The painter, the press, the philanthropist, and the prostitute: the representation of the fallen woman in British visual culture (1850-1900)

Emily Elizabeth Wilce

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Thesis abstract

This thesis explores how the fallen woman was depicted in British visual culture between the late 1840s and 1900. Previous research has focused on how the fallen woman was portrayed in art, literature, and to some extent the illustrated press but has not considered her representation in the illustrated periodicals produced by the Salvation Army or the implications of her illustration in the coverage of the Jack the Ripper murders. This thesis encompasses these neglected sources and argues that the intended audiences of these images profoundly influenced how the fallen woman was presented in each medium and how these portrayals were received. This research highlights, both thematically and chronologically, the impact which social thought had upon the portrayal of the fallen woman, the role of editors and critics in the mode and reception of works, concerns regarding the social acceptability of the fallen woman as a subject for mass consumption, and how the purpose of the image influenced its message. Chapter One explores the origins of the notion of the fallen woman and the significance of Christian tradition within Victorian culture. Chapter Two considers the portrayal of the fallen woman in painting, whilst Chapters Three and Four examine the role of the illustrated press. The thesis concludes with an examination of the publications produced by the Salvation Army during the 1890s, arguing that these periodicals purposefully adopted elements from the different mediums studied in the previous chapters so as to have the greatest impact upon their intended readers. It is my contention that the fallen woman was a malleable concept which could be subtly shaped to suit the sensibilities and pre-existing belief systems of different audiences, and that it can therefore be understood as a case study for the exploration of wider Victorian attitudes towards gender, morality, and artistic production.

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Chapter Five

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, the role and status of women was widely debated. The fallen woman, the prostitute, the single mother, and the adulterous wife became central components in these discussions, being juxtaposed to the feminine ideal of the loyal wife, mother, and daughter. Characterised as sexually deviant, the fallen woman became widely established as a recognisable trope in nineteenth-century British visual and literary culture. This thesis will consider how the fallen woman and the different incarnations which she took were depicted in a variety of artistic mediums between the late 1840s and 1900, asking how the medium in which she was depicted influenced how the fallen woman was represented. The purpose of this is to question how portrayals of the fallen woman changed in accordance with their intended audiences and, moreover, how representations were shaped by wider attitudes towards the perceived role and position of painting, graphic illustration, journalism, and philanthropy in Victorian society.

This thesis engages with material which has been widely discussed in past scholarship. Thus, it is conscious of the large body of secondary literature which has shaped the development of the history of sexuality and prostitution as historical fields. Discussions of the significance of Victorian sexuality first arose during the mid-twentieth century, but since then, approaches have shifted dramatically to reflect the influence of feminist and post-structuralist philosophies.

Keith Thomas' 1959 paper 'The double standard' described the historical precedents for the division between the sexes, arguing that the fallen woman's long established history in Western culture was the result of the need for male ownership of women.[1] Whilst his article summarised Freudian modes of thought and explored the impact which class and law have had on the development of inequalities between the sexual freedoms of men and women, Thomas' article overlooked the complexities inherent within Victorian society. He failed to recognise the increasing emancipation experienced by middle-class women over the period and the role of men in this liberation, instead presenting a somewhat limited view of Victorian

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[1] Keith Thomas, 'The double standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20, no. 2 (1959), pp. 195-216, p. 216.

society as being unyielding and staid in its patriarchal framework, conclusions which were echoed in the work of historians such as Ronald Pearsall.[2] The development of feminist perspectives in British and American scholarship during the 1970s attempted to challenge this simplified viewpoint, revealing the role which women played in social history through the formation and narration of their own histories.

Judith Walkowitz's early work on the history of prostitution was fundamental in shifting this focus.[3] Her feminist approach unearthed the experiences of the women themselves, arguing that class and social conditioning were, and in the 1970s still remained, fundamental in the formation of attitudes towards gender. Alongside other scholars, such as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall whose exploration of the role of women in the definition and performance of middle-class society in *Family Fortunes* (1987) was central to the argument that class and gender were mutually influential terms, and Martha Vicinus, Walkowitz repositioned women, and the Victorian prostitute specifically, from victims and bystanders to active participants in their own stories.[4] Walkowitz has more recently assigned the term 'the economy of makeshifts' to describe the prostitute's purposeful interaction with the labour market, using it to denote women's intentional and wilful participation in the sex trade as a method of survival in an environment which was largely hostile to both their class and gender. Walkowitz's assessment of the role of women, such as Josephine Butler, in the production of salvation narratives mirrored feminist debates within 1970s Britain and America – and she makes these parallels clear in her discussions of the media coverage of both the AIDS crisis and the Yorkshire Ripper murders in relation to the Contagious Diseases Acts, their repeals, and the unprecedented newspaper coverage of Jack the Ripper. The work of Walkowitz, Davidoff, and Hall, therefore, broadened understandings about the role which

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[2] Nead identifies Pearsall's *Public purity, private shame* and Michael Pearson's *The age of consent* as examples of early scholarship which 'reiterate[d] the prurient model in which bourgeois respectability concealed a nineteenth-century underworld of prostitution and pornography'. See Lynda Nead, 'Fallen women and foundlings: rethinking Victorian sexuality', *History Workshop*, 82, no. 1 (2016), pp. 177-187, p. 177; Ronald Pearsall, *Public purity, private shame: Victorian sexual hypocrisy exposed* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976); and Michael Pearson, *The age of consent* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972). Also see Ronald Pearsall, *The worm in the bud: the world of Victorian sexuality* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969).

[3] Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Notes on the history of Victorian prostitution', *Feminist Studies*, 1, no. 1 (1972), pp. 105-114; Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel 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. 3 (1973), pp. 73-106.

[4] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, 1987 (London: Routledge, 2002); Martha Vicinus (ed.), *Suffer and be still: women in the Victorian age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973).

women played in the public sphere and shifted historiography of the period away from one focused on public and private division, towards a more sophisticated appreciation of the complex relationship which gender and class played in the formation of societal and cultural attitudes and representations.

The development of a feminist history of prostitution was, therefore, in part, a response to the development of second-wave feminism which brought issues such as gender inequality, homosexuality, birth control, and employment rights for women to the forefront in the United States and the United Kingdom. A series of reform laws passed in the 1960s in Britain helped to prompt a reassessment of attitudes towards sexuality and addressed issues of sex, gender, identity and self-assertion in the shadow of social control.[5] These reforms prompted a second-wave of scholarly feminist writing amongst historians and sociologists who assessed the impact of societal regulation on the development, expression, understanding, and production of these issues.

As these concerns developed within the broader humanities, art historians also shifted their focus to address how women had been portrayed, neglected, and also objectified in past art and scholarship. John Berger's *Ways of seeing* (1973) attempted to address the relationship between subject and spectator, examining images of the nude in both high and low culture. Issues of voyeurism were more strongly explored by Linda Nochlin whose collection of essays which included 'Why have there been no great women artists?' (1971), 'Women, art, and power' (1988), and 'Eroticism and female imagery in nineteenth-century art' (1972) became pioneering papers in the development of feminist art history.[6] Amongst these, Nochlin's 'Lost and *Found*: once more the fallen woman' (1978) was seminal in establishing the history of the representation of prostitution as a field within art history. Her exploration of Rossetti's *Found* (1854) in relation to other visual examples and her contention that these portrayals present the fall of women as a 'metaphysical absolute rather than a social or ethical

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[5] The legalisation of abortion in 1964, the conditioned decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1967, and the divorce reform act of 1969 are all examples of these reforms.
[6] These were published together in a collection in 1989. See Linda Nochlin, *Women, art and power and other essays* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

issue that might be dealt with and changed by means of human effort and action' reveals the influence of post-structuralist thought and, perhaps most palpably, Michel Foucault.[7]

The publication of Michel Foucault's *History of sexuality* in 1976 (translated into English in 1978) followed in the wake of this growing awareness of issues of sexuality and regulation in literary, social, and visual histories. Foucault argued that in contrast to assumptions such as Pearsall's which presumed that 'at a time when communication had reached a sophistication [where] … one could find out everything about anything – provided that it did not concern the relation of the sexes, or sex itself', Foucault showed that the Victorian period actually witnessed 'a veritable discursive explosion' of material concerning this subject.[8] Foucault's explanation of the 'repressive hypothesis' therefore broke new ground in the study of the history of sexuality.

As this thesis demonstrates, the Victorians published profusely on the evolution of prostitution in Western history, viewing the topic as an issue of public moral interest: William Greg's widely read articles, 'Prostitution' (1850) and 'Why are women redundant?' (1869) promoted the idea that women were naturally sexually passive beings, the fallen woman's downfall was rapid and inevitable, and that transportation to the colonies was a viable option to spread the surplus of women in society amongst the men whilst allowing them to maintain their chastity before fulfilling their 'natural' role as wives and mothers. William Acton's *Prostitution: considered in its moral, social, and sanitary aspects* (1858) presented a medical perspective which was concerned with the spread of sexually transmitted infections, whilst Henry Mayhew's *London labour and the London poor* (first published in three complete volumes in 1851) offered a journalistic and moralistic perspective of life in the capital. The fourth volume, entitled 'Those who will not work', was added in 1862 and contained a section on prostitution which was written by Bracebridge Hemyng. William Lecky's *History of European morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (1869) contextualised contemporary concerns regarding prostitution with a historicising and moralising account, in which he recognised both the social exclusion of – but also apparent societal need for – such a figure.

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[7] Linda Nochlin, 'Lost and *Found*: once more the fallen woman', *Art Bulletin*, 60, no. 1 (1978), pp. 139-153, p. 152.

[8] Ronald Pearsall, *Public purity, private shame*, p. 9; Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality, volume 1: the will to knowledge*, 1976, Robert Hurley (trans.) (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 17.

French models of systemic regulation were also made available through the translation and publication of tracts such as Alexandre J. B. Parent du Châtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (1857) and Yves Guyot's *Prostitution under the regulation system: French and English* (1884). Moreover, the highly publicised campaigns for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts during the 1870s and 1880s resulted in a wealth of literature. Regulation, knowledge, and pleasure, Foucault therefore demonstrated, were central to Victorian society and were widely discussed in all aspects of social and cultural life.

Foucault's reappraisal of Victorian sexuality called for a new intertextual approach to the study of sexuality, which shaped the methodology of feminist art historians such as Lynda Nead whose *Myths of Sexuality* was one of the first texts in art historical studies to explore portrayals of sexual obedience and transgression in high and low art forms.[9] In her founding study of the history of representations of the prostitute, Nead argued that definitions of sexuality, and therefore the regulation of desirable and undesirable sexual behaviours by women, were regulated and shaped by visual portrayals. Similarly, Mary Cowling and Linda Mahood's publications broadened the relationships between sociology, control, interpretation and gender, developing a broader understanding of how gender issues, societal organisations, and culture were fused during the period.[10]

Art historians such as Deborah Cherry, Susan Casteras, Griselda Pollock, Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn began to uncover the role which artists played in the development of gender history, assessing the role of the male viewer in relation to the female body, but also the contributions made to the portrayal of the fallen woman and female sexuality by women artists.[11] Concerns regarding the voyeuristic role of the viewer, issues of censorship, beauty, and sexual desire, were similarly approached in Alison Smith's *The Victorian nude: sexuality, morality and art* (1996) and the accompanying exhibition *Exposed: the Victorian nude*, which opened at Tate Britain in late 2001.[12]

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[9] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality: representations of women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).

[10] Mary Cowling, *The artist as anthropologist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Linda Mahood, 'The Magdalene's friend: prostitution and social control in Glasgow, 1869-1890', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13, no. 1 and 2 (1990), pp. 49-61.

[11] Deborah Cherry, *Painting women: Victorian women artists* (London: Routledge, 1993).

[12] *Exposed: the Victorian nude* [exhibition]. Tate Britain, London. 1 November 2001 - 13 January 2002.

Recent exhibitions at the Museum of London Docklands and the Foundling Museum have encouraged public engagement with the history of prostitution and women's experiences of crime, poverty and sexual regulation, both exhibitions placing emphasis on the personal experiences of real women.[13] Most recently, the *History Workshop Journal* included a feature on the continuing need for new research on Victorian sexuality and the implications of the subject today.[14] Clearly, the issues which the feminist historians first raised during the 1970s and 1980s are still relevant today, and thus this thesis aims to explore previously under-researched material, such as the publications produced by the Salvation Army, and reassess more familiar sources so as to ascertain how the audiences of these publications shaped attitudes towards the fallen woman and how these changed over the course of the nineteenth century.

Lynda Nead's research has considered the portrayal of the fallen woman in visual culture most comprehensively, exploring how notions of fallenness arose in opposition to the feminine ideal, how the fallen woman was presented as both a deviant and social victim, and how the reclamation of these women was primarily seen as a feminine task. Her work also explores the mythology of female fallenness in opposition to the realities experienced by outcast women in Victorian society. The recent exhibition which Nead curated at the Foundling Museum approached this idea, juxtaposing some of the key art works in this field, encompassing both paintings and newspaper illustrations, with the experience of real Victorian mothers who applied for their children to be taken in by the Foundling Hospital.[16] Nead's seminal work, *Myths of sexuality: representations of women in Victorian Britain* (1988), similarly incorporates various types of images into her discussion, analysing the depiction of women in oil paintings which were exhibited at the Royal Academy, illustrations published in novels and social commentaries, and mass produced prints, against their legal and social

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[13] *Jack the Ripper* [exhibition]. The Museum of London Docklands, London. May 2008-2 November 2008 and *The Fallen Woman* [exhibition]. The Foundling Museum, London. 25 September 2015-3 January 2016.

[14] This issue included articles by Lynda Nead, Judith Walkowitz and Frank Mort which all provide a reassessment of early feminist literature in the field and argue that the study of Victorian attitudes towards sexuality requires further examination as the subject is defined as much by its silences as its wealth of literature. See Lynda Nead, 'Fallen women and foundlings'; Judith R. Walkowitz, 'The politics of prostitution and sexual labour', *History Workshop*, 82, no. 1 (2016), pp. 188-198; and Frank Mort, 'Victorian afterlives: sexuality and identity in the 1960 and 1970s', *History Workshop*, 82, no. 1 (2016), pp. 199-212.

[16] *The Fallen Woman* [exhibition].

backdrops. Judith Walkowitz's research adopts a similar historical approach, but rather than exploring the portrayal of the fallen woman in wider visual culture, Walkowitz's work considers the attitudes which formed her characterisation. Specifically, Walkowitz has explored the coverage of the Jack the Ripper murders by the Victorian press and wider gender-based biases in nineteenth-century society, illustrating how the ramifications of the treatment of women in this period can still be read today.

The historical, intertextual, and feminist approaches of these scholars are fundamental to understanding how the fallen woman was portrayed during the period, as Victorian culture was characterised by innovations in all aspects of culture. Victorian cities were filled with visual media: billstickers, illustrated newspapers, popular prints, and reproductions of paintings were all rapidly evolving during this period. The exploration of the portrayal of the fallen woman, therefore, requires an intertextual approach to reflect the profusion of material which was produced at the time. The status of women and their deviation from expected gender conventions were subjects discussed in political, social and medical publications, but they also featured heavily in art and literature.

Thus, whilst the portrayal of the fallen woman has received generous attention in past research, the sheer volume of material which was produced during the mid- to late nineteenth century means that there are still areas of research to be explored. Moreover, whilst Lucy Ella Rose's work has gone some way to highlight the existence of active feminist artistic networks in late Victorian society, having assessed the relationship between George Frederic Watts, Mary Seton Watts, and Josephine Butler, the broader relationships which existed between the art of the galleries, prints, and the popular press have been largely overlooked in relation to discourses surrounding the fallen woman and, therefore, warrant further investigation. [17] Hence, through the study of art intended for gallery display, widely-distributed printed images published in newspapers, pamphlets and periodicals, and the work of journalists and social reformers, this thesis aims to highlight the intertextual nature of visual culture during the

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[17] Lucy Ella Rose, 'A feminist network in an artists' home: Mary and George Watts, George Meredith, and Josephine Butler', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 5502 (2016), pp. 1-19; Lucy Ella Rose, 'Subversive representations of women and death in Victorian visual culture: the 'm/other' in the art and craft of George Frederic Watts and Mary Seton Watts', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 4787 (2016), pp. 1-28.

period and the relationships which can be seen to have formed between these different genres.

In this thesis, the terms 'prostitute' and 'fallen woman' will both be used to describe the sexually deviant female, as during the nineteenth-century the term 'prostitute' was rarely given a clearly demarcated definition. Demonstrating the fact that in Victorian social thought the fallen woman was a far from coherent concept, Nead organises her research into chapters which are based upon how women were depicted, identifying them under such headings as 'the adulteress', 'the prostitute' and the fallen woman as 'social victim' – a categorisation which highlights the difficulty in defining nineteenth-century attitudes towards female sexual deviancy. [18]

Consensus as to whether the fallen female was to be identified with the working prostitute, the middle-class adulteress, or the single mother was rarely achieved. During the Victorian period, there was little agreement as to what precisely defined the prostitute and whether all supposedly aberrant and sexual females should be described as such. In his seminal work *London labour and the London poor* (1862), Henry Mayhew argued that 'every woman who yields to her passions and loses her virtue is a prostitute'. [19] Thus, for Mayhew, there was little to differentiate a woman who had participated in sexual behaviour before marriage from those who engaged in sex work out of economic necessity. In contrast, William Acton criticised this perspective. In *Prostitution: considered in its moral, social, and sanitary aspects*, Acton explored various definitions of prostitution and the problems which these created when attempting to regulate it:

> Moralists have maintained that all illicit intercourse is prostitution and that this word is as justly applicable as those of "fornication" and "whoredom" to the female who, whether for hire or not, voluntarily surrenders her virtue. According to them, her first offence is as much an act of prostitution as its repetition. [20]

In his study, Acton concluded that it was 'the fact of "hiring", whether openly or secretly, whether by an individual or a plurality in succession' that would 'constitute prostitution'. [21] The difficulty which Acton saw in defining prostitution was also echoed by Josephine Butler

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[18] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*.
[19] Henry Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, volume 4: Those that will not work (London: Griffen, Bohn and Company, 1862), p. 215.
[20] William Acton, *Prostitution considered: its moral, social and sanitary aspects in London and other large cities* (London: John Churchill, 1858), p. 1.
[21] Ibid., p. 2.

who spearheaded the campaigns against the Contagious Diseases Acts.[22] Butler saw that no easy distinction could be made between the virtuous and the fallen woman:

> It grieves me deeply to find that even enlightened people will contrive to mass all these women into one great class, labelled with the ugly name of *prostitute* … the boundary line between the virtuous and vicious is so gradually and imperceptibly shaded off, that there is no one point at which it would be possible to affix a distinct name, or infallibly assign a class.[23]

Clearly, the notions of the virtuous and the fallen woman were not clear cut, as Nead has shown: 'social and moral identities were far more diverse than the simple categories of "pure" and "fallen" will allow'.[24] Greta Wendelin's doctoral thesis, titled 'The genealogy of the prostitute: defining and disciplining prostitution through journalism in Victorian England, 1809-1886', identifies inconsistencies in responding to and reporting prostitution in Britain during the period.[25] Wendelin argues that 'the definition of "prostitute" changed over the course of the century' and these changing definitions were enacted and influenced by the discussion of the topic in the press. Yet, as J. B. Bullen has observed, to describe a woman as 'fallen' is to suggest that she was previously once respectable.[26] The distinction between the once respectable woman who had perhaps only 'fallen' once and the professional prostitute is certainly a valid one to make. However, as Amanda Anderson has argued, 'studies [must] ... acknowledge the fluidity of the term "fallen woman" [and] its application to a range of feminine identities: prostitutes, unmarried women who engage in sexual relations ... victims of seduction, adulteresses, as well as variously delinquent lower-class women'.[27] Consequently, this thesis discusses the portrayal of the 'prostitute' and the fallen woman in accordance with

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[22] The Contagious Diseases Acts are briefly discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Three.

[23] Josephine Butler, 'The moral reclaimability of prostitutes, read by Mrs. Josephine Butler at a conference of delegates held at freemason's tavern, May 5 and 6, 1870', 1870, in J. Jordan and I. E. Sharp (eds), *Josephine Butler and the prostitution campaigns: diseases of the body politic*, volume 1 (London: Routledge, 2003) , pp. 121-127, p. 122.

[24] Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, p. 64.

[25] Greta Kristian Wendelin, 'The genealogy of the prostitute: defining and disciplining prostitution through journalism in Victorian England, 1809-1886' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kansas, 2012) <http://www.academia.edu/4995404/The_Genealogy_of_the_Prostitute_Defining_and_Disciplining_Prosituttion_Through_Journalism_in_Victorian_England_1809-1886> [accessed 6 November 2013].

[26] J. B. Bullen, *The Pre-Raphaelite body: fear and desire in painting, poetry, and criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 50.

[27] Amanda Anderson, *Tainted souls and painted faces: the rhetoric of fallenness in Victorian culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 2.

these nineteenth-century definitions, within which 'any female who had experienced sexual relations outside marriage' could be condemned.[28]

Chapter One considers how the concept of female fallenness rose to such prominence in nineteenth-century culture. This discussion attempts to establish the role of Christian tradition in the formation of definitions of gender and sexual behaviour, assessing how female virtuousness was juxtaposed with notions of deviancy and the implications which class had upon these definitions. The chapter argues that the influence of Christian teaching and interpretation upon portrayals of the fallen woman led to contradictory attitudes towards the reasons for her fall, as woman was seen to be both the ideal creature of devotion whilst also being inherently sexual, repentant whilst eternally damned. The discussion examines nineteenth-century interpretations of Biblical stories and contemporary attitudes towards the representation of figures such as Mary Magdalene in art. The perceived role of beauty in social and artistic presumptions of respectability reveals the depth to which notions of class informed attitudes towards female fallenness in art and culture, and shows how the feminine ideal was largely a middle-class construct which was unattainable for the vast majority of working women. Moreover, the chapter argues that religious narrative was just as important in the definition of the fallen woman as it was in her reclamation, as artists, authors and social campaigners used the universal and contradictory nature of Biblical teachings to speak to audiences, calling for Christian compassion and social change.

Following on from this discussion, Chapter Two asks how the fallen woman was portrayed in the art of the mid-century. This chapter considers the way in which the perceived moral role of art and the harmful impact which undesirable subjects could have upon viewers, which were key concerns in art criticism and display during the mid-nineteenth century, influenced how portrayals of the fallen woman were received by art critics and gallery committees. The chapter explores how the gender of the artist affected the way in which the subject of the fallen woman was received, and exposes how, despite assumptions during the period of a hierarchy between artistic and literary genres, relationships and patterns between what were assumed to be high and 'vulgar' mediums can be observed.

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[28] J. B. Bullen, *The Pre-Raphaelite body,* p. 50.

Chapter Three considers how the spheres of art and journalism intertwined during the 1870s. The chapter examines how the popular and illustrated press became central in debates concerning the criminal nature of the prostitute and a prominent platform in the campaign for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. The chapter then questions the extent to which art produced for the masses could also be considered as equivalent to the art of the galleries, considering the role of high-end illustrated publications such as *The Graphic* in these debates. The role which classicism played in the palatability of scenes of economic hardship, looking specifically at Gustave Doré's illustrations for Blanchard Jerrold's *London: a pilgrimage* (1872), and the use of classicism as a tactic of sensational journalism, will also be assessed. The chapter then concludes with a discussion of the relationship between art and journalism in the wake of William T. Stead's 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon'. Published in *The Pall Mall Gazette* in a series of articles in 1885, the series caused public uproar. *The Minotaur* (1885), which was painted by George Frederic Watts in direct response to Stead's articles, will also be discussed in order to evaluate how the artist and the journalist used their mediums to achieve the same purpose.

The fourth chapter of this thesis examines the coverage of the Jack the Ripper murders in the illustrated press in 1888, questioning how the portrayal of the prostitute in a setting of sexual, sensational, and violent narratives can lead us to question where the boundaries between social concern, the need for news, and voyeuristic pleasure lay. Whilst past scholarship has considered the media coverage of the Ripper murders extensively, this research largely analyses the role of text in these articles and the lasting cultural impact of the crimes.[29] Instead, this thesis explores how the popular press used illustration, specifically, in its reports of the crimes to project wider social fears regarding crime, class, and sexual deviancy onto the mutilated bodies of the Ripper's victims. The exploration of the illustrated press examines how newspapers tailored their use of illustration to suit different intended audiences, and thus, how concerns regarding sexual explicitness in the pictorial coverage of

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[29] Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Male vice and feminist virtue: feminism and the politics of prostitution in nineteenth-century Britain', *History Workshop*, 13 (1982), pp. 79-93; Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Jack the Ripper and the myth of male violence', *Feminist Studies*, 8, no. 3 (1982), pp. 542-574; Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of dreadful delight: narratives of sexual danger in late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis (eds), *Jack the Ripper: media, culture, history* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007).

crimes which were so overtly and publically sexualised, were addressed. It will, therefore, be argued that these illustrations are central to understanding attitudes towards print culture, sexual misadventure, class division and the role which intended readerships had on the content of publications.   The chapter exposes the contradictions which existed in the circulation of explicit visual material, demonstrating that although concerns regarding the impact of overtly sexualised material were prevalent in society, the need for sales and the undefined division between factual and fictional reportage ultimately dictated the levels of sensation.

Following on from this, Chapter Five examines previously unexplored material in this field, analysing the illustrations and construction of the periodicals which were produced by the Salvation Army in the 1880s and 1890s. Rather than being tailored to suit a specific audience, these publications were intended to appeal to both affluent philanthropists and the fallen woman herself. The chapter, therefore, asks how the organisation used print to attract this dual audience. The discussion considers how the authors and illustrators of the Salvation Army periodicals used themes and iconographic patterns which had been prevalent in the art, literature, and journalism of the century to promote their rescue homes and work. The primary periodical discussed in this chapter is *The Deliverer*, which was first published in 1889 and championed as a 'record of Salvation Army rescue work'. The portrayal of the fallen woman in two other Salvation Army publications, *All the World* and *War Cry*, will also be explored, assessing the role which women played in the production and dissemination of these, as well as in the physical rehabilitation of the women they encountered. The final chapter of this thesis will argue that the Salvation Army's propagandistic use of print was manufactured in response to themes and portrayals which had been prominent in art and journalism earlier in the century, adopting elements from popular culture to appeal to a diverse audience whilst simultaneously advertising their rescue homes to the women they hoped to help. It was both a vehicle of redemption and a piece of self-publicity, and the chapter asks how these two competing aims were remedied, arguing that the Salvation Army's successful study of art, investigative journalism, and the illustrated press, enabled them to produce high quality publications which drew upon wider discourses in the portrayal of the fallen woman.

The broad chronological reach of this thesis means that each chapter focuses on a limited number of case studies. As a result, most of the material which is discussed centres on the London area and – notably in Chapter Five – excludes the study of the Salvation Army's rescue work abroad. The examples which are considered, therefore, aim to uncover wider attitudes towards gender, sexuality, and class, as well as concerns regarding the moral impact which visual culture could have upon audiences. In order to achieve this, several thematic patterns will recur throughout the chapters of this thesis. The role which religion played in the condemnation, portrayal, and reclamation of the fallen woman is examined in both the first and final chapters. Concerns regarding the impact which art and literature were thought to have upon the viewing and reading public are discussed throughout this thesis so as to show how the depiction of the fallen woman was shaped to suit different sensibilities. Issues of class and gender in relation to both the intended audiences of these portrayals, the fallen woman herself, and her reclamation, will also be shown to be significant. The fluidity of the boundaries between fiction, art, journalism, graphic illustration, and philanthropic publications will also be continually addressed so as to expose similarities between the different genres which this thesis discusses.

Through this chronological and thematic approach, this thesis aims to show that representations of the fallen woman in mid- to late nineteenth-century British culture were not only shaped by their intended audiences and the mediums in which they were created, but also by themes and traditions in visual culture and society more broadly. Rather than being separate spheres with independent audience bases and producers, this thesis will argue that painting, print culture, and the popular press shared mutually influential relationships which formed continuities in how the fallen woman was depicted and the themes surrounding her portrayal. These relationships were generated through collaborative relationships between activists, artists, and journalists, as well as being shaped by wider attitudes towards gender in society and the impact which the plethora of material which was produced and made accessible in Victorian Britain had upon wider trends in visual culture.

Chapter One: The genesis of the outcast woman

This chapter considers how the notion of the fallen woman evolved over the course of the nineteenth century and the role and arguments of early campaigners for female rights. The chapter aims to provide an account of not only the development of gender definitions in Western culture, but how notions of appropriate sexual behaviour have been defined by these. Moreover, the chapter maintains that 1970s and 1980s feminist scholarship holds strong parallels with the arguments of early feminists who were writing and campaigning for the rights of women and the abolition of sexist laws and institutions during the late nineteenth century. The intention of this is to provide a foundation for the discussion and arguments which are explored in the following chapters, firmly placing the issues assessed within the context of twentieth-century scholarship and nineteenth-century feminist discourses.

The fallen woman was a central preoccupation of nineteenth-century British culture. The period is scattered with visual representations of abandoned women, and Victorian literature provides some of the most iconic examples of female fallenness, in works such as Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1893) and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Ruth* (1853). Medical papers and legal debates also embraced the theme, and social investigation and political intervention helped to encourage social reform surrounding women's rights and prostitution. Indeed, rarely does one find a recently published study on Victorian society which fails to contain a chapter specifically devoted to issues concerning sex and gender, their manifestations in the world of prostitution, or the significance of a woman's virtue. Yet, the presence or absence of female virtue is by no means a notion exclusive to Victorian Britain; history is rife with examples of Biblical prostitutes, abandoned single mothers, and royal mistresses.[1] Why, then, did the theme reach such prominence during the nineteenth century?

Attempts to answer this question rose to the forefront of Victorian studies when the history of sexuality began to develop as a field of academic enquiry during the 1970s. Social and literary historians such as Judith Walkowitz, Leonore Davidoff, Catherine Hall, and Martha Vicinus published ground-breaking studies which, alongside Michel Foucault's *The history of*

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[1] Nickie Roberts, *Whores in history: prostitution in western society* (London: Harper Collins, 1992). Roberts charts the development of prostitution in Western culture from a feminist viewpoint and dedicates her book to her 'rediscovered sisters, the whores in history' whom she hopes to recover from patriarchal definitions of gender which have defined 'good' and 'bad' girls.

sexuality, helped to expose inaccurate presumptions that Victorian society was defined by a silence on all subjects of female sexuality and, especially, prostitution. Instead, they began to argue that the ideological definitions of gender which characterised discourses surrounding the role of women, including class expectations and the stability of the nation, signalled systemic attempts to control behaviour which did not accurately reflect the experiences of many women at the time.[2] The division of women into opposing types as a result of this saw the rise of 'the angel in the house' model, following Coventry Patmore's famous poem of 1862, in contrast to the deviant single, sexually available, or criminal woman. Secondary literature has re-examined the division between the illicit and the ideal woman, demonstrating the chasm which existed between ideology and reality, as well as the role of class and the use of fictional portrayals in the questioning of these divisions. Amanda Anderson, Deborah Epstein Nord and Lynda Nead have considered the categorisation of the fallen and the respectable woman in literature and art respectively, arguing that the portrayal of these prototypes reflected patriarchal and regulatory societal structures rather than the lived experiences of women during the nineteenth century.[3] Moreover, the role which religion played in the formation of ideological gender definitions has been considered by social historians such as Carol Engelhardt Herringer and Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock whose edited volume *Women of faith in Victorian culture* suggests that whilst religion was fundamental to the formation of ideological definitions of gender, discourses surrounding women and religion were often contradictory.[4] Foucault famously stated that 'all sex is placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden'. He explained that 'power's hold on sex is maintained through language, or rather through the act of discourse that creates, from the very fact that it is articulated, a rule of law'.[5] This chapter therefore considers the development of this discourse and its implantation into Victorian codes of gendered behaviour and appearance, considering how this binary system found expression in discussions of the societal roles of the sexes, the contradictory need for but also condemnation of the prostitute, and notions of ideal beauty. The implementation of these

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[2] Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Male vice and feminist virtue'; Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian society: women, class, and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes*; Martha Vicinus (ed.), *Suffer and be still*; Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality*.

[3] Amanda Anderson, *Tainted souls and painted faces*; Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian streets: women, representation, and the city* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*; Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: people, streets and images in nineteenth-century London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

[4] Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock (eds), *Women of faith in Victorian culture: reassessing the angel in the house* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998).

[5] Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality,* p. 83.

antithetical types of women found reflection in the female prototypes of Christian narratives and cultural formations. The application of Biblical stories into nineteenth-century visual discourse has been examined in feminist art historical studies, such as those by Edwin Mullins and Roberta Gilchrist, and Corinne Miller, Lynda Nead, and Griselda Pollock's exhibition catalogue *Images of Women* (1989), as well as in a broader historical survey of images of Christianity's first fallen woman, Susan Haskins' *Mary Magdalen: the essential history, myth and metaphor*.[6] The formation of these views and the religious context in which they developed, although well considered in historical and visual scholarship, is vital to this study as it underpins the argument that those who produced portrayals of the fallen woman during the Victorian period were acutely aware of the environment in which they were working. This chapter therefore aims to contribute to the existing debate by considering not only how religious women were interpreted during the period, but how artists, art critics, and early feminists hoped to exploit the ideological definitions which surrounded biblical stories to challenge hegemonic views which separated the 'good' and 'bad' woman. Victorian campaigners for women's rights, such as Josephine Butler and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, demonstrated that feminists of the period identified the artificiality of gender and the role of patriarchal society and cultural productions in their formation. Their writings foreshadowed the criticisms of feminist scholarship during the 1970s and furthermore aimed to use the symbolism of Christianity to subvert the established ideologies and instead offer opportunities for female emancipation. By drawing links between these early campaigners and secondary feminist scholarship, this chapter argues that Victorian feminists had an acute understanding of the role which art and religion held in the promotion of gendered ideologies. Moreover, their analysis of these religious sources reveals a shrewd awareness of their audience bases which becomes integral to the examination of the Salvation Army's religious publications in Chapter Five.

Roberta Gilchrist argues that in order to understand society's willingness to define women by their virtue, or rather their lack of it, Western Europe's religious and social past must be studied. Both Gilchrist and Edwin Mullins maintain that the tendency to categorise women into antithetical 'types' based upon their sexual activities led to the 'formulation [of a]

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[6] Edwin Mullins, *The painted witch – female body: male art* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1985); Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and material culture: the archaeology of religious women* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Corinne Miller, Lynda Nead and Griselda Pollock (eds), *Images of women* (Leeds: Leeds City Art Galleries, 1989); Susan Haskins' *Mary Magdalen: the essential history, myth and metaphor* (London: Pimlico, 2005).

dualistic psychology' in which 'good' women were defined by a lack of sexual experience whilst 'bad' women were condemned for acts which were conversely permissible for men.[7] Karen Armstrong and Leonore Davidoff similarly argue that this division became inherent in everyday life and that these definitions of gender ultimately informed Victorian social structures.[8] This suggests that notions of fallenness and the inseparable association of sex and sin were once artificial, but became accepted as natural for vast proportions of Western society.[9] Therefore, if this seemingly inherent predisposition within humanity to judge women by their sexual actions is the result of social conditioning, where did such categories arise from, and more specifically, how did they affect nineteenth-century notions of gender and respectability?

As Sarah Pomery writes: 'the myths of the past moulded the attitudes of successive, more sophisticated generations and preserved the continuity of the social order'.[10] This chapter therefore asks how, as one of the most formative influences on the development of Western society, Christianity shaped Victorian culture, informed nineteenth-century gender roles, and interacted with contemporary social issues.[11] Amanda Anderson rightly asserts that although 'the concept of fallenness is of course religious in origin … [it] came to figure [in] an emergent set of threateningly secular determinisms, despite the continued use of religious imagery and concepts'.[12] In line with this view, this chapter aims to illustrate how nineteenth-century social issues were informed by religious tradition and visual culture. The reaction of Victorian critics and feminists to Christian teaching and its portrayal in art will therefore be considered alongside comparisons with nineteenth-century depictions of both virtuous and fallen women and contemporaneous social debates concerning the role of women. Through this, it is hoped that an understanding will emerge of how nineteenth-century notions of femininity developed and, furthermore, how these gendered definitions were manifested in visual culture and were assimilated with the social concerns of the period. This will also raise the question of the artificiality of sexual divisions and explore the implications of class and

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[7] Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and material culture*, p. 15; Edwin Mullins, *The painted witch*, p. 38.

[8] Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women: Christianity's creation of the sex war in the west* (London, Elm Tree Books, 1986); Leonore Davidoff, 'Class and gender in Victorian England: the diaries of Arthur J. Munby and Hannah Cullwick', *Feminist Studies*, 5, no. 1 (1979), pp. 86-141, p. 91.

[9] Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and material culture*, p. 15.

[10] Sarah B. Pomery, *Goddesses, whores, wives and slaves: women in classical antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), p. 1.

[11] Lynda Coon, *Sacred fictions: holy women and hagiography in late antiquity* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 28.

[12] Amanda Anderson, *Tainted souls and painted faces*, p. 3.

gender in the development of Victorian attitudes towards the fallen woman, hoping to discover why Victorian society placed such emphasis on the loss of female chastity. As such, this chapter will consider how three feminine 'types' presented in Christian culture can be seen to have shaped nineteenth-century perceptions of class and gender. These types were based upon three Biblical women, namely Eve, Mary Magdalene, and the Virgin Mary, whose portrayals formed casts for the three differing prototypes of Victorian femininity: the dangerous and devious female, the repentant sinner, and the ideal of Victorian womanhood – the 'angel in the house'.

Despite the steady decline in Church attendance over the course of the nineteenth century, religion played a central role in the lives of most people in Victorian Britain.[13] Whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, the majority of the British population in mid-nineteenth-century Britain had regular contact with a religion.[14] Parish churches were the central organ of most rural communities, middle- and upper-class families regularly attended church, family bibles were commonplace, and children were versed in Christian parables as a result of popular attendance at Sunday schools and, later, the Bible's use as a teaching aid in schools. Christian teaching, therefore, played a fundamental role in the development of Victorian notions of morality. Comprised of stories and teachings which were originally passed on through oral accounts and Jewish scripture before being written down and assembled into the books of the Old and New Testaments, by the nineteenth century, the Bible was without doubt the most widely distributed, translated, and illustrated text in history. [15] Victorian audiences were reached through sermons, paintings, religious prints, and articles published in periodicals, which meant that those who came into contact with religious material were far greater than Church congregation attendance figures would initially appear to suggest.[16] It is because of this constant contact with Christian culture that, Carol Engelhardt Herringer has argued, the nineteenth century was characterised by a 'profound concern with sin' which ultimately shaped attitudes towards female fallenness.[17] This is a view which is shared by

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[13] Carol Engelhardt Herringer, *Religion and gender in England 1830-1885* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 146.

[14] Hugh McLeod, *Religion and society in England, 1850-1914* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 12. Mcleod discusses the levels with which each of these groups were followed using data collected from the 1851 census.

[15] Carol Hupping (ed.), *JPS guide: the Jewish Bible* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2008), p. 4; John Drane, *The Bible*, 2011 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/christianity/texts/bible.shtml> [accessed 11 February 2013].

[16] Carol Engelhardt Herringer, *Religion and gender*, p. 118.

[17] Ibid., p. 117.

Lynda Coon who, suggesting the fundamental role which the religion has had in the development of Western moral teachings and beliefs, has stated that Christianity has 'created the normative principles of … culture'. [18] This illustrates the significance which Christian thought has had upon not just nineteenth-century culture, but Western society more broadly.

Kevin Harris, Karen Armstrong and Roberta Gilchrist have all argued that in order to understand the influence which Christianity has had upon the formation of Western notions of gender, the Bible must be viewed as a product of the societies in which it was created. They maintain that it represents 'a highly influential social construct' which has been disseminated across the Western world for almost two thousand years.[19] Early Victorian feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Josephine Butler similarly recognised this fact and asserted that the female figures presented in the Bible had been instrumental in the promotion of the unbalanced gendered ideals which manifested in Victorian Britain. Having been shaped throughout history to present unrealistic perceptions of what the ideal feminine should be, Cady Stanton argued that definitions of gender and sin had 'emanate[d] from the bewildered brains of men in the dark ages, under an … exclusively masculine religion'.[20] This resulted in a dichotomy between the feminine ideal who was devoted, motherly, and honourable, and the antithesis of that ideal: the sexually aware and independent woman.

As Lynda Nead has shown, during the nineteenth century sexuality, and thus notions of feminine performance, were 'organised through the definition of a norm of social and sexual behaviour and of forms of deviancy – the categorisation of respectable and non-respectable practices and the differentiation between licit and illicit sex'.[21] Biblical women, such as the Virgin Mary, the sexual Mary Magdalene, and the weak Eve were held up as religious examples of this good and bad behaviour. Through their hagiographies they provided a range of role-models to define moral behaviour, each of which represented a varying degree

[18] Lynda Coon, *Sacred fictions*, p. 28.

[19] Kevin Harris, *Sex, ideology and religion: the representation of women in the Bible* (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1984), p. 120; Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and material culture*, p. 15; Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women*.

[20] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 'Has Christianity benefited woman?', 1885, in Ellen Carol DuBois and Richard Cándida Smith (eds), *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, feminist as thinker: a reader in documents and essays* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), pp. 243-253, p. 250.

[21] Lynn Nead, 'The Magdalen in modern times: the mythology of the fallen woman in Pre-Raphaelite painting', *Oxford Art Journal*, 7, no. 1 (1984), pp. 26-37, p. 26.

of piety. The Virgin Mary epitomised the ideal: the motherly prototype who was devoted to her son and, through the virginal birth of Jesus and her own immaculate conception, was unblemished by the sinful associations coupled with sex. Eve, on the other hand, provided an example of how not to act. Having committed the first sin, she was positioned as the first deviant woman, 'weak and fallible', with the power to tempt men into destruction.[22] Mary Magdalene, as the reformed prostitute who devoted her life to Christ, in contrast, offered an example of the repentant sinner. For reformists such as Josephine Butler and, as Chapter Five later explores, the Salvation Army, Mary Magdalene acted as a message of hope to the Victorian fallen woman, suggesting that it was possible to reform where true contrition was found.[23]

Arguing that the inferior status of women in Victorian society was the consequence of the interpretation of these religious teachings, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, an American activist and campaigner for women's rights asked 'Has Christianity benefited woman?' (1885). In this essay, she stated that 'all religions thus far have taught the headship and superiority of man, the inferiority and subordination of women'.[24] Thus, Christian moralism had pitted the sexes against one another so as to create artificial gender roles by which men and women were expected to abide. Mirroring this view, Josephine Butler, the driving force behind the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, argued that 'Christian society and the Church … has too generally continued up to this day to assert, by speech, by customs, by institutions, and by laws, that, in regard to this evil, the woman who errs is irrevocably blighted, while the man is at least excusable'.[25] Through this, Butler addressed the double standard through which certain actions, such as sex outside marriage, were permissible for men but for which women were condemned. This difference between the sexes, Butler argued, was not natural, but the result of hundreds of years of patriarchal social custom which had utilised biblical teaching to promote gender inequality.   Although, like Stanton, Butler saw the inequality between the sexes as the consequence of Biblical interpretations, she maintained that Christianity was still central to social reform and gender equality. Indeed, Butler employed the Old Testament story of Sarah and Hagar as a metaphor for her rescue work. As is discussed later in this chapter, Butler appealed to respectable women to treat the fallen with compassion, asking the

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[22] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. xxiii.
[23] Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and material culture*, p. 15.
[24] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 'Has Christianity benefited woman?', p. 244.
[25] Josephine Butler, *Social purity* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1879), p. 8.

'Sarahs' of Victorian Britain to 'stretch their hands to the Hagars' in a departure from the original Biblical story where no such kindness was given. [26] The artist and feminist activist Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon similarly maintained in her 1857 tract, *Women and work*, that it was subsequent interpretations of the Christian faith rather than its original messages which had led to the unequal division of labour between the sexes, using a quotation from St. Paul as the spearhead of her argument to demonstrate this point: 'There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus'.[27]

These emerging nineteenth-century debates foreshadowed those of twentieth-century feminism and art criticism. Reiterating the contention that historic and even modern-day notions of gender are artificial constructs created by social convention, in her renowned study, *The second sex* (1949), Simone de Beauvoir clearly defined the notions of sex and gender. De Beauvoir argued that whilst sex is demarcated by the anatomical characteristics of the individual, gender is learnt throughout life and is exhibited through behavioural characteristics. Therefore, de Beauvoir asserted that 'woman' is a learnt condition:

> One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature … which is described as feminine.[28]

Supporting de Beauvoir's view, Judith Butler stated that 'all gender is, by definition, unnatural'. It is 'the cultural meaning and form that the body acquires', shifting and adjusting to new social contexts which manipulate and alter the way in which each gender is perceived.[29] More recently, this view was again echoed by Griselda Pollock through her discussion of the portrayal of women in visual culture, where she states that 'sexual divisions are socially manufactured' and are, therefore, artificial.[30]

Thus, the disparity between the sexes is, as has been shown in both Victorian feminist thought and more current feminist criticism, largely considered to be the residue of Western

[26] Josephine Butler, 'The lady of Shunem', 1894, in Marion Ann Taylor and Heather E. Weir (eds), *Let her speak for herself: nineteenth-century women writing on the women of Genesis* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), pp. 234-242, p. 242.

[27] Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, *Women and work* (London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1857), pp. 1-58.

[28] Simone de Beauvoir, *The second sex*, 1943, H. M. Parshley (trans.) (London: Vintage, 1997), p. 301.

[29] Judith Butler, 'Sex and gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *second sex*', *Yale French Studies*, 72 (1986), pp. 35-49, p. 35.

[30] Griselda Pollock, 'Whose images of women?', in Corinne Miller, Lynda Nead and Griselda Pollock (eds), *Images of women*, pp. 6-10, p. 6.

civilisation's past cultures, beliefs, and societies. Karen Armstrong maintains that through the

assimilation of religious stories (such as Eve's fall into temptation and the Virgin Mary's purity)

with cultural practices, Christianity's lasting influence has continued to propagate the notion

that sex and sexual promiscuity are shameful and harmful to society. This, she concludes, has

consequently implanted a 'sexual neurosis' into the subconscious of Western society, whereby

the constant association of sex with guilt has led to a misogynist undercurrent in which

women are seen as the architects of sexual deviancy.[31] But, where did this idea that

promiscuity was harmful stem from? Moreover, why were women in the nineteenth century,

especially, judged by their lack of chastity?

Mary Wollstonecraft had attempted to answer these questions in *A vindication of the

rights of woman* (1792), one of the founding texts of feminist theory. Wollstonecraft argued

that the need for female chastity had originated from the necessity for women to have a good

reputation in society:

> It is the eye of man that they [women] have been taught to dread … and it is
> reputation, not chastity and all its fair train, that they are employed to keep free from
> spot, not as a virtue, but to preserve their station in the world … It was natural for
> women then to endeavour to preserve what once lost – was lost for ever, till this care
> swallowing up every other care, reputation for chastity, became the one thing needful
> to the sex.[32]

Thus, Wollstonecraft argued, a woman's virginity became a symbol of her respectability simply

because this was the one element of her character which was not recoverable once lost. A

woman's virtue was therefore a superficial expression of her position in society rather than an

indication of her moral compass. To illustrate this point further, Wollstonecraft pointed out

the 'absurd[ity]' of these idealised notions of feminine behaviour, stating that a woman may

break all other social conventions, but if she remains chaste, she will retain her respectability:

> With respect to reputation [of the female], the attention is confined to a single virtue
> – chastity. If the honour of a woman, as it is absurdly called, be safe, she may neglect
> every social duty; nay, ruin her family by gaming and extravagance; yet still present a
> shameless front – for truly she is an honourable woman![33]

Following this view, Cady Stanton argued that Christian teaching had been instrumental to the

development of this reliance on chastity. Notably, it was the concept of Original Sin, which

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[31] Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women*, p. 4.

[32] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A vindication of the rights of woman* (London: Walter Scott, 1792), p. 185 and p. 187.

[33] Ibid., p. 148.

had truly condemned women. Original Sin was a notion developed in early Christian theology which determined that all humans were born having been 'tainted' by the sins of Adam and Eve. [34] Original Sin had placed woman as the 'weak and guilty' author of sin, she argued, and it had enabled woman to become the scapegoat for all of society's ills 'by the dishonouring of all relations with her as carnal and unclean'.[35] Legal moves implemented to control prostitution and the spread of sexually transmitted infections during the nineteenth century were underpinned by these assumptions. The Contagious Diseases Acts, which were implemented in 1864, 1866 and 1869, awarded the police powers to subject women whom they suspected of prostitution to a medical examination to find out if they were carrying a sexually transmitted infection. If the examination was refused, women were threatened with imprisonment. The laws were based upon the assumption that women, and not men, were responsible for the spread of infection. Therefore, only women were subject to examination. Josephine Butler's campaign to repeal the Acts condemned this inequality, stating in her *Personal reminiscences of a great crusade* (first published in 1896), that, 'it is unjust to punish the sex who are the victims of a vice, and leave unpunished the sex who are the main cause'. [36] Additionally, she criticised the erroneous assumptions of gender upon which the Acts were based, stating that 'the advocates of the system have utterly failed to show, by statistics or otherwise, that these regulations have … when applied to one sex only, diminished disease, reclaimed the fallen, or improved the general morality of the country'.[37]

The idea that the nation's moral compass was entwined with the sexual act found further manifestation in debates which centred on the innate innocence and criminality of children. Social commentators such as Henry Mayhew argued that children born into an unconventional family format, in which the mother was not at home to provide moral guidance, would turn to a life of sin. Writing of costermonger boys in *London labour and the London poor*, Mayhew commented that:

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[34] For more on Original Sin and the long historical association of women and sin in Christian theology, see Julia O'Faolain and Lauro Martines (ed.), *Not in God's image: women in history* (London: Virago, 1979), p. 145; Augustine of Hippo, 'The fourteenth book of the City of God', c. 426, in Marcus Dods (ed.), *City of God*, volume 2, John Healey (trans.) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1871), pp. 24-53; Augustine of Hippo, 'The enchiridion of Augustine', c. 420, in Marcus Dods (ed.), *The works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, volume 9, J. F. Shaw (trans.) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), pp. 173-260, p. 194; and Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women*, p. 31.

[35] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 'Has Christianity benefited woman?', p. 249 and p. 251.

[36] Josephine Butler, *Personal reminiscences of a great crusade* (London: Horace Marshall and Son, 1910), pp. 9-10.

[37] Ibid., p. 10.

It is idle to imagine that these lads, possessed of a mental acuteness almost wonderful, will not educate themselves in vice, if we neglect to train them to virtue. At their youthful age, the power of acquiring knowledge is the strongest, and some kind of education is continually going on. If they are not taught by others, they will form their own characters – developing habits of dissipation, and educating all the grossest passions of their natures, and learning to indulge in the gratification of every appetite without the least restraint.[38]

This presumption was largely applied to the children of the working class who, it was considered, naturally lacked a social consciousness or moral compass simply because of their social position. In line with this view, Carol Engelhardt Herringer argues that there were direct connections between Christian theology and attitudes towards innate sinfulness:

Victorians, especially educated and church-going Victorians, would certainly have known of the link between sexual intercourse and Original Sin because those ideas were not limited to theological texts but reached a wider audience by being incorporated into sermons and periodical articles.[39]

Whilst illustrating the impact which Christian thought undoubtedly had upon public consciousness, the inference here is that non-educated and non-church-going Victorians may have been less aware of these implications. This acts to explain further why attitudes towards the criminality of children were largely class-based. In middle- and upper-class thought, the children of the poorer metropolitan classes, who perhaps had less access to church services and pedagogic texts, were largely unaware of the supposed need to resist temptation in all its forms and were therefore unprepared to ward off its advances. This is supported by Henry Hendrick's statement in his study of *Child welfare: England 1872-1989* that 'given the evangelical view of children as inherently possessed of Original Sin, believers had little alternative but to view them as being in need of discipline and education in order to provide necessary salvation, and to protect not only their souls but also Christian society itself'.[40] Thus, a lack of Christian education coupled with a supposed innate criminality meant that 'the threat posed by the child [wa]s both literal and symbolic. On the one hand, the street-child challenge[d] civilisation through its threat to political order and, on the other, the child figure embodie[d] "natural evil"'.[41] Holly Furneaux and Leonore Davidoff have shown how this presumption of innate sinfulness jarred with 'the post-Rousseauian Romantic view of the child as exhibiting original innocence', in which children were positioned as natural and

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[38] Rosemary O'Day and David Englander (eds), *London labour and the London poor: a selection* (Oxford: Wordsworth, 2008), p. 44.

[39] Carol Engelhardt Herringer, *Religion and gender*, p. 135.

[40] Harry D. Hendrick, *Child welfare: England 1872-1989* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 8.

