

Appendix

Table A.1 Arrests for solicitation offences in England and Wales and London compared

Year	Arrests ¹ (England & Wales)	Arrests ² (London)	London arrests as % of E & W total
1906	10,873	4,577	42
1910	11,458	4,818	42
1915	6,915	3,361	49
1920	5,743	2,538	44
1925	3,222	1,683	52
1930	1,161	723	62
1935	3,303	2,870	87
1940	1,809	1,585	88
1945	2,117	1,983	94
1950	6,868	6,501	95
1955	11,916	11,173	94

Note: This table, in which London arrests reach an incredible ninety-four per cent of national arrests, is probably testament to the unreliability of statistical reporting either in the Metropolis or in the criminal statistics, or both. However, it does also indicate that there was almost certainly a rise in London's prominence in national arrests for prostitution, and perhaps a corresponding rise in incidences of prostitution itself.

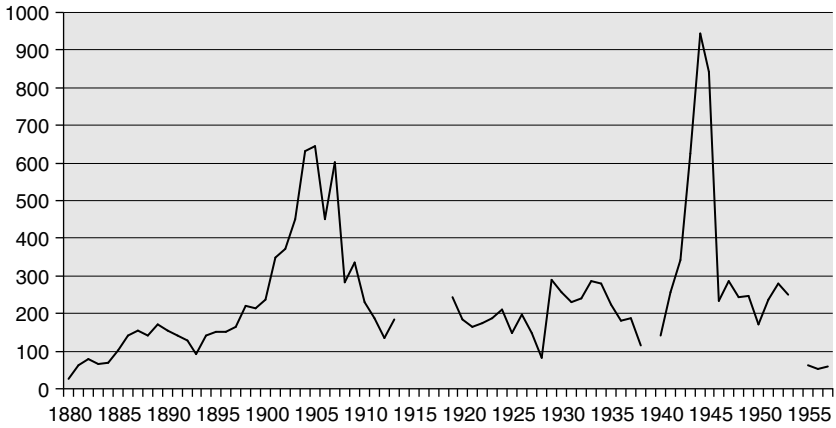


Figure A.1 Prosecutions for brothel-related crimes, 1880–1957

Note: Before 1930, these statistics come from the Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner. After 1930, they are from unpublished police returns in London, N.A., HO 45/21766. However, there are some serious problems with these records. Until 1893, for instance, they were combined with arrests for ‘keeping a disorderly house’, which could refer to brothels but could also refer to unruly clubs, gambling dens or unlicensed establishments. On the other hand, they are separated after 1893, and, while many disorderly house convictions after this date remained non-brothel-related, many others may well have been used to target prostitution on the premises.³ Before 1893, in other words, brothels are lost amidst disorderly house prosecutions; after 1893, brothels that continued to be prosecuted as disorderly houses, rather than under the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, are also invisible in the statistics. These statistics also do not include the number of premises shut down under the Aliens Restriction Order of 1916, and later Act of 1919, nor do they reflect any violations of massage, music and dancing, clubs, or taxi licences and registrations that were prosecuted by the London County Council, Borough Councils, police or Home Office. In other words, the table above very poorly reflects not only the amount of off-street prostitution that was happening but also action taken against it. The empty parts of the graph represent years for which no statistics are available.

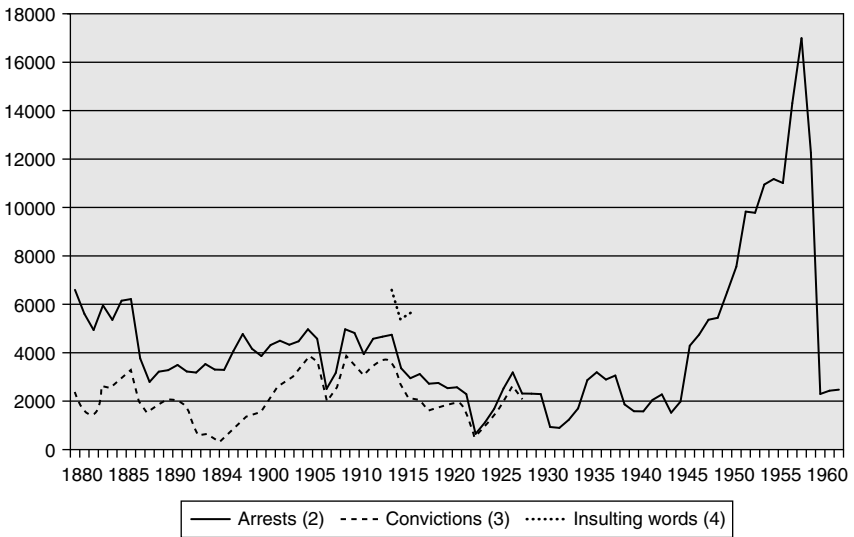


Figure A.2 Arrests and convictions for solicitation-related offences, 1880–1962

Notes: Until 1893, reporting of statistics more generally and solicitation arrests more specifically was highly inconsistent, and often included information on the non-existent charge ‘drunk and disorderly prostitute’. In 1892, a Departmental Committee recommended methods to better standardize and systematize criminal statistics, which were put into practice in 1893. Statistics therefore become more reliable after 1893, but the dip in conviction rates shown in the 1890s is in part to do with a change in reporting procedures, and in part to do with an actual change in magisterial practice (perhaps in the shadow of the Cass case).⁴

Up until 1930, these statistics are sourced from the Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner; after which time they come from London, TNA, HO 45/21766 and HO 345/8 p1.

Conviction statistics are only reliably available until 1930 but appear to follow very closely behind arrest statistics; convictions resulted from ninety per cent of arrests by 1930. In all of England and Wales, conviction rates reached an incredible 99–99.75 per cent in the 1950s.⁵

Insulting words and behaviour arrests were only firmly reported in relation to solicitation in the war years; for 1914, 1915 and the first six months of 1916. I have included them here (represented by the short dotted line) in order to make the suggestion that, if they continued to be employed as they were during the war to arrest unknown women (i.e., not ‘common prostitutes’) for solicitation, this would have dramatically affected the reported arrests and seriously challenges the perceived decline in solicitation and/or its policing. I very roughly obtained the 1916 annual number by multiplying the number from the first six months; the police themselves in the returns suggested that the next six months would likely continue the arrest trend.⁶

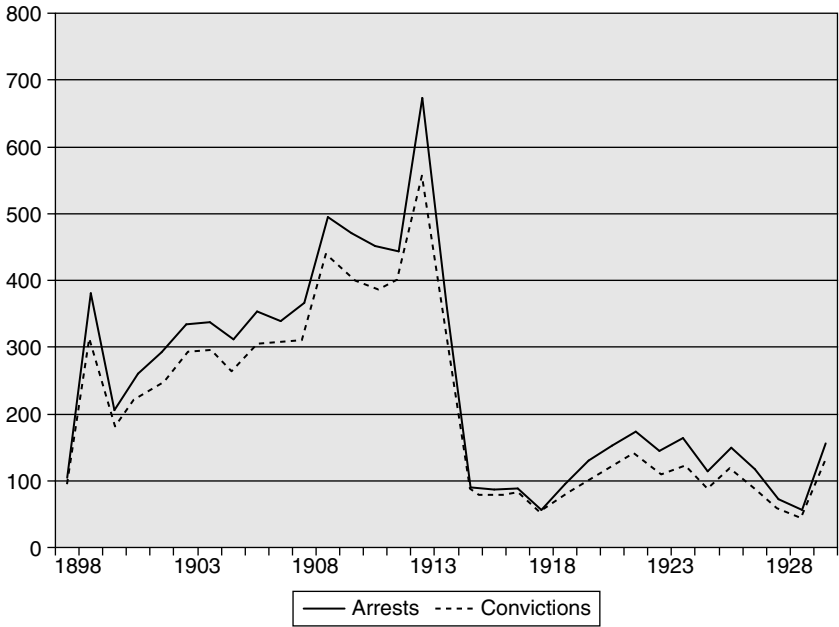


Figure A.3 Arrests and convictions for ‘living on immoral earnings’, etc., 1893–1930

Note: This offence, created by an Amendment to the Vagrancy Act in 1898, is only reported in the Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner until 1930. Corresponding statistics after this date from England and Wales combine ‘living on immoral earnings’ offences with ‘gross indecency between males’, making it impossible to compare.⁷ Note also that after 1912 these statistics included prosecutions under the new Criminal Law Amendment Act, which amended the 1898 law to include ‘controlling or directing the movements of a prostitute’.

Notes

Acknowledgements

1. Alison Neilans, 'Clause 3a- A rejoinder', *The Shield*, 1, 7 (1917).

Introduction: Criminalizing Commercial Sex

1. Julia Ann Laite, 'Neilans, Alison Roberta Noble (1884–1942)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Oct 2008); online edn, May 2009. (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56248>, accessed 11 June 2010).
2. Alison Neilans, 'Woman, Where are Those Thine Accusers?', *The Shield*, 3, no. 6 (1922): 309.
3. Teresa Billington Greig, 'The Truth About White Slavery', *The English Review*, June 1913: 428–9.
4. I turn to legal philosopher Noah Zatz for this book's working definition of prostitution as the act of 'attending to the sexual desires of a particular individual (or individuals) with bodily acts in exchange for payment for money'. Noah D. Zatz, 'Sex Work/Sex Act: Law, Labor, and Desire in Constructions of Prostitution', *Signs* 22, no. 2 (1997): 279.
5. Helen J. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London, 2003), pp. 292–3.
6. August Bebel, *Women under Socialism* (Fairfield, Gloucestershire, 2009), p. 143.
7. Hubert Stringer, *Moral Evil in London* (London, 1925), p. VII.
8. Gail Pheterson, *The Prostitution Prism* (Amsterdam, 1996), p. 7.
9. As Elizabeth Clement put it in a recent review, prostitution is 'a lens through which we see the development of the modern West'. Elizabeth Clement, 'Prostitution', in *Palgrave Advances in the Modern History of Sexuality*, eds H.G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, 2006), p. 212.
10. For earlier works which survey the global history of prostitution, see Abraham Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe*, Prostitution ed. (London, 1914) and William Sangner, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes and Effects Throughout the World* (New York, 1913). For more recent surveys, see, for instance, Vern Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Women and Prostitution: A Social History* (Buffalo, 1987); Neil Philip, *Working Girls: An Illustrated History of the Oldest Profession* (London, 1991); Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution and Society, Vol I: Primitive, Classical, and Oriental* (London, 1962); Nils Johan Ringdal, *Love for Sale: A Global History of Prostitution* (London, 2004); Nicki Roberts, *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society* (London, 1992); George Riley Scott, *Ladies of Vice: A History of Prostitution from Antiquity to the Present Day (the Story of Prostitution, Unabridged, Unexpurgated, Uncensored: A Salacious Reprinting of the Original)* (London, 1968) and Richard Symanski, *The Immoral Landscape: Female Prostitution in Western Societies* (Toronto, 1981). Texts on prostitution in the period in question also frequently feature lengthy historical introductions, tracing the pedigrees of prostitution around the world into antiquity. For a selection of these, see T.E. James, *Prostitution and the Law* (Altrincham, 1951), J.G. Mancini, *Prostitutes*

- and *Their Parasites*, trans. D.G. Thomas (London, 1963) and M. Ranga Rao and J.V. Raghavender Rao, *The Prostitutes of Hyderabad: A Study of the Socio-Cultural Conditions of the Prostitutes of Hyderabad* (Hyderabad, 1970(?)).
11. For Europe, see, for instance, Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA and London, 1990) and Jill Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Paris* (Princeton, NJ, 1985); for similar systems of regulation in other parts of Continental Europe, see Laurie Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, CA, 1995) and Mary Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915* (New Brunswick and London, 1986); Julia Roos, 'Weimar's Crisis through the Lens of Gender: The Case of Prostitution' (PhD, Carnegie Mellon University, 2001). For a selection of the vast literature on prostitution and legal and social reform in the United States, see Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865–1890* (Urbana, IL, 1985); Elizabeth Clement, *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900–1945* (Raleigh, 2006); Mark Thomas Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980); Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920* (New York and London, 1992); Marilyn Wood Hill, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870* (Berkeley, CA and London, 1993); Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 110–39; Jan MacKell, *Brothels, Bordellos and Bad Girls: Prostitution in Colorado, 1860–1930* (Albuquerque, 2004); Thomas C. Mackey, *Pursuing Johns: Criminal Law Reform, Defending Character, and New York City's Committee of Fourteen, 1920–1930* (Columbus, 2005); David J. Pivar, *Purity and Hygiene: Women, Prostitution, and the 'American Plan,' 1900–1930* (Westport, CT and London, 2002) and Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1919* (Baltimore and London, 1982). For other parts of the world, see, for instance, Donna J. Guy, *Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (London, 1991); Donna J. Guy, *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead: The Troubled Meeting of Sex, Gender, Public Health, and Progress in Latin America* (London, 2000); Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, CA, 1997) and Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago, IL and London, 1990).
 12. Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class & the State* (Cambridge, 1980); Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality 1885–1914* (London, 1995); Helen Self, *Prostitution Women and the Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London, 2003).
 13. Stefan Petrow, *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870–1914* (Oxford, 1993).
 14. Paula Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860–1914* (London, 2000); LINDA Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*; (London, 1990); Francis Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York* (New York, 1990); Daniel Walkowitz and Judith Walkowitz, 'We are not Beasts of the Field': Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts; *Feminist Studies*, 1, no 2–3 (1978) 73–106.
 15. Philip Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Britain and the Empire* (Cambridge, 2009).
 16. Mr Hopwood, 9 July 1885, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1885), pp. 200–1.
 17. *The Times*, 11 July 1885, 11C.

18. Josephine Butler to Mary Priestman, 5 November 1894, as cited in Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality, 1885–1914* (London, 1995), p. 96.
19. Alison Nielans, 'The League of Nations and the Traffic in Women', *The Shield*, 4, no. 1 (1923): 6.
20. Sheila Jeffries, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880–1930*, p. 1.
21. For conceptualizations of prostitution as sin, crime or transgression before 1885, see Amanda Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca, NY and London, 1993); Jessica Hollis, 'Prostitution in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 2 (2007): 340–5; Eric Trudgill, *Madonnas and Magdalens: The Origins and Development of Victorian Sexual Attitudes* (London, 1976); on prostitution as a social problem in medieval England, see Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York and Oxford, 1996).
22. M.J.D. Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787–1886* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 1–58. For the development of Magdalene penitentiaries and the eighteenth-century prostitute reform movement, see Edward J. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain since 1700* (Dublin, 1977), pp. 51–74; Vern Bullough, 'Prostitution and Reform in Eighteenth Century England', *Eighteenth Century Life* 9, no. 3 (1885); Sarah Lloyd, 'Pleasure's Golden Bait: Prostitution, Poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in Eighteenth-Century London', *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996): 50–70; for new waves of moral reform in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Hunt, *Governing Morals*, pp. 28–75 and Roberts, *Making English Morals*, pp. 17–95; and, for the later nineteenth century, see Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance*, pp. 74–124; Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven, CT and London, 2000), pp. 161–88 and Roberts, *Making English Morals*, pp. 59–142.
23. On Parent-Duchâtelet's influence in France, see Alain Corbin, *Les Filles De Noce*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Paris, 1978), pp. 13–53; for his influence on British policy, see Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 36–9.
24. Roberts, *Making English Morals*, pp. 96–192 and Hunt, *Governing Morals*, p. 2.
25. See Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 25–6; Francis Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of Magdalene Asylums in Ireland* (Kilkenny, 2001); Rene Koller, 'Magdalenes and Nuns: Convent Laundries in Late Victorian England', *Anglican and Episcopal History* 73, no. 3 (2004): 309–34; Deborah Logan, 'An "Outstretched Hand to the Fallen": The *Magdalen's Friend* and the Victorian Reclamation Movement', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31, no. 2 (1998): 125–41; Susan Mumm, '"Not Worse Than Other Girls": The Convent-Based Rehabilitation of Fallen Women in Victorian Britain', *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 3 (1996): 527–46; Linda Mahood, 'The Magdalene's Friend: Prostitution and Social Control in Glasgow, 1869–1890', *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, no. 1/2 (1990): 49–61.
26. For the idea of fallenness, see Anderson, *Tainted Souls*.
27. William Lecky, *A History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (New York, 1869), pp. 282–3.
28. For policies on street prostitution in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance* and Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730–1830* (London,

