given by the directors, and another £1 saved from her earnings while in the Home: making in all £3, which sum is now lodged for her in the savings bank.[115]

A.A. came to stay over Sabbath with us. She goes to a new place on Monday; wages £5 10/per half/year.[116]

A.R. called to get the Superintendent to help her lay out her wages. She goes to a situation on Monday, to Mr.___, wages £5 per half-year. She liked her former place, but found the work too heavy in winter.[117]

Placement of Inmates After Release

In order to develop a clearer idea of what the Directors' intended for the futures of the women admitted to the Institution between 1860 and 1889 it is necessary to examine the manner in which they were 'disposed' of (see Table 5-7).

Dutiful Daughters

The Institution prefered either to return inmates to their families or friends wherever the family was considered to be suitable. The statistics indicate that 21.9% (1022) inmates were returned to family and friends where many assumed the role of an unpaid servant or nurse in the homes of relatives. Household service and kinship obligations overlapped a great deal in the nineteenth century and it would not have been regarded as unusual to expect a young women to spend her life looking after aging relatives.[118]

> Dear Miss Weir,--...I was glad to hear that you are all doing well, and enjoying Christmas as usual. I have not much news as everything here is so dull. My aunt has been very ill, but she is better now. Remember me to all my friends...[119]

In cases where the family was judged unsuitable the Institution established techniques for the "disruption of family ties".[120] In order to ensure that inmates were not reunited with relatives many were found employment in 'respectable' homes far from their families. Without their own families inmates continued to identify with the 'surrogate' familiy Institution. This ensured that they were not exposed to contradictory value systems or tempted to return to their old ways. In the following case the writer was obviously confused by the appearance of her father and wanted to ensure that she told the Matron before her Master did.

> Dear Miss Nott...my father was down seeing me on the Fast-day. When they came and told me I was quite suprised to seen [sic] him. He told me that the way [sic] that he did not write he was out of town working, and he was wishing he could come and see me. I am glad that he is not drinking

Table 5-7; How inmates leaving the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1860-1889* were disposed,

Disposed as follows:		
Satisfactorily;		
Restored to parents or friends	1022	21,9%
Country/domestic service	696	14,9%
Laundry & mills	46	
Warehouses	40	
Factory work	37	
Public laundries	21	
Other employment	127	
	271	5,8%
Married out of the home	5	
Death	8	
Sent abroad	36	
	49	1,4%
Diverted to Institutions where they could be kept longer or perminently;		
Sent to House of Refuge/ or to kindred institutions (asylums)	534	
Sent to poorhouse	77	
Sent to Lock hospital	223	
To hospital or poorhouse (asylums)	358	
	1192	25,5%
Unsatisfactorily;		
Discharged as Untractable or Disobedient or Dismissed for Insubordination	380	
Went off clandestinely/absconded	117	
Left to seek work/left of own accord/voluntarily	1244	
	1741	37,2%
Total	4671@	100%

*Data for 1882-83 missing,
@Descrepancy between total number of cases admitted and total number of cases disposed due to the number of inmates remaining in institution, See Appendix C for more details

Source; Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*, 1860-1869.

> any now...The master and them all was quite suprised to hear that he had come to seen me. I thought that I would just write and let you know that I had seen him.[121]

Domestic Servants

The social status of the 15.9% (747) inmates placed in domestic service by the Institution is interesting. Other studies of female penitentiaries confirm that reformed 'prostitutes' were a source of cheap labour and had little to look forward to other than a life of loneliness and drudgery.[122] Given that their stay in the Institution was only temporary, combined with the fact that it was hard to find positions for former 'prostitutes', inmates were often sent to families who were not 'Christian philanthropists'. Considering the status position of a "magdalene", and the fact that members of the Ladies' Comittee were frequently popping in, her personal life would have been the source of common gossip throughout the household, where she may have been regarded with suspicion and hostility and victimized by members of the household, as the following letter implies

> Dear Miss Nott,...I was glad to hear that some of the girls got situations, which I trust will be good ones. Time goes fast. It is six months to-day since I left the Home. You say in your letter you hope I had a good cause for leaving my last place. I will explain to you someday the reason. I used to blame the girls for running away from their place ... God helped me, and I was restrained from doing wrong...[123]

Further, once a situation was found the inmate had to remain in it for at least six months before she could expect to receive the balance of the money owed to her by the Institution. Even then, payment depended on a favorable report of her character by the mistress of the house. It can be concluded, then, that a 'fresh start', at least in the sense of an anonymous past, was impossible.

Migration

Although the majority appear to have gone into domestic service, the Institution sent 39 women abroad between 1860-1889. They may have been better off than those who remained. They were in a better position to conceal their pasts if they chose, and if the reports of wages available to young women in the 'colonies' are not too exaggerated, most would have been better off financially.

> My Dear Miss Weir, I have commenced to wash and to iron for myself, and I am doing very well. Any young women can get from 25 to 30 shillings a-week. I have not regretted coming to this colony. [Australia] I would advise any young women to come out here; they would do so much better than at home...There is nothing but white clothes worn in the summer.[124]

> Dear Miss Nott,...We had a nice passage and a very comfortable one--we were thirteen weeks on the sea and were quite tired; but thank God we had no storms nor rough weather. I have got a very nice situation, as far as appearances goes--there is one lady and a gentleman, and I am to earn £30 a year to begin with.[125]

> Dear Miss Weir,...Well now, I wish to inform you that I have got a very nice situation, and I was only three days in the barrack. I have got this place two miles from Dunedin--I have £40 a year. I must say I like this country well; it is a splendid country for any boy or girl that's able and inclined to work; and if there are any of my companions coming out here, tell them I would strongly advise them to it...[126]

It appears, however, that not everyone believed that the opportunity for a 'fresh start' or financial gain was worth going to the colonies.

> Dear Miss Nott,...Your news about J.W. rather astonished me. Will you tell her what I say? I would write her, but I know you do not like them to have too much communication with us that are out in the world. Why should she want to go abroad? She would do as well, as I say far better, at home. Abroad is not what it used to be; and why should she go away from the few friends she will have when she goes away from you?[127]

Ideal Wives and Mothers

In relation to the question of marriage the statistics indicate that 5 women left the home to get married in the thirty year period. From extracts in the Matron's register and letters to the Institution, it is evident that a many others married in the years following those spent in the Institution. The following report, however, suggests that the Directors regarded the marriage of former inmates with some ambivalence. This example refers to the forthcoming marriage of A.R., a former inmate of the Institution.

> This case has from the first given great satisfaction to the Committee. Bearing in mind that A.R. is one of the "orphans" who has found a home in the Institution, and that the Committee are satisfied that she is about to make a respectable marriage, the friends of the Institution, we are certain, will not find fault with the present [£2] made to her, nor think it extravagant. But the marriage itself, in such a case, will suggest one or two questions to thoughtful friends. If the Committee are satisfied as to the character of the intended husband, are they also satisfied that he has been honestly dealt with? Quite satisfied. Nothing has been concealed from him that he ought to know.[128]

On the whole, the Directors appear to have accepted that inmates would marry and raise children, and at least they made no attempt to conceal it from the subscribers. In fact they seem to suggest that after receiving the 'benefits' of the Institution, former inmates made ideal wives for working class men.

> E.K., orphan...after being 2 years in Glasgow was led astray...She remained 2 years at the expiry of which she was restored to a married sister in the country. After having lived with her sister a few months she married, and has since lived comfortably with her husband, making a tidy wife and mother. She has frequently called at the Home since, and it is quite a pleasure to see how respectable she looks and how nicely she and her little son are dressed. Both herself and her husband are in full communion in the Church.[129]

> M.I.M. was admitted in 1859 and remained till she was restored to her widowed mother in 1861. Was well-behaved in the Home. Assisted to a situation in which she continued till she got married about a year ago to a respectable tradesman. The matron has visited her house and says it is quite a model--everything so clean and tidy.[130]

> A letter was received from M.S., in which she says that she is living very comfortable with her husband, who is sober, industrious, and gets plenty to do.[131]

Honourable Death

In contrast to the lack of sympathy and concern surrounding the image of the syphilitic 'prostitute' in the Magdalene Institution, the images of dying ones were filled with images of repentance, salvation, and pathos. Eight women died in the Institution during this period. At least 1 died from "congestion of the brain", 1 from "bronchitis", and 1 from "pulmonary consumption". From the accounts of these deaths in the annual reports, the Directors went to great lengths to document the spiritual state of dying women's souls. But this was always after they took great pains to report on the excellent sanitary conditions in the Institution.