[41] Ibid, p. 9.

uncorrupted beings – views which influenced debates concerning issues such as child working hours and conditions.[42]   Indeed, Davidoff comments that, 'the attempt to combine the two views, of the girl child as totally pure but also as naturally wicked and corrupted gave rise to two powerful but opposed images, the child as redeemer … and the child as evil incarnate' – a dichotomy which, she observes, 'parallel[ed] the dual vision of women in general'.[43]   Further shadowing this binary division of women into 'good' and 'evil' categories, fears regarding the sinfulness and innocence of children were not only class based, but also gendered.   Wolff argues that whilst boys and girls were considered to be equally capable of criminality, the categorisation of which line of deviancy this criminality took was largely based on assumptions of gender, in which boys were 'thieves' and girls were 'prostitutes'.   These assumptions rested on one major challenge to social gender definitions which implied that 'to suspect young boys of prostitution was to suspect older gentlemen too', challenging widely-held assumptions of the culpability of women for acts of sexual deviancy and uncontrolled male passion.[44]

Echoing Engelhardt Herringer's observation concerning the impact of periodicals on the dissemination of religious definitions, during the 1880s Elizabeth Cady Stanton likewise recognised the role of popular culture in the promotion of unbalanced gender roles, writing that art and law had aided their development:

> This persecution, this crushing out of the feminine element in humanity, more than all other influences combined … plunged the world into the dark ages … painter and poet vied with each other in their gloomy portrayals, while crafty bishops coined these crude terrors into canons, and timid, dishonest judges allowed them to throw their dark shadows over the civil law.[45]

For centuries the Church had been the foremost patron of the arts, commissioning such diverse artefacts as illuminated manuscripts, sculptures and fresco cycles to highly gilt altarpieces and towering cathedrals.   The Christian Church was consequently integral to the development of visual culture, creating lasting iconographic patterns and ultimately definitions

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[42] Holly Furneaux, 'Childhood', in Sally Ledger and Holly Furneaux (eds), *Dickens in context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 186-193, p. 187.
[43] Leonore Davidoff, 'Class and gender', p. 93.
[44] Larry Wolff, '"The boys are pickpockets, and the girl is a prostitute": gender and juvenile criminality in early Victorian England from "*Oliver Twist* to *London labour*"', *New Literary History*, 27, no. 2 (1996), pp. 227-249, p. 238.
[45] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 'Has Christianity benefited woman?', p. 249.

of gender 'even if in a submerged form' through the depiction of Biblical sinners such as Eve and Mary Magdalene.[46]

Victorian portrayals of the temptation of Eve engaged with past manifestations in art and literature. The sexual significance of auburn female hair, for example, became a defining feature of nineteenth-century depictions of the sexually assertive or deviant female, and is a key iconographic feature of both George Frederick Watts' *Eve Tempted* (1868) and Spencer Stanhope's *Eve Tempted* (1877) (fig. 1). Watts' painting depicts Eve with her face buried in the Tree of Knowledge, succumbing to its temptations. She uses all of her senses to engulf herself in its branches: touching the delicate flowers and closing her eyes in ecstasy, she delicately brushes the branches so as to immerse herself in its delights. Her hair tangles in the branches as she leans forward, emphasising her entrapment as well as her vulnerability and imminent fall. [47]

Whilst Watts' rendering undoubtedly emphasised the sensuality of Eve's fall into temptation, Stanhope's painting presented a more literal account in which the Biblical figure is shown alongside the serpent as she plucks the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge. Eve's hair wraps around her body and is artificially placed so that it 'retain[s] a degree of modesty' whilst simultaneously 'call[ing] attention to the sexual suggestiveness of the locks that covered

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[46] Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women*, p. 7. Past scholarship has considered the impact of portrayals of religious stories upon the propagation of unbalanced gender roles and how, in turn, these images have tended to assume that the viewer is male. Notably among these are Edwin Mullins' *The Painted Witch* (1985), Roberta Gilchrist's *Gender and material culture* (1994), Corinne Miller, Lynda Nead, and Griselda Pollock's exhibition catalogue *Images of Women* (1989), and Susan Haskins' *Mary Magdalen*. James Clifton, Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, and Karen Armstrong have all considered the role which art has played on the formation and portrayal of Western definitions of gender. Detailed readings of Masaccio's *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* (c. 1425-27) and Hugo van der Goes' *The Fall of Man* (c. 1470) suggest links between the portrayal of the male and female nude body, the feminisation of the serpent in the Garden of Eden, and early Christian scripture. See James Clifton, 'Gender and shame in Masaccio's *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*', *Art History*, 22, no. 5 (1999), pp. 637-655, p. 642; Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve and the Serpent* (London: Penguin Books, 1990); John K. Bonnell, 'The serpent with a human head in art and in mystery play', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 21, no. 3 (1917), pp. 255-291; Vern LeRoy Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Women and prostitution: a social history* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1987), p. 69; Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 'Art of the misbegotten: physicality and the divine in Renaissance images', *Artibus et Historiae*, 30, no. 60 (2009), pp. 191-243, p. 192; Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women*, p. 31; Robert A. Kock, 'The salamander in van der Goes' *Garden of Eden*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28 (1965), pp. 323-326; and Edwin Mullins, *The painted witch*, p. 58.
[47] For a reproduction of Watts' painting, see Mark Bills, '*Eve Tempted*, begun around 1868', in Mark Bills and Barbara Bryant (eds), *G. F. Watts Victorian visionary: highlights from the Watts Gallery collection* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 162-164, p. 163.

[Eve's] most intimate parts'.[48] The serpent's hair is a darker hue of red than Eve's, and its leathery, ashen face contrasts with her smooth, porcelain skin. This antithesis suggests that Eve's purity and innocence will soon be lost as she succumbs to the serpent's persuasive whisper. In his review of the painting, Oscar Wilde commented that Eve's 'eyes are dimmed with the haze that comes in moments of doubtful thought' as she listens to the serpent's 'blue flame of evil council'.[49]

The eroticism of the coiled serpent body is more explicitly felt in John Collier's *Lilith* (1887) (fig. 2), which was first exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1887. In Jewish culture, Lilith was the first wife of Adam, who, having been created alongside him from the earth instead of from one of his ribs as Eve had, refused to be subordinate to him. She was cast out of Eden as a consequence of this defiance. When she refused God's demands to return under the penalty of the death of her children, she was instead positioned as a demon who had the power to induce miscarriages and infant death.[50] The coiling serpent accentuates the curves of her naked body so that, as Nicola Gauld has argued, it is 'expos[ed] … fully to the assumed male viewer'.[51] The contrast between her smooth, pale skin and the reptilian scales of the snake emphasises the softness and tactility of her body. The upward movement of the serpent as it coils around her right leg and ever so slightly separates it from her left one, indicates her sexuality and invites the viewer to engage with this fully, drawing the viewer's eye over her body, towards her pelvis. Supporting this view, Gauld brilliantly contends that the placement of the snake 'both restrict[s] her movement and expos[es] her, and assumes the position of the male, forcing the female into sexual submission … [whilst she also] actively interacts with the snake', thereby revealing Lilith's own dangerous and possibly depraved sexual desire. The snake's head emerges from her mass of strawberry blonde hair and as it moves downwards over her shoulder and chest, exposes her breasts. By representing it entangled in Lilith's hair, Collier's rendering further emphasises the connotations of sexual danger which loose hair held in visual tradition. When the painting was first exhibited, Cosmo

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[48] Galia Ofek, *Representations of hair in Victorian literature and culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 72.

[49] Oscar Wilde, 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *Dublin University Magazine*, 90, no. 535 (1877), pp. 118-126, p. 121.

[50] Nicola Gauld, 'Victorian bodies: the wild animal as adornment', *British Art Journal*, 6, no. 1 (2005), pp. 37-42, p. 39. See Vanessa Rousseau, 'Eve and Lilith: two female types of procreation', *Diogenes*, 52, no. 4 (2005), pp. 94-98. Rousseau provides a detailed theological explanation of the evolution of Eve and Lilith in Jewish and Christian scripture, and the significance of their characterisation in the development of notions surrounding work, gender, and sex.

[51] Nicola Gauld, 'Victorian bodies', p. 42.

Monkhouse, writing for *The Art Journal*, commented that *Lilith* presented 'a naked and very modern woman'.[52] Whilst undoubtedly commenting upon her aesthetic appearance, Monkhouse's observation of the embodiment of the 'modern woman' here may also allude to the Victorian 'New Woman'. Emerging at this time, the New Woman represented the development of women's rights and growing female independence, threatening traditional gender roles. In line with this view, Joseph Kestner somewhat questionably maintains that paintings of mythological figures like *Lilith*, which dominated the art scene with the advent of Aestheticism in the late century, realised 'male fears that women, given certain freedoms, would become not only powerful but anarchic'.[53] This is similarly suggested by Virginia Allen who comments that, 'the "New Woman", it would seem, was, like Lilith, a child killer, as in the 1860s' refusal to bear and raise children was considered an inevitable concomitant of feminism'.[54] Yet, whilst certainly presenting an image of raw female sexuality, this view overlooks Collier's own possible involvement with the women's rights movement and thus challenges Kestner's rather oversimplified suggestion that the artist purposefully intended to convey misogynistic attitudes in regards to contemporary social issues.[55]

Whilst Monkhouse praised *Lilith* as being 'undoubtedly clever, especially in the drawing and painting of the serpent', he argued that 'the subject is scarcely excusable, and the treatment of it is anything but noble'.[56] This suggests that the critic felt considerable unease at the overtly sexualised nude. The painting was similarly criticised by *The Athenaeum* which wrote that whilst the female form was 'capitally drawn, thoroughly studied [and] solidly painted … it is not at all Rossetti's mystical *daemon*, rosy, lovely, amorous, and evil-hearted'.[57] In contrast to Collier's nude, Rossetti's *Lady Lilith* (1868) (fig. 3) presented a contemporary woman, clothed and brushing her long auburn hair. She is captivated by her own reflection, staring into the hand mirror which she holds up. Surrounded by roses, poppies, and foxgloves which symbolise her sensuality and poisonous danger, Rossetti's *Lady Lilith* emphasises her desire for pleasure over procreation.[58] Her plump, crimson lips, angular jaw, and long neck

[52] Cosmo Monkhouse, 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *The Academy 1869-1902* (1887), pp. 348-350, p. 349.
[53] Joseph Kestner, *Mythology and misogyny: the social discourse of nineteenth-century British classical-subject painting* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 295.
[54] Virginia Allen, '"One strangling golden hair": Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Lady Lilith*', *Art Bulletin*, 66, no. 2 (1984), pp. 285-294, p. 292.
[55] Nicola Gauld, 'Victorian bodies', p. 42.
[56] Cosmo Monkhouse, 'The Grosvenor Gallery', p. 349.
[57] 'The Grosvenor exhibition', *The Athenaeum*, 7 May 1887, pp. 612-614, p. 613.
[58] Virginia Allen, '"One strangling golden hair"', p. 291.

which leads to an exposed shoulder and voluptuous bosom, all emphasise her sexualised body. She sits on a shearling blanket. Gauld maintains that the use of fur to adorn the female figure in Victorian culture symbolised both the luxuriant, wealthy, fashionable woman, and the wild woman or 'Bacchanalian woman' who, seized by animalistic sexual desire, draped herself in animal skins.[59] It may be argued that *Lady Lilith* therefore represents both of these feminine types as she appears to enjoy the modern and luxuriant dress and surroundings in which she is seated, but also clearly possesses a dangerous, animalistic, sexual desire which finds expression in her own narcissism.[60] This is a reading which is further strengthened through Tim Barringer's comparison of the painting with Rossetti's *Sibylla Palmifera* (1865-70), in which he argues that Rossetti's focus on the 'body beautiful' in *Lilith* reveals not only vanity, but possibly also a 'pathologised sexual desire' which has little to do with the need for reproduction.[61]

The emphasis which was placed on the beautiful body as sexualised or dangerous found repeated expression in the stories and portrayals of religious and mythological women. Rossetti's portrayal of *Pandora* (1869), for example, echoes the danger of his *Lilith*.[62] With a deeply penetrating gaze, she cradles her jewelled box, carefully lifting the lid from which winged figures shrouded in fiery smoke emanate, releasing all of the misfortunes of the world which consequently condemned humanity to suffer for all eternity. Hesiod recorded that Pandora was moulded out of clay, and that each of the Greek Gods bestowed their own gifts upon her: 'Aphrodite should drip charm over her head to cause heart sore longing, emotional anguish exhausting the body'. Whilst Aphrodite's gift bestowed Pandora with the power of deep attraction, Hermes chose to 'contrive … in her breast lies and misleadingly false words joined to a devious nature'.[63] The Genesis story of Eve and the pagan myth clearly have a great deal in common and it is probable that their narratives became entwined over time: in both, the orchestrator of human suffering is a woman, she is tempted to take an action which has disastrous consequences, and she is both sexually alluring and dangerous. Vered Lev Kenaan suggests that this pairing of beauty and danger consequently represents the

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[59] Nicola Gauld, 'Victorian bodies', p. 38.

[60] J. B. Bullen, *The Pre-Raphaelite body*, p. 145.

[61] Tim Barringer, '*Lady Lilith* 1866-8, altered 1872-3', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian avant-garde* (London: Tate Publishing, 2012), pp. 174-175, p. 174.

[62] For a reproduction, see Leslie Parris (ed.), *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1994), p. 305.

[63] Hesiod, 'Works and Days', 700BCE, in Daryl Hine (trans.), *Works of Hesiod and the Homeric hymns* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 23-52, p. 25.

archetypal blend of components which together comprise the myth of femininity: 'troubling beauty, otherness, seductiveness, lasciviousness, and deception'.[64] Rossetti's rendering evokes this deadly combination, as Swinburne described:

> The design is among his mightiest in its godlike terror and imperial trouble of beauty, shadowed by the smoke and fiery vapour of winged and fleshless passions crowding from the casket in spires of flame-lit and curling cloud round her fatal face and mourning veil of hair.[65]

Confirming this perception of the danger of beauty, in his lecture *Of queen's gardens* (1864, published in 1865) Ruskin stated that woman's 'beauty ... cannot be too powerful, nor shed its sacred light too far: only remember that all physical freedom is vain to produce beauty without a corresponding freedom of heart'.[66] Through this, Ruskin argued that female beauty engendered danger and disobedience, and thus that the ideal of Victorian womanhood should not exhibit exceptional beauty if she was to fulfil the 'helper' role specified for her.

Ruskin's commentary on Titian's *Saint Mary Magdalene in Penitence* (c. 1530-1535) (fig. 4) reflects the complexities which beauty and, by consequence, nudity in art presented in nineteenth-century debates concerning gender and visual representation.[67] In this painting which is now in the Pitti Gallery, Mary Magdalene is depicted in her penitent stage, shown completely nude in a hostile landscape with a tumultuous sky behind her. The rocky crag of a cave is just discernible on her left. Depicted from the waist up, her only cover is her own hair which drapes around her body and conceals the vast majority of her torso except for her breasts. Haskins suggests that this exposure denotes the saint's new-found innocence and vulnerability, representing the 'naked truth' she has attained through her own contrition. [68] In biblical narrative, nudity has traditionally been read as signifying shame – Adam and Eve

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[64] Vered Lev Kenaan, *Pandora's sense: the feminine character of the ancient text* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), p. 10; Justin Glenn, 'Pandora and Eve: sex as the root of all evil', *The Classical World*, 71, no. 3 (1977), pp. 179-185.

[65] Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Essays and studies* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), p. 90. Also cited in Lucien L. Agosta, 'Animate images: the later poem-paintings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 23, no. 1 (1981), pp. 78-101, p. 89. Female beauty as an indication of danger is a theme which recurs throughout visual and literary representation and, in Christian hagiography was most clearly manifested in the lives of desert hermits such as Saints Mary of Egypt and Pelagia. See Lynda Coon, *Sacred fictions*, p. xxiii and p. 32.

[66] John Ruskin, 'Of queen's gardens', 1865, in John Ruskin, *Sesame and lilies: three lectures by John Ruskin*, Emily Robbins Browne and Cora Augusta Droppers (eds), 3 edn (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co., 1890), pp. 83-133, p. 104.

[67] For a reproduction of the painting, see Harold E. Wethey, *The paintings of Titian: complete edition, volume 1* (London: Phaidon, 1969), p. 143 and plate 182.

[68] Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, pp. 244-245.

covered their genitalia when they recognised their nakedness, and Noah's sons covered him when he lay drunken and exposed. Thus, it may be suggested that the use of this visual convention in Titian's representation of the Magdalene as a nude figure was intended to allude to her own shame, and thus to her wish to repent for her past life of sin.

However, in an early edition of *Modern painters*, John Ruskin condemned Titian's treatment of the subject, describing the Pitti *Magdalene* as a 'disgusting … stout, red-faced woman, dull, and coarse of feature, with much of the animal in even her expression of repentance – her eyes strained, and inflamed with weeping'. [69] Whilst Haskins states that Titian's depiction is typical of Renaissance perceptions of beauty, it is possible that the explicit nature of his Magdalene unnerved Ruskin, substantiating his view that the nude in art was a dangerous subject which had the possibility to be 'luscious and foul'.[70] Therefore, whilst possibly a symbol of her own contrition, it can also undoubtedly be argued that Mary's nudity is intended to titillate viewers, the slight exposure of breast still hinting at her sexual past. The lascivious element of Titian's portrayal is further emphasised by the modification of the traditional *Venus Pudica* pose – the classical attitude in which the Venus modestly covers her breasts and genitalia with her arms and hands, shielding them from the viewer.[71] Whilst Titian's Mary Magdalene echoes this classical prototype, her failure to shield her breasts from the viewer subverts the tradition, revealing her instead as a Venus of exhibition.[72] For this reason, Mary's nudity is clearly problematic, as it is both evocative of her past sensual acts whilst it simultaneously symbolises her return to purity and innocence as a consequence of her repentance. Thus, the Magdalene becomes 'both sensuous and chaste … both carnal and divine'.[73] Laura Mulvey's description of the opening scenes of popular 1930s and 1940s films, in which women were often first presented to the viewers 'isolated, glamorous, on display, sexualized', can be directly applied to Titian's Pitti *Magdalene,* where the framing of the figure

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[69] John Ruskin, 'Volume V: part IX', 1860, in David Barrie (ed.), *Modern painters by John Ruskin* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1987), p. 541.

[70] Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, p. 256; George P. Landow, 'Chapter two, section III: Ruskin's theories of beauty – vital beauty', *Victorian Web*, 2005 <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/ruskin/atheories/2.3.html> [accessed 2 August 2013].

[71] Kenneth Clark, *The nude: a study of ideal art* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956), p. 79.

[72] Bernard Aikema, 'Titian's Mary Magdalen in the Palazzo Pitti: an ambiguous painting and its critics', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 48-59, p. 49.

[73] Rachel Geschwind, 'The printed penitent: Magdalene imagery and prostitution reform in early modern Italian chapbooks and broadsheets', in Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris (eds), *Mary Magdalene: iconographic studies from the middle ages to the Baroque* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 107-133, p. 120.

and the lack of narrative provided places her at the forefront of the canvas and identifies her as the subject of the viewer's gaze.[74] Mulvey maintains that this decontextualisation, created in cinema by the use of different frames, acts to identify women as objects to be looked at. This, as John Berger succinctly argued, frames the subject of the painting as the subject of the male gaze, explaining that, '*Men act* and *women appear*. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at'.[75] Titian's *Magdalene*, therefore, becomes ready for visual consumption by her male viewer. She becomes the subject of the male gaze, encouraging a voyeuristic pleasure in the viewer through the creation of 'sexual satisfaction [which] … come[s] from watching, in an active controlling sense, an objectified other'.[76] With this understanding in mind, Ruskin's concerns regarding the nature of the Magdalene's nudity gain credence: Mulvey's theories suggest that through the portrayal of the nude fallen woman, there is a potential danger that viewers could be coaxed into thinking about the immoral actions of the saint before her conversion. Thus, they may be titillated by the depiction rather than humbled or moralised by the saint's piety.[77] This supports Ruskin's further, more generalised criticisms of religious art, where he argued that the emphasis which artists had placed on conveying artistic beauty, tonality, and composition, detracted from the 'sincerity' of the art work's religious message, writing that, 'in early times, *art was employed for the display of religious facts; now religious facts were employed for the display of art* … the painter had no longer any religious passion to express'.[78]

After studying another one of Titian's Mary Magdalenes which was displayed in the National Gallery, however, Ruskin later revised his comments, remarking that in this second painting the Magdalene 'is just as refined, as in the Pitti Palace she is gross'.[79] From this, Ruskin concluded that 'it was possible for … stout persons to repent as well as those more delicately made', suggesting that Titian had perhaps purposefully presented the Magdalene as visually repulsive so as to convey to the viewer that it was a 'romantic fable' that only the

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[74] Laura Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema', 1975, in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds), *Art in theory 1900-2000: An anthology of changing ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), pp. 982-989, p. 987.
[75] John Berger, *Ways of seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 47.
[76] Laura Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure', p. 985.
[77] These arguments will be extended in Chapter Two where Victorian notions of the moral nature of art and the detrimental impact of visual culture will be discussed.
[78] John Ruskin, *Modern painters*, volume 3, part 4 (New York: John Wiley, 1863), p. 52. These are Ruskin's italics. Also see Michaela Giebelhausen, *Painting the bible: representation and belief in mid-Victorian Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 7-10.
[79] John Ruskin, 'Volume V: part IX', p. 541.

beautiful were moral and could find redemption for their sins, and perhaps reveals the difficulties which artists faced in both achieving a sense of realism whilst appealing to aesthetic conventions which relied upon the 'woman as an object of pleasure and beauty'.[80] Whilst Ruskin's observation was clearly a critical commentary on the aesthetics of art, his comments can be seen to expose the assumptions upon which many nineteenth-century attitudes towards the fallen woman were based, with the result that, as Nead has shown, an unfeminine appearance was often considered to equate to an immoral nature.[81] Indeed, in his study of the 'park women', 'sailors' women', 'seclusives', and several other 'types' of prostitutes encountered in his study, Henry Mayhew continually emphasised the effect of a life of sin on his interviewees' appearances. Illustrative of this, he wrote of one woman that 'her face was shrivelled and famine stricken, her eyes bloodshot and glaring, her features disfigured slightly with disease, and her hair dishevelled and matted. More like a beast in his lair than a human being'.[82] The description of this woman as a 'beast in *his* lair' both dehumanises and defeminises her, illustrating how through her immoral behaviour it is not just her appearance which has suffered, but her very identity as 'woman'. Thus, how can a return to respectability, femininity, and beauty be achieved if she herself has lost not only what it is to be a woman, but what it is to be human?

Emphasising the importance which was placed upon physical appearance in relation to moral behaviour in society, Yves Guyot observed that 'ugly' women were generally treated, both in France and England, with far less sympathy and much greater suspicion than those who were more visually appealing. Guyot, a French journalist who had worked with Josephine Butler in 1875 when she carried her anti-regulation campaigns to Europe, wrote that:

> If … woman only commits these acts in a certain situation, if she surrounds them with a certain refinement, if she is so happy as to live in luxury, she is only a woman of gallantry. But if this woman is poor, if she is too ugly or has no charm … then she is stigmatised as a 'common prostitute'. Society throws this woman in the river or the sewer, and has no metaphor coarse enough to express all its scorn.[83]

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[80] Ibid., p. 541; Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 172.
[81] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 172.
[82] Henry Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor* (1862), p. 232.
[83] Yves Guyot, *Prostitution under the regulation system: French and English*, Edgar Beckit Truman (trans.) (London: George Redway, 1884), p. 7. Bertrand Taithe, 'Consuming desires: prostitutes and "customers" at the margins of crime and perversion in France and Britain, c 1836-85', in Margaret L. Arnot and Cornelie Usborne (eds), *Gender and crime in modern Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1999), pp. 151-172, p. 162.

In consequence, Guyot contended that women who fitted this ragged stereotype were more likely to be accosted by the police under suspicion of soliciting in Victorian England than those who were considered pretty, arguably paralleling Ruskin's assessment of Titian's artwork. This suggests that, during the nineteenth century, specific preconceived attitudes about what the immoral woman looked like were prevalent in wider society, even if these were largely inaccurate. The frequency with which false allegations were made meant that accusations of soliciting were often made against innocent women. Whilst based on their appearance, these presumptions were also widely informed by class, as Roderick Moore has noted: 'while a rich woman riding in a carriage could not be mistaken for a prostitute, a poor woman on foot might not be so lucky'.[84] These observations taken in conjunction with Mary Cowling's assertion that in nineteenth-century art physiognomic rules denoted that 'natural beauty ... can belong only to the pure and virtuous', suggest that this notion of 'natural beauty' was clearly significant: too luxurious and vain, a woman would pose a sexual danger, as in Rossetti's *Lilith*. However, without beauty, she was considered to be morally corrupt.[85] With this in mind, Ruskin's revised opinion that Titian aimed to expose the narrow-mindedness of views such as these suggests that the abhorrence which he first experienced when witnessing the Pitti *Magdalene* subsequently gave way to an appreciation of the moral message which he considered the artist was trying to convey, therefore illustrating the value which he placed on the moral power of art.[86] Indeed, it was the moral significance of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's pen and ink drawing of *Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee* (1858) which so impressed the art critic. The drawing portrays the moment of Mary Magdalene's conversion as she walks past the house where Christ is eating. Stopping in her tracks, she abandons the revellers she is with, instead moving towards the door of the house. She pulls roses, a symbol of her previous life of luxury, from her hair, leaving her beauty now natural and unadorned.[87] Ruskin wrote that 'that Magdalene … is magnificent to my mind, in every possible way'.[88]

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[84] Roderick Moore, 'Josephine Butler (1828-1906): feminist, Christian and libertarian', *Libertarian Heritage*, 10 (1993), pp. 1-7, p. 4.
[85] Mary Cowling, *The artist as anthropologist*, p. 350.
[86] John Ruskin, 'Volume V: part IX', p. 541.
[87] Galia Ofek, *Representations of hair*, p. 67.
[88] Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, p. 348. Original quotation and reproduction can be found in Virginia Surtees, *The paintings and drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): A catalogue raisonné* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 62, cat. n. 109.

Ruskin's comments concerning John Rogers Herbert's *Mary Magdalene* (1859), which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1859, similarly reflected these sentiments.[89] The painting shows the saint fully clothed with a head scarf beneath which strands of auburn hair can be seen. The rising sun lights her face and in her hands she holds the traditional attribute of an ointment jar. Her expression is regretful, mournful and contemplative, and led the critic of *The Art Journal* to praise the 'inward suffering betrayed by these features', stating that 'in deep and touching sentiment the work is not surpassed by any other of any time or any school'.[90] Ruskin commented that far from the overwrought grief of Titian's portrayal, Herbert's *Magdalene* presented a 'very beautiful, and an interesting example of the noble tendency of modern religious art to conceive scenes as they really in probability occurred; not in merely artistic modification or adaption'. The painting, he stated, was 'a sincere and gentle conception … very touchingly expressed' – an approach which now arguably reflected her new-found 'sincere' and 'gentle' contrition. [91]

Whilst Ruskin was consequently able to accept the nudity of Titian's *Magdalene* as being integral to the moral message of the painting, Victorian portrayals of Biblical figures which followed the Christian tradition of the nude were considered to be highly scandalous by the viewing public. There was a clear distinction between the acceptability of nudity in religious art and the inclusion of nudity for the purposes of voyeurism. Echoing the exposed breasts of Titian's example was James Stodart's *Hannah Cullwick Photographed as Mary Magdalene* (1864).[92] Neither voluptuous nor stunningly beautiful, the subject of Stodart's photograph is a nineteenth-century woman who clasps her hands in prayer as a white sheet fails to cover her modesty. Her dishevelled hair hangs down, slightly brushing her shoulders, and she is given no setting or placement, instead kneeling in a plain interior. The lack of context given to the image and the absence of any hagiographic attributes, such as an ointment jar or the tears of regret commonly understood as a metaphor for the saint's spiritual rebirth, fails to allow the viewer definitively to identify the model as Mary

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[89] For a reproduction, see Rupert Maas, '*Mary Magdalene*', *Victorian Web*, 2015 <http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/herbert/paintings/6.html> [accessed 15 June 2016].
[90] Ibid.; 'The Royal Academy exhibition', *Art Journal* (1859), p. 164.
[91] John Ruskin, 'Notes on some of the principal pictures exhibited in the rooms of the Royal Academy, No. V – 1859', in E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds), *The works of John Ruskin,* volume 14 (London: George Allen, 1904), pp. 208-259, p. 221.
[92] For a reproduction, see Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, p. 347, plate 81.

Magdalene.[93] Her arms clearly show that she is a working woman, capable of a day's hard labour – more akin to the thin frame of Donatello's *Penitent Magdalene* (c. 1453-55), rather than the fleshy form of Titian's saint – and arguably convey the same attributes of a life of 'strength and endurance' which Martha Levine Dunkelman maintains makes Donatello's portrayal unique.[94] Moreover, the impact of a life of poverty and economic hardship is etched onto his model's face. Her somewhat blank expression questions the possibility of change in a life for which, it is probable, she will forever be judged; for even if she acted according to moral convention, her very appearance was likely to mark her out as deviant simply because of her loss of 'natural beauty' through a life of working-class hardship.

The model for the photograph was Hannah Cullwick, a maid of all trades from Shropshire who had been orphaned when young and moved to London for a job in service. She became the mistress of a lawyer named Arthur Munby and kept diaries of their relationship which provide an insight into how the difference in class between the two shaped their interactions and appearances.[95] Leonore Davidoff records that Munby worshipped the masculinised female body, made strong through work, and calloused and toughened through hardship. This celebration of the coarsened female body presents the opposite of the desired Victorian feminine ideal and instead offers the 'other' – that which is exotic, mysterious, dangerous, yet alluring.[96] The presentation of the undesirable female in Stodart's image therefore encourages the viewer to project an erotic gaze upon her, not merely because of the exposed breasts, but because she represents the opposite of the sexually passive and subordinate wife and mother. [97] Cullwick's wider work as a model in photographs which positioned her as a slave, a servant scrubbing steps, and even a man, further suggests this, and

[93] Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The making of the Magdalen: preaching and popular devotion in the later middle ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 209. Jansen's text gives a detailed account of the medieval depictions of the Magdalene, in which the weeping Magdalene was a central one of these.

[94] Martha Levine Dunkelman, 'Donatello's *Mary Magdalene*: a model of courage and survival', *Woman's Art Journal*, 26, no. 2 (2005-2006), pp. 10-13, p. 10; Jane Schaberg, *The resurrection of Mary Magdalene: legends, apocrypha, and the Christian testament* (New York: Continuum International Publishing, 2002), p. 108.

[95] Leonore Davidoff, 'Class and gender' and Barry Reay, *Watching Hannah: sexuality, horror and bodily de-formation in Victorian England* (London: Reaktion, 2002) explore their relationship and the significance of Hannah's diaries extensively.

[96] Leonore Davidoff, 'Class and gender', p. 92.

[97] Ibid.

her characterisation in so many different roles therefore may be read as a comment on the hollowness of these very middle-class distinction of class and gender.

Kruppa argues that Mary Magdalene was largely considered by nineteenth-century reform commentators to have been a middle-class woman who had lost her way. Therefore, she was positioned as a mythological example of fallenness, exhibiting to the Victorian public precisely what women should and should not do.[98] This supposed middle-class status also meant that Mary Magdalene remained safely removed from the realities and hardships faced by the average Victorian prostitute. Therefore, she acted as a moralising influence for those who either wished to aid or condemn the fallen woman rather than providing a practical example of how the fallen woman could achieve salvation. In contrast, Stodart's photograph can be seen to present a much more contemporary image of female fallenness: using a modern medium to capture a modern woman, Stodart's photograph addresses contemporary debates about class which presumed that through unfeminine work and the toughening of her body, the working-class woman was predisposed to be sexually and morally deviant. Rather than simply presenting a modern interpretation of the religious story, the photograph on the one hand can be read as a pseudo-portrait of a real life working-class mistress. Yet, Davidoff's observation that Cullwick personally engaged in Munby's wish to see evidence of dirt, grime, and other consequences of hard work on her body, suggests that Cullwick potentially collaborated with Stodart in the production of this gritty portrayal.[99] In consequence, her willingness to expose both her body and her social status suggests a defiance and refusal to be restricted to traditional expectations of female beauty and behaviour.

Cullwick's potential collaboration in the production of the photograph also causes her to cross the boundaries between the producer and the object of the image. The lack of definition of Cullwick here echoes her blurred character as *Mary Magdalene*, in which she is both tainted and redeemed, repulsive and beautiful, tough and fragile. This is an effect which Leonore Davidoff argues is heightened by the fantastical costumes which Cullwick adopted in many of the other photographs for which she posed.[100] Being neither a documentary

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[98] Patricia S. Kruppa, '"More sweet and liquid than any other": Victorian images of Mary Magdalene', in R. W. Davis and R. J. Helmstadter (eds), *Religion and irreligion in Victorian society: essays in honour of R. K. Webb* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 117-132, p. 120.
[99] Leonore Davidoff, 'Class and gender', p. 123.
[100] Ibid., p. 92.

photograph nor a purely artistic creation, the image of Cullwick balances a borderline which defined Victorian concepts of gender and acceptability. The tension created by this undoubtedly tempts viewers to adopt an eroticised gaze, in which they are simultaneously encouraged and censured for their involvement both in the consumption of the naked body of the Magdalene, as in Titian's painting, and the modern Victorian working woman.

These nineteenth-century incarnations of Mary Magdalene reveal the various and often contradictory ways in which the saint was interpreted in visual culture. Her playful nature given over to devotion is central to Rossetti's portrayal, her life of hardship and sexual excess is hinted at in Stodart's, and her modesty and regret characterises Herbert's depiction. Despite the inclusion of common iconographic patterns, such as copious amounts of hair, an ointment jar, or tears of regret, there were considerable variations in how she was presented. Shown to be both saintly and once sinful, and chaste but sexual, the paradoxical nature of her character is undoubtedly the result of the scant direct reference made to her in the New Testament, which, as Carol Engelhardt Herringer has similarly explained in relation to the Virgin Mary, 'has allowed Christians to define her in ways that are useful to them'.[101]

This focus on the visceral elements of her body and the encouragement of the erotic gaze of the viewer of the art works discussed, echo much earlier iconographic schemas and bodily descriptions of Mary Magdalene in western culture. Indeed, despite condemning the salacious acts which Mary Magdalene was believed to have engaged in and noting the lack of evidence for her life of prostitution in the Bible, Pope Gregory the Great focused upon these elements when describing her repentance:

> What she had earlier used disgracefully for herself she now laudably offered for the Lord. Her eyes had sought earthly things; now, chastising them through repentance, she wept. She had used her hair to beautify her face; now she used it to wipe away her tears. She had spoken proudly with her mouth, but in kissing the Lord's feet she

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[101] Carol Engelhardt Herringer, *Religion and gender*, p. 21. Mary Magdalene is believed to be a conflation of numerous other 'Marys' and unnamed women who are mentioned in the Bible. In 591, Pope Gregory the Great formally identified Mary Magdalene as Mary of Bethany and the anonymous sinner who bathed and kissed Christ's feet at the house of Simon the Pharisee, mentioned in the *Gospel according to Saint Luke*. Consequently, her character is one which has been revised and reworked over the centuries in response to changing social attitudes, resulting in a multifaceted persona which Susan Haskins argues 'reflect[s] the social… preoccupations of the periods in which [each element was] … created'. See Gregory the Great, *Forty gospel homilies*, 592, Dom David Hurst (trans.) Cistercian Studies series 6 (Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1990), p. 269 and Susan Haskins, 'Foreword', in Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris (eds), *Mary Magdalene*, p. xxxi.

> fixed it to the footsteps of her Redeemer … She converted the number of her faults into the number of virtues. [102]

The description of the use of her body causes Pope Gregory's account to become extremely eroticised despite the fact that the passage was intended to celebrate her repentant nature. Thus, it is unsurprising that Victorian depictions of Mary Magdalene, such as Stodart's, following examples laid down by both the church and artists, portrayed a sexualised version of the Saint. Frederick Sandys' *Mary Magdalene* (c. 1858-60), with her lightly parted lips, her loose and unreserved hair, and the tight grasp with which she holds her ointment jar, echoes this salacious presentation of the saint.[103] It is, perhaps, for this reason that artistic representations of Mary Magdalene continued to focus upon the sexual element of her story and acted as a prototype for depictions of all the fallen women who followed her. Moreover, Benedicta Ward suggests that the absence of any direct reference to Mary Magdalene as a prostitute in the New Testament underlines the fact that anyone who had committed sin could be classified as such – prostitution acting as a metaphor for disobedience and lack of faith rather than denoting the specific definition which is familiar today.[104] This ambiguity may find reflection in nineteenth-century definitions of fallenness where the exhibition of female sexual awareness, and consequent deviation from respectable society, was often considered to be synonymous with prostitution. Bracebridge Hemyng, the author of the 'Prostitution in London' section of Henry Mayhew's *London labour and the London poor*, for example, wrote that 'every woman who yields to her passions and loses her virtue is a prostitute, but many draw a distinction between those who live by promiscuous intercourse and those who confine themselves to one man', highlighting the complexity and contradictory nature of these definitions. [105]

During the nineteenth century, there was much debate concerning this issue, as social investigators attempted to clarify precisely what constituted a fallen woman. Whilst Hemyng suggested that any woman who had engaged in sexual activities outside the confines of marriage was deemed to be a prostitute, regardless of the circumstances in which she lost her virtue, his view was based upon the widely held assumption that it was socially acceptable for

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[102] Gregory the Great, *Forty gospel homilies*, pp. 269-270.
[103] See Galia Ofek, *Representations of hair*, for an extensive discussion of the symbolic use of hair in Victorian art. For a reproduction, see Leslie Parris, *The Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 177.
[104] Benedicta Ward, *Harlots of the desert: a study of repentance in early monastic sources* (London: Mowbray, 1987), p. 15.
[105] Henry Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor* (1862), p. 215.

men to act openly upon their sexual desires, whereas women should be vilified for doing the same, irrespective of any economic or familial hardship.[106] Elizabeth Cady Stanton attributed this double standard to the direct influence of Christianity upon British and American society:

> when, in the fifteenth century, the sacred Scriptures were collected and first printed, the spirit of these canons and all that logically grew out of them were engrafted on its pages, making woman an afterthought in the creation, the author of sin, in collusion with the devil, sex a crime, marriage a condition of slavery for woman and defilement for man, and maternity a curse to be attended with sorrow and suffering that neither time nor knowledge could ever mitigate, a just punishment for having effected the downfall of man. All of these monstrous ideas … were declared to be the word of God.[107]

Through this, Stanton explicitly placed the status of the nineteenth-century woman, disadvantaged in marriage law, property law, employment opportunities and sexual freedom, firmly at the door of Christian teachings, prefiguring Edwin Mullins' assertion that the categorisation and subjugation of women is Western society's 'Christian inheritance' and anticipating Simone de Beauvoir's opinion that 'it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature … which is described as feminine' over fifty years before *The second sex* was first published.[108]

Yet, whilst definitions of femininity were increasingly challenged towards the end of the nineteenth century, perceptions of what defined the ideal woman in Victorian England remained deeply embedded in moral ideological thought. In *The women of England* (1839), Sarah Ellis argued that in order to sustain England's moral superiority over Europe and continue the reputation of past English womanhood, the Victorian female must be committed to domestic tasks, devoutly religious and moral in her actions, and delicate and elegant by nature.[109] This perception became extremely popular during the period, when the notion of the female, private, or domestic sphere evolved in opposition to the male public sphere. Within this myth of the feminine, woman was expected to stay within the family home, supporting her husband and children through domestic chores and delicate pursuits, becoming the 'angel in the house'. Moreover, where domestic harmony was found, so too was national stability, as William Lecky described in his *History of European morals*: 'the family

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[106] Keith Thomas, 'The double standard', p. 195.
[107] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 'Has Christianity benefited woman?', p. 250.
[108] Edwin Mullins, *The painted witch*, p. 38; Simone de Beauvoir, *The second sex*, p. 38.
[109] Sarah Ellis, *The women of England: their social duties and domestic habits* (London: Fisher, Son, and Co., 1839). See the Preface and Chapter One in particular for evidence of this argument.

is the centre and the archetype of the State, and the happiness and goodness of society are always in a very great degree dependent upon the purity of domestic life'.[110]

The term 'angel in the house', in whom these attributes were to be found, was coined after the title of a poem published by Coventry Patmore in parts between 1854 and 1862. Inspired by his own wife Emily, he provided a 'portrait of the ideal domestic woman'.[111] Stating that 'man must be pleased; but him to please/ is woman's pleasure', Patmore established a clear division between the role of the husband and that of the wife, continuing:

> He who would seek to make her his
> Will comprehend that souls of grace
> Own sweet repulsion, and that 'tis
> The quality of their embrace
> To be like the majestic reach
> Of coupled suns, that, from afar,
> Mingle their mutual spheres, while each
> Circles the twin obsequious star;
> And, in the warmth of hand to hand,
> Of heart to heart, he'll vow to note
> And reverently understand
> How the two spirits shine remote.[112]

This extract can be understood to reflect the popular belief that both man and woman were intended to rule in their own respective areas: the male in the public environment and the female in the domestic setting. Therefore, through a careful understanding of each of their roles, the married couple could form a relationship based on harmony and balance. Echoing Ellis' formula for the female ideal, Patmore emphasised what he considered to be the natural characteristics of each sex, portraying the archetypal wife as supportive, dutiful and submissive:

> Dearly devoted to his arms;
> She loves with love that cannot tire;
> And when, ah woe, she loves alone,
> Through passionate duty love springs higher,
> As grass grows taller round a stone'.[113]

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[110] William E. H. Lecky, *History of European morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, volume 1 and 2 (1869) (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913), p. 299.
[111] Elaine Hartnell, 'Nothing but sweet and womanly: a hagiography of Patmore's angel', *Victorian Poetry*, 34, no. 4 (1996), pp. 457-476, p. 473.
[112] Coventry Patmore, *The poems of Coventry Patmore*, Frederick Page (ed.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 111 and p. 127.
[113] Ibid., p. 111.

Endorsing this image of natural femininity, in *Of queen's gardens* John Ruskin described his own ideal of womanhood, stating that whilst man should dominate intellectually, woman epitomises his antithesis: compassionate, caring and domesticated. This argument drew upon the notion that, like delicate flowers, women were dependent upon the love and compassion of their spouses. This metaphor, famously promoted in Ruskin's lecture, articulated that if she was to prosper, a woman's roots had to remain firmly placed within the family home, with her mission being to be fruitful and multiply. If she failed to fulfil this role, then she was destined to 'wither' – the dying flower carrying implications of the destruction which failing fertility could inflict upon the social status and perceived importance of a woman.[114] Sarah Ellis further emphasised the perceived natural union of woman and domesticity when she asked her reader, 'What pen can describe the wretchedness of that woman, who finds herself doomed to live unloved ... shut out from the natural sources of enjoyment at home?'.[115] This suggests that – as a single female – a woman's *raison d'être* was considered to remain unfulfilled, rather like a flower which is unable to bloom. Indeed, flowers became emblematic of a woman's state of virtue and were used to symbolise domestic harmony and sexual purity in both art and social commentary, as evident in Augustus Leopold Egg's *Travelling Companions* (1862) (fig. 5).

Egg's painting presents two women, who are extremely similar in appearance, seated opposite each other in a train carriage. Yet, whilst it has been proposed that the image may portray two sisters enjoying the advantages of modern technology, the subtle differences between the two women suggest that Egg's painting was intended to establish a comparison between the virtuous and the fallen woman.[116] Key among these is the inclusion of a posy of

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[114] John Ruskin, 'Of queen's gardens', p. 90.

[115] Sarah Ellis, *The women of England*, p. 216.

[116] 'Art Notes', *The Reader*, 23 May 1863, p. 511. The critic of *The Reader* described *Travelling Companions* as a scene set in 'a first class railway carriage, [with] the distant landscape seen through the window'. The painting was sold for 330 guineas upon the death of the artist. In the review, there is no mention of this intention to comment upon female virtue. This does not mean, however, that viewing audiences were unaware of the symbolism included. The stark light which enters the carriage and falls upon the sleeping, presumed fallen, woman is reminiscent of Masaccio's *Expulsion* scene where the blazing light which illuminates Adam and Eve as they are expelled from the Garden of Eden has been read as a metaphor for the knowledge that they have gained as a consequence of eating the forbidden fruit. If this idea is similarly applied to Egg's painting, the sleeping woman is likewise identified as having gained some kind of knowledge which her travelling companion has not – most likely, she has gained sexual awareness and possibly experience.

fresh flowers laid next to the young woman to the right of the canvas.[117] Like the flowers by her side, the reading woman is delicate and unspoilt, and therefore satisfies the role expected of her as laid down in Victorian notions of gender. A symbol of her purity and virtue, the flowers contrast with the basket of fruit which lies beside the other traveller and alludes to Eve's fall. Moreover, the exposed and un-gloved hands of the sleeping woman further denote her fallen status. This is a reading which is reinforced by her loose hair, which, as it fails to be contained by the pins which should hold it in place, acts to mirror her own 'uncontrolled sexuality'.[118]

Wolffe argues that the popular use of 'angel' to denote the feminine ideal illustrates how religious thought helped to determine perceptions of femininity. He maintains that within this understanding, the Victorian middle-class home was held up as a temple with the wife and mother seated at its centre. Armstrong supports this reading, as she argues that 'the Home for the Victorians … became a shrine, removed from the male world of ideas and action … [and the] woman presiding over the Home … a vestal virgin'.[119] The ideal woman thus became akin to such revered figures as the Virgin Mary, and therefore, was worthy of great adulation.[120] Indeed, in 1852 John Angell James, a Calvinist minister, stated that 'one of the most hallowed, and lovely, and beautiful sights in our world is, woman at home', further emphasising the role of Christianity in the formation of expected gender roles in Victorian society.[121] Within this myth of the private domestic sphere, home was a safe haven, thought to be closed off from the immoral influences of the constantly changing outside world.[122] George Elgar Hicks' *Woman's Mission: Companion of Manhood* (1863) succinctly illustrated the Victorian manifestation of this ideal.[123] Placed within a beautifully arranged domestic setting, a wife comforts her husband, fulfilling her womanly duties and clearly exemplifying Ruskin's view that 'woman's power is for rule, not for battle … but for sweet ordering,

[117] Erika Frank, *Women in Augustus Egg's paintings: sexually passive?*, [n.d.] <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEnglish/visual-culture/painting/Egg-women.html> [accessed 20 August 2013].
[118] Galia Ofek, *Representations of hair*, p. 65.
[119] Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women*, p. 80.
[120] F. Knight, '"Male and female he created them": men, women, and the question of gender', in John Wolffe (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain*, volume 5: culture and empire (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 23-58, pp. 25-27.
[121] John Angell James (1852), quoted in ibid., p. 26.
[122] Ronald Pearsall, *Public purity, private shame*, p. 58.
[123] For a reproduction, see Lionel Lambourne, *Victorian painting* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), p. 375.

arrangement and decision'.[124] Having received news of the death of a loved one, the husband

leans on the hearth for support. As Pomery has shown, the hearth has long been a symbol of

family unity as it stands at the centre of the home and plays a vital role in its survival. This

symbol of domestic stability finds personification in the man's loyal wife as she comforts him

on his other side, echoing the central role which she plays in the family home.[125] Yet, as Nead

asserts, whilst the wife 'offers her support … at the same time [she] confirms her

subordination to him', making clear her role as helper rather than leader.[126]

Charles West Cope's *Prayer Time* (c. 1860) similarly presents the ideal of womanhood

and acts to strengthen both Armstrong's and Wolffe's assertions that the 'angel in the house'

was a concept grounded in religious cultural tradition.[127] The painting was based on a study of

the artist's own wife and daughter and portrays the two in prayer. On the mantelpiece to the

left of the couple sits a vase of flowers which, as a metaphor for the mother's feminine nature,

acts to identify her as the 'guardian of the hearth' and therefore places her at the centre of

the family home. The dog sitting at the foot of the mother's chair, and the intimate nature of

the scene portrayed, further remind the viewer of the loyal and private nature of her sex. This

wifely and motherly devotion finds reflection in her religious devotion through prayer – a

connection which is reinforced by the inclusion of a statue of holy motherhood which adorns

the wall just behind the two praying figures. Thus, the marriage contract becomes more than

just a promise made before God, but – as Hartnell suggests – comes to represent a

'sacrament' through which 'the charge that can be levelled against the non-compliant woman

is that of sacrilege'.[128] In order to illustrate her argument, Hartnell refers back to Patmore's

Angel in the house in which he describes the subversive and disruptive woman who refuses to

conform to the template she has been given:

> 'A wasteful woman, she who may
> On her sweet self set her own price,
> Knowing man cannot choose but pay,
> How has she cheapen'd paradise;
> How given for nought her priceless gift,

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[124] John Ruskin, 'Of queen's gardens', p. 82.

[125] Sarah B. Pomery, *Goddesses, whores, wives and slaves*, p. 210.

[126] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 13.

[127] Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to women*, p. 81. For a reproduction, see Susan Casteras, 'The Victorian lady's domestic threat: the good, the bad and the indifferent female adversary in contemporary art', in Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock (eds), *Women of faith in Victorian culture*, pp. 186-208, p. 187.

[128] Elaine Hartnell, 'Nothing but sweet and womanly, p. 468.

How spoil'd the bread and spill'd the wine,
Which, spent with due, respective thrift,
Had made brutes men, and men divine.[129]

The allusion to Eve's fall in the Garden of Eden can be clearly read here: just like Eve who ruined the beauty of paradise through her disobedience, the Victorian woman who fails to fulfil her motherly and wifely duties will disrupt the harmony of the otherwise blissful family home. Significantly, Patmore presents the male as guiltless in the loss of female virtue as the 'wasteful woman' deliberately tempts men 'knowing' that they 'cannot choose but pay'. The term 'pay' alludes to the punishment placed upon Adam as a consequence of Eve's disobedience, but also implies the monetary exchange involved in prostitution.

The 'angel in the house' template became prevalent in nineteenth-century literature and established a literary trend from which, Hogan argues, it was difficult to break wholly free.[130] George Gissing highlighted this in *The odd women* (1893), where the spinster Virginia Madden, feeling as though 'in missing love and marriage she had missed everything', turns to alcoholism in desperation. Despite her fall from grace, however, Virginia remains walled up in her apartment, preferring to 'sit comfortably at home, the bottle beside her and a novel in her lap', as though she is still trying to conform to the womanly ideal despite her failure to fulfil her social duty of wife and mother. [131]   None the less, as Gissing highlighted in his novel, the 'angel in the house' was an ideal which was not always achievable. Many women desired their own career, meaning that for those who had the means of financial independence marriage and motherhood were not their ideal. Others amongst the lower classes had to work whilst simultaneously bringing up their children – their wages were so scant that the family could not afford to meet Patmore's ideal. Moreover, as Greg addressed in his essay 'Why are women redundant?' there was an 'excess of *grown* women over *grown* men' in British society, meaning that not all those of age would be able to find a spouse if they so wished. 'Nature', he contended, had failed to provide these women with 'exclusive partners'.[132]

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[129] Coventry Patmore, *The poems of Coventry Patmore*, p. 79.
[130] Anne Hogan, 'Angel or Eve?: Victorian Catholicism and the angel in the house', in Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock (eds), *Women of faith in Victorian culture*, pp. 91-100, p. 98.
[131] George Gissing, *The odd women*, 1893 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 322 and p. 333.
[132] William Rathbone Greg, *Why are women redundant?* (London: N. Trübner, 1869), p. 11.

Nevertheless, scenes of domestic harmony, and more specifically the wifely ideal, were a popular subject amongst exhibitors at the Royal Academy annual exhibition. One *Art Journal* critic remarked that, 'we English are unquestionably a domestic people, everything that partakes of home comforts and enjoyments is dear to us'.[133] Yet, it was arguably not just for visual pleasure that such scenes became commonplace. As Casteras argues, the frequency with which images such as Hicks' were presented would have undoubtedly acted as a visual pointer to the viewing public in a 'didactic, if not blatantly propagandistic' way, helping to reinforce ideas about how the ideal woman should be.[134]

Despite this, it was also not uncommon for artists to depict Patmore's idea of the 'wasteful woman'. Illustrative of this is Richard Redgrave's *The Outcast* (1851) (fig. 6), the diploma piece which he submitted upon his election to the Royal Academy. Whilst Patmore's poem condemns the woman who errs from the path of virtue, Redgrave presented a much more sympathetic portrayal, suggesting to his viewers that not all who stray from the path of respectable behaviour deserve to be treated with scorn. Holding her illegitimate child in her arms, a daughter is cast out of the family home, banished by her stern father who holds the door open for her, a letter lying at his feet. As she is expelled into the wintery void, her sister pleads with their father to change his mind and her brother bows his head in his hands in despair, but the father's dominant posture reveals his refusal to listen to his family's pleas for compassion. The mother of the banished girl looks on helplessly: she is the epitome of the obedient and supportive wife, juxtaposing the actions of the aberrant daughter with the desired Victorian 'angel in the house'. The severity of her daughter's expulsion is heightened by the strong contrast between the father's forceful pose which is, perhaps, reflective of his moral rectitude, and the downcast attitudes of his surrounding family members. She has disrupted the sanctity of the family home, epitomising Ruskin's statement that within the Victorian home, 'unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no cause of error or offence'.[135] Susan Casteras asserts that it is this contrast which causes the viewer to read the father as 'an unrelenting patriarch', condemning the lack of compassion he shows for his

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[133] *Art Journal*, XII (1850), p. 253 quoted in Helene E. Roberts, 'Marriage, redundancy or sin: the painter's view of women in the first twenty-five years of Victoria's reign', in Martha Vicinus (ed.), *Suffer and be still*, pp. 45-76, p. 50.
[134] Susan Casteras, 'The Victorian lady's domestic threat', p. 188.
[135] John Ruskin, 'Of queen's gardens', p. 83.

daughter.[136] Furthermore, the spectator's implied placement within the interior of the family home evokes a sense of pity and sympathy towards the outcast daughter as the viewer remains safely located within the home from which she is being banished; cast out from the respectable society of which they, as Royal Academy visitors, were a part.

As previously explored, many portrayals approached the theme of female fallenness through the apparent safety of mythological or biblical figures, whose stories would have been ingrained upon the Victorian viewing public from childhood and whose moral lessons were well known. One way in which artists were able to depict the plight of the Victorian fallen woman whilst still maintaining a sense of propriety was to emphasise the moral purpose of the artwork, thus alleviating the same anxieties over respectability and beauty which Ruskin initially had concerning Titian's *Mary Magdalene*. Redgrave's oil was, therefore, daring in its portrayal of such a controversial contemporary social issue, as it depicted a scene which was known to be taking place across the country but to which many, as William Acton argued at the time, turned a blind eye.[137] Yet, as Roberts suggests, just as medieval Magdalenes acted to remind the religious of the importance of devotion, *The Outcast* may have also 'serve[d] as a moral warning to young ladies to avoid this path to disaster'.[138] This message was undoubtedly further instilled by Redgrave's choice of title. As Amanda Barbara Russell-Jones has argued in reference to Josephine Butler's use of the term in her anti-prostitution debates, unlike names such as 'prostitute' or 'harlot' which Butler deemed 'ugly', 'outcast' is not a morally loaded expression; it does not define the woman whom it is describing, but instead denotes how this woman is viewed by others. Indeed, its Biblical use, Russell-Jones observes, was almost exclusively applied to those who were judged by others to have done wrong, but inevitably still found acceptance with God. [139] Thus, applying this reading of the term to Redgrave's painting in which the fallen daughter is positioned as an 'outcast', the viewer is encouraged to regard her with sympathy, rather than condemnation or judgement.