- 1999). Philip Howell has pointed out that systems of regulation were in place in Cambridge and Oxford during this period (Philip Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 113–51) and that some police forces may have enacted de facto kinds of spatial regulation (pp. 76–112). On the visibility of prostitution in eighteenth-century London, see Roy Porter and Lesley Hall, *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650–1950* (New Haven, CT and London, 1995), pp. 24–7.
29. Lecky, *A History of European Morals*, 282–3.
 30. Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexual Attitudes* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 49–63, 72–3; for the sentimentalized status of the prostitute, see Anderson, *Tainted Souls*, pp. 43–64; for ‘necessary evil’ and St Augustine, see Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, pp. 82–3.
 31. 1824 Vagrancy Act (5. Geo.IV) Ch. 83, s.3, 4 and 5.
 32. 1839 Metropolitan Police Act (2 & 3 Vict.) Ch. 47, s. 54 (11).
 33. 1847 Town Police Clauses Act (10 & 11 Vict.) Ch. 89.
 34. William Acton, *Prostitution* (New York, 1968).
 35. These Acts form the centrepiece of Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, which helped to open the field for serious historical research into prostitution. The CD Acts continue to preoccupy the historiography of prostitution, which includes reassessments of their importance in the British Empire and at home; see, for instance, Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 28–75 and Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London, 2003). See also Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830*, 2nd edn (London, 2000), pp. 65–86; Miles Ogborn, ‘Law and Discipline in Nineteenth Century English State Formation: The Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869’, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 6, no. 1 (1993); and F.B. Smith, ‘The Contagious Diseases Acts Reconsidered’, *Social History of Medicine* 3, no. 2 (1990). Despite their prominence in the historiography, Philip Howell argues – quite rightly, I feel – that their importance in the overall story of regulation and prostitution control more generally has been exaggerated, while their specific parameters have often been overlooked. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, p. 30.
 36. Hunt, *Governing Morals*, p. 9.
 37. For the international dimensions of the campaign, see Anne Summers, ‘Which Women? What Europe? Josephine Butler and the International Abolitionist Federation’, *History Workshop Journal* 1, no. 62 (2006): 214–31; Natalia Gerodetti, ‘“Lay Experts”: Women’s Social Purity Groups and the Politics of Sexuality in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Switzerland’, *Women’s History Review* 13, no. 4 (2004): 585–610; and Karen Offen, ‘Madame Gheacutenia Avril De Sainte-Croix, the Josephine Butler of France’, *Women’s History Review* 17, no. 2 (2008): 239–55.
 38. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*; Judith R. Walkowitz, ‘Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal* 13 (1982): 79–93; Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel J. Walkowitz, ‘“We Are Not Beasts of the Field”, 73–106; for critiques of the impact of these Acts, see Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 54–73 and Catherine Lee, ‘Policing Prostitution in Kent, 1860–1880’ (paper presented at the Social History Annual Conference, University of Exeter, 31 March – 2 April 2007).
 39. See, for instance, Bland, *Banishing the Beast*; Lesley A. Hall, *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain since 1880* (Houndsmill, 2000) and Walkowitz, ‘Male Vice and Feminist Virtue’. Even Josephine Butler herself grew concerned with the campaign’s legacy. Josephine Butler, ‘Dangers of Legislation; an Address Given to the

- Meeting of the Friends' Association for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice, May 24th, 1883', *The Shield*, June 1918.
40. Julia Ann Laite, 'The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Abolitionism, and Prostitution Law in Britain, 1915–1959', *Women's History Review* 17, no. 2 (2008): 207–23.
 41. For more on how concerns about Juvenile prostitution developed in Britain, see Alyson Brown and David Barrett, *Knowledge of Evil. Child Prostitution and Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth Century England* (Collumpton, Deron, 2002).
 42. Alfred S. Dyer, *The European Slave Trade in English Girls*, 6th edn (London, 1882), p. 5; *First and Second Report from the Select Committee on the Law Relating to the Protection of Young Girls*, 1881 and 1882, XIII, III.
 43. Summers, 'Which Women? What Europe?': 214–31.
 44. Roberts, *Making English Morals*, pp. 250–67.
 45. Hunt, *Governing Morals*, pp. 78, 94–109, 140–91.
 46. 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act (48 and 49 Victoria) ch. 69. For historical work on British age of consent legislation and the protection of the child, see Deborah Gorham, 'The "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" Re-Examined: Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in Late-Victorian England', *Victorian Studies* 21, no. 3 (1978): 253–80; Louise Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England* (London, 2000); Margaret Jackson, *The Real Facts of Life: Feminism and the Politics of Sexuality, 1840–1940* (Abingdon, Oxon, 2006) and Marilyn Moore, 'Social Control or Protection of the Child? The Debates on the Industrial Schools Acts 1857 – 1894', *Family History* 33, no. 4 (2008): 359–87.
 47. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, pp. 250.
 48. Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, pp. 98–105.
 49. W.T. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon', Part I, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 July 1885.
 50. Rebecca Jarrett, 'Untitled Autobiography (c. 1928)', *History Workshop Journal* 58, no. 1 (2004): 254–8 and Pamela J. Walker, 'The Conversion of Rebecca Jarrett', *History Workshop Journal* 58, no. 1 (2004): 247–53.
 51. *New York Times*, 7 September 1885: 11; see also 'A Demonstration in Hyde Park', *The Times*, 24 August 1885, 6B.
 52. For some of the first narrative historical accounts of the events surrounding this legislation, see Michael Pearson, *The Age of Consent: Victorian Prostitution and Its Enemies* (Newton Abbot, 1972) and Charles Terrot, *The Maiden Tribute* (London, 1959).
 53. *New York Times*, 7 September 1885.
 54. Bartley, *Prostitution*; Laite, 'The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene'; Lesley Hall, 'Hauling Down the Double Standard: Feminism, Social Purity and Sexual Science in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Gender and History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 36–56; Hunt, *Governing Morals*, p. 12. On the social purity movement in Britain and its intersection with British feminism, see Bartley, *Prostitution*; Bland, *Banishing the Beast*; Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance*, pp. 74–124; Hall, 'Hauling Down the Double Standard'; Hall, *Sex, Gender and Social Change*, pp. 30–47; Hunt, *Governing Morals*; Jackson, *The Real Facts of Life*; Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality, 1880–1930* (London, 1985); Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage* (Princeton, NJ, 1990); Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes*; Paul McHugh, *Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform* (London, 1980); Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*, pp. 103–209; Edward Mynott, 'Purity, Prostitution and Politics: Social Purity in Manchester, 1880–1900' (PhD, University of Manchester, 1995); M.J.D. Roberts, 'Feminism and the State in Later Victorian England', *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 1 (1995); Roberts, *Making English Morals*, pp. 245–90; Walkowitz,

- Prostitution and Victorian Society*, pp. 246–56; Walkowitz, ‘Male Vice and Feminist Virtue’ and Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London, 1981), ch. 5.
55. Rachel Schreiber, ‘Before Their Makers and Their Judges: Prostitutes and White Slaves in the Political Cartoons of the “Masses” (New York, 1911–1917)’, *Feminist Studies* 35, no. 1 (2009): 163–4. For contemporary British socialist and libertarian critiques, see, for instance, George Bernard Shaw, ‘The Root of the White Slave Traffic’, *The Awakener*, November 1912: 7–8; A. Neil Lyons, *White Slaves and Nasty Nonsense* (London, 1912); and Bertrand Russell, ‘The Recrudescence of Puritanism’, in *Sceptical Essays* (London, 1928).
 56. *Evening Standard* as cited in *New York Times*, 7 September 1885: 11.
 57. As cited in Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, p. 107.
 58. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 131.
 59. *Ibid.*
 60. Sue Morgan, ‘“Wild Oats or Acorns?” Social Purity, Sexual Politics and the Response of the Late-Victorian Church’, *Journal of Religious History* 31, no. 2 (2007): 151–68.
 61. For the American reform tradition, progressivism and prostitution see, for instance, Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution*; Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition: With a New Preface* (Chicago, IL, 1990) and Pivar, *Purity and Hygiene*.
 62. Susan D. Pennybacker, *A Vision for London, 1889–1914: Labour, Everyday Life and the LCC Experiment* (London and New York, 1995) and Chris Waters, ‘Progressives, Puritans, and the Cultural Politics of the Council, 1889–1914’, in *Politics and the People of London: The London County Council 1889–1965*, ed. Andrew Saint (London, 1989), pp. 49–70.
 63. Philip Howell posits that there was much room for municipal corruption in the administration of prostitution law (Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, p. 92), while Timothy Gilfoyle makes a more explicit case for its existence in turn-of-the-century New York City (Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, pp. 119–42).
 64. See Stephen Inwood, ‘Policing London’s Morals: The Metropolitan Police and Popular Culture, 1829–1850’, *London Journal* 15, no. 2 (1990): 129–46 and Stefan Petrow, *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870–1914* (Oxford, 1994).
 65. Edward Bradford to Home Office, ‘Memorandum, Prostitutes in the Street’, 1 November 1901, London, N.A., HO 45/10123/B13517.
 66. Edward Bradford to an Assistant Undersecretary of State (Ernley Blackwell), 15 July 1909, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1287.
 67. Charles Thompson Ritchie to City of Westminster Deputation, 17 December 1901, London, N.A., HO 45/10123/B13517; Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B358, 85–7.
 68. Cecil Chapman, *The Poor Man’s Court of Justice: Twenty-Five Years as a Metropolitan Magistrate* (London, 1925), p. 12.
 69. Jennifer Davis, ‘A Poor Man’s System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century’, *The Historical Journal* 27, no. 2 (1984): 13. Anne Logan’s recent work on female justices in Britain also highlights how important a role the magistrature played in the administration of criminal justice. Anne Logan, ‘Professionalism and the Impact of England’s First Women Justices, 1920–1950’, *Historical Journal* 49, no. 3 (2006): 833–50; see also Anne Logan, *Feminism and Criminal Justice: An Historical Perspective* (London, 2008).

70. For an analysis of the 'Maiden Tribute' narrative, see Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London, 1992), pp. 81–134.
71. For an analysis of some of these later narratives, see Adrian Bingham, *Family Newspapers? Sex, Private Life, and the British Popular Press, 1918–1978* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 159–200.
72. Ronald Weitzer, 'Legalizing Prostitution: Morality Politics in Western Australia', *British Journal of Criminology* 49 (2009): 88–105; Paul W. Werth, 'Through the Prison of Prostitution: State, Society and Power', *Social History* 19, no. 1 (1994): 1–15.
73. Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, p. 15.
74. Simon Watney, as cited by Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 121.
75. John Lea, *Crime and Modernity: Continuities in Left Realist Criminology* (London, 2002), p. 16.
76. Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 168–70; Petrow, *Policing Morals*, p. 146; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, pp. 251–2.
77. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, CA, 1984), p. xxiv.
78. Lea, *Crime and Modernity*, p. 48.
79. Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, pp. 76–165.
80. *Ibid.*
81. 'The city and the sexual,' writes Matt Houlbrook, 'appear culturally and conceptually inseparable.' Matt Houlbrook, 'Cities', in H.G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook, p. 133.
82. *The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales, 1885–1930*.
83. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, 92–4.
84. Stefan Slater argues that the police pursued a policy of containment in London in this period, but offers very little evidence to support this. Stefan Slater, 'Containment : Managing Street Prostitution in London, 1918–1959', *Journal of British Studies* 49 no. 2 (2010): 332–57.
85. On the regulatory outcomes of the criminal law, see, for instance, Nicola Lacey, 'Criminalization as Regulation: The Role of the Criminal Law', in *Regulating Law*, ed. Christine Parker et al. (Oxford, 2004), pp. 144–68.
86. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 4–5.
87. Prostitution is frequently compared to abuses like slavery and domestic violence on the one hand, and sexualities like homosexuality on the other; however, what distinguishes it fundamentally is the fact that it involves an exchange of money. For more on the alternative economy of prostitution, see John Meadowcroft, 'Prostitution', in *Prohibitions*, ed. John Meadowcroft (London, 2008), pp. 178–95.
88. *Ibid.*, p. xix.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 27.
91. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, 1852*. Marx Engels Internet Archive. www.marxists.org (6 November 2004).
92. For some helpful words of warning and encouragement in the use of legal sources for histories of sexuality, see Matt Cook, 'Law', in H.G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook, pp. 64–86.
93. For work on prostitution and venereal disease in Britain and the empire, see Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics* and Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*.

1 Selling Sex: Women, Work and Prostitution

1. See, for instance, *The Times*, 15 December 1880, 11A; 13 December 1881, 10A; 2 May 1884, 4D.
2. A.L. Harvey, 'Prostitution in Cardiff in 1908', *Archives* 25, no. 103 (2000): 117–22.
3. Jerry White, *London in the Nineteenth Century: A Human Awful Wonder of God* (London, 2007), pp. 115–20; David Englander, *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain, 1838–1918* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 33–50.
4. For Harvey see London, N.A., MEPO 3/197; for Thompson see Testimony of Nellie Thompson, 16 April 1885, Mary Jeffries Trial Transcript, London, N.A., HO 45/46/X124; for Hines see London, N.A., MEPO 3/1707.
5. *Daily Mail* and *Evening News*, 10–20 November 1888.
6. The very recently published memoir of Barbara Tate, who worked as a maid in 1940s Soho, provides another rare glimpse into the experiences of women selling sex and working in the sex industry in this period. Barbara Tate, *West End Girls* (London, 2010).
7. For more on crime writing and ghost-writing, see M. Houlbrook, 'Commodifying the Self Within: Crook Life Stories in Interwar Britain', unpublished paper read before the North American Conference on British Studies, Baltimore, 2010.
8. Marthe Watts, *The Men in My Life* (London, 1960).
9. These problems are also coupled with the fact that oral history evidence is largely unavailable: if women had worked as prostitutes as late in my time period as in the 1950s at the age of 25–30, it is unlikely that many would still be alive today and even less likely that I would be able to locate them for interview.
10. E.M. Turner, 'Review of *Downward Paths*', *The Shield*, July 1916: 211.
11. Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 53, as cited by Timothy J. Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity', *The American Historical Journal* 104, no. 1 (1999): 121.
12. Testimony of Mary Gordon, 1 December 1919, 'Committee of Enquiry into the State and Sexual Morality Minutes of Evidence', Records of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (hereafter Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records), London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
13. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 10th Anniversary Edition ed. (New York, 1999): 163–80; Denise Riley, *Am I That Name? Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (Basingstoke, 1988); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (Harmondsworth, 1981). For a gendered look at labelling theory, see Edwin M. Schur, *Labeling Women Deviant: Gender, Stigma, and Social Control* (Philadelphia, PA, 1983).
14. Sheila Jeffreys, *The Idea of Prostitution* (Melbourne, 1997).
15. See the Testimony of W.H.J. Broderick, 1 December 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B. See also Matt Houlbrook, '"The Man with the Powder Puff" In Interwar London', *Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (2007); Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis* (Chicago, IL, 2005): 170; Jeffrey Weeks, 'Inverts, Perverts, and Mary Anns: Male Prostitution and the Regulation of Homosexuality in England in the Nineteenth Century', in *Hidden from History*, eds Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Jr. Chauncey (New York, 1990), pp. 195–211; D. Romesburg, '"Wouldn't a Boy Do?" Placing Early Twentieth-Century Male Youth Sex Work into Histories of Sexuality', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 18, no. 3 (2009): 367–92.
16. Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 94–115; Mahood, *The Magdalenes*, pp. 7–10.