> A.C. & E.McA. In the month of June last we heard that A.C. was seized with vomiting of blood, and died in four weeks after. The Matron called after the death of A.C., and learned that for 18 months she had been a changed girl. Had been much benefited by attending prayer-meeting. She had been frequently visited by 2 elders connected with 2 churches in the city, who were very much satisfied with her state of mind. Three visits were paid to E.McA. by the Matron, when she was resting on the Rock of Christ--she seemed subdued and patient in spirit--spoke with much diffidence of herself--gave expression to the most grateful feelings.[132]

> M.C...she had at all events, a very poor up-bringing, and when admitted she was extremely ingnorant, of a rather unamiable temper, and made little response to the kindly treatment she met with....After being ill some time in the Home she was, by medical advice, sent to one of the city hospitals. She was there only about 10 days, when she asked to be allowed to leave, and with great difficulty found her way back to the Home. She was found by the van-man sitting resting by the road-side, for she was then very weak-and on being asked by him where she was going her reply was that she was "gaun hame to Lochburn to die"....And so she continued in the Home...And if death-bed testimony of faith in Christ may be regarded as in any case hopeful or satisfactory-and who shall venture to reject it?-then we had that testimony from M__...she was enabled by faith to say-and she said it repeatedly-that the Lord Jesus was her only Savior, and in that faith she died.[133]

Act of Resistance: Defiance of the Moral Code

The statistics indicate that of the 4671 women admitted to the Magdalene Institution between 1860 and 1889, less than half, 44% were placed in situations more or less acceptable to the Directors. Some 25.5% were diverted to other institutions, in many cases where they could be kept preminently. The remaining 37%, however, were the objects of great concern to the Institution. They frequently cautioned the subscribers that a large proportion of those cases recorded as having "left of their own accord" had only been in the Institution a few days, and many, only one day.[134] Further, that every inmate was received on her own voluntary application, and the Matrons had no power nor did they attempt to detain anyone against her will.[135] The Directors maintained past experience had proven that unless inmates had reached the stage of "true sorrow for sin" and a "settled desire to amend had been reached", no real reformation could be expected.[136] It should be noted however, that these statistics were published in the Institution's annual reports, and annual reports were intended to raise money. Therefore it was in everyone's interest to present as favorable a picture as possible. Finnegan suggests that it was common to use misleading categories and euphemisms in order to convey a falsely optimistic success rate. For example, "Restored to Friends" and "Sent to Other Institutions" also included inmates who were so unmanageable that they had to be sent to other charities, or were so badly behaved that they had to be sent back to their families. Therefore, there is actually little difference between this category and "Dismissed". Further, "Left at their Own Request" is another euphemism, which refered to inmates who demanded their release and "Sent to Other Institutions" also included inmates who were passed on to the poorhouse or Insane Asylum[137] where the could be kept indefinitely.

Conclusion: The Ideal-Type Working Class Women

The following 'success' stories clearly demonstrate what the Directors had in mind for the inmates and the future of the working class.

> E.R. parents alive...After remaining in the Home 15 months, and having been taught to operate on a sewing machine was sent out to a situation in a warehouse, where she earns about 12s per week. She attends Church regularly as well as a Sabbath evening class. Is residing with her parents, to whom she has been sent on leaving the Home. She puts a portion of her weekly savings in the savings bank.[138]

> A.R.,..sent to a sewing establishment where she continues, and gives great satisfaction earning 17s a fortnight. Was admitted into church fellowship in Oct. 1863, and is walking worthy of her profession. Is always in her place on Sabbath, and gives evidence of a change of heart.[139]

> We have heard from C.Mc. and she is liking D__ much better now. Has joined the Temperance Society. Speaks well of her employer as taking an interest in his employees. In her last note she says she is well employed, and able to put a portion of her wages in the savings bank every week.[140]

Two social groups, middle class male and female reformers and working class women, came together in the Magdalene Institution. In the resocialization process the philanthropists intended to create an industrial labour force and competent domestic servants because of the need for a pool of cheap female labour, both in the Institution and in the community. A purely economic explanation is inadequate however. The social control mechanism used in the Institution also included socializing inmates to conform to the middle class codes of class and gender. In this case, the 'sucessful' inmates became 'ideal' working class daughter, wife, mother. Reformers hoped that inmates would embrace middle class values such as family, cleanliness, chastity, domesticity, and appropriate feminine gender roles. Although it was never intended that an inmate should assume the social position of a "Lady" it was hoped that they would learn to appreciate the values associated with that position. The Magdalene Institution offered services and training which were of value to many working

class women,[141] in particular, domestic servants who needed certification of character to get a job. The Institution was less appealing to factory workers, probably because they could more or less rescue themselves. Character references were not always required for unskilled factory labour. Through the Magdalene Institution at least some working class women appear to have accepted a new concept of gender which entailed restriction of their sexual and vocational choices.[142]

At least 37% of inmates chose not to accept the moral code offered by the Magdalene Institution. They left before they had completed the 2 year residence and therefore did not receive certification of character from the Institution. The high failure rate does not imply, however, that the Institution failed because the Directors did not rescue enough inmates, or because they possessed a naive analysis of the causes of the problem. Neither does not it imply that a large percentage of the inmates could not cope or rebelled against irksome rules or that they were generally intractible, as Finnegan's study of the York penitentiary suggests. Although it is not articulated and therefore difficult to prove, indirect evidence suggests that rather than judging these inmates as 'failures', their refusals can be interpreted as acts of resistence to the moral reform and surveillance. Resistence, in this case, meant the refusal to accept the Magdalene Institution's definition of the problem, because not all inmates saw themselves as subjects of the discourse as "magdalenes", "fallen women" or "sinners". This implies the process described by Foucault, who argued that where ever there is power there is oposition and resistence or the operation of an alternative discourse or subculture with its own definitions and norms for behaviour. As stated previously, "chastity" may not have had the same social meaning for working class women, whose courtship and marriage customs differed from middle class women. For many working class women the move into occasional prostitution through economic necessity or the distinction between occasional sex with a lover and clandstine prostitution for money, food, or drinks remained fluid. In these cases it is possible that

these women would not have recognized themselves a subjects of the discourse, although they may have recognized that it applied to other women.

Postscript

Although the history of the Magdalene Institution in the twentieth century is not part of this thesis, its recent history and the circumstances surrounding its closure are of sociological interest. The ideology of the Magdalene Institution was to prevent young working class women from becoming 'prostitutes'. Further, as stated, the dangers of the streets and 'causes' of prostitution, were widely defined as risks of alcohol, low entertainment, poor housing, education, unemployment, low wages, and bad company. The general perception of the dangers and temptations which faced young working class girls continued to support the work of the Magdalene Institution well into the twentieth century, long after risk of prostitution was no longer the official emphasis. By the 1950's "wayward girls" were placed in the Lochburn Home, either by their partents or probation officers. They were incarcerated for 2 years and received the same mix of basic eduction, moral training and laundry work. Many of these girls had committed no offenses, or were too young to be charged for offences. All were precieved as being in need of a special regime which would remedy personality problems or problems in social ajustment, thus proctecing them from the same sorts fo risks which faced the earliest inmates. There is some indication, however, that the regime became harsher and that more physical constraints and punishments were imposed. This is possibly connected with the fact that the inmates were incarcerated involuntarily. Its status as a voluntary or nonstatutory institution probably also added to the problems of control over its regime by state authorities.

On Sept 17, 1958 a headline in the *Glasgow Herald* read "Mass Escape From Glasgow Home". The article that followed stated that 26 girls aged 15 to 19 had broken out of the Lochburn Home, Cadder Road, by climbing a ladder and dropping from the wall. The City Police

instructed citizens to be on the look out for the missing girls, all of whom were wearing a "blue frock and while apron".[143] The next day the headlines read "18 More Girls Climb out of Glasgow Home". In this instance notes "alleging ill-treatment" were thrown from a first floor window to waiting reporters. One of the notes stated that girls had buckets of cold water thrown at them and were put in cold baths. It added that some were "battered black and blue" and that "we are prisoners".[144] On September 19th there was another "breakout" and William Hannan M.P. said that the matter would be looked into by the Secretary of State for Scotland. The Magdalene Institution was closed down some months later.[145]

Even today, where all such institutions for young people are state run, the same concern for generéal (moral) welfare persists. One of the criteria which justify placing a young person in severe accomodation is that his or her "physical and mental or moral welfare will be a risk" if they are not so placed.[146] Apparently residential institutions for young people today are still concerned to prevent their inmates from falling into bad ways as was the Magdalene Institution over 100 years ago.

CHAPTER 6

THE GLASGOW SYSTEM IN CONTEXT

Introduction

The system of moral policing and control introduced in Glasgow during the period in which the C.D. Act was enforced in parts of England and Ireland raises interesting questions concerning the difference between systems of 'police repression' and the 'state regulation' of prostitution. The Glasgow System, which was composed of the Lock hospital, the Magdalene Institution, and the Police Act, has provided an opportunity to study the differences between state regulation and police repression. The first section of this chapter examines the effect of the Glasgow System on the structure of prostitution in Glasgow. The next section examines the impact of the Magdalene Institution on the lives of the inmates. The final section deals with the larger issue of the social construction of the category 'prostitute'. This involves an examination of the relationship between the discourses, and the Glasgow System and their impact on the lives of working class women. In order to accomplish the latter it will also be necessary to evaluate the usefulness of Foucault's approach to the history of sexuality.

The Glasgow System

It is possible to identify 3 systems for controlling prostitution in the nineteenth century: 1) the laissez-faire system, 2) state regulation, and 3) police repression. For the first half of the nineteenth-century police adopted the laissez-faire system, and seldom interfered with brothels unless to investigate a crime of theft committed by the inhabitants. They also endeavoured to keep 'prostitutes' from making nuisances of themselves, by controlling street-disorders. The laissez-faire system became increasingly ineffective and by the mid-nineteenth century parts of England moved in the direction of state regulation. National Associations

for the repeal of the C.D. Act were formed which either opposed extension or demanded complete repeal. The N.A. opposed state regulation because it increased the power of the state and taxes, assaulted civil liberty, it was 'unEnglish', immoral, and encouraged prostitution. The Working-men's Leagues opposed the Acts because they granted the state the authority to enter working class houses at will. The term 'common prostitute' was so ill-defined that it meant that virtually any working class woman could be charged with prostitution. The Ladies' National Association opposed state regulation because it deprived women of their civil rights, and supported the double standard by only punishing women. Feminists also opposed the compulsory medical inspection of women under the C.D. Act, which they argued was "instrumental rape".