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[136] Susan Casteras, '"Social wrongs": the painted sermons of Richard Redgrave', in Susan P. Casteras and Ronald Parkinson (eds), *Richard Redgrave 1804-1888* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 9-28, p. 23.
[137] William Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 1.
[138] Helene E. Roberts, 'Marriage, redundancy or sin', p. 63.
[139] Amanda Barbara Russell-Jones, 'The voice of the outcast: Josephine Butler's biblical interpretation and public theology' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014) <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/5801/> [accessed 7 January 2016], pp. 43-44.

On the wall above the girl's pleading sister is a framed engraving which depicts the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael by Abraham. In the Old Testament story, Hagar was a slave who was given to Abraham by his wife Sarah in the hope that she would be able to give him the children that Sarah could not. Hagar gave birth to Ishmael, and Sarah, later, had a son named Isaac. With resentment growing between the women, Sarah demanded that Hagar and Ishmael be sent away. Redgrave's inclusion of an engraving of this Biblical scene was intended to make the viewer draw parallels between Hagar and Ishmael's unjust expulsion from the family home and the contemporary outcast daughter and child, illustrating the applications of biblical narratives to Victorian social concerns. Similarly, in *The lady of Shunem*, which was published in 1894, Josephine Butler argued that 'Hagar is the typical outcast'. In the two female characters of Sarah and Hagar, she maintained that Victorian definitions of womanhood could be read:

> Here are two women – one the lawful, respected, and respectable wife; the other, of inferior rank, no wife at all, not the chosen of man through any high motive of love or soul's election, but simply made use of for a time and purpose.[140]

Butler argued that the division between women which the tale of Sarah and Hagar promoted represented 'a line of demarcation between favoured womanhood and the outcast' which over time 'became more and more rigid and immovable … so that no passing from one side to the other was possible; and this became the accepted condition of things'. [141] Thus, the righteous and the outcast woman, Butler perceived, were pitted against each other through the retelling of this Christian narrative. Furthermore, society had helped to instil the perception that the outcast woman should never be seen to be equal to the 'lawful … respectable wife'. Butler argued that throughout history, men had promoted this partition of womanhood for their own benefit and the children of 'outcast' women were similarly ostracised, following Sarah's rejection of Ishmael when she said, '"The son of this bondwoman *shall not be heir with my son*, even with Isaac"'.[142]

Redgrave had earlier approached the topic of the outcast woman in an engraving entitled *The False Lover* (1844).[143] The engraving pictures a poor woman hiding behind a

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[140] Josephine Butler, 'The lady of Shunem', p. 235.
[141] Ibid., p. 237.
[142] Ibid., p. 238.
[143] Redgrave had only once previously tackled the issue of Victorian 'female waywardness' in *Ellen Orford*, an oil painting which he submitted to the Royal Academy in 1838. Although the original has been lost, Casteras argues that it is likely that an etching entitled *The False Lover* (1844) is similar to the

curtain as she watches her former lover and the father of her illegitimate child courting another woman outside her window. The abandoned mother can clearly be identified as a nineteenth-century woman through her clothing and the inclusion of pots, pans and a bed warmer, like the family portrayed in *The Outcast* who are unmistakably Victorian in their dress. The woman and her child remain concealed in the small room, hidden not only from the man who has abandoned them but from the rest of society who, no doubt, will treat them with scorn.

The image highlights the double standard of Victorian society which denoted that whilst a woman was condemned as fallen if she engaged in sex outside the confines of marriage, men were permitted to engage in such acts simply because it was considered to be a natural male urge, as evidenced by the 1871 Royal Commission. The Commission, which argued that the Contagious Diseases Acts were necessary to control prostitution, stated that, 'there is no comparison to be made between prostitutes and the men who consort with them. With the one sex the offence is committed as a matter of gain; with the other it is an irregular indulgence of a natural impulse'.[144] Moreover, prostitution was upheld as being a 'necessary evil' through which the chastity of eligible women was protected by the fall of others. Echoing Augustine's stance that 'if you eliminate prostitutes from society … you disrupt everything with lust', William Lecky argued that prostitution was among 'certain moral landmarks which never can be removed'.[145] In his *History of European morals,* Lecky had attempted to apply a theoretical framework to the study of moral consensus throughout different societies in European history. What was common amongst these societies, he maintained, was the continual presence and apparent need for the prostitute. She, he maintained, was 'herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue'. He continued:

> But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted … on that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilisations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people.[146]

original painting. For a reproduction of *The False Lover*, see Susan Casteras, '"Social wrongs", p. 13 and for a commentary on *Ellen Orford*, p. 12 and p. 17.

[144] *Report of the Royal Commission upon the administration and operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts I* (1871), quoted in Keith Thomas, 'The double standard', p. 198.

[145] Augustine, quoted in Helen J. Self, *Prostitution, women and the misuse of the law: the fallen daughters of Eve* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 19; William Lecky, *History of European morals*, p. 372 and p. 283.

[146] William Lecky, *History of European morals*, p. 283.

The willingness of Christianity to continue to stand by this inequality was challenged by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who sarcastically asked,

> Since English and American statesmen, by recent legislation, have proved that they consider this phase of social life a necessity, why do not the Church and the State throw some shield of protection over the class of whom Lecky, in his *History of morals*, speaks so tenderly? What has Christianity done for this type of womanhood?[147]

In her campaign for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, Josephine Butler similarly decried Lecky's viewpoint, arguing that:

> The root of the evil is the unequal standard in morality; the false idea that there is one code of morality for men and another for women - which has prevailed since the beginning - which was proclaimed to be false by Him who spoke as the Son of God, and yet which grew up again after his time in Christian communities, endorsed by the silence of the Church itself, and which has within the last century been publicly proclaimed as an axiom by almost all the government of the civilized and Christian world. [148]

Thus, for both Stanton and Butler, it was society's interpretation of Biblical narrative which had created this inequality between the sexes. Returning to the Old Testament story of Sarah and Hagar, Butler therefore also contended that Hagar's slave status could be found to be reflected in the sexual slavery to which thousands of women were subjected in modern-day London through prostitution, writing that:

> There is no creature in the world so ready as the Englishman to destroy, to enslave, to domineer, and to grow fat upon the destruction of the weaker human beings whom he has subjected to his bold and iron will.[149]

All who upheld the double standard, therefore, helped to sustain this enslavement. Thus, as Russell-Jones has concluded, for Butler, the legal status of women, their access to employment, and their educational opportunities were all informed by this 'underlying double standard and … [were] held back by the biblical interpretation which people used' to reinforce the inequality between the sexes.[150]

In 1894, Butler stated that 'the Sarahs are beginning to repent and to stretch their hands to the Hagars, and to bridge over the gulf which has so long separated them',

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[147] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 'Has Christianity benefited woman?', p. 248.
[148] Josephine Butler, *Social purity*, p. 6.
[149] Ibid., p. 37; Amanda Barbara Russell-Jones, 'The voice of the outcast', p. 282.
[150] Amanda Barbara Russell-Jones, 'The voice of the outcast', p. 321.

suggesting that religious compassion could override these deeply entrenched notions.[151] Artistic portrayals of the outcast woman similarly expressed this need for Christian benevolence, as in G. F. Watts' *Found Drowned* (1848-50) (fig. 7). Watts' painting portrays the body of drowned woman which has washed up on the banks of the River Thames. She lies underneath one of the arches of Waterloo Bridge and has evidently committed suicide.[152] Yet, rather than presenting the bloated corpse, the body is almost angelic in its appearance. The victim's hair is neatly scraped back to reveal a smooth, pale and youthful face, suggesting that her natural beauty has returned to her as she has, quite literally, been washed clean of her sins. Here, moral purity is once more expressed through physical appearance. Watts clearly presented a highly romanticised view of the found body as it lies in peaceful silence, as if sleeping. The woman's garments cling to her body, exposing a hint of her hip and breasts, encouraging the viewer to perceive the woman as both a piteous and salacious object in the tradition of Titian's Pitti *Magdalene*, which had inspired Ruskin's expressions of concern.

The drowned woman's arms lie open and outstretched. Evocative of the crucifixion, her pose suggests that through death, the woman's sins have been washed away so that 'she is no longer a moral reprobate, but someone worthy of redemption' – a reading which is similarly suggested by Nead: 'through death, the prostitute could find salvation with Christ'.[153] The body is illuminated by the light which shines from one lone star overhead.   Casting a shadow on the smog-filled, industrialised cityscape which has most likely played a part in the downfall of the girl, the star suggests that her death has provided some hope and escape from the degeneracy of the modern world. The stark contrast between the blue cityscape and the orange of her clothing can be read as signifying the forgiving nature of death and indicates that this was perhaps the only means through which the outcast woman could find the warmth, compassion, and care which was so little shown to her in life. In her left hand, the woman clutches a locket – possibly the remnants of a lost love. The painting was named after articles in the popular press which listed the identities of corpses recovered from the River Thames. Yet just as Redgrave's title of *The Outcast* can be seen to have shaped the viewer's response, Mark Bills similarly argues that Watts' choice of title was significant to the message of the painting. Bills suggests that 'the title of the painting is deliberately open and non-

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[151] Josephine Butler, 'The lady of Shunem', p. 242.

[152] Mark Bills, '*Found Drowned*, c. 1848-50', in Mark Bills and Barbara Bryant (eds), *G. F. Watts Victorian visionary*, pp. 112-115, p. 114.

[153] Jeremy Paxman, *The Victorians: Britain through the paintings of the age* (London: Ebury Press, 2010), p. 133; Lynn Nead, 'The Magdalen in modern times', p. 31.

conclusive: it might be an accident, allowing for a Christian burial, or suicide, which does not'.[154] This ambiguity was arguably intended to prompt the viewer to question whether such distinctions were still applicable, suggesting that Christian compassion and respect was needed no matter what the circumstances.

Watts' painting and its themes of Christian compassion echoed those found in Thomas Hood's poem *The bridge of sighs*, which was published in 1844 in *Hood's Magazine*. Thought to have been based upon the real-life attempted suicide of Mary Furley who jumped, holding her daughter, into the Regent's Canal, the poem presented a sympathetic view of the plight which Furley – and women like her – suffered. The child drowned but Mary survived and was consequently tried for the murder of her child and attempted suicide.[155] Hood's poem, however, presented a different ending, instead speaking of the recovery of an unknown woman's body which had washed up on the banks of the Thames. She could see no other option but to end her turmoil, so the narrator asks that the woman be treated gently and shown the respect and love which she was denied in life, entreating the reader to 'take her up tenderly' and to 'touch her not scornfully [but] think of her mournfully'.[156] Moreover, Hood emphasised the sacrificial nature of the woman's death through the description of her soaked clothes as 'cerements', further strengthening the message of the need for Christian love to be given to the outcast. [157]

Gustave Doré's illustration for the poem depicted this sympathetic and loving treatment which Hood beseeched by the three men who recover the body (fig. 8). One stands, bowing his head in respect with his oar close to his chest, whilst his companions support the head and feet of the victim. The position of the three men, with the heavily draped woman lying between them, is reminiscent of the Biblical Lamentation. The vertical oar, in this reading, becomes a modern-day cross whilst the woman below lies in place of Christ, having been cleansed of her sins by her own sacrifice. Her face is illuminated to show

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[154] Mark Bills, '*Found Drowned*', p. 114.
[155] Jeremy Paxman, *The Victorians*, pp. 130-131.
[156] Thomas Hood, *Poems of Thomas Hood*, Walter Jerrold (ed.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), p. 167.
[157] Ibid.

her beauty in death, just as Hood had described, writing, 'death has left on her/ only the beautiful … and leaving, with meekness/ her sins to her Saviour'. [158]

Describing the drowned woman as 'one of Eve's family', Hood not only called for Christian compassion, but – like Butler – applied the tropes associated with the women of Christian history to the modern outcast. These allusions were common in the language of both prostitution and reform. Institutions which were intended to aid women who had strayed from the path of female virtue were commonly termed 'Magdalene Hospitals' after the most famous repentant woman in biblical narrative. Institutes such as these promoted the use of Bible study as a method of reform, so that residents received moral education alongside their industrial training and were, by consequence, taught to accept middle-class standards of femininity.[159]

Further indicating the influence of the Christian story of successful penitence upon nineteenth-century perceptions towards prostitution, William Tait published his own account of the state of prostitution in Edinburgh under the title *Magdalenism* (1840).[160] Moreover, Bracebridge Hemyng referred to one 'poor Magdalene' he interviewed in his exploration of the causes and prevalence of prostitution in the capital who had turned to the streets out of desperation in order to supplement the meagre wages she received as a shop girl.[161] Mahood suggests that the use of the name 'Magdalene' was 'sentimentally modelled' on the Biblical figure so that rather than condemning the women of these institutions as beyond salvation, it purposefully carried connotations of the Magdalene inmate as the 'unhappy daughter of the poor but honest workingman' who had lost her way but was still ultimately reclaimable. [162]

In conclusion, the fallen woman was clearly a significant feature of nineteenth-century society. Female fallenness and the feminine ideal were continually discussed in social

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[158] Ibid., p. 170.
[159] See Chapter Five, where the Salvation Army's use of the Bible in the reclamation of prostitutes is discussed. Also see Linda Mahood, 'The Magdalene's Friend. Prostitution and Social Control in Glasgow, 1869-1890', *Women's Studies International Forum* 13: 1-2 (1990), pp. 49-61, p. 49 and p. 53.
[160] William Tait, *Magdalenism: an inquiry into the extent, causes, and consequences, of prostitution in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: P. Rickard, 1840).
[161] Bracebridge Hemyng, quoted in William Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 24.
[162] Linda Mahood, 'The Magdalene's friend', p. 49 and p. 52.

investigation, legal reforms, poetry, religion, and art across the Victorian period. The reasons for what Anderson describes as 'the powerful cultural dominance of the idea of fallenness' were numerous and grounded both in reality and in ideological thought.**[163]** Firstly, prostitution was a real concern during the period. Increasing industrialisation, poor wages, and appalling living conditions meant that poor women were often led into prostitution out of desperation and the need for additional income. The surplus of women in society which was addressed in Greg's essay 'Why are women redundant?' (1869) also meant that, even for those from comfortable backgrounds, the expected trajectory which would lead them to a life as wife and mother was not always feasible.[164] Consequently, prostitution and women engaging in sexual activity outside marriage became real issues in society which attracted the attention of social investigators, law-makers, artists, and social reformers. And in their attempts to engage the public in these debates, writers, activists, and artists, such as Mayhew, Tait, Patmore, Hood, Watts, Cady Stanton, and Butler employed religious metaphors to strengthen their messages.

Ideologically speaking, the idea of the fallen woman helped to instil the gender expectations of the period. Juxtaposed with the ideal woman who was dutiful daughter, caring mother, and supportive wife, the fallen woman acted to illustrate what women should not be. Promoting this perspective, Walkowitz has argued that the 'pervasive existence' of prostitution in Victorian society was necessary as it challenged 'sanctified public truths and values of respectable society' which, in turn, underscored the need for men to act one way and women another.[165]   Although true that through the fallen woman's status as undesirable 'other' she helped to instil ideological notions of how women should and should not act, the ideology was certainly not the reason for prostitution's existence in society.

Following on from this, the moral integrity of the family unit rested on the mother and, in turn, the stability of the nation relied on the maintenance of the middle-class ideal. The actions of women were therefore seen to reflect the moral status of the country, and by extension the Empire. This attitude was promoted by J. Ewing Ritchie, who maintained that 'the woman who has sinned against her own soul [has sinned against] … the welfare of society

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[163] Amanda Anderson, *Tainted souls and painted faces*, p. 12.
[164] William Greg, *Why are women redundant?*.
[165] Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Notes on the history of Victorian prostitution', p. 106.

at large'.[166]   Sarah Ellis similarly emphasised this to her female middle-class reader, stating that 'a nation's moral wealth is in your keeping', highlighting the need for domestic harmony and family duty to be a woman's priority.[167]   The fallen woman undoubtedly presented a threat to this harmony, as Anderson has shown: 'the moral implications of sin and vice meant that the prostitute had the potential to make an impact on every level of society, and thus attracted much public and state interest towards herself and her trade'.[168]   Christian teaching provided an ideological framework for these definitions of womanhood, and could thus easily be applied to contemporary social debates to provide a universal language which audiences of all classes could understand.

Griselda Pollock has stated that, 'the feminine points to ways of thinking and principles of social organisation around the eternal challenge of human responses to living and dying, and the making sense of the times, generations, sexualities and bodies involved in these defining processes'.[169]   Victorian definitions of femininity and the subversion of gendered ideals through the figure of the fallen woman certainly substantiate this definition as concepts of femininity were deeply entwined with issues of morality and class. These seemingly stemmed from Christian teachings which stressed the importance of virtue, obedience and sexual restraint, but were applied to contemporary social concerns. Even more, to defy these concepts was to defy what was thought to be the essential nature of woman. The fallen woman challenged all of these gendered presumptions, through her active participation in the economic scene, her clear presence on the street, her lack of a secure family home and her refusal to remain loyal to and dependent upon one male.

In conclusion, this discussion has shown how nineteenth-century definitions of female fallenness and, in contrast, female virtue were formed by wider attitudes towards gender. Central to this viewpoint is the argument that gender is an artificial construct which has been

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[166] J. Ewing Ritchie, *The night side of London* (London: William Tweedie, 1857), p. 272.

[167] Sarah Ellis, *The women of England*, p. 13.

[168] F. Joyce, 'Prostitution and the nineteenth century: in search of the 'great social evil'', *Reinvention: a Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 1, no. 1 (2008) <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/iatl/reinvention/issues/volume1issue1/joyce> [accessed 24 May 2013].

[169] Griselda Pollock and Victoria Turvey Sauron, 'Introduction', in Griselda Pollock and Victoria Turvey Sauron (eds), *The sacred and the feminine: imagination and sexual difference* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 1-8, p. 2.

formed by successive societies. These societies have, whether intentionally or not, acted to shape understandings of precisely what it is to be male and female. Through the representation of women such as Pandora, Eve and Mary Magdalene, perceptions about the nature of women acted to reinforce patriarchal assumptions about gender and the natural social order. The plethora of representations of religious figures and tales led to the development of a complex and highly contradictory understanding of the female gender, in which woman was considered to be both seductive and easy to seduce, carnal but also innately asexual, and ultimately the reason for human suffering whilst simultaneously being the keystone of the family unit. These paradoxical notions became deeply instilled in ideological and cultural debates of the nineteenth century. Although far from being an innovative concept, the fallen woman was brought to the forefront in Victorian thought as the antithesis to the ideal woman. Therefore, whilst subverting it, the fallen woman acted to affirm the Victorian ideal of womanhood which found expression in the ideological 'angel in the house' model.

Art and popular culture played an integral role in the promotion of these definitions of gender, even if their messages were not realistically applicable to large sectors of society. Religion was fundamental to nineteenth-century debates and representations of the fallen woman, being used in both condemnatory portrayals and reform dialogues, and this theme will be frequently returned to throughout this thesis. Following on from the discussion of the role of religion in nineteenth-century rhetoric and visual culture, the following chapter considers the wider moral role of art, exploring the identity and role of the artist in the portrayal of the fallen woman, and the impact which it was thought such depictions could have upon the viewing public.

Chapter Two: The artists, their audiences, and their critics

This chapter will explore how the Victorian fallen woman was depicted in art at the mid-century, when the topic was at its most popular in visual representation. The discussion will begin by considering differing perspectives regarding the role of art and its perceived purpose in Victorian culture, focussing specifically on the rising popularity of narrative painting and the widening audience for art as the century progressed. The chapter will then concentrate on several paintings which openly tackled the issue of female fallenness, assessing how each artist portrayed the subject, the social significance of the works, and – perhaps most crucially – how the paintings were received by contemporary audiences and art critics. The notion that art held the capacity to influence viewers was central to nineteenth-century artistic thought and criticism, and thus the effect which an image could potentially have upon the viewing public often shaped artistic representations.   The role text played in paintings of the fallen woman will also be discussed, as will the implications which art criticism had on the reception and comprehension of works. This will show how perceptions of class were related to education, but also how the perceived hierarchy in literature, whereby the art criticism of the elite and the sensation fiction of the masses, were not as diametrically opposed as was claimed. Issues of public taste, institutional censorship, and audience composition will therefore be considered, assessing how these concerns effected the representation of the fallen woman. Consequently, it is hoped that this discussion will not only demonstrate how paintings, prints, and art criticism all worked together to shape the public perception of female fallenness, but how the growing democratisation and accessibility of art over the course of the century influenced how the fallen woman was depicted in visual culture.

Linda Nochlin's 'Lost and *Found*' was the first in-depth consideration of the portrayal of the fallen woman within Victorian art history and identified the significance of the city and woman's position in the home as symbols of morality in visual portrayals.[1] Following on from this, Nina Auerbach's 1980 paper 'The rise of the fallen woman' examined the subject in light of growing research into the social and economic histories of prostitution by scholars such as Judith Walkowitz.[2] Many of the iconographic themes identified by Nochlin and Auerbach, such as the contaminative symbolism of the city, the nationalistic threat of the aberrant middle-class mother, and the mythologised irreversibility of the fall, were examined in Lynda Nead's essay 'The Magdalen in modern times' and subsequent book, *Myths of sexuality* (1988), where

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[1] Linda Nochlin, 'Lost and *Found*', p. 152.
[2] Nina Auerbach, 'The rise of the fallen woman', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 35, no. 1 (1980), pp. 29-52.

high and low art forms were considered.[3] Nead identified the continual tension which exists between the mythology of the fallen woman in art and literature, and the realities of women living at the time, arguing that the portrayal of women within art reflects the regulative and patriarchal attitudes of Victorian society. These implications were then further explored by Olive Anderson, whose comparison between the portrayal of female suicide in literature and statistical data highlights the fallacious basis upon which discourses surrounding the fallen woman were constructed.[4] Moreover, Nead's research questioned the role of the creator and spectator in these formations, addressing the 'conflicting interests of realism and aesthetic pleasure' which the portrayal of the sexualised female brings.[5] Whilst it is not the intention of this chapter to further delineate the chasm which existed between iconographic portrayals of the prostitute and the lived reality, these discussions lead to questions regarding message, intent, and consumption: why was the hardship of the fallen woman's life so romanticised, what messages were these intended to convey, and how did the consumer and thus, the medium of production, shape the story? Martha Tedeschi's analysis of the relationship between the art market and prints, as well as those made by Julian Treuherz and various authors in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor's edited book *The lure of illustration in the nineteenth century*, emphasise the relationships between the moral function of high and low media in nineteenth-century discourse.[6] The ideas approached in these publications are central to the discussions within this chapter as not only were they influential in the identification of iconographic markers of the prostitute in mid-century visual culture, but they address wider themes regarding the role of the audience in the production and consumption of portrayals, as well as critics' concerns regarding morality, propriety, and the perceived dangers of replicative behaviour. This chapter engages with these issues, arguing that despite nineteenth-century concerns about the corruptive nature of lower mediums of art, both due to their intended audience bases and subject matter, correlations between the popularised sensation fiction and art criticism are clearly evident. The voyeuristic role of the viewer, and the perceived moral and behavioural impact of media upon the audience, are themes which recur throughout this thesis, in discussions of William Stead's sensationalism in Chapter Three,

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[3] Lynn Nead, 'The Magdalen in modern times'; Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*.

[4] Olive Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 72.

[5] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 182.

[6] Martha Tedeschi, '"Where the picture cannot go, the engravings penetrate": prints and the Victorian art market', *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 31, no. 1 (2005), pp. 8-19 and 89-90; Julian Treuherz, *Hard times: social realism in Victorian art* (London: Lund Humphries and Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987); Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, 'The lure of illustration', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration in the nineteenth century: picture and press* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 1-16.

the glorification of sexual murder in the Ripper press in Chapter Four, and the sales techniques employed by the Salvation Army in Chapter Five.

The chapter concludes with an examination of the role of women in the formation of visual portrayals of the fallen woman during the mid-nineteenth century, and engages with wider attitudes towards gender which were explored in Chapter One. Feminist art historians, such as Deborah Cherry, Pamela Gerrish Nunn, Clarissa Campbell Orr, and Jan Marsh have done much to reclaim women as important contributors in the Victorian art market.[7] They have shown how some female artists were able to overcome the restrictions placed upon them by social structures within the art world, to become active participants in the portrayal of women in high culture. Moreover, they demonstrate that women engaged with discourses surrounding gender in their art and addressed the need for compassion towards outcast women in an environment where woman's role as artist and subject remained largely determined by the gaze of the male critic and consumer. These ideas are again addressed in the final chapter of this thesis, where it is argued that through these publications, women were repositioned as the target audience, under whose gaze the fallen woman was not an object of consumption but a person to be helped. Moreover, through the reproduction and dissemination of Salvation Army publications, it is argued that women played a formative role in the construction of definitions of the fallen woman in these late nineteenth-century philanthropic publications.

The world in which the artists of the 1850s lived and worked was highly prescriptive, and dominated by the Royal Academy, which controlled the exhibition of art, sales, and artistic training. Debates concerning the status and role of art raged during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Poetry was considered to be the most noble of the arts with painting being limited by its ability to portray only one moment in time.[8] This not only led to a hierarchy within the arts, with painting being considered to be inferior to poetry and prose,

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[7] Deborah Cherry, *Painting women*; Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Problem pictures: women and men in Victorian painting* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995); Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Women in the Victorian art world* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women artists and the Pre-Raphaelite movement* (London: Virago, 1989).

[8] Julia Thomas, *Victorian narrative painting* (London: Tate Publishing, 2000), pp. 10-11; Hilary Fraser, *Beauty and belief: aesthetics and religion in Victorian literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 5.

but also a hierarchy of genres whereby history painting was seen as superior to other forms such as portraiture and landscape.

The first president of the Royal Academy, Joshua Reynolds, had stated that the artist should 'strike the imagination' of viewers so that they experience an emotive response to the artwork. There 'ought to be either some eminent instance of heroic action or heroic suffering', he wrote, continuing:

> There must be something, either in the action or in the object, in which men are universally concerned, and which powerfully strikes upon the public sympathy … such are the events of Greek or Roman fable and history, which early education and the usual course of remain have made familiar and interesting to all Europe.[9]

Through this, Reynolds actively promoted history painting as the genre which could most effectively achieve these aims, portraying universal themes 'without being degraded by the vulgarism of ordinary life'.[10] It was feared that this 'vulgarism' could inhibit the positive and moralising effects which art was thought to have upon the viewer, presenting events which did not stir the intellect of the audience but instead appealed to the more visceral elements of their being. In contrast, 'the contemplation of universal rectitude and harmony' through the portrayal of historical acts of heroism and goodness, he stated, 'may … conclude in virtue'.[11]

This hierarchy of genres meant that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, scenes of everyday life were considered to be a lesser form of art and, therefore, were much less common in exhibitions and especially on the Royal Academy's walls, than large-scale, grand history paintings. Consequently, the advocate of a democratic and very English art, Hogarth, was continually pitted against Reynolds, the proponent of 'hierarchy, models of foreign art, and rules', as they both represented differing views of precisely what art should be and who it was for.[12] Widely reproduced in the form of prints and portraying scenes which were neither righteous nor beautiful, the humorous and coarse creations of Hogarth were commonly

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[9] Joshua Reynolds, 'Discourse IV', 1771, in Edward Gilpin Johnson (ed.), *Sir Joshua Reynolds's discourses* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1891), pp. 99-121, p. 100.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Joshua Reynolds, quoted in John Barrell, *The political theory of painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: the body of the public* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 96.
[12] Ronald Paulson, 'Hogarth and the distribution of visual images', in Brian Allen (ed.), *Towards a modern art world* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 27-46, p. 39.

relegated to 'an inferior and vulgar class' by those who championed Reynolds' ideals.[13] Clearly problematic as neither a historic scene nor an expression of moral integrity, the subject of modern sexual transgression was therefore similarly seen as being antithetical to the Academy's key principles. As Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd have shown, by the late eighteenth century it was widely thought that 'the most dignified function to which painting should aspire was the promotion of public virtues', not the portrayal of anything that was perceived to be immoral or unbeautiful.[14] Expressing this view most ardently, James Dafforne, a prominent art critic of *The Art Journal*, wrote that, 'one of the highest aims of artists ought to be to make art [the] teacher of moral, of social, or of religious truths'.[15]

Early nineteenth-century scenes of modern life were, therefore, largely considered by the artistic elite to belong to the realms of 'low' or 'popular' culture.[16] Despite this, some artists chose to defy the tastes of the Academy by portraying scenes of contemporary life and recent historical events. David Wilkie, Julia Thomas argues, was 'to a large extent responsible for the revival of the narrative picture in the nineteenth century', having produced paintings such as *The Rent Day* (1808) and *The Reading of a Will* (1820) which depicted such ordinary scenes.[17] Significantly, Wilkie's art proved to be highly successful, both when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy and abroad, where prints of his paintings were highly sought after.[18] This proved that despite the Academy's traditional hierarchy, audiences' tastes favoured familiar subjects to which they could relate.

In the 1840s, there was a significant rise in the number of paintings which depicted scenes of modern life in British art. Preferring subjects which they could easily comprehend

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[13] Charles Lamb, quoted in Martin Postle, 'In search of the "true Briton": Reynolds, Hogarth, and the British school', in Brian Allen (ed.), *Towards a modern art world*, pp. 121-143, p. 130; Julian Treuherz, *Victorian painting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 108.

[14] Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd, 'Constituting the public: art and its Institutions in nineteenth-century London', in Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd (eds), *Governing cultures: art institutions in Victorian London* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), pp. 1-25, p. 3; Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 181.

[15] James Dafforne, 'British artists: their style and character: no. XLV – Richard Redgrave, R. A.', *Art Journal*, 55, (1859), pp. 205-207, p. 205; Julie F. Codell, 'Constructing the Victorian artist: national identity, the political economy of art and biographical mania in the periodical', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 33, no. 3 (2000) pp. 283-316, p. 293.

[16] Mark Bills, 'Dickens and the painting of modern life', in Mark Bills (ed.), *Dickens and the artists* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 111-153, p. 118.

[17] Julia Thomas, *Victorian narrative painting*, p. 15.

[18] Arthur S. Mark, 'Wilkie, Hogarth, and Hazlitt: "The Reading of a Will", its origins and legacy', *Studies in Romanticism*, 48, no. 4 (Winter 2009), pp. 583-639, p. 584.

and which presented homely and intimate scenes rather than the grand and detached canvases of the Old Masters that had previously been desired by the wealthy elite, the middle classes bolstered the popularity of small-scale genre scenes.[19] With disposable income but also lacking the interest in – and perhaps space to hang – the Old Masters which had appealed to the upper classes, the middle classes searched for art which could decorate their homes. The rising consumerism of contemporary art was undoubtedly aided by the growth of art criticism. Printing reviews of exhibitions and reproductions of the work of living artists, the popular press encouraged more and more readers of popular journals to take an interest in contemporary art; as one critic commented in 1859: 'The criticism of art is now an acknowledged function of every newspaper'.[20]

In comparison to Thomas' recognition of the impact which the popularity of Wilkie's art had on the perception of genre painting, Mark Bills instead attributes this shift to the popularity of Dickens. Bills argues that through his detailed narratives of everyday life, Dickens successfully navigated the divisions between high and low culture, creating works which appealed to the masses and all sectors of society.[21] Certainly, readers often collected the illustrations which were printed in Dickens' novels so as to frame them or create scrap books, showing the interest with which visual accounts of Dickens' narratives were treated.[22] Rather than being a direct consequence of the narrative social realism provided by authors such as Dickens, however, it is more probable that a combination of factors led more artists to turn to modern social subjects towards the middle of the century. The general artistic disillusionment with the prescriptive nature of the Royal Academy and its Hanging Committee, coupled with the emergence of a new middle class, who wished to purchase art to decorate their homes rather than simply to admire on the Academy walls, undoubtedly added to the general popularity of the types of social narratives which were celebrated in Dickens' works.[23] Moreover, social culture was becoming increasingly visual: the 1840s witnessed the establishment of the illustrated press which provided the reading public with endless

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[19] Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Art collecting and Victorian middle-class taste', *Art History*, 10, no. 3 (1987), pp. 328-350, p. 334.
[20] 'Art exhibitions of 1859', *Bentley's Quarterly Review*, 1, no. 2 (1859), pp. 582-628, p. 584.
[21] Mark Bills, 'Dickens and the painting of modern life', in Mark Bills (ed.), *Dickens and the artists*, p. 117 and p. 121.
[22] Bills' observation highlights the close relationship which painting and literature shared during the century – a key issue which is continually addressed throughout this thesis.
[23] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 168.

depictions of news events and scenes of contemporary life.[24] With these came advertisements and, later, bill stickers. Thus, the public became accustomed to viewing images of contemporary society. It is not surprising, then, that high art came to follow the same trends, responding to a clear desire on the part of the public to view scenes which related to their own lives.

As a consequence, artists began to organise their own informal societies in an attempt to remedy the lack of genre and narrative painting in British art. One of these was 'the Clique'. Established in 1838, the group met weekly to sketch historical scenes and literary passages. Members included William Powell Frith, Augustus Leopold Egg, and Richard Dadd, all of whom had become disillusioned with the seemingly poor and somewhat sparse teaching they received at the Royal Academy.[25] The group's interest in sketching 'contemporary social themes' and 'anecdotal scenes from everyday life' fostered an interest which was then reflected in the artists' later works – and this can certainly be seen in Frith's work. [26] Adopting the narrative potential of paintings perhaps most ardently, Frith's scenes of modern life presented all sectors of society and attracted an audience of the same composition.[27] The democratisation of the viewing audience had been a key concern for Hogarth, who believed that like prose, paintings could be read and could portray the passing of time or a sequence of events.[28] The erection of a hand rail to protect William Powell Frith's *Ramsgate Sands* (1851-

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[24] The *Illustrated London News* was the first illustrated newspaper to be produced. First published on 14th May 1842, the paper stated: 'Our business will not be with the strife of party, but with what attacks or ensures the home life of the empire; with the comforts, the enjoyments, the affections, and the liberties, that form the link of that beautiful chain which should be fashioned at one end of the cottage, at the other of the palace, and be electric with the happiness that is carried into both'. See '*The Illustrated London News*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/series2/showarticle.asp?id=92392&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=illustrated~london~news> [accessed 11 August 2015]. This preoccupation with the events of home and the empire, illustrated extensively in the pages of the newspaper, would have undoubtedly generated public interest in viewing larger-scale paintings on the same themes.

[25] Paul Stirton, 'Clique (*act.* 1838–1842)', [n.d.], in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/64214> [accessed 24 June 2015].

[26] Ibid.

[27] *Ramsgate Sands* was reproduced in parts in *The Illustrated London News* between February and September 1859. Although a middle-class paper, this reproduction would have made the work accessible to a much wider audience than the restricted Royal Academy audience. Caroline Arscott, '*Ramsgate Sands*, modern life, and the shoring up of narrative', in Brian Allen (ed.), *Towards a modern art world*, p. 157-168, p. 167.

[28] Ibid.; Ronald Paulson, 'Hogarth and the distribution of visual images', in Brian Allen (ed.), *Towards a modern art world*.

54) at the Royal Academy in 1854 therefore was not only testament to its popularity, but – as Thomas has significantly identified – aided viewers who now needed to 'linger in front of the canvas in order to "read" it effectively', taking in all of the details and idiosyncrasies of the characters within the scene.[29] Frith's portrayal of modern life can therefore be considered as a form of democratic art as it enabled viewers of all educational levels to access High Art (even if their physical access remained limited by class). No longer requiring knowledge of past historical events or mythological tales, *Ramsgate Sands* could be understood and interpreted by all.

Frith's *Night – Haymarket* (1862) (fig. 9) marks perhaps his most overt representation of the fallen woman in his modern life stories. The painting depicts the scene on the Haymarket street as crowds leave the theatre after a show. The main focus of the composition is a young woman dressed in white who stands just to the right of the centre of the canvas. The young woman's unblemished skin and pure white clothing are juxtaposed with the gaudy dress and rouged complexion of another young female who stands at the side of the canvas. The comparison clearly marks the latter as a fallen woman. Her placement at the edge of the canvas reflects her social exclusion and the backward glance towards the fairer girl, who is tenderly helped by her attentive companion, suggests her recollection of the life which she once had.[30] Whilst tolerable as a figure in a wider narrative, the portrayal of the fallen woman as the main subject of a canvas proved to be a much more difficult challenge. Lynda Nead asserts that this is because artists had to negotiate 'conflicting interests of realism and aesthetic pleasure', needing to present a subject which viewers could both comprehend and respond to emotionally.[31] The difficultly which the fallen woman presented was therefore based upon the question of whether it was acceptable, or even possible, for the viewer to gain pleasure from viewing the outcast woman and her immoral deeds. Moreover, if the true purpose of art, as Reynolds had stated, was to elevate the viewer to a higher intellectual level through the depictions of the highest accomplishments and virtues of mankind, how could this subject even constitute art?

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[29] Julia Thomas, *Victorian narrative painting*, p. 27. For a reproduction, see Lionel Lambourne, *Victorian painting*, p. 258.
[30] Mark Bills, 'Dickens and the painting of modern life', p. 129.
[31] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 182.

One way in which artists attempted to mediate this complexity was to capitalise on the perceived moral function of art; neither glamorising nor promoting the immoral behaviour depicted, artists instead warned against the undesirable behaviour which it was feared that their portrayal could encourage through the inclusion of moralising messages within their visual narratives. As Bills has shown, 'morality in painting for the mid-Victorians meant fidelity to truth in both depiction and narrative, truth in terms of morality, and truth also in being an accurate mirror to the visible world around them'.[32] Artists and audiences were already well versed in the 'modern moral subjects' of Hogarth, which satirised the adultery, gluttony, greed and gambling of the English.[33] 'His art is quite simple', William Makepeace Thackeray wrote, 'he speaks popular parables to interest simple hearts, to inspire them with pleasure or pity, or warning and terror'.[34] These 'secular sermons in paint' were highly influential and the long-term influence of their sequential composition can be seen in the narrative series produced by George Cruikshank in his *The Drunkard's Children* (1848) and Frith's *Road to Ruin* (1878), which was engraved by Leopold Fleming and proved to be extremely popular.[35] The Hogarth Club, established in 1858 by a group of writers and artists which included Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, William Michael Rossetti and Spencer Stanhope, similarly aimed to emulate the 'modern invention and drama' of Hogarth's art. Like the 'Clique' before them, the group met regularly, organising their own exhibitions and displaying paintings which depicted modern life.[36]

Although Augustus Leopold Egg was not a member of the Hogarth Club himself, his *Past and Present* (1858) adopted Hogarth's use of serialisation, so familiar to viewers through *A Harlot's Progress* (1732) and *A Rake's Progress* (1735), to present a moralising narrative. Depicting the downfall of the adulterous woman and the destruction of her middle-class

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[32] Mark Bills, 'The line which separates character from caricature: Frith and the influence of Hogarth', in Mark Bills and Vivien Knight (eds), *William Powell Frith: painting and the Victorian age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 41-56, p. 43.
[33] Edward Gilpin Johnson, 'Introduction', in Edward Gilpin Johnson (ed.), *Sir Joshua Reynolds's discourses*, pp. 13-51, p .15.
[34] William Makepeace Thackeray, quoted in Mark Bills, 'Dickens and the painting of modern life', p. 117 and p. 116.
[35] Brenda D. Rix, *Pictures for the parlour: the English reproductive print from 1775 to 1900* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1983), p. 66. Elizabeth Einberg argues that Hogarth's works acted as 'secular sermons in paint … meant to be commentaries on the human condition … through [the depiction of] men and women of the contemporary world'. Elizabeth Einberg, *Manners and morals: Hogarth and British painting 1700-1760* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1987), p. 15. For a reproduction of selected plates of Cruickshank's series, see Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, plate 39.
[36] Deborah Cherry, 'The Hogarth Club: 1858-1861', *The Burlington Magazine*, 122, no. 925 (1980), pp. 236-244, p. 236.

family home as a result, Egg's series of three canvases were the only paintings exhibited at the Academy during the mid-nineteenth century which approached the subject of the unfaithful middle-class wife in a contemporary setting.[37]

The first of the canvases portrays the moment when a husband discovers his wife's betrayal (fig. 10a). Sitting silently in his chair, fist clenched in anger, he stares without focus, a letter containing proof of his wife's infidelity held tightly in his left hand. His wife begs at his feet, lying with her hands clasped together asking for forgiveness. The apple, half of which rests by the side of the mother having fallen off the table, echoes her own fall from respectability and moral decency. Rotten to the core, the putrid fruit symbolises the division of the family unit and, having been the fruit consumed by Eve, the wife's weakness for temptation. This allusion to the first fallen woman is further emphasised through the golden serpents which form the wife's bracelets, coiling around her wrists in a manner which underlines the seduction involved in her fall.

The consequences of the wife's actions are clearly legible within this first canvas through the falling house of cards which the two children have been constructing. The cards stand on a novel by Balzac whose work was lambasted as being a corrupting influence on female readers, exciting them and introducing them to immoral subjects. The mother has been reading Balzac's work, which means the novel not only stands at the base of the falling house of cards, but is also responsible for the destruction of the family unit.[38] The younger of the two girls seems oblivious to the unfolding drama, whilst her older sibling turns her head, sensing the trouble which is coming.

The mother's betrayal is made clear through the inclusion of a print of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden which hangs above a portrait of her. Adjacent to this on the right-hand side of the chimney-breast hangs a portrait of the husband, above which is a print of Clarkson Stanfield's *The Abandoned* which depicts a shipwreck being engulfed by

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[37] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 48.

[38] Kate Flint, *The woman reader (1837-1914)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 138-140; Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 73.

waves.[39] The arrangement of these elements clearly indicates that the middle-class family home is heading for destruction as a result of the woman's weakness. Victorian audiences would undoubtedly have been familiar with reading images in such ways, being accustomed to Hogarth's 'graphic representations' which carried the 'suggestive meaning of words', as Edward Gilpin Johnson stated, as well as perhaps recognising Phiz's use of exactly the same symbolism in his illustrations for *David Copperfield* in 1849 and 1850.[40]

Set after the husband's death some years later, the second canvas shows the two daughters of the marriage who are now young women (fig. 10b). As the younger sits crying into her elder sibling's lap, the latter looks out of the window at the moon which lights up the cityscape below. Either side of the window hang the portraits of the parents which were visible in the first scene. This time, the mother's portrait is placed over an empty chair which alludes to her expulsion from the family home whilst the father's is similarly bathed in shadow, symbolising the destruction and shame which has been brought upon him.

The final canvas in the series depicts the mother of the two girls looking at the same moon as her daughters (fig. 10c). She sits huddled under the Adelphi arches – an area of 'horrible character' which Mayhew observed 'many novelists, philanthropists, and newspaper writers have dwelt much upon … a Policeman is on duty there at night, expressly to prevent persons who have no right or business there from descending into their recesses'.[41] Two tiny bare feet poke out from the bottom of her shawl, revealing the presence of her illegitimate child. Having been abandoned by her lover and disowned by her family, she contemplates the Thames, suggesting to the viewer that the river may soon be her grave, as it was thought to be

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[39] Ibid., Martin Meisel, *Realizations: narrative, pictorial, and theatrical arts in nineteenth-century England* (Princeton and Guilford: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 27.

[40] Edward Gilpin Johnson, 'Introduction', p.15. *Martha*, the illustration produced by Phiz to accompany the December 1849 issue of *David Copperfield*, features this same use of biblical scenes to indicate the status of the women pictured. Whilst Martha's kneeling pose reflects that of Mary Magdalene featured in the print on the chimney breast behind her, suggesting her road to redemption and salvation, the Temptation of Eve scene which hangs above Emily's head prefigures her fall later in the novel as she absconds with Steerforth. Moreover, the imagery of the shipwreck as symbolic of the destruction of the family home is similarly employed by Dickens throughout the novel as, when asked by David if he intends to return to the 'old boat' in which he lives, Mr Peggotty states, 'My station … ain't there no longer; and if ever a boat foundered, since there was darkness on the face of the deep, that one's gone down'. See Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 1850 (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 463.

[41] Henry Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor* (1862), p. 239.

for so many other fallen women.[42] The falling folds of the tablecloth in the first canvas echo the arch under which the woman now finds herself, foreshadowing her fate and displaying the cyclical narrative of Egg's triptych. On the wall behind her, French bill-stickers advertising 'pleasure excursions to Paris' and theatre performances including 'The cure for love' underscore the woman's fall into temptation, the theatre and especially France commonly being seen as areas where indulgence and fornication were not only permitted but actively encouraged.[43]

Reviews of the paintings questioned the extent to which the subject of the fallen woman was suitable for the Academy walls. *The Athenaeum* expressed horror at the 'ghastly', 'terrible' and 'impure' nature of the narrative, writing that 'there must be a line drawn as to where the horrors that should not be painted for public and innocent sight begin, and we think Mr. Egg has put one foot at least beyond this line'.[44] For this commentator, the portrayal of the fallen woman with such realism was not befitting for Academy viewers, as the reviewer argued that the painting 'seem[ed] out of place in a gallery of laughing brightness'.[45]

Rather than simply reacting to the story presented, however, Lynda Nead argues that the backlash received following the exhibition of *Past and Present* was also partly due to Egg's departure from the standard portrayal of the prostitute. Victorian viewers were accustomed to spotting generalised 'types' in genre paintings; the middle-class family, the ruffian, the young beggar boy, the jolly policeman, and the leisurely dandy were common-place and always easily recognisable to all viewers.[46] Therefore, it follows that the prostitute was also a very specific type which viewers had been trained to identify. This is perhaps most apparent in 'The Haymarket – Midnight', which was printed in Henry Mayhew's *London labour and the London poor*. In this image, the women depicted are almost inseparable from one another; wearing large crinolines and exhibiting the same bonnet and hairstyles, the women even appear to exhibit the same faces, suggesting a very distinct and simplified representation of the physical appearance of the prostitute.[47] Nead's suggestion that Egg's narrative did not

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[42] For more on the significance of the Thames in fallen woman imagery, see Chapter Five.
[43] Lionel Lambourne, *Victorian painting*, p. 367.
[44] 'Fine arts: Royal Academy', *The Athenaeum*, 1 May 1858, pp. 565-567, p. 566.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Caroline Arscott, '*Ramsgate Sands*', p. 164.
[47] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 153.

'adequately convey the filth and misery of immorality', to which the artist's contemporary reviewers would have been accustomed, therefore reveals the complexity with which portrayals of the fallen woman were met during the mid-century.[48] Thus, it appears as though scenes of immoral behaviour were welcomed if they presented the consequences of such undesirable behaviour (as in Richard Redgrave's *The Outcast* of 1851) (fig. 6), but were simultaneously reviled if the portrayal was considered too sordid for the 'young, unstained, unpainted and happy faces' who came to the gallery 'to chat and trifle'. [49] Moreover, it may be argued that the unresolved narrative further added to the uneasy reception of the painting in *The Athenaeum*. The suggestion of the woman's ultimate suicide is made through her location, yet the viewer is left wondering what the final outcome will be for her and her children. This open conclusion may be argued to reflect the contention which surrounded prostitution during the period; by leaving the story unresolved, the series reminds the viewer that the issue of female ostracism due to rigid gender stereotypes is still prevalent and perhaps cannot be changed until the public are exposed to it in a new way. This use of art as a method through which social issues could be tackled was problematic for *The Athenaeum*, which argued that art should not confront viewers with scenes of social hardship or emotional turmoil, nor should they be presented with images which could apparently contaminate the 'young and pure'; art's role was to provide moral instruction, guidance, and inspiration, as Reynolds had stated.[50] Indeed, the *Art Union* suggested that art had the power to turn viewers away from a life of criminality, temptation, and vice (if those of the poorer classes were to have more access to gallery spaces), writing that 'a collection of pictures powerfully helps to thin our poorhouses and prisons; men to whom public galleries are open will be seldom found in public-houses'.[51] The risk posed by such subjects, therefore, was that if presented in the 'wrong' way, art had the potential to encourage sympathy for, or even promote, immoral subjects when it should present inspiring examples of human virtue.

When Egg's series was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1858, the paintings did not have a title. Instead, they were accompanied by a short account printed in the exhibition catalogue which read:

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[48] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 134.
[49] 'Fine arts: Royal Academy', *The Athenaeum*, 1 May 1858, p. 566.
[50] Ibid.
[51] *Art-Union* 9 (1847), quoted in Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Art collecting and Victorian middle-class taste', p. 330.

"Aug. 4: Have just heard that B. has been dead more than a fortnight; so his poor children have now lost both their parents. I hear *She* was seen on Friday last, near the Strand, evidently without a place to lay her head – What a fall hers has been!".[52]

As Martin Meisel has argued, the extensive symbolism used within the first canvas renders this textual explanation redundant as the moral message and the narrative would have been easy for the Victorian viewer to comprehend.[53] Why, then, was the inclusion of this text decided upon when the paintings themselves carried such a clear story?

Certainly, it was common for paintings to be accompanied by textual explanations or literary references. Yet, the significance of the narrative extends far beyond this reasoning as in comparison to modern explanations, the gossip-like rather than informative style informs the reader of much more than simply what is happening over the course of the three canvases. Written as though an extract from a personal letter, the salacious implications carried with the speaker's italicised mention of '*she*' and the spectacular nature of her 'fall' indicate the contempt which was commonly levelled at women like the one Egg chose to portray.   Without this loaded commentary, the viewer is presented with three intimate scenes: the first set within the confines of the middle-class family home, the second portraying private grief, and the third depicting the mother's ostracism. However, when read in line with the 'I have just heard' commentary, the scandal and outward public humiliation levelled at the family by their social peers become much more palpable, demonstrating how the wife's actions have catapulted the apparent privacy and safety of the family home into the public sphere. Her betrayal and deviation from traditional expectations of femininity have become common knowledge and have caused a social scandal.

Text was a key component in the legibility and comprehension of nineteenth-century painting, occurring in exhibition catalogues, art criticism, on the frames of paintings, and within the images themselves. William Holman Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* (1853) (fig.

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[52] Nina Auerbach, 'The rise of the fallen woman', p. 29.

[53] Martin Meisel, *Realizations*, p. 27. Indeed, it is interesting to note that whilst the three canvases were intended to be read as a continuous narrative, when they were sold from the collection of Ernest Gambart in 1861 they were entered into the auction as separate lots. This supports Meisel's view that each painting in the sequence had the ability and clarity to stand alone and carry its own narrative. 'Art and artists', *The Critic*, 11 May 1861, pp. 605-608, p. 607, records that the paintings were collectively sold for 181 guineas.

11) exemplifies perhaps most clearly the significance of this interplay between text and image in Pre-Raphaelite art, as Hunt employed not only written text to convey meaning, but intended his painting to be 'read' in such a way that the message and narrative would be clear to the viewer through just one image. [54]

The painting depicts a kept woman's sudden realisation that she is leading a sinful life. She jumps up in horror from her lover's lap, surrounded by luxurious objects and fabrics which adorn the parlour of a middle-class house and reflect the affluent and indulgent tastes of her lover. As Karl Kroeber has shown, Hunt's image does not portray a moment in an ongoing narrative, as in Egg's canvases for *Past and Present*, but rather presents an 'instant of psychological change'.[55] In contrast to Hogarth's very conclusive sequences, Hunt's painting provides no answers to the viewers' questions: will her lover relinquish his hold and allow her to leave this life behind? Will her realisation and wish for change be permanent or is it just a fleeting thought?

Hovering between a seated and standing position, the woman could easily be dragged back into a life of sin by her lover, whose arms seem to encase her and prevent her escape. The lack of resolution to the painting's narrative prompted concern and confusion amongst contemporary critics when it was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1853. The writer of *The Art Journal*, for example, stated that 'without the title, the purport of this work could not be guessed at'.[56] Moreover, the critic of *The New Monthly Magazine* chose to overlook the symbolism of the scene and instead relied heavily on the Biblical quotation which was carved into the frame of the painting to inform his reading. The frame read: 'As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, so is he that singeth songs to a heavy heart', taken from *Proverbs* (25:20).[57] From this, the critic concluded that the scene portrayed a squabble between

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[54] Kate Flint, 'Reading *The Awakening Conscience* rightly', in Marcia Pointon (ed.), *The Pre-Raphaelites reviewed* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 45-65, p. 46.
[55] Karl Kroeber, *Retelling/rereading: the fate of storytelling in modern times* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 142.
[56] 'The Royal Academy. The exhibition, 1854', *Art Journal*, 6, no. 66 (1854), pp. 157-172, p. 165.
[57] *Proverbs* 25:20. For a reproduction of the painting with the original frame also pictured, see Alison Smith, '*The Awakening Conscience* 1853-4', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, pp. 134-135, p. 135.

siblings, where a brother has stolen his sister's garment, leaving her 'shivering dreadfully' in the breeze from the open window. [58]

Due to the confusion and hesitancy with which the painting was met, Ruskin offered an apologetic explanation in a letter to the editor of *The Times*, in which he stated: 'I am at a loss to know how its meaning could be rendered more distinctly … it is almost an insult to the painter to explain his thoughts'. Ruskin made his interpretation of the painting clear:

> The poor girl has been sitting singing with her seducer; some chance words of the song "Oft in the Stilly Night" [which lies open on the piano] have struck upon the numbered places of her heart; she has started up in agony; he, not seeing her face, goes on singing, striking the keys carelessly with his gloved hand.[59]

Ruskin went on to describe the significance of the symbolism, arguing that the other glove which lies discarded on the carpet represented the woman's fallen status and the likelihood that she will also be thoughtlessly cast aside by her lover, as does the unravelling embroidery in the right-hand corner of the canvas. On the floor lies a copy of Tennyson's *Tears, idle tears* (1847) and beside this a cat plays with an injured bird, again echoing the gentleman's temporary fascination with the woman before he will cast her aside, leaving her ruined and unwanted. The highly polished table and piano, the patterned carpet and luxurious wallpaper are all contemporary indulgences which will no doubt be replaced when fashions change and thus similarly suggest the fleetingness of his infatuation with the woman. The inscription on the frame which the critic of *The New Monthly Magazine* relied upon so heavily, therefore, refers directly to the male seducer, firmly placing the blame for the woman's sinful situation upon him. A quotation taken from *Isaiah* (35: 3-4) which was printed alongside the painting's entry in the exhibition catalogue further compounded this message, reading: 'Strengthen ye the feeble hands, and confirm ye the tottering knees; say ye to the faint-hearted: Be ye strong; fear ye not; behold your God'.[60] This statement, alongside the inclusion of cowbells and marigolds on the golden frame which 'symbolise warning and sorrow' and the carved star at the apex, revealing the path to redemption through Christian

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[58] William Harrison Ainsworth (ed.), *The New Monthly Magazine,* volume 101 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1854), p. 49.
[59] John Ruskin, 'The Pre-Raphaelites', *The Times*, 25 May 1854, p. 7.
[60] E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds), *The works of John Ruskin*, volume 12 (London: George Allen, 1904), p. 333.

forgiveness, all acted to show the viewer that hope of salvation was still possible for the woman, even if her male companion wished to carry on regardless.[61]

As Flint has shown, *The Awakening Conscience* was 'intended to be comprehended alongside' a second canvas by Hunt which was displayed at the Royal Academy exhibition.[62] *The Light of the World* (1851-2) presents Christ knocking at a closed door which can only be opened from the other side. Weeds and ivy have grown over the door, illustrating its ill-use and neglect because it has been forgotten for years. Like that of *The Awakening Conscience*, the frame of the painting was engraved with a passage from the Bible in which Christ said to sinners, 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me' (*Book of revelation* 3: 20).[63] Therefore, if paired with *The Awakening Conscience*, it appears as though the kept woman in the contemporary parlour has started at the sound of Christ's knocking, answering his call to let him in and lead her to redemption, which is symbolised by the light of his lantern. This pairing was not recognised by contemporary critics, however, which Flint attributes to the placement of the canvases in different rooms at the 1854 exhibition.[64] This may also partially explain why Joseph Gillott's engraving of *The Light of the World* proved to be a 'best-seller', whilst that of *The Awakening Conscience* did not (doubtless also because a religious allegory was much more palatable for display in the middle-class home than the perhaps all too familiar setting and potentially uncomfortable subject of its moralising companion piece).[65]

Flint has shown the significance of Ruskin's art criticism in relation to these two paintings, observing the heavy emphasis which he placed upon the act of 'reading' visual

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[61] Alison Smith, '*The Awakening Conscience* 1853-4', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 134.