17. Clement, *Love for Sale*.
18. Mahood, *The Magdalenes*, p. 12.
19. Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 32. For further discussion of moral reformers' estimates, see Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1994), p. 73.
20. See the *Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner*.
21. For various discussions of the relationship between police statistics and actual crime rates see Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, p. 86 and Howard Taylor, 'Rationing Crime: The Political Economy of Criminal Statistics since the 1850s', *Economic History Review* LI, no. 3 (1998): 569–90.
22. This observation was also made by more contemporary observers: see Mrs C. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', in *The New Survey of London Life and Labour*, ed. Hubert Llewellyn Smith (London, 1935), pp. 288–96; Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (Basingstoke, 2006), p. 110. These writers use arrest statistics as their evidence to support this decline.
23. Hera Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception, 1800–1975* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 79, 198. Philip Howell also accepts this real fall in prostitution; Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 79–80.
24. Lesley A. Hall, *Hidden Anxieties: Male Sexuality, 1900–1950* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 51–3.
25. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 298.
26. H. Ward et al., 'Who Pays for Sex? An Analysis of the Increasing Prevalence of Female Commercial Sex Contacts among Men in Britain', *Sexually Transmitted Infections* 81, no. 6 (2005): 468.
27. G.P. Merrick, *Work among the Fallen as Seen from the Prison Cell* (London, n.d. [c. 1891]), pp. 22–5.
28. Hermann Mannheim, *Social Aspects of Crime in England between the Wars* (London, 1940), pp. 92–3, 266.
29. See, for instance, *First report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes, 1884–85* [C.4402] [C.4402-I] [C.4402-II], pp. 13, 167.
30. Merrick, *Work among the Fallen*, pp. 31, 41; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 261, n. 218.
31. Merrick, *Work among the Fallen*, p. 32.
32. Professor Burt's 1926 London study, as cited by Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 307.
33. Thomas Holmes, *Pictures and Problems from London's Police Courts* (London, 1900), pp. 172–3.
34. W.T. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon', Part II, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 July 1885.
35. Pearson, *The Age of Consent*, p. 12.
36. W.T. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon', Part III, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 July 1885.
37. Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, trans. Martin Milligan (Moscow, 1959), 15, 10.
38. Bernard Shaw, 'White Slave Traffic', pp. 7–8.
39. Francis Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York* (New York, 1980), p. 215. On the workhouse, see Maria Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 71–5 and Mary Higgs, *Glimpses into the Abyss* (London, 1906), pp. 262–3.

40. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 19.
41. Gillian Ball, 'Practical Religion: A Study of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women, 1884–1914' (Leicester, 1987), p. 104; Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex: Volume 6: Sex in Relation to Society* (Philadelphia, PA, 1920), p. 294; and Arthur Sherwell, *Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast* (London, 1892), chapter 5.
42. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', pp. 302–3.
43. This was one of what Anderson calls the 'predelineated narratives' of 'fallenness'; Anderson, *Tainted Souls*, p. 12.
44. Stringer, *Moral Evil*, pp. 111–13.
45. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: Volume IV: Those Who Will Not Work* (London, 1967), p. 224.
46. Report of Inspector Edmund Reid, H Division, 25 September 1888, London, N.A., MEPO 3/140.
47. Higgs, *Glimpses*, pp. 196–231.
48. See various lengthy reports in 'The Lambeth Murders', London, N.A., MEPO 3/144.
49. Merrick, *Work among the Fallen*, p. 18; Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, p. 294; Rosalind Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets: A Sociological Study of the Common Prostitute* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1955), p. 216.
50. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 170.
51. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, p. 288; see also Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History': 135–37; Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*.
52. Constance Tite, 'Is Rescue Work a Failure?', *The Shield*, 3, no. 3 (October 1916): 169.
53. See, for instance, Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 45–69; Paula Bartley, 'Preventing Prostitution: The Ladies' Association for the Care and Protection of Young Girls in Birmingham, 1887–1914', *Women's History Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 49–54; Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish*, passim; Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society*, pp. 84–5.
54. Stringer, *Moral Evil*, p. 100; for an overview of rescue homes and their operations in London, see pp. 138–63.
55. *Third Annual Report of the National Vigilance Association*, 1888, London, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), A/FWA/C/D150/1.
56. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 233. For more on attitudes to clients, see various references in Tate, *West End Girls*.
57. Stringer, *Moral Evil*, p. 168; Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, pp. 240–52; Sangner, *History of Prostitution*, p. 319; Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 165. See also Mariana Valverde, 'The Love of Finery: Fashion and the Fallen Woman in Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse', *Victorian Studies* 32, no. 2 (1989).
58. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 311.
59. Stringer, *Moral Evil*, p. 168.
60. On women, sexuality and feeble-mindedness, see Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 119–54; on contemporary psychology, see T. Agoston, 'Some Psychological Aspects of Prostitution: The Pseudo-Personality', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 26 (1945); Edward Glover, 'The Abnormality of Prostitution', in *Women*, ed. A.M. Kritch (New York, 1953); Edward Glover, *The Psychopathology of Prostitution* (London, 1957).
61. As cited in Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', pp. 308, 311.
62. Stringer, *Moral Evil*, p. 168. This was in keeping with changing attitudes toward crime in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain; see Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 256.

63. Lilian Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard: Reflections on the Struggles and Achievements of Thirty Years in the Metropolitan Police* (London, 1952), pp. 88–9.
64. Mary Chesterton, *Women of the Underworld* (London, 1928), p. 171.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 156; Maude Royden, ed., *Downward Paths: An Inquiry into the Causes Which Contribute to the Making of the Prostitute* (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd, 1916), pp. 34–5, 65–9.
66. Constance Tite, 'Is Rescue Work a Failure?': 169.
67. 'Selections from the Report of the COPEC Commission', *The Shield*, 1924, 4, 4: 163.
68. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 35.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
70. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, London School of Economics and Political Sciences (LSE) Archives, B355, 39.
71. Anonymous, *My Secret Life* (London, 1995), p. 11.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B371, 140–1.
74. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B355, 39.
75. Mary Gordon, *Penal Discipline* (London, 1922), p. 85.
76. Martin A. Monto, 'Prostitutes' Customers: Motives and Misconceptions', in *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald Weitzer (New York, 2010), p. 242.
77. Anonymous, *My Secret Life*, pp. 1,109, 1,290.
78. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, pp. 59–60.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–4.
81. Anonymous, *My Secret Life*.
82. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B355, 39.
83. 'Observations on Charles Peneau', 18 May 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
84. Statement of Lydia Rhodda Harvey, 13 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
85. Basil E. Wedmore Testimony, 27 January 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
86. Hubert Llewellyn Smith and London School of Economics, *The New Survey of London Life and Labour* (London, 1930), p. 136.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 115–16.
88. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 231.
89. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 84.
90. Testimony of PC Scarborough and PC Anderson, 8 November 1954 and Police Commissioner Nott-Bower, 9 November 1954 to the Wolfenden Committee, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
91. Holmes, *Pictures and Problems*, p. 162; Industrial Schools Amendment Act, 1880 (43 & 44 Vic, ch. 15); Children's Act, 1908 (8 Edw.7, ch. 67).
92. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 77.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–8; Watts, *The Men in My Life*, pp. 141–2.
95. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, pp. 77–8.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
97. Sidney Webb, 'The Social and Economic Causes of Vice', in *The Nation's Morals* (London, 1925), pp. 206–18.

98. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 99.
 99. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

2 Buying Sex: Men and the Marketplace

1. Wilkinson, p. 76.
2. See *Third Annual Report of the National Vigilance Association*, 1888, London, LMA, A/FWA/C/D150/1. For attitudes toward clients in the same period in the United States, see Mackey, *Pursuing Johns*.
3. Testimony of Nellie Thompson, 16 April 1885, Mary Jeffries Trial Transcript, London, N.A., HO 45/46/X124.
4. Minutes of meeting between Commander Robertson, Superintendent Bather and C.H. Rolph, 30 July 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2967.
5. Mass-Observation, 'Little Kinsey: Mass-Observation's Sex Survey of 1948', in *Sex Surveyed: From Mass-Observation's Little Kinsey to the National Survey and the Hite Reports*, ed. Liz Stanley (London, 1995), p. 143.
6. For the purchase of sex by Oxbridge undergraduates, see Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 129–35 and Steve Humphries, *A Secret World of Sex: Forbidden Fruit: The British Experience 1900–1950* (London, 1988), pp. 122–4.
7. T.C.N Gibbens, 'The Clients of Prostitutes', *The Alison Neilans Memorial Lecture VI* (London: Josephine Butler Society, 1962), p. 3.
8. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 81.
9. Hall, *Hidden Anxieties*, 49.
10. See, for instance, Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B371, 138–40 and B358, 85–7; Maria Luddy, 'An Outcast Community: The Wrens of the Curragh', *Women's History Review* 1, nos 341–55 (1993): 341–55.
11. Smith, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts': 203–4.
12. Methuen to Bradford, 15 July 1897, London, N.A., MEPO 2/5815.
13. Report of A Division, 22 July 1897, London, N.A., MEPO 2/5815.
14. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B358, 85–7.
15. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B358, 371 138–40; Summary Report of District Superintendents, 24 June 1909, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1287.
16. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Part I.
17. Cristobel Pankhurst, *The Great Scourge and How to End It* (1913).
18. Arthur J. Engel, 'Immoral Intentions: The University of Oxford and the Problem of Prostitution, 1827–1914', *Victorian Studies* 23, no. 1 (1979): 79–107; Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, 132–3.
19. Bradford memorandum to Home Office, 27 November 1901, London, N.A., HO 45/10123/B13517.
20. Testimony of Inspector Harburn, 10 March 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
21. Gibbens, 'The Clients of Prostitutes': 5.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*: 4–5.
24. *Ibid.*: 8.
25. Lucy Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War', *Gender and History* 17, no. 1 (2005): 29–61.

26. Transcript of the trial of Rou Sharu, 5 December 1932, London, N.A., CRIM 1/626.
27. Sonia O. Rose, 'Girls and GIs: Race, Sex and Diplomacy in Second World War Britain', *International History Review* 19 (1997): 1, 147–77.
28. Hall, *Hidden Anxieties*, pp. 52–3.
29. Raphael Samuel, *East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding* (London: 1981), pp. 110–11.
30. Humphries, *A Secret World of Sex*, pp. 122–4.
31. Gibbens, 'The Clients of Prostitutes': 7.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Samuel, *East End Underworld*, pp. 111, 153.
34. Ian Gibson, *The Erotomaniac: The Secret Life of Henry Spencer Ashbee* (London, 2002); Mason, *Victorian Sexuality*, pp. 46–7.
35. Anonymous, *My Secret Life*, pp. 1,772–8, 1,871–3, 1,892, 2,034–7, 2,280–1.
36. Taylor Croft, *The Cloven Hoof: A Study of Contemporary London Vice* (London, 1932), p. 17.
37. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 223.
38. See, for instance, Arnold L. Miller, 'West End Jungle' (UK, 1961).
39. Gibbens, 'The Clients of Prostitutes': 10.
40. Gibbens, 'The Clients of Prostitutes': 10.
41. Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution and Society, Vol III: Modern Sexuality* (London, 1968), p. 267; James, *Prostitution and the Law*, p. 123.
42. Gibbens, 'The Clients of Prostitutes': 5.
43. *Ibid.*: 6.
44. Lesley Hall, 'Impotent Ghosts from No Man's Land, Flapper's Boyfriends, or Crypto-Patriarchs? Men, Sex and Social Change in 1920s Britain', *Social History* 21, no. 1 (1996): 60–1.
45. Wilkinson, p. 90.
46. Gibbens, 'The Clients of Prostitutes': 3.
47. 'Gamble's Case', *Report of the Royal Commission on the Duties of the Metropolitan Police* (London, 1906), [hereafter *Duties of the Met. Police*]: 392–3.
48. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 153.
49. *The Times*, 22 May 1916, 3B.
50. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 88.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–7.
52. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 153.
53. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 91.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
56. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, pp. 104, 312.
57. Hall, 'Impotent Ghosts': 59.
58. Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 42; Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History': 130–1.
59. C.H. Rolph, 'The Oldest Problem', *The New Statesmen and Nation*, 17 May 1947.

3 The Crusade Begins : The Criminal Law Amendment Act and London's 'Brothels' before the First World War

1. Mary Jeffries Trial Transcript, London, N.A., HO 45/46/X124. The servant's account of rape is recounted in Pearson, *The Age of Consent*, p. 108.
2. Testimony of Elizabeth Bromwich and George Bellchambers, 2 April 1885, Mary Jeffries Trial Transcript, London, N.A., HO 45/46/X124.

3. *The Times*, 6 May 1885, 12B.
4. *The Times*, 22 May 1885, 6C.
5. See, for instance, E.J. Burford, *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels C. 100–1675* (London, 1976); Tim Harris, 'The Bawdy House Riots of 1668', *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 3 (1986): 537–56; Fergus Linnane, *Madams: Bawds and Brothel-Keepers of London* (Thrupp, 2005); G.L. Simons, *A Place for Pleasure: The History of the Brothel* (Lewes, 1975).
6. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Part I.
7. Both Stead and Dyer described the doors of brothels which were easy to enter by, but difficult to exit through. Dyer, *The European Slave Trade in English Girls*, p. 5 and Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Part III.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 4. This is also reminiscent of the 'dress lodger' figure discussed in Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, pp. 228–32, a young woman who is followed about the streets by her madam, who has clothed her and holds her in debt bondage.
9. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Part II.
10. 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act (48 and 49 Victoria, c.69) s.13.
11. 1751 Disorderly Houses Act (25 Geo. II, c. 36) s. 5 and 25.
12. Petrow, *Policing Morals*, pp. 147–8.
13. Correspondence regarding Common Lodging Houses, 1888, London, N.A., HO 45/9798/B5239; correspondence regarding police procedure for brothel prosecution, 1889, London, N.A., MEPO 2/201; and correspondence regarding the application of the new Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1887–8, London, N.A., HO 45/9678/A47459.
14. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance*, p. 154. For a heroic retelling of Charrington's activities, see Stead, 'The truth about our secret commission', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 July 1885, and for a more disparaging account see Metropolitan Police Commissioner Charles Warren to the Secretary of State, 25 October 1888, London, N.A., HO 45/9798/B5239.
15. From London, N.A., HO 45/21766.
16. *The Times*, 8 December 1887, 3F.
17. She did not. Mary Jeffries lived into her nineties, dying in 1907. Terrot, *The Maiden Tribute*, p. 80.
18. Petrow, *Policing Morals*, pp. 147–53; see also correspondence regarding the application of the new Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1887–8, London, N.A., HO 45/9678/A47459.
19. Charles Warren to Secretary of State, 31 October 1887, London, N.A., HO 45/9678/A47459; Charles Thompson Ritchie to City of Westminster Deputation, 17 December 1901, London, N.A., HO 45/10123/B13517; Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B358, 85–7.
20. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 76–112.
21. Vestry of St James, Piccadilly to Home Office, 28 October 1887, London, N.A., HO 45/9678/A47459; Vestry of Ratcliffe to Home Secretary, 25 July 1887, London, N.A., HO 45/9678/A47459.
22. James Monro to Home Office, 16 February 1889, London, N.A., MEPO 2/209.
23. Petrow, *Policing Morals*, p. 153.
24. 'Comparative Return', n.d., c. August 1914, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
25. *Singleton v. Ellison* (1895) 59 JP 119.
26. *Durose v. Wilson* as cited by *Caldwell v. Leech* (1911–13) ER Rep 703.
27. *Annual reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner; Judicial Statistics of England and Wales*.