The system of police repression adopted in Glasgow was seen by many as a satisfactory compromise between the the laissez-faire system and state regulation. Supporters argued it that was more successful than state regulation because it did not violate women's civil rights, because women were not forced to submit to medical examinations but were encouraged to leave the trade, and submitted 'voluntarily' to any necessary medical treatment. Unlike state regulation, the Glasgow System did not cause the destruction of the moral fibre of the nation by removing individual responsibility for behaviour or produce "cynicism, corruption, and deep seated moral degradation"[1] in all social classes. Critics of police repression, however, observed that the Glasgow System merely drove women out of Glasgow and did nothing to attack the causes of prostitution. They argued that it reinforced the double standard by only targeting women. Finally they claimed that women were forced to enter the Magdalene Institution, where they had no choice but to submit to compulsory medical inspection. In order to evaluate these criticisms of the Glasgow System and the overall effectiveness of police repression it is necessary first to look at changes in the character of Glasgow's brothels and 'prostitutes'.

The Impact on Brothels and 'Prostitutes'

Walkowitz argues that the impact of the C.D. Act transformed the structure of prostitution in regulated towns. Her argument raises questions concerning what happened in areas where it was not enforced. In this case, Glasgow, where the C.D. Act was not enforced, the city developed its own mechanisms for controlling prostitution which were said to be more effective. Did the Glasgow System change the structure of prostitution in Glasgow? In order to evaluate the impact of the System on brothels and 'prostitutes' it is necessary to examine closely the evidence presented to the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases. First, Chief Constable McCall testified that the amendements to the Police Act in 1866 provided the municipal police force and magistrates with new and extensive powers to imprison or fine brothel-keepers and to enter private property or any establishment suspected of harbouring 'prostitutes'. For a first offence a £10.00 fine was awarded, for the second offence the house was shut down and the brothel-keeper imprisoned for 60 days. The objective was to force brothel-keepers out of the trade by making it unprofitable, and in this McCall appears to have succeeded. By 1879 there were only 22 'known' brothels in Glasgow where there had been 204 when the Glasgow System was introduced in 1870. The remaining brothels were said to be of the "very lowest class" and the decrease in their size and rent bears this out. On the basis of McCall's evidence and the criminal statistics it appears that the number of brothels in Glasgow was reduced between 1870 and 1889.

McCall testified that the number of 'prostitutes' in Glasgow decreased in the same ratio as brothels. In order to clear the streets of 'prostitutes', the police endeavoured to make the trade "so hard and unprofitable" that women were "glad to take refuge" in the Magdalene Institution. The conditions of the system, frequent fines, harrassment, and imprisonment gave women three choice: 1) leave the city, 2) find 'respectable' employment, 3) or enter the Institution. Any of these would have been recognized as testifying to the success of the Glasgow System. The increase in admission to

the Magdalene Institution suggests that many women considered it as the best of the alternatives available. However, the Glasgow police only collected data on the number of 'prostitutes' living in brothels, so there is no evidence that the total number of 'prostitutes' decreased. The other evidence that McCall offered on this question was the declining 'illegitimacy' rates, decreases in admissions to the Lock hospital and decline in thefts reported in brothels, the increased number of thefts commited by 'prostitutes' on the street and the increase in admissions to the Magdalene Institution.

Evaluation of the Glasgow System

To begin with, 'illegitimacy' rates are not good indicators of the decrease in clandestine prostitution or the decrease in illicit sexual behaviour particularily after 1870, because the popularity of formal marriages increased in Scotland. Smout argues that during this period marriage itself became a more important institution for those who intended to have children.[2] The decline in admissions to the Lock hospital also reflected the decline in the virility of the disease, which increased the likelihood of individuals contracting the disease without their knowing.[3] The police cited a long history of individuals refusing to report the thefts which occured in brothels. The decline in the number of thefts occuring in brothels is no indication of the true crime rate. Under the new moral code it is possible that a 'gentleman' would be more hesitant than ever to go to the police. Further, the increase in the number of thefts by 'prostitutes' on the street, raises familiar questions concerning the true identity of the thief. It has been demonstrated that 'prostitute' was a convenient label to apply to women, like thieves, who defied the feminine ideal. Finally the increase in admissions to the Magdalene Institution should also be viewed with suspicion, because it could just as easily reflect the fact that the years 1868, 1878-79, and 1884-85 were all times of depressed trade in Glasgow.[4] As demonstrated, the occupations given by inmates in the Institution were those most vulnerable to the trade cycles.

Further, on the question of the increase in the number of admissions to the Magdalene Institution, it is necessary to examine whether women truly entered the Institution 'voluntarily' or were driven from the streets by the police. If so, then entrance into the Institution can not be said to have been 'voluntary' in every case. Further, if a woman expected to be allowed admission to the Lock hospital or the Magdalene Institution she had to submit to a complusory medical examination, in the same way she would have been examined in areas were the C.D. Act was enforced. Considering the cultural significance of the speculum, this was no small request. As stated previously, the speculum was recomended only for 'hardened prostitutes', and it was considered a shocking 'immorality' when imposed on 'virtuous' women; although women in the Magdalene Institution did not fit the Victorian definition of 'virtuous', they were not 'hardened prostitutes', which was why critics objected to their compulsory inspection.

Critics of the Glasgow System argued that the Glasgow police were armed with the power to arrest any women suspected of prostitution or soliciting; a complaint against the woman by a private citizen was not necessary, and the definition of a 'prostitute' used by McCall was ambiguous to say the least. The bottom line is that the police in Glasgow had large discretionary powers.[5] The repeated arrests and fines may have stigmatized women in the same way that registered women in Plymouth and Southamption were stigmatized. Further evidence suggests that the activities of the police, Lock hospital, and Magdalene Institution may only have hardened the "hard core of the professional 'prostitutes', to whom frequent fines became in effect like licence-renewals".[6] One of the most outspoken critics of the Glasgow System, anti-C.D. Act activist and women's rights advocate Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell argued that considering the relationship between the Magdalene Institution and the police under the Glasgow System it was playing with words to call entry into the Institution 'voluntary'.

> women are virtually compelled to enter these "homes", [Magdalene Institution] and that their managers recognize

> the fact that the police fill them....The police are armed with power to put down "solicitation". In other words they have the power to denounce any poor woman as a prostitute, and punish her as such. For the rest of her life she is virtually registered as a harlot, and any place she lives may be denounced as a brothel. An outcast from the sympathies of "respectable" people, the finger of scorn pointed at her in all directions, hunted about from place to place, and virtually at the mercy of the men who have set society against her, she at last knocks at the door of a "home" [Magdalene Institution] she is here met by the demands that she submit her body to the investigation of the surgeon, and, as an alternative to this, the door is slammed in her face.[7]

On the question of the compulsory medical examination, it is clear that the 5,000 women who entered the Institution between 1860 and 1889 would have been subjected to the same form of examination so violently objected to by those opposed to the C.D. Act. Clearly, women in Glasgow had basically the same amount of choice as women in regulated areas: they could resist the police by paying fines, going to prison or leaving town. But these were high prices to pay. It should be noted that regulationists, repealers, and feminists who opposed the Glasgow System of police repression were not as critical of the Lock hospital and Magdalene Insititution as they were of the willingness of these charities to work with the police. Elizabeth Blackwell stated that the Glasgow Magdalene Institution had "excellent intentions and did some good". Only, that she would prefer that they worked independently of the police.

> In no other way can they do all the good which is possible. As it is the examination on which they insist as a condition of entry, though insisted for far more praiseworthy objects than that authorised by the Acts, is objectionable on the very same grounds.[8]

It should be added that Blackwell regarded the compulsory examination which the Magdalene Institution insisted upon as a "violation of a women's right over her own person".[9]

Obviously the supporters of the Glasgow System were not among those who regarded prostitution as a necessary or inevitable

consequence of social life, but their full endorcement of the Police Act does indicated that they recognized it as an "existing fact".[10] Many regulationists and feminists argued that the women, driven out of the area by the police, were practising the trade elsewhere. The Glasgow System did nothing to attack the causes of female prostitution. It reinforced the double standard by only punishing women. The decline in admissions to the Lock hospitals and declining illigitimacy rates, which were used as evidence or improved 'morality' were not reliable indicators that prostitution or disease were declining.

It is not clear whether the Glasgow System permanently transformed the structure of prostitution in the city. Chief Constable McCall accepted that the majority of women had simply left the area and had not given up the trade. An example of this trend occured in 1880 when the repressive system was adopted in Edinburgh, and the number of brothels in Glasgow increased from 22 in 1879 to 61 in 1880.[11] It is possible that as a result of repressive policing many women were deterred from the trade. The brothel system appears to have been reorganized geographically to some extent as indicated by the decline in amount of rent paid by brothel-keepers. McCall stated that by 1880 Glasgow brothels had been restricted to the poorest neighbourhoods in the city.