[62] Kate Flint, 'Reading *The Awakening Conscience* rightly', p. 52.

[63] For a reproduction, see Alison Smith, '*The Light of the World* (1851-2)', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, pp. 134-135, p. 124.

[64] Kate Flint, 'Reading *The Awakening Conscience* rightly', p. 52.

[65] Martha Tedeschi, '"Where the picture cannot go, the engravings penetrate"', p. 10; Alison Smith, '*Thoughts of the Past* 1858-9', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, pp.114-145, p. 144; Brenda D. Rix, *Pictures for the parlour*, p. 1; Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class: money and the making of cultural identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 188. Macleod states that Ernest Gambart, an art dealer and print seller, persuaded Hunt to give him the copyrights to the image in exchange for £200, which the artist did. The mass reproduction of the painting by Gambart made him one of the most wealthy and influential art dealers of the period.

imagery.[66] Yet, rather than just ensuring that a painting was interpreted correctly, Ruskin also argued that such an exercise was beneficial to the mind of the viewer:

> It may, perhaps, be answered … that works of art ought not to stand in need of interpretation … we have been so long accustomed to see pictures painted without any purpose or intention whatsoever, that the unexpected existence of meaning in a work of art may very naturally first appear to us an unkind demand on the spectator's understanding. But … I hope the English public may be convinced of the simple truth, that neither a great fact, nor a great man, nor a great poem, nor a great picture, nor any other great thing, can be fathomed to the very bottom in a moment of time; and that … high enjoyment, either in picture-seeing or any other occupation, is consistent with a total lethargy of the powers of the understanding.[67]

For Ruskin, the comprehension of the work of art through personal engagement with it was crucial if the viewer was to experience an emotional response to it. Thus, rather than taxing the senses or 'degrading' art through the portrayal of the 'vulgar' present, as Reynolds perceived it, the representation of contemporary life, for Ruskin, held the power to inspire awe in the viewer as well as impart social and moral lessons as much as any work by the Old Masters.[68] He reasserted this in *Modern painters*, writing that 'the real majesty of the appearance of the thing to us, depends upon the degree in which we ourselves possess the power of understanding it – that penetrating, possession-taking power of the imagination'.[69] This illustrates the critic's view that art was not only a 'source of pleasure' for the viewer, but through their emotional response to the work, it also needed to 'instruct and improve the mind'.[70] Thus, for Ruskin, the woman's appearance was central to the success of *The Awakening Conscience* and, therefore, the painting's ability to move its audience:

> No one … could remain untouched by the countenance of the lost girl, rent from its beauty into sudden horror; the lips half open, indistinct in their purple quivering, the teeth set hard, the eyes filled with the fearful light of futurity.[71]

Indeed, the expression upon the woman's face attracted much attention. The critic of *The Art Journal* wrote that 'the points of reflection are placed so low on the eyes as to give a

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[66] Kate Flint, 'Reading *The Awakening Conscience* rightly', p. 45.

[67] John Ruskin, 'To the editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, 5 May 1854, p. 9.

[68] Earlier critics had expressed similar views concerning the primacy of the viewer's emotional rather than intellectual response to the art work, as Martin Postle has shown: 'For Hazlitt the power of the work of art depended on the way in which it conveyed its message directly to the viewer via the visual senses, not upon the coded references to the Old-Master tradition which were intelligible only to an initiated elite'. Ruskin's argument, therefore, was not isolated, but part of a growing move towards the appreciation of the power of art rather than the painter's ability to replicate an already well-known scene. Martin Postle, 'In search of the 'true Briton'', in Brian Allen (ed.), *Towards a modern art world*, p. 135.

[69] John Ruskin, *Modern painters*, volume 3, p. 134.

[70] Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Art collecting and Victorian middle-class taste', p. 334.

[71] John Ruskin, 'The Pre-Raphaelites'; Kate Flint, 'Reading *The Awakening Conscience* rightly', p. 134.

supernatural, or even death-like, appearance to them'.[72] This undoubtedly shaped attitudes towards Hunt's painting, so much so that Alison Smith has attributed the repainting of the woman's face at the request of Thomas Fairbairn, the industrialist who had purchased the work, to this criticism.[73]

The highly emotive language used by Ruskin to describe the woman's features was undoubtedly intended to reflect the anguish of her situation to readers who had not personally seen the painting. The author's contention that 'no one … could remain untouched' by the image suggests the power of these paintings to provoke an emotional and bodily reaction to them, engendering a sympathetic response in the viewer. Ruskin's use of language to describe the painting can, therefore, be seen to have been deliberately chosen so as to mirror the powerful reaction which the painting itself was intended to engender, his text inducing the same emotions which were felt by viewers of the image.

The critic's emphasis on the 'half open' lips and her 'quivering' form also helps to convey the sexual themes which the painting addressed and present an interesting parallel between the art criticism of the 1840s and 1860s' sensation fiction. Lyn Pykett has shown the potential of text to evoke the effects of painted images in her discussion of Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's secret*, which was first published in 1862, stating that 'Braddon's women rise up from the page like the heavily sensualised female subjects of Pre-Raphaelite paintings, and are offered as the object of the reader's rapt gaze'.[74] What is interesting, however, is that it was this eroticisation of the female body which was 'generally regarded as one of the improprieties of sensation novels' and critics commonly derided the genre for romanticising immoral actions and promoting dangerous behaviours.[75]

Reflecting these assumptions and satirising the fear and suspicion which surrounded sensation fiction and sensationalist journalism, *Punch* published a mock advertisement for a

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[72] 'The Royal Academy. The exhibition, 1854', *Art Journal*, p. 165.
[73] Alison Smith, '*The Awakening Conscience* 1853-4', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 134.
[74] Lyn Pykett, *The 'improper feminine': the women's sensation novel and the New Woman writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 98.
[75] Ibid., p. 99; Patrick Brantlinger, 'What is "sensational" about the "sensation novel"?', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 37, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-28, p. 5.

new periodical called 'The Sensation Times' in 1863. Branded as a 'chronicle of excitement',
Punch marketed the journal as being,

> Devoted chiefly to the following objects; namely, Harrowing the Mind, Making the
> Flesh Creep, Causing the Hair to Stand on End, Giving Shocks to the Nervous System,
> Destroying Conventional Moralities, and generally Unfitting the Public for the Prosaic
> Avocations of Life.[76]

The destruction of 'conventional moralities' was a chief concern of critics of sensation
fiction, so much so that *Punch* sardonically insisted that copies of this new journal would be
'handed to the Society for the Suppression of Vice, in order to ensure its non-interference with
the forthcoming [publication]'.[77]

None the less, if we assess the review of *The Awakening Conscience* which was
published by *The Art Journal*, the same sexualised rendering of the body which was hinted at
in Ruskin's account, and was later condemned as a dangerous and improper characteristic of
sensation literature, can be found. [78] This is most explicitly apparent in the critic's description
of the woman's expression as being 'that of horror, although it might equally describe a
paroxysm of fear, or an orgasm of rage'.[79] This highly sexualised language seems at odds with
the nature of the review as, unlike Ruskin, nowhere does the author plainly describe the
subject of the painting. He references the biblical quotations which accompanied the image,
labelling the scene as the secularisation of a scriptural text, and describes the composition.
However, whilst he mentions that 'the subject may be recognised by courtesy', he does not
clearly state what this 'subject' is. [80] This reluctance to address the fallen woman's hope of
redemption openly suggests that the portrayal and possible recovery of the sexually deviant

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[76] 'Prospectus of a new journal: the sensation times', *Punch*, 9 May 1863, p. 193; Philip V. Allingham,
'The Victorian sensation novel, 1860-1880 – "preaching to the nerves instead of the judgment"',
Victorian Web, 2013 <http://www.victorianweb.org/genre/sensation.html> [accessed 16 July 2015].
[77] 'Prospectus of a new journal: the sensation times', *Punch*, p. 193. The Society for the Suppression of
Vice was established in 1802 and was intended to quell the spread of behaviours, literature, and
organisations which it was thought could have a negative effect on the general public. This included
anything from the publication of books and leaflets to the presence of brothels and even, as Roberts has
shown, animal cruelty. See M. J. D. Roberts, 'The Society for the Suppression of Vice and its early critics,
1802-1812', *The Historical Journal*, 26, no. 1 (1983), pp. 259-276, for a comprehensive account of the
origins of the Society, its aims, and the criticisms which were levelled at it.
[78] Lyn Pykett, *The 'improper feminine'*, p. 99. Pykett argues that it was the genre's 'tendency to dwell on
the (female) body [which] was generally regarded as one of the improprieties of sensation novels'.
[79] 'The Royal Academy. The exhibition, 1854', *Art Journal*, p. 165.
[80] Ibid.

were deemed to be unsuitable subjects to be discussed in an art magazine intended for middle- and upper- class readers.[81] Yet, the 'orgasm of rage' which the critic describes refutes his own apparent concern for propriety and modesty which this silence suggests. Thus, whilst the subject of sexual disobedience was deemed unsuitable for the walls of middle-class homes and gallery spaces, the use of explicitly erotic language to describe them in the periodical press was, seemingly, permissible.

The overwrought and highly emotive nature of the text arguably adds a further dimension to the gendered divisions which were seen to define both literature and art during the period. High Art was generally considered to be a masculine endeavour – created by men (although female artists were far from scarce, as is explored later in the chapter), for predominantly male viewers, and aimed at an intellectual level which it was thought only men could achieve.[82] Art criticism was similarly dominated by these gendered divisions, and was intended for the male art connoisseur. Sensation fiction, on the other hand, was deemed to be an entirely feminine genre. Largely aimed at and written by women, the scandalous storylines and volatile plot-twists were seen as appealing to female readers who, it was presumed, had a natural weakness for tales of immorality, betrayal, and deviancy. This has been shown by Graham Law, who argues that with the increasing presence of fiction genres in the mid-century, fiction was thought to 'complement rather than compete with the news, with the former figured as feminine and the latter as masculine material … this gendering of space in the newspaper meant that serialised fiction tended to suffer from an inferiority of status equivalent to the social and legal disabilities of women in early Victorian Britain'.[83] The parallels which can be drawn between the rendering of the female body in sensation fiction and *The Art Journal*'s review of *The Awakening Conscience*, therefore, represent a transition between this gendering of genres. Despite the façade of propriety and respectability offered by such distinguished publications as *The Times* and *The Art Journal*, the same tendency

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[81] The concern over the suitability of such subjects for this intended audience has been discussed earlier in the chapter. See the discussion of *The Athenaeum's* criticism of Augustus Leopold Egg's *Past and Present* (1858) for more detail.

[82] See Susan Casteras, 'Excluding women: the cult of male genius in Victorian art', in Linda M. Shires (ed.), *Rewriting the Victorians: theory, history, and the politics of gender* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 116-146 for a discussion of the gendering of 'genius' within Victorian art criticism.

[83] Graham Law, '"Nothing but a newspaper": the contested space of serialised fiction in the 1840s press', in Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (eds), *Encounters in the Victorian press: editors, authors, readers* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 29-49, p. 38.

towards the 'fetishisation' of the female body which characterised sensation fiction is apparent.[84]

The perceived correlation between literature and immoral behaviour was a debate which recurred throughout the century. As seen in Egg's portrayal, the wrong kind of literature (whether this was French or serialised sensationalism) was thought to be a corrupting influence. The education of the illiterate, however, was regarded as an aid to self-improvement and a method through which the undesirable and dependent members of society could hope for some form of escape. The ragged school movement exemplified this perhaps most fervently. Established in poverty-stricken districts, the schools were designed for children who, in the words of one author writing in 1851, had been born into an 'infinitely lower … social position' which resulted in a 'superior … sort of evil intelligence, if evil indeed can be called intelligent'; poverty and 'evil' were seemingly interchangeable.[85] The schools fed, clothed and taught working-class children to read, illustrating the belief that education and physical and moral cleanliness went hand in hand. Moreover, as it was the most widely accessible book during the period, the children who attended ragged schools were taught to read using the Bible. [86] Thus, they gained both educational and moral instruction simultaneously, permanently intertwining these two notions.

The apparent link between education, moralism and respectability can be seen in Hunt's painting, further strengthening the links between art and the act of reading which Ruskin argued was so important to the moral and intellectual wellbeing of viewers. On the table beside the couple lies a copy of *The origin and progress of the art of writing*. Alison Smith has argued that the inclusion of this element suggests that the gentleman intends to educate his mistress so as to elevate her to a more acceptable social status. [87] This reading mirrors the artist's own attempts to educate his lover, Annie Miller, who posed as the model for the painting. Annie Miller was an East End barmaid whom Hunt had intended to educate to a

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[84] Lyn Pykett, *The 'improper feminine'*, p. 99.

[85] 'The claims of the destitute', quoted in H. W. Schupf, 'Education for the neglected: ragged schools in nineteenth-century England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 12, no. 2 (1972), pp. 162-183, p. 163.

[86] Ibid., p. 164.

[87] Alison Smith, '*The Awakening Conscience* 1853-4', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 134.

suitable standard before marrying her (although this never happened due to her infidelity).[88] This, coupled with Hunt's symbolism, implies that in both the painting and (in Hunt's view at least) Miller's case, illiteracy contributed to each woman's fallen status. This was a theme similarly approached by Ford Madox Brown in his watercolour, *Mauvais Sujet* (1863) (fig. 12).

Arguably more subtle than Hunt's *Awakening Conscience*, *Mauvais Sujet* offers a portrayal of a young girl who appears to be on the brink of prostitution. Neither the adult female who has already experienced the hardships of a life of prostitution, like the woman in Rossetti's *Found* (1859) (fig. 13), nor a kept woman who has come to realise the error of her ways, as in Hunt's painting, it is uncertain as to whether she has yet fallen.

The girl holds a feather quill in her right hand, suspending it over the paper booklet in which she has been writing. Rather than concentrating on her studies, as the picture's subtitle *The Writing Lesson* would suggest, the girl seems preoccupied. Indeed, the curled corner of the page which is visible to the viewer in the bottom right-hand corner of the image appears to be filled with illegible scrawls and loops, the ink of which is smudged. This small detail indicates that she is, perhaps, quite new to writing and does not yet take pride in her work and this is further implied by the ink spots which dot the other page. Her slumped posture indicates her lack of interest in the task as, instead of achieving the concentration and self-application of Robert Braithwaite Martineau's *Kit's Writing Lesson* (1852), she stares ahead with an unfocussed gaze as if 'the acquisition of the art of calligraphy were in reality far from her thoughts'.[89] The girl bites seductively on an apple and on the desk in front of her she has drawn a picture of a sailor and written her name, Mary.

Kenneth Bendiner has argued that through the inclusion of the half eaten apple, the graffitied desk, and the portrayal of a 'humdrum penmanship exercise', Brown's painting offers a 'charming domestic vision of the labours and naughtiness of sweet children … [like] so many earlier sentimental narratives of childhood'. He continues, 'these touches are not just a failure on Brown's part to break with tradition … they make an otherwise Aesthetic picture

[88] Henrietta Garnett, *Wives and stunners: the Pre-Raphaelites and their muses* (Basingstoke and Oxford: Macmillan, 2012), p. 108.
[89] 'Accessions to the Tate Gallery', *American Art News*, 16, no. 17 (1918), pp. 1-8, p. 5.

mundane'.[90] Whilst providing a context for Brown's subject, Bendiner's reading of the work

fails to take note of the sexually suggestive elements of the image: the girl's tilted head which

purposefully displays the side of her neck, her freely flowing hair, her plump, open lips, and of

course, the seductive bite of the fruit which is reminiscent of Eve's surrender to temptation.[91]

Supporting this sexualised reading, upon the acquisition of the painting to the Tate Collections

in 1917 Robert Ross noted that the 'child's sharply modelled face … [was] carefully chosen and

… strongly differentiated from the mid-Victorian concept of what a little girl ought to look like',

suggesting her loss of childlike innocence.[92]

Brown offered the image as a prize in a raffle to support the Lancashire Relief Fund – a

charitable organisation which was established to help local cotton workers and their families

during the cotton famine.[93] Whilst it is uncertain whether Brown chose to paint this subject

specifically for this purpose or, rather, if he selected a painting which he had already

completed to donate to the cause, it may be argued that the philanthropic use of the painting

enables it to be read as a piece of social criticism which condemns the social inequalities and

economic depression which ultimately lead young girls such as this into prostitution.

The flattened picture plane pushes the girl into the viewer's space, giving her an

unashamed and brazen character which reinforces this sexualised reading. Moreover, as

Julian Treuherz has argued, through the 'hint of adolescent sexuality in Brown's reluctant

pupil', the tone of the painting is 'uncertain' comprising 'neither a *femme fatale* nor a modern

genre subject'. Indeed, the composition is similar to many of Rossetti's *femme fatales* as it is

cropped so that viewers are presented with a bust of the woman. [94] As Brown's subject is still

a girl, however, viewers are placed in an uncomfortable position as they are forced to look

upon the subject with a voyeuristic and even erotic gaze which is brazenly returned by the girl.

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[90] Kenneth Bendiner, *The art of Ford Madox Brown* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 67.
[91] Julian Treuherz, *Ford Madox Brown: Pre-Raphaelite pioneer* (Manchester: Manchester Art Gallery, 2011), p. 244.
[92] Robert Ross, 'Acquired for the nation', *The Burlington Magazine*, 32, no. 178 (1918), pp. 2-3 and p. 5, p. 3.
[93] Julian Treuherz, *Ford Madox Brown*, p. 244.
[94] Ibid.

At the time of painting, the age of consent in the United Kingdom was twelve and the girl in the watercolour is arguably nearing this age .[95] The number of child prostitutes rose during the century as misconceptions that sex with a virgin could cure venereal disease fuelled customer demand.[96] Moreover, abject poverty meant that some young girls worked temporarily in the sex trade in order to help support their parents and other siblings financially.[97] Child sexuality became a prominent issue during the 1880s with the publication of Alfred Dyer's *The European slave trade in English girls* in 1880, which exposed the trafficking of young girls abroad, and in 1885 through William Stead's campaign to raise the age of consent.[98]

Brown was not the only artist of the 1860s to tackle this subject in paint, however. A notable example is Spencer Stanhope's *Robins of Modern Times* (c. 1857) (fig. 14), which is thought to be the companion piece for his more famous *Thoughts of the Past* (1859) (fig. 15). The latter painting presents a sympathetic portrayal of the fallen woman, who is captured in a moment of silent reflection, saddened by the situation in which she now finds herself. A discarded gentleman's glove and cane lie on the floor, along with the coins on the table, which suggest the presence of a client who remains outside of the viewer's gaze. His absence arguably places the implicitly male viewer in this position, encouraging him to shoulder some of the blame and guilt for the young woman's situation. She has paused in the act of brushing her long red hair, the colour traditionally associated with Mary Magdalene, as she contemplates her life with a mournful expression.[99] Galia Ofek argues that wavy or unruly hair in art has traditionally been used to symbolise sexual looseness and desire, and signified a visual 'common cultural code which was legible to all'.[100] The strands which the woman has brushed are, in contrast to her naturally wavy hair, incredibly straight. It may be suggested that this contrast symbolises the changing thought processes of the woman: regretting the actions which have led her to this life, she has determined to find an escape. The strength with which she grasps her tresses further reflects her resolve. The boatyard scene outside reinforces her commercial status as a woman for sale and the ripped café-style voile, the

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[95] Michael Pearson, *The age of consent* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), p. 25.
[96] 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), pp. 353-379, p. 371.
[97] Ibid., p. 31.
[98] See Chapter Three.
[99] Alison Smith, '*Thoughts of the Past* 1858-9', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 144.
[100] Galia Ofek, *Representations of hair*, p. 66.

yellowing roses, and the few possessions which lie on the dressing table all hint at her lost innocence and destitution.[101] In contrast to the sense of hope felt in *The Awakening Conscience*, the gathering dark clouds and the looming presence of Waterloo Bridge and the Thames through the open window suggest that her story will most probably end in suicide. The suicide of the fallen woman through her drowning in the Thames, often having jumped from Waterloo Bridge, was a popular theme in both visual culture and literature during the nineteenth century even if, as Olive Anderson has shown, in reality it was neither quite so popular nor certainly as romantic.[102]

Through the open window, the London skyline is discernible through a thick layer of smog. Jonathan Ribner argues that the depiction of the chokingly thick London pollution alludes to the 'Great Stink' which plagued London in the summer of 1858. Caused by the hot weather and the sewage which was pumped into the river, the Thames emitted a putrid odour throughout the summer. Discourses surrounding prostitution were teeming with the language of disease, and the notion that the prostitute was able to infiltrate and contaminate society both morally and medically was solidified in legal thought with the implementation of the Contagious Diseases Acts in the 1860s. The Great Stink, therefore, acquired a metaphorical significance, symbolising the unstoppable spread of degeneracy and corruption throughout society which was spreading as quickly and extensively as the foul-smelling air.[103]

George Price Boyce recorded that *Thoughts of the Past* initially had a companion piece, writing that, '[I] went to Stanhope's studio to see the picture[s] he is engaged with of an "unfortunate" in two different stages of crises of her life'.[104] Despite the fact that the two paintings would make an odd pair, since one is vertical whilst the other is horizontal, Simon Poë has convincingly identified the previously unknown companion piece as *Robins of Modern Times*.[105] In this painting a girl lies in the open air, surrounded by rocks, a bush, and farmers

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[101] Alison Smith, '*Thoughts of the Past* 1858-9', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 144.

[102] Olive Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 72.

[103] Jonathan P. Ribner, 'The Thames and sin in the age of the Great Stink: some artistic and literary responses to a Victorian environmental crisis', *British Art Journal*, 1, no. 2 (2000), pp. 38-46.

[104] Alison Smith, '*Thoughts of the Past* 1858-9', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 144.

[105] Simon Poë, '*Robins of Modern Times*: a modern girl in a Pre-Raphaelite landscape', *British Art Journal*, 4, no. 2 (2003), pp. 45-48.

who plough the fields behind her. She wears a navy dress which mirrors the blue robe worn by the woman in *Thoughts of the Past* and both appear to have the same auburn coloured hair. The orange beads which she wears around her neck in *Robins of Modern Times* appear to be the same as those of the rosary which lies on the table in *Thoughts of the Past*. These mirrored elements suggest that the paintings depict the same woman in different stages of her life, just as Boyce had described. The 'crises' to which Boyce referred can be read in the symbolic details of the painting: the daisy crown representing childhood innocence has been removed from her head and apples which so commonly symbolised temptation and female seduction suggest that the girl has left her childhood innocence behind. This is further implied by the inclusion of a pair of robins. Clutching autumn leaves in their beaks, the birds herald the end of summer and hence, the end of youthful carefree innocence. Rebecca Virag has suggested that the lone robin in Millais' *Ophelia* (1851) refers to her abandonment by Hamlet, summer traditionally being the time when birds find a mate. [106] Applying this symbolic reading to *Robins of Modern Times*, the pair of birds suggests that the young girl has similarly found a partner. The broken twigs and leaves which lie under her body, the subtle blush to her cheeks, and the slightly awkward placement of her legs which reveal her petticoat, all suggest that her lover has just left – possibly, as Poë suggests, to continue ploughing the fields behind her. [107] Read in sequence, Stanhope's two canvases tell the story of a young country girl who loses her virginity to her sweetheart. Her loss of virtue leads her to a life of prostitution in the city and the probability that her life will end in suicide. These themes occurred repeatedly in all aspects of nineteenth-century culture, appearing in newspaper articles, literature, social reports and high art. [108]

Rossetti's *Found* (1859) (fig. 13) similarly visualised the all too familiar tale of the country girl who had lost her way in the city. Full of symbolic detail, the unfinished oil depicts the moment that a rural cattle drover finds his childhood sweetheart on the urban streets, having come to sell his produce in the city. The dimming streetlights which line Blackfriars Bridge in the distance indicate that dawn is approaching, suggesting that the woman has been on the street throughout the night. Her status as a prostitute is made clear through her dress: the embroidered shawl and feathered bonnet hint at affluence and extravagance, but their

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[106] Rebecca Virag, quoted in *Ophelia's symbolism*, [n.d.] <http://www.tate.org.uk/learn/online-resources/ophelia/subject-and-meaning/ophelia%20s-symbolism> [accessed 7 August 2015]. For a reproduction of *Ophelia*, see Leslie Parris (ed.), *The Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 97.
[107] Simon Poë, '*Robins of Modern Times*', p. 47.
[108] See Chapter Five.

shabby and gaudy state reveal her true existence is, in fact, one of hardship and degradation. As Rossetti wrote to Holman Hunt in his description of the work, she 'has sunk under her shame upon her knees' after being recognised by her former friend.[109]

Just as the deceit and dangers of the city are reflected in her apparel, the simplicity and honesty of his rural life can be read in the neutral tones and plain cut of his clothing. This contrast between country innocence and the vice of the city is further reinforced through the physical distinction provided by the bridge which, as in *Thoughts of the Past*, once again hints at the inevitability of suicide for the fallen woman if she does not accept this offer of help.[110] The fettered lamb further reinforces this distinction between rural and city life; tied in ropes, its loss of freedom may reflect the woman's own entrapment in the city, where she is stuck in a cycle from which she cannot escape.

The original pen and ink sketch for the painting which Rossetti produced in 1853 reveals that the wall against which the woman slumps was intended to be that of a graveyard.[111] Headstones stand directly above her slumped form, ominously foreshadowing her own death as she pulls away from the boy, attempting to release her wrists from his grip. The lost love and innocence of their youth is indicated by Rossetti's inclusion of a quotation at the bottom of the sketch which reads, 'I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thy betrothal', further revealing the corrosive impact which the city has had on the woman's once delicate nature.[112]

A poem which the artist subsequently wrote in 1881 to accompany the painting described the scene, and in the last line expressed the reluctance of the woman to accept her former sweetheart's help, asking 'what part/can life now take? She cries in her locked heart, - /"leave me – I do not know you – go away!"'.[113]

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[109] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, quoted in Linda Nochlin, 'Lost and *Found*', p. 139.
[110] Ibid., pp. 149-150.
[111] Ibid., pp. 150-151.
[112] Alison Smith, '*Found* begun 1859', in Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (eds), *Pre-Raphaelites*, pp. 132-133, p. 132.
[113] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 'Found (for a picture)', in Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, Ballads and sonnets* (London: F. S. Ellis, 1881), p. 327.

As has been shown, concerns over the suitability of potentially sexual subjects were expressed throughout the century. Attempts to restrict the exposure of the public to images considered to be dangerous or immoral in content were made through bodies such as The Society for the Suppression of Vice and the National Vigilance Association. These organisations granted the police the power to seize what was deemed to be offensive literature and sometimes, with the backing of the courts, order it to be destroyed.[114] The law was largely exercised for pornographic prints and literature. Indeed, Walter's *My secret life*, an account of the anonymous author's sex life and erotic perversions, remained unpublished in full in Britain until 1995 due to its explicit nature, having initially been written and privately printed in eleven volumes in 1888.[115] Yet, it can be argued that rather than being restricted by law, art was largely censored by the formal structures and institutions which dictated artistic training and exhibitions.

Emily Osborne's *Nameless and Friendless* (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1857) can be read as a critique of the restriction which female artists experienced during the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 16). The painting depicts a young woman and her small brother trying to sell paintings to the owner of a print shop.[116] Dressed in mourning clothes and clearly unmarried through the lack of ring on her finger, the woman is trying to raise some money for her family following the death of her father. She has brought one of her paintings to the shop in the hope that she may be able to sell it and provide for her family. The art dealer ponders the picture, scratching his chin as his assistant looks over his shoulder and she nervously plays with a piece of string, awaiting their judgement. The two men seated to the left of the scene look up to observe the potential purchaser's verdict, having been perusing a print of a young dancer. Through the inclusion of this element, the viewer is offered three 'types' of female who are defined across class lines. The working-class prostitute who exposes her body to be looked at and bought is suggested by the ballet dancer in the print, and the upper-class woman is the purchaser who leaves the shop. Through her ambition to be redefined as the creator of art, the middle-class woman who stands at the centre of the scene represents neither of these types. As an active participant in the commercial transaction of her art, rather

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[114] See Colin Manchester, 'Lord Campbell's Act: England's first obscenity statute', *Journal of Legal History*, 9, no. 2 (1988), pp. 223-241 for a history of these organisations and how their powers were implemented.
[115] Walter, *My secret life,* 1888 (ebook: Project Gutenberg, 2009) <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30360/30360-h/30360-h.htm> [accessed 26 August 2015].
[116] Nunn has shown how the identity of the woman and young boy have been interpreted differently throughout history. Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Problem pictures*, p.14.

than the object of someone else's, she defies the antithetical counterparts represented by the other two women. This lack of categorisation, Cherry rightly asserts, means that not only is her social identity and her role within its traditional structures made uncertain, but her 'sexuality is [also] at risk' as she engages with the commercial market, which was, ideologically, the male sphere.[117] Thus, the young woman's attempts to challenge the hegemonic academic system by which she should traditionally be placed as the object of the gaze reveals Osborne's use of art not only to comment on the status of female artists in the mid-century, but the danger which men present to women who try to challenge these prescriptive definitions of class and gender. [118] Female artists were significantly disadvantaged in the nineteenth-century art world; restricted in where they could study (the first female student was admitted to the Royal Academy in 1860), and where they could exhibit (represented in just a 'tiny proportion of the exhibits in the principal London shows').[119] None the less, despite the perceived limitations regarding which subjects and styles were suitable for women, some female artists also produced and exhibited works which approached the subject of female fallenness despite the controversial nature of the topic for women. Certainly, the subject of vice and immoral behaviour would not have been considered suitable for a middle-class woman to portray for the majority of art critics, the subject itself being deemed unsuitable for the respectable woman even to acknowledge.[120] Marsh has made the significant point, however, that even though 'the topic of sexual transgression was considered a bold theme for a female artist … at the same time [it] was just the subject to get one's name noticed'.[121] Thus, the subject itself in fact helped to propel female artists to the forefront, attracting reviews and raising the artist's profile in consequence due to the apparently unfeminine nature of the subject.

Anna Mary Howitt's *Castaway* (1855) was one such painting which defied the limits which were placed upon female artists as it portrayed the outcast fallen woman.[122] Displayed at the Royal Academy in 1855, *Castaway*, in Rossetti's words, presented an image of 'a

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[117] Deborah Cherry, *Painting women*, p. 81.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women artists*, p. 27.
[120] Roderick Moore, 'Josephine Butler', p. 3.
[121] Jan Marsh, 'Art, ambition and sisterhood in the 1850s', in Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Women in the Victorian art world*, pp. 33-48, p. 40.
[122] See Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women artists*, pp. 31-32 and pp. 41-47 for a detailed account of Howitt's life and known *oeuvre.* Very few of Howitt's paintings and sketches have survived.

dejected female, mud with lilies lying in it, a dust heap, and other details'.[123] This account

provides the only detailed description of the now lost painting, yet elements traditionally used

to symbolise the fallen woman can still be found here. The stained and spoiled lilies symbolise

the loss of purity and innocence which comes with sexual experience and the dust heap

highlights prevalent themes of contamination and pollution which were traditionally linked to

prostitution during the period.

Rossetti praised the work, calling it a 'strong minded subject' and stating that 'Miss H.

is quite right in painting it, if she chooses'. [124] This last statement may be seen as a direct

comment on the concern which the art critic of *The Athenaeum* expressed towards Howitt's

choice of subject:

> Miss Howitt's *Castaway* – though really cast away by the Hanging Committee – is an
> improvement on her previous works.   There is a sense of great desolation in the face,
> though it is scarcely so admirable as that of her 'Gretchen'. The detail is often
> wonderful. We hope Miss Howitt will not confine herself to these heart-broken, tear-
> stained subjects, but get out into the sunshine, and show us of what healthy joy the
> earth is capable. Why will she stand sounding the depths of this salt sea of human
> tears? Surely there is "Morning somewhere in the world".[125]

The critic's aversion to the melancholy tone and subject of the painting was levelled at

Howitt's other works and perhaps reveals the patronising views towards female artists which

were common at the time.[126] For example, Henry Nelson O'Neil's *Return of the Wanderer*

(1855), contemporaneous with Howitt's *Castaway*, was widely publicised through its

lithographic reproductions.[127] The painting depicts the return of a fallen daughter, with her

illegitimate child, to her parents' country home. Her hands are clutched in repentance as she

leans against a gravestone which foreshadows her fate and that of her child unless she finds

forgiveness for her wayward actions. In contrast to Howitt's painting, which was surely on a

par in terms of its melancholy portrayal of the fallen and outcast woman, O'Neil's work was

celebrated as being 'faithfully and carefully painted', leading viewers to 'expect that his next

production of importance would establish his reputation beyond dispute'.[128] Therefore, in

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[123] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, 1897 (London: Forgotten Books, 2003), p. 47.
[124] Ibid.
[125] 'The Royal Academy', *The Athenaeum*, 2 June 1855, p. 648.
[126] Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women artists*, p. 43.
[127] For a reproduction, see Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, plate 49.
[128] 'Mr Henry Nelson O'Neil, A. R. A', *The Athenaeum*, 20 March 1880, p. 384.

contrast to the criticism of Howitt's choice of subject, it can be assumed that the suggestion that she 'get out into the sunshine' betrays the view that such subjects of sexual transgression were not seen to be suitable for women to paint. Instead, landscapes, watercolours and domestic scenes should dominate the gender's *oeuvre*. Such views were again promoted by *The Athenaeum* in 1858 in a review of the second exhibition of The Society of Female Artists (an exhibition in which Howitt this time presented an autumn landscape, titled *From a Window* (1858)):

> Violets in a fox-covert are out of place, and are, indeed, better transplanted safely to a sheltered garden, away from rough clown's feet and the fox's scratching. The meaning of this metaphor is, that we are glad to see the female artists getting together, quiet, away from the Academy jostle and elbowing, haste and envy, pique and clique, by themselves, where their works can be seen and appreciated, and have fair play without being over-ridden or out-blazed.[129]

The critic concluded that, 'summing up the characteristics of female art … it is capable of every triumph, but it can never reach the robust or the exalted'.[130]

Whilst *Castaway* may have been seen as an unsuitable subject for a female artist by some, not all agreed as the painting was purchased by Thomas Fairbairn, the same Northern industrialist who also bought Holman Hunt's *Awakening Conscience*.

Indeed, *Castaway* was not the only portrayal of a fallen woman which Howitt produced, the 'Gretchen' to which the art critic of *The Athenaeum* referred being another example of her use of the theme. Gretchen, also called Margaret, was the lover of Faust in Goethe's tragic play. Having poisoned her mother and killed her illegitimate baby after being tricked into a love affair with the protagonist, the fallen Gretchen was a popular subject for the Pre-Raphaelites and their followers.[131] In a letter to his sister Christina in 1853, Rossetti described having visited Howitt who, he wrote, had painted 'a sunlight *[sic]* picture of *Margaret* (Faust) in a congenial wailing state, which is much better than I fancied she could paint'.[132] It is probable that this painting was the same *Gretchen at the Fountain* which Howitt

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[129] 'Society of female artists', *The Athenaeum*, 3 April 1858, pp. 438-439.
[130] Ibid., p. 439.
[131] Jan Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite women: images of femininity in Pre-Raphaelite art* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987), p. 78. Marsh cites Joanna Mary Wells, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Julia Margaret Cameron as other artists who also adopted this subject.
[132] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, quoted in William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: his family-letters with a memoir*, volume 2 (New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 120.

exhibited at the Portland Gallery, where it created 'tremendous interest and enthusiasm', having been previously rejected by the British Institution in London.[133]

Nor was Howitt the only female artist to broach the subject of the fallen woman. Joanna Boyce's *No Joy the Blowing Season Gives (The Outcast)* (1859) similarly presented the harsh realities of the exiled woman and her small child. Holding hands and pulling their ragged shawls against their faces to protect themselves from the chill of the wind, the two figures walk through a bleak and stark landscape. Lacking any sign of human habitation, the 'barren sandy bank' reflects the ostracism of the figures from respectable society.[134] Furthermore, the weak, spindly trees suggest the frailty of the child who will struggle to survive in such austere and unloving conditions.[135] The painting was purchased by Thomas Plint (the Leeds art collector who commissioned Ford Madox Brown's *Work*).[136] It is interesting to note that whilst *No Joy the Blowing Season Gives* was refused by the Royal Academy, Frederick Walker's *The Lost Path* (1863), which portrayed a similar subject of an outcast mother and child trudging through the snow, was accepted by the committee four years later. Walker's work was hung in a poor position by the Hanging Committee. However, the painting still received praise from critics and an etching of it was printed in *The Graphic*'s Christmas 1869 issue (although accompanied by a poem which ended with the woman finding her husband, having been physically lost in the snow rather than morally lost).[137] The rejection of Boyce's painting and the poor placement of Walker's may possibly reflect attitudes within the Academy towards the suitability of certain subjects for their viewers, even though critics did receive some of these works warmly. The obituary which was published in *The Critic* following Boyce's death made little reference to the subjects which she painted, but praised her 'masculine and vigorous powers of mind'. Moreover, the author lamented the effect

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[133] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, quoted in Elree I. Harris and Shirley R. Scott, *A gallery of her own: an annotated bibliography of women in Victorian painting* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 125; John Hanners, 'A tale of two artists: Anna Mary Howitt's portrait of John Banvard', *Minnesota History*, 50 (1987), pp. 204-208, p. 208.

[134] Joanna Boyce, quoted in Sue Bradbury, *Joanna, George, and Henry: a Pre-Raphaelite tale of art, love and friendship* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), p. 231.

[135] For a reproduction of the painting, which was destroyed in 1942, see ibid., p. 244. The image is accompanied by a description of the painting which was written by the artist in 1858. Bradbury reports that 'the painting was sold to Thomas Plint, "owner of several Millais and Rossetti's" at Gambart's Winter Exhibition in 1859'.

[136] The painting was refused by the Royal Academy but was exhibited at Gambart's Winter Exhibition in 1859.

[137] Julian Treuherz, *Hard times*, p. 50; Sue Bradbury, *Joanna, George, and Henry*, p. 246; 'The Lost Path', *The Graphic*, 25 December 1869, p. 85.

which her 'untimely death' at the age of thirty would have upon the 'vindication of the capabilities of women in the domain of art'. Nevertheless, even though *The Critic* applauded Boyce's artistic achievements, it seems that she was equally admired for her 'exalted sense of duty, unbounded devotion to husband and children, to household and domestic cares, which were never neglected for her art, but preferred to it', illustrating the barriers which female artists faced when establishing a career.[138]

As with Boyce's work, Anna Blunden's *The Song of the Shirt* (1854) (fig. 17a) approached the social issues which many single women faced and, in contrast to the criticism levelled at Howitt, received commercial success as a result. Inspired by Thomas Hood's poem of the same name which was first published in *Punch* in 1843, Blunden's painting addressed the poor wages and inhumane working conditions in which thousands of needlewomen across the country found themselves. The subject of Blunden's painting looks out of the window with her hands clasped in hopeful prayer. Her elbow rests on the outer ledge, symbolising her wish to escape the drudgery and unfairness of her life. Hood's poem had generated considerable discussion, which was bolstered by findings such as those published in the *Edinburgh Review's* investigation into 'juvenile and female labour'. This report stated that amongst the physical disorders and deaths through exhaustion which such trades induced, 'the moral condition of the lace-makers … [is] extremely low, and prostitution is rife among them, from their scanty earnings, their love of finery, and the almost total absence of moral culture'.[139] Blunden's painting, therefore, presents the image of a woman not only teetering on the edge of existence, but at the brink of immorality. Still clearly a respectable woman at this point, with her carefully pinned hair and 'modest dress', as Helen Taylor has observed, the viewer is none the less encouraged to consider what may happen to this pretty young female if her situation does not change. Blunden's painting followed those of Richard Redgrave and George Frederic Watts who had both previously tackled the subject in the hope of promoting social change through their art. Richard Redgrave's *The Sempstress* (1844) portrayed a similar image, with the working woman sewing by candlelight, accompanied only by the standing clock which shows it to be the early hours of the morning.[140] In both Blunden and Redgrave's depictions, the woman's condition appears to be more hopeful than that of G. F. Watts's rendering of the

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138 'Art and artists: the late Mrs Wells', *The Critic*, 27 July 1861, pp. 109-110.
139 'Children's Employment Commission 1842. Second Report', *Edinburgh Review*, 79, no. 159 (1844), pp. 130-156, p. 145.
140 Lionel Lambourne, *Victorian painting*, p. 378.

same subject, where his protagonist holds her head in her hands, the exhaustion of her job clear to see through her skeletal frame and slumped posture, whilst the candle on the table suggests that her time will soon run out.

After it had been exhibited at the Gallery of the Society of British Artists, *The Illustrated London News* printed an engraving of Blunden's work in the 15 July 1854 issue (fig. 17b).[141] A comparison between the painting and the printed engraving reveals the differences which mass reproduction of the original image could create. Whilst the face of the woman in the original painting appears to be soft and youthful, still suggesting hope for her escape from this life of drudgery, the woman in *The Illustrated London News* engraving is given a much sharper jaw and longer nose. It is unmistakably a copy of Blunden's original painting, but the engraving does not possess the same depth of tone as the original. As a result, the same messages of hope and disappointment suggested by the juxtaposition of lightening skies, which are then overshadowed by an ominous, dogged cloud in the right-hand corner of the image, are not legible.

An engraving of Rebecca Solomon's *A Friend in Need* (1856) (fig. 18) was similarly published in *The Illustrated London News* in 1859, highlighting the prominence which some female portrayals of the fallen woman were given even if they were little mentioned when first exhibited.[142] Juxtaposing the fallen woman with the virtuous, the engraving depicts an outcast woman with her baby sitting on the steps of the poor house. She is ushered on by the parish beadle, whose cruel indifference to her situation is exemplified through the Shakespearean quotation which was published alongside the painting in the original catalogue entry for the 1856 Royal Academy exhibition: 'Dressed in a little brief authority, He plays such apish and fantastic tricks before high heaven as make the angels weep'.[143] As he pushes the woman and her child away, refusing them entry into the poor house, a middle-class woman

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[141] '"The Song of the Shirt" – painted by A. E. Blunden – from the Exhibition of the Society of British Artists', *The Illustrated London News*, 15 July 1854, p. 37.

[142] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 204. Nead illustrates how when first exhibited at the Royal Academy, the *Illustrated London News* only mentioned her in passing amongst other female artists, writing 'Mrs E. M. Ward is improving; so, too, is Miss Solomon'. In contrast, when the engraving was printed three years later, the reviewer praised the 'wholesome moral' and 'generous humanizing sentiment' of the 'successful' and 'spirited little picture'. See '"The Friend in Need." By Miss Solomon', *The Illustrated London News*, 23 April 1859, p. 400.

[143] Ibid.

places her hand on his arm, stopping his injustice. The poster for the London Missionary Society behind points to the charitable work of this woman and the wider role which women played in the reclamation of the fallen.[144] The relationship between the figures is communicated through their gazes and further draws the viewer into the narrative. The unmarried mother looks up to the beadle beseechingly, but his refusal to reciprocate, instead looking out of the picture, reflects her gaze towards the viewer. The mother and child who both look at the unmarried woman with sympathy and warmth lead the viewer to echo their response.

The same significance of the gaze was used by Rebecca's brother, Abraham Solomon, in *Drowned! Drowned!* (fig. 19) which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1860. The painting is almost divided into two halves: on the one side is a group of revellers dressed up in masks and fancy dress, whilst on the other side of the image the body of a young woman has just been pulled from the Thames. She is surrounded by two flower sellers and two fishermen, one of whom holds a sharp boathook with which he has most probably pulled her body from the water. The girl's face is angelically illuminated by the light of a policeman's lamp which highlights the redemption and forgiveness for her sins which she has now found through her death. The two halves of the image are united only by the lingering stare of one of the revellers whose wide-open eyes fall upon the drowned girl's deathly white face. He is the only one of his party to notice the huddled group on the ground, highlighting the chasm which exists between their lives of fun and frivolity and the suffering and grief which is etched on the face of the older woman who tenderly cradles the found body.   The gentleman's gaze appears to betray some surprise – maybe he recognises the young girl, or, even more sinisterly, perhaps he played some part in this tragedy, being in some way responsible for her loss of virtue and suicide. The gentle touch of his female companion's hand upon his arm suggests that the gentleman will continue to pass by, feigning ignorance and continuing his life of sin without rebuke. Indeed, it may be argued that this pretence is suggested by the costume he wears, revealing his masquerade. The effect of this composition was not lost on contemporary critics: writing in *The Art Journal* as part of his series 'British artists: their style and character', James Dafforne praised the clarity of the moral sentiment of the image. He stated that a 'no more eloquent and impressive sermon could be preached', concluding that

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[144] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 205.

Solomon's painting had proved that is was possible to achieve 'Art which will do something more than amuse'. [145]

An etching of the painting was printed alongside Dafforne's article. As has been explained, paintings which were first exhibited in gallery spaces were commonly reproduced in the pages of art journals and newspapers. The reproduction of these images not only helped to advance the careers of the artists, but was seen to perform an ethical role by allowing morally instructive works of art to become widely accessible to the public.[146] Frederic Stephens, a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, championed the use of prints to allow art to reach the masses, stating that through the reproduction of art in the form of engravings 'the essentials of good art may be produced at a very minute cost'.[147] The 'essentials' of art, Stephens contended, were to be 'grave and thoughtful', with 'motive', 'soul and passion'.[148] Thus, the reproduction of paintings such as those by Rebecca Solomon, Abraham Solomon, and Anna Blunden made their work more accessible to wider audiences and 'helped [to] transform Victorian consumers into an engaged, art-collecting public', reflecting the general move towards the democratisation of art, in terms of producers, consumers and the subjects which were tackled, which steadily took place over the course of the century.[149] Organisations such as the *Art Union* similarly championed the need for art to be accessible to the masses. Through the establishment of subscription schemes which offered members reproductions of contemporary paintings in its periodical and the opportunity to win a painting in its annual lottery, the *Art Union* aimed to 'obtain for the multitude the pure enjoyment of art by making cheap art good and good art universal'.[150] Yet, as King has shown, the *Art Union*'s subscription price of one guinea meant that its

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[145] James Dafforne, 'British artists: their style and character: no. LIX – Abraham Solomon', *Art Journal*, 3 (1862), pp. 73-75, p. 75. 'British artists: their style and character' appeared in the *Art Journal* in instalments between 1855 and 1872. Each instalment focused on a different artist and included artists both living and deceased.

[146] Brenda D. Rix, *Pictures for the parlour*, p. 11.

[147] Frederic G. Stephens, 'Cheap art', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1, no. 1 (1859), pp. 46-58, p. 48.

[148] Ibid., p. 46.

[149] The painting was engraved by G. P. and J. Nichols, who collaborated for almost fifty years between 1841 and 1887. Their engravings appeared in many of the illustrated publications of the period, including the *Illustrated London News*. Rodney K. Engen, *Dictionary of Victorian wood engravers* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1985), p. 193.

[150] *The Art Union* (1852), quoted in Lyndel Saunders King, *The industrialization of taste: Victorian England and the Art Union of London*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), p. 125; Martha Tedeschi, '"Where the picture cannot go, the engravings penetrate", p. 17.

ostensible ambition to facilitate the universal accessibility of art remained restricted to the middle classes.[151]

The art of the gallery walls certainly did reach the masses, however, even if they could not afford subscriptions such as those offered by the *Art Union*. The sale and display of reproductive prints in newspapers, which often found their way to poorer readers second hand or were passed between friends, enabled this democratisation. Moreover, the sale of prints and engravings made after celebrated contemporary paintings ensured that art could be accessed by the masses through their public display. This was illustrated in William Macduff's *Shaftesbury, or, Lost and Found* (1862), where two young street urchins look into a shop window which is filled with prints for sale. Millais' *Order of Release* (1853), Thomas Faed's *Mitherless Bairn* (1855) and several religious scenes are clearly visible in the window, alongside a portrait of Lord Shaftesbury, a proponent of social reform.[152] This range of subjects illustrates the vast market which prints began to cater for, ensuring that whether they were purchasing prints for their own homes or viewing them through shop windows, all classes were able to access the art of the day in some form.[153] The impact of this was voiced by Stephens, who observed in praise of the medium that, 'where the picture cannot go, the engraver penetrates'.[154]

The publication of a parodying version of Solomon's *Drowned! Drowned!* in *The Days' Doings* in March 1871 suggests the impact which printed reproductions had during the period (fig. 20). *The Days' Doings* was a sensationalist newspaper designed for 'novelty, fun, and frolic' aimed at the middle classes.[155] The similarities between the two images are so stark

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[151] Lyndel Saunders King, *The industrialization of taste*, p. 43.

[152] Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to print: the nineteenth-century engraving trade* (London: Farrand Press, 1984), p. 4. A reproduction of a c. 1880 engraving of the painting is printed as the frontispiece.

[153] Brenda D. Rix, *Pictures for the parlour*, p. 58. Rix has shown the varied subjects which were popular amongst Victorian viewers, ranging from animals, religious scenes and episodes from Shakespeare and other British authors, to contemporary issues and recent history.

[154] F. G. Stephens, quoted in Jeremy Maas, *Gambart: prince of the Victorian art world* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1975), p. 122; Martha Tedeschi, '"Where the picture cannot go, the engravings penetrate", pp. 8-19.

[155] '*The Days' Doings*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/Series2/showarticle.asp?id=85157&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=Doings> [accessed 6 January 2016]; 'The Bridge of Sighs – anywhere, anywhere, out of the world', *The Days' Doings*, 4 March 1871, p. 9.

that it is clear that this version was intended as a homage to the original, which the audience was evidently expected to recognise.[156] The figures are arranged in the same way as in Solomon's original painting, yet subtle but significant differences reveal a strong social commentary. Instead of the young woman who gasps in horror at the sight of the dead girl in Solomon's original painting, the illustrator of *The Days' Doings* has replaced her with a wrinkled hag who gawps at the scene. Looking out of nosiness rather than sympathy, the inclusion of this figure alludes to the public interest in stories of sensation and drama in the popular press (to which *The Days' Doings* openly catered). Moreover, rather than being dressed in masks and costumes, the group to which the guilty gentleman belongs is dressed elaborately, clearly belonging to the wealthy classes. As in Solomon's composition, he looks upon the drowned woman with apparent recognition as he continues to walk. His extravagantly dressed female companion dismisses the pleas of a pauper boy who asks for some spare change, suggesting that rather than simply the man's fault, it is the selfishness, greed, and lack of compassion to the lower classes from people more generally which has led to the drowned woman's suicide. Their lack of costume suggests that the apparent respectability of the group, and those like them, is no longer a convincing masquerade for their real depravation and corruption – a reading which is strengthened by the stance of one of the fishermen who has discovered the body. He seems to have noticed the man's brief glance and holds up his fist in confrontation, demonstrating his awareness of the situation. These purposeful alterations from Solomon's original painting reveal how the popular press used recognisable visual signs and codes from High Art and popular engravings to add new perspectives to debates concerning prostitution and poverty. This is a topic which the following chapter will discuss.

Clearly, the fallen woman was a popular subject for both male and female artists around the mid-century. The topic fed into a growing interest in contemporary scenes which propelled art beyond the portrayal of the historic or the beautiful to become a medium which reflected prominent concerns of the period and challenged social injustices in the hope that the viewers of art would, perhaps, also share these interests. This chapter has shown how over the course of the nineteenth century, art and text became inextricably bound. Through the inclusion of text within the art works themselves, the need for the viewer to 'read' images

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[156] Underneath the image, printed so small that it is barely discernible, is a reference to Solomon's original, which reads, 'suggested by a sketch by Solomon'.

actively in order to comprehend the narratives they told, and the significant rise in art criticism, for Victorian consumers of art, text and image came hand in hand. This also meant that forms of art were presumed to be largely class-based, and in the main limited to those with the money or time to visit gallery spaces or engage with current criticism. However, through the reproduction of works in print, the audiences which high art was able to reach increased dramatically over the course of the century, thus allowing the subjects which art could tackle to become much more varied and socially motivated. Moreover, similarities between some of the sensationalist language used by art critics to describe seemingly distasteful subjects and 'lower' genres, such as sensation fiction, are apparent. These correlations suggest that authors purposefully used supposedly frowned upon techniques to engage their audiences, despite claims of the damaging nature of these 'lower' forms of culture and their suitability for the immoral and uneducated. This further illustrates the lack of division between both artistic and literary genres during the century. The following chapter will focus more closely on this relationship, discussing how the democratisation of art and the increasing accessibility of the print medium was utilized in the debates which surrounded prostitution during the 1870s and 1880s. Looking specifically at the relationship which art and journalism experienced during this time, Chapter Three explores the significance of publications such as *The Graphic* and *London: a pilgrimage* (1872), which was the result of a collaboration between an artist, Gustave Doré, and a journalist, Blanchard Jerrold, before discussing the sensationalism of the mid-1880s, and William Stead's campaign to raise the age of consent from thirteen years of age to sixteen.