28. Corbin, *Women for Hire*; Harsin, *Policing Prostitution*; Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy*.
29. In William Acton's 1857 survey (in which he relied on police evidence), he found that the vast majority of 'brothels' were places 'where prostitutes lodge', while another handful were places 'where prostitutes resort'. William Acton, *Prostitution Considered in Its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects* (London, 1857), p. 16. By the second edition of the book, little had changed in these statistics.
30. The other thirty per cent were largely early examples of massage parlours.
31. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B354, 122–5; Reports of Vine Street Station, C Division, 11 January 1889, 22 April 1890, 25 September 1894, and 24 September 1896, London, N.A., MEPO 2/209.
32. Report of Vine Street Station, 22 March 1906, London, N.A., MEPO 2/429.
33. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 200.
34. Compiled Police Court reports, *The Times*, 1885–1900; *The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales*, 1893–1913.
35. *The Times*, 9 November 1885, 13C and Report of C Division, 10 November 1885, London, N.A., MEPO 2/8833.
36. *First Report of Her Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the housing of the working classes*, 1884–5, p. 184.
37. Compiled Police Court reports, *The Times*, 1885–1900.
38. *The Times*, 25 October 1887, 3C.
39. Compiled Police Court reports, *The Times*, 1885–1930; Samuel, *East End Underworld*, p. 110.
40. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 11 January 1889, London, N.A., MEPO 2/209.
41. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 22 April 1890, London, N.A., MEPO 2/209.
42. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 1 October 1894, London, N.A., MEPO 2/209.
43. Mary Gordon testimony, 13 January 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
44. *The Times*, 3 March 1898, 14C.
45. Testimony of Nellie Thompson, 16 April 1885, Mary Jeffries Trial Transcript, London, N.A., HO 45/46/X124.
46. *News of the World*, 23 June 1913, press clipping in London, N.A., HO 45/24649.
47. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 76–112.
48. For 'the Mint' see *First Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes*, 1884–85, pp. 274–5.
49. Comm. Charles Warren to Secretary of State, 31 October 1887, London, N.A., HO 45/9678/A47459.
50. Warren to an unnamed Assistant Undersecretary of State, 25 October 1888, London, N.A., HO 45/9798/B5239.
51. Chapman claims that the Southwark local council closed down 700 brothels between the years 1892 and 1906, while Rev. Cardwell of Soho recalls that, beginning in the same year, there was a major crackdown on Soho brothels. Chapman, *Poor Man's Court*, p. 92; Rev. Joseph Cardwell, *20 Years in Soho* (1895), p. 42.
52. Commissioner Henry and others, comments on letter from Westminster City Council, 3 June 1905, London, N.A., MEPO 2/8833.
53. St Anne's Vestry to Commissioner of Police, 9 December 1897, London, N.A., MEPO 2/429.

54. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 26 September 1902, London, N.A., MEPO 2/429.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Durose v. Wilson* (1907) 71 JP 263.
58. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 22 March 1906, London, N.A., MEPO 2/429.
59. See, for instance, Minutes of the St Pancras Borough Council Deputation to Home Secretary, 18 May 1905, London, N.A., MEPO 2/8833; 'Disorderly Houses Bill', 1911, in London, N.A., HO 45/10644/208926.
60. 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act (2 & 3 Geo. V, c. 20).
61. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B354, 199.
62. *Ibid.*
63. For rent control, see Englander, *Landlord and Tenant*, p. xvIII.
64. Cardwell, *20 Years in Soho*, p. 157.
65. For tenant protest against high rents and so forth, see Englander, *Landlord and Tenant*, pp. 85–161; Mary Chesterton, *I Lived in a Slum* (London, 1936), p. 205.
66. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 30.
67. 1880 Industrial Schools Amendment Act (43 and 44 Vic, ch. 15); 1908 Children Act (8 Edw 7, ch. 67).
68. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 11 September 1906, London, N.A., MEPO 2/429; Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B354, 199.
69. Hopwood, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*.
70. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 11 September 1906, London, N.A., MEPO 2/429.
71. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 12 October 1906, London, N.A., MEPO 2/429.
72. LCC deputation to Ritchie, 31 March 1892, London, N.A., HO 45/9798/B5239; Commissioner Henry Memorandum, 7 March 1913, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1287.
73. Summary Report of District Superintendents, 11 June 1909, London, N.A., MEPO, 2/1287.
74. Report of Blackheath Station, R Division, Woolwich, 6 January 1908, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1266.
75. Summary Report of District Superintendents, 24 June 1909, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1287.
76. Report of R Division, 7 September 1906, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1086.
77. *London Figaro*, c. April 1897, press clipping in London, N.A., MEPO 2/460.
78. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 24 October 1898, London, N.A., MEPO 2/460.
79. See, for instance, *The Times*, Monday 17 October 1898, 9A; 17 April 1899, 4E; 13 January 1900, 3F; Friday 5 October 1900, 2G; 17 October 1903, 4D; 30 August 1917, 3E.
80. Report of Vine Street Station, C Division, 24 October 1898, London, MEPO 2/460.
81. Report of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner on 'Pelican Advertisements', 7 December 1917, London, N.A., MEPO 2/460.
82. The rent for the premises was £280 a year, meaning she potentially cleared over £1,000 in profit.

83. *The Times*, 17 October 1903, 4D.
84. *The Times*, 17 April 1899, 4E.
85. *The Times*, Saturday 29 November 1913, 4F.
86. Commissioner Henry, Comments, 7 April 1897, London, N.A., MEPO 2/460.
87. *The Times*, 21 July 1913, 3D.
88. *Ibid.*
89. 'Massage Establishments: Infringements', London, LMA, LCC/PC/MASS/1/1 and 'Massage establishments: registrations refused', London, LMA, LCC/PC/MASS/1/9.
90. *The Times*, 18 March 1914, 10B; *The Times*, 9 August 1915, 3E; see Press cuttings on the massage establishment scandals; papers of the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy, Wellcome Library Archive, 1894 and 1895, SA/CSP/D.1/1.

4 Women in Public and Public Women: Controlling Street Prostitution 1887–1914

1. Walkowitz reports Cass's occupation as milliner, but contemporary accounts all describe her as a dressmaker. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 128.
2. Inquiry into the arrest of Miss Cass, London, N.A., HO 144/472/X15239.
3. See, for instance, the *Evening Standard*, 13 and 22 July 1887; 'The Arrest of Miss Cass', House of Commons, *The Times*, 7 July 1887, 3B.
4. Charles Warren to Secretary of State, 8 July 1887, London, N.A., HO 144/472/X15239.
5. *Evening Standard*, 22 July 1887; HO 144/472/X15239.
6. Inquiry into the arrest of Miss Cass, London, N.A., HO 144/472/X15239.
7. Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Going Public: Shopping, Street Harassment, and Streetwalking in Late Victorian London', *Representations* 62, no. Spring (1998).
8. Nead, *Victorian Babylon*; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 41–80.
9. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 45–50; Walkowitz, 'Going Public': 10–12.
10. Bernhard Rieger and Martin Daunton (eds), 'Introduction', in *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the Late-Victorian Era to World War II* (Oxford, 2001), p. 6.
11. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 50–2; Walkowitz, 'Going Public': 10–12.
12. Walkowitz, 'Going Public': 8–9.
13. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' Part IV, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 July 1885.
14. Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, pp. 95–123; Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*, pp. 128–9.
15. Clergy of St Martins in the Fields to Home Office, 3 July 1896; City of Westminster Borough Council to Secretary of State, 12 November 1901 in London, N.A., HO 45/10123/B13517; Petrow, *Policing Morals*, pp. 129–46.
16. 1824 Vagrancy Act (5. Geo. IV, c 83) s.3,4, and 5.
17. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 38.
18. 1824 Vagrancy Act.
19. 1839 Metropolitan Police Act (2 & 3 Victoria, c. 47) s. 54 (11).
20. Source: *The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales*, 1885–1930.
21. 1847 Town Police Clauses Act (10 & 11 Vict. c. 89).
22. This remained a stipulation of the law until the 2003 Sexual Offences Act that made the 1959 Street Offences Act gender neutral. 2003 Sexual Offences Act (c. 42).
23. Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, pp. 122–8, 132–3; Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton and Oxford, 2000), pp. 3–15.
24. See London, N.A., HO 144/472/X15239A.

25. Police Orders, issued by Charles Warren, 19 July 1888, London, N.A., HO 45/9964/X15663.
26. Keith Surridge, 'Warren, Sir Charles (1840–1927)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004); online edn, May 2006 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36753>, accessed 14 April 2010).
27. J. Wotner and Sons, Police Solicitors, to James Monro, 14 January 1889, London, N.A., MEPO 2/209.
28. Bradford to Home Office, 26 October 1893, London, N.A., HO 45/10123/B13517.
29. See *The Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner*.
30. Petrow, *Policing Morals*, pp. 137–9.
31. See, for instance, Deputation of Westminster City Council to Home Secretary, 17 December 1901, London, N.A., MEPO 2/8835.
32. *Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner*, 1900–3. Katherine Prior, 'Bradford, Sir Edward Ridley Colborne, first baronet (1836–1911)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32025>, accessed 14 April 2010).
33. F.E.C. Gregory, 'Henry, Sir Edward Richard, baronet (1850–1931)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33822>, accessed 14 April 2010).
34. Petrow, *Policing Morals*, p. 130.
35. *Report of the Street Offences Committee* (London, 1928), p. 15.
36. *Duties of the Met. Police* (London, 1906), Police Return C.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Unpublished police statistics, 1914–1916, 1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
39. *Duties of the Met. Police* (1906), Police Return C.
40. *Duval v. Denman* (1901) 65 J.P. 297.
41. See police orders GO Sec XX paragraphs 25 and 29 and various letters to and from Henry, January 1911, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1419.
42. F.W. (unknown official), 15 September 1911, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1419.
43. *Duties of the Met. Police, minutes of evidence* (London, 1906), pp. 123, 221.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 412.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 424.
46. *Duties of the Met. Police* (London, 1906), pp. 388–410.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 396.
48. Petrow, *Policing Morals*, p. 146.
49. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation*, pp. 76–112.
50. Bradford Memorandum, 18 December 1901, London, N.A., MEPO 2/8835.
51. Prostitution in London appears to have a long history of defying spatial concentration. Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, pp. 52–75.
52. *Duties of the Met. Police*, 1906, Police Return C.
53. 754 per square mile; see *Annual Report of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner*, 1910.
54. The routes and tactics of street prostitutes to avoid police were almost ubiquitously remarked upon by police officers who reported on their beats, but see, for instance, E Division Report, 20 December 1900, London, N.A., MEPO 2/293 and C Division Report, 31 May 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
55. C Division Report, 18 May 1910, N.A., MEPO 3/195.
56. See London, N.A., MEPO 2/1714.
57. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 319. For instance, while Matt Houlbrook finds that there were an average of thirty-three incidents of gross indecency

- between men in the Park by the 1930s, the vast majority remained offences committed by those selling (and occasionally those seeking) heterosexual mercenary sex. Houlbrook, *Queer London*, p. 55.
58. *Duties of the Met. Police*, 1906, Police Return C.
 59. Summary of police reports on common lodging houses, 19 March 1913, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1287.
 60. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B361, 241.
 61. Jerry White, *London in the Twentieth Century: A City and Its People* (London, 2001), p. 310.
 62. *Duties of the Met. Police*, 1906, Police Return C.
 63. Samuel, *East End Underworld*, p. 200.
 64. *Duties of the Met. Police*, pp. 388–410.
 65. *Ibid.*
 66. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B371, pp. 160–1.
 67. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B363, 146–9.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. *Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner*; Petrow, *Policing Morals*, p. 132.
 71. *Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner*, 1885–1914.
 72. Neville Rolphe, ‘Sex-Delinquency’, pp. 322–4.
 73. Report of E Division, 25 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998; Summary of Superintendent Reports, 24 December 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1434.
 74. ‘Prostitution in the Streets’, Edward Bradford to the Home Office, 12 November 1901, London, N.A., MEPO 2/8835.
 75. Testimony of E. Basil Wedmore, 27 January 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records, London, The Women’s Library, 3AMS.
 76. J. Wotner and Sons, Police Solicitors, to Commissioner, 8 December 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1419.
 77. Higgs, *Glimpses*, p. 103.
 78. Wyles reported that there was a great deal of violence between women who competed for the best beats. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, pp. 77–8.
 79. Robert Machray, *The Night Side of London* (Philadelphia, PA, 1902), pp. 17–18.
 80. See various reports from London, N.A., MEPO, 3/197.
 81. Mary Costin Testimony, 27 January 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records, London, The Women’s Library, 3AMS/B.
 82. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, p. 76; Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, pp. 88–9. This was, of course, not the only way in which public lavatories became sexually transgressive spaces; see Houlbrook, *Queer London*, pp. 59–64.
 83. Mr Elton to the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, 22 February 1892, London, N.A., MEPO 2/293.
 84. Stocker and Thompson to the Commissioner of Police, 22 February 1892; Report of E Division, 5 April 1892, London, N.A., MEPO 2/293.
 85. H.V. Morton, *The Nights of London* (London, 1926), p. 2.
 86. For the role that street lighting, or the lack thereof, played in the construction and determination of queer sexual and social space in twentieth-century London, see Houlbrook, *Queer London*, pp. 49, 61.

5 'Down on Whores' and 'Living on the Earnings': Violence, Vulnerability and the Law after 1885

1. Testimony of Margaret Hayes to Emma Smith Coroner's Inquest (7 April), as cited by *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, Sunday 8 April 1888: 1.
2. Testimony of Mr George Haslip to Emma Smith Coroner's Inquest (7 April), as cited by *The Times*, 9 April 1888: 7E.
3. On contemporary domestic violence, see, for instance, Chapman, *Poor Man's Court*, pp. 58–61. See also Carolyn Conley, *Homicide, Gender, and National Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales* (Columbus, 2007); Shani D'Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage: Sex, Violence and Victorian Working Women* (DeKalb, IL, 1998); Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London 1870–1918* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 84–6 and Shani D'Cruze and Anupama Rao (eds), 'Violence and the Vulnerabilities of Gender', in *Violence, Vulnerability, and Embodiment: Gender and History* (Malden, MA, 2005), pp. 5–10.
4. Martha Tabram Coroner's Inquest, as reported in *Evening News*, 10, 11, 14, 15 and 24 August 1888 and *Evening Standard*, 24 August 1888; Report of Inspector Edmund Reid, H Division, 25 September 1888, London, N.A., MEPO 3/140.
5. For classic 'ripperologist' texts, see Paul Begg, *Jack the Ripper: The Definitive History* (London, 2004); Patricia Cornwall, *Portrait of a Killer. Jack the Ripper: Case Closed* (London, 2002) and Donald Rumbelow, *The Complete Jack the Ripper* (London, 1988). See also Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence', *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 2 (1982) and Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 191–245.
6. Hilary Kinnel, *Violence and Sex Work in Britain* (London, 2008).
7. Mary Ann Nichols Coroner's Inquest, as reported in *Evening Standard*, 3, 4, 7, 18 and 24 September 1888.
8. See, for instance, *East London Advertiser*, 15 September 1888.
9. See 'The Moral of the Whitechapel murders', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 September 1888.
10. Annie Chapman Coroner's Inquest, as reported in *Evening Standard*, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20 and 27 September 1888.
11. Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 400–18.
12. Elizabeth Stride Coroner's Inquest, as reported in *Evening News*, 1, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9 October 1888.
13. Testimony of J. Best and John Gardner to Elizabeth Stride Coroner's Inquest, *Evening News*, 1 October 1888.
14. Catherine Eddowes Coroner's Inquest, as reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, 5 October 1888.
15. John Kelly testimony to Catherine Eddowes Coroner's Inquest, as reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, 5 October 1888.
16. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 191–228; Warren to Secretary of State, 6 November 1888, MEPO 3/140.
17. *Morning Advertiser*, 25 December 1888.
18. Elizabeth Jackson Coroner's Inquest, as reported in *The Times*, 4, 5, and 9 July 1889.
19. Alice Mackenzie Coroner's Inquest, as reported in *East London Advertiser*, 20 July and 17 August 1889.
20. Unknown person Coroner's Inquest ('The Pinchin Street torso murder'), as reported in *The Times*, 12, 13, 14 and 25 September 1889.
21. Francis Coles Coroner's Inquest, *The Times*, Saturday 21 February 1891.