On the question of whether or not there was any visible change in the women as a result of the system, two observations should be considered. Patterson remarked upon the changes in the 'prostitutes'' physical appearance. He stated that they were no longer distinguishable from other working class women. McCall, on the other hand, claimed that Glasgow's 'prostitutes' had become "miserable creatures" many of whom could not even afford shoes. Patterson and McCall were obviously not observing the same women. Patterson's observation that 'prostitutes' no longer wore clothing which distinguished them from other women implies that their soliciting became more discreet.[12] McCall's statement might indicate that the frequent fines or prison sentences under the Police Act

either acted as a deterrent or forced women to become more discreet. It may have had a 'hardening' effect on women at the other end of the spectrum. The frequent fines, harrassment, stigmatization and prison sentences may have served to harden the core of professional 'prostitutes'.[13] Further evidence for this might be found in the increased number of 'unsuitable' applications to the Magdalene Institution in the 1890's. In 1911 the Chief Constable of Glasgow admitted that repression and punishment did not deter the "hardened offender".[14]

In conclusion, it is clear that the policing practices in Glasgow reduced the total number of brothels and forced the remainder into the poorest communities, where neighbours were least likely to lodge complaints with the authorities. The evidence, however, does not support the assertion that the total number of 'prostitutes' in the city was reduced. What the evidence suggests is, first, many women were deterred from resorting to occasional prostitution at as means of supplementing their incomes. Second, the activities of those who were not deterred became more secretive as women were forced to leave the security and companionship of the brothels and to adopt less conspicuous means of solicing. Consequently, street conditions changed as reported by Patterson. In contrast to earlier in the century when importuning was largely unrestrained, with the increase in repressive policing, 'prostitutes' became more discreet, "indicating her object by a stealthy glance or mumbled word. Hoping for a nibble she retires into a side street waiting to be approached by her supposed quarry".[15] The public houses were used less for that purpose, because publicans feared the loss of their licences. Women were forced to use parks, cabs, closes, and other less conspicuous locations in order to escape molestation by the police.[16] Finally, at the other end of the spectrum, the fines and prison sentences had a stigmatizing effect on women, which preventing them from moving in and out of prostitution as the job market dictated.

THE INMATES

Reformers did not object to the principle of incarcerating "fallen women, " provided that they were not incarcerated with 'criminals'. They wanted to protect their middle class sons from temptation. They also believed that the 'respectable' working class women should be protected from seduction by upper class men, and from falling in with bad company. In other words, although they felt a moral obligation to stop the sexual exploitation of working class girls, they were appalled by incorrigible girls and unrepentant 'prostitutes'. Their attitudes reflect a belief that a "fallen women" could regain her character, but this required intensive re-socialization and moral education. Their desire to protect working class girls was part of a larger programme to control their sexual and vocational behaviour, which reflected their desire to impose a middle class social code on working class women.[17] The discourses on prostitution and resulting philanthropic institutions were not, therefore, apolitical, but deliberate strategies for establishing public services at sensitive points between "private initiative and the state".[18]

The Glasgow Magdalene Institution drew its recruits from a population of young working class women from disrupted families, who, because of their poverty had not received the advantages of an education or been apprenticed to skilled trades. The Institution was not interested in female felons, but newly 'fallen' girls who had not developed serious drinking problems or ties with the criminal underworld. It was this class of women that the Directors of the Institution believed would benefit the most thoroughly from its programme of moral training, education and industrial training. It has been demonstrated that the Magdalene Institution developed a variety of techniques of social control to encourage moral reform.

The act of incarcerating women for sexual misconduct was used to protect women from being further corrupted or from becoming hardened 'prostitutes'. At the same time, it was also intended to protect

society from the spead of corruption and disease. The process of targeting women and not men for sexual behaviour supported the double standard. The control mechanisms like infantilization reduced women to the status of children and encouraged the process of female depedency, as did the practice of training women for domestic service, where they would be dependent on others for room and board. Intensive moral education, domestication, and industrial training were intended to socialize inmates to conform to the middle class code of appropriate feminine behaviour for working class women. The disruption of family ties in cases where the family of origin was judged as a bad influence on the girl,intensified the relationship between inmates and the Institution which ensured that inmates continued to accept the moral code of the Institution. The Magdalene Institution also enabled some inmates to migrate to Britain's colonies, where it was hoped that away from the corruption of the overcrowded cities inmates would have the opportunity to live respectably. Finally, the Magdalene Institution frequently transfered many 'problem' cases to state institutions such as hospitals, asylums, and poorhouses were they might be kept on a more permanent basis.

What impact did the Magdalene Institution have on the lives of former inmates? Many former inmates went on to lead lives that met with the Institution's criteria for success, marrying and maintaining clean homes, or remaining with relatives or in domestic service. Others become temperate and industrious factory workers and self-employed tradeswomen. Although the Directors had never intended that inmates would rise above their stations, they hoped that they would become respectable members of the working class commmunity and serve as role-models to their peers. As stated, reformers believed that the social stability of the working class rested on women. Women set the moral and religious tone for the family, and family life would counterbalance the effect of urbanization and industrialization.[19]

It is too simplistic to see a cause and effect relationship between residence in the Magdalene Institution and the subsequent

lives of inmates. For many it could have provided no more than a temporary source of food and shelter and a way of getting a job after a period of ill-health, personal crisis, or unemployment. It is also possible that in some cases inmates would have settled down in their late-twenties even without the moral influences of the Institution. But the Magdalene Institution does appear to have set many uneducated, defiant, and ill-mannered girls on the road to becoming obedient and deferential young women.[20] The Magdalene Institution functioned as a school, a hospital, a training center, and provided a family network where friendless and homeless inmates could turn for advice and councilling in times of need. These were forms of support that were absent from the lives of many of the inmates from disrupted families, and the letters from former inmates indicate that many were very grateful for the help.

It is also important to evaluate the role that the Magdalene Institution played in the community at large. Although one can only speculate, the high profile of the Institution in the community, and the fact that at least 5,000 women passed through between 1860 and 1889 indicates that it may have played a role in the consciousness of working class women in Glasgow. Rafter argues that women who had never set foot in female penitentiaries would have been aware, by word of mouth, that there existed an Institution that disapproved of sexual and other transgressions.[21] Historians have also noted that among the upper working class, by the end of the century families were beginning to exhibit middle class behavioural standards, couples were marrying later, 'illegitimacy' rates dropped,[22] and more women left paid employment after marriage or child-birth.[23] The Magdalene Institution, therefore, might be said to have offered skills and training and the chance to migrate, which many socially conscious or ambitious girls might have preceived as necessary or a way of improving their material position. In order to examine the links between the ideology of the Magdalene Institution and the lives of 'real' women it is useful to look at Foucault's work on the history of sexuality more closely.

Incitement to Discourse

Foucault has made three contributions to the history of sexuality which have been extremely useful in this study of the policing and control of 'prostitutes' in Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century. Foucault argues that the history of sexuality is not a chronicle of increasing sexual "repression". He argues that the nineteenth century was a period of "incitement" where the subject of sex was continually and voluably "put into discourse". As I have demonstrated, there is no evidence that the nineteenth century ushered in an age of sexual repression in Scotland. Rather, sexual behaviour began to be spoken of, regulated and policed in new ways. The contributions to the discourse on prostitution came from four interest groups, the medical profession, philanthropists, local state representatives, and socialists. For Foucault the study of sexuality is guided by the need to analyze what various discourses said about sexuality, why they emerged when they did and what were the consequences of their pronouncements.

The second contibution is Foucault's argument that sexuality is an historical construct. He argues the history of sexuality is really a history of discourses. The nineteenth century witnessed a new taxonomic and labelling zeal which attempted to classify "scientifically" the characteristics and aetiologies of the forms of sexual behaviour and in so doing to establish them as subjects of study. It has been demonstrated that this process occurred around the subject of prostitution. By the mid-century, 'prostitutes' were no longer seen as simply a nuisance to be endured, and reformers were eager to analyze the sexual behaviour of working class women who were regarded by many as a threat, either because they were blamed for spreading venereal disease or because of their prominent position in the labour force. In either case, they were seen to defy the middle class definition of 'femininity' and in a society where female sexualities were dichotomized between the 'magdalene and madonna', women who did not conform to the middle class standards of feminine propriety were labelled 'prostitutes'. By labelling them

'prostitutes' reformers attempted to control their sexual and vocational behaviour and to police them.

The third contribution is Foucault's discussion of power. He argues that power is relational; by this he meant that it is not something some have and others do not. Power is not unitary, it does not reside in the state, it cannot be reduced to class relations, it is not something to hold or use. Power is onmipresent, it is the intangible but forceful reality of social existence and of all social relations, created from moment to moment in the relationships which sustain it at all social levels. Foucault is interested in the complex of power-knowledge, the way in which power operates through the construction of particular knowledges. It is through discourse that power-knowledge is realized. The relationship between the subject and the discourse is productive, each discourse creates its own subject or clientele. The thrust of discursive formations is control; control not through denial or prohibition, but through production, through imposing a grid of definitions on the body.[24]

Analysis of Foucault

Foucault's discussion of power has been a useful tool in this attempt to understand the historical construction of the category 'prostitute' in the mid-nineteenth century. First, reformers were extremely concerned with identifying which behaviours distinguished 'prostitutes' from 'respectable women'. The boundaries of the category were so narrowly drawn that many working class women were indirectly included in the category whether or not they were actually selling sex to men. For example, reformers believed that unmarried mothers and female factory workers had already taken the first step toward becoming 'prostitutes'. The former was picked out because it was almost impossible for a women alone to support herself and child, and the latter, because of their presence in the streets and public houses, or because they drank, or went with men. By virtue of these modes of behaviour almost all working class women laid themselves open to certain sanctions, which was supported by the Police Act,

whereby women whose sexual or vocational behaviour led to their being labelled 'prostitutes' were in danger of being taken up by the authorities and before magistrates. In this way the Glasgow System, like the C.D. Act, had an impact on women not immediately involved.