Chapter Three: Pilgrims in the labyrinth – poverty, child prostitution and *The Pall Mall Gazette*

Nineteenth-century Britain is often perceived as being the birthplace of modern journalism, the period having witnessed a rapid increase in the production and circulation of newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, journals and magazines.[1] Reflecting the extensive reach of the press, Simon Eliot asserts that 'print products … penetrated and pervaded' the century so deeply that the genre became a 'ubiquitous' and integral feature of nineteenth-century British culture and one of the 'most striking characteristics' of the Victorian era.[2] As the previous chapter has shown, prints of popular paintings which portrayed the plight of the fallen woman were reproduced in the illustrated press, underlining the increasing connectedness of high art and popular culture during the century. This chapter aims to explore this relationship in more detail, assessing how art and journalism overlapped and interacted with one another in the portrayal of the London prostitute. Through the study of the role of Royal Academy artists in the production of illustrations for *The Graphic,* the chapter will consider what impact the intended audience of a portrayal could have upon the image produced, exploring whether art for the gallery could also be an art for the masses. The interplay between realism, classicism and sensationalism will then be examined in relation to Gustave Doré's observations of London life in *London: a pilgrimage* (1872) and William Stead's ground-breaking exposé 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon' (1885). This discussion assesses how artists and journalists selected elements from each of these genres to achieve their aims. The chapter will then conclude with a discussion of the dialogue between art and journalism during the period, examining G. F. Watts' reactions to Stead's journalistic achievements and the intended impact which the visualisation of Stead's original work would have on the viewer of Watts' work. Thus if, as Laurel Brake and Julie Codell have argued, the print genre was 'reposition[ed] from a marginal to a central place in nineteenth-century Engl[and]', it surely played a significant role in the evolution and expression of public attitudes towards prostitution.[3]

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[1] Raymond Williams, 'The press and popular culture: an historical perspective', in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds), *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day* (London: Constable, 1978), pp. 41-50, p. 50.

[2] Simon Eliot, 'Some trends in British book production, 1800-1919', in John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds), *Literature in the marketplace: nineteenth-century British publishing and reading practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 19-43, p. 19.

[3] Laurel Brake and Julie Codell, 'Introduction: encountering the press', in Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (eds), *Encounters in the Victorian press*, pp. 1-10, p. 1; Kelly J. Mays, 'The disease of reading and Victorian periodicals', in John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds), *Literature in the marketplace*, pp. 165-194, p. 177.

Past research has considered the role which the popular press played in the formation of attitudes towards the prostitute in Victorian culture. Greta Wendelin's doctoral thesis, 'The genealogy of the prostitute: defining and disciplining prostitution through journalism in Victorian England, 1809-1886' is one of the most recent projects to chart the changing approaches towards the prostitute in the Victorian press. The study concludes that the prostitute's definition changed according to contemporary attitudes towards her regulation and control. These issues of surveillance and social conditioning are central to the study of the popular press during the Victorian period and have been addressed in the research of Seth Koven, Karen Halttunen, Griselda Pollock, and Tanushree Ghosh – the latter two of whom have published specifically on the power and pleasure relationships afforded to readers of *London: a pilgrimage* (1872).[4] In their assessments of various publications of investigative journalism, these scholars collectively show the relationship between the subject of investigation and the power which the reader was therefore able to exert remotely upon them. These are issues which come to the forefront of the discussions within this chapter as through the examination of both *London: a pilgrimage* and 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', this chapter argues that investigative journalism brought middle-class readerships into the world of the working-classes and the child sex trade in 1880s London. Where this chapter aims to build upon the vast body of literature concerning the commercial status of the press and the intended audiences' interactions with it, in which Laurel Brake, Julie Codell, Marysa Demoor, John O. Jordan, and Robert L. Patten's publications have been integral, is in the reanalysis of the relationship between the popular press and high forms of culture.[5] Both Lynda Nead and Julian Treuherz have explored the relationship which existed between high and low art during the century, Nead's research focusing specifically on the representation of women whilst Treuherz has provided a broader assessment of how artists who worked for illustrated periodicals moulded their portrayals to suit the audiences of the Royal Academy.[6] Moreover, whilst the relationship between William Stead's 1885 exposé and G. F. Watts' *Minotaur* (1885) has long been recognised, both by contemporary authors and art historians such as Patricia

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[4] Seth Koven, *Slumming: sexual and social politics in Victorian London* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004); Karen Halttunen, 'Humanitarianism and the pornography of pain in Anglo-American culture', *The American Historical Review*, 100, no. 2 (1995), pp. 303-334; Griselda Pollock, 'Vicarious excitements: *London: a pilgrimage* by Gustave Doré and Blanchard Jerrold, 1872', *New Formations*, 4 (1988), pp. 25-50, and Tanushree Ghosh, 'Gifting pain: the pleasures of liberal guilt in *London, a pilgrimage* and *Street life in London*', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 41, no. 1 (2013), pp. 91-123.

[5] Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (eds), *Encounters in the Victorian press*; Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration*; John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds), *Literature in the marketplace*.

[6] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*; Julian Treuherz, *Hard times*.

Mathews, analysis has remained limited to a consideration of either Stead's role as an editor and social agitator, or a description of the visual allusions to the newspaper scandal made by Watts. [7] Through the application of the symbolism of classicism and the male body, which Barringer has explored in relation to Ford Madox Brown's *oeuvre*, a more comprehensive analysis of both Stead and Watts' work will be achieved. This chapter argues that artists, journalists, and authors used the language of classicism to engage with wider issues concerning crime, poverty, and gender. They used metaphors from mythology to create a universal language with which their audiences could readily engage, subsuming social issues into more palatable forms of consumption so as to encourage broader audience participation in contemporary debates. This accords with the conclusions made by Lucy Ella Rose in her recent research of feminist collaborative networks which reveal the intensity with which George and Mary Watts aimed to use their art and influence to engage with social issues.[8]

Approximately 1500 new newspapers and magazines were established in London alone between the beginning of the century and 1860, illustrating the surge in popularity experienced by the periodical press at the time.[9] This development was largely due to legal changes which lowered printing costs, as well as innovations in manufacturing. The evolution of the rotary press sped up the printing process which increased the rate at which newspapers could be produced. This allowed printing houses to begin producing their papers much later so that the news which was included was much more up-to-date than previous publications had allowed. The abolition of Advertisement Duty in 1853, Stamp Duty in 1855 and the tax on paper in 1861 all helped to decrease the cost of production, enabling newspapers to lower their sales costs whilst also including a larger number of illustrations.[10] The removal of the Window Tax in 1851 raised the disposable income of some readers. The increase in the electorate with the Reform Act of 1832 and the political unrest of the 1840s encouraged the growth of public interest in political matters. The accessibility of prints to the public was further aided by the expansion of the railway network which enabled current news to be rapidly distributed. The press consequently became accessible to a much wider cross-section

[7] Patricia Mathews, 'The minotaur of London', *Apollo*, 123 (1986), pp. 338-341; Laurel Brake, et al. (eds), *W. T. Stead: newspaper revolutionary* (London: The British Library, 2012).
[8] Lucy Ella Rose, 'A feminist networt'; Lucy Ella Rose, 'Subversive representations', pp. 1-28.
[9] Ed King, 'British newspapers 1800-1860', *19th century British Newspapers*, 2007 <http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/topicguide/bncn_05.htm> [accessed 12 November 2013].
[10] George Boyce, 'The fourth state: the reappraisal of a concept', in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds), *Newspaper history*, pp. 19-40, p. 25.

of society, establishing a more varied and diverse audience which transcended traditional class divisions and included both the middle and literate working classes.[11] Kelly Mays describes the latter half of the century as being characterised by 'an overwhelming abundance of printed matter' which was matched by an 'equally dramatic increase both in the number of readers and in the amount of time such readers devoted to reading'.[12]

Newspapers were consequently the site of social, political, religious, and cultural exchange. Subsequently, the content which they carried played an integral role in the formation, development and articulation of public opinion. Thus, throughout the nineteenth century, opposing views regarding the presence of prostitution in society were played out in the pages of the press. For example, the implementation of the Contagious Diseases Acts in 1864, 1866 and 1869 provoked comment from both those who supported the laws and those who opposed them.[13] On the one hand, it was argued that it was a 'necessary evil' and an 'inevitable attendant upon extended civilisation and increased population', which protected the virtue of thousands of other women by allowing their prospective husbands to gain considerable sexual experience whilst they remained chaste until marriage.[14] Spearheaded by Josephine Butler, the opposing camp, many of whom were middle-class women, conversely argued that such treatment was tantamount to 'instrumental rape'.[15]

The 1870s witnessed increasing public resistance to the Contagious Diseases Acts. The press was the main platform through which these opinions were expressed, ultimately making the print medium fundamental to the repeal of the Acts in 1886. *The Shield* was a feminist publication which was established in 1870 in direct response to the Acts. Edited by Josephine

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[11] Aled Gruffydd Jones, *Powers of the press: newspaper, power and the public in nineteenth-century England* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), p. 7 and p. 2; *The Northern Star*, quoted in Dennis Griffiths, *Fleet Street: five hundred years of the press* (London: The British Library, 2006), p. 78.

[12] Kelly J. Mays, 'The disease of reading', in John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds), *Literature in the marketplace*, p. 165.

[13] Intended to control the spread of venereal disease in garrison towns, the Contagious Diseases Acts gave the Police the power to detain any woman whom they suspected of 'casual prostitution'. Once apprehended, the suspect would then be expected to undergo a medical examination to test for the presence of sexually transmitted infections. If found to be suffering from an infection, she would then be detained in a lock hospital for treatment. If she had refused the examination, the accused woman would then have had to try and prove her virtuousness before a magistrate, by which time her reputation had already been irreversibly tainted. See Chapter One and Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel Walkowitz, '"We are not beasts of the field"', p. 74.

[14] Henry Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor* (1862), p. 213.

[15] 'Mrs Kell of Southampton', quoted in Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Male vice and feminist virtue', p. 80.

Butler and available at the price of one penny, *The Shield* made its intentions clear through its subtitle, 'The Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts Association's weekly circular'.[16] The newspaper contained articles which tackled subjects which were deemed to be traditionally unsuitable for 'ladies' as it challenged the need for the Acts, discussed the various 'causes' of prostitution, raised doubt about the validity of the laws whose aim was to eradicate prostitution, and also highlighted the flaws present in the current system and public attitudes towards prostitution and the fallen woman.[17] *The Shield* argued that far from preventing prostitution, the Contagious Diseases Acts encouraged an atmosphere of suspicion in which innocent women could be, and often were, accused of prostitution with little, if any, evidence. This was partly due to the lack of clear definition concerning what constituted 'casual prostitution'. In January and February 1872, *The Shield* reprinted excerpts from a pamphlet written by Douglas Kingsford which argued that the primary problem with the Acts was that 'direct evidence of prostitution is very seldom available'.[18] Thus, suspicion was placed upon innocent women; widows, actresses, and young workers were amongst those falsely accused due to the very fact that they worked long hours and were often unaccompanied late at night.[19] This was an assumption which *The Shield* challenged, writing:

> With respect to such facts as association with prostitutes, or frequenting places where prostitutes resort, they afford very weak presumptions against women tending towards or recently emerged from prostitution, or against a numerous 'fringe' who, though not belonging to the prostitute class, from various causes, e.g. residence in the same part of the town and belonging to the same class of society, being their laundresses, seamstresses, or servants, &c., are on terms of intimacy and consort with prostitutes. So being constantly in the streets at night in the company of different men, proves nothing against girls engaged all day in labour, who have only the evening for exercise and recreation, and who with freer manners may have morals as pure as girls of higher social grade.[20]

Despite its defence of working women, the article illustrates the common assumption that prostitution was a problem which was specific to the lower classes, the presumption being that low class and sexual deviancy went hand in hand.[21] Thus, groups of young, unmarried,

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[16] '*The Shield*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/Series2/showarticle.asp?id=91068&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=shield> [accessed 4 December 2013].

[17] Laurel Brake et al. (eds), *Dictionary of nineteenth-century journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 573.

[18] 'Proof of being a common prostitute', *The Shield*, 27 January 1872, p. 808.

[19] 'Proof of being a common prostitute', *The Shield*, 3 February 1872, p. 814. *The Shield* presented numerous examples of women who had been unfairly accused of prostitution by the policemen responsible for enforcing the Contagious Diseases Acts.

[20] 'Proof of being a common prostitute', *The Shield*, 27 January 1872, p. 808.

[21] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 76.

unaccompanied or poor women were commonly viewed with suspicion by those tasked to enforce the Acts, who were largely comprised of upper- and middle-class individuals who did not fully understand the life which poorer working-class women had to lead. In *Prostitution*, William Acton had attempted to explain that it was not an innate 'evil' or propensity to sexual abandonment which led the working classes into prostitution, but economic difficulty, citing 'sad hard times, low wages, and starvation' as being reasons why women engaged in sex work.[22] As such, prostitution was positioned as a specifically working-class problem.

The radical press had long recognised the role which the wealthy consumer played in the exploitation of the poor and in prostitution. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, established in 1849 as a Chartist and working-class publication, was one such platform which allowed the expression of conflicting political viewpoints, as one letter addressed to its editor in 1858 illustrates:

> If every rich scoundrel was compelled to support and provide for the victims of their lust, who, fallen from the high estate of maiden chastity, become castoffs and prostitutes, public prostitution would be sensibly diminished. If labour was duly remunerated, and such a system of government adopted as could and might provide permanent employment and adequate wages for all willing to toil for their daily bread, public prostitution would almost cease to be.[23]

Reynolds's Newspaper was championed as 'the most violent' and 'the most outspokenly radical newspaper of the day', and it provided an outlet through which journalists, activists, and readers could challenge prevailing attitudes.[24] Thus, through the ability of publications such as *The Shield* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* to engage directly with the public and print their opposing opinions, the radical press was able to offer differing views of the causes and state of prostitution around the mid-century.[25]

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[22] William Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 21.

[23] 'The "great social evil" – its causes and results', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 February 1858, p. 7.

[24] Matthew Engel, *Tickle the public: one hundred years of the popular press* (London: Victor Golliancz, 1996), p. 30; 'Reynolds's News', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* < http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/series2/showarticle.asp?id=103351&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=reynolds%27s~newspaper> [accessed 14 February 2017].

[25] The extent to which the press voiced such divergent points of view clearly still relied on the public's decision concerning which publication to read. It is unlikely that publications such as *The Shield* would have been read by those who were not already supporters of the movement to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts.

It may be argued that illustrations which portrayed the harsh conditions faced by the poor in the illustrated press, therefore, would have carried some of these associations, even if prostitution itself was not directly referenced in the image. 'London life at the east end – sack-making by the light of a street lamp' was published in *The Graphic* in 1875 (fig. 21) and depicted a group of women quietly sewing sacks by the light of a gas lamp.[26] The women are young, but their heavily lidded eyes betray a life of hardship. The hardened lines created through the printing process reflect the harsh nature of their existence. The outline of a figure which is just discernible down the darkened alleyway suggests the danger of their situation and may also perhaps allude to the darker side of London life to which they may have had to resort.

The pages of *The Graphic* were filled with detailed social realist representations of London poverty. Attempting to breach the gap between journalism and art and hoping to differentiate its own illustrations from those of other illustrated newspapers, such as *Punch*, in which John Leech's famous *The Great Social Evil* (1857) appeared, *The Graphic* recruited trained artists to produce artistically sophisticated illustrations of contemporary life.[27] The 26 April 1873 issue of *The Graphic* carried a full page illustration by Frank Holl which depicted the discovery of an abandoned baby on the banks of the Thames. *London Sketches – the foundling* (fig. 22) was apparently produced in reaction to the artist's own observation of the discovery of an abandoned baby underneath the arches of a London bridge.[28] In the centre of the composition, a policeman cradles the new-born baby in his arms. He is followed by a colleague, a fisherman, and a mother and child. Walking barefoot, the child looks up fearfully at the swathed bundle whilst holding her mother's hand. She similarly cranes her neck to see the abandoned baby; both are aware of the pain that such a separation would cause. As Sophie Gilmartin has argued, the mother 'and her daughter are the most attractive figures in the picture'. Designed to be 'aesthetically pleasing', they prevent the viewer from condemning the lower classes as morally debased or without feeling, instead using them to emphasise the difficult decision which the mother of the abandoned baby has had to reach.[29]

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[26] 'London life at the east end – sack-making by the light of a street lamp', *The Graphic*, 3 April 1875, p. 9.

[27] Julian Treuherz, *Hard times*, p. 53. For a reproduction of Leech's wood engraving, see George P. Landow, 'The great social evil', *Victorian Web*, 2004 < http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/punch/49.html> [accessed 15 June 2016].

[28] Ada M. Reynolds, *The life and work of Frank Holl* (London: Methuen, 1912), pp. 107-108.

[29] Sophie Gilmartin, 'Frank Holl and *The Graphic*: sketching London's labour in light and dark', in Mark Bills (ed.), *Frank Holl: emerging from the shadows* (London: Philip Wilson, 2013), pp. 90-107, p. 98.

It is not by choice or cold indifference that the baby has been left, but desperation and hope that her child might find a better life than the shamed and destitute mother could provide. To the right-hand side of the group the mother of the abandoned baby stands, looking on. This element, Gilmartin argues, moves the illustration from one of direct observation 'into the realms of theatrical[ity]' as the artist imagines the fallen mother's anguish.[30] She grips the bridge for support, both relieved and heartbroken to watch her child being carried away to safety. A partially obscured sign on the bridge reads 'so rev… drown' beside steps which lead down to the river, alluding to the mother's potential suicide. The article which accompanied the print contained a brief description of the scene and carried a despondent view of the plight of the fallen:

> Moth after moth rushes into the flames, regardless of the scorched carcases of his comrades; and so, year after year, hundreds of innocent girls, though they have heard and read of the treachery and inconsistency of lovers when once their passions are satiated, yet believe that their own sweethearts must be true. Those who from weakness, or passion, or a mistaken sense of what is due to an ardent lover, yield to such temptations, are sure to be visited with remorse, wretchedness, too often with utter ruin.[31]

Both the engraving and the accompanying text were intended to provoke a sympathetic response in the viewer who, like the flower seller and her daughter, cannot help but empathise with the now childless mother. Furthermore, the metaphorical description in the accompanying article suggests that this scene will continue to repeat itself time and time again, on numerous streets throughout the city. This sense of inevitability is further evoked through the misty, fog-ridden background of the scene which obscures the exact location of the event. The masts of boats which occupy the docklands and the imposing shadow of St Paul's Cathedral place the scene on the banks of the Thames, but their depiction as shadows rather than detailed geographical pointers suggests that just metres away a similar scene could be taking place, in which the mother may not have hesitated in her suicide bid or the child may not have been placed in arms as tender and secure as those that received this baby.

Holl's illustration formed the basis of a painting which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1874. *Deserted* (fig. 23) closely echoed the original drawing with its fog-ridden atmosphere, concerned flower-seller and child, and the protective hold of the policeman who

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[30] Ibid., p. 96.

[31] '"The Foundling"', *The Graphic*, 26 April 1873, p. 392.

carries the foundling child to safety.[32] In the painting, however, the mother no longer stares at the scene unfolding, but lingers unseen by the group in the background of the image, hiding her face so that she remains invisible to the central crowd.[33] Instead, an old hunched woman occupies the space to the right-hand side of the group. She collects litter in her apron, perhaps suggesting that the abandoned children of these outcast mothers are left either to rot on the side of the pavement as another by-product of modern society or are picked up by a stranger, in whose hands their fate is unknown.

When the painting was exhibited, *The Athenaeum* wrote that 'Mr. F. Holl does not continue to improve, for he is content to appeal to lower if wider sympathies than before'. The allusion to these 'wider sympathies' suggests that it was the subject of the painting rather than the execution which was of the greatest displeasure to the critic.[34] This view was echoed by James Dafforne who wrote that 'the subject in itself cannot be considered either pleasing or attractive'.[35] Further highlighting the art world's lack of ease with the subject, in *The Athenaeum*'s obituary of the artist after his death in 1888, emphasis was placed on Holl's portraiture whilst his genre paintings, of which *Deserted* was one, were described as being of 'great merit and sincere pathos of which all critics admired, although many of them disliked and even ridiculed the intense lugubriousness of the subjects he chose, and the sombre manner in which he treated them'.[36]

Similar criticisms were made of Luke Fildes' *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward* (1874), which was displayed in the same exhibition as *Deserted*.[37] The *Manchester Courier* described the painting as being 'repulsive in the extreme' whilst *The Art Journal* commented that 'the arrangement of the different figures is as artistic as the subject permitted … [but] that admission leaves unsettled the larger question of the subject's fitness for art at all'.[38] Like

[32] The painting was reported as being in the collection of Captain Henry Hill in 'Art in Scotland, Ireland, and the provinces', *Art Journal* (1874), p. 348. Hill was a prominent collector of contemporary British and French art and Holl, in fact, painted his portrait in 1880. His collection was auctioned at Christie's when he died and the whereabouts of *Deserted* is currently unknown.   Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Art collecting and Victorian middle-class taste', pp. 429-430.

[33] An engraving of the oil painting was printed in James Dafforne, 'The works of Frank Holl', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), pp. 9-12, p. 9.

[34] 'The Royal Academy', *The Athenaeum*, 30 May 1874, pp. 738-740, p. 740.

[35] James Dafforne, 'The works of Frank Holl', p. 11.

[36] 'Mr. Frank Holl, R. A.', *The Athenaeum*, 4 August 1888, p. 168.

[37] For a reproduction, see Lionel Lambourne, *Victorian painting*, p. 337.

[38] *Manchester Courier*, quoted in Julian Treuherz, *Hard times*, p. 84.

Holl's painting, *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward* had been reworked from a wood engraving which had previously been published in the first issue of *The Graphic*. *Houseless and Hungry* (fig. 24) was published in the December 4 edition of the periodical in 1869 and depicts a group of destitute paupers waiting to receive tickets which will grant them permission to stay in the casual ward of the workhouse for the night.

Huddled outside a police station are men, women and children, many of whom appear to be on the brink of hypothermia. When it was first published in *The Graphic*, *Houseless and Hungry* was accompanied by an article which explained how each of these 'miserable people' had come to find themselves waiting to be admitted to the casual ward. Stating that 'the figures in the picture before us are portraits of real people … whose names and last sleeping-place are all entered in the police-books', *The Graphic* presented the image as a truthful snap-shot of London life, much as Holl's had been. Explanations for the presence of such an assortment of people suggested that their 'destitute' condition was either a temporary state or was of their own making, being 'one of the most accomplished shirkers in the labour-yard', 'having sacrificed comfort and position to drink', or simply having been 'bred in the gutter' with no hope of achieving anything better.[39] As with the description which accompanied Holl's *Foundling*, the inclusion of this narrative undoubtedly helped *The Graphic*'s middle-class readers to dissect and comprehend the image, providing assurances that those depicted were bathed, clothed and sheltered for the night. Yet, when both Holl's *Deserted* and Fildes' *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward* were exhibited at the Royal Academy, these narratives were removed. Instead, viewers were presented with scenes of London poverty and despair in which the harrowing realities of life on the streets were laid bare. As Pat Hardy has noted, in the absence of such an aid the audience was left to draw their own conclusions to the stories of these 'real people'. [40] Had they survived the bitter cold? Had the young childless mother continued to follow the group or had she followed the trajectory with which Victorian viewers were all too familiar and plunged into the icy Thames? Such questions remained unanswered. The loss of this narrative meant that the journalistic role which print had played in *The Graphic* did not apply to the oil painting in the same way. No longer an accompaniment to social criticism, Fildes' and Holl's paintings themselves became the site of social criticism, moving the walls of the Royal Academy beyond the display

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[39] 'Houseless and hungry', *The Graphic*, 4 December 1869, p. 10.
[40] Pat Hardy, 'Dickens and the social realists', in Mark Bills (ed.), *Dickens and the artists*, pp. 155-180, p. 172.

of what was beautiful or historically significant into the real world in ways which, as Julia Thomas has noted, were intended to 'elicit the sympathy of even the most hard-hearted Victorian spectator'.[41] Whilst these realistic portrayals of London poverty on the walls of the Royal Academy provoked responses of horror in artistic reviews, those which were produced in print were conversely praised, suggesting that print was a 'lower' medium which could portray subjects of a less palatable nature in comparison to oil painting.[42]

The use of print in the observation of contemporary life was perhaps most clearly appropriated in *London: a pilgrimage* (1872). Interestingly, however, the engravings which were produced in this publication were praised for their artistic content and advertised as a key selling-point, which suggests that divisions between print and paint were perhaps not quite as clear-cut as is often assumed. *London: a pilgrimage* was the product of a four-year-long collaboration between Blanchard Jerrold, a journalist and editor of *Lloyds' Weekly*, and Gustave Doré. Published in weekly instalments which cost five shillings each, and then bound into a complete volume which contained 180 engravings by Doré, *London: a pilgrimage* combined the observational style of Henry Mayhew's investigative journalism with the romantic illustrative style of the French artist, Gustave Doré.[43] The publications aimed to present all aspects of society, encompassing the different social classes, the homeless and the wealthy, workers, and different forms of entertainment.[44] Doré's illustrations ranged from scenes of the Boat Race, Derby Day, and the market, to depictions of the London dock workers, Newgate gaol, and the homeless and criminal residents of Whitechapel. Jerrold and Doré traversed London, the journalist documenting what they witnessed alongside illustrations produced by his artist companion. They hoped that 'Doré's pictorial renderings' could 'teach, or discover, … that London, artistically regarded, is not as the shallow have said so often, an ugly place, given up body and soul to money-grubbing' but was a city in which the 'picturesque' could readily be found.[45] Whilst Doré's illustrations and Jerrold's text encompass both the leisure pursuits of the well-to-do and areas of crime and poverty, the pursuit of this

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[41] Julia Thomas, *Victorian narrative painting*, p. 35.

[42] Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor argue that the 'assumption that images in newspapers and periodicals were a sign of low culture' was not only common in the period but existed well into the following century. See Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, 'The lure of illustration', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration*, pp. 1-16, p. 8.

[43] O'Day and Englander (eds), *London labour and the London poor*, p. xli. O'Day and Englander effectively show how Mayhew's text traversed the boundaries of journalism and novelistic stories.

[44] Gustave Doré and Blanchard W. Jerrold, *London: a pilgrimage*, 1872 (London, Anthem Press, 2006), p. 16; Tanushree Ghosh, 'Gifting pain', p. 118, n. 7.

[45] Gustave Doré and Blanchard W. Jerrold, *London: a pilgrimage*, pp. 4-6.

idea of the 'picturesque' lies heavily in the comparatively higher number of images of workers, the poor and the criminal which populate the chapters. Griselda Pollock argues that the juxtaposition of wealthy leisure pursuits, scenes of hardship, and portrayals of industrious work, alongside 'the 'artistically' illustrated format and location within luxury consumption generate specific pleasures to be associated with the nexus of investigation, understanding, regulation, and control'.[46] By this, Pollock identifies the role which *London: a pilgrimage* plays as not just a piece of tourist literature, but a signifier of people, which defines those depicted as objects of the reader's gaze and, therefore, control.

Resting on the Bridge (fig. 25) is typical of the images which Doré produced for the book. A mother and her five children are depicted sleeping on the pavement with a wall to their backs. Bare-footed and dressed in patched rags, the family sleeps peacefully under the stars, huddled together for warmth. Jerrold wrote:

> We went, once, at midnight to London Bridge, and remained there an hour, while he meditated over the two wonderful views – that above, and that below, [the] bridge. His heart was touched by some forlorn creatures huddled together, asleep, on the stone seats. He has reproduced it, again and again, with pencil and with brush. He never appeared to tire of it.[47]

Indeed, similar groups to those in *Resting on the Bridge* are seen time and time again in *London: a pilgrimage*, and comparisons can be made to both *Roofless!* and *Asleep in the Streets* which appeared in later instalments. Although realistically portrayed, the figures of the sleeping homeless are none the less highly stylised: the face of each family member is visible to the viewer and illuminated by the light of an unseen moon. One of the toddlers lies heavily on his sister's knee, whilst an older sibling huddles towards the mother, tucking her toes in to protect them from the night's bitter chill. The mother of the group slumps against the wall with her lips slightly parted, the hardship of her life etched into the deep hollows of her otherwise youthful face. The drapery of her rags is almost classical in its sculptural rendering. Indeed, her hooded form is reminiscent of that of the Virgin in Michelangelo's *Pietà* (1498-99) (fig. 26).[48] In both Doré's illustration and Michelangelo's *Pietà*, the mothers cradle their

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[46] Griselda Pollock, 'Vicarious excitements', p. 29.

[47] Blanchard W. Jerrold, *The life of Gustave Doré* (London: W. H. Allen, 1891), p. 153.

[48] Although there is no evidence that Doré took direct influence from Michelangelo's *Pietà*, it is likely that he would have been aware of the sculpture. Engraved and cast reproductions of Michelangelo's work were available during the nineteenth century and, in her biography of the artist, Joanna Richardson notes that Doré's work is 'full of quotations from other artists', amongst whom she cites

children in their arms, balancing their body weight on spread knees which are enveloped in solid folds of drapery. Yet, whilst the body of Christ lies heavily across his mother, his arms hanging limply downwards, the child in Doré's scene, in contrast, is closely bound in protective covers which give his body a rigid appearance. In comparison to the other figures who comprise Doré's group, this baby is the only one who does not attempt to shield itself from the night air or nestle into one of the others for warmth. Instead, it seems motionless, facing the biting cold, and therefore the viewer, directly. Although this positioning is possibly due to his small size, it may be argued that this child has in fact passed away in the night. If so, the mothers in both Michelangelo's sculpture and Doré's illustration cradle their dead children. However, unlike Michelangelo's Virgin, who sits upright, sombre in grief and private mourning, the mother of Doré's 'Pietà' is, as yet, unaware of the loss of her child. Thus, she slumps against the wall of the bridge, her arms loosely enveloping the body of her baby who, possibly, will not wake. This reading suggests that in contrast to the suspicion with which the single mother was treated, especially in regards to the Contagious Diseases Acts, in Doré's work she was romanticised; far from fallen, she is instead placed on a par with the most virtuous of women whose child was similarly sacrificed by the society in which they lived. This romanticised portrayal of the cityscape and the hardships of its inhabitants clearly indicates that Doré's illustrations are not exclusively realistic in character.[49]

The need for *London: a pilgrimage* to be visually appealing was fundamental to its commercial success and reviews and advertisements for the book celebrated the illustrations which Doré produced, calling them 'a perfect specimen of modern typographical *art* … remarkable for a freshness and completeness seldom equalled'.[50] This praise, it can be argued, was due to Doré's reliance on classicism, which to some extent sugar-coated the scenes of destitution which Fildes and Holl had presented. Thus, his tendency to 'allegory and fantasy' helped to place scenes of contemporary life within the sphere of traditional art rather

Michelangelo. Moreover, in his biography, Jerrold hinted that Doré may have visited Italy, describing Paul Dalloz as Doré's 'friend and fellow traveller in Spain, Italy, and the Tyrol', and thus potentially he may have seen some of the artist's work first hand (although there is no direct evidence to support this supposition). See Joanna Richardson, *Gustave Doré: a biography* (London: Cassell, 1980), p. 155 and Blanchard W. Jerrold, *The life of Gustave Doré*, pp. 53-55.

[49] Joanna Richardson, *Gustave Doré*, p. 155; Blanchard W. Jerrold, *The life of Gustave Doré*, p. 52, p. 54, and p. 72. Doré's *oeuvre* is filled with classical subjects which undoubtedly shaped his style, having produced work for illustrated editions of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1860), Dante's *Divine comedy* (1861), and the Bible (1866). Doré's portrayals of London life clearly reveal these influences.

[50] 'London: a pilgrimage', *Bright Eyes* [n.d.], p. 268.

than illustrated journalism – so much so that the book was even advertised and reviewed as the ideal Christmas gift-book.[51]

Doré's use of classicism to romanticise the city is paralleled throughout the text, where Jerrold refers to the city in mythological terms, describing the pair's 'first glimpse of old Albion', the 'glory' of 'wonder-working Babylon', and London as 'Titan sick and hungering … in his evil-doings; as well as in his pomp and splendour'.[52] The application of classicism to the modern city is perhaps most apparent in the frontispiece which he produced for the publication. The title page carried a vista of the Thames with the masts of hundreds of boats, the silhouette of St Paul's Cathedral and the outline of a bridge. In the foreground lies a lion, the traditional symbol of Britain, whilst on the right-hand side sits the figure of Father Thames in the likeness of Triton, the God of the Seas in Greek mythology.[53] His muscular body and seaweed-like hair evoke the mythological figure, and his oar resembles a modern-day trident. The font in which the book title is written coils and writhes, creating a creepy and dirty impression which reflects the slime on the walls of the bridge archway, bringing this Triton away from the world of Greek myth to the banks of the modern river. The frontispiece consequently presents an odd encounter between classicism and modernism – a bizarre juxtaposition between past grandeur and industrial modernity which is expressed by the uneasy look which the British lion and Father Thames exchange. Yet despite its peculiarity, this image epitomises the publication as the journalist and artist worked together to present a complete and innovative view of the city in which modern life is described through the evocation of past grandeur.

The use of ancient mythology in the portrayal of contemporary issues was also championed by William Thomas Stead, the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* from 1883 to 1889. In his 1885 exposé 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', Stead resurrected the Minotaur of Greek mythology to describe the horrors of child prostitution. Published in the newspaper in five consecutive instalments issued between Monday 6 and Friday 10 July 1885, 'The maiden

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[51] Reproductions of these are printed in Gustave Doré and Blanchard W. Jerrold, *London: a pilgrimage*, p. 166 and p. 167; Tanushree Ghosh, 'Gifting pain', p. 91; Julian Treuherz, *Hard times*, p. 70.

[52] Gustave Doré and Blanchard W. Jerrold, *London: a pilgrimage*, p. xxii, p 2 and p. 223.

[53] The personification of the river as 'Father Thames' was common during the nineteenth century. For examples, see Shelly Wood Cordulack, 'Victorian caricature and classicism: picturing the London water crisis', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 9, no. 4 (2003), pp. 535-583 and Jonathan P. Ribner, 'The Thames and sin in the age of the Great Stink'.

tribute of modern Babylon' was intended to bring to light the shocking nature of the London sex trade, and Stead used his medium to great effect to preach to his public and call for change. *The Pall Mall Gazette* had a history of tackling provocative and challenging subjects: in January 1866 James Underwood published a series of articles in which he explored the east end of London, spending a night in the workhouse so as to expose the harsh realities experienced by the poor to his readers.[54] Neither was Stead the first to tackle the subject of child prostitution through investigative journalism; five years earlier Alfred Dyer had published an investigation into *The European slave trade in English girls*. Dyer's enquiry had highlighted the nonsensical attitude of English laws, writing with regard to the age of consent that 'for purposes of prostitution a child of 13 years in this country has attained her majority, and her betrayer may escape unpunished, although for every other purpose she is held to be a minor'.[55] Whilst Dyer's condemnation of the traffic of English girls to brothels in France and Belgium had garnered publicity in the popular press, and other newspapers had similarly approached the topic, as seen in *The Illustrated Police News'* visualisation of one of these establishments in a front-page illustration (fig. 27), Stead wanted to make an impact which would attract universal attention, from the highest governmental ministers to the most ordinary workers.[56]

Stead viewed the press as the ideal medium through which to call his public into action, having celebrated the democratic nature of the press in his renowned essay 'Government by Journalism' which was published in *The Contemporary Review* in May 1886. In this article, Stead argued that the printed word had the power to speak for and reach all members of society, regardless of their class, occupation, or gender. Unlike the government which was comprised of and represented a narrow proportion of the British populace, Stead argued that the newspaper was the only outlet through which the British public could 'assemb[le as a] whole community' and in which 'the discussion of the affairs of State [could be] … carried on from day to day in the hearing of the whole people'.[57] Thus, for Stead the

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[54] Seth Koven, *Slumming*, provides an admirably detailed account of Greenwood's investigative journalism.

[55] Alfred S. Dyer, *The European slave trade in English girls: a narrative of facts* (London: Dyer Brothers, 1880), p. 33.

[56] 'The traffic in English Girls', *The Illustrated Police News*, 2 May 1885, p. 1. A reproduction of the illustration can be found in Steve Jones, *The Illustrated Police News: London's court cases and sensational stories* (Nottingham: Wicked Publications, 2002), p. 64.

[57] William T. Stead, 'Government by journalism', *Contemporary Review*, 49 (1886), pp. 653-674, p. 654.

press enforced 'no limitation of age or sex', for as he viewed it, 'whosoever has a penny has a vote'.[58]

Stead's views on the importance of the press to reach the masses echoed those of William Hazlitt who, writing over sixty years earlier, stated that through the growth of the periodical press, 'knowledge is no longer confined to the few: the object therefore is, to make it accessible and attractive to the many.'[59] Therefore, the newspaper was not merely a medium which could be shared by a multitude of readers; for Stead it was an essential element of everyday life which provided a true reflection of society and presented 'a page from the book of the life of the town in which it appear[ed], a valuable transcript of yesterday's words, thoughts and deeds'.[60] The notion that the press acted as a historical chronicle caused Stead to describe the newspaper as 'day to day the only Bible which millions read', illustrating its omnipresent nature and perhaps responding to Josephine Butler's earlier criticisms that 'the press and the pulpit, apparently dismayed by the enormity of the evil [of prostitution] … have ceased altogether to administer any adequate rebuke'.[61] Within this metaphor, the journalist became 'both missionary … apostle' and 'preacher', feeding his devoted followers with stories, truths and teachings.[62] Stead continually revisited this metaphor and in 'The future of journalism' (1886), published in *The Contemporary Review* just six months later, wrote that:

> To give utterance to the inarticulate moan of the voiceless is to let light into a dark place; it is almost equivalent to the enfranchisement of class. A newspaper in this sense is a daily apostle of fraternity, a messenger who bringeth glad tidings of joy, of a great light that has risen upon those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death.[63]

The biblical language employed in this extract underscores Stead's contention that journalism was the only modern equivalent to the Church, echoing the influence and moral power with which it could guide its followers. Thus, unsurprisingly, Stead used the access and freedom

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[58] Ibid., p. 655. Early advocates of the free press had campaigned for journalism which would 'act as an indispensable link between public opinion and the governing institutions of the country'. Thus, Stead was not alone, nor was he the first, to call for the development of a moral institution which would promote truths for the benefit of the whole of society. See George Boyce, 'The fourth state', in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds), *Newspaper history*, p. 20.

[59] William Hazlitt, 'The periodical press', *Edinburgh Review*, 38 (1823), pp. 349-378, p. 358.

[60] William T. Stead, 'Government by journalism', p. 655.

[61] Ibid., p. 663; Josephine Butler, *Social purity*, p. 13.

[62] William T. Stead, 'Government by journalism', p. 664. This perspective is again explored in Chapter Five where the Salvation Army's views on the potential impact which the printed word and image could have upon their readers is examined.

[63] William T. Stead, 'The future of journalism', *Contemporary Review*, 50 (1886), pp. 663-679, p. 670.

which his medium offered to great effect so as to preach the evils of child prostitution to his public, writing that 'sexual immorality, however evil it might be in itself or in its consequences, must be dealt with not by the policeman but by the teacher'.[64] Clearly journalists were not merely tasked with informing their disciples of routine or mundane news. They also held a moral obligation not only to nurture but also to speak for those who did not have a voice of their own: the poor, the marginalised, and most significantly for the purposes of this discussion, women who were exploited for the purposes of prostitution. Speaking of the newspaper editor, Stead argued that 'into his ear are poured the cries, the protests, the complaints of men who suffer wrong, and it is his mission to present them daily before the conscience of mankind', emphasising the prophetic role which they were tasked to undertake.[65] Whilst Stead's view that editors and journalists were duty bound to act as spokespeople for the disenfranchised masses was arguably a highly romanticised and idealised perspective, the very nature of the medium did help to strengthen the religious parallels which he envisioned. At the turn of the century religious texts tended to be 'heavy subsidised'.[66] This meant that in comparison to more expensive secular texts, those with religious content were sold at a significantly lower price and, therefore, gained a relatively larger audience base. The respective affordability of newspapers following the repeal of the 'taxes on knowledge' echoed this pattern and meant that their messages became similarly, and all the more, accessible to the growing mass market.[67] In consequence, newspapers were able to develop faithful and devout followings akin to those of Christianity and earlier nineteenth-century religious publications.[68]

At the time of Stead's publication, the legal age of consent was thirteen years of age, having been raised from twelve in 1871. Josephine Butler and other notable reformists of the period protested that this age was far too low, arguing that many thirteen-year-olds remained

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[64] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 July 1885 <http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/pmg/tribute/> [accessed 7 December 2013].
[65] William T. Stead, 'The future of journalism', p. 670.
[66] George Boyce, 'The fourth state', in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds), *Newspaper history*, p. 20.
[67] Ibid. These 'taxes on knowledge' describe taxes such as Advertisement Duty, Stamp Duty, and the Paper Tax which were repealed in 1853, 1855, and 1861 respectively.
[68] Simon Eliot, 'Some trends in British book production, 1800-1919', in John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds), *Literature in the marketplace*, p. 41 and p. 36. Eliot classes anything which was priced at 3s 6d or under as being of 'low' cost.

unaware of the mechanics and dangers of prostitution until they had become fully ensnared in the system:

> We … find that gentlemen have employed every method of seduction that the mind of man or devil could invent, in order to drag poor girls … into the mud, at an age when, to those who understand the art, their corruption was an easy task.[69]

Appeals to raise the age of consent through a parliamentary review of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill were continually frustrated. Consequently, Josephine Butler, along with Bramwell Booth of the Salvation Army, joined forces with Stead, whose more direct and public method of communication, it was hoped, would give the campaign the strength it required. Through his exposé, Stead aimed to show just how easy it was for a working-class girl to be forced into the sex trade against her knowledge and her will, therefore proving that both the current age of consent and political attitudes towards sexual practice were outdated and ineffective. Arguing that the law effectively allowed child rape and rarely punished those who had committed such atrocities, Stead organised and subsequently described in his series of articles the purchase of a thirteen-year-old girl for £5 from her mother who knew that 'the sale was to be effected for immoral purposes'.[70] He hoped to use his medium to expose how 'actual rapes … are constantly being perpetrated in London on unwilling virgins, purveyed and procured to rich men at so much a head by keepers of brothels'.[71]

Stead's article was heavily reliant upon the notion of the innocent and naïve young girl who was unaware of the nature of sex or the existence of the sex trade, and who inadvertently became an unwilling participant. Largely ignoring the statistical data collected by his predecessors, Stead disregarded the conclusions of those such as Acton who stated it was a 'vulgar error' to think that 'the harlot's progress is short and rapid' and a 'transitory state' from which she could escape, instead arguing that 'so "inextricable" [are] the paths, so "blind" the footsteps, so "innumerable" the ways of wrong-doing', that once a child is set on the path of prostitution, she cannot and will never be able to escape.[72] Thus, he painted a picture by which no reader could fail to be moved, echoing the impact which the social realist

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[69] Josephine Butler, *The new abolitionists: a narrative of a year's work* (London: Dyer Brothers, 1876), p. 119.
[70] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885.
[71] Ibid., p. 8.
[72] William Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 52; Ibid., p. 5.

paintings of Holl and Fildes had upon the audiences of the Royal Academy earlier in the century.

Stead introduced his first article by issuing a 'frank warning', preparing his readers for the explicit nature of the articles which were to appear in *The Pall Mall Gazette* that week. To 'all those who are squeamish, and all those who are prudish, and all those who prefer to live in a fool's paradise of imaginary innocence and purity', he wrote, '[you] will do well not to read *The Pall Mall Gazette* of Monday ... the story of an actual pilgrimage into a real hell is not pleasant reading, and is not meant to be ... but it is true, and its publication is necessary'. [73]

True to his word, 'The maiden tribute' did not hold back. Over the course of the week, Stead described the realities of prostitution in highly graphic detail and revealed to his predominantly middle-class readers the horrors of child rape, the use of alcohol, laudanum and chloroform as methods of sedation; those who, he wrote, had until now been 'selfishly oblivious to the horrible realities which torment those whose lives are passed in the London inferno'. [74] Explicit narratives of medical 'repairs' made 'after violation' and interviews with the women who allowed such practices sat alongside Stead's first-hand observations of the sex trade: 'how much more painful must it have been, think you,' Stead directly asked his reader, 'to have seen the victims face to face, to see their tears and hear their sobs, and to watch the toils closing round the doomed without being able to interfere?'.[75]

Stead used the Minotaur of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to draw analogies between the fate of the child prostitute and that of the fourteen sacrificial virgins given to the beast of Greek mythology. Assisted by the procuress and 'free to devote his fortune and leisure to the ruin of maids', Stead asserted that the faceless middle-class male was the 'modern Minotaur'; the 'absolute incarnation of brutal lust' who night after night returned to the city in order to

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[73] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 July 1885 <http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/pmg/tribute/> [accessed 7 December 2013].
[74] Ibid.
[75] Greta Kristian Wendelin, 'The genealogy of the prostitute'; William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885; William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 July 1885 <http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/pmg/tribute/> [accessed 7 December 2013].

claim more victims.[76] Within this metaphor, the London streets became the Minotaur's labyrinth and consequently, just like the maidens of the myth, none that ventured into the 'maze of London brotheldom' would manage to escape 'the secret recesses of his lair'. Through this highly emotive description, Stead placed the blame for the 'rottenness' of child prostitution firmly upon the middle-class male who, driven by lust and greed, used his 'wealth … to corrupt, to demoralise, and to destroy the daughters of the poor'.[77] It is 'in this "English Gentleman"', he stated, that 'we have a far more hideous Minotaur than that which Ovid fabled and which Theseus slew'.[78] Through his description of child prostitutes as the 'living sacrifices slain in the service of vice', Stead directly challenged those who argued that prostitution was a 'necessary evil' which could be controlled and maintained by state regulation. He argued that prostitution, whether systematic or not, did not have to remain an essential element of modern-day life.

Both Stead's choice of subject and his methods of delivery provoked condemnation from his readers. One described 'The maiden tribute' as 'the vilest of brothel literature', suggesting that far from being the 'necessary' publication which Stead championed, in the eyes of some the subject would in fact actively encourage sexual deviancy. [79] These criticisms echoed those which had been levelled at sensation fiction. Stead's articles certainly exhibit the key elements found in sensation literature, containing melodrama and a scandalous subject matter which was intended to provoke an emotive response to unsavoury material in the audience.[80] Like sensation fiction, which was seen to 'strip the veil from Victorian respectability and prudery', Stead's exposé claimed to uncover a subject which had been happily overlooked.[81] Some readers responded to the articles with praise, applauding the use of his position as editor to reach the masses: 'we owe you an immeasurable debt of gratitude for forcing these hideous truths upon us. You have done your duty'.[82] None the less, Stead was also accused of forcing unsavoury material into the homes of his readers, breaching the boundaries between the poverty-ridden streets of the capital and the shelter and security of the middle-class home, and forcing those who would otherwise remain oblivious, whether by

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[76] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 July 1885 <http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/pmg/tribute/> [accessed 7 December 2013].
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 9 July 1885.
[80] Patrick Brantlinger, 'What is "sensational" about the "sensation novel"?', p. 2 and p. 6.
[81] Ibid., p. 11; Karen Halttunen, 'Humanitarianism and the pornography of pain', p. 312.
[82] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 9 July 1885, p. 53.

naivety or purposeful ignorance, to confront the uneasy realities surrounding child prostitution. Such shocking and explicit descriptions were deemed unsuitable for this newspaper of gentlemen: 'written by gentlemen for gentlemen', *The Pall Mall Gazette* was largely intended to be read by middle- and upper-class males. Readers feared the effect which such material could have upon their households, where newspapers were often passed between family members and re-read by mothers, daughters, and even servants once the master of the house had finished with them. One letter to the editor succinctly expressed these views:

> By the minute details and facilities you so graphically describe, you will strengthen and stimulate and encourage the very vices you abhor! Usually leaving the Pall Mall in the dining or drawing room, last night I took it to my bedroom. While taking my breakfast this morning the servant inquires, 'Would you, Sir, leave the Pall Mall for me to read today?'.[83]

This letter represents the accusations of many of Stead's middle-class readers who did not want to acknowledge the idea that such an extensive and systematic process was taking place so close to their own homes. Moreover, the mention of the servant's interest may suggest a concern not just for the implications which it may have on his own behaviour, but possibly, also the danger that the article could expose the fragility of the class system itself. The article questioned the assumed moral integrity of the 'gentleman' through the assertion that he was responsible for the exploitation of working-class girls. Thus, if read by the servant, the foundations upon which the class system was based could then also potentially be called into doubt. Moreover, it was feared that Stead's publications could inadvertently corrupt the minds and sensibilities of his readers, their wives, and children, with tales of sexual corruption. As one reader remarked: 'Anything more disgusting I never read. I consider it a disgrace that such matter should ever be allowed to be published in any newspaper that calls itself respectable. I have taken care that my girls do not read such filth, and I hope every other parent has done the same'.[84]

Whilst Stead's use of such hyperbolic and symbolic metaphors provoked some to question his articles' appropriateness for the pages of the press as well as their factual accuracy, the editor argued that the use of such sensationalist techniques did not necessarily

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[83] Mr. Lewis Miles, quoted in William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 9 July 1885.
[84] Ibid. See Chapter Two for reactions towards sensation fiction in popular culture.

mean that they equated to fiction.[85] Matthew Arnold, for example, condemned the 'new'

form of investigative journalism which Stead had pioneered as '*feather-brained*', arguing that

despite its 'ability, novelty, variety, sensation [and] sympathy', 'it throws out assertions at a

venture because it wishes them true [and] does not correct either them or itself if they are

false'.[86] Yet, defending his choice of medium, Stead maintained that he had merely employed

literary devices to convey truths which he knew his readers did not otherwise want to accept:

> Our life, our thought, our existence, are built up by a never-ending series of
> sensations, and when people object to sensations they object to the very material of
> life … it is the novel, the startling, the unexpected, that they denounce; the
> presentation of facts with such vividness and graphic force as to make a distinct …
> impact upon the mind … Sensationalism in journalism is justifiable up to the point that
> it is necessary to arrest the eye of the public and compel them to admit the necessity
> of action.[87]

As Kent asserts, it was precisely because stories of 'human-interest' challenged and 'test[ed

the reader's] sense of the probable and the possible' that they proved popular with the

public.[88]   This is a view which is supported by Greenslade, who maintains that Stead was

'uninhibited in [his] use of sensationalism' and 'pioneered ground breaking investigative

techniques' in order to 'provoke [his] audiences' into action and therefore fulfil his self-

imposed vocation of 'moral arbiter'.[89] Through his use of the Minotaur metaphor, Stead

clearly adopted the role of the modern-day Theseus who, through his daring steps into

previously uncharted territories, was able to reveal the danger to which 'many thousands of

women, who are literally killed and made away with – living sacrifices slain in the service of

vice' were exposed.[90] Stead sacrificed his own reputation, being imprisoned for conspiracy

and abduction as a consequence of his 'purchase' of the thirteen-year-old, and Millicent

Fawcett wrote to him to praise him for the 'gigantic step' which he had made 'in the direction

of purity and goodness'.[91]

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[85] In his letter to the editor, Dr John Harvey wrote that, 'my own opinion, after twenty-five years'
experience in London, is that the vice is much exaggerated … it seems a pity that innocent people who
know nothing of these crimes should have them brought prominently before them'.

[86] Matthew Arnold, 'Up to Easter', *Nineteenth Century*, 123 (1887), p. 629-643, p. 639.

[87] William T. Stead, 'Government by journalism', pp. 670-671.

[88] Christopher Kent, 'Victorian periodicals and the constructing of Victorian reality', in Don J. Vann and
Rosemary T. Van Arsdel (eds), *Victorian periodicals: a guide to research*, volume 2 (New York: Modern
language Association of America, 1989), pp.1-12, p. 9.

[89] Roy Greenslade, 'Foreword', in Laurel Brake *et al* (eds), *W. T. Stead*, pp. 1-5, p. 3.

[90] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885.

[91] Millicent Fawcett to William T. Stead [1885], London, The Women's Library London Metropolitan
University, 4, no. 158; Alison Plowden, *The case of Eliza Armstrong: 'a child of 13 bought for £5'*
(London: BBC, 1974), p. 34.

None the less, whilst clearly motivated by a real concern for the proliferation of child prostitution in the city, Stead's articles were also an exercise in self-promotion. Anne Rodrick asserts that readers 'preferred mayhem to Mayhew', favouring the controversial, innovative and sensationalised topics of *The Pall Mall Gazette* to the statistically informed approaches of earlier journalism. This is a view echoed by Greenslade, who argues that 'Stead blatantly used sex to ramp up sales'.[92] Stead's decision to print the letters of criticism which he had received further acted to increase the public furore which surrounded his publications, thereby in all likelihood increasing sales.