22. For an account of these murders, see Angus McLaren, *A Prescription for Murder: The Victorian Serial Killings of Dr. Thomas Neill Cream* (Chicago, 1993); for contemporary accounts see London, N.A., MEPO 3/144 and CRIM 1/38/1.
23. *Echo*, 1 September 1888; *Daily News*, 5 September 1888.
24. Report of Inspector Edmund Reid, H Division, 25 September 1888, London, N.A., MEPO 3/140.
25. Report of L Division on Cream investigation, 20 May 1892, London, N.A., MEPO 3/144.
26. *Duties of the Met. Police*, p. 81.
27. Samuel, *East End Underworld*, p. 200.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 188–94.
29. Report of B Division, 8 and 10 September 1907, London, N.A., MEPO, 1791.
30. Summary reports of all Divisions on bail for prostitutes, 7 September and 18 December 1907, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1086.
31. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 185.
32. Report of C Division, 24 August 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 3/9713.
33. Dear Boss letter, received 27 September 1889, dated 25 September 1888, London, N.A., MEPO 3/140.
34. John Cohen, '13a', *The Shield*, April 1916, 1, 1: 32.
35. Report from Frances Coles murder investigation, 21 February 1891, London, N.A., MEPO 3/140.
36. *The Times*, 14 February 1891, 12C.
37. Deborah Arif, 'The murder of Elizabeth Jackson'; <http://www.casebook.org/victims/jackson.html>, accessed April 16 2010.
38. *The Times*, 3 January 1889, 12C.
39. White, *The Comforts of Home*, p. 40.
40. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'pimp' def. 1a; 'ponce' def. 1; 'bully' def. 4a.
41. Mancini, *Prostitutes and Their Parasites*, pp. 73–90.
42. Edward Henry Memorandum, 23 November 1912, London, N.A., MEPO 3/228.
43. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B354, 199.
44. Chief Magistrate John Budge to the Home Office, 21 February 1895, London, N.A., HO 45/9745/A56729.
45. 'Observations on Charles Peneau', 18 May 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Mr Frederick Mead, JP, to the Street Offences Committee, 2 December 1927, London, N.A., HO 326/7.
48. Report of C Division, 8 October 1906, London, TNA, MEPO 2/1086.
49. Reports of Marlborough Street Station, C Division, 8–9 October 1906, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1806.
50. Chapman, *Poor Man's Court*, pp. 96–7.
51. Rev. S.R. Glanville Murray to Lord Darynton, MP, 12 November 1923, London, N.A., HO 45/12001.
52. Governor of Holloway to Secretary of State, 14 May 1923, London, N.A. HO 45/12001.
53. Prison Commissioner to Secretary of State, 28 May 1923, London, N.A., HO 45/12001.
54. *Ibid.*
55. 'Observations on Charles Peneau', 18 May 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
56. Deposition of Charles Harvey, 1891, London, N.A., CRIM 1/38/1.
57. 1898 Amendment to the Vagrancy Act (61 & 62 Vict., c. 39) s. 1 and 2.

58. *Judicial Statistics of England and Wales, 1898–1930*.
59. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 185.
60. See, for instance, press clippings in London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
61. Draft of a Bill to Amend the Vagrancy Act of 1824, House of Commons, Hansard's, 19 July 1898, vol. 62 cc 425–32.
62. Report of C Division on Charles Peneau, 10 June 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
63. D'Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage*, pp. 134–6.
64. *The Times*, 20 January 1900, 3C.
65. *The Times*, 31 August 1900, 9G.
66. *The Times*, 16 August 1899, 12E.
67. *The Times*, 23 October 1922, 7D.

6 White Slaves and Alien Prostitutes: Trafficking, Protection and Punishment in the Early Twentieth Century

1. Witness Statement of Lydia Rhodda Harvey, 13 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
2. Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery 1870–1939* (Oxford, 1982); Henriques notes that by 1924 seventy-five per cent of the registered prostitutes in Buenos Aires were foreigners. Henriques, *Prostitution and Society, Vol III*, pp. 289–301.
3. Witness Statement of Lydia Rhodda Harvey, 13 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
4. Report of Inspector Anderson, 14 March 1911, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
5. Report of Inspector Anderson, 30 August 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
6. *Reynold's Newspaper*, 10 July 1910.
7. Elizabeth Robins, *Where Are You Going? ...* (London, 1913); Evelyn Waugh, *Decline and Fall* (New York, 1929).
8. *The Times*, 13 December 1815, 2C; 26 February 1833, 4B; 12 July 1836, 1G; 26 December 1873, 6B.
9. Jan Jordan, *Josephine Butler* (London, 2007).
10. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Part I.
11. Greig, 'The Truth About White Slavery': 428–9; various police reports, London, N.A., HO 45/9747/59343L and MEPO 3/228. For secondary works dealing with 'white slavery', see Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*; Lloyd O. Gardner, 'Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish International Traffic in Prostitution', *AJS Review* 7 (1982); Gorham, 'The "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" Re-Examined'; Guy, *Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires*; Mara L. Keire, 'The Vice Trust: A Reinterpretation of the White Slavery Scare in the United States, 1907–1917', *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 1 (2001); Katarina Leppänen, 'Movement of Women: Trafficking in the Interwar Era', *Women's Studies International Forum* 30, no. 6 (2007): 523–33; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*; Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 77–103 and Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 81–134.
12. These stipulations were reiterated by case law in *R v. Gold and Cohen* (1907) 71 JP 360.
13. 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act (48 and 49 Victoria) c.69.
14. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, pp. 44–5; William Alexander Coote, *A Vision and Its Fulfillment* (London, 1910).

15. League of Nations, *Traffic in Women and Children Annual Report*, 1922 as included in London, N.A., HO 45/20044.
16. 26 February 1833, 4B; 12 July 1836, 1G; 26 December 1873, 6B; Miranda Morris, 'In Perilous Waters: Single Female Migration to Post-Penal Tasmania', *Nineteenth-century Contexts* 29, nos 2/3 (2007).
17. *The Times*, 12 July 1836, 1G.
18. See, for instance, *The Times*, 7 February 1868, 10B; 13 April 1868, 6F; and 26 December 1873, 6B.
19. Guy, *Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires*, pp. 2–3.
20. 'Repatriation of prostitutes', National Vigilance Association File, London, The Women's Library, 4NVA/4/11/04–31.
21. *Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration Minutes of Evidence* (London, 1903), p. 426.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration*, p. 41.
24. Krista Maglen, 'Importing Trachoma: The Introduction into Britain of American Ideas of An "Immigrant Disease", 1892–1906', *Immigrants and Minorities* 23, no. 1 (2005): *passim*.
25. 1905 Aliens Act (5 Edward 7, c. 13) s. 3a.
26. In both Jill Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905', *Historical Journal* 32, no. 2 (1989): 370 and Gardner, 'Anglo-Jewry': 149 the stipulations regarding prostitutes are misreported.
27. Christiane Reinecke, 'Governing Aliens in Times of Upheaval: Immigration Control and Modern State Practice in Early Twentieth-Century Britain, Compared with Prussia', *International Review of Social History* 54 (2009): 46–7.
28. Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905': 369–85.
29. Jon Peddar (Assistant Undersecretary of State) comments, 10 November 1908, London, N.A., HO 45/10390/17149.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. Ernley Blackwell to Jon Peddar, 11 November 1908, London, N.A., HO 45/10390/17149.
33. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, 355 146–7 and B355; Report of D Division, 21 September 1900, London, N.A., MEPO 2/239; Report of C Division, 7 September 1907, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1086; *Duties of the Met. Police*, Police Return C; *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws: Minutes of Evidence*, p. 362.
34. *Duties of the Met. Police*, 1906, Police Return C.
35. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 81.
36. White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 106–7.
37. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Part IV.
38. *Duties of the Met. Police*, 1906, Police Return C.
39. Pamela Sharpe, ed., *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives* (New York, Routledge, 2001).
40. Laura Maria Augustin, *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets, and the Rescue Industry* (London, 2007).
41. Report of Inspector Anderson, C Division, 22 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
42. Witness Statement of Victoria Bricot, 24 June 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.

43. Witness Statement of Lydia Rhodda Harvey, 13 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
44. Witness Statement of Lydia Rhodda Harvey, 9 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
45. Witness Statements of Lydia Rhodda Harvey, 9 and 13 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Witness Statement of Marguerite Besançon, 1 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 2/197.
49. Witness Statement of Mireille Lapara, 23 June 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
50. Report of Inspector Anderson, 30 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
51. Witness Statement of Marguerite Besançon, 1 July 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 2/197.
52. Witness Statement of Victoria Bricot, 24 June 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
53. J. Wotner and Sons, Police Solicitors, to Inspector Anderson, 13 September 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
54. Report of Inspector Anderson, 30 August 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
55. Fifty-eight per cent of the charges were brought upon men, and forty-eight per cent on women.
56. *The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales, 1893–1930*.
57. J. Wotner and Sons, Police Solicitors, to Inspector Anderson, 13 September 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
58. Report of Inspector Anderson, 30 August 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
59. See 'Suppression of white slave trade', in London, N.A., T 1/11203 and HO 45/11072/387653 for various examples of documents relating to international conventions on the suppression of trafficking.
60. The United States' Mann Act of 1910, which predated the UK's by two years, included provisions against interstate transport of women for immoral purposes. David J. Langum, *Crossing over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act* (Chicago, 2006).
61. F.S. Bullock to Edward Henry, 17 October 1912, London, N.A., MEPO 3/228.
62. Henry Memorandum, 23 November 1912, London, N.A., MEPO 2/228.
63. Report of Superintendent John Curry to Edward Henry, 7 November 1913, London, MEPO 3/228.
64. Ibid.
65. Greig, 'The Truth About White Slavery': 430.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.: 428. Grieg was by no means its only detractor. See, for instance, Shaw, 'White Slave Traffic' and Lyons, *White Slaves*.
68. *The Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, 1898–1913; The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales, 1913–30*.
69. See 'Expulsion of Foreign Prostitutes: Co-operation of the National Vigilance Association, 1913–1933', London, N.A., HO 45/15041.
70. Revised G.O. (sec XVII), 6 January 1914, London, N.A., HO 45/15041.
71. Report of Marlborough Street Station, C Division, 21 April 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 3/310; Report of Edith S. Thomas, NVA Lady Visitor to Holloway, 14 April 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 3/310.
72. Ernley Blackwell to unknown Assistant Undersecretary of State, 9 September 1913, London, N.A., HO 45/15041.

73. Comments of A.J., unknown Assistant Undersecretary of State, 12 November 1908, London, N.A., HO 45/10390/17149.
74. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B355, 39.
75. Scotland Yard to Home Office, 20 January 1915, London, N.A., HO 45/15041.
76. Edward Henry to the Home Office, 19 June 1914, London, N.A., HO 45/15041.
77. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, p. 51.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3.
79. Jens Jager, 'International Police Co-Operation and the Associations for the Fight against White Slavery', *Paedagogica Historica* 38, nos 2–3 (2002): 565–79.
80. 1919 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act, 9 & 10 Geo. 5, ch. 92; see also Reinecke, 'Governing Aliens': 39–65.
81. John Torpey, 'The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Passport System', in *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, eds Jane Caplan and John Torpey (2001), p. 257.
82. 'Repatriation of Mireille Lapara and Marguerite Besançon', National Vigilance Association and the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, nd (c 25 September 1910), London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*
85. Anderson to Home Office, 24 September 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 3/197.

7 Making War, Taking Fingerprints and Challenging the Law: Policy Changes and Public Debates after 1914

1. Merrick, *Work among the Fallen*, p. 13.
2. 1901 Census of England and Wales, Series RG13, Piece 799, Folio 11, Page 14, schedule number 94.
3. Charles Booth, *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty, 1898–1899* (London, 1984); 1901 Census of England and Wales, Series RG13, Piece 434, Folio 114, page 10, schedule number 13.
4. John Lane, ed., *Herbert Fry's Royal Guide to the London Charities* (London, 1917), p. 29.
5. For North Soho during the war, see White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 108–9, 332–3.
6. Police returns, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
7. Macmillan to Blackwell, 25 October 1927, Street Offences Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 326/7.
8. Tate, *West End Girls*, 169.
9. Report of Ernley Blackwell, 3 February 1917, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
10. J.J. Wotner and Sons to Police Commissioner, 27 October 1927, London, N.A., MEPO 3/7356.
11. For lack of legal defence for prostitutes, see testimony of Mary Gordon, 16 July 1918, Enq. Sexual Morality, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B/09/01. For conviction rates see *The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales, 1893–1930*. For the shortness of these perfunctory trials, see F.W. Pethick Lawrence, 'The Police Court: Abuses of the Present System', *The Shield*, 3, 7 (1917): 435–6.
12. Nellie Johnson's Criminal Record Office File, as cited in a letter from Tottenham Court Road Station to the Home Office, 21 January 1921, London, N.A. MEPO 2/9998.

13. Police Court report from *Lloyd's Newspaper*, and Smith to Secretary of State, 11 May 1916, in London, N.A., HO 45/10523.
14. Testimony of Ernley Blackwell, 15 October 1918, Joint Select Committee into the Criminal Law Amendment and Sexual Offences Bills Minutes of Evidence (London, 1918), pp. 4–6. For attempts to define 'amateur prostitution', see The Joint Select Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Sexual Offences Act, 1918 and 1920 (London, HMSO); Testimony of Miss Costin, 27 January 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B/09/01.
15. Lucy Bland, 'In the Name of Protection: The Policing of Women in the First World War', in *Women-in-Law: Explorations in Law, Family and Sexuality*, eds Julia Brophy and Carol Smart (London, 1985), pp. 23–49; Philippa Levine, "'Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should": Women Police in World War I', *Journal of Modern History* 66, no. 1 (1994): 34–78; Angela Woollacott, "'Khaki Fever" And Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* 29, no. 2 (1994): 325–347.
16. Anonymous Memorandum (likely Ernley Blackwell), 3 December 1917, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720 'Road to Ruin', Lloyd's, 11 May 1916, as cited in London, N.A., HO 45/10523.
17. On women's war work, see Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I* (London, 1998) and Susan Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (London, 2002).
18. Unpublished police return, 1914–1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
19. *Ibid.*
20. 'Measures for Dealing with Prostitutes', 3 February 1917, London, N.A., MEPO 1720.
21. Unpublished police return, 1914–1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
22. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 299.
23. Testimony of Inspector Harburn, 10 March 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality, AMSH Records, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
24. 1839 Metropolitan Police Act, s. 54 (13).
25. See, for instance, Report of A Division Superintendent, 25 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO, Seventh annual report of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 1921–1922, and Testimony of W. Clarke Hall, 19 May 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality Minutes of evidence, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
26. Unpublished police return, 1914–1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
27. 'Measures for Dealing with Prostitutes', 3 February 1917, London, N.A., MEPO 1720.
28. Clark to Horwood, 25 June 1920; Hammett to Horwood, 7 July 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
29. Bastable to Horwood, 26 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
30. Superintendent D Division to Horwood, 26 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
31. Bastable to Horwood, 26 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
32. Superintendent B Division to Horwood, 26 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
33. Ewark to Horwood, 25 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
34. Testimony of Mary Gordon, 13 January 1918, Enq. Sexual Morality minutes of evidence, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
35. Edward Henry, *Classification and Uses of Fingerprints*, 6th edn (London, 1928), p. 5.