Second, Foucault rejected the argument that a person must recognize him/herself as the subject of a discourse in order to be affected by it. Foucault's claim that understanding the operation of power need not involve one in speculating on the consciousness of subjects, offers us an alternative way of understanding how to write women's history, in this case the history of 'prostitutes'. As previously stated two trends exist within the feminist approach to the field of women's history. The first, is to chart the course of sexual inequality and the oppression of women. The second, is to look for evidence of women's power. The problem with the first approach is that it presents women as helpless victims. The problem with the second approach is that by emphasizing women's power and agency it risks losing sight of sexual inequality. Foucault, however, argues that "if power takes hold of the body, this is not through its having first to be interiorized in peoples consciousnes".[25] Foucault's perspective enables us to avoid the question of whether the inmates in the Magdalene Institution and other working class women came to accept the dominant discourse, and also to aviod trying to assess how far they were victims or agents. Instead, it is possible to see that they were subjects constituted and created by the discourse, through its embodiment in the Glasgow System. It is precisely this perspective which allows us to argue that even in the case of the 'good' subjects, whose letters published in the annual reports apparently demonstrate their acceptance of themselves as reformed 'prostitutes', we do not have to see them as victims, or suppose that they really consented to the dominant discourse. This perspective allows us to consider that many inmates had their own reasons for entering the Magdalene Institution, for example, former domestic servants re-establishing their good character.

Third, the social construction of the category 'prostitute' in the nineteenth century, makes it possible to see how the discourses created characters, and life-histories for the women involved. This is evidenced in part, by the numerous 'fallen women' themes in fiction, poetry, song and art as well as the discourses produced by the social scientists. This raised two interesting points: the distinction between a 'prostitute' and a 'criminal', and the fact that the 'character' which they created for the 'prostitute' could be reformed, thereby implying that she was not incapable of changing or of being condemned to a life of prostitution. It was around this point that the medical, philanthropic and local state discourses formed their coalition, which marginalized the socialist discourse. For the former, a change in the social order was unnecessary. Whether environmentalists or evangelical Christians, they believed that individual reformation was possible and their task was to establish appropriate ameliorating institutions where this was possible. The environmentalists believed that 'prostitution' was the result of poor socialization in working class families. For them moral education and training and hard work would override disadvantaged childhood. The evangelical Christians, inspired by the popular image of Mary Magdalene, placed their emphasis on the salvation of women's souls through religious education and prayer. Both approaches were accomplished in the Magdalene Institution.

Finally, Foucault's notion of power is useful because it goes beyond class reductionalism or functionalism. Because power is relational, it is not something that the bourgeoisie possess automatically or unproblematicallly simply by virtue of their social class position. It has been demonstrated that there was a great deal of debate within and between discursants over who would define the dominant 'bourgeois' discourse. Throughout the nineteenth century there is evidence of opposition and debate. For example, those opposed to the establishment of the Lock hospital, adopted a strict Calvinist line, which argued that venereal disease was God's punishment for sin and that science had no 'right' to interfere with it. In contrast, their were also many proponents of the laissez-

faire system, who argued that prostitution was a necessary component of social life and it should be left alone. Within the medical discourse there was debate between Acton, who argued for state regulation and Miller who opposed it. Similarily in the philanthropic discourse there was debate between Somerville and Bryce over whether or not female penitentiaries were necessary for reforming the 'fallen'. In addition to opposition within the dominant groups, there is also evidence of opposition from more radical discourses like the Owenite socialists and the Ladies' National Association. The former analyzed the causes of prostitution in terms of political economy, while the latter argued that the Glasgow System was really 'veiled regulation'. Finally, there is also evidence of opposition, although not articulate, in the behaviour of the inmates who rejected the services of the Magdalene Institution either by leaving early or refusing to apply for admission.

Problems with Foucault

Foucault's contribution to the history of sexuality had been useful for this study of the control of 'prostitutes'. There are, however, three problems with Foucault's notion of power that must be addressed in the light of the present study.

First, Foucault's contention that wherever there is power there is resistance is no doubt very appealing, but Foucault did not develop a theory which can satisfactorily explain this process. If power is everywhere it is difficult to understand how it can be resisted. What are the conditions in which resistance occurs? Foucault has introduced the concept of "reverse discourse" which occurs when the subjects form a discoure and begin to speak out on their own behalf. For example, in the nineteenth century homosexuality "began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturality' be acknowledged".[26] A reverse discourse does not appear to have developed in the case of 'prostitutes' in Glasgow. Although this certainly does not mean that there was no

resistance at all, Foucault's analysis does not permit us to underatand why, how or where this occur.

The second problem with Foucault's, approach is that he under-emphasizes the conflict that takes place between various discourses. Other theorists like C. Weedon and D. McDonell have developed this weakness in Foucault by incorporating Marxist theory which emphasizes that not all discourses carry equal weight or power; some are conservative and justify the status quo, while others are radical and challenge existing institutional practices. Discourses which challenge the status quo will either be marginal to existing practices and dismissed (like Owenite socialism), or lead to social change.[27] Discourses are historically and socially constructed, and therefore are not 'neutral', but highly political, because the group with the power controls the dissemination of knowledge and therefore the discourse. No discourse exists by itself; each takes shape in relation to another, antagonistically, through the struggles which traverse various institutions, and various apparatuses of the state.[28] As such, there is a great deal of competition between discourses, as each tries to establish itself as dominant. The first step in any investigation of a discourse, therefore, is to account for the social position of the speaker, the "institutions which prompt people to speak, and those social structures in which knowledge is shaped and produced.[29] The trail however, will not lead to the discovery of truth or pure knowledge; rather in the process of demystification one is most likely to find "falsehoods, or ideology designed to conceal the truth".[30] In this study, it has been necessary to emphasize that the Glasgow System emerged out of a number of competing discourses.

The final problem with Foucault's approach is that it lacks a clear concept of gender. It therefore fails to explain why it was women who were labelled as 'prostitutes' and carriers of venereal disease, and why they, rather than men, became subjects of the discourse on the 'Great Social Evil'. This question can be explained by the recent contributions to the field of women's history. It has been argued that working class women were targeted

because of their special role in the family. This study has demonstrated that in the mid-nineteenth century social stability was perceived as resting on the 'domesticated' women. "Women would set the moral and religious tone for family life, and family life would counterbalance the effect of unchecked economic change and the new extremes of wealth an poverty".[31] Because of the developing ideology of women's role in the family and her very special responsibility for society's well being, it was women who worked outside of the home who received the most attention from moral reformers.[32] The two main problems associated with working class women were their sexuality and their economic autonomy. In order to address this, the education of working class women in the values of domesticity,[33] family responsibility, chastity, fidelity and thrift was encouraged. Philanthropic institutions such as the Glasgow Magdalene Institution were driven by this vision of the ideal-typical working class family. To accomplish this, 'newly' domesticated women were released from the Magdalene Institution so that they would lead the working class men out of the pubs and take their children in off the streets.[34]

Conclusion

This study was intended to make a contribution to three areas: The history of sexuality, the history of prostitution, and to the larger area of the moral regulation of the working class in the nineteenth century. The activities surrounding the 'prostitution problem' in Glasgow which led to the development of the Glasgow System and to the intensification in the policing of the working class community was part of a larger attempt to remake working class culture. The escalation of urbanization, overcrowding, epidemics, crime, Chartist and socialist agitation and the Reform Bills in the nineteenth century led to an intensification in efforts to control working class. As Foucault argues, once the working class was recognized as possessing a "body and a sexualtity", a whole technology of power was needed to keep them under surveillance.[35]

After the defeat of Chartism in 1848 there a noticeable escalation in attempts to control the working class, who were regarded as dangerous and a threat to social and political order. This was accomplished, in part, through increasing the size of the municipal police forces throughout the country. The new constable had a broad mission, which involved acting as an all-purpose lever of urban discipline.[36] Walkowitz argues that one cultural and political response to this working class threat was a radical effort to remake working class culture and to root out the traditional social and sexual habits of the poor.[37] One of the functions of the police was to become a "domestic missionary," translating and mediating bourgeois values in working class communities.[38] The older voluntary methods and individualistic charities established earlier in the century gave way to more interventionist methods. Reformers, such as the Charity Organization, the Salvation Army, Churches, and philanthropic missions, retained the old rhetoric of liberal reform and stressed voluntary efforts, but they were also much readier to use the instruments of state to enforce their code than earlier reform efforts.[39]

APPENDIX A

Table A-:1 Previous employment reported by females admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1860-1869.