Moreover, in his 1823 article, 'The Periodical Press', William Hazlitt argued that the 'savage system of bullying and assassination' which characterised the periodical press 'is no longer pursued from the impulse of angry passions or furious prejudices, but on a cold-blooded mercenary calculation of the profits which idle curiosity, and the vulgar appetite for slander, may enable its authors to derive from it'.[93] This cynically suggests that criticism would inevitably lead to profit for not just the author who had mounted the attack, but the publication which had garnered it. Hazlitt continued:

> When we find an author savagely and perseveringly attacked by this gang of literary retainers, we immediately feel assured, not only that he is a good writer, but an honest man; and if a statesman is once selected as the butt of outrageous abuse in the same quarter, we consider it as a satisfactory proof that he has lately rendered some signal service to his country, or aimed a deadly blow at corruption.[94]

Thus, through the reproduction of letters of criticism which Stead had received in response to his exposé, the editor undoubtedly helped to promote his own position as a respectable and 'honest' journalist who had sacrificed his own reputation in the service of a greater cause; a martyr of modern journalism. Furthermore, despite his moralistic affirmations, even Stead conceded that the press was ultimately an economic enterprise. Writing that 'a newspaper, to put it brutally, must have good copy, and good copy is oftener found among the outcast and the disinherited of the earth than among the fat and well-fed citizens', Stead indicated the

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[92] Anne Baltz Rodrick, '"Only a newspaper metaphor": crime reports, class conflict, and social criticism in two Victorian newspapers', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 1-18, p. 14; Roy Greenslade, 'Foreword', in Laurel Brake *et al* (eds), *W. T. Stead*, p. 4.
[93] William Hazlitt, 'The periodical press', p. 378.
[94] Ibid.

need to publish material which would appear shocking, scandalous and therefore enthralling to his middle-class readers in order to secure sales.[95]

The impact which Stead's use of print had upon public awareness of child prostitution is evident through the case of George Frederick Watts' *The Minotaur* (1885) (fig. 28). Exhibited just a few months after Stead's 'maiden tribute', the painting depicts the ferocious mythological beast to which Stead alluded. 'Half-man, half-bull, the foul product of an unnatural lust', the Minotaur stands on a parapet overlooking the ocean, waiting for his own sacrificial virgins to be delivered.[96] Emilia Barrington, Watts' biographer, suggested that the artist had produced the painting as a direct consequence of Stead's exposé. Stating that it was 'the result of intense indignation in Watts' mind against certain evil' and a direct response to 'a subject [which] had filled one of the evening papers', she described the evolution of the painting:

> It was a subject we could not discuss, but he just alluded to it one evening in the most indignant terms. Next morning, about nine o'clock, I received a little note asking me to come in to look at something. It was 'The Minotaur', virtually as we see it now, but rather more vigorous … he had painted it in three hours.[97]

Barrington's description suggests that in the same way that Stead used his knowledge and influence of the popular press to tackle contemporary issues, Watts similarly used his own medium, employing paint to comment upon social and moral concerns. Watts' belief that art had the potential to affect the moral condition of his audience is evident through the donation of his artworks to the Whitechapel Gallery and the admission of tour groups to his studio, allowing his art to become accessible to those who, due to either geographical or financial reasons, were unable to visit the Royal Academy exhibitions.[98] Moreover, *The Art Journal*'s claim that 'it was [Watts']... ambition ... to make a ministry of his art, and to consider beauty as bound to further the moral causes of humanity' can be seen to parallel Stead's claims regarding the moral responsibilities of newspaper editors. [99] Lucy Ella Rose has shown the extent to which Watts' sympathies with female rights issues penetrated both his art and his

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[95] William T. Stead, 'Government by journalism', p. 669.

[96] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 8 July 1885.

[97] Emilie Isabel Russell Barrington, *G. F. Watts: reminiscences*, 1905 (London: George Allen, 2005), pp. 38-39.

[98] Shelagh Wilson, ''The highest art for the lowest people': the Whitechapel and other philanthropic art galleries, 1877-1901', in Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd (eds), *Governing cultures*, pp. 172-186.

[99] 'Mr. G. F. Watts at the New Gallery', *Art Journal* (1897), p. 62; R. E. D. Sketchley, 'Watts at Burlington House', *Art Journal* (1905), pp. 79-82, p. 79.

personal relationships. She argues that Watts and his artist wife Mary 'had a shared agenda for greater gender equality and female liberation, which they advocated in their literary, visual, and social work', as can be read in the personal letters, diaries, and artistic outputs of the couple.[100] Moreover, Rose has shown how the couple had established close relationships with prominent feminists such as Josephine Butler, exchanging work and ideas which suggests mutual respect and common interests, especially regarding issues of social equality.[101] This suggests that through shared acquaintances such as Butler, and a mutual concern for moral and social wellbeing, Stead and Watts were able to fuse their mediums together in a common goal.

In Watts' painting, the Minotaur looks out across the sea awaiting the virgin sacrifices who travel towards him in a boat which is just discernible on the horizon, echoing Stead's damning description of the streets of the capital:

> This very night in London, and every night, year in and year out ... maidens ... will be offered up as the maiden tribute of modern Babylon ... [where] they will find themselves within the … maze of London ... [and] wander like lost souls ... none that go into the secret recesses of [the Minotaur's] lair return again.[102]

The beast has trapped a bird in its clenched fist and the broken creature struggles to escape from the Minotaur's deathly grip. It is crushed by the monster's brute force and seems unlikely to survive. The violence and dominance of this act was commented on in *The Athenaeum* in its review of the painting. The critic commented that 'absorbed in what he sees, the creature, with stupid heedlessness, crushes in one hand a little bird, and scarcely feels the softness and warmth of its plumage'.[103] The bird was used by the artist to symbolise the 'destruction' of the young children whom Stead had described as being 'as helpless as … sparrow[s]' once trapped inside a London brothel and the destructive and heartless use of virgin children by the monster who then moves on to a new 'subject' night after night, leaving behind him a wake of 'second-hand articles'. [104] The symbolism suggests that even in the unlikely event that the bird managed to escape the Minotaur's clutches, it would be so maimed and injured that it would be unable to fly from the beast's lair, being condemned to stay there – a reading which directly alludes to Stead's graphic descriptions of child rape

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[100] Lucy Ella Rose, 'A feminist network', p. 4.
[101] Ibid., pp. 13-16; Lucy Ella Rose, 'Subversive representations', p. 3.
[102] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885.
[103] 'Fine-art gossip', *The Athenaeum*, 25 July 1885, pp. 120-121.
[104] Patricia Mathews, 'The minotaur of London', p. 338; William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885.

where 'after a prolonged and desperate fight … with screaming and violence, she [becomes] too exhausted to continue the struggle'.[105] Elaine Shefer has shown the significance of the caged bird in Victorian art, arguing that whilst the cage represents the safety of the Victorian home, the bird out of the cage represents its loss of protection and therefore innocence: 'it is when she leaves the cage (that is, the home) … that she loses her virginity'.[106] Thus, as with the injured bird in Holman Hunt's *Awakening Conscience* which symbolises the kept woman's futile wish to escape her companion, confined in the 'gilded cage' of her lover's home from which she cannot escape, Watts' use of the symbolism of the bird suggests that chances of reform and escape remained slim.

The muscular body of Watts' Minotaur is highly suggestive of the force and violence which he is able to inflict, echoing the graphic descriptions of rape which were offered by Stead. In contrast to William Blake's illustration of *The Minotaur* for Dante's *Divine comedy* (c. 1824-27), which depicts the mythological beast as a centaur-like creature with bulging eyes and devil horns, Watt's monster is largely human.[107] With just the bull-like head and tail to act as indicators of his bestial nature, the muscular torso paradoxically conforms to traditional expectations of male beauty and it was this aspect of the Minotaur's appearance which contemporary critics commented upon:

> The brute is leaning on his elbows at the angle of a parapet, and, with bestial stolidity and greedy egotism, staring fiercely over a wide expanse of land and sea. On his high and square shoulders and back the mighty muscles are heaped in tawny masses, knotted like cords.[108]

Muscular and bronzed, the Minotaur's body can be seen to conform to traditional expectations of male beauty which are found in the sculptures of antiquity. Indeed, striking similarities are visible between the beast of Watts' painting and a marble Minotaur displayed in the Archaeological Museum of Athens (fig. 29). Both exhibit a highly muscular arm and

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[105] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885.
[106] Elaine Shefer, 'The "bird in the cage" in the history of sexuality: Sir John Everett Millais and William Holman Hunt', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 1, no. 3 (1991), pp, 446-480, p. 467; William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885.
[107] For a reproduction, see Eric Pyle, *William Blake's illustrations for Dante's Divine Comedy: a study of the engravings, pencil sketches and watercolours* (Jefferson: McFarland and co., 2015), p. 177.
[108] 'Fine-art gossip', *The Athenaeum*, p. 120.

body which is then topped by an almost repellent head complete with sagging jowls and a neck almost as thick as the shoulders are wide.[109]

Doré's *Minotaur* (1832-33), produced as part of his illustrations for Dante's *Divine comedy*, is similarly human in its appearance with only the head acting to indicate his hybrid nature.[110] The creature's tensed muscles bulge as he torments himself, illustrating his ferocious power and strength – an effect which is fortified by his extraordinary size which, in comparison to Dante and Virgil who creep by unnoticed, only acts to intensify the threat which he poses. Yet, in Watts' painting the Minotaur is not writhing in anger, frustration or impatience, as in Doré's image. Nor does he seem to be possessed by an animalistic ferocity as in Blake's depiction. Instead, he stands in silence, waiting patiently for his offering to arrive, watching its progress as if in deep contemplation. This sense of calm can be seen to reflect the silent danger which, Stead argued, the faceless Victorian predator posed to the innocent girls of London as he 'watches when the girls come out of the shops and factories for lunch or at the end of the day [and] … sees his fancy and marks it down'.[111]

A second work painted by Watts in the same year reflects this sense of foreboding and can, again, be read as a direct response to the 'maiden tribute' campaign.[112] *Monster and Child* (1885) presents a cropped view of a naked child being cradled by a faceless figure. The child has its back towards the viewer and nestles its face into the furry mane of the beast, looking for warmth and comfort as the clawed hand of the monster draws the child close to its body. The prominent position of the hand, which occupies a quarter of the canvas, contrasts

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[109] For a description of the torso and photographic reproduction, see Nikolaos Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*, David Hardy (trans.) (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2002), pp. 96-97. Watts travelled to Athens in 1856 and toured the Greek islands in a visit which – according to Mark Bills – acted to extend the artist's love of Greek art and mythical tales. See Mark Bills, 'The Genius of Greek Poetry, c. 1857-78', in Mark Bills and Barbara Bryant (eds), *G. F. Watts Victorian visionary*, pp. 196-198, p. 196. The sculpture was discovered during the excavation of Aghios Dimitrios Katiforis conducted by the Archaeological Society of Athens under the direction of St. Koumanoudis between 1860 and 1866. Therefore, Watts would not have seen the sculpture first-hand on his travels. I am grateful to Dr. Alexandra Christopoulou of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens for this information; Mary Seton Watts, *George Frederic Watts, volume 1: the annals of an artist's life* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912), p. 164.
[110] For a reproduction, see Gustave Doré, *The Doré illustrations for Dante's Divine Comedy* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1976), plate 32.
[111] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 6 July 1885.
[112] See Veronica Franklin Gould (ed.), *The vision of G. F. Watts OM RA (1817-1904)* (Salisbury: Antique Collectors' Club, 2004), p. 70, for a reproduction.

with the supple skin of the child, suggesting that the comfort which the child draws from the beast's curly mane in fact hides a threatening nature. This sense of danger is emphasised by the lack of identity given to the monster, which implies that as with the perpetrators described by Stead, its true identity is, and will continue to remain, hidden. The placement of the figures is reminiscent of the traditional Madonna and Child pose, yet the rough and clawed hand of the beast makes this a gross subversion of the traditional mother and child model.[113] This play with artistic tradition suggests that the children of modern, industrial London were not cradled by nurturing, loving hands, but were instead subject to predatory others in whom they would mistakenly place their trust.

Whilst emphasising the human element of the Minotaur's nature, it may be argued that the highly toned form of Watt's *Minotaur* can, in fact, also be read as a commentary on class attitudes towards prostitution and sexual deviance during the period. In Victorian art, clear distinctions were made between the working-class body and the middle-class physique. Restricted to manual jobs which often required hard physical labour, the working-class male was commonly portrayed as a muscular, powerful specimen - precisely the body type of the labourers who occupy the centre section of Ford Madox Brown's *Work* (1852-1865) (fig. 30).[114] *Work* typified the different types of labour undertaken by the various social classes. In the painting, a group of navvies is juxtaposed with two high-profile upper-class Victorian thinkers, Thomas Carlyle, the eminent philosopher and historian, and Frederick Maurice, a theologian and scholar, who stand at the right-hand side. In contrast to the sculpted bodies of the navvies, their frames seem slight with any musculature being hidden from view by their typically middle-class clothing.

The notion of the muscular worker and the slender middle-class professional was common at the time, and was alluded to by *Punch* in 1855 where two navvies were shown alongside a well-to-do gentleman (fig. 31). Significantly shorter and slimmer in size, the middle-class male's body pales in comparison to the burly form of the workers. In the caption, one of the navvies jokes about the 'brute force' of the gentleman and their own 'scientific' prowess and 'intellect', satirising the division between the manual labour of the working

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[113] I am grateful to Lucy Ella Rose for this observation.
[114] Tim Barringer, 'Art, religion and labour', in Tim Barringer, *Men at work: art and labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 21-82.

classes and the professional thought-based work of the middle classes. The highly muscular form of Watts' *Minotaur* clearly aligns much more closely with the navvies in both *Work* and *Punch* than the middle-class thinkers and professionals. The bronzed tone of the beast's back appears almost leather-like in its texture and seems to reflect the sun-tanned skin of Ford Madox Brown's workers whose flesh is continually exposed to the elements due to the nature of their trade.

Navvies were commonly known for their reputation for 'drunkenness, violence and sexual promiscuity'. Tim Barringer has argued that this last attribute is alluded to by the exposed male body in art where exposed flesh, he suggests, acts to symbolise the threat to 'feminine innocence' which it was thought the raw sexuality of the working-class male posed.[115] Of course, Watts' Minotaur is similarly nude, the exposed flesh of his back and arms contrasting with the soft delicacy of the bird that he crushes. These visual allusions to the navvies' body type and skin, therefore, serve to translate these characteristics of violence and dangerous lust onto the *Minotaur* and the body in Watts' painting can therefore be defined as belonging to that of the working-class male.

In his exposé, however, Stead specifically placed the blame for what he called the 'rottenness' of child prostitution firmly upon the middle-class male, writing that 'the supreme criminal is the wealthy and dissolute man' who, driven by lust and greed, used his 'wealth … to corrupt, to demoralise, and to destroy the daughters of the poor'.[116] It was in the guise of the '"English Gentleman"' he stated, that the 'modern Minotaur' lay, concealed, 'moving about clad as respectably in broad cloth and fine linen as any bishop, with no foul shape or semblance of brute beast to mark him off from the rest of his fellows'.[117] Watts was renowned for fighting to help the working classes, painting numerous pieces which were both mythological and realist in subject matter and which commented on social injustices.[118] He believed that art held a social and moral mission: 'not merely to amuse', he said, but 'to illustrate … the beautiful and noble … and to hold up to detestation the bestial and brutal'.[119]

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[115] Ibid. p. 50 and p. 32.
[116] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 8 July 1885.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Works such as *Mammon* (1885); *Under a Dry Arch* (1849-50); *Found Drowned* (c. 1850); *Sic Transit* (1891-92) reflect this.
[119] 'The Liverpool art exhibition', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 September 1885, p. 4.

With this in mind, the Minotaur's body does not, therefore, only represent his power, strength, and danger but it also alludes to his moral degeneration through his very interaction with the sex trade. Characteristics which it was assumed only belonged to the working classes are also shown to inhabit the middle classes. As a result, the middle-class male is even more dangerous and debased, simply because his sexual deviancy remains concealed behind a veil of respectability. The exposure of this disguise not only speaks to the perpetrator, however, but the audience too. Through Stead's exposé and Watts' visualisation of the world which he described, the artist and the journalist removed all possible excuses for their audiences to hide behind a veil of ignorance or naivety. Thus, together, Stead and Watts used the ancient Greek myth of the Minotaur to expose contemporary myths and misunderstandings in society which rested upon the assumption that prostitution was a specifically working-class problem. Through the adoption of Ovid's tale, they spoke to everyone, from the upper classes who visited art exhibitions to the working classes who followed the unravelling episodes in the press. The success of their enterprise was largely due to the use of the Greek myth.

Peter Trippi has argued in relation to nineteenth-century art that myths reflected 'the universality of human experience', which helped to 'generate remarkably deep responses' in viewers, and this was an opinion which was promoted by Ruskin in a lecture series just two years before, in 1883.[120] Ruskin argued that 'the thoughts of all the greatest and wisest men hitherto, since the world was made, have been expressed through mythology', where the function of the myth is the 'teaching … of [even] this practical and positive English race' of 'noble' truths.[121] Moreover, Pollock asserts that 'the legibility of criminality was … a necessary fantasy which enabled a momentary escape from the terror of the permeation of the whole society by crime'.[122] Thus, by highlighting the presence of crime, poverty, and the sex trade through romantic and mythological metaphors which were comprehensible to the reading middle-class public, Doré, Stead, and Watts in effect helped to focus the dangers of society into one, more manageable, story. Therefore, far from being 'feather-brained', Stead's description and Watts' portrayal of the London sex trade in terms of the Greek myth enabled art and journalism to work together to bring social issues to the forefront of public concern whilst simultaneously providing entertainment to the masses to ensure that, in Stead's case at

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[120] Peter Trippi, *J. W. Waterhouse* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 2002), p. 236.
[121] John Ruskin, 'Mythic schools of painting: E. Burne-Jones and G. F. Watts', in John Ruskin, *The art of England: lectures given in Oxford (1883)* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1884), pp. 27-50, p. 38 and p. 41.
[122] Griselda Pollock, 'Vicarious excitements', p. 31.

least, they would continue to read the daily instalments. Thus, the universal language of classicism and mythology acted as a method through which producers were able to fuse the boundaries between high culture and low to stimulate discussions regarding prostitution during the late nineteenth century. It is, perhaps, a reflection of the social and class division of the period that middle-class viewers were able to identify more closely with ancient stories of beasts and heroic legends rather than with the realities of poverty visible within their own city. This suggests a sense of dislocation and isolation, whereby the middle class were more comfortable with tales of fiction than tangible facts.

The popular press was clearly a major platform for the discussion of prostitution, acting not only as an outlet through which protests against such measures as the Contagious Diseases Acts could be voiced and publicised, but in which depictions of the realities of London workers and the homeless were reproduced. Through their use of the Minotaur of Greek mythology, Stead and Watts were able to bring the issue of juvenile prostitution to the masses in a way which had not previously been achieved. This chapter has shown how art and journalism not only worked together to publicise social injustices and engage in debates surrounding the class-based assumptions and implications of prostitution, but in fact were part of a mutually influential dialogue in which low forms of culture informed high art and high art, in turn, informed low art. This was assisted by the collaborative efforts of individuals from different sectors of society. The relationship between Stead and prominent feminists such as Millicent Fawcett, Josephine Butler, and the leading figures of the Salvation Army, and the consistent dialogue between the George and Mary Watts, Butler, and other artistic campaigners such as Evelyn and William De Morgan, suggest that issues of gender and social inequality were at the forefront of the discussions which took place between members of society who had influence in various cultural sectors. Moreover, through the production of publications such as *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated London News*, and *London: a pilgrimage*, a much wider demographic were introduced to images of the London prostitute and the conditions in which thousands of women were forced to work each night. Despite this, clear boundaries still lay in place as to what was considered to be acceptable in print and what could be exhibited on gallery walls. The following chapter will delve deeper into this issue, asking why just three years after Stead's apologetic warning about the graphic nature of his articles, the illustrated press were able to plaster scenes of sex, violence, and gore over the front pages of their newspapers with little comeback. The chapter considers visual renderings of the Jack the Ripper murders in the pages of the popular press, assessing how the depiction

of the prostitute in this setting of sex, sensation, and violence, reignited public interest in London prostitution, questioning where the boundaries between social concern, the need for news, and outright voyeuristic pleasure lay.

Chapter Four: Reading the Ripper – the prostitute and the illustrated press

In the autumn of 1888, the pages of the London press were filled with one topic: the Whitechapel murders. A series of gruesome attacks by an unknown perpetrator which left the mutilated bodies of murdered women scattered on the streets of the East End, the Whitechapel murders caused a media frenzy of unprecedented proportions. The murders came to be known as the work of 'Jack the Ripper' – a name which arose following the publication of a letter which was signed as such, written in red ink to emulate blood, and was sent to the media from the supposed murderer. The Ripper became one of the most fearsome and notorious media constructions in British history, and his victims all had one thing in common: they were prostitutes. Coverage of the murders occupied the illustrated press for months, reporting on not just the facts of the crimes, but speculating on the identity of the killer, the reactions of the reading public and the inefficiency of the police in catching the assailant. This chapter aims to consider the press coverage of the Ripper murders in the wider context of this thesis. This discussion will therefore assess how through the portrayal of the Ripper's victims both before and after death, the representation of the injuries which were inflicted upon them, the attempts to visualise the murderer, and the depiction of the murder sites, the illustrated press negotiated issues of sensation, voyeurism, and sensibility whilst reporting the murder of prostitutes on the streets of London.

Past scholarship has largely focused on the historical significance of the murders and the interplay between gender, culture, and class. Walkowitz pioneered this fusion of social and cultural history, moving away from the more dogmatic approaches which tend to focus on 'solving' the mystery, to examine the significance of sexual politics in the formation of enduring discourses surrounding the crimes. Through her research, Walkowitz exposed how class and gender moulded how the press reported the murders, placing them firmly within an environment of male sexual violence, and arguing that the sensational tactics employed by the press helped to reinforce the myth of the submissive and vulnerable role of women. Her contention that women were, conversely, often active participants in the sex trade and interacted in the public city space, broadened historical perspectives as to the role of women in Victorian society and emphasised the role which the media had in the formation of behavioural expectations. The sensational coverage of the Ripper murders in the press has more recently been explored by Lewis Perry Curtis (2001) and in Martin Willis' edited book *Jack the Ripper: media, culture, history* (2007). These volumes consider the murders as a

media enterprise, with contributions such as those by Darren Oldridge and Alexandra Warwick arguing that the popular press were responsible for the formation of narratives which still surround the murders. They have shown how these have led to the development of a mythology which removes the violence of the crimes from their historical context and have become almost fictional forms of entertainment in the public imagination. Whilst their research is valuable to the history of media history, crime, class conflict, and sexuality, little work has explored the role of illustration in the formation of these discourses, with focus remaining on textual accounts.[1] It is the illustrations of the popular press which will therefore form the focus of this chapter where it will be argued that attitudes towards the class, gender, and behaviour of both the reading audience and the Rippers' victims shaped their portrayals.

Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor's edited volume *The lure of illustration in the nineteenth century* (2009) was ground-breaking in elevating historical understanding of the use of illustration in the Victorian popular press. Contributions such as those by Malcolm Chase and Lorna Huett identify not only the significance of press publications in the formation of class-based identities, but also the importance of intended audience, based on content and presentation, in regards to audience behaviour. These issues are pertinent to the discussions of the various treatments of the Ripper murders in this chapter. This chapter repositions the focus which traditionally has been placed on the Ripper to rest on the victims, suggesting that their portrayal reveals the extent to which the press capitalised on the murders to reinforce and promote hegemonic attitudes towards class and gender. The lack of attention which the illustrations have received in historical research requires art historical investigation and this discussion will therefore engage with feminist concerns within the field so as to analyse the significance which wider subtexts in art had upon the depiction of the victims. Feminist art historical approaches which engage with issues of voyeurism in the context of nineteenth-century class divisions and gender ideologies will thus shape these discussions, exposing the relationships between the marketability of the popular press and the commercial position of the prostitute. Lisa Sigel's exploration of the eroticism of pornography and Laura Mulvey and Griselda Pollock's discussions of the voyeuristic gaze will be applied to the visual portrayal of the Ripper murders, illustrating how these wider themes and readings in visual culture are similarly pertinent in the discussion of the nineteenth-century illustrated press. These

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[1] Steve Jones and Linda Straatman have focused on the sensationalised illustrations of *The Illustrated Police News* but provide little analysis to help to uncover the hidden meanings behind these.

concerns recently arose in reaction to the opening of the Ripper Museum in August 2015 where the content, presentation and advertising caused an outcry from members of the public and academics alike for its glorification of the victimisation of women. Contravening its original intention to tell the history of the East End through the eyes of the women who lived there, the visitor attraction undoubtedly conforms to 'the usual macabre examination of the murders' which the rather more historically-grounded *Jack the Ripper* exhibition at the Museum of London Docklands in 2008 had aimed to bring to an end.[2]

By the late 1880s, the newspaper market was saturated with dailies, weeklies and illustrated publications of varying prices which were constantly competing for sales. As Mason Jackson, an engraver, journalist, and art editor wrote just three years before the Whitechapel murders began, 'the calamities of nations and the misfortunes of individuals are sources of profit and prosperity to the newspaper'.[3] Thus, the journalists, editors, and illustrators who reported the Ripper murders were all in pursuit of the most alluring and enticing stories which would ultimately guarantee the highest sales.[4] In the absence of publishable police photographs, the illustrations of the murders in the press provided the public with the only mass-produced, visual access to the murders.[5] This chapter will, therefore, assess how the intended audiences of different press publications, such as *The Illustrated Police News*, *The Illustrated London News*, *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*, affected the extent to which the gore and sexual nature of the murders was presented, questioning how concerns over obscenity were addressed. The balance between sensation and sensitivity will also be discussed, questioning how newspapers negotiated this line. This chapter will argue that the very fact that Jack the Ripper's victims were working prostitutes influenced how they were represented in the pages of illustrated newspapers, and furthermore, that these images encouraged spectators to view their

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[2] *Jack the Ripper Museum* [permanent exhibition]. The Jack the Ripper Museum, London. Permanent exhibition; *Museum of London annual review 2008-2009* (London: Museum of London, 2009) <https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/application/files/1214/5563/6672/annual-report-2008-09.pdf> [accessed 15 February 2017].

[3] Mason Jackson, *The pictorial press: its origin and progress* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1885), p. 4; Jennifer Tucker, '"Famished for news pictures": Mason Jackson, *The Illustrated London News* and the pictorial spirit', in Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz (eds), *Getting the picture: the visual culture of the news* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 213-220, p. 213. Jackson was the second art editor of the *Illustrated London News* between 1860 and 1890.

[4] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, p. 216.

[5] Ibid., p. 214

mutilated bodies as spaces of social meaning rather than the real human victims of brutal and senseless attacks.

Greta Wendelin's doctoral thesis documents the changing ways in which the nineteenth-century press approached the topic of prostitution in society.[6] Whilst valuable to the comprehension of the approach of newspapers and magazines towards prostitution in the years preceding the murders, Wendelin's research does not reach beyond the year 1886, concluding with William Stead's pivotal works of that year, 'Government by Journalism' and 'The future of journalism'.[7] The reportage of the Jack the Ripper murders in the pages of the press is, therefore, markedly absent from her research despite the prominence of the murders in the press coverage of the period. In contrast, Judith Walkowitz has published extensively on the representation and reception of the Ripper murders, above all in *City of Dreadful Delight* (1992) and articles such as 'Jack the Ripper and the myth of male violence' (1982). Similarly, Perry Curtis has charted the reaction and coverage of the murders in the press in his invaluable book *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (2001). In addition, Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis' edited book *Jack the Ripper: media, culture, history* (2007) provides perhaps the most analytic exploration of the treatment of the murders within Victorian culture and assesses the heritage and legacy which the murders have afforded the British tourist industry. However, whilst valuable to the research of this chapter, these studies do not collectively provide a detailed exploration of the use and presentation of illustration, specifically, by the press in their coverage of the Jack the Ripper murders. Instead, emphasis has been placed on the identity of the Ripper himself, the possible motives for his crimes, and the hundreds of letters which were sent to the police claiming to be from the real killer, rather than the way in which the victims were portrayed in the illustrations produced by the press.

Whilst it is currently widely accepted that Jack the Ripper killed five women during the summer and autumn of 1888, commentators at the time speculated that up to fourteen women had been murdered by the same perpetrator over the course of two years, grouping together several attacks on prostitutes which had taken place in the East End.[8] *Lloyd's Weekly*

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[6] Greta Kristian Wendelin, 'The genealogy of the prostitute'.
[7] See Chapter Three for more detail concerning the significance of these works.
[8] Melville Macnaghten, quoted in Darren Oldridge, 'Casting the spell of terror: the press and the early Whitechapel murders', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, pp. 46-55, p. 56.

Newspaper considered the earliest victims to have been Emma Elizabeth Smith, who died after wounds suffered from a gang rape on 3 April 1888, and Martha Tabram, a mature prostitute who was stabbed thirty-nine times on 7 August.[9] Mary Ann Nichols was murdered on the night of 31 August 1888: found with her throat cut and her abdomen slashed in Buck's Row, she is now considered to have been the first victim. Annie Chapman was found on 8 September with similar injuries, having had her intestines removed and thrown over her right shoulder. The third and fourth victims were murdered on 30 September in what is now known as the 'Double Event'. Elizabeth Stride's only wound was a cut throat, most probably because her killer had been disturbed in the act, whereas Catherine Eddowes' body had suffered severe mutilation. Unlike all the other victims, who were in their forties and were found in the street, the fifth and final acknowledged victim of the Ripper, Mary Jane Kelly, was murdered and discovered in the bedroom of a lodging house in Miller's Court.[10] It is not the intention of this chapter to attempt to determine which of these women were also victims of Jack the Ripper. Either way, their representation in the press is significant because, as Darren Oldridge has observed, during the nineteenth century there was 'pressure on newspapers to create meaningful stories from unrelated events'.[11] This meant that during the years 1888 and 1889, the press perceived Smith, Tabram, and other unknown women to have been the victims of an ongoing saga of sexual murder which not only encompassed the canonical Ripper victims described above but informed wider concerns and prejudices towards the East End as a whole.

Scenes of crime and prostitution were commonplace in illustrations produced by the periodical press in the years leading up to the Ripper murders. *The Days' Doings*, a short-lived weekly illustrated paper which, costing 3d, aimed to present its readers with stories of 'novelty, fun, and frolic', periodically approached the topic. Illustrations such as *Awkward Encounter with a Prostitute* (24 June 1871) and *Wronger and Wronged* (17 December 1870) commented upon the double standard which existed between men and women. In both images, a gentleman, complete with top hat, cane, and pocket watch, recognises a prostitute with whom he has clearly had interactions. The women have impossibly dainty feet and are accompanied by small terriers which can be seen to reflect their playful nature. Both illustrations present a humorous scene: in *Awkward Encounter*, the man's wife scowls at her

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[9] 'The east end murders', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 October 1888, p. 7.
[10] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, pp. 19-23.
[11] Darren Oldridge, 'Casting the spell of terror: the press and the early Whitechapel murders', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, p. 50.

husband as she recognises the pair's acknowledgment, whilst the gentleman in *Wronger and Wronged* is spurned by the woman whose fall he has elicited.[12] Criticising the 'Old Order of Things', *The Days' Doings* promised to break the 'slow, monotonous jog-trot' of traditional journalism and instead provide a paper to entertain:

> People want, after their work is done, or during their labours, something different from the usual routine, to amuse, interest and stir them … there shall not be a line in the paper, either of matter or illustration, which does not excite the interest, and lead to the amusement, of all concerned in knowing.[13]

Thus, their portrayal of the prostitute through the illustrations discussed clearly fitted into this aim: the awkward moments between the prostitute and her seemingly respectable client are pieces of satirical social criticism which expose and mock the transparently artificial morality of the middle and upper classes.

In contrast, *The Graphic* presented a much more serious portrayal of the prostitute within its pages. Promoting itself as a considered publication which combined art with observation, its motto read, 'I am what is/what shall be/what hath been'. The Saturday 16 July 1887 issue cost nine pence and thus limited its audience to the wealthy.[14] Emphasising the innate criminality of the prostitute, *The Graphic* printed a series of illustrations in this issue and others which presented scenes from the London police courts. Many of the prisoners reprimanded were 'female "loiterers"' who had been brought in 'with their asseverations of innocence' which were clearly doubted by the police. These women were not arrested for soliciting, prostitution itself not being a crime, but for 'loitering' and lack of compliance, as the article explained:

> The fair sex is more than well-represented at Great Marlborough Street, and overcrowds the waiting-rooms. Certain portions of the fair sex 'loiter' a great deal in the West End streets, will not go away when told to do so, wax abusive and riotous when shoved and finally get the 'run in'. The fair sex is very penitent next morning, as

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[12] 'Awkward encounter with a prostitute, London', *The Days' Doings*, 24 June 1871, p. 1; 'Wronger and wronged', *The Days' Doings*, 17 December 1870, p. 1. Both articles are available to see at the *British Newspaper* Archive and the *British Library Board* © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2016 <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1871-06-24?NewspaperTitle=The%2BDays%2527%2BDoings&IssueId=BL%2F0001509%2F18710624%2F&County=London%2C%20England> and <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1870-12-17?NewspaperTitle=The%2BDays%2527%2BDoings&IssueId=BL%2F0001509%2F18701217%2F&County=London%2C%20England>.

[13] '*The Days' Doings*', in *The Waterloo Directory.*

[14] '*The Graphic*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/Series2/showarticle.asp?id=92376&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=graphic> [accessed 27 March 2014].

a rule; is profuse of explanation to the worthy magistrate, prolific of excuses for its last night's unfortunate condition, is very sorry even, at times, for its sad bad life, which makes loitering a stern necessity, according to its own awful reasoning.[15]

This 'sad bad life' was conveyed in the clothing and countenance of the women depicted in the illustrations. They stand lined up outside the entrance to the women's cell, with elaborate hats and bustle dresses (fig. 32). One even appears to be completely unfazed by the experience as she jokes with the jailer, suggesting that this is perhaps a regular occurrence for her.[16] In another illustration, a female prisoner anxiously peers out of the cell door in which she is being held for the night (fig. 33). The close capture of her face, the tight curls of her hair, and the highlight which falls upon her earring all help to show her as an individual. These details suggest that despite the fact that the accompanying text continually refers to the 'fair sex' as an indistinguishable mass, employing dehumanising lexis to do so, here the artist has created a portrait of an actual prostitute rather than a regurgitated stereotype.[17] It was against this combination of comical, criminal, sympathetic and, at times, even salacious portrayals that the Ripper murders were set. Thus, when the murders first began, the different newspapers had to decide which line of attack to take, whether to condemn the 'miserable wretches' who dwelt and were 'bred' in 'infamous dens' where 'no decent person could venture to approach', to present the murders as a form of entertainment, or to express compassion towards the Ripper's victims.[18]

The Illustrated Police News was one of the publications which engaged most explicitly with the Ripper murders through its illustrations, devoting numerous front page spreads to gruesome portrayals of the victims both before, during, and after their deaths.[19] Established in 1863, The Illustrated Police News aimed to detail unusual or shocking crimes and court trials from all over the country, primarily through the use of illustration. The first issue demonstrated the importance which the publication placed on visual portrayal, pronouncing that 'our illustrations will assist in fixing on the memory the remarkable occurrences of the times'.[20] Costing just one penny and published weekly, The Illustrated Police News was

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[15] F. W. Robinson, 'Sketches at the London police courts', *The Graphic*, 16 July 1887, pp. 1-4.

[16] 'Sketches at the London police courts', *The Graphic*, 27 August 1887, pp. 1-4.

[17] F. W. Robinson, 'Sketches at the London police courts'.

[18] 'Sketches in connection with the Whitechapel and Aldgate murders', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 13 October 1888, p. 236.

[19] Steve Jones, *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 85.

[20] *Illustrated Police News,* quoted Linda Straatman, *Cruel deeds and dreadful calamities: The Illustrated Police News 1864-1938* (London: The British Library, 2011), p. 8. *The Illustrated Police News* certainly

intended to be a working man's paper, designed to 'satisfy any man who has but a few hours a week to spare from his toil for intellectual … recreation'. *The Illustrated Police News* promised to give 'prominence to subjects of more than ordinary interest, preference being ever given to that which most concerns the toiling masses'.[21] The newspaper's aim, therefore, was clearly to deliver entertainment to the working classes, providing them with an outlet from which to escape the drudgery of their everyday lives and instead relax and find enjoyment in the dramatic tales told. This was evidently a winning combination as the paper had an average circulation of 300,000 copies by 1889.[22]

Between 18 August and 17 November 1888, almost every front cover of *The Illustrated Police News* carried depictions relating to the Whitechapel murders. Rather than just portraying one scene to describe the news story, however, the illustrations were commonly organised so as to present a sequence of events, retelling the intricacies of the incident and its aftermath. These storyboard-like illustrations acted to divide the narrative into a chronological sequence which enabled the viewer to follow the events in a straightforward and accessible manner. As a result, Victorian viewers were immediately able to grasp the main points of the story without having to pore over the lengthy articles which were often found in other publications, such as *Reynolds's Newspaper* and *Lloyd's Weekly*, which were aimed at the middle classes.

Illustrations in *The Illustrated Police News* and *The Penny Illustrated Paper* focused on the key players in the crimes so as to make the murder sequence as comprehensible as possible for the reader without having to rely on them reading the inside articles. The front page of *The Penny Illustrated Paper's* 13 October 1888 issue depicted and labelled as many as twelve individuals who had played a role in the inquests of Catherine Eddowes and Elizabeth Stride, including legal counsel, family members, witnesses and pathologists. Portraits of the

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achieved this aim as the illustrations which it produced whilst reporting the Ripper murders are those which are now most recognisable.

[21] '*The Illustrated Police News*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/Series2/showarticle.asp?id=90071&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=illustrated~police~news> [accessed 27 March 2014].

[22] Linda Straatman, *Cruel deeds and dreadful calamities*, p 18.

victims themselves were also a common feature of both newspapers and often envisioned the lives led by the Ripper's victims before their deaths.

The 13 October issue of *The Illustrated Police News*, for example, carried a double portrait of Catherine Eddowes which depicted her both before and after her death (fig. 34).[23] The oval borders within which the portraits are placed are interestingly also found on the front page of *The Penny Illustrated Paper* issue of the same day, suggesting that this was a common feature of newspaper illustrations. Whilst used to separate the images from the surrounding scenes, this framing aspect also significantly recalls traditional portraiture and especially miniatures, where oval borders were commonly used. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, miniatures were often commissioned as intimate gifts which were given between family members or lovers as keepsakes. Highly decorated with precious metals and jewels, they conveyed a likeness to prospective suitors over distances, or otherwise held great sentimental value, often being worn on the garments of the recipient.[24] Sitters would ordinarily be depicted with a bust portrait and would be accompanied by items which were in some way significant to them or revealed an aspect of their character. The portrayal of Eddowes on the front pages of the press echoes this convention, yet clearly negates the personalised aspect which defined the miniature. Wearing a modest bonnet which ties in as a bow at her neck, she appears to be altogether respectable in the first of the two portraits. However, this 'before' rendering was a completely contrived and fictional view. Having been unknown to the media before her murder, the illustration was invented as a projection of what audiences expected Eddowes looked like in life, shaping her portrait for mass consumption. Furthermore, whilst miniatures were traditionally luxury items, Marcia Pointon has argued that once removed from the intimate setting and sold on the open market, the 'selling [of] the portrait takes the place of the selling of ... [the] body'.[25] Thus, the portrayal of Eddowes in this manner on the front pages of *The Illustrated Police News* and *The Penny Illustrated Paper* can be argued to have similarly sold Eddowes as a commodity item, echoing the commercial availability of her body in life.

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[23] 'The Whitechapel mystery', *The Illustrated Police News*, 13 October 1888, p. 1.
[24] Marcia Pointon, '"Surrounded with brilliants": miniature portraits in eighteenth-century England', *The Art Bulletin*, 83, no. 1 (2001), pp. 48-71.
[25] Ibid.,p. 54.

The illustrations of the dissected victims' bodies were also set against the backdrop of late-Victorian anti-vivisection debates.[26] Colin Milburn has argued in his discussion of the significance of the vivisected body in late nineteenth-century culture that 'the material facts of the vivisected body are … signifiers of both physiology and character, namely, the character of the scientist and his ideals'.[27] Therefore, whilst the Ripper's victims were silenced by not just their physical murder but their anatomical portrayal, the murder's own legend increased. Milburn contends that in the vivisected body, sterilised and removed from the scene of the crime, 'blood is no longer visible as blood [and] cries are no longer audible as cries'.[28] This can be applied to the press illustrations of the Ripper's victims where the cut body becomes akin to the dissected specimen, laid bare for scientific scrutiny with little room available for emotional involvement. The 'after' portrait of Eddowes, for example, clearly presented the injuries which she sustained during her murder. Lacking the inclusion of any personal items which would traditionally provide information as to the character of a sitter, the only 'attributes' of the Ripper's victim which can be read by the viewer are her injuries. The cut throat which is almost cartoon-like in its exaggeration, appearing jagged and hollow, the slashed eyelid and cheek, and the severed nose are the only features which give her definition as an individual, forever immortalising Eddowes as a Ripper victim. The cuts which have been inflicted onto Eddowes' body reveal little about her as an individual, but through their replication in the pages of the press conversely acted to bolster readers' understanding of the Ripper: his brutality, his anatomical knowledge, and his possible motives.[29] Therefore, rather than creating sympathy for the victims, the depiction of their bloodless wounds on the front pages of the popular press acted to distance the viewer from the victims, turning them into objects of scrutiny rather than once living people.

Moreover, it may be argued that the boundaries of privacy and sensitivity which may have ordinarily afforded victims some sense of dignity in death were denied to Eddowes and the Ripper's other victims due to their profession as prostitutes. This is a view which is supported by Darren Oldridge, who has argued that – due to the profession of the Ripper's

[26] Susan Hamilton, 'Making history with Frances Power Cobbe: Victorian feminism, domestic violence, and the language of imperialism', *Victorian Studies*, 43, no. 3 (2001), pp. 437-460, p. 441.
[27] Colin Milburn, 'Science from hell: Jack the Ripper and Victorian vivisection', in Peter Weingart and Bernd Huppauf (eds), *Science images and popular images of the sciences* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 125-158, p. 142.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Susan Hamilton, 'Making history', p. 441.

victims – journalists were able to 'cover the crimes without depending on their readers' sympathy for the murdered women'. [30] This suggests that due to their very lifestyles, common consensus was that the Ripper victims deserved little pity or compassion and this attitude can be further read in the views of some of those who lived at the time of the murders. Recalling the furore which the crimes created in his memoirs, D. G. Halsted described Polly Nichols as 'a slut of a woman who had been heard of in the Lambeth workhouse, and had stolen £3 from her employer when working as a servant', clearly demonising her and denigrating her character.[31] Through this description, Halstead made little distinction between Nichols' promiscuity and criminality, undoubtedly viewing these characteristics as equally abhorrent. His attack, however, also extends to her state of destitution, the victim having been 'heard of in the Lambeth workhouse'. The inclusion of this aspect of her character alongside those of criminality and lustful indulgence acts to vilify her further, presenting her poverty as though it, too, is an undesirable stain on her reputation. Making little distinction between the seemingly wilful nature of her criminal behaviour and the state of destitution which had led to her admission into the workhouse, Halstead's assault mirrors widespread Victorian attitudes which often assimilated those deemed the undeserving poor with the so-called deserving poor. This suggests that the illustrations produced in the press did far more than simply record what had happened, but reflected contemporary attitudes towards the victims.

Such condemnatory attitudes were certainly evident in the highly graphic portrayals of the brutal murders of Jack the Ripper's victims where the press helped to promote the idea that immoral actions in life would be punished through suffering and, ultimately, death. *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, for example, reported that 'a sadly-chequered career was that of poor Mary Jeannette Kelly; and its tragic termination gives forcible significance to the Scriptural adage, "The wages of sin are Death"', clearly holding her own decisions in life responsible for her brutal murder rather than the actions of the serial killer.[32] Indeed, D. G. Halsted suggested that despite his brutal methods, it was possible that the assailant was on a moral crusade to rid the East End of all that was corrupt and immoral, remarking that 'it must have been [with] an almost moral urge to purify the East End of these plague-bearing Harpies that

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[30] Darren Oldridge, 'Casting the spell of terror: the press and the early Whitechapel murders', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, p. 53.

[31] D. G. Halsted, *Doctor in the nineties* (London: Christopher Johnson, 1959), p. 47.

[32] 'The murder of Mary Kelly in Whitechapel', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 17 November 1888, p. 310.

he [the Ripper] set himself this task'. [33] The description of the Ripper's victims as 'plague-bearing Harpies' further indicates the prejudice with which the women, as prostitutes, were often viewed, having the potential, it was thought, to infect (through the spreading of sexually transmitted infections), and morally corrupt the populace. Moreover, this also implies that the victims, through their conscious choice to perform seemingly ungodly and animalistic acts, were partially responsible for their own deaths.[34] *The Graphic* partly challenged this judgemental perspective, however, reporting that 'the woman Kelly did not originally belong to the "gutter" class. She was a woman of respectable parentage and superior breeding, who had gradually sunk into the state of degradation in which she was existing when she met her terrible death'.[35] This description conveys the complexity of the portrayals of the victims of the Ripper in the press coverage. On the one hand, this 'state of degradation' implies a moral debasement, whilst the description of the 'terrible' nature of her death also conveys a tone of sympathy which was markedly absent from Halsted's rebuke.

Reflecting a more sympathetic attitude, *The Pall Mall Gazette* seemed to suggest that murder at the hands of the Ripper was preferable to the life of the prostitute, therefore implying that her lifestyle was not necessarily one lived by choice. Quoting 'one poor creature' who had gathered by Miller's Court to see the site at which Kelly was murdered, the report read:

> [She] left her companions and came up to me, seeing that I was writing, and said: "Writing about the murder, sir? I wish it had been me!" … I asked her where she lived, and, bursting into tears, she replied: "Anywhere. Last night I slept under some stairs. I have eaten nothing for some time" … The woman was poorly clad, and was strolling about, as a large number of her class do in the East-End, without hat or bonnet.[36]

The juxtaposition of condemnation and compassion was similarly visible in the coverage provided by *The Illustrated Police News*. Reporting the funeral of Mary Jane Kelly on 24 November, the article stated that:

> There was an enormous preponderance of women in the crowd … and their tattered dresses indicated too surely that they belonged to the very class to which the

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[33] D. G. Halsted, *Doctor in the nineties*, p. 56.
[34] Ibid.
[35] 'Topics of the week', *The Graphic*, 17 November 1888, pp. 510.
[36] 'Yesterday's murder, committed in broad daylight', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 November 1888, p. 8.

> murdered woman belonged … As the coffin appeared, borne on the shoulders of four men … women with faces streaming with tears cried out "God forgive her!".[37]

From this extract it is unclear whether the women calling for mercy were the same as those whom the journalist so clearly identified as prostitutes. None the less, the cry 'God forgive her!' suggests that Mary Jane Kelly met her fate precisely because of her own sexual promiscuity. It is a phrase more suited to one who has committed the crime than a murder victim. Clearly, then, for contemporary readers Mary Jane Kelly was partially to blame for the violence which she suffered. By using her immoral lifestyle as justification for her death, it may be argued that it was only in death that she and other Ripper victims could be fully comprehended by the Victorian public. Having received punishment for their crimes, the fate of the Ripper victims acted to verify widespread assumptions that sin in life would almost certainly lead to pain, castigation, and death.[38]

Emphasising this view, the illustrations which were produced by *The Illustrated Police News* to accompany the articles reporting the Ripper murders were often highly graphic in nature and emphasised the brutality and horror of the victims' fates. Choosing sensation over sympathy, the entire front cover of the 13 October issue of *The Illustrated Police News* (fig. 34) included a mass of murdered corpses.[39] At the centre of the composition is a portrait of the 'Mitre Square Victim', Catherine Eddowes, lying on a mortuary slab with a severed nose and slashed cheeks and beside this, a representation of the corpse of Mary Ann Nichols, the so-called 'Bucks Row' victim. Her hands are curled up as if frozen at the time of death and her back arched in pain, evoking the physical struggle which her attack inspired. It is by no means a beautified depiction of her death, nor particularly empathetic. Continuing in this manner and included in the collection is a sketch of the bloodied corpse of Martha Tabram, whose body had been found two months before, being considered by many journalists to have been the first casualty. In an illustration in which she is labelled as having been 'pierced with 39 stab wounds', the reader was clearly able to see the penetrations made to her torso – marks which are echoed in a drawing of Tabram's corset which included the holes made by the knife attack. Intimate details such as these were repeated time and time again, as in the August 18 issue of *The Illustrated Police News*, where the bloodied body of Tabram, and again her punctured corset, are shown.[40] 'The London murder scare', the title given to a series of

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[37] 'Funeral of Mary Jane Kelly', *Illustrated Police News*, 24 November 1888, p. 2.
[38] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, p. 115.
[39] 'The Whitechapel mystery', *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1.
[40] 'Horrible and mysterious murder at George's Yard', *The Illustrated Police News*, 18 August 1888, p. 1.

illustrations published on the front page of *The Illustrated Police News* on 10 November (fig. 35), again repeated this juxtaposition of anachronistic events.[41] Central to the arrangement is an illustration which depicts the murder of Catherine Eddowes, where the Ripper is boldly shown slicing her neck with a long blade. Her eyes bulge in pain and panic as she tries to grapple with her murderer, clutching at his arm. Surrounding the central image are several smaller scenes, five of which portray either the murder or the attempted murder of five other women with equal intensity. The sheer violence of these scenes is juxtaposed with a portrayal of 'Scotland Yard Asleep'. Clearly a criticism of the Police Force's failure to find the murderer, the placement of the sleeping, rotund police officers alongside the brutality of Eddowes' murder is almost comical.

Perry Curtis argues that the seemingly precise and detailed reports of the victims' injuries in the textual accounts of the press reveal the attempts of journalists to make up for the lack of information that they had regarding the killer and his motives.[42] Whilst this is no doubt an accurate conclusion, it may also be suggested that the inclusion of intimate details in the illustrations produced, such as the victim's undergarments and the placement of her injuries, also shows that the press were not afraid to intrude upon the victim's privacy and include elements which may have been intended to arouse the viewer. Thus, in death as in life, the Ripper's victims remained the subject of the voyeuristic gaze. Supporting this view, Lorna Huett argues that it was the 'shocking and gruesome' nature of the reports which revealed the assumption on the part of the illustrated press of 'not only a bloodthirsty reader but also a masculine one', implying the salacious potential of the press coverage.[43] Through their willingness to report and illustrate the horrific injuries sustained, the intrusive and detailed accounts of the victims' bodily wounds clearly precluded any sense of privacy. The unflinching illustrations of the wounds and intimate descriptions of the horror that their bodies had suffered therefore turned their last moments into a consumer product, available for all to purchase and digest. The term 'public women', historically used to describe prostitutes, therefore took on another meaning in these reports: the murder of public women on the public streets automatically made the murders public property. [44]

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[41] 'The London murder scare', *The Illustrated Police News*, 10 November 1888, p. 1.
[42] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, pp. 210-212.
[43] Lorna Huett, 'Among the unknown public: *Household Words, All the Year Round* and the mass-market weekly periodical in the mid-nineteenth century', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration*, pp. 128-148, p. 135.
[44] See William Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 100, for an example of how this term was used.

Due to their location and the belief that no gentleman of respectable English character could commit such atrocities, the Ripper murders were primarily considered to be a specifically Whitechapel affair. This illusion, however, was shattered with the discovery of a dismembered torso on 2 October 1888. Limbless and headless, the body was found wrapped in packaging in the recesses of the police headquarters on the Thames Embankment at Cannon Row, Westminster. As Perry Curtis has shown, despite the differences in bodily injuries (the corpse having been dismembered), the location of the discovery (Central London rather than the East End), and the fact that the torso had been wrapped rather than left on display, the press was eager to associate this discovery with the Ripper murders.[45] Indeed, on the front covers of both the 13 October (fig. 34) and 20 October (fig. 36) editions of *The Illustrated Police News*, illustrations of the 'Whitehall Mystery' were juxtaposed with those of the East End murders, clearly encouraging the reader to view both incidents as continuations of a wider story.

However, in contrast to the gnarled and blood-stained corpses of Whitechapel alongside which the discovery of the 'Mutilated Trunk' was printed, the nude body discovered in Westminster appears surprisingly beautiful in both illustrations. Contemporary news articles reported that the woman had probably been killed up to 'six weeks to two months' before her discovery and that the torso was 'very much decomposed' and, rather unsurprisingly, 'presented a horrible spectacle'.[46] However, in both illustrations from 13 October and 20 October, the body is devoid of any bruising or evidence of decomposition.[47] Instead, the breasts are rounded, the body is shapely, and the skin is smooth and supple. It is an idealised female form which, rather like the subject of Watts' *Found Drowned* (1848-50) (fig. 7), paradoxically encourages the viewer to look upon the corpse with both horror and desire. Further suggestive of this, the placement of the three figures who surround the body in the 13 October illustration draws the viewer's eye to the naked body. They have clearly just discovered the dismembered corpse as they hold their arms up in shock. The kneeling figure acts to expose the body to the viewer as he draws back the wrappings which covered the torso

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[45] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, pp. 179-185.

[46] 'The east end murders', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, p. 5; 'Another ghastly discovery in London: a mutilated body at Westminster', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 October 1888, p. 7.

[47] 'The Whitechapel mystery', *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1; 'Incidents relating to the east-end murders', *The Illustrated Police News*, 20 October 1888, p. 1.

to reveal his discovery. Through this action, the gaze of the viewers is drawn to the object which they are looking at, consequently causing them to echo the actions of the three males in the image and forcing them to gaze upon the naked body. It is this explicit portrayal of the mutilated yet sexualised body which Perry Curtis defines as 'gorenography', where the 'clinical or anatomical details published offered a fine feast for the eyes of more prurient readers'.[48]

Somewhat paradoxically, however, and despite this overt sexualisation through illustration, Perry Curtis has interestingly observed that when it came to describing the wounds which were inflicted upon the sexual organs in the articles published by the periodical press, the descriptive details tended to be comparatively vague. He maintains that concerns regarding the inclusion of improper subjects were assuaged by remaining largely silent on such issues as missing organs, the mutilation of the reproductive organs, and the possibility of sexual intercourse before murder. [49] Indeed, D. G. Halsted recalled that the Ripper had 'removed certain parts of the body not normally mentioned in polite society' and had inflicted wounds and 'indescribable mutilations' which 'even the press were too polite' to mention.[50] Supporting this view, an article which was published on 3 September in *The Times* reported in great detail the length and depth of the '4 inch' 'incision [which] … ran from a point immediately below the ear [of the victim and had] … completely severed all the tissues down to the vertebrae', whilst the mutilations to her reproductive organs were simply described as being 'several incisions running across the abdomen [and] … three or four similar cuts running downwards'.[51] Curtis argues that this difference in detail suggests attempts on the part of the press to censor information which may have otherwise been considered unsuitable.[52] Certainly, it is true that the murdered women were rarely described as prostitutes by the press; instead journalists used terms such as 'the poor unfortunate women', 'poor creature[s]', 'forlorn creature[s]' and 'belonging to the "unfortunate" class' to denote their social status without having to make direct reference to their sexual exploits.[53]

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[48] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, p. 14.