36. Baldwin, *Contagion and the State*, pp. 355–523; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, pp. 146–73.
37. S.M. Tomkins, 'Palmitate or Permanganate: The Venereal Prophylaxis Debate in Britain, 1916–1926', *Medical History* 37, no. 4 (1993): 384–5 and David Michael Simpson, 'The Moral Battlefield: Venereal Disease and the British Army During the First World War' (University of Iowa, 1999).
38. For an overview of the Defence of the Realm Act in Britain, see Andrew Grierson Bone, 'Beyond the Rule of Law: Aspects of the Defence of the Realm Acts and Regulations, 1914–1918' (McMaster University, 1995).
39. Defence of the Realm Act (5&6 Geo. V, c.34) regulation 13a. See also *ibid.*, pp. 220–4.
40. 'Measures for dealing with prostitutes', 3 February 1917, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720.
41. Testimony of Reverend Herbert Gray, 24 March 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality Minutes of Evidence, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B; see also Mark Harrison, 'The British Army and the Problem of Venereal Disease in France and Egypt During the First World War', *Medical History*, 39, no. 2 (1995): 139–43.
42. Memo by G.N Barnes, MP, 20 August 1918, London, N.A., WO 32/4745.
43. Ernley Blackwell report as cited by The Fourth Annual Report of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 1919, p. 11.
44. Gordon, *Penal Discipline*, pp. 116–17.
45. Police Court report from *Lloyd's Newspaper*, and Smith to Secretary of State, 11 May 1916, in London, N.A., HO 45/10523; Lawrence, 'The Police Court'; Superintendent Peto to Miss Wall, 29 October 1935, London, N.A., MEPO 3/986 and CID to Police Commissioner, 2 December 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2140. This practice continued into the 1950s: see London, N.A., HO 291/1080. For more on the hidden compulsory methods for dealing with venereal disease in marginalized populations, see Pamela Cox, 'Compulsion, Voluntarism, and Venereal Disease: Governing Sexual Health in England after the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007): 112–15.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Stansfeld's 'touchstones' speech, as cited in Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Second Annual Report, 1917, pp. 8–36; Helen Wilson, 'Principles of the International Abolitionist Federation – the Single Standard', *The Shield*, 2, no. 2 (1919): 95.
48. Maude Royden, 'The Problem of Undesirables', April 1916, 1, 1: 39.
49. Association for Moral and Social Hygiene executive meeting minutes, 19 July 1918, and Testimony of Mary Costin, 27 January 1919 Enq. Sexual Morality minutes of evidence, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
50. Laite, 'The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene': 207–23.
51. *The Shield*, April 1916, 1, 1.
52. See, for instance, Alexander Coote's testimony on behalf of the National Vigilance Association to the Royal Commission on the Duties of the Metropolitan Police, 1906 (London, HMSO, 1907) and his testimony on behalf of the NVA on 7 April 1919 to the Enq. Sexual Morality, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B/09/01.
53. Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment and Sexual Offences Bills, 1918 and 1920 (London, 1920); Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, *The State and Sexual Morality* (London, 1920).

54. Nellie Johnson's Criminal Record Office file, as cited in a letter from Tottenham Court Road Station to the Home Office, 21 January 1921, London, N.A. MEPO 2/9998.
55. Ibid.
56. Chatham Docks were administered by the Metropolitan Police Thames Division.
57. Ibid.
58. The *1911 Census of England and Wales* provides us with a snapshot of the Albany Street neighbourhood from which I've drawn this description, bearing in mind that it may have changed over the decade.
59. Testimony of H.L. Cancellor, 18 November 1927, Street Offences Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 326/7.
60. *Report of the Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders* (London, 1932), pp. 38–9.
61. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', pp. 300–1; *Judicial Statistics of England and Wales 1900–1930*.
62. *The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales*, 1930, xvIIi.
63. London, N.A., HO 45/12001.
64. Horwood comments, 18 May 1920; Hammett to Horwood, 7 July 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
65. Horwood to Collins, 19 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
66. Report of Brind, 3 February 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
67. For descriptions of the conditions in police court cells, see Holmes, *Pictures and Problems*.
68. Report of Bull, 1 February 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
69. On the unsanitary conditions of police cells and the practice of holding those awaiting trial there, see F.W. Pethick Lawrence, 'The Police Court: Abuses of the Present System', *The Shield*, 3, no. 7 (1919): 435–6.
70. Report of Watson, 1 February 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
71. Report of Bull, 1 February 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
72. Report of Walker, 6 May 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
73. Testimony of H.L. Cancellor, 18 November 1927, Street Offences Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 326/7.
74. Horwood memorandum, 4 April 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
75. Testimony of Ernley Blackwell, 35 October 1927, Street Offences Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 326/7.
76. Barrett to the Home Office, 21 January 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998 and Report of Bradshaw, 3 February 1921, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
77. Horwood to Home Secretary, London, N.A., 4 April 1921, MEPO 2/9998.
78. See, for instance, 'Public Places (Order) Bill', in *The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene*, 1930.
79. *Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment and Sexual Offences Bills, 1918 and 1920* (London, 1920).
80. Ibid.
81. *The Times*, 9 October 1922, 8C.
82. *The Times*, 16 October 1922, 4A.
83. *The Times*, 11 November 1922, 7D; *The Times*, 20 December 1922, 7D; 25 June 1922, 13F.
84. Letter to the editor of the *Daily Express*, as cited in *The Shield*, 3, no. 5 (1921): 208 and 'The Injustice of the Solicitation Laws', *The Shield*, 3, no. 5 (1921): 206–8.

85. Clive Emsley, 'Sergeant Goddard: The Story of a Rotten Apple, or a Diseased Orchard?' in *Crime and Culture: An Historical Perspective*, eds Amy Gilman Srebnick and René Levy (London, 2005), p. 86.
86. *Report of the Street Offences Committee*, p. 737.
87. Inquiry in Regard to the Interrogation by Police of Miss Savidge, 1928.
88. Testimony of William Horwood, 20 December 1927; see also testimony of Ernley Blackwell, 25 October 1927, Street Offences Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 326/7.
89. *Report of the Street Offences Committee* (London, 1928), p. 18.
90. *Report of the Street Offences Committee* (London, 1928), pp. 18–25.
91. House of Commons Debate, 21 February 1929, *Hansards*, vol. 225 c1323W and House of Commons Debate, *Hansards*, 27 March 1930 vol. 237 c584.
92. Testimony of William Horwood, 20 December 1927, Street Offences Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 326/7.
93. Testimony of William Horwood, 20 December 1927, Street Offences Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 326/7. Neville-Rolphe also claims that it had been commonly observed that prostitutes were less brazen in solicitation by the 1930s. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 299.
94. Hopkins to Horwood, 25 June 1920, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9998.
95. Several official reports suggested that arrests for indecency in Hyde Park were high, and the majority of them were connected to prostitution. London, N.A., MEPO 2/1720. However, Hyde Park had also become a more popular resort for gay solicitation by mid-century as well. Houlbrook, *Queer London*, p. 53.
96. For 'gutter crawling' see London, N.A., MEPO 2/4600.
97. Home Office minute citing London Cab Order of 1934, 8 November 1951, London, N.A., HO 385/1.
98. The AMSH complained of this common practice in their Seventh Annual Report, 1921–2.
99. Wotner and Sons to the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, 27 October 1927, London, N.A., MEPO 3/7356.
100. Alison Neilans to the Secretary of State, 17 December 1936, London, N.A., HO 45/21766.
101. Memorandum from the Commissioner's Office, November 1927; Evidence submitted to Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution by Metropolitan Police, London, N.A., HO 291/1068. Another hidden measure that was used against prostitutes was the charge of 'conspiracy to corrupt public morals' under a little-used section of the common law: by the 1950s, it appears that around forty women per year were charged under this Act for offences related to prostitution. Report of Chief Superintendent, 14 July 1951, London, N.A., MEPO 2/8935.
102. Draft Home Office response to Pethick-Lawrence and Alison Neilans, c. January 1937, London, N.A., HO 45/21766.
103. Alison Neilans, 'Clause 3a- A rejoinder', *The Shield*, 1, no. 7 (1917).
104. Brighton seemed to be a popular seasonal destination for some of London's prostitutes. Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B355, 39.

8 Behind Closed Doors: Off-Street Commercial Sex in the Interwar Years

1. Report of Superintendent Billings, 6 November 1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1714.

2. *Ibid.*; for cafés more generally and London night life, see White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 335–6.
3. I. Donnachie, 'World War I and the Drink Question: State Control of the Drink Trade', *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, no. 17 (1982): 25 and David W. Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War', *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 27, no. 54 (1994).
4. Report of H Division, 28 February 1933, London, N.A., HO 144/22301 and MEPO 2/2135.
5. Aliens Restriction (Consolidation) Order, section 10, no. 122, Defence of the Realm Act, 1916.
6. Report of Superintendent Billings, 21 November 1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1714.
7. Colonel Johnson to Edward Henry, 30 November 1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1714.
8. Report of Superintendent Billings, 30 March 1916, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1714.
9. Report of H Division Superintendent, 28 February 1933, London, N.A., HO 144/22301.
10. Similar methods were used by police in the control of male homosexual offences in the interwar years. See Houlbrook, *Queer London*, pp. 76–80.
11. Henriques, *Prostitution and Society, Vol III*, pp. 45–9, 154–82.
12. 1910 Licensing Consolidation Act (10 Edw. VII and I Geo V. 5, c.24) s. 76 and 77.
13. Testimony of Miss Costin, 27 January 1919, Enq. Sexual Morality Minutes of Evidence, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B.
14. Alien Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1919 (9 and 10 Geo. 5. Ch. 92).
15. Commissioner Horwood Memorandum, 15 February 1927, London, N.A., HO 144/22301.
16. Marek Kohn, *Dope Girls: The Birth of the British Drug Underground* (London, 1992), pp. 120–49.
17. Statement of Guiseppe Valla, 31 January 1930, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2462.
18. Anonymous letter, 30 April 1927, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2462.
19. Statement of Charles Bellamy, 16 August 1929, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2462.
20. Statement of Ms Richesta, n.d., London, N.A., DP 1/87.
21. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, pp. 63–70; Trial of Rou Sharu, 5 December 1932, London, N.A., CRIM 1/626.
22. Report of H division, 19 January 1933, HO 144/22301.
23. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, p. 67.
24. Report of C Division, 19 February 1927, London, N.A., HO 144/22301.
25. For more on the connections between these kinds of cafés, crime and 'dope', see the passage on the café the 'Black Man's Buddy' in Stanley Scott, *Tales of the Underworld* (London, 1925), pp. 66–7.
26. Report of C Division, 19 February 1927, London, N.A., HO 144/22301.
27. CID Report, 6 July 1900, London, N.A., MEPO 2/514 and Police Notebook, c. 1898, Charles Booth Survey Documents, London, LSE Archives, B355, 39.
28. Testimony of George Bellchambers, London, N.A., HO 45/468/X124.
29. *The Times*, 7 October 1898, 13D; 12 January 1900, 14A; 27 October 1900, 15G; 1 November 1900, 2G; 10 May 1901, 14B. Frank Mort, for instance, suggests that this practice of 'doorstep membership' dates to the interwar years. Frank Mort, 'Striptease: The Erotic Female Body and Live Sexual Entertainment in Mid-

- Twentieth-Century London', *Social History* 32, no. 1 (2007): 46. For an early description of a 'nightclub' and a 'dancing girl' who worked there, see Machray, *Night Side of London*, pp. 226–34.
30. White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, p. 332.
 31. Report of C Division, 17 June 1924, London, N.A., HO 45/16205.
 32. Winter v. Woolfe, [1931] 1 KB 549; White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 332–5; Kohn, *Dope Girls*; Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour': and Helen Moore, *Inside British Jazz: Crossing Borders of Race, Nation and Class* (London, 2007), pp. 17–25.
 33. Kohn, *Dope Girls*, pp. 120–49.
 34. Morton, *Nights of London*, pp. 169–71.
 35. Chesterton, *Women of the Underworld*, pp. 139–52.
 36. Peter Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour: The Victorian Barmaid as Cultural Prototype', *Gender and History* 2, no. 2 (1990): 148–73 and Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 299.
 37. Chesterton, *Women of the Underworld*, pp. 139–52.
 38. Sidney Theodore Felstead, *The Underworld of London* (London, 1923), p. 269. For other comments on drug use being on the rise amongst prostitutes, see Scott, *Tales of the Underworld*, pp. 83–8; Stringer, *Moral Evil*, pp. 187–8; and Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, pp. 75–6.
 39. Mort, 'Striptease': 28–9. For earlier discussion about the use of plain clothes officers to arrest prostitutes and keep observation upon clubs, see Wotner and Sons to Police Commission, 8 December 1910, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1419.
 40. The Met was reimbursing Sergeant Goddard 200 pounds a month in expenses. *The Times*, Wednesday 19 December 1928, 7A.
 41. CID report, 4 December 1928, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2462. For prostitutes acting as police informants see Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, p. 76.
 42. Kate Meyrick, *Secrets of the 43: Reminiscences by Mrs. Meyrick* (London, 1933).
 43. Statement of Pietro Nicotti, 25 February 1929, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2462.
 44. Emsley, 'Sergeant Goddard', pp. 89–93.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 103–4.
 47. Chapman, *Poor Man's Court*, p. 154.
 48. Mort, 'Striptease'.
 49. *The Times*, 27 January 1921, 7A.
 50. Report of C Division, 13 January 1945, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2817.
 51. For instance, there is no mention of telephone sex or solicitation in M. Martin, 'Hello, Central?': *Gender, Technology, and Culture in the Formation of Telephone Systems* (Kingston, 1991), pp. 148–66.
 52. *The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales, 1885–1930*.
 53. Report of C Division, 13 January 1945, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2817.
 54. See, for instance, 'Indecent Advertisements Bills, 1909, 1910, 1920', in London, N.A, HO 45/12933 and H.G. Cocks, 'Peril in the Personals: The Dangers and Pleasures of Classified Advertising in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Media History* 10, no. 1 (2004): 9–14. See also H.G. Cocks, "'Sporty' Girls And 'Artistic' Boys: Friendship, Illicit Sex, and the British "Companionship" Advertisement, 1913–1928', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 3 (2002): 457–82.
 55. Zatz, 'Sex Work/Sex Act': 301.
 56. Report of the CID, 2 November 1934, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1072 and Reg v. Silver, 40 CAR 32, as cited in London, N.A., MEPO 2/10559.

57. See, for instance, memorandum on brothels, n.d. 1938, London, N.A., MEPO 2/5962; F.D. Sharpe, *Sharpe of the Flying Squad* (London, 1938), p. 107 and Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, pp. 67–8.
58. Frederick Redfern and Vera Harding Depositions, 25 February 1938, London, N.A., CRIM 1/1007.
59. For these issues in a slightly earlier period, see Englander, *Landlord and Tenant*, pp. 33–50. For more on these flats, see various references in Tate, *West End Girls*.
60. Memo on Brothels, n.d. 1938, London, N.A., MEPO 2/5962; report of Chelsea Station, B Division, 4 May 1948 and Report of West End Central Station, 1 November 1951, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2622.
61. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 138.
62. Report on Brothels, n.d. 1939, London, N.A., MEPO 2/5962.
63. Report to the London Diocese Conference by the special committee appointed to investigate matters relating to the Paddington estate and the connection of the ecclesiastical commissioners therewith, in London, N.A., MEPO 3/2967.
64. Report of the Conference on the White Slave Traffic, 22 April 1936, London, N.A., MEPO 2/998; Report on Brothels, n.d. 1939, London, N.A., MEPO 2/5962; police evidence submitted to the Wolfenden Committee, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9713.
65. Testimony of Police Commissioner Nott Bower to the Wolfenden Committee, 9 November 1954, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
66. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 68.
67. Report of B Division, Chelsea, 2 Feb 1950, London, N.A., MEPO 2/7856.
68. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 65; Report of B Division, Chelsea, 2 February 1950, MEPO 2/7856 and C division, West End Central Station, 24 August 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 3/9713.
69. John Davis, 'Rents and Race in 1960s London: New Light on Rachmanism', *Twentieth Century British History* 12, no. 1 (2001): 69–92.
70. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, pp. 78–9. The importance of a maid to many prostitute women is plainly shown in Tate, *West End Girls*.
71. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, pp. 139–40.
72. Rosalind Wilkinson, 'Review of Study on Traffic in Persons and Prostitution, United Nations Publication, 1959', *British Journal of Criminology* 1, no. 2 (1960): 78 and Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 153.
73. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 60. Marthe Watts also complained about being expected to take off her clothing indoors, but she never did. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 191.
74. Statement of Charles Bellamy, 16 August 1929, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2462 and Statement of Ms Richesta, n.d., London, N.A., DP 1/87.
75. Report of C Division on murder of Leah Hines, 25 June 1937, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1707.
76. Frank Sharpe to CID, 16 May 1936, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1707.
77. Report of Frank Sharpe, 25 June 1937, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1707.
78. Sharpe, *Flying Squad*, p. 124.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
80. Report of C Division, 24 July 1937, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1707.
81. Sharpe, *Flying Squad*, p. 124.
82. *Ibid.* For evidence of the closed reports on assaults, see FOI notice of eight redacted pages in London, N.A., MEPO 2/1707.
83. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, pp. 234–5.