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT:

Domestic and country service	310	Japanner	3
Mill/factory/public-works	234	Shawl fringer	2
Domestic service	208	Cap maker	2
Domestic service & factory	155	Seamstress	2
Mills/factory/bleachfields	104	Stewadress	1
Warehouse	23	Fishcuring	1
Country service	22	Dairymaid	1
Dressmaker & milliner	19	Staymaker	1
Dressmaking	18	Street-singer/actres	3
Sewing machine	9	Photographers asst.	1
Service & warehouse	9	Bookfolder	1
Book closer/binder	8	Saleswomen	1
Service & dressmaking	3	Book-keeper	1
Laundey work/maids	4	Other	16
French polisher	2	No settled employmen	124
Cloakmaker	1	Not ascertained	38
Paper-bag maker	1		
			1331

Source: Calculated from the Glasgow Magdalene Institution Annual Reports. 1860-1880.

Table A-2: Previous employment reported by females admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1870-1879.

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT:

Domestic service	604	Dairy maid	1
Factory work	431	Delf seller	1
Factory & service	303	Lady's maid	1
Bleachfields	59	Paper ruler	1
Country service	48	Teaching	1
Sewing machine	39	Envelope maker	1
Seamstress	27	Street singer	1
Service & needlework	26	Printfield	1
Warehouse	23	Heddle work	1
Home with parents	18	Wireworker	1
Pottery	17	Photography	1
Needlework	15	Nursery maid	1
Laundry work	14	Staymaker	1
Bookfolder/binder	11	Glass cleaner	1
Dressmaker	11	Cap maker	1
French polisher	10	Saleswomen	8
Milliners	6	Brush factory	2
Confectionary worker	6	Book-keeper	2
Washing & cleaning	5	Fancy-box maker	2
Cotton waste store	4	Shopkeeper	4
Printing machine	4	Barmaid/waitress	3
Calenderer	4	Tailoress	4
Straw-hat making	3	Bootbinding	3
Newspaper vendor	2	Paper box/bag making	2
		No settled employment	114
		Not ascertained	118
			1967

Source: Calculated from the Glasgow Magdalene Institution Annual Reports, 1860-1880.

Table A-3: Previous employment reported by females admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1880-1889*

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT:

Domestic service	386	Dairy maid	1
Factory	324	Upholstery	1
Factory & service	69	Nursery maid	1
Country service	60	Message girl	1
Bleachfields	38	Pickle work	1
Sewing machine	36	Felt work	1
Confectionary	33	Bonnet factory	1
Washing & cleaning	27	Tailoress	1
Laundry	36	Waterproof maker	1
Pottery	36	Oil work	1
Dressmaking	20	Envelope maker/folder	3
Needlework/seamstress	16	Shawl finisher	1
Bookfolding/binding	13	Pipe finisher	1
Lithographic Printer	11	Net factory	1
Barmaids	10	Vulcanite work	1
Fancy-box maker	7	Calender work	8
Feather dresser	2	Staymakers	3
Shop girls	9	Dye work	1
Tobacco work	8	Glasswork	2
Waitress	6	Japanner	3
French polisher	7	Rubber work	2
Hawker	7	Ropeworker	2
Ballet girl	9	Photofinisher	3
Paper mill/work	6	Paper staining	3
Cotton waste store/rag store	8	Theater	2
Rivet worker	5	Match work	2
Domestic service & sewing	4	Hair work/spinner	3
Domestic service & cleaning	4	Paper bag making	3
Print work	5	Biscuit factory	4
Printing office	4	Warehouse	3
Brickfields	4	Chemical works	3
Paint work	1	At home with parents	3
Milliner	2	Milliners	3
Lacemaker	1	No settled employment	133
		Not ascertained	56
			1500@

*Data for 1882-83 missing.
@2 cases were double counted in 1886 annual report.
Source: Calculated from the Glasgow Magdalene Institution Annual Reports. 1860-1880.

APPENDIX B

Table B-1: Place of birth recorded by females admitted the the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1860-1861.

Place of Birth:			
Glasgow	411		
Other parts of Scotland--			
Renfrewshire	121	Kirkcudbrightshire	1
Lanarkshire	90	Moray	1
Edinburgh	84	Gallowayshire	2
Ayreshire	54	Haddingtonshire	2
Argyleshire	35	Elginshire	2
Dumbartonshire	33	Sutherlandshire	2
Stirlingshire	29	Caithness-shire	2
Aberdeenshire	22	Ross-shire	3
Dumfriesshire	19	Shetland	3
Perthshire	18	Buteshire	3
Forfarshire	17	**Other parts of United Kingdom**	
Fifeshire	13	Ireland	181
Linlithgowshire	9	England	62
Iverness-shire	9	Wales	24
Wigtonshire	6	Foreign/abroad	10
At sea	2	Not ascertained	61
Total			1331

Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*1860-1869.

Table B-2: Place of birth reported by females admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1870-79.

Place of Birth:			
Glasgow	673		
Other parts of Scotland--			
Edinburgh	141	Kinross-shire	1
Renfrewshire	131	Berwickshire	1
Lanarkshire	127	Sutherland	1
Ayreshire	97	Stornoway	1
Stirlingshire	57	Kincardine	1
Dumbartonshire	42	Shetland	2
Argyleshire	39	Kirkcudbrightshire	2
Linlithgowshire	23	Morayshire	1
Forfarshire	22	Haddingtonshire	2
Aberdeenshire	15	Clackmannan	3
Dumfriesshire	15	Banffshire	3
Perthshire	15	Elginshire	3
Iverness-shire	13	Roxburghshire	4
Fifeshire	13	Peebles-shire	4
Wigtonshire	10	Caithness-shire	5
Buteshire	9	**Other parts of United Kingdom**	
Gallowayshire	7	Ireland	264
Ross-shire	6	England	132
At sea	1	Wales	3
		Abroad	29*
		Not ascertained	48
Total			1967

* Abroad: 4 America; 8 India; 1 France; 1 Germany; 1 Gibraltar; 1 Falklands; 2 Malta.

Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*1870-1879.

Table B-3: Place of Birth reported by females admitted to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1880-1879.

Place of Birth:

Glasgow	523		
Other parts of Scotland--			
Renfrewshire	108	Nairn	1
Lanarkshire	108	Hawickshire	1
Edinburgh	102	Kircudbright	1
Ayreshire	69	Lewis	1
Stirlingshire	59	Sutherlandshire	2
Argyleshire	38	Caithness-shire	2
Dumbartonshire	29	Ross-shire	2
Forfarshire	18	Berwickshire	3
Iverness-shire	17	Roxburgshire	3
Wigtonshire	15	Haddingtonshire	4
Linlithgowshire	14	Paisley	4
Dumfriesshire	12	Midlothian	5
Aberdeenshire	11	Clackmannan	5
Greenock	10	**Other places in United Kingdom**	
Perthshire	10	Ireland	155
Fifeshire	8	England	91
Banfshire	7	Abroad	18@
Buteshire	6	At sea	6
		Not ascertained	24
Total			1500

*Data missing for 1882-83.
@Abroad: 1 Gibraltar; 2 France; 1 Newfoundland; 1 Germany; 5 India; 3 America; 2 Austraila; 2 Cape Good Hope; 1 Calcutta; 1 Barbadoes.
Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*

APPENDIX C

Table C-1: How inmates leaving the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1860-1869 were disposed.

Disposed as follows			
Restored to parents of friends	186		
		186	15.1%
Domestic service	99		
Country service	3		
Service or at various employments	122		
Dressmaking	2		
Sewing machine work	2		
Warehouses	19		
Work in mills	10		
Laundry work	5		
Factory work	19		
		281	22.9%
Sent to House of Refuge	258		
Sent to other institutions	134		
Sent to Poorhouse (unfit for Home)	4		
Sent abroad	18@		
Married out of the Home	4		
Death	3		
		421	34.4%
Discharged as untractable/ or disobedient	31		
Dismissed after being received/ or for insubordination	14		
Went off clandestinely	38		
Left to seek work	3		
Left of own accord/voluntarily	251		
		337	27.5%
Total		1225*	

*Those inmates still in the Institution subtracted from the total.
@At least 3 of these inmates were sent to Australia.
Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*1860-69

Table C-2: How inmates leaving the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1870-1879 were disposed.

Disposed as follows:			
Restored to parents or friends	366		
		366	19.2%
Domestic service/situations	288		
To factory work	18		
To warehouse	21		
To public laundry	16		
Assistant superintendent in Home	1		
		344	18.0%
Sent abroad	10		
To Kindred institutions	120		
To Barony poorhouse	38		
To Lock hospital	22		
To Infirmary	3		
To hospital	102		
To hospital or poorhouse	58		
Death	1		
		354	18.7%
Dismissed as unsuitable	178		
Dismissed for misconduct	2		
Left clandestinely	2		
Absconded	36		
Left of own accord/voluntarily	625		
		843	44.2%
Total		1907*	

*Those inmates remaining in the Institution subtracted from total.
Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*1870-79.

Table C-3: How inmates leaving the Glasgow Magdalene Institution between 1880-1889* were disposed.

Disposed as follows:			
Restored to parents or friends	470		
		470	30.5%
Domestic service	306		
Laundries and mills	36		
		342	22.2%
Sent abroad	8		
Married out of the home	1		
Death	4		
To kindred institution	22		
To hospital	96		
Poorhouse	35		
		166	10.8%
Dismissed or found unsuitable	155		
Left of own accord/voluntarily	365		
Absconded	41		
		561	36.4%
Total		1539@	

*Data for 1882-83 missing
@Those inmates remaining in the Institution subtracted from the total.
Source: Calculated from the Annual Reports of the *Glasgow Magdalene Institution*1880-89.