[49] Ibid., p. 219.

[50] D. G. Halsted, *Doctor in the nineties*, p. 48 and p. 52; Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Jack the Ripper and the myth of male violence', p. 551.

[51] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, p. 219 for these observations and quotations.

[52] Ibid., p. 216.

[53] 'Yesterday's murder, committed in broad daylight', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 8; *The Times*, 1 October 1888, p. 6.

If the illustrations produced to accompany these reports are assessed with this in mind, a similar pattern can be observed. The 17 November issue of *The Illustrated Police News* (fig. 37) carried a series of sketches describing the course of events which surrounded the murder of Mary Jane Kelly, the Ripper's final victim and the only woman of this group to have been killed inside. Informing their work, newspaper illustrators had access to police crime scene photographs and sometimes even the bodies of the victims themselves, especially after they had been moved to the morgue. Yet, whilst the police photographs of this body are extremely graphic, the illustration does not convey the brutality of the murder in 'The awful scene witnessed by doctors', as the true extent of the wounds is blocked from view by the male figure in the foreground. Therefore, the only indication from this illustration of the ferocity of her injures is the caption which labels the image. Similarly, 'Photographing the Body' suggests an attempt to downplay the extent of Kelly's injuries. Evidence of the cut throat, the blood-stained sheets and the severed breasts are all clear. There is even the implication of blood further towards the abdomen as a dark patch is evident just under the woman's hand. However, the full extent of the victim's wounds is again ambiguous as the image only shows the body down to the waist, even though in reality the lower half of her body was severely disfigured. In the 8 September issue of *The Illustrated Police News*, the abdominal and genital section of the victim's body again remains hidden from the viewer as, this time, the light from the policeman's torch only illuminates the upper part of her torso, leaving the rest of her body shrouded in darkness. However, the press were certainly not unwilling to publish gruesome injuries in detail, as has been shown. Indeed, *The Illustrated Police News*' coverage of the Pranzini murders just a year before portrayed the nearly decapitated corpses of three women on the front pages with remarkable realism, reinforcing this observation.[54] Like the Ripper's victims, the women depicted were considered to be of questionable character, being both French (see Chapter Two for a discussion of perceived French moral laxity) and a courtesan, her maid, and the maid's daughter.

Therefore, it may be argued that whilst mutilations such as the slashed throat and severed nose were illustrated in great detail, the abdominal wounds inflicted, which today define the murders in popular culture, were often obscured. Consequently, Curtis'

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[54] 'Horrible triple murder in Paris – portraits of three women (from photos)', *The Illustrated Police News*, 23 April 1887, p. 1.

observation that the press exerted a level of self-censorship regarding the sexual elements of the murders is supported in the illustrations produced by *The Illustrated Police News*. This suggests that whilst it was deemed reasonable to depict the injuries sustained to the parts of the body normally on show, such as the face and neck, those which implied the sexual occupations of the victims were considered to be unacceptable. It is fair to assert, therefore, that the readers, writers, and editors of the illustrated press were far more comfortable printing scenes of brutal murder than those related to sexual misconduct – a view which Curtis supports through his conclusion that 'editors [simply] knew that "good" murders sold papers, and … that images of violence aroused much less guilt or shame than those of sex'.[55]

The occurrence of such brutal and highly publicised deaths on the streets of the capital naturally proved to be a popular subject for readers, and *The Pall Mall Gazette*, still under the editorship of William Stead, was clearly aware of the public penchant for the sensational:

> The craving for sensation, the longing to be thrilled, are the master passions of this nervous and excitable generation. And after all there is nothing so sensational as death, which is the climax and end of all sensation. Literature, painting, the theatre, our exhibitions, journalism, all bear witness to the fact that murder, suicide, or sudden death – that is to say, bloodshed in some form or another – is the master spell for enchaining human attention.[56]

The comparisons made between literature, visual culture, and journalism suggest the fluidity of these genres during the period where, as discussed in the previous chapter, fact and fiction often overlapped. As Seth Koven has shown:

> [The] destabilised expectations about the relationship of fact to fiction … [were] part of a much broader problem confronting readers in an age when many novelists, not just writers of evangelical tracts, drew on reports produced by social investigators whose authors, for their part, often deployed novelistic conventions in presenting their own 'facts'.[57]

Hence, it is unsurprising that the concerns regarding the impact of sensation fiction upon the reader were also applied to journalism. The reports of the Ripper murders in the popular press resembled sensation fiction in both content and form, echoing the themes of crime, sex and violence which defined the genre as well as the continual plot changes and developments which kept readers engaged.[58] Supporting this assertion, Alexandra Warwick comments that

[55] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, p. 216.
[56] 'The blood-thirst of the day', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 August 1888, p. 1.
[57] Seth Koven, *Slumming*, pp. 97-98.
[58] Patrick Brantlinger, 'What is "sensational" about the "sensation novel"?', p. 6.

the Ripper murders made an ideal subject for serial publication, stating that they formed an

ongoing narrative comprised of 'sequential events recognisably part of the same work, varying

enough to maintain interest, provoking the expectation of additional episodes, [and]

unfinished yet ultimately promising a conclusion'.[59] Part of the appeal of serialised sensation

fiction was the speculation concerning what was going to happen in the next instalment; as

The Morning Post wrote in a review of Wilkie Collins' *No name* (1862): 'readers … all want to

know what will be the development in the next number, but no more; they are content to

speculate on an interminable game of chess, which ceases to be interesting when the result

has been attained'.[60] The press coverage of the Ripper murders certainly fulfilled this role,

providing updates which introduced new 'characters', and thus helped to build a picture of the

murderer, his motives and his anticipated next moves. This also goes some way to explain

why the Ripper murders have held such fascination in public consciousness over the years.

The fact that the Ripper has never been identified has led to the production of continual

instalments long after the crimes ceased, in the form of new theories, suspects, and media

reincarnations in the shape of the 'Yorkshire Ripper' and the 'Suffolk Strangler'.[61]

The Illustrated Police News' organisation of images into 'a strip of drawings with

captions' reflects the press's use of serialisation to report the murders, as they presented the

unfolding narrative through sequential and pictorial means. [62] 'The East End Horrors',

published in *The Illustrated Police News* on 6 October, depicted the double murder of

Catherine Eddowes and Elizabeth Stride. Divided into sections, the composition reads

somewhat like a comic strip in which the narrative is played out across several scenes; it

portrays the discovery of the bodies and 'Police Constable Watkins signalling for assistance'

alongside imagined scenes of the victim 'going to her doom' and the labelling of 'the fatal

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[59] Alexandra Warwick, 'Blood and ink: narrating the Whitechapel murders', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis (eds), *Jack the Ripper*, pp. 71-87, p. 72.

[60] 'Mr. Wilkie Collins' New Novel', *The Morning Post*, 3 January 1863, p. 2

[61] Recent media coverage of Russell Edwards, *Naming Jack the Ripper* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 2014) illustrates the still-present wish for the crimes to be solved. In relation to the continuing mythology of the Ripper and the influence which the murders have had on more current media, see Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of dreadful delight*. The final chapter of Walkowitz's book focuses on reactions to the Yorkshire Ripper in the 1980s, which were viewed in the shadow of the Jack the Ripper murders. Supporting Walkowitz's conclusion that 'late-Victorian formations provided a polyvalent cultural legacy that continues to inform public debates and understandings into the late twentieth century', the murder of five sex workers by Steve Wright in the Ipswich area in 2006 garnered similar echoes of a new 'Ripper' in the popular media, which suggests that the mythology of the Ripper will continue well into the twenty-first century.

[62] Alexandra Warwick, 'Blood and ink', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis (eds), *Jack the Ripper*, p. 72.

spot' where one of the bodies was found.   The front cover of the 17 November issue (fig. 37) followed a similar schema and, in fact, attempted to provide a complete pictorial narrative of the murder of Mary Jane Kelly.   Surrounding a central portrait of the 'seventh victim picked for slaughter by the East End fiend' are scenes depicting the victim 'lured to the slaughter', 'the murderer escaping from the window', 'the awful discovery by McCarthy' and 'the awful scene witnessed by the doctors'. The arrangement even included illustrations of a 'suspicious man with a black bag' and the boarded-up windows at Miller's Court following the discovery and removal of the body.[63] The juxtaposition of image and text in the reports of illustrated newspapers allowed readers to assess the latest advances in the story quickly and recap any developments which they might have missed. Extending this analogy to film, it may be argued that the storyboard layout of these images recalls the use of different shots and close-ups in film making. In 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema', Laura Mulvey has explored the voyeuristic nature of the film audience, arguing that the 'narrative conventions [of the genre] give the spectator an illusion of looking in on a private world'. Mulvey argues that by 'controlling the dimension of time ([through] editing, narrative) and ... controlling the dimension of space (changes in distance) … a gaze, a world, and an object' are constructed, placing the male viewer as the possessor of an erotic desire which is projected on to the viewed subject.[64] Therefore, if this understanding is applied to the Ripper illustrations, the reader of the image not only becomes an interested participant in the unravelling story, but actually begins to experience some perverse erotic pleasure from the unfolding drama.

     In line with this view, concerns regarding the immoral influence which graphic depictions, such as those of the Ripper murders, could have upon readers of the press and the viewers of billboards which carried similar images, were expressed at the time of their publication. D. G. Halsted observed that fears abounded that the high level of media attention which the murders received, coupled with the publication of letters supposedly from the murderer himself, 'might well have … tempted [the murderer] into excess by seeing these horrible crimes of the imagination so realistically portrayed'.[65] Voicing similar misgivings, *The East End News* implored its readers to 'imagine the effect of these gigantic pictures of violence … on the morbid imagination of unbalanced minds', continuing that, 'these hideous picture-

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[63] 'The seventh horrible murder by the monster of the east end', *The Illustrated Police News*, 17 November 1888, p. 1.

[64] Laura Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure', p. 988.

[65] D. G. Halsted, *Doctor in the nineties*, p. 50.

posters are a blot on our civilization and a disgrace'.[66] On October 13 1888, *Punch* printed an image which commented upon the widespread profusion of such graphic newspaper reports. Entitled 'Horrible London, or the pandemonium of posters' (fig. 38), the illustration presented a horned demon gleefully pasting posters which carried images of the Whitechapel murders onto a street wall. The word 'murder' is clearly visible on a poster which protrudes out of the top of his sack whilst on the floor another palpably reads 'horror' – two of the most common terms used in titles of illustrations related to the murders. The image on the poster is reminiscent of those commonly printed in *The Illustrated Police News*, featuring the twisted hand of the victim, the mouth open as if caught in mid-scream, the apparent respectability of the murderer, and his depiction mid-flight from the crime scene. The demon's appearance echoes descriptions of the Ripper in the contemporary press which dramatically described him as 'some enlarged maniac with homicidal tendencies … a monster in human shape who has contracted a fiendish taste for blood and butchery'.[67]

This quotation, taken from *The Times*, reveals that no matter how highbrow a newspaper aimed to be, all publications engaged in the sensationalisation of the Ripper murders to some extent, which echoes Boyle's observation that 'the mid-Victorian newspaper was sensational, to say the least'.[68] The dehumanisation of the male predator in both text and image mirrors Stead's description of the 'half-man half-bull' who moved across London 'clad as respectability', emphasising the danger which the Ripper, as a monster in human guise, represented.[69] However, the demon who happily plasters images of the mutilated victims on the city walls does not just represent the monster responsible for the atrocities, but the press too, who gleefully promote images of murder and gore for the purposes of sales.   Aimed at the middle- and upper-class readers who were more accustomed to the subtle coverage offered by *The Illustrated London News*, the *Punch* image was clearly intended to satirise the more vulgar reports found in the papers of the working classes.[70] Yet, it also betrays more sincere concerns regarding the effect which the profusion of such graphic imagery might inflict

[66] *The East End News*, quoted in William J. Fishman, 'Crime and Punishment', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis (eds), *Jack the Ripper*, pp. 229-243, p. 236.

[67] *The Times*, 19 September 1888, p. 7.

[68] Thomas Boyle, *Black swine in the sewers of Hampstead: beneath the surface of Victorian sensationalism* (London: Viking Penguin, 1989), p. 3. The prologue to Boyle's book describes the author's surprise that even newspapers such as *The Times* presented sensational stories with direct 'matter-of-factness', p. 4.

[69] William T. Stead, 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon', 8 July 1885.

[70] Alvar Ellegård, *The readership of the periodical press in mid-Victorian Britain* (Göteborg: Göteborg Universitet, 1957), p. 38.

upon the 'uneducated' minds of the working classes, as the poem chanted by the demon revealed:

> These mural monstrosities, reeking of crime,
> Flaring horridly forth amidst squalor and grime,
> Must have an effect which will tell in good time
> Upon legions of dull-witted toilers.
> Taken in through the eyes such suggestions of sin
> A sympathy morbid and monstrous must win
> From the grovelling victims of gloom and bad gin,
> Who gapingly gaze on them daily;
> A fine picture-gallery this for the People!
> Oh, while this endures, spite of School Board and Steeple,
> My work must be going on gaily! [71]

The description of the 'squalor and grime' of the 'reeking' London streets reiterates the language of contagion with which *The Times* described the Ripper who has 'contracted' his desire to kill, and reflects fears regarding the dissemination of explicit and mass-reproduced material at the time. *Punch* implied that readers, easily susceptible to the messages propounded by the media and bombarded with visual renderings of the Ripper's crimes, could become immune to the realities of murder and, therefore, be encouraged to mimic the Ripper's acts. Such fears are reflected in Halttunen's observation that 'witnessing or experiencing pain and punishment [could make] … people less compassionate to the pain of others'.[72] Echoing the concerns of *Punch*, *The Pall Mall Gazette* published an article entitled 'Murder morning in Whitechapel' in 1889, in which the journalist stated that 'the housewives of Whitechapel were evidently not much affected by the news [of another murder]. Meat had risen a farthing which was a much more serious matter', demonstrating the apathy towards danger, crime, and violence which it was feared the profusion of such imagery could cultivate.[73]

The Ripper murders quickly became a subject of not just interest, but popular entertainment. Widely known rhymes were printed and recounted in popular culture and laboured the horror of the murders and the fear which they created:

> Come listen to a dreadful tale I'm telling,
> In Whitechapel six murders have been done;

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[71] 'Horrible London: or, the pandemonium of posters', *Punch*, 13 October 1888, p. 170.
[72] Karen Halttunen, 'Humanitarianism and the pornography of pain', p. 323.
[73] 'Murder morning in Whitechapel', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 September 1889, p. 1.

With horror many hearts they now are swelling,
Those fearful deeds that now to light have come.
Six months ago a woman was found lying
In deaths *[sic]* cold arms, how dreadful to relate,
What agony they suffered here when dying.
They were all nearly found in the same state.[74]

Such rhymes undoubtedly fuelled the 'terror of male violence' which Walkowitz argues haunted the East End, with lines such as 'now at night when you undress and about to go to rest/Just see that he aint underneath the bed' reflecting the monster-like persona which the Ripper was granted in the press. [75] Yet, some of the following verses of this broadside ballad also poked fun at the murderer and therefore possibly represent attempts to alleviate the menace which his presence symbolised. Inflicting his own violence on the Ripper, the author of the ballad envisioned the revenge that could be taken on the culprit:

I'd chop off all his toes, then his ears and then his nose
And I'd make him such a proper drop of broth
His hat and coat I'd stew and flavour it with gine *[sic]*,
Black beetles, mottled soap and boil the lot.
I've got a good sized funnel I'll stick it in his gunnel,
And make the humbug eat it boiling hot.

This ballad was printed alongside a list of the victims and acted as both a form of popular entertainment and a carrier of news.

The illustration which accompanied the text depicted a muscular man pulling the body of a young woman along the pavement by her neck (fig. 39).[76] The woman is apparently nude as the killer unceremoniously drags her across the cobbled stones. Her arms hang down and her legs resemble the segmented limbs of a doll. The lack of individualisation of the victim in comparison to the killer, whose rolled-up sleeves and determined expression imply his muscular power and brutality, suggests that all women are potential targets for him, echoing the warnings of the ballad. This illustration is an example of how images of the Ripper murders were not confined to the pages of the popular press, but branched out into other forms of popular media. Indeed, waxwork representations of the victims were exhibited just streets away from some of the murder sites, displaying the victims in their mutilated states,

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[74] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broadside Ballads, MS V30164, p. 72.
[75] Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Jack the Ripper and the myth of male violence', p. 546.
[76] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broadside Ballads, MS V30164, p. 72.

daubed with red paint to portray their injuries.[77] Crowds both flocked to the exhibit and abhorred its exploitation of the horrific nature of the crimes. Interestingly, just as the press coverage of the Ripper murders had been likened to sensation fiction, so too were the waxwork exhibits. Calling them 'remarkable' but 'repulsive', the *Daily Telegraph* commented that the forms 'unquestionably [embodied] a "penny dreadful" of the most blood-curdling description'.[78]

The links between the press coverage of the Ripper murders and popular serialised fiction were clearly made at the time of the murders and can be read in the *Punch* illustration discussed above where a poster on the wall behind the demon states 'read the penny dreadful'. In line with Mr Punch's typical satirical wit, this detail can be read as a comment on the willingness of the illustrated press to mimic the characteristics of serial fiction. Curtis argues that the use of illustration and supposition in the coverage of the murders meant that, for readers of the press, the crimes fell 'somewhere along the broad spectrum between fiction and lived reality'.[79] For *Punch*, therefore, the murders provided a spectacle which the masses could not help but consume, waiting eagerly for the next instalment from the press just as they did for the next copy of their favourite penny dreadful. Indeed, Lara Rutherford-Morrison has shown how, rather than just mimicking the characteristics of sensation fiction, tales about the murders themselves were disseminated even in the midst of the furore. *The curse upon Mitre Square* was a gothic penny dreadful which, published before the fifth victim of the Ripper had been murdered, reveals not just a startling lack of compassion for the victims but the immediacy with which Ripper fiction and contemporary journalism became entwined. [80] The Ripper was likened to Mr. Hyde, the deformed and villainous alter ego to Dr. Jekyll in Robert Louis Stevenson's seminal work which was written just two years before. Seeming to embody the same antithetical traits, the Ripper was thought to be both gentlemanly in appearance and possess butcherly violence, a surgical 'technician' and a 'lunatic'.[81] Moreover,

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[77] Mike Hawley, 'Whitechapel's wax chamber of horrors, 1888', *Ripperologist*, 130 (2013), pp. 12-19.

[78] William Beatty-Kingston, quoted in ibid., p. 15.

[79] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, p. 5.

[80] Lara Rutherford-Morrison, 'Jack the Ripper was a murderous medieval monk; or, I read the *curse upon Mitre Square* so you don't have to', *Journal of Victorian Culture* Online, 2015 <http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2015/05/19/lara-rutherford-morrison-jack-the-ripper-was-a-murderous-medieval-monk-or-i-read-the-curse-upon-mitre-square-so-you-dont-have-to/> [accessed 12 October 2015].

[81] Jenny Pyke, 'Imagining the Ripper', *Journal of Victorian Culture Online*, 2013 <http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2013/01/04/imagining-the-ripper/> [accessed 12 October 2015]; Clive

in the absence of any concrete knowledge as to the appearance of the assailant, illustrations also tended towards the fictional: *The Illustrated Police News* portrayed the Ripper as a noseless, earless, skull-headed creature masquerading in gentlemen's clothes (fig. 40).[82] He ominously follows an unconcerned Mary Jane Kelly into her lodgings as the victim is clearly unaware of his true terrifying visage. Similarly, *Punch* rendered the Ripper as a nightmarish ghoul who roamed the 'slums' of the East End with hollowed cheeks, a pointed dagger and a hooded cloak on which is labelled the word 'crime'.[83] Brantlinger's assertion that 'the plots of sensation novels lead to the unmasking of extreme evil behind fair appearances' is therefore echoed in these portrayals, even if the assailant in this case was never truly unmasked.[84]

The penny dreadful became a popular form of publication during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Ordinarily comprised of eight pages with a large illustration on the first, the penny dreadful typically told stories of crime, intrigue, mystery and adventure.[85] Indeed, rather like the illustrations which dominated the front pages of *The Illustrated Police News* and were satirised by *Punch*, those which adorned the front covers of penny bloods and dreadfuls acted as a significant attraction to potential readers who, Peter Haining explains, were often lured in by these 'fierce' engravings.[86] *The mysteries of London* was, perhaps, most comparable to the penny illustrated press in terms of content. Established by G. W. M. Reynolds and published between 1845 and 1848, the serialised novel contained numerous illustrations depicting scenes of crime, poverty and vice.[87] Whilst the price of penny bloods meant that they were largely intended for the working classes as a form of 'escap[ism] from the uneventfulness of their … everyday lives', Peter Haining observes that both penny bloods and penny dreadfuls were read by the upper and middle classes as well as the lower classes

Bloom, 'The Ripper writing: a cream of a nightmare dream', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, pp. 91-109, p. 101.

[82] 'East end horrors', *The Illustrated Police News*, 8 December 1888, p. 1.

[83] 'The nemesis of neglect', *Punch*, 29 September 1888, p. 149. For a reproduction, see Nicholas Rance, '"Jonathan's great knife": *Dracula* meets the Ripper', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, pp. 124-143, p. 132.

[84] Patrick Brantlinger, 'What is "sensational" about the "sensation novel"?', p. 11.

[85] Helen R. Smith, *Aspects of the Victorian book: penny dreadfuls*, [n.d.] <http://www.bl.uk/collections/early/victorian/pu_penny.html> [accessed 11 April 2014].

[86] Peter Haining, *The penny dreadful: or, strange, horrid and sensational tales!* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975), p. 15.

[87] Ibid., p. 82; George W. M. Reynolds, *The mysteries of London*, volume 1 (London: George Vickers, 1846).

and the youth for whom they were designed.[88] Lorna Huett maintains that, in consequence, concerns regarding the impact which such literature could have on 'respectable society' were raised, since it was believed that the penny blood threatened the 'potential irruption of the lower classes into society'.[89] Emphasising the perceived dangers and infectious nature of sensationalised literature, one article published in the *Westminster Review* in 1866 claimed that:

> Everything must now be sensational … Just as in the Middle Ages people were afflicted with the Dancing Mania and Lycanthropy … so now we have a Sensational Mania. Just, too, as those diseases always occurred in seasons of dearth and poverty, and attacked only the poor, so does the Sensational Mania in literature burst out only in times of mental poverty, and afflict only the most poverty-stricken minds.[90]

Sensation fiction, and therefore sensationalist journalism, challenged the traditional boundaries between right and wrong, heroines and villains, the home and the street (bringing crimes and violence into the safety of the middle-class home), and class-based readerships (appealing to both the middle and the working classes). Thus, it was feared that this transgression of boundaries would not only affect the poor or the uneducated, but would infiltrate into society, challenging the social structures upon which middle-class ideological constructs were based. This was a view which the *Westminster Review* critic also voiced:

> From an epidemic … [sensation mania] has lately changed into an endemic. Its virus is spreading in all directions, from the penny journal to the shilling magazine, and from the shilling magazine to the thirty shillings volume.[91]

It may be argued that the very nature of Reynolds' publication helped to feed these anxieties, and it is no coincidence that just two years earlier, Eugène Sue had published *The mysteries of Paris* across the Channel.   Set in the backstreets of the French capital and telling stories of crime and poverty, Sue's novel, published in a serialised format complete with illustrations, clearly inspired its British equivalent. Having travelled and worked in France some years before, it is probable that Reynolds was influenced by the literature published there.[92] French literature, like French art, was considered to be immoral, corrupting and

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[88] Peter Haining, *The penny dreadful*, p. 16; John Springhall, '"A life story for the people"? Edwin J. Brett and the London "low-life" penny dreadfuls of the 1860s', *Victorian Studies*, 33, no. 2 (1990), pp. 223-246, p. 225.
[89] Lorna Huett, 'Among the unknown public: *Household Words, All the Year Round* and the mass-market weekly periodical in the mid-nineteenth century', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration*, p. 133.
[90] 'Belles Lettres', *Westminster Review*, 30, no. 1 (1866), pp. 268-280. p. 270.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Peter Haining, *The penny dreadful*, p. 84.

degenerate, infiltrating the British market with inferior forms which perverted the true nature of the medium. Kate Flint argues that the infiltration of French pornography onto the British market helped to propel these views, a opinion supported by Lisa Sigel who maintains that 'the continent dominated the production and distribution of literary pornography'.[93] Despite – or more probably because of – these connotations, *The mysteries of London* became one of the most successful publications of its kind.

Amongst the images printed in *The mysteries of London* was that of a 'hag[gard]' prostitute entreating Ellen, a young seamstress, to join her profession (fig. 41). With a ragged hem, soiled apron and low-cut dress which clearly reveals her breasts, the 'hideous wrinkle[d] … wretch' clearly contrasts with the petite frame of Ellen who, despite working sixteen-hour shifts for as little as sixpence and enduring 'grim poverty', still manages to epitomise the ideal of innocence and decorum.[94] The prostitute seems to float above her shoulder, whispering in her ear. Her skeletal, ghoulish and deathlike face make her a nightmarish figure of the city's underworld, whose physicality and appearance are intended to be, at once, frightening and repulsive, but also a grave warning to both Ellen and the publication's readers. The broken windows which adorn the street and silhouettes of women walking the streets at night visible in the background both act to suggest the immoral nature of the neighbourhood depicted, described in the text as the place where 'the moral sewers of great towns [reside] – the sink towards which flow all the impurities of the human passions'.[95]

This portrayal of London life parallels descriptions of the East End produced by the press at the time of the Ripper murders which purposefully presented Whitechapel as an area of vice and corruption to be avoided by respectable readers. On the 18 September a letter to the editor of *The Times* signed by 'S. G. O.' stated:

> We have far too long been content to know that within a walk of palaces and mansions … there have existed tens of thousands of our fellow creatures begotten and reared in an atmosphere of godless brutality, a species of human sewage, the very drainage of the vilest production of ordinary vice; such sewage ever on the increase, and in its increase for ever developing fresh depths of degradation.[96]

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[93] Kate Flint, *The woman reader*, p. 140; Lisa Z. Sigel, *Governing pleasures: pornography and social change in England, 1815-1914* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), p. 140.
[94] George W. M. Reynolds, *The mysteries of London*, pp. 167-168.
[95] Ibid., pp. 168.
[96] 'At Last', *The Times*, 18 September 1888, p. 11.

It is interesting to note, however, that whilst *The mysteries of London* aimed to show wider attitudes towards the dilapidation and apparent degradation of the poorer areas of London, the images printed in *The Illustrated Police News* did not follow this trend. In none of the images showing where the bodies of victims had been discovered does a broken window or a passing drunk appear. Even in the depiction of 'The Fourth and Most Horrible Murder in Whitechapel', published on 15 September 1888, there appears to be no evidence of the squalor alluded to in contemporary textual accounts of the area. All of the fence panels in the background, for example, appear to be intact and the water butt behind the body stands neatly upon brick stilts.[97]

In contrast, *The Penny Illustrated Paper* invariably alluded to the poverty found in the area, depicting the homeless beggars, 'tramps', and 'waifs'.[98] Illustrating this tendency, the 24 November issue of *The Penny Illustrated Paper* published a sketch of Mary Jane Kelly posing outside the room in which she was found murdered, the window of which clearly has a broken pane which alludes to the prevalence of crime in the area (fig. 42). Included in the same illustration was the portrayal of a group of 'child waifs'. Crying, skeletal, barefoot, and dressed in rags, the children are shown begging, unable to afford the 'half-penny dinners' advertised behind them. They hold out their hands, motioning towards the caption beneath which reads 'please give us a ha'penny to get a ha'penny dinner sir', appearing to plead directly with the reader. In the background a man turns his back on the scene, ignoring the needs of the starving children by his side. The placement of this image alongside that of Mary Jane Kelly suggests that both vice and poverty are the consequences of the same cause; the refusal to acknowledge the sufferings of the East End by those such as the unknown gentleman who have the means, yet lack the inclination, to help. It may, therefore, be suggested that *The Illustrated Police News* chose to omit details such as the broken window so as to avoid such allusions to poverty and hardship. This allowed it to focus solely on the drama which the murders presented without having to comment upon wider issues of social concern, enabling entertainment to remain its primary focus. By failing to indicate the reasons why the victims of the Ripper were forced to walk the streets at night, *The Illustrated Police News* did not have

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[97] 'The fourth and most horrible murder in Whitechapel', *The Illustrated Police News*, 15 September 1888, p. 1.
[98] 'Peeps at the east-end', *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 17 November 1888, p. 308; 'Poverty and vice at the east end of London: reminiscences of children-waifs, and of Mary Kelly', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 24 November 1888, p. 328.

to provide the same calls for Christian compassion and intervention which *The Penny Illustrated Paper* and its parent paper, *The Illustrated London News*, did, the former stating that, 'the wretched deaths and awesome tragedies that occur week by week prove too surely that far, far more than individual effort is needed to grapple with the threatening ocean of misery and depravity'.[99] Yet, despite this appeal, even *The Penny Illustrated Paper* was not averse to exploiting the murders in order to increase sales, depicting the discovery of two contorted corpses on the East End streets in an illustration which filled the entire front cover of the 6 October issue.[100]

Moreover, with the working classes as its intended audience, it may be suggested that *The Illustrated Police News* was able to publish content which other newspapers aimed at the upper and middle classes would have deemed unsuitable for the sensibilities of their readers. This possibly explains why *The Illustrated London News,* whose aim was to 'uphold the great cause of public morality', undoubtedly excluding the publishing of subjects which could be deemed salacious or immoral, produced very few images directly concerning the Ripper murders.[101] Contrary to the explicit and detailed portrayals printed incessantly by *The Illustrated Police News*, none of *The Illustrated London News'* prints alluded to the specific location of the murders, the identity of the victims, nor the wounds which were inflicted upon them. In fact, the only images which *The Illustrated London News* produced depicted suspicious characters and police attempts to catch the culprit, as evident in the 22 September and 13 October issues.[102] Illustrative of this, the 22 September 1888 issue of *The Illustrated London News* contained a series of sketches by Henry Charles Seppings Wright which portrayed the various attempts of the Whitechapel police to find the perpetrator of the east end murders. Accompanied by the caption 'Trying to identify a supposed murderer in Whitechapel Police Station', the images depicted various officers apprehending faceless and suspicious-looking men, beneath which an article commenting on police inefficiency was printed.

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[99] 'London's reign of terror: scenes of Sunday morning's murders in the east-end', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 6 October 1888, p. 212.
[100] Ibid.
[101] '*The Illustrated London News*', in *The Waterloo Directory*.
[102] 'Sketches with the police at the east end', *The Illustrated London News*, 22 September 1888, p. 352; *The Illustrated London News*, 13 October 1888, p. 421.

Like *The Illustrated London News*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, a newspaper which John Ruskin described as being 'written by gentlemen for gentlemen', did not revel in the production of gory or explicit images which depicted the murdered women. [103] Instead, the locations of murder sites and the public interest which they had created formed the bulk of the sketches issued by the newspaper. 'Removing the body to the mortuary' (fig. 43), published in the 10 November 1888 edition, and '29 Hanbury Street' (fig. 44) in the 10 September 1888 issue, for example, both portrayed a faceless crowd jostling and vying for a good position from which to observe the commotion without providing any narrative detail concerning the actions of the murderer or his victims.[104] In 'Removing the body to the mortuary', the crowds stand on tip-toe and hang out of the windows of nearby buildings as they try to peer into the cart in which the body of Mary Jane Kelly is being carried away. The article which was printed alongside the illustration commented that 'the details of the murder of Mary Jane Kelly are still enshrouded in mystery … [and] the excitement in the East End continues'.[105] The text reveals the fascination that the media spectacle surrounding the murders created, showing how they were considered a form of entertainment.

The focus on murder sites rather than the victims or gruesome details of their injuries enabled *The Pall Mall Gazette* to report on the case without engaging in the more gory aspects of the crimes. Thus, they were able to satisfy public interest in the case whilst catering to what were the presumably more reserved sensibilities of their intended audience. 'The scene of the murder' (fig. 45), which was also published in the 10 September issue, was, perhaps, the most explicit of the illustrations produced by the paper regarding the murders. Yet again, it contains little direct representation of the victim's presence or the nature of her death. It is only the splatters of blood which mark the cobbled path and wooden fence that indicate to the viewer the 'maniacal frenzy with which the victims were slaughtered'.[106] This silence, however, arguably allows the viewer a space for fantasy, imagining their own version of events. Therefore, unlike *The Illustrated Police News*, which used its illustrations to plot the sequence of events principally though visual means, *The Pall Mall Gazette* relied heavily upon

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[103] '*The Pall Mall Gazette*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900*
<http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/series2/showarticle.asp?id=91375&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=pall~mall> [accessed 27 October 2015].
[104] Removing the body to the mortuary', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 November 1888, p. 8; '29 Hanbury Street', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 September 1888, p. 7.
[105] 'Yesterday's murder, committed in broad daylight', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 8.
[106] 'The recent murders in Whitechapel', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 September 1888, p. 7.

written text and spatial settings to convey the narrative and allude to the public furore which the murders created.

Reynolds's Newspaper adopted a similar approach to both *The Illustrated London News* and *The Pall Mall Gazette*, focusing primarily on the scenes of each murder rather than describing the events and incidents themselves. 'The victim's bedroom' (fig. 46), published in the Sunday 18 November issue was the closest to the depiction of a murder scene that the paper produced.[107] The illustration provides a view of the bedroom in which the Ripper's final victim was killed. In comparison to *The Illustrated Police News'* portrayal of the scene, which clearly showed the victim's body, *The Pall Mall Gazette's* image is much more ambiguous. Only a hint of a body lies on the bed, which could just as easily be read as a mass of sheets, and the pile of indistinct items lying on the bedside table are indecipherable as the internal organs of Mary Jane Kelly. Thus, the image provided readers with a very real view of the inside of the bedroom, but did not make the details of the murder which took place there explicit.

Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper also placed emphasis on the murder sites without giving great detail, publishing maps of Whitechapel which charted the location of each incident. The 7 October and 11 November issues of *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (fig. 47a) both contained elevated views of the murder locations, labelled with the names of the victims and dates of each occurrence.[108] Highly similar 'maps' were printed in *The Pall Mall Gazette* on 2 October (fig. 47b) and *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 21 July 1889 (fig. 47c) which numbered the victims in the order of their deaths.[109] Undoubtedly, these illustrations were intended to provide the reader with an understanding of just how close together the murder sites were. However, it may also be suggested that the use of maps to chart the murders reveals the attempts of the press to make the murders comprehensible for the reading public. Many of the readers of *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *Lloyd's* would not have been familiar with the Whitechapel area, only knowing it as one of London's 'squalid districts' where 'some of the lowest and most degraded types of humanity to be found in any capital [reside] … [where] the dregs of Continental cities

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[107] 'The victim's bedroom', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 18 November 1888, p. 5.
[108] 'The east end murders', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 7 October 1888, p. 7; 'Locality of the seven murders', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 11 November 1888, p. 7.
[109] 'Scene of the Whitechapel murders', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 October 1888, p. 11; 'The east end murders', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 21 July 1889, p. 5.

deposit themselves. Vice abounds. Drunkenness is rife'.[110] This harsh assessment of the East

End is representative of many assumptions which were held during the century, whereby the

honest poor and hard-working immigrants were often automatically assimilated into the

realms of the dangerous and criminal.[111] As Robert Haggard and Anne Baltz Rodrick have both

shown, the 'honest poor' were often fused with the criminal poor in contemporary accounts,

grouped together by poverty no matter how they achieved an income.[112] This tendency was

clearly expressed by Arnold White in *The problems of a great city* the year before the Ripper

murders took place. Writing that the 'criminal and pauperised classes with low cerebral

development renew their race more rapidly than those of higher nervous natures' and that

'birth into certain quarters of London is birth into an environment from which there is no

escape', White made no distinction between those who engaged in criminal activities and

those who were made destitute due to the social structure.[113] Describing the lower classes as

a 'race' distinctly separate from the middle- and upper-class readers for whom White was

writing, the 'criminal and pauperised' were shown to be a degenerate species, inferior and

incomprehensible. As Perry Curtis, Judith Walkowitz, and Robert Haggard have all observed,

the East End was consequently considered to be a Godless place in which 'decadence,

immorality, criminality and poverty' reigned – a place where, as one journalist in *Reynolds's

Newspaper* stated, 'the night-wanderers exposed to the fate of the pitiable Nicholses,

Chapmans, and Strides' were granted little, if no, sympathy or protection.[114]

Theories regarding the identity of the assailant and his possible motives consequently

reflected these prejudices. Prime suspects ranged from middle-class medical men who had

ventured into the East End, to ship workers, butchers, and leather crafters employed in the

area. Illustrating the disparity in accounts of the appearance of the murderer, the front cover

of the 20 October 1888 issue of *The Illustrated Police News* printed two 'sketch[es] of [the]

supposed murderer' side by side (fig. 36).[115] Apart from the enlarged nose and ears, the two

portraits do not resemble one another, demonstrating the lack of reliable information which

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[110] 'The Whitechapel mystery', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 8 September 1888, p. 15.
[111] Robert F. Haggard, 'Jack the Ripper as the threat of outcast London', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, pp. 197-214, p. 199.
[112] Ibid.; Anne Baltz Rodrick, '"Only a newspaper metaphor"', p. 2.
[113] Arnold White, *The problems of a great city* (London: Remington and Co. Publishers, 1887), pp. 48-49.
[114] Lewis Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London press*, p. 161; Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Jack the Ripper and the myth of male violence', p. 545; Robert F. Haggard, 'Jack the Ripper as the threat of outcast London', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, p. 198; 'Is Christianity a failure?', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 October 1888, p. 1.
[115] *The Illustrated Police News*, 20 October 1888, p. 1.

both the press and the police had and promoted to the public regarding the murderer's identity. In his demographic survey of London, conducted between 1886 and 1903 and published in parts between these dates, Charles Booth observed that Whitechapel had a high population of Jewish inhabitants which was much more notable than in other areas of the capital.[116] Booth attributed the overcrowding in the Whitechapel area to the influx of 'poor foreign Jews', arguably indicating some of the feelings of unease which existed at the time, when anti-Semitism and the perceptions of the inferiority of immigrant inhabitants were endemic.[117] The left portrait of the two can clearly be seen to express these xenophobic anxieties and concerns. Reflecting almost perfectly the first description given of Fagin in *Oliver Twist*, readers of *The Illustrated Police News* were confronted with a 'very old shrivelled Jew, whose villainous-looking and repulsive face was obscured by a quantity of matted red hair' on the front pages of their weekly newspaper.[118] Direct comparisons between this newspaper 'portrait' and George Cruikshank's original illustrations of Fagin reveal just how deeply imbedded racial stereotypes were in the public consciousness. If placed alongside the 'Sketch of the supposed murderer' circulated by *The Illustrated Police News*, Cruickshank's *The Jew and Morris Bolter both begin to understand each other* (1838) (fig. 48), produced for Dickens' original serial publication of the novel, reveals a character of almost identical appearance. Cruikshank's villain sits in a dark interior with one spidery finger raised, tapping his nose and revealing his cunning and untrustworthy nature. His flat hat, ragged clothing and dishevelled hair are mirrored in the unkempt appearance of *The Illustrated Police News*' suspect, as are the prominent and excessively elongated hooked nose and pointed beard.

Both illustrations acted upon widely-held preconceptions of Jewish moral inferiority and danger, presenting their protagonists as deceitful crooks, to be both feared and distrusted by the public. Dickens' villain was well known for his duplicity, as his betrayal of Nancy to Bill Sykes was an action which ultimately resulted in her death. Illustrating the impact of these characters upon nineteenth-century culture, newspapers often referenced Fagin and Bill Sykes when describing the capture of 'gangs of burglars and housebreakers' which reveals how

[116] Charles Booth, 'Life and labour of the people in London: first results of an inquiry based on the 1891 census. Opening address of Charles Booth, Esq., president of the Royal Statistical Society. Session 1893-94', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 56, no. 4 (1893), pp. 557-593, p. 568 and p. 574.
[117] Ibid., p. 568.
[118] Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist*, 1837 (New York: James G. Gregory, 1861), p. 98.

familiar the public were assumed to be with these fictional characters and their crimes.[119]
With Malcom Chase's assertion that 'portraits are as important as the vectors of values as they
are of factual graphic information', such close correlations between 'The Jew' of Dickens'
serialised novel and the press' 'supposed murderer' clearly reveal xenophobic attitudes which
were prevalent in wider society at the time. Even more, the similarities between the two
images undoubtedly expose the perceived dangers which it was thought the Jewish populace
presented to even the least regarded members of the population, such as the Nancys of the
East End.[120] *The Illustrated Police News*'s production of such a discriminatory and
stereotypically anti-Semitic portrayal, therefore, clearly acted to distinguish the area in which
the Ripper murders occurred as not only a geographically, but also a racially, separate territory
to that in which most of their readers lived.

As a result, the East End became 'a dreaded name', an emblem of 'urban
degeneration' and the inevitable 'product of a diseased environment whose "neglected
human refuse" bred crime'.[121] This perceived 'moral geography' of London, whereby certain
areas of the city were considered morally derelict and occupied by 'undesirable' types, was
certainly aided by numerous newspaper articles and illustrations which described the
unknown assailant as 'the mysterious monster of the East End', 'the Whitechapel Fiend', and
'the monster of Whitechapel'.[122] The continual repetition of Whitechapel as the scene of the
crimes, whilst obviously used to demarcate the site of the murders, arguably also acted to
segregate the area, establishing it as a district distinctly separate from the rest of London.
Consequently, Whitechapel became synonymous with the murders in the minds of the
Victorian reading public. *The Times* stated in regards to another murder, which was at the
time thought to have been committed by the Ripper, that, 'the scene of the murder is
probably one of the lowest quarters in the whole of East London, and a spot more suitable for
the terrible crime could hardly be found, on account of the evil reputation borne by this

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[119] 'A French Fagin and his gang', *Daily News*, 8 June 1892, p. 6. Other examples include 'Sensational
murder trial in France', *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 15 June 1891, p. 4 which told of 'a female
Fagin and her pupils sentenced to death' for the brutal murder of a female widow, and the 'Capture of a
Scottish Fagin', *Belfast News-Letter*, 15 June 1865, p. 3.
[120] Malcom Chase, 'The original to the life: portraiture and the *Northern Star*', in Laurel Brake and
Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration*, pp. 76-93, p. 90.
[121] Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of dreadful delight*, p. 195.
[122] 'At Last', *The Times*, p. 11. The term 'moral geography' was used in an article entitled 'The rape of
the glances', quoted in Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, p. 65.

particular place'. [123] Within this context, the cartographic portrayals of Whitechapel in the pages of the press can arguably be understood as a method through which this otherwise uncharted territory became decipherable to the reading masses. Indeed, *The Pall Mall Gazette* published maps which listed the murder sites rather like markers on a treasure map with 'X's to mark the murder spots. This feature seems to imply that observant readers could piece together the puzzle and find the treasure which, in this case, would lead them to the identity of the murderer. It is supported by Walkowitz's assertion that the promise of solving this real-life murder mystery by reading the pages of the press was one of the main reasons that the public followed Ripper news so avidly.[124]

Greta Wendelin has observed that British publications regarding prostitution shifted towards a scientific approach during the course of the century. She attributes this move towards a scientific analysis of modern life to the influence of Alexandre Parent du Châtelet's study, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris*, which focused on the issue in the French capital. Parent du Châtelet had previously explored the problem of sanitation in Paris and transferred his analysis of the problems of sewer waste to prostitution, arguing that refuse, whether in the form of waste or the prostitute, was a necessary by-product of city life which needed to be controlled and supervised.[125] Following the publication of Parent du Châtelet's findings, which were subsequently translated and distributed in medical journals across the Channel, British publications adopted his use of statistical tables to chart the prevalence of prostitution in London and other British cities. As Shannon Bell, Greta Wendelin and Judith Walkowitz have shown, 'Parent-Duchatelet's study served as a model for the British investigation of prostitution from the 1840s to the 1880s'.[126] William Acton's *Prostitution* (1857), William Logan's *The great social evil* (1871), and the second edition of Henry Mayhew's *London labour and the London poor* (1861) all show this influence. [127] Interestingly, however, amongst the several tables which documented the numbers and locations of prostitutes in the city, Parent du Châtelet also produced maps which used varying shades to denote the dispersal of

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[123] 'The murder and mutilation in Whitechapel', *The Times*, 18 July 1889, p. 11. This description of the murder site was also reprinted in 'The murder plague', *East London Observer*, 20 July 1889.

[124] Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Jack the Ripper and the myth of male violence', p. 546; 'Scene of the Whitechapel murders', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 11.

[125] Alexandre J. B. Parent du Châtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Paris: J. B. Baillière et Fils, 1857); Jonathan P. Ribner, 'The Thames and sin in the age of the Great Stink', p. 41.

[126] Shannon Bell, *Reading, writing, and rewriting the prostitute body* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 45; Greta Kristian Wendelin, 'The genealogy of the prostitute', p. 4; Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian society*, pp. 36-37.

[127] Greta Kristian Wendelin, 'The genealogy of the prostitute', p. 27.

prostitutes across the capital.[128] It may be argued, therefore, that in line with the precedent set in the text of the French investigator, the maps produced to accompany reports of the Ripper murders in the illustrated press display the same attempt to reach 'a social scientific understanding of prostitution' and in this specific case, murder.[129]

The use of maps by the press not only aided the comprehension of the murders but also, it may be argued, encouraged audiences to view the murder sites as places of pilgrimage through which they could experience the settings of the crimes. David Cunningham argues that the Ripper murders have developed into a 'social phenomenon' which has fed the heritage and tourist industries ever since their first occurrence. Referring to the 'Ripper Tours' which take place in Whitechapel nightly, the waxwork exhibitions, and countless books, documentaries and films made on the topic, the geography of the murders has produced a still resonant 'spectacle'.[130] At the time of the murders, members of the public often flocked to the latest murder site and accounts of amateur sleuths stalking the streets in the hope of capturing the killer were widespread. The gathering of such crowds at the murder sites was commonly depicted in illustrated newspapers; between them, *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Penny Illustrated Paper* depicted Hanbury Street, Mitre Square and Berner Street flooded with people vying for position behind rows of police, trying to get a better view.[131] D. G. Halstead, reminiscing about his career as a young doctor in the East End during the late 1880s and 1890s, even recalled that 'so great was the morbid curiosity about the Chapman murder that anyone with a window over-looking the back yard where the murder took place was doing a roaring trade by charging the public a small fee for admission to their premises, for a grandstand view'.[132] The public, therefore, were provided with a very real opportunity to absorb themselves in the realities of the murders by walking the streets of the East End. Yet for those who were unwilling or unable to make this pilgrimage, the illustrated press provided a method through which they could still traverse Jack's patch and allowed for the formation of 'imaginary map[s] of the city … for the vicarious consumption of a cosmopolitan experience'.[133] Pollock's assessment here echoes Foucauldian notions of power in which the

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128 Alexandre J. B. Parent du Châtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris*, pp. 324-325.
129 Greta Kristian Wendelin, 'The genealogy of the prostitute', p. 144.
130 David Cunningham, 'Living in the slashing grounds: Jack the Ripper, monopoly rent and the new heritage', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis (eds), *Jack the Ripper*, pp. 159-175, pp. 161-162.
131 'The recent murders in Whitechapel', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 7; 'Scenes of the Aldgate and Whitechapel Murders', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 6 October 1888, p. 212.
132 D. G. Halsted, *Doctor in the nineties*, p. 48.
133 Griselda Pollock, 'Vicarious excitements', p. 158.

reader asserts a panoptical gaze on the subjects portrayed through the removed consumption of the city space. Thus, through the production of mapped spaces in the illustrations of the Ripper press, readers were able to engage with the murders and project imaginary scenarios upon them, viewing the inhabitants of Whitechapel as characters whose fates constantly changed in an ongoing saga.

The production of these maps within the Ripper press can be seen as a move into travel literature – a genre which became increasingly popular throughout the century as travel became more accessible to wider audiences. *Murray's guides* led the travel guide industry, having been established in the late 1830s. Numerous tourist guides were subsequently produced which covered the many attractions which Britain and countries much farther afield had to offer, and travel books such as Robert Louis Stevenson's *An inland voyage* (1876) and Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* (1897), which were published much later in the century, told stories of intrepid camping experiences and dangerous voyages to distant and uncharted lands, promoting the danger, exoticism and excitement of travel to wide audiences. Accommodating its guests, the Langham Hotel produced a *Guide to London* (1890) which offered information ranging from the histories of popular tourist sites to omnibus and tramway routes.[134] It is interesting to note, however, that rather than simply providing a descriptive account of the sites and attractions of the city, many London guidebooks contained information regarding the activities of charitable organisations and hospitals.[135] Just as Mary Kingsley recounted the exotic animals and 'wild wicked-looking savages' which she encountered on her travels, the London guides presented opportunities for the visitor to the city to observe the native inhabitants.[136] Illustrating this approach, Baedeker's *London and its environs* (1882) directed its readers to the theatre district, writing that 'a visit to the whole of the theatres in London … give[s] the traveller a capital insight into the social life of the people throughout all its gradations'.[137] Moreover, *The Langham Hotel guide to London*'s description of The Magdalene Hospital and The Lock Hospital as places intended for the 'relief and reformation of the erring... [and] the cure of unfortunate creatures' arguably presented their

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[134] Walter Gosden, *The Langham Hotel guide to London, prepared for the use of visitors,* 7 edn (London: The Langham Hotel Company, 1890).
[135] See ibid; Karl Baedeker, *London and its environs: a handbook for travellers* (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1892); *Black's guide to London and its environs*, 8 edn (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1882).
[136] Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, 1897 (Washington D. C.: National Geographic Society, 2002), p. 149.
[137] Karl Baedeker, *London and its environs*, p. 40.

inmates as objects to gawp at, ticking them off the list of tourist sites to visit.[138] Such

descriptions clearly carry moral undertones which engender a sense of superiority in the

travelling reader. The illustrated press' production of murder-site maps and detailed accounts

of specific locations related to the Ripper crimes can be seen to mirror those found in these

guidebooks, further strengthening the argument that the portrayal of the murder sites in the

popular press helped to engender a following of armchair tourists. Thus, it may be argued that

the production of these 'maps' in the contemporary press can be considered to be amongst

the earliest examples of Ripper-tourism. They provided the newspaper reader with the

opportunity to travel through the streets of Whitechapel without having to enter 'this

atmosphere of godless brutality … vice … [and] degradation' itself.[139]

Following this trend for armchair tourism, *The Penny Illustrated Paper* published an

article entitled 'Peeps at the east end' which was accompanied by a series of illustrations in

the 17 November edition (fig. 49).   The text described the hardships faced by the inhabitants

of the east end and entreated their readers to help those who were much less fortunate,

stating that 'it is impossible to read of the sad lives of degradation and despair lived by such

poor abandoned women as Mary Jeanette Kelly, Catherine Eddowes, Elizabeth Stride, Annie

Chapman and Mary Ann Nicholls without being filled with pity for these victims of vice and

poverty'.[140] The illustrations which accompanied the article emphasised the abject poverty to

which so many men, women, and children were exposed nightly, suggesting to the reader that

the Ripper was perhaps not the most dangerous of menaces roaming the East End, for even if

he was caught, the journalist pointed out that 'we have a deplorably trying winter before

us'.[141] The sketch of the 'dispensary of the London Hospital' (fig. 50) in which a group of five

ailing customers, all seemingly downtrodden and in need, were shown anxiously awaiting

treatment from the pharmacist was also presented. It is clear that as soon as they leave the

dispensary, these people will once again be exposed to the harsh realities of East End life.

Beneath this image, another – carrying the title 'How outcasts of a "Christian" city

sleep' (fig. 50) – was printed, showing the appalling conditions in which many were forced to

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[138] Walter Gosden, *The Langham Hotel guide to London*, p. 151.
[139] 'At Last', *The Times*, p. 11.
[140] 'Peeps at the east-end', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 17 November 1888, p. 308.
[141] Ibid.

live. At the centre of the composition, a group of women lie side by side, attempting to sleep underneath a straw-covered shack. To their left, a group of three women huddle together pulling their thin shawls around their bodies while trying to shelter from the winter cold. An old woman looks on accompanied by her bony dog whose skeletal form hints at the lack of food and care from which his owner also suffers.   The scene presented a harrowing depiction of London life and, having been 'taken from life' through first-hand observation, was intended to render the 'appalling and dangerous misery … [of] Modern Babylon' almost tangible to the newspaper's readers. [142]   The 1880s witnessed an extensive move towards closing brothels and houses of ill-repute.[143] This forced numerous women onto the streets, having no home or shelter. This illustration had previously appeared in the 13 October issue of *The Illustrated London News*, the parent paper of *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, under the title 'Outcasts sleeping in sheds at Whitechapel'.[144] Whilst *The Penny Illustrated Paper* placed the image besides others which documented London poverty, *The Illustrated London News* juxtaposed the image with that of 'A Suspicious Character' who is followed by a Vigilance Committee (fig. 51). The portrayal of these homeless women alongside this illustration perhaps reflects the consequences of these actions, a poster which reads 'murder' on the city wall suggests that the closing of brothels has, in fact, aided 'Jack' and those like him in their bloodthirsty actions. The placement of these images was arguably intended to cause the reader to make connections between poor wages, poverty and the murders. *The Illustrated London News* called for more sympathy to be afforded to the inhabitants of the East End who were regularly forced to work and sleep in the 'neighbourhood of low lodging-houses, and the lonely courts and alleys, where the miserable female victims of the indescribable cruelties that have shocked the public mind are stated to have been accustomed nightly to resort'.[145]

Both newspapers implored their reading public to show compassion towards those pictured, *The Illustrated London News* writing that the illustrations printed 'must appeal to humane feelings of regret and earnest desire to check the downward course of so many of our fellow-creatures in the foul places of great and mighty London'.[146] *The Penny Illustrated*

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[142] Edward Porritt, *Progress of British newspapers in the nineteenth century illustrated* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1901), pp. 56-57.
[143] Robert F. Haggard, 'Jack the Ripper as the threat of outcast London', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, *Jack the Ripper*, p. 201.
[144] 'The Whitechapel mystery', *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1.
[145] 'Outcasts of the east-end', *The Illustrated London News*, 13 October 1888, p. 5.
[146] Ibid.