9 Sex, War and Syndication: Organized Prostitution and the Second World War

1. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, pp. 13–41.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–25.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 137–55.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 156–7.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 145. As Stefan Slater has discovered, there is a record of Watts's 1938 prosecution for brothel-keeping in the records of the Westminster City Council, showing she was living at 13 Duke Street at the time. Stefan Slater, 'Street Sex for Sale in Soho, 1918–1939: Experiences, Representations, and Attempts at Control' (University of London, 2007), p. 31.
10. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 146.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
12. 'Marriages of Convenience', c. 1936, London, N.A., MEPO 2/998 and Stefan Slater, 'Pimps, Police, and Filles De Joie: Foreign Prostitution in Interwar London', *The London Journal* 32, no. 1 (2007): 53–74.
13. Offen, 'Madame Gheacutenia': 244–8.
14. Police Minute, 10 February 1936, London, N.A., MEPO 2/998.
15. Police consistently misspell Garsia's name, but it is almost certain that 'Marston Garcia' in the police files and 'Marston Garsia', the legal author and barrister active in the 1920s and 1930s, are one and the same. Marston Garsia appears to have been a respected barrister, writing a series of law 'in a nutshell' books for the publisher Sweet and Maxwell in the 1920s that enjoyed several editions, and making a serious contribution to writing on criminal law and procedure. See, for instance, M. Garsia, *Criminal Law in a Nutshell* (London, 1922).
16. CID to unknown Chief Inspector, 7 February 1925, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2583.
17. CID Report, 2 July 1931, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1072.
18. Law firm of Dagg and Smith; Police Commissioner to the Home Office, 19 June 1914: HO 45/15041 and 6 February 1936, London, N.A., MEPO 3/988.
19. CID Report, 14 June 1932; Special Branch Report, 14 January 1933, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1072.
20. Report of Vine Street Station, 20 April 1931, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1072.
21. Report of the Brussels police to CID, 26 November 1931, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1072.
22. Report of CID, 10 November 1931, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1072.
23. Slater, 'Pimps, Police, and Filles De Joie': 53–74.
24. Police Minute, 10 February 1936, London, N.A., MEPO 3/988.
25. See undated handwritten list in London, N.A., MEPO 3/2582.
26. Telegram from Croyden Immigration officer to Special Branch, 22 October 1937; Report of the Special Branch, 23 July 1937, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1091.
27. Memorandum of Chief Inspector 10 October 1933, London, N.A., MEPO 2/1072.
28. Report of the CID, 2 July 1937, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1091.
29. Undated Memorandum (c. 1933) in London, N.A., MEPO 3/1072.
30. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 141.

31. 'Memorandum on the so-called "white slave traffic"' etc., 6 February 1936, MEPO 3/988.
32. These opinions were outlined in the tellingly entitled 'Memorandum on the so-called "white slave traffic"; the position of undesirable aliens in this country; marriages of convenience; and immigration control and deportation orders', 6 February 1936, MEPO 3/988.
33. Report of the CID, 29 November 1938, London, N.A., MEPO 3/1093.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 'Compulsory Repatriation of Prostitutes', published pamphlet, London, 1931, 6.
36. *Ibid.*, 8–9.
37. Albert Londres, *Le Chemin De Buenos-Aires* (Paris, 1927).
38. This was in the years following 1936, as there was no record of their activities in a Met survey of 'ponces' in that year, London, N.A., MEPO 3/988.
39. For the substantial amount of newly released Metropolitan Police and Home Office files on the Messina brothers and for several accounts of their lives before and after coming to London, see London, N.A., MEPO 2/8935; MEPO 3/2143; MEPO 2/8707; and HO 45/25638.
40. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 169.
41. 'You forget but she remembers', the National Archives INF3/271, The Art of War online Exhibition (nationalarchives.gov.uk/artofwar, accessed 22 April 2010).
42. Home Office letter, 28 January 1943, Minister of Labour to Secretary of State, 15 February 1943 London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
43. Notes from a meeting held at the Home Office, October 1942, London, N.A., LAB 9/109.
44. Sonia Rose, 'Sex, Citizenship and the Nation in WWII Britain', *American Historical Review* (1998): 1151–2 and Rose, 'Girls and GIs'. For the impact on US soil, see Clement, *Love for Sale*, pp. 114–43.
45. E Division Report, 21 November 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2140 and unidentified Home Office official to Police Commissioner, 9 September 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
46. Report of Coles, West End Central Station, 27 August 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
47. Memo to the Commissioner, 19 October 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2138.
48. Foreign Office to Osbert Peake MP, 7 April 1943, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
49. Richard Law to Home Secretary, 5 May 1943, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
50. *New York Times*, as cited by the *Daily Mirror*, Thursday, 3 June 1943.
51. Brigadier General Hawley to Colonel Douglas, 16 March 1943, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2138.
52. Report of Coles, West End Central Station, 27 August 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Home Office Minute, 28 September 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Police Commissioner Philip Game to Admiral Sir Edward Evans, 7 September 1943, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138; Herbert Morrison, 15 February 1943, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
57. Minutes of Home Office conference, 29 October 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
58. *Sunday Pictorial*, 23 August 1942.

59. Ibid.
60. Report of West End Central Station, C Division, 14 September, 1942, MEPO 3/2138 and Robert Fabian, *London after Dark: An Intimate Record of Night Life in London, and a Selection of Crime Stories from the Case Book of Ex-Superintendent Robert Fabian* (London, 1954), p. 17.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Herbert Morrison MP to Herbert Williams MP, 6 Oct 1942 and Report of West End Central Station, C Division, 14 September 1942, MEPO 3/2138.
64. Report of West End Central Station, C Division, 14 September 1942, MEPO 3/2138.
65. Report of PC E. Fudge, D Division, 19 April 1940, London, N.A., MEPO 3/770.
66. Ibid.
67. Statement of PC William Bailey, D Division, 23 April 1940, London, N.A., MEPO 3/770.
68. Roger Davidson, *Dangerous Liaisons: A Social History of Venereal Disease in Twentieth-Century Scotland*, Dangerous liaisons ed. (Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 211–12.
69. Roger Davidson, 'Searching for Mary, Glasgow: Contact Tracing for Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Twentieth-Century Scotland', *Social History of Medicine* 9, no. 2 (1996): 198–206 and Roger Davidson, 'Fighting "The Deadly Scourge": The Impact of World War II on Civilian Vd Policy in Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review* 75, no. 199 (1996).
70. The closed files include MEPO 3/2141 and MEPO 3/2142 (Women suffering from venereal disease: first conviction under Defence Regulation 33B – 1943). On the inspection of prostitutes for venereal disease during the First World War, see CID to Home Office, 2 December 1942; Alexander Maxwell of the Home Office to Police Commissioner Philip Game, 22 February 1943; and Report of Grays Inn Road station, E Division, 3 December 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2140.
71. Testimony of Frank Powell to the Wolfenden Committee, 5 January 1955, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
72. Anonymous police memoranda, 4 December 1942 and 21 November 1942; and Alexander Maxwell to Commissioner Game, 1 March 1943, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2140.
73. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 169.
74. Ibid., p. 170.
75. Ibid., pp. 173, 177.
76. Ibid., pp. 175–6.
77. *Siviour v. Napolitano* (1931) 95 JP p72; Memorandum of the Joint Standing Borough Committee to Wolfenden, c. 1956, London, N.A., HO 345/8.
78. Report of C Division, West Central Station, 8 February 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650 and Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 184.
79. Ibid., pp. 188, 191.
80. Ibid., p. 231.
81. For instance, Jenkins and Potter claim that 'brothels fell out of favour'. Philip Jenkins and Gary Potter, 'Before the Krays: Organized Crime in London, 1920–1960', *Criminal Justice History* 9 (1988): 214 and Donald Thomas, *Villains' Paradise: A History of Britain's Underworld* (London, 2006), pp. 265–301.
82. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 18.
83. Neville Rolphe, 'Sex-Delinquency', p. 320.
84. Report of C Division, 30 September 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.

85. Report of CID Officer at Kentish Town police station, 7 March 1939, London, N.A., CRIM 1/1087.
86. *Ibid.*
87. Ena Bassett deposition, 16 March 1939, London, N.A., CRIM 1/1087.
88. Peggy Moores deposition, 16 March 1939, London, N.A., CRIM 1/1087.
89. Alec Muir deposition, 11 January 1938, London, N.A., CRIM 1/993.
90. Frank Chaplin deposition, 11 January 1938, London, N.A., CRIM 1/993.
91. Doris Golding and Sybil Harrison depositions, Central Criminal Court, 30 April 1935, London, N.A., CRIM 1/772.
92. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 107.
93. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, pp. 117–18.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–19.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
98. Report of Coles, West End Central Station, 27 August 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2138.
99. Statement of Gladys Lilian Barter, 11 February 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2206.
100. Statement of Mona Hitt, 11 February 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2206.
101. Statement of June Anderson, 21 February 1942, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2206.
102. Statement of James Byrne, March 16 1945, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2291.
103. Report of C Division, 26 September 1948, London, N.A., MEPO 3/3027.
104. Thomas, *Villains' Paradise*, p. 269.
105. Report of C Division, 23 December 1949, London, N.A., MEPO 3/3027.

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1. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 36 and Deputy Commissioner Minute, 2 May 1950, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2622.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 79; Report of A Division, 24 August 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 3/9713 and David Litton to the Home Office, n.d. (c. November 1957), London, N.A., HO 291/124.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 146, 150.
5. Report of Assistant Commander A, 2 May 1950, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2622. The late 1940s and early 1950s witnessed a restructuring of Police Divisions, including the changing of the rank of District Commissioner to Commander.
6. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 49; Report of Assistant Commander A, 10 November 1951, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2622.
7. Report of Assistant Commander A, 10 November 1951, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2622.
8. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 48.
9. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 231.
10. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 48.
11. Minute, Chief Inspector, n.d. (c. 28 January 1953), London, N.A., MEPO 3/2817.
12. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 49.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
14. Unknown police official, 15 January 1948, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2967.

15. From 'The Pilot St. Paul's Church of the Port of London for Seamen', July 1961, in London, N.A., HLG 118/66.
16. 'Report on Prostitution in Stepney', 31 January 1956, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9715; Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 244; 'Vice in London's East End', *The Times*, 13 August 1958 and Commander A, 14 September 1957, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2622.
17. Police Memorandum on a pamphlet entitled 'Vice increase in Stepney by the Reverend Edwyn Young and Others', n.d. (c. 1957), London, N.A., MEPO 3/9715.
18. See undated maps (c. 1957) from HLG 118/66 and 'Report on Prostitution in Stepney', 31 January 1956, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9715.
19. Police maps of solicitation in D and B Divisions submitted as evidence for the Wolfenden Committee, n.d. (c. 1956), London, N.A., HO 291/1068.
20. Ibid.
21. Report of the Deputy Commissioner, 10 February 1948, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2622.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Report of C Division, 27 May 1950 and 1 November 1951, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2622.
25. Annual reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner: this rate is very roughly determined by the ratio of 'known prostitutes' to the number of arrests.
26. On the impact of the rowdyism patrol, see memorandum of the Metropolitan Police to the Wolfenden Committee, London, N.A., HO 345/8; Testimony of PC C 570 Anderson to Wolfenden Committee, 8 November 1954, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
27. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 73.
28. Commissioner in Police circular, 10 February 1948, London, N.A., MEPO 3/9713.
29. Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, 2 June 1950, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2622.
30. Assistant Commander in Police circular, 6 November 1950, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2622.
31. Helen Ware, 1969 as cited by Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 75 and Carol Smart, 'Law and the Control of Women's Sexuality: The Case of the 1950s', in *Controlling Women: The Normal and the Deviant*, eds Bridget Hunter and Gillian Williams (London, 1981), p. 50.
32. Police Commissioner memorandum, 5 May 1957, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2622.
33. Report of A1 Branch, 10 September 1957, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2622.
34. Commander 1 to Commissioner of Police, 6 April 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2622.
35. Home Secretary to MP Graham Pole, 9 November 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
36. Notes on police conference on prostitution, 4 August 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2622.
37. 'Rachmanism noun', *Oxford Dictionary of English*, revised edn, eds Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (Oxford University Press, 2005); Oxford Reference Online, Oxford University Press, McGill University (<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e63505>, accessed 9 July 2010).

38. Director of Public Prosecutions to the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, 4 August 1959, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10077; see also 'Perc (or Peter) RACHMAN: undesirable activities in connection with ownership of properties in London, including exorbitant rents, harassment of tenants and letting for immoral purposes, 1958–1963', London, N.A., MEPO 2/9999.
39. Director of Public Prosecutions to Metropolitan Police Commissioner, 4 August 1959, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10077 and Davis, 'Rents and Race in 1960s London'.
40. Report of West End Central, 18 May 1953, London, N.A., HO 45/25651 and Thomas, *Villains' Paradise*, pp. 265–301.
41. Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 159–200.
42. Metropolitan Police Commissioner to the BSBC, 15 January 1948, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2967.
43. Newspaper clippings in London, N.A, MEPO 3/2582 and 3/3027.
44. *Sunday Pictorial*, 6 February 1949.
45. Report of C Division, 30 October 1952, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9367.
46. Report of C Division, 8 February 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
47. Report of Superintendent C, 9 February 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
48. Duncan Webb, *Crime Is My Business* (London, 1953).
49. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 210.
50. Stepney Borough Council Home Office Deputation minutes, 19 July 1957, London, N.A., MEPO 3/9715.
51. Report of West End Central Station, 30 September 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
52. Frank Powell in the *Westminster and Pimlico News*, 23 October 1953, cited in Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 75.
53. Memorandum of Police Commissioner to Wolfenden Committee, c. July 1956, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9713.
54. Memorandum of Metropolitan Police Commissioner, 30 September 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
55. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, pp. 118–19.
56. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 70.
57. But Malta's strategic location in the Mediterranean inspired the government to avoid 'impair[ing] the goodwill of her people'. Memorandum of Metropolitan Police Commissioner, 30 September 1949, London, N.A., HO 45/23650.
58. Testimony of PC C 570 Anderson to Wolfenden Committee, 8 November 1954, London, N.A., HO 345/12 and Police Memorandum on a pamphlet entitled 'Vice increase in Stepney by the Reverend Edwyn Young and Others', n.d. (c. 1957), London, N.A., MEPO 3/9715.
59. Peter Hennessy, *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London, 2006), pp. 233–46 and Frank Mort, *Capital Affairs: The Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven, CT, 2010).
60. 'Conditions in the West End', *Sunday Pictorial*, 12 April 1953.
61. See, for instance, 'The Vice Squad in Coronation Clean-up Raid', *Daily Mail*, 12 February 1953 and *Reynold's News*, 16 November 1952.
62. See, for instance, *Reynold's News*, 9 November 1952. The files on the call girl scandals held by the Metropolitan Police remain closed; see 'Call Girl Scandal, Kensington, Westminster', 1953, London, N.A. MEPO 2/96270.
63. Frank Mort, 'Morality, Majesty, and Murder in 1950s London: Metropolitan Culture and English Modernity', in *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries*,

Politics, and Everyday Life, eds Gyan Prakash and Kevin M. Kruse (Princeton, NJ and Oxford, 2008).