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41. *Ibid.*, 1958, p. 46.

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44. Smout, *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 22.

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48. J.W. Scott and L.A. Tilly. "Women's Work and the Family in Nineteenth Century Europe". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1975), p. 41.

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50. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 24.

51. *Ibid.*,

52. Logan, *op. cit.*, 1871, p. 36.

53. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 4.

54. *Ibid.*, 1840, 21.

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57. *Ibid.*, 1843, p. 31.

58. *Ibid.*, 1843, p. 41.

59. *Ibid.*, 1843, p. 23.

60. *Ibid.*, 1843, p.22.

61. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 28.

62. *Ibid.*, 1980, 28.

63. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 46.

64. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 48.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 49.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 50.

69. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 51.

70 *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 56.

71. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 57.

72. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 1959; Finnegan, *op. cit.*, 1979; Cominos, *op. cit.*, 1963; Chesney, *op. cit.*, 1970.

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74. *North Briton* (Editor), *Glimpses of the Social Evil in Edinburgh and Elsewhere, (Edinburgh: Charles Harvey, 1864), p. 9.*

75. *Ibid.*, 1864, p. 12.

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78. W. Logan, *The Moral Statistics of Glasgow.* (Glasgow, 1849), p. 43.

79. R. Wardlaw, *Lectures on Female Prostitution: Its Nature, Extent, Effects, Guilt, Causes and Remedy.* (Glasgow, 1842), p. 37.

80. *Ibid.*, 1842, p. 39.

81. *Ibid.*

82. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 73.

83. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 33.

84. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 39.

85. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 40.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Foucault, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 33.

88. *Ibid.*

89. Cohen, *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 25, 26.

90. Foucault, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 116.

91. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 118.

92. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 120.

93. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 121.

94. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 126.

95. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 127.

96. Weeks, *op. cit.*, 1981, p. 84.

CHAPTER 3

1. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 1959; Cominos, *op. cit.*, 1963;.

2. ...Who, from being unaccompanied by gentelmen may be supposed to be women of unchaste character, *New Moral World. 22 (November) 1841, p. 170.*

3. *H. Ware, unpublished diss. "Prostitution and the State: The Recruitment, Regulation, and Role of Prostitution in the*

Nineteenth and Twentieth Century". Univeristy of London. 1969, p. 83.

4. *M. Sumner, unpublished diss. "Prostitution and Images of Women". Univeristy of Wales. 1980, p. 112*

5. *Select Committee* , 21 (July) 1881, p. 373.

6. Sumner, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 123.

7. *Select Committee* , 4 (April) 1882, p. 123.

8. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 118.

9. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p.166.

10. *Ibid.*; Sumner, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 132.

11. Sumner, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 154.

12. *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 136.

13. Glasgow Magdalene Institution, *Report on the Glasgow Fair*, 1863, p. 9.

14. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 7.

15. Sumner, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 151.

16. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 134.

17. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 113.

18. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 15.

19. *Ibid.*, 1842, p. 15, 16.

20. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 1.

21. Sumner, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 127.

22. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 113.

23. Nead, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 80.

24. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 38.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, 1980, p.39. [Of the 20 causes listed by Tait, Wardlaw identified six; licentiousness of inclination, irritability of temper, want of employment, love of dress, seduction, ignorance or defective education or religious instruction. (Wardlaw;1842;107-112) Logan also identified secondary causes; 1) parents turned children hastily from their roof, 2)

daughters disagreeing with step-mother, 3) Owenite socialism, 4) obscene books, 5) loose conversation, 6) destitution, 7) fondness for dress, 8) walking and visiting public gardens of Sabbath 9) theatres and low exhibitions; such as saloons and singing schools and penny shows at the foot of Saltmarket Street (Logan,1843:20) 10) overcrowding, 11) obscene books and prints, with certain pictorial journals and sensational journalism (Logan,1871:52) Acton included a list of local and artificial causes; restrictions on marriages among clergy, military and genteel society, immigration, surplus female population, which were produced by the structure of capitalist economy; for this reason Acton argued that prostitution would always exist to some degee (Acton,1869:167) Unlike Tait, Acton argued that the primary causes of prostitution were ineradicable, and the artificial and local causes scarcely more yeilding (Acton,1869:17)]

27. A.C.C. List, *The Two Phases of the Social Evil.* (Edinburgh, 1859), p. 27.

28. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 83.

29. wet-nursing was regarded by Acton, Miller, and Tait as a suitable occupation for newly "fallen" women. It was perceived as a way of performing penance.

30. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 83.

31. List, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 18.

32. Gorham, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 387.

33. Hellerstein et al., *op. cit.*, 1981, p. 273.

34. In the nineteenth century domestic service was regarded as the only form of paid employment that did not break with the essential feminine role. Sumner, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 165.

35. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 182.

36. E. King, *The Scottish Women's Sufferage Movement. (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries),*

37. *J.D. Young, Women and Popular Struggles: A History of Scottish and English Working Class Women.* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Pub., 1985), p. 68.

38. Sumner, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 176.

39. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 180.

40. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 101.

41. J. Treble, (forthcoming)

42. Ware, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 117.

43. Logan, *op. cit.*, 1871, p. 53.

44. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 180; Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 117; J. Miller, *Prostitution Considered in Relation to its Causes and Cure.* (Edinburgh, 1859), p. 7.

45. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 45.

46. J. Butt, "Housing" in R.A. Cage, *The Working Class in Glasgow, 1750-1914.* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 42, 43.

47. King, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 144.

48. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 233.

49. Glasgow Magdalene Institution, *Report on the Glasgow Fair,* 1863, p. 12.

50. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 24; Logan, *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 17; Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 137-141.

51. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 15.

52. Glasgow Magdalene Institution, *Report on the Glasgow Fair,* 1863, p. 12.

53. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 96.

54. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 98.

55. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 179; Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 39; Logan, *op. cit.*, , 1843, p. 25; Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 39.

56. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 49; Logan, *op. cit.*, 1843, p. 11.

57. Foucault, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 26.

58. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 203.

59. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 167.

60. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 176.

61. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 177.

62. Gordon and Dubois, *op. cit.*

63. Milller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 15.

64. Nead, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 68.

65. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 20.

66. Foucault, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 24.

67. Alexander Thomson. *On the Licentiousness of Scotland and the Remedial Measures Which Ought to be Adopted.* (London, J. Nesbit Co. 1861), p. 3.

68. Smout, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 166.

69. List. *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 6.

70. Ware, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 83.

71. Smout, *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 186.

72. *Ibid.*

73. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 33.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 31.

76. Ware, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 34.

77. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 1.

78. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 234.

79. Ware, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 33.

80. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 74.

81. Logan, *op. cit.*, 1871, p. 52.

82. *Ibid.*, 1943, p. 11.

83. *Glasgow Herald* 6 (July) 1860. In 1971 Somerville along with 99 other Glasgow clergy publically announced their oppostition to the C.D. Act, *Shield* 17 (June), 1871, p. 189.

84. Muirhead, *op. cit.*, 1974, p. 233.

85. Prochaska, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 195.

86. *Glasgow Herald*, 6 (July) 1860.

87. Muirhead, *op. cit.*, 1974, p. 233.

88. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 232.

89. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980.

90. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 199.

91. *Shield* 17 (June) 1871, p. 533.

92. *Select Committee* 28 (April) 1882, p. 203.

93. *Ibid.*, 28 (April) 1882, p. 202.

94. *Report of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch of the Promotion for the Abolution of State Regulation of Vice and the Promotion of Social Purity, 1979.*

95. *Select Committee* 28 (April) 1882, p. 205.

96. *Ibid.*, 9 (May) 1882, p. 260.

97. Ware, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 18.

98. *Ibid.*, 1969, p. 14.

99. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 26.

100. Ware *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 16.

101. *Ibid.*, 1996, p. 14.

102. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 176; Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 33-34.

103. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 19.

104. *Ibid.*,

106. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 202.

107. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 33-34.

108. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840; Acton *op. cit.*, 1869; List, *op. cit.*, 1859, 9.

109. List, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 9.

110. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 117.

111. *Ibid.*, ; Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, 33-34.

112. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 64.

113. K. Neild, *Prostitution in the Victorian Age: Debates on the Issues from Nineteenth Century Critical Journals. (Westmead, 1973), introduction.*

114. *Walkowitz, op. cit.*, 1980, p. 44.

115. *Ibid.*,

116. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 240.

117. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 236.

118. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 187.

119. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 43.

120. Ware, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 29. Ware claims that this was why Logan was so impressed with it and quoted it at length in his 1871 edition.

121. *Ibid.*, Miller's article did not sink into obscurity. The "truth and excellence" of his words were heavily quoted 12 years later in the *Shield*, *Shield*. 1 (April) 1871.

122. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859; Nield, *op. cit.*, 1983, introduction.

123. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 43.

124. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 19.

125. Nield, *op. cit.*, 1983, introduction.

126. Patterson, *op. cit.*, 1883, p. 1.

127. *Select Committee* 4 (April) 1882, p. 127.

128. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 120.

129. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 35.

130. S. Pollard and J. Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor,"* (London: Macmillian 1971), p. viii.

131. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 183.