64. *People* on Sunday 24 May 1953.
65. *People* on Sunday 26 April 1953; 3 May 1953.
66. Fabian, *London after Dark*, p. 43.
67. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, inset image between pp. 192 and 193.
68. Metropolitan Police official to BSBC, 15 January 1948, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2967.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Report of West End Central, 18 May 1953, London, N.A., HO 45/25651.
71. Report of B Division, 17 May 1953, London, N.A., HO 45/25651.
72. Report of A Division, 24 August 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 3/9713.
73. Anonymous Home Office official, 20 June 1953, HO 45/25651.
74. Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, p. 164.
75. Mass-Observation, 'Little Kinsey: Mass-Observation's Sex Survey of 1948', p. 150.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 148–9.
78. Judith Summers, *Soho: A History of London's Most Colourful Neighbourhood* (London, 1989), pp. 210–11.
79. Minute of meeting held at the Home Office between Secretary of State and Police Commissioner, 21 July 1953, London, N.A., HO 45/25651.
80. Report of B division, 24 August 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9713.
81. Report of A Division, 24 August 1954, London, N.A., MEPO 3/2967.
82. Superintendent Baston to the Home Office, 26 May 1956, London, N.A., MEPO 2/2139.
83. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 69.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
85. Jean Heal, 'Outcasts in our Cities: Summing up "Women of the Streets", the Report that Shocked Britain', *Empire News*, 29 November 1954.
86. *Daily Sketch*, 4 September 1957.
87. This report was the subject of controversy. There was a great deal of ill-feeling between the BSBC and Hermann Mannheim, who helped get the project funded through LSE and who had suggested Wilkinson as the researcher, and eventually the situation degenerated into Wilkinson having to sue for copyright of the material (she lost). Meanwhile, police and the Home Office also found much to dislike in the document, and the BSBC were keen to edit it according to their wishes. See, for instance, Notes from Meeting with Mr C. Hill of the Home Office, June 22 1954, and Miss French, Secretary of BSBC to Miss EC Bather, Superintendent of the Metropolitan Women Police, London, N.A., 2 August 1954, MEPO 3/2967.
88. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 18.
89. Testimony of Police Commissioner Nott Bower to the Wolfenden Committee, 9 November 1954, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
90. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 18.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
92. Testimony of Rosalind Wilkinson to the Wolfenden Committee, 16 November 1955, London N.A., HO 345/12.
93. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, p. 20.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

96. Ibid., p. 36.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid., p. 9.
99. Ibid., p. 116.
100. Ibid., p. 120.
101. Ibid., p. 10.
102. Ibid., p. 11.
103. Ibid., p. 37.

11 Risking the Dangers: Reconsidering Commercial Sex in 'Permissive Britain'

1. Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London, 1989), p. 239 and Mort, *Capital Affairs*, [chapter 4](#).
2. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 70.
3. Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, p. 239.
4. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 70.
5. Houlbrook, *Queer London*, p. 254.
6. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, pp. 80–2.
7. Memorandum of AMSH to Wolfenden, n.d. (c. 1954), London, N.A., HO 345/2.
8. Derrick Sherwin Bailey, *Sexual Offenders and Social Punishment: Being the Evidence Submitted on Behalf of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council to the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution* (London, 1956), pp. 61–2.
9. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, 83–4.
10. *Daily Herald*, 20 January 1959; evidence of BSBC; Church of England Moral Reform Council Memorandum for Wolfenden Committee, n.d. (c. 1956), London, N.A., HO 345/8 part 2; *ibid.*, pp. 168–9 and Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, pp. 170–1.
11. Memorandum on 'Public Concern about the nuisance caused by prostitutes', n.d. (c. 1959), London, N.A., HO 291/1083; Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, *The Wolfenden Report: Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution* (New York, 1963), p. 154.
12. Memorandum of the Metropolitan Boroughs Standing Joint Committee to Wolfenden, n.d. (c. 1956), London, N.A., HO 345/8 and *Evening News*, 13 December 1954.
13. Report of Arbour St Station, H Division, 26 August 1958, London, N.A., MEPO 2/9715; for the connection between prostitution and housing see 'Stepney Slum Clearances', July 1960, HLG 118/66.
14. Memorandum of Mr Frank Powell to Wolfenden, London, N.A., HO 345/1, p. 1.
15. Testimony of Mr Frank Powell to the Wolfenden Committee, 5 January 1955, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
16. Memorandum of Chief Magistrate Lawrence Dunn to Wolfenden, London, N.A., HO 345/8, p. 1.
17. Memorandum of the Magistrates' Association to Wolfenden, London, N.A., HO 345/8, p. 2.
18. Testimony of PC 410 Scarborough and PC 570 Anderson to the Wolfenden Committee, 8 November 1954, London, N.A., HO 345/12.

19. Testimony of Commander A. Robinson, Mr T. Macdonald Baker, Solicitor to the Police, and Commissioner Nott-Bower, 9 November 1954, Wolfenden Committee Minutes of Evidence, London, N.A., HO 345/12 and testimony of PC 410 C Scarborough and PC 570 Anderson, 8 November 1954, Wolfenden Committee minutes of evidence, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
20. Memorandum of Commissioner Nott Bower to the Wolfenden Committee, n.d. (c. 1954), London, N.A., MEPO 3/9713.
21. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 120.
22. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 12.
23. Sexual Offences Act 1956 (4 & 5 Eliz. 2 c. 69).
24. Lieut.-Colonel Marcus Lipton (Brixton); House of Commons Debate, 6 July 1956, *Hansards*, vol. 555 cc. 1,750–1, 1,750.
25. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 156.
26. *Report of the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution* (London: HMSO, 1957), cmd. 247 and *Prostitution, Wolfenden Report*.
27. Reservations by Mary G. Cohen, Kathleen Lovibond and Lily Stopford, *ibid.*, pp. 207–8.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
30. Wilson, 'Principles of the International Abolitionist Federation'.
31. *Prostitution, Wolfenden Report*, pp. 143–7.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–4.
33. In the 1980s, the first attempt to prosecute clients for 'kerb crawling' came into effect and immediately suggested these problems of identification, particularly because the offence (unlike the offence of soliciting) required proof that the man had done it 'habitually'. In the administration of this law, the state appeared more willing to identify men's cars (by their licence plates) than the men themselves.
34. Wilkinson, *Women of the Streets*, pp. 103–4.
35. T. Kemp, 'A Study of the Causes of Prostitution, Especially Concerning Hereditary Factors', in *A Decade of Progress in Eugenics, Scientific Papers of the Third International Congress of Eugenics* (New York, 1932).
36. Glover, *Psychopathology*, pp. 12–13.
37. James, *Prostitution and the Law*, p. 133.
38. From 'Prostitution' by Eleanor French, BSBC, London, 1954; clipping from HO 345/8 p. 2.
39. *House of Lords Debate, 07 June 1951, Hansards*, vol. 171, cc. 1,198–206, 1,199.
40. *Prostitution, Wolfenden Report*, p. 131.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
45. Smart, 'Women's Sexuality', p. 49.
46. Street Offences Act 1959 (7 & 8 Eliz. 2.) Ch. 57.
47. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, p. 104.
48. The AMSH launched a campaign 'deploring the recommendations of Wolfenden', Minutes of AMSH meeting, 19 September 1957, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B/04/16 box 4.
49. R.L. Archdale, *Prostitution and Persecution, Some Comments on the Street Offences Act, 1959: Pamphlet Number 8* (London, 1959), p. 21.

50. Self, *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, pp. 164–5.
51. Secretary of State, R. Butler, HC Debate, 26 November 1958, vol. 596 cc 365–508, 365.
52. Mr Reese-Davis, MP, House of Commons Debate, 29 January 1959, *Hansards*, vol. 598 cc 1,267–386, 1,267.
53. Secretary of State, R. Butler, House of Commons Debate, 22 April 1959, *Hansards*, vol. 604, cc 484–555, 484.
54. Mr Walter Edwards, MP, House of Commons Debate, 29 January 1959, *Hansards*, vol. 598, cc 1,267–386, 1,267.
55. F.G.H. to Nunn, 3 April 1959, London, N.A., HO 291/124.
56. *Daily Mail*, 19 and 27 January 1959 and *Daily Herald*, 20 January 1959.
57. Robert J. Wybrow, *Britain Speaks out, 1937–1987: A Social History as Seen through the Gallup Data* (Basingstoke, 1985), p. 52. For the *News Chronicle* poll, see Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, p. 169. For police and Home Office reception of the poll, see HO 291/124.
58. Gallup opinion poll, as cited in London, N.A., HO 291/124.
59. Street Offences Act 1959 (7 & 8 Eliz. 2. ch. 57).
60. This was practised regularly by Magistrate Frank Powell at Marlborough Street during the 1940s and 1950s. Frank Powell Memorandum to the Wolfenden Committee, London, N.A., HO 345/8, p. 1.
61. Report of Commander A, n.d. (c. November 1959), London, N.A., MEPO 2/10002.
62. *Ibid.*; on sexual liberalization see Mort, 'Striptease': 29.
63. Report of the Working Party set up by the Josephine Butler Society (formally AMSH) to study the effect of the Street Offences Act, 1959, in London, N.A., MEPO 2/10287.
64. Roger Davidson and Gayle Davis, 'A Festering Sore on the Body of Society: The Wolfenden Committee and Female Prostitution in Mid-Twentieth Century Scotland', *Journal of Scottish History* 24, no. 1 (2004): 82–3 and Report of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner to the Home Office re: the Street Offences Bill, n.d. (c. April 1959), London, N.A., HO 291/1068.
65. Police Minute, 2 June 1959, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10815.
66. Superintendent Barker to Commissioner, 28 August 1959, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10815 and Report of Commander A, n.d. (c. November 1959), London, N.A., MEPO 2/10002.
67. Report of J.J. Nunn to the Home Office, 15 December 1959, London, N.A. MEPO 2/10008.
68. Report of Superintendent Bather, 23 August 1960, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10815.
69. Police Commissioner, Summary of Divisional Reports for week of 30 August 1959, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10001.
70. Report of Superintendent Bather, 23 August 1960, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10815.
71. Rosalind Wilkinson in the *Sunday Times*, 6, 13 and 20 December 1959.
72. Report of the Working Party set up by the Josephine Butler Society in London, N.A., MEPO 2/10287.
73. Alexander Sion, *Prostitution and the Law* (London, 1977), p. 80.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Police Minute, 28 June 1967, London, N.A., HO 291/1088.
76. Minutes of the inaugural meeting of the All-party Parliamentary group, Tuesday 5 December 1961, London, WL, 3AMS/B/04/16 box 47.

77. Testimony of PC 410 C Scarborough and PC 570 Anderson, 8 November 1954, Wolfenden Committee minutes of evidence, London, N.A., HO 345/12.
78. Memorandum from the Chairman of the Board of Visitors for Styal prison, 18 April 1967, London, N.A. PCOM 9/2233.
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87. Report of A Division, 17 August 1960, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10002.
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92. *Ibid.*
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95. Fabian, *London after Dark*, p. 39.
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97. Sion, *Prostitution and the Law*, pp. 112, 107.
98. Report of Commander A, n.d. (c. November 1959), London, N.A., MEPO 2/10002.
99. Police Commissioner to J.J. Nunn, 11 March 1960, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10002.
100. Webb to Nunn, 16 October 1959, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10002.
101. Summers, *Soho*, p. 214.
102. Report of Superintendent of the CID, 22 November 1960, London, N.A., MEPO 2/10559.
103. MEPO 2/10559.
104. See, for instance, *R v. Sheila Platoni*, in London, N.A., DPP 2/3161.
105. As reported by PC Monahan, 7 March 1961, London, N.A., DPP 2/3161.
106. Mort, 'Striptease': 45.
107. *Ibid.*: 29 and Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, pp. 239–44.
108. Houlbrook, *Queer London*, pp. 109–34.

109. Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, pp. 244 and Mort, 'Striptease': 42.
110. Mort, 'Striptease': 53.
111. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Part IV.
112. Report of the Working Party to Study the Street Offences Act, 1964, London, The Women's Library, 3AMS/B/04/16/04 box 048.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. Kinnel, *Violence and Sex Work*.
116. Frank Mort, 'Scandalous Events: Metropolitan Culture and Moral Change in Post-Second World War London', *Representations* 93 (2006) and Anon., 'Report to the Cambridge Conference' (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 35–6.
117. Claude Jaget, *Prostitutes: Our Life* (Bristol, 1980); Gail Pettersen, ed., *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores* (Seattle: Seal Press, 1989); Eileen McLeod, 'Man-Made Laws for Men? The Street Prostitutes' Campaign against Control', in *Controlling Women: The Normal and the Deviant* and Laite, 'The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene'.
118. Watts, *The Men in My Life*, p. 235.

Conclusion

1. Greig, 'The Truth About White Slavery': 429.
2. Jane Scouler and Maggie O'Neill, 'Regulating Prostitution: Social Inclusion, Responsibilization, and the Politics of Prostitution Reform', *British Journal of Criminology* 47 (2007): 764.
3. Hans Boutellier, 'The De-Victimization of the Prostitute: From Regulation to Brothel Prohibition', in *Crime and Morality: The Significance of Criminal Justice in Post-Modern Culture* (Dordrecht, Boston and London: 2000).
4. For current appraisals of this dynamic, see Joanna Phoenix and Sarah Oerton, *Illicit and Illegal: Sex, Regulation, and Social Control* (Cullompton, Devon: 2005), pp. 76–105 and Kemshall (2002), as cited by Scouler and O'Neill, 'Regulating Prostitution': 769–70.
5. John Meadowcroft, 'Introduction', in *Prohibitions* (London, 2008), p. 25. Elizabeth Clement argues that this was very much the case in the contemporaneous period in New York City. Clement, *Love for Sale*, pp. 117–211.
6. Scouler and O'Neill, 'Regulating Prostitution': 775.
7. Gordon, *Penal Discipline*, p. 10.
8. Mahood, *The Magdalenes*, p. 1.
9. 'Prostitution: What's Going On?', 21 September 2006 – 28 April 2007, Exhibition Hall, The Women's Library, London Metropolitan University.
10. As Matt Houlbrook reminds us, there is a great deal of information left to be discovered about sexuality in rural or non-metropolitan environments. Houlbrook, 'Sexuality', 150–4.
11. For more on violence and sex work, see Kinnel, *Violence and Sex Work*.
12. The sociological literature on sexual labour in the present day in Britain is fascinating and immense. For a variety of perspectives, see, for instance, Elizabeth Bernstein, *Temporarily Yours: Intimacy, Authenticity, and the Commerce of Sex* (Chicago, IL, 2007); Kate Hardy, Sarah Kingston and Teela Sanders, eds, *New Sociologies of Sex Work* (London, Ashgate, 2010); Julia O'Connell Davidson, *Prostitution, Power and Freedom* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1999) and Phoenix and Oerton, *Illicit and Illegal*.

13. For the interesting persistence of mistaken identity, see Bernstein, *Temporarily Yours*, pp. 60–9 and Scoular and O’Neill, ‘Regulating Prostitution’: 774–5.
14. Teela Sanders, ‘The Risks of Street Prostitution: Punters, Police and Protesters’, *Urban Studies* 41 (2004) and Sophie Day, *On the Game: Women and Sex Work* (London, 2007).
15. Sheila Jeffreys, *The Industrial Vagina: The Political Economy of the Global Sex Trade* (London, 2009).
16. Philip Howell, David Beckingham and Francesca Moore, ‘Managed Zones for Sex Workers in Liverpool: Contemporary Proposals, Victorian Parallels’, *Transactions of the Institute for British Geographers* 33, no. 2 (2008).
17. Royden, ‘Problem of the Undesirables’: 3.
18. While this phrase has been linked to Kipling’s 1888 remarks about ‘the most ancient profession in the world’ (Rudyard Kipling, ‘On the City Wall’, in *In Black and White* (London, 1888)), it appears that its origins are significantly older, if undetermined. In any case, the imaginative link between prostitution and the development of ancient civilization has been frequently referred to, for instance, by Lecky in 1869, when he wrote that the prostitute ‘remains, while creeds and civilisations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people’. Lecky, *A History of European Morals*, pp. 282–3.
19. Clement, ‘Prostitution’, p. 208; she states that she is often surprised by ‘how little change there has been in prostitution compared to other work’.

Appendix

1. Source: Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, *The Wolfenden Report*, p. 223.
2. Before 1930, these statistics come from the *Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner*. After 1930, I have compiled them from unpublished police returns in London, TNA, HO 45/21766.
3. Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, London, TNA, HO 45/21766.
4. R.S. Sindall, ‘The Criminal Statistics of Nineteenth-Century Cities: A New Approach’, *Urban History* 13 (1986).
5. *Judicial statistics of England and Wales*.
6. London, TNA, MEPO 1/1720.
7. Prostitution, *The Wolfenden Report*, pp. 160–1.

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Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, 1903
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