132. A.L. Morton, *The Life and Ideas of Robert Owen," (London: Lawrence & Wishart. 1962), p. 21.*

133. Pollard, op. cit., 1971; E. Yeo, "Robert Owen and Radical Culture" in S. Pollard and John Salt (ed.) *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor,"* (London: Macmillian 1971), p. 85.

134. A.L. Morton, *The Life and Ideas of Robert Owen", London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1962, p. 31.*

135. Robert Owen quoted in A.L. Morton, op. cit., 1962, p. 161.

136. *Ibid*,. 1962, 166,65.

137. Pollard, *op. cit.*, 1971; J.F.C. Harrison, "A New View of Mr. Owen, in S. Pollard and John Salt (ed.) *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor,"* (London: Macmillian 1971), p. ix.

138. *New Moral World* 16 (October 15) 1841, p. 127; *New Moral World* 22 (November 27) 1841, p. 170; *New Moral World* 25 (December 19),

1841, p. 394-395.

139. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p.9; Logan, *op. cit.*, 1843, p. 20.

140. Logan, *op. cit.*, 1843, p. 13.

141. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 9.

142. *Ibid.*, 1842, p. 10.

143. *New Moral World* 16 (October 15) 1842, p. 127.

144. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 233.

145. R. Wilson, *Prostitution Suppressible: And Resistance to the Contagious Diseases (women's) Acts, A Duty. (London: S.W.Partridge & Co., 1871), p. 115.*

146. Shield. 2 (June) 1877, p. 152.

147. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 42.

148. *Select Committee* 21 (July), 1881, p. 373.

149. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 181. [At least one constable was concerned enough about the problem to publish a pamphlet on the subject. He identifies seduction, the theatre and especially intemperance as the "fountain head of all vice," and chief causes of clandestine and public prostitution. A Police Constable; *Proflicacy and Prostitution of Females, in the City of Glasgow,* n.d, probably 1860's] [c.f. City of Glasgow Police, Chief Constables Letter Book E4/2/,10, #459 24 December 1869, Letter addressed to Superintendents: Deputation of the Directors of the Magdalene Asylum "waited on the magistrates last week and pressed on them the necessity of puting the law in force against prostitutes who loiter on the streets and solicit for purposes of prostitution. The magistrates have directed me to put the law in force strictly in this respect and bring all offenders before the magistrates that the streets and thoroughfares may be kept clean, Yours Truly; [sic] Chief Constable,"] [c.f. Magistrates Committee Minute Book, (1868-1876) 20 Dec, 1869, The following deputation from the Directors of the Magdalene Institution (Burns, Davidson, Bryce, Kidston, [sic], Nelson, McLure, F. Douglas appeared) and laid before and read to the Magistrates a Memorial directing attention to the great and growing prevalence of street solicitation and street loitering by prostitutes in the thoroughfares of the city and requesting that by the enforcement of the law more stringent measures should be adopted for the suppresson of this evil, and a number of the Gentlemen composing the Deputation having been heard in support of it, the Lord Provost initiated that the Memorial would receive that attention from the Magistrates which the importance of the subject, to which attention was directed [sic] required at their hands, upon which the Deputation withdrew. Thereafter, the Magistrates full and deliberately considered the subject of the Memorial and Members presenting having expressed their views in reference thereto, it was resolved that the views of the [sic] should be met as far as practicable by a more stringent enforcement of the provisions

of the Police Act, N.K, Antony Chairman] [c.f, Magistrates Committee Minute Book, (1868-1876) 11 January 1872, On the suggestion of Baillie McLaren the clerk was directed to bring under consideration of the Assessors of the Police Courts, a proposal by Gentlemen interested in the Lock Hospital the accomodation in which had been recently increased, but reoccupied in consquence of the large numbers of diseased prostitutes sent to prison for offences against the Police Act, that on the Prison Authorities ascertaining that a Prostitute Prisoner against whom 14 days or any shorted term of imprisonment has been awarded is affected with venereal disease and expresses her willingness to become an inmate of the Lock Hospital during the term of her imprisonment [sic] that her sentence should be restricted and should be allowed to do so, with a view to their advising for the accomplishment of the proposal in the event of its being desired expedient to act upon it, In, Watson (Chairman)]

150. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 33.

151. Logan, *op. cit.*, 1843, p. 41.

152. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 124.

153. *Ibid,*

154. *Ibid,*. 1842, p. 159.

155. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 233, 224.

156. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 30.

157. *Ibid,*. 1859, p. 23.

158. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 156.

159. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 37.

160. *Ibid,*. 1859, p. 35.

161. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 202.

162. *Ibid,*. 1840, p. 206.

163. William Tait was secretary of the Edinburgh Society.

164. Logan, *Ibid,*. 1843, p. 37.

165. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 159; Logan, *op. cit.*, 1843, p. 41; Bryce, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 11.

166. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 59.

167. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 16.

168. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 211.

169. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 297.

170. *Ibid,*. 1869, p. 297.

171. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 211.

172. *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 212.

173. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 291.

174. *Ibid,*. 1869, p. 290.

175. *Ibid,*. 1869, p. 291.

176. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840. p. 244.

177. *Ibid,*. 1840, p. 241,242.

178. *Ibid,*. 1840, 244.

179. *Ibid,*

180. Logan, *op. cit.*, 1843, p. 41.

181. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 186.

182. Logan, *op. cit.*, 1843, p. 21.

183. Wardlaw, *op. cit.*, 1842, p. 143.

184. *Ibid,*. 1842. p. 145; Bryce, *op. cit.*, 1859, 18.

185. (anon.), *The Moral Statistics of Glasgow Practically Applied.* (Glasgow:Porteous & Hislop, 1864), p. 72.

186. *New Moral World.* 7 (Febuary 13), 1841, p. 97.

187. *New Moral World.* Quoted in Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 35.

188. *New Moral World* 7 (Febuary 13), 1841, p. 98.

189. *Magdalen's Friend.* 5 (August), 1860, p. 131.

190. *Glasgow Herald.* 6 (July), 1860.

191. *Magdalen's Friend.* 5 (August), 1860, p. 130.

192. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 266.

193. *Magdalen's Friend.* 5 (August), 1860, p. 131.

194. *Ibid,*

195. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1896. p. 266.

196. *Ibid*,. 1869. p. 270.

197. *Ibid*,. 1869.p. 269.

198. *Ibid*,. 1869, p.268.

199. *Ibid*,. 1869, p. 266.

200. *Ibid*,. 1869, p. 268.

201. *Ibid*,. 1869, p. 269.

202. *Ibid*,

203. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 12.

204. *Ibid*,. 1859, 13.

205. *Ibid*,. 1859, p. 12.

206. *Ibid*,. 1859, p. 14.

207. Ware, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 327.

208. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 214.

209. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 23.

210. *Ibid*,

211. Nead, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 81.

CHAPTER 4

1. (Anon.), *The Glasgow System For The Repression of Vice* 1881, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.* p. 4.
3. Glasgow Magdalene Institution, *Annual Report*, 1862.
4. Glasgow Magdalene Institution, *Annual Report*, 1872; Glasgow Lock Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1871.
5. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 199; Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 59; Newman, *op. cit.*, 1914.
6. Acton, *op. cit.*, 1869, p. 78.
7. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 59.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
9. Checkland, 1980, p. 194.
10. *Select Committee* , 4 (April) 1882, p. 117 .
11. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 59.
12. *Glasgow Courier* 15 (January) 1805.
13. *Ibid.*, 14 (Febuary) 1805.
14. *Ibid.*,
15. *Ibid.*,
16. *Ibid.*, 2 (March) 1805.
17. *Ibid.*,
18. *Ibid.*, 14 (Febuary) 1805.
19. *Ibid.*,
20. *Ibid.*, 21 (Febuary) 1805.
21. *Ibid.*, 16 (Febuary) 1805.
22. *Ibid.*,
23. *Ibid.*, 11 (Febuary) 1805.
24. *Ibid.*,
25. Foucault, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 26.

26. *Glasgow Courier*, 11 (Febuary) 1805.

27. *Ibid.*,

28. *Ibid.*,

29. *Ibid.*, 14 (Febuary) 1805.

30. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 199.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

32. Glasgow Lock Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1806.

33. Patterson, *op. cit.*, 1882, p. 405.

34. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 115.

35. Miller, *op. cit.*, 1859, p. 400.

36. Patterson, *op. cit.*, 1882, p. 415.

37. Checkland, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 195.

38. Patterson, *op. cit.*, 1882, p. 407.

39. *Select Committee* , 4 (April) 1882, p. 119.

40. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 125.

41. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 119.

42. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 120.

43. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 123.

44. Patterson *op. cit.*, 1882, p. 410.

45. Select Committee... 4 (April) 1882, p. 118.

46. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 119.

47. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 120.

48. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 122.

49. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 125.

50. Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 56.

51. *Ibid.*,, 1980, p. 57.

52. Select Committee... 4 (April) 1882, p. 128.

53. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 117.

54. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 124.

55. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 118.

56. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 126.

57. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 120.

58. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 125.

59. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 121.

60. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 126.

61. Glasgow Lock Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1810.

62. Finnegan, *op. cit.*,, 1979, p. 169.

63. Rafter, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 291.

64. *Ibid.*, 1983, p. 290.

65. *Ibid.*, 1983, p. 288-9.

66. Tait, *op. cit.*, 1840, p. 242.

67. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 243.

68. E. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain Since 1700.*, London : Gil & MacMillian., 1977, p. 64.

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