Paper, too, directed its readers to 'look at our Sketches of East-End Poverty … and admit that it is a shame that in a Christian city men and women should have to sleep like beasts in the field'.[147] Through his description of the sleeping women as 'beasts in the field', a Biblical description of land animals such as cattle, the journalist was openly appealing to his readers to view these women with Christian compassion: neither repulsive nor animalistic, they were instead the victims of human callousness and remorselessness.

However, this sympathy and compassion is arguably undermined by the use of 'peeps' in the titles of the illustrations and article. By presenting 'peeps' of the east end to the reading audience, the article conceivably recalls the 'peep-show' which had gained so much popularity by the turn of the century.[148] The circular border which frames the image of 'A tramp sleeping in the corridor of a Whitechapel lodging-house' acts to reinforce this association, providing the viewer with a snapshot of east end life as though looking through a circular peep-hole. Also known as mutoscopes and often found at popular sea-side resorts, 'peep-shows' allowed the viewer to gaze upon a series of changing images which only they could see, by feeding the machine a penny, looking through the viewfinder, and turning the handle – a cheap and popular form of entertainment.[149] Yet, whilst Katy Mullin admits that many mutoscopes 'provide[d] innocent entertainment suitable for prosperous, "genteel" women', they also carried negative connotations because they were associated with sexual or erotic subjects.[150] Commonly described as 'what the butler saw' machines, mutoscope reels offered viewers an opportunity to look in upon a private scene, as if they were a butler looking through the keyhole of his mistress' bedroom. Lisa Sigel observes that the keyhole view was a significant motif in pornographic postcards of the period, noting that the shape often framed explicit images of couples engaged in sexual acts.[151] Unaware that they were being watched, the subjects in the image were consequently positioned as the objects of the viewer's gaze,

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[147] 'Peeps at the east-end', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, p. 308; Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel Walkowitz, '"We are not beasts of the field", explores protests against the Contagious Diseases Acts in Plymouth and Southampton. The title was taken from an article written in the *Shield* on 28 October 1870. The article quoted Sarah Mach, a woman who had resisted the forced inspection of the Contagious Diseases Acts, as having said 'I think we are allowed to know our own feelings. We are not beasts of the field'. This was reportedly in response to accusations that she had been paid to give testimony at the trial of John Marshall, a working-class man who was accused of inciting opposition to the Acts. See Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel Walkowitz, '"We are not beasts of the field"', p. 94.
[148] Lisa Z. Sigel, *Governing pleasures*, p. 122.
[149] Katy Mullin, 'Gerty through the mutoscope', *James Joyce Broadsheet*, no. 49 (1998), pp. 1-2, p. 1.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Lisa Z. Sigel, *Governing pleasures*, p. 137.

establishing a hierarchy in which the viewer exerted power over the viewed subject. As a result, the process of engaging in the peep-show automatically imbued the act of looking with voyeuristic and power-based undertones. If this reading of the peep-show is therefore applied to *The Penny Illustrated Paper*'s illustrations for 'Peeps at the East-End', their readers begin to take pleasure from these snapshots of London life whilst remaining safely removed from the real horrors faced by those whom they observe. This accords with Pollock's discussion of the use of illustration in the geographic division of London into the East and West along the lines of class and morality in Doré and Jerrold's *London: a pilgrimage*.[152] Pollock argues that through the portrayal of dangerous city spaces,

> the viewer enjoys the place … on the edges of voyeurism where the threat of the spaces and their populations is evoked but contained, suspended in the inanimate permanence of the still image. The excitement is there in crossing by proxy onto these social spaces. The pleasure comes from their artistic translation into the secure, domestic spaces of cultural consumption.[153]

This reading is clearly applicable to the framed, intimate and intrusive portraits of the Ripper's victims both in life and in death, where the reading public were afforded 'peeps' into the crimes, their key players, and their settings through their serialised and segmented coverage in the illustrated press. The snap-shot effect afforded by these glimpses further encourage them to become sites of fantasy, heightening both their entertainment value and also their salacious potential. Thus, readers of the Ripper press were encouraged to view the crimes with both horror and enthusiasm, sympathy and enjoyment, repulsion and titillation – responses which Halttunen argues purposefully encouraged the viewing of pain to become almost pornographic in nature.[154]

The coverage of the Ripper murders in the popular illustrated press was clearly complex and contradictory. Heavily informed by notions of acceptability, the intended audience of a publication played a vital role in the paper's approach to the murders through illustration. As a cheap paper which intended to provide stories of the greatest interest to the 'toiling masses', *The Illustrated Police News* presented scenes of gore, slaughter, and nudity, ensuring high sales and enduring images. In contrast, the more reserved approach of *Reynolds's Newspaper* and *The Pall Mall Gazette* suggests that such explicit visual content was

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[152] See Chapter Three where *London: a pilgrimage* is discussed.
[153] Griselda Pollock, 'Vicarious excitements', p. 36.
[154] Karen Halttunen, 'Humanitarianism and the pornography of pain', p. 325.

not deemed to be appropriate for their more wealthy audience base. None the less, their reliance on maps to chart the crimes visually as well as sketches of the murder sites and the crowds which they generated still pandered to readers' thirst for news, whilst reinforcing stereotypes which determined the East End and its inhabitants as criminal, immoral, and dangerous.

The sensational press had long been established by the time the Ripper murders broke out, with *The Illustrated Police News* having published images of crime and murder since the mid-1860s. Yet, the reaction of the illustrated press to the Ripper murders was truly unprecedented. Never before had the crimes of one assailant dominated the front pages of the press for such an extensive period; and indeed, the immediacy with which the murders were discovered, with the victims being abandoned on the city streets, meant that the press had to report with great rapidity. After all, as the remarks of Mason Jackson which opened this chapter stated, 'the calamities of nations and the misfortunes of individuals are sources of profit and prosperity to the newspaper'.[155]

The fact that the Ripper's victims were working prostitutes undoubtedly informed the way in which their deaths were portrayed. The need for news outweighed the need for compassion and, as a result, intimate details of their lives and bodies were plastered on the front pages for public consumption. In comparison to the growing myth of the 'Whitechapel Monster', the individual victims became just another fragment of an ongoing saga of sexual crime where attention was placed on the assailant rather than real human victims. Whilst the coverage of the Ripper murders in press illustrations did promote some sense of sympathy towards the victims, the idea that the prostitute was to blame for her own demise as a result of her seemingly immoral life still prevailed. It is possible that scenes of violent death were therefore acceptable simply because the victims were already considered to be public, although outcast, property, who consequently warranted little respect or privacy in death. Additionally, despite social condemnation and widespread concern about the impact which an enjoyment of immoral, shocking or sexual imagery might have upon the viewer, explicit details were still published which suggests that such concerns were only enforceable when public interest had not peaked.

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[155] Mason Jackson, *The pictorial press,* p. 4.

Class has been shown to be a key shaping factor in the content and reception of these illustrations, the social standing of the intended audiences and the sensitivities which they were assumed to hold, shaping the pictorial narratives of the murders, their locations, and the culpability of the victims most profoundly. Through comparisons made between traditions in high art, through the themes of beauty and portraiture, and fictional literature, this chapter has exposed how wider attitudes within art, culture and society, shaped mass-produced illustrations of the Ripper murders. This has significant implications for the following chapter where this relationship is again explored in relation to the use of print imagery by the Salvation Army. In comparison to the popular press whose motive was based upon sales, the Salvation Army actively engaged in the rescue of the prostitute from the London streets and created publications which combined news with propaganda, and advertisement with philanthropy. The final chapter of this thesis therefore discusses how the publications which were produced by the charity in the late nineteenth century were informed by the traditions and themes which had been established in earlier visual culture. It will question how, with an audience comprised of both the wealthy and the prostitute herself, the Salvation Army used illustration both to depict and to appeal to the very same women who had been massacred so publicly on the city streets just a few years before.

Chapter Five: Preachers in print – the publications of the Salvation Army

The unparalleled exposure afforded to the Ripper murders by the popular press meant that by the end of the 1880s, the British public were accustomed to tales which concluded with the downfall and ultimately the death of the fallen woman. Whether the result of the wretched conditions in which she found herself, or the final punishment for her life of sin, the reading and viewing public had become familiar with the notion that the fallen woman would rarely find reclamation or forgiveness in visual and literary renderings.   The Victorian public were bombarded with examples which reinforced this inevitability: the fates of the protagonists of Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), Tennyson's *Lady of Shalott* (1842), of Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (immortalised by John Everett Millais in a painting of 1852), and the mutilated corpses of the Ripper's victims which were branded across front pages and billboards, all promoted this idea. In the field of social investigation, William Sanger had championed this perception in his 1858 survey of *The history of prostitution*, stating that 'as cases of reform ... are very rare, the conclusion would be that the career [of the fallen woman] ends in death'.[1] Despite this, 'the fictional notion that the only recourse was isolation and eventual death is at odds with the emergence over the course of the century of an increasingly large number of institutions designed to provide assistance to such women'.[2] From the mid-nineteenth century, organisations such as the Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Children (established in 1853) and Urania Cottage (1846-58), a rescue home for the rehabilitation and emigration of fallen women, were established. Periodicals such as *The Magdalen's Friend and Female Homes' Intelligencer* (1860-4) were also established, which further aimed to challenge the prevailing myth that the fallen woman's story would end in her death. Among the philanthropic organisations which were founded during the century was the Salvation Army, which not only established rescue homes and shelters, but produced a plethora of publications from the late 1860s onwards.

Andrew Eason, Robert Sandall, Pamela Walker, Victor Bailey and Gillian Ball have all considered the development, ideological aims, and philanthropic goals of the Salvation Army.[3]

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[1] William W. Sanger, *The history of prostitution: its extent, causes and effects throughout the world* (New York: The Medical Publishing Co., 1913), p. 347.

[2] Scott Rogers, 'Domestic servants, midnight meetings, and the *Magdalen's Friend and Female Homes' Intelligencer*', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 39, no. 2 (2011), pp. 443-461, p. 446.

[3] Andrew M. Eason, *Boundless salvation: the shorter writings of William Booth*, 2 edn (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2014); Andrew M. Eason, *Women in God's army: gender and equality in the early Salvation Army* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003); Robert Sandall, *The history of the*

Their research provides invaluable insight into the structure and intentions of the group, from its inception in Britain during the nineteenth century and its work abroad. The significance of the social environment in which the organisation arose is integral to these discussions. Bailey contends that the parallels between the evolving labour movement and the formation of the Salvation Army during the late nineteenth century reflect wider trends at the time which were concerned with working-class agency and increasing class self-awareness. Laura Lauer and Andrew Eason have both focused on the significance of gender in the Salvation Army and how ideological notions of gender impacted upon and caused tensions with the organisation's structure.[4] Indeed, Eason argues that despite their reputation as the first organisation to promote gender equality, the Salvation Army was in fact heavily shaped by the gender ideologies of late Victorian society, both in its approach to rescue work and the hierarchical composition of its members. The issues addressed by this literature engage with wider discussions concerning the role of women in Victorian female rehabilitation. Susan Mumm's discussions of religious female penitentiaries and Jenny Hartley's study of Charles Dickens' rescue home, Urania Cottage, both explore the relationship between the fallen and the providers of these institutions, arguing that they were at once socially motivated enterprises, often designed as homes, intended for the rehabilitation of women who found themselves in trouble, but also paradoxically seen as forms of punishment for moral transgression.[5] This dichotomy characterises portrayals of the fallen woman, and is also integral to understanding how the Salvation Army presented the fallen woman in their illustrated periodicals. Whilst the philanthropic climate in Victorian Britain and the role of both men and women in secular and religious settings has thus inspired substantial scholarship, the use of illustration in the promotion of these enterprises still remains largely uncharted. This chapter therefore engages with the themes of religious salvation in relation to gender, class, and journalism so as to address this neglected field of visual and social history.   The chapter will also analyse the images of the fallen woman from an art-historical perspective, however, so as to engage with

Salvation Army, volume 3: 1883-1953, social reform and welfare work (London: Thomas Nelson and Son, 1955); Pamela Walker, *Pulling the devil's kingdom down: the Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (London: University of California Press, 2001); Victor Bailey, '"In darkest England and the way out": the Salvation Army, social reform and the labour movement, 1885-1910', *International Review of Social History*, 29, no. 2 (1984), pp. 133-171; Gillian Ball, 'Practical religion: a study of the Salvation Army's social service for women 1884-1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1987) <https://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/8424> [accessed 24 July 2014].

[4] Laura Lauer, 'Soul-saving partnerships and pacifist soldiers: the ideal of masculinity in the Salvation Army', in Bradstock et al., *Masculinity and spirituality in Victorian culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 194-208;); Andrew M. Eason, *Women in God's army*.

[5] 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), pp. 527-546; Jenny Hartley, *Charles Dickens and the house of fallen women* (London: Methuen Publishing Ltd., 2008).

the broader research questions of this thesis which concern the relationship between medium, reader, and producer. A principal focus will be the question of why the Salvation Army, in their portrayals of the fallen woman of the 1890s engaged with literary and visual themes which had been popular in the art of the mid-century, how the production process was managed, and what the intended effect on the reading and viewing audience was. Wider attitudes towards the relationships between photography, print, and the reader, as well as the identities of those responsible for their production, will therefore be explored in consideration of the Salvation Army's use of illustration. Linda Hughes, James Mussel, and Seth Koven's comparisons between the objective, scientific implications of photography in contrast to the greater iconographic and aesthetic meaning afforded to printed illustration, for example, are pertinent to the discussion of this material as they raise issues of artistic manipulation and propagandistic control.[6] The issues addressed therefore also engage with concerns raised by Hartley who, through her discussion of Dickens' use of his philanthropic experiences for the formation of his fictional characters, questions the moral implications of his endeavour. Lynda Nead's recent discussion of the interview process required for admission of children to the Foundling Hospital also identifies concerns regarding the viability of the accounts historians are provided with.[7] Her discussion highlights the significance of the silences in historical accounts – a subject which is just as pertinent to the material discussed in this chapter, where the propagandistic role of the publications and the intervention of the editorial in artistic production is examined. Class and gender therefore stand as significant themes which shaped the production and interpretation of this material, as well as the Victorian reader's interactions with it. Thus, continuing from the arguments laid down in the previous chapters, these issues will be shown to have remained central to the discussion of how the fallen woman was portrayed in the prints of the Salvation Army.

By the end of the time period considered by this thesis, the Salvation Army had internationally:

> 15,019 officers … 33,662 local officers and voluntary officials, 14,500 bandsmen, and 1,647 officers engaged in social work … number of women's homes, 86; accommodation for 1,754; inmates, 1,227; admitted (in 12 months), 4,769 … night

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[6] Linda K. Hughes, 'Aestheticism on the cheap: decorative art, art criticism, and cheap paper in the 1890s', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration*, pp. 220-233; James Mussell, 'Science and the timeliness of reproduced photographs in the late nineteenth-century periodical press', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *The lure of illustration*, pp. 203-219; Seth Koven, *Slumming*.
[7] Lynda Nead, 'Fallen women and foundlings'.

shelters, 101; giving accommodation for 11,307; workshops [providing employment], 38; children's homes, 14; and other social institutions, 24.[8]

The sheer size of these statistics illustrates the extent to which the Salvation Army had grown by the turn of the century and suggests the influence and international presence which it had won. Yet, whilst considerable work has been undertaken into the representation of the fallen woman within both visual and literary culture, the periodicals which were produced by the Salvation Army in relation to its rescue work have been largely neglected in past scholarship. This chapter therefore explores the portrayal of the fallen woman in the pages of some of the periodicals which were produced by the Salvation Army during the latter years of the nineteenth century.

The Deliverer, *All the World* and *War Cry* were three of the publications which aimed to aid the Salvation Army's reclamation of the fallen. This chapter will therefore discuss how the fallen woman was depicted in these publications in the hope of shedding new light on attitudes towards her reclamation in visual culture. The extent to which the Salvation Army periodicals were informed by the traditions established in earlier visual culture will be assessed, considering how the illustrations both conformed to and challenged conventional patterns and tropes. This chapter asks how the Salvation Army managed to reconcile the myth of the irreversible fall with their own philanthropic aims, whilst simultaneously promoting the organisation and appealing to readers for their help. This discussion will consider how the charity used imagery to speak to its readers and spread important messages about the role of rescue work in late nineteenth-century society, and will demonstrate how illustration was used to transmit these messages to a wide and varied audience. This discussion considers how the art of the mid-century can be seen to have influenced the Salvation Army's portrayals and how, perhaps most significantly, the exploration of periodicals such as *War Cry*, *All the World*, and *The Deliverer* reveals the importance which the organisation accorded to printed illustration.

As discussed in Chapter One, the Victorian notion of the fallen woman was heavily grounded in Christian tradition. As a Christian organisation, the Salvation Army's perspective

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[8] William T. Stead, *Life of Mrs Booth: the founder of the Salvation Army* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1900), p. 18.

of female fallenness was undoubtedly also shaped by religious thought. However, as has been noted, the Bible provided conflicting views on the fate of such sinners, presenting the eternally damned Eve in opposition to the repentant Mary Magdalene, whose story conversely offered hope of redemption to the sinful. Thus, this chapter will also question how the Salvation Army negotiated these contradictions, promoting the view that reclamation and salvation were not only possible but were to be actively encouraged, in spite of cultural traditions – both visual and literary – which specified that once fallen, little salvation could be found. The Salvation Army's definition of fallenness, its use of visual imagery to differentiate between the fallen woman and the virtuous, and the possible flexibility of these categories will also be discussed. As both illustrated magazines and a journalistic enterprise, an analysis of the Salvation Army periodicals will form a conclusion to this thesis, bringing together the strands of religion, art, the press, and sensationalised illustrations, which have been explored in the previous chapters.

As a result of the broad time-span encompassed by this thesis, it is necessary to address how the physical appearance of the prostitute changed between 1850 and 1900, so as to ascertain how the portrayal of the fallen woman in the pages of the Salvation Army's publications both engaged with and challenged past portrayals. The discussions of the previous chapters have shown that portrayals of the prostitute were shaped by three factors: the intended audience of the portrayal, the intentions of the producer, and wider attitudes towards gender and sexual difference. The development of the fallen woman as a visual artistic canon accelerated during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s in Victorian Britain. During this time, artists, authors, and illustrators promoted formulaic depictions of the fallen woman in contrast to the respectable. She was defined as different through her provocative dress, which later gave way to rags as she neared her inevitable death, and facial features.[9] The respectable woman was easy to recognise in comparison to the fallen in visual representations, as the discussion of Augustus Egg's *Travelling Companions* (1862) in Chapter One has demonstrated. In this painting, although facially similar, it is the women's clothing and the items beside them which demarcate their difference. Thus, the mythology which surrounded portrayals of the prostitute at this time made the iconographic markers of the prostitute explicit to Victorian viewers: her luxurious clothing, her physical appearance, informed by phrenological and physiognomic theories which posited that features such as an elongated forehead were indicators of moral degeneracy, her location at the Haymarket or by

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[9] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 175.

the side of the Thames, all alluded to her trade.[10] 'Patterns of respectability' became fixed patterns of portrayal.[11] Moreover, her physical appearance deteriorated the further down the path of moral deviancy she walked.

Of course, these visual markers did not faithfully reflect the real life experiences of the women they were attempting to depict. This was most certainly due to a reluctance to accept views such as those promoted by Acton who stated that, for many women, prostitution represented a temporary phase in their life when they resorted to sex work in order to supplement scant wages. It was, however, also partly the by-product of the conflict which came from the portrayal of an uneasy subject whilst simultaneously trying to provide visual pleasure for the viewer. Victorian viewers were comfortable with scenes which showed the consequences of moral transgression, the physical ravages and ultimate death of the fallen woman acting to bolster middle-class notions of gender-appropriate behaviour. With the implementation of the Contagious Diseases Acts during the 1860s, the language of contagion became prominent in political debates and literary and artistic portrayals of the prostitute. Although not as overt as the syphilitic spots which adorned Hogarth's tale of Moll Hackabout (1731), the pollutant clouds which dominate the sky in Stanhope's *Thoughts of the Past* allude to wider attitudes towards the moral and physical dangers which the fallen woman presented to society.

The campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts during the 1870s and 1880s shifted the environment upon which portrayals of the fallen woman and the prostitute rested. Campaigns such as those led by Josephine Butler highlighted the fallacies of visual portrayals and shifted responsibility for prostitution towards the male consumer. Chapters Three and Four have explored the differing manifestations which portrayals then took. Stead's campaign, working with Butler and the Salvation Army, promoted the view of the seduced victim, who was blamelessly coerced into the sex trade to satisfy the perversions of wealthy men. So forceful was the image of dangerous male sexuality, that the Criminal Amendment Law which had successfully raised the age of consent to sixteen from thirteen also included a clause which banned male homosexuality activity, the symbolism of which Sally Ledger has explained: 'in the minds of many social purists, homosexuality and prostitution were barely distinguishable: both were part of the continuum of undifferentiated (non-procreative) lusts,

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[10] Ibid., p. 172.
[11] Deborah Cherry, *Painting women*, p. 163.

products of men's sexual selfishness'.[12] The Ripper coverage, on the other hand, whilst similarly focusing on the perverted lust of the male assailant none the less demonised the working-class prostitute, reiterating the persistent myth that her sins would be punished by death. The discussion of these case studies highlights two important factors which defined the representation of the fallen woman. Firstly, the reason for the fall shaped how much sympathy the viewer was expected to give, as with the negation of choice, blame was shifted onto the male consumer. Secondly, the intended audience of publications determined the level of explicitness and sensation, with those aimed at the lower classes presenting much less concern regarding the impact or suitability of what they printed. Nonetheless, although iconographic divisions between the pure and the fallen remained, as the ragged and provocative clothing of the victims discussed in Chapter Four suggests, narratives were now determined by circumstance.

As philanthropic organisations rose in popularity during the late nineteenth century, and regulatory organisations such as the National Vigilance Committee introduced new forms of surveillance, the gap between the fallen and the respectable woman, which had been so clear-cut in the art of the mid-century, was reassessed. Women entered into the public sphere, now working in the city space, and became prominent voices in debates concerning sex.[13] This meant that neither a woman's location on the city streets at night nor her knowledge of sexual issues categorically determined her sexual status. Moreover, if the narrative of philanthropists was now that redemption was possible, the notion of the damning condition of the fall and the impact which this had upon physical appearance could no longer appear to be permanent. Therefore, the portrayal of the fallen woman in visual culture needed to be similarly re-evaluated. This chapter therefore asks how the representation of the prostitute in visual culture changed during the 1890s by examining the literature of the Salvation Army. Were the visual markers which had traditionally demarcated the fallen woman as different still applicable? How were contemporary viewers expected to distinguish between the respectable and the redeemable? This chapter argues that the Salvation Army adopted an approach which was intended to appeal to the middle classes, through the conformity to well established tropes in the representation of the fallen woman, but which would also challenge the physical prototype which had been laid down in earlier decades.

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[12] Sally Ledger, *The new woman: fiction and feminism at the fin de siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 113.
[13] Ibid., p. 155.

Central to the developing philanthropic environment and aware of the need to change attitudes towards the outcast woman, the Salvation Army aimed to show that their officers and the women they hoped to help were not as different to one another after all. Thus, the portrayal of the prostitute had evolved from the mid-century: although the reliance on themes which had surrounded the mythology of the fallen woman in earlier portrayals persisted, as nostalgia was used to encourage a sympathetic response and 'proved difficult to edit out of official discourses on prostitution', she was intentionally less iconographically recognisable than her predecessors so as to bolster the Salvation Army's message of redemption.[14] As this chapter will show, the Salvation Army's audience base was comprised of both wealthy philanthropists and sex workers; the publications were heavily weighted towards achieving their philanthropic goals; and it is significant that these publications arose at a time when philanthropic interest in the fallen woman was at its peak.

The Salvation Army was first established by William Booth in 1865 under the title of the Christian Mission. Renamed in 1879, the charity aimed to secure 'the permanent deliverance of mankind from misery, either in this world or the next' through Christian teaching and philanthropic acts.[15] The Salvation Army's involvement in the Eliza Armstrong controversy, discussed in Chapter Three, brought their rescue work to the forefront of the public's attention. This was followed by Booth's own personal manifesto, *In darkest England and the way out,* which was published in 1890. *In darkest England* offered solutions to the poverty and criminality which Booth believed filled London's uncharted recesses. William T. Stead was instrumental in the formation of the text, writing that 'General Booth's book may be regarded as a bigger and a better "Bitter Cry"', referring to *In darkest England* as a descendant of his *maiden tribute* campaign five years earlier.[16] This illustrates the ongoing collaborative networks which united the press, artists, and philanthropists, as Chapter Three has discussed.[17]

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[14] Emma Liggins, 'Prostitution and social purity in the 1880s and 1890s', *Critical Survey*, 15: 3 (2003), pp. 42-43.

[15] For a comprehensive history of the development of the Salvation Army, its practices and philosophies, see Andrew M. Eason, *Boundless salvation*; Andrew M. Eason, *Women in God's army*; Robert Sandall, *The history of the Salvation Army*; Pamela Walker, *Pulling the devil's kingdom down*; Gillian Ball, 'Practical religion'.

[16] Victor Bailey, '"In darkest England and the way out", p. 150.

[17] Robert Sandall, *The history of the Salvation Army*, p. 38.

In darkest England sold 115,000 copies in its first year. The public interest in the Army which the book generated resulted in significant financial donations being made to Booth's cause.[18] The title of the work purposefully alluded to Henry Morton Stanley's book *In darkest Africa* which had been published earlier in the same year. Stanley's book had described the author's explorations up the Congo River, where he had encountered the tribes and 'primitives' of the African jungle, traversed the dangers of previously unexplored lands, and rescued the missing explorer David Livingstone. Booth's deliberate allusion to Stanley's text arguably reveals a deeper intention to present himself as a similar hero figure. He would be the saviour of the poor who, lost in the depths of poverty and drink, needed rescuing from the horrors of 'darkest' London. Illustrating this intention, Booth condemned the modern city for its barbarous nature:

> The equatorial forest traversed by Stanley resembles that Darkest England of which I have to speak, alike in its vast extent … its monotonous darkness, its malaria and its gloom, its dwarfish de-humanised inhabitants, the slavery to which they are subjected, their privations and their misery.[19]

He continued: 'the stony streets of London, if they could speak, would tell of tragedies as awful, of ruin as complete, of ravishments as horrible, as if we were in central Africa, only the devastation is covered, corpselike, with the artificialities and hypocrisies of modern civilisation'.[20] This harsh, abrasive description betrays the imperialistic undertones which informed much of nineteenth-century thought. With different traditions, fashions, and ways of life, it was not uncommon for the lower classes to be described as akin to the perceived degenerate or uncivilised inhabitants of the uncharted jungle. Paralleling Booth's assessment of the East End, for example, *The Edinburgh Medical Journal* wrote that, 'let anyone walk certain streets of London, Glasgow or Edinburgh, of a night, and … his eyes and ears will tell him at once what a multitudinous Amazonian army the devil keeps in constant field service, for advancing his own ends'.[21]

Increasing numbers of religious groups travelled to Africa during the 1840s and 1850s to spread the Christian faith among the 'uncivilised' tribes, teaching moral lessons and Bible

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18 Victor Bailey, '"In darkest England and the way out", p. 155.

19 William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnal, 1890), p. 12.

20 Ibid., p. 13.

21 *Edinburgh Medical Journal* (1859), quoted in Eric Trudgill, *Madonnas and Magdalens: the origins and development of Victorian sexual attitudes* (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 107.

stories.[22] In the same way, as if a 'missionary in his own country', Booth aimed to spread Christian teaching among the uneducated masses who dwelt in the London slums, telling them of the evils of alcohol, prostitution, addiction and greed.[23] Yet, as Bailey has observed, despite the imperialistic undertones of Booth's text 'no high moral tone [was] adopted towards the outcast'.[24] Instead, emphasis was placed on the need for social change and the provision of work; unlike Mayhew, Booth believed the 'outcast' members of society were not those that 'will not work,' but had fallen into alcoholism and prostitution because they could not find work.[25] Booth therefore emphasised the instrumental role which work would play in the reformation of the 'outcast' under his watch, writing that his labour scheme with Army shelters would 'benefit the poor by enabling them to help themselves without the demoralising intervention of charitable relief'.[26] He envisioned that the establishment of workshops and sewing rooms would provide:

> Relief for the unemployed and destitute, the object being to make it unnecessary for the homeless or workless to be compelled to go to the Workhouse or Casual Ward, food and shelter being provided for them in exchange for work done by them, until they can procure work for themselves, or it can be found for them elsewhere.[27]

Through the Army's intervention in this manner, Booth's second-in-command, Commissioner Railton, wrote:

> The impure shall become holy, the drunkard shall loathe the cup, the lips which spoke blasphemy and loaded the air with contaminating thoughts shall grow gentle and reverent, and the heart of the hardened and vicious woman shall become 'as the heart of a little child', that the nature shall be changed, and body and soul be saved.[28]

The production of periodicals containing stories which warned against the temptations of alcohol, and told of the positive experiences of many who had received help from the Salvation Army therefore became a central focus of the organisation's efforts. Throughout the

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[22] Christopher Steed and Bengt Sundkler, *History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 100-124 provides an overview of European and American missionary societies in the nineteenth century. Also see Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 242-305.

[23] Alexis Easley, 'W. T. Stead, late Victorian feminism, and the *Review of Reviews*', in Laurel Brake *et al* (eds), *W. T. Stead*, pp. 37-58, p. 51; William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, p. 14. The Salvation Army undertook rescue and social work both in England and abroad. The confines of this thesis, however, mean that only their work in the rescue of prostitutes in London will be assessed.

[24] Victor Bailey, '"In darkest England and the way out"', p. 153.

[25] Ibid., pp. 153-4.

[26] William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, p. 105.

[27] Ibid., p. 107.

[28] 'The "Deliverer"', *The Deliverer*, July 1889, p. 1.

1880s, the Salvation Army invested heavily in the print medium, launching a vast number of periodicals in the hope that they could make the public aware of the issues which they were trying to tackle. *The East London Evangelist*, later renamed the *Salvationist*, was the first publication to be produced by the Army in 1868 and provided a record of their work. This was later followed by other periodicals such as *The Little Soldier*, which ran from 1881 to 1887 and was aimed at children, *War Cry*, which was established in 1879, and *All the World*, which was produced between 1885 and 1961. *The Deliverer* was established in 1889 and was entirely devoted to the subject of the reclamation of the fallen. Advertised as a 'record of Salvation Army rescue work', *The Deliverer* contained a plethora of illustrations and stories of the plight of the fallen woman and the Salvation Army's role in her reclamation.[29]

The *War Cry* stated that by December 1900, the Salvation Army was sending fifty million copies of its various publications worldwide each year. Half of these were circulated in the United Kingdom with the rest spreading news of the charity's rescue work to the farthest corners of the Empire. Illustrating the importance and investment with which the organisation treated the print medium, 'Greeting' (fig. 52) celebrated the international audience which the Army was able to reach through its publications. Published in *The Deliverer* in 1889, it pictured the tailored covers of *Deliverers* from countries as diverse as Germany, Canada, and India.[30] The print medium was therefore considered to be fundamental to the dissemination of the Army's message, as one article printed in *War Cry* in 1900 illustrated, stating, 'We believe and *know* [that] souls can be and are brought to Christ through printed words'.[31]

The periodicals were not, however, typical of the religious publications commonly found during the century. Charting the development of the religious press over the course of the long nineteenth century, Josef Altholz argues that religious texts during the period tended – somewhat unsurprisingly – to be 'dull', 'stodgy' and 'safe', so as not to offend the conservative middle classes who were commonly the prime intended audience.[32] In contrast, however, the Salvation Army's periodicals were vibrant and visually appealing, teeming with

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[29] 'Departments of the international headquarters', *War Cry*, 1 December 1900, p. 6.
[30] 'Greeting', *The Deliverer*, November 1889, p. 53.
[31] 'Departments of the international headquarters', *War Cry*, p. 6.
[32] Josef Altholz, *The religious press in Britain, 1760-1900* (New York and London: Greenwood Press, 1989), p. 12.

images, rhymes and 'eye-catching headlines', combining 'traditional forms of working-class entertainment … with conversion narratives'.[33] The Salvation Army were renowned for their sensational public spectacles. Well known for using marching bands, music, uniforms and public addresses to gather crowds together and promote their brand and message, the Salvation Army employed the same tendencies for their publications, as Robert Sandal has explained: 'the Salvation Army was more sensational in its methods than the other non-conformist bodies of the period'. [34] The eye-catching, large-scale illustrations which covered every issue were among these 'methods', and were inspired by the illustrated press which had learnt earlier in the century, as Chapters Three and Four argue, that sensationalism sold.[35] Booth recognised the impact which attractive and visually inviting publications had on readership growth, explaining in the *War Cry*:

> The remarkable incidents contained in it [*War Cry*], couched, as they often are, in language which to some may appear eccentric and extravagant, are the very means by which we attract the attention of those who would be otherwise indisposed to read the solemn, instructive, and warning truths of the Gospel.[36]

The front page article of the very first issue of *The Deliverer* emphasised the intended inclusive nature of the publication, stating that *The Deliverer* and the rescue work which it reported was 'a work to which the simplest and humblest, the weakest and poorest, as well as the most learned and wealthy ought to devote themselves'.[37] Consequently, *The Deliverer* was pitched at a dual audience, catering for both those who were in need of the Salvation Army's intervention, and those who had the potential to help. Copies of *The Deliverer* were handed out free of charge by Salvation Army workers to women whom they hoped to save from prostitution, but were also commercially available, costing one penny per monthly issue. Many of the pages of the periodical appealed for assistance from their readers, asking for donations in the form of money, clothes or time. Indeed, an advertisement printed in *The Deliverer* in 1899 suggests the gravity of this aim. The advertisement does not ask the reader for assistance, but instead rather forcefully tells them what they can do to help. Suggestions range from 'pray for us' and 'tell your friends about us', activities which even the poorest reader could do, to requests for food or the purchasing of goods made by the girls in the

[33] Laurel Brake et al. (eds), *Dictionary of nineteenth-century journalism*, p. 661. This quote is taken from the entry for *War Cry*, although it is also representative of the work found in *The Deliverer* and *All the World*.
[34] Robert Sandall, *The history of the Salvation Army*, p. xiii.
[35] Ibid.
[36] 'In retrospect of the work of the Army during the year 1880', *War Cry*, 30 December 1880, p.1.
[37] 'The "Deliverer"', *The Deliverer*, p. 1.

Salvation Army rescue homes, which would be suited to more affluent audiences.[38] This suggests that the Army hoped to attract a wide range of readers through its publications, catering not just to those who needed deliverance from prostitution, but those who had the financial ability to help. It may be argued that the abundant use of illustration in *The Deliverer* was therefore intended to ensure that the periodical would appeal not only to those who not only glanced at its pages, having picked up a discarded copy in a bar or bus shelter, but also those who intended to read the publication from cover to cover.

The wide audience base for which *All the World*, *War Cry*, and *The Deliverer* were intended was reflected in the collaborative nature of the production process. A survey of the articles published in *The Deliverer* reveals that they were contributed by a wide variety of authors, including men, women, Salvation Army workers, and even those who had been personally helped by the charity. The nature of the texts published echoed this diversity, with each issue being comprised of poems, stories, observational reports, statistical tables, and letters. Despite such an array of authors, genres and styles, however, *The Deliverer*, *War Cry*, and *All the World* display a coherence and consistency which characterises the publications and makes them instantly recognisable as Salvation Army products. Jill Rappoport argues that this eclectic mix of authors and genres was far from accidental, but instead was a deliberate move which was intended to create the impression of one 'corporate "cry"' formed out of a wide and diverse range of voices – a unified force all working towards one goal.[39] The combination of articles written by signed authors and anonymous contributors further helped to create this impression, serving to 'fragment … journalistic authority' by dispersing the voice of the individual amongst those of the unknown.[40] This technique had been commonly employed in the journalism of the mid-century, where it was hoped that the ideas expressed within the publication would appear fully to reflect the thoughts and views of a single editor. In many ways, the publications of the Salvation Army, Rappoport argues, can therefore be seen as a continuation of this style of 'Old Journalism'.[41]

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[38] 'What you can do', *The Deliverer*, December 1899, p. 95.
[39] Jill Rappoport, *Giving women: alliance and exchange in Victorian culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 131.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 130.

Certainly, the influence of the investigative journalism of the 1840s to the 1860s can be seen in the numerous stories of individual cases which were retold in every issue. 'At the house of hope', published in the Christmas 1895 *Deliverer*, told the story of a destitute widow begging for a place to stay for the night with her three children. After explaining that she was refused room due to the age of her eldest child, the text becomes almost novelistic in style as the dialogue between the Army worker and the woman dominates the account. The woman pleads with the officer: '"Oh, he ain't, sister; he ain't really. He's on'y four and a-arf – I can show you his birth ticket. He've growed dreadful, al'ays standin' round the streets 'long o' me; but he ain't more'n four an' a-arf, sister"'.[42] The conversational narrative and the inclusion of the widow's dialect hark back to the style of early investigative tourist journalism, where, O'Day and Englander have observed, authors such as Henry Mayhew and James Greenwood attempted to portray the accents of the working class so as to make each 'interview' read 'as if it were an autobiographical statement in the "voice" of the worker'.[43] Whilst it was thought that the spoken word would reveal the genuine character of the individual, this form of narrative dialogue traverses the boundaries between observational reportage and the fictional narrative voice. There appears to be little distinction between the two as the text slips between first-hand observation and fictional characterisation. This undoubtedly calls into question the accuracy of these accounts. To what extent were the women presented true reflections of the women whom the officers of the Army met on their night walks and how were these projections shaped by earlier literary styles? These questions of reliability and accuracy will be revisited later in the chapter.

This widespread intended audience of the Army, their aims of inclusivity, and their campaign for universal compassion, were central to the Salvation Army's structure and the public persona which they promoted. Yet, it can be argued that this also helped to shape the somewhat paradoxical language used by the organisation. As Gillian Ball concluded in her thesis 'Practical Religion', the very foundations of The Salvation Army's aims, methods and beliefs were based upon contradiction, being both a welcoming family and a corrective institute, an evangelical group and a political force. Indeed, one only need consider the title of the movement to recognise this inherent paradox: 'salvation' provides a promise of hope, love and compassion which certainly seems to conflict with the strict regimentation evoked by the

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[42] 'At the house of hope', *The Deliverer*, December 1895, p. 82.
[43] O'Day and Englander (eds), *London labour and the London poor*, p. xxiii.

term 'Army'.[44] Andrew Eason suggests that military terminology was purposefully adopted by the Army so as to appeal particularly to the working classes, whose interest in 'heroic soldiers … and distant battlefields' was regularly satisfied by reports of overseas conflicts in newspapers such as *The Illustrated London News*.[45] Consequently, the home and the battlefield were both characteristic elements in Salvation Army publications and were fundamental to their approach to rescue work. Many of the articles which William Booth wrote for *The Deliverer*, for example, were signed by 'The General'. The title emphasised the combative role of the Army under his lead in the fight against poverty and vice, but also placed him as the father of the organisation, overseeing its progress with love and care. As Laura Lauer has shown, Booth often interspersed his articles with both military and familial language so as to emphasise the dual purpose that his organisation played, calling his readers into action by addressing them as 'comrades' whilst simultaneously emphasising the intimate nature of his Army.[46]

This continual oscillation is clearly illustrated in one article written by 'The General' which was published in *The Deliverer* in 1897. The article emphasised the role which parents play in the fate of their children, asking the reader 'who will save' the 'daughters of sorrow' whose mothers and fathers have either lost all contact with them or no longer 'care whether they are saved or not?'.[47] The illustration printed in the centre of the article presented a daughter kissing her father goodnight (fig. 53). The pair stand in an affluent setting, a cosy armchair by the roaring open fire creating a homely and loving atmosphere. The caption beneath the image reads, '"Goodnight, Father". His child is safe, but someone else's isn't', a description which acts to highlight the safety and security which the parent should ideally provide for his children, even though this is clearly not always the case.

In the illustration, the father is shown in profile. His white combed-back hair, prominent nose and bushy beard are all redolent of William Booth himself, whose photographs and portrait were often published in the pages of Salvation Army periodicals.[48] It

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44 Gillian Ball, 'Practical religion', p. 291.
45 Andrew M. Eason, *Women in God's army*, p. 45.
46 Laura Lauer, 'Soul-saving partnerships', p. 203.
47 'Daughters of sorrow: who will save them?', *The Deliverer*, February 1897, p. 313.
48 An example of such portraits can be seen in 'Have you a sister?', *The Deliverer*, July 1894, p. 1. In this photograph, William Booth was shown in his Salvation Army uniform, holding a book and reading

may be argued that this similarity in appearance was purposefully intended to underscore Booth's role as the father of the movement, in whose hands 'other fathers' daughters' could be safely returned home. Indeed, the personal involvement of the Booths in the welfare and restoration of the missing or the 'lost' to their own families was reinforced by regular 'Missing' columns which contained details of reported individuals whom 'Mrs. Bramwell Booth' was helping to locate.[49]

The collapse of the family unit had long been held responsible for the proliferation of prostitution during the century, as illustrated by Henry Mayhew who had written forty years previously:

> We have reached the state of society … which compels the wife to labour for her living; and to transfer her care from her children to some factory. Hence, the daughters of our people are, perforce, brought up in our gutters … and depraved often by vicious intercourse long ere any passion or love could have led to such a result.[50]

It is certainly for this reason that the Salvation Army placed such emphasis on the importance of the family unit, with William and Catherine Booth fulfilling the role of father and mother of the movement. Key positions were occupied by many of their children, ensuring that the Salvation Army stayed firmly within the control of the Booth family.[51] Rescue homes were often managed by husband and wife teams who stood as the secondary parents of each home, whilst each of their officers acted as surrogate siblings for the residents.[52] Even the printing rooms were organised in this fashion, with the chief compositor holding the title of 'The Father of the Chapel'.[53]

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glasses whilst looking up as though about to answer a question asked by someone out of shot. The pose made clear his role as the leader of the movement whilst also a listener to his followers' problems.
[49] See 'Missing', *The Deliverer*, November 1889, p. 58.
[50] O'Day and Englander (eds), *London labour and the London poor*, p. 589.
[51] Laura Lauer, 'Soul-saving partnerships', p. 203; Gillian Ball, 'Practical religion', p. 112.
[52] 'A peep at shelterdom through Spanish eyes', *The Deliverer*, January 1891, p. 119, provides three examples where married couples were in charge of a rescue home. The article reports that in 1891 the Hanbury Street shelter in Whitechapel was headed by 'Captain and Mrs. Ward', the Westminster Shelter was run by 'Captain Kyberd and his wife', and the Limehouse Shelter on West India Dock Road was supervised by 'Captain and Mrs. Goodland'.
[53] 'Science and salvation', *All The World*, October 1891, pp. 250-256, p. 251. The description of a 'fraternity of printers' as a chapel had long been established by this point. See Josef Moxon, *Mechanick exercises; or, the doctrine of handy-works applied to the art of printing,* volume 2 (London: Atlas, 1683), pp. 428-430. Moxon suggests that the term arose as a result of early printing organisations being run by Churchmen.

With scenes of hot food, warm fires and Army officers playing musical instruments whilst the 'rescued' sing along being regularly printed in the charity's periodicals, the Salvation Army shelters really were designed to be 'homes' for the 'thousands in London' for whom 'there [wa]s no such place'.[54] Illustrating this, an article printed in the September 1891 issue of *The Deliverer* told of the convivial nature of the Hanbury Street Salvation Army shelter in Whitechapel:

> The contrast … between the desolation outside and the cheerful warmth and sense of safety within was stronger and more vivid than usual. Streaming in from the streets came the young and old for comfort and repose. As each woman entered she put her penny through the little hatchway to receive in return a big mugful of hot, strong, well-sweetened tea, with a huge slice of good bread spread with dripping … they ate and drank, sewed, knitted, talked, waiting for the evening service which to them was the finest ritual – the most delightful oratorio.[55]

Several articles detailed the daily activities of the residents whose lives, like those of children, were organised by their carers. In line with Booth's ethos of the significance of work in rehabilitation, the homes had strict schedules in place which included lessons in needlework, book-keeping and training for jobs in service. [56] As Norman Murdoch has observed, through this organisational and military structure, 'no one was unemployed, thus no charity was needed'.[57]   Punctuated by regular prayers and mealtimes, these activities were intended to provide life-lessons which would ensure that on leaving the rescue home, the women would be able to venture out into the world, equipped with enough knowledge and experience to support themselves. The rescue shelter therefore provided a substitute home for those excluded from traditional domestic structures; as Susan Mumm has explained:

> The nineteenth-century female life-cycle involved a move from the family of origin to the family of reproduction. Women who engaged in illicit sex were barred from both; the sisterhoods, with their ideology of spiritual motherhood and mystical family ties, offered a way back into a family structure through a transitional structure.[58]

Further highlighting the significance which 'home' played in the restoration of the fallen, Jill Rappoport has argued that the 'Army … attempted to re-train working-class desire'

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[54] 'Shelter doings', *The Deliverer*, February 1890, p. 104; J. Ewing Ritchie, *The night side of London*, p. 27.
[55] 'In a Salvation Army shelter', *The Deliverer*, September 1891, pp. 45-46, p. 46.
[56] 'Jottings from the rescue work', *All The World*, February 1888, pp. 64-65.
[57] Norman H. Murdoch, 'Rose culture and social reform: Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888) and William Booth's *In darkest England and the way out* (1890)', *Utopian Studies*, 3, no. 2 (1992), pp. 91-101, p. 99.
[58] Susan Mumm, '"Not worse than other girls"', p. 539.

so that rather than wanting alcohol or other destructive substances, their charges instead focused on the creation of a home. Thus, by helping the 'lost' to 'furnish domestic spaces, they convert[ed] souls … bodies … [and] the slum spaces themselves'.[59] The successful implementation of the domestic traits which were taught in the Salvation Army homes were seen as evidence of spiritual redemption – a return to the womanly qualities which the ideals of their gender, the mother and housewife, were thought to possess naturally. Yet, whilst a sense of community and family care was often shown in the images, where the old and young work together side by side, the homes were not presented as an easy option.[60] William Booth made this clear in several addresses published in the charity's magazines, stating that 'obedience, instruction, and industry' were the fundamental principles of every home.[61] This meant that if a girl did not possess the determination to separate herself completely from 'all evil tendencies and associations', then she would be turned away: 'if a woman is not willing to be saved, and willing to work, suffer, sacrifice, or go to Calvary for it, she cannot be saved; therefore she must be lost'.[62] An article written by William Booth in the Christmas 1889 issue of *The Deliverer* provides insight into how the Salvation Army decided upon whom to accept into their rescue homes. Booth wrote, 'there are girls *and* girls. There are girls that have very little mind; and there are others who have a twist in their minds'. Relating the work of his Salvation Army officers to these different 'types' of girls, Booth stated that,

> Your victories are very likely to be got out of the class of people who are the most unlikely for victory. Therefore, your success is all the more to be wondered at. The first time I went to the Rescue Home I shall never forget the sight I saw, the broken-nosed, blear-eyed, wretched-looking articles that were before me. They were in an old kitchen, next door to the common sewer, and smelling strongly of it. Yet out of that lot came a large percentage of real saints and really virtuous women.[63]

The hyperbolic manner in which Booth describes these women and the magnitude of their transformation reveals an adherence to the categorisation of women in mid-nineteenth-century social thought which was discussed in Chapter One. However, for Booth, it is precisely those who seem most lost who have the potential to make the best candidates: 'there is what we call stickability to evil as well as good', he wrote, continuing:

> The capacity for sticking will cling to evil as well as to good; and, therefore, perhaps, when we come to have a set of machinery by which we can go right into the very lion's

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[59] Jill Rappoport, *Giving women*, p. 119.
[60] 'Jottings from the rescue work', *All The World*, pp. 64-65; 'A Salvation Army laundry', *The Deliverer*, July 1893, p. 1.
[61] 'New national scheme of the Salvation Army for the deliverance of unprotected girls and the rescue of the fallen', *All The World*, September 1885, pp. 212-214, p. 213.
[62] 'How to save the lost', *The Deliverer*, Christmas 1889, p. 75.
[63] Ibid.

den – into the very heart of those places, and bring out, by our own operations, the various inmates, we shall get a better class of girls. [64]

Despite this original approach in which women who were apparently the most deeply fallen also had the greatest potential for reclamation, Booth's article still established a clear division between those who could succeed with intervention and those who were beyond redemption; those who were welcomed inside the home and those who were not. Indeed, Booth urged his officers to select those most likely to succeed in the homes: 'there is a … class [of women] which I call hopeless and are not to be taken at all. These are idiots and confirmed drunkards. Yours is not the place for either'.[65] This punitive attitude was reflected in the interview process for admission into the Salvation Army's rescue homes, but was not uncommon at the time in similar institutions. Linda Mahood, for example, has shown the importance of 'first time fall' in the admission of women to the Glasgow Magdalene Institution, where it was considered that 'repeat offenders' were past all probable redemption.[66] Moreover, it reflects the persistence of class-based behaviour stereotypes throughout the century, as it closely echoes the categorisation expressed in Mayhew and Hemyng's fourth volume of *London labour and the London Poor*. Similarly, the recent *The Fallen Woman* exhibition at the Foundling Museum (September 2015 – January 2016) revealed that such strict terms were also in place in the interviews undertaken at the Foundling Hospital from the late eighteenth century onwards.[67] The women who made petitions to the Foundling Hospital were required to provide evidence that the child they hoped to secure a place for was their first, that they had been a respectable woman before their pregnancy, knowledge of the whereabouts of the child's father (if known), and the circumstances in which they fell pregnant. These conditions were deemed to be important determining factors in the acceptance of petitions and although influenced by moral prejudice, it is probable that with both the Foundling Hospital and Salvation Army rescue homes, they were equally prompted by the financial and spatial limitations of the organisations. Though doubtless more open-minded than other 'first time fall' institutions, the Salvation Army in part adhered to prevailing stereotypes which were thought to distinguish between those women who were more likely to succeed under the Salvation Army's care. Booth's insistence that the Army be selective about who they chose to admit to their rescue homes despite the publication's continual

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Linda Mahood, 'The Magdalene's friend', p. 49 and p. 53.
[67] *The Fallen Woman* [exhibition].

overarching themes of inclusivity, reveals tensions between the Army's ideology and practical applications.

Moreover, whilst the shelters were presented as 'homes' and officers as substitutes for absent parents, the work undertaken in the rescue homes was also still shown to be arduous, as John H. Bacon's illustration for 'In a Salvation Army shelter' (fig. 54a) reveals. In the image, a group of Army residents is shown settling down in the evening after a long day at work. One sits rubbing her feet whilst another holds her head in her hands, clearly weary from the day's toil.[68] The second illustration (fig. 54b) which accompanied the article presented two women preparing the dormitory and folding bed sheets. In the background, another woman looks up at a banner which reads, 'All things are possible to him that believeth'. Taken from the *Gospel according to Saint Mark* 9:23, this was evidently intended to provide a sense of comfort and hope to the residents of the home whilst simultaneously re-educating them in the teachings of the Bible.[69]

These messages were commonplace in the dormitories of Salvation Army homes and were regularly referenced in the pages of their periodicals. 'On Night Duty' described the work of a Salvation Army 'Lieutenant' over the course of one evening and reported the different types of women that she encountered. One of these was a young girl brought to the shelter by a police officer who had found her wandering the streets, having run away from home. The article reported that having been taken in by the Lieutenant so as to prevent any harm coming to her, 'the girl ... soon found herself tucked into one of the cosy beds, with over her head the beautiful text, "he careth for you"'.[70]

This inviting, protective atmosphere certainly supports the importance of home in Salvation Army thought, yet its idyllic form clearly contrasts with an illustration printed in *The Graphic* (fig. 55) three years later which claimed to have been 'drawn from life'. Here, instead of the supportive and hope-filled sentiments of Bacon's image, the message above the beds

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[68] 'In a Salvation Army shelter', *The Deliverer*, p. 45. The illustrations for this article were provided by John H. Bacon. Bacon contributed to several other periodicals during the century, such as *The Girl's Own Paper* (1890-1900), *The Ludgate Monthly* (1891-1896) and *The Quiver* (1892). This assortment of religious, fictional, and factual journals suggest that Bacon's involvement in *The Deliverer*'s production was most likely the result of the need for a livelihood rather than the consequence of any personal religious affiliation.

[69] Ibid., p. 46.

[70] 'On night duty', *The Deliverer*, September 1898, p. 38.

ominously asks, 'Are you ready to die?'. The women are dressed in rags, distraught, gaunt and skeletal, as they line up to be directed to a bed by a stern-looking Army officer and are assigned to individual wooden boxes. The description which accompanied the illustration painted an even starker image:

> When the night is still, half the inmates surely look as though they were dead already; the unsightly receptacles for the sleepers are strangely like open coffins – open graves – in which repose and rest in peace for a while – some of them – these weary hard-driven offshoots of our poor humanity. [71]

The recognition of the coffin-like bed alongside the inauspicious banner implies only one outcome for the inhabitants of the shelter and could not be further removed from the Army's promises of salvation and unconditional love. The contrast between the two images reflects the evolution which the portrayal of the fallen woman took in the pages of the Salvation Army's publications. In *The Deliverer*, the charges are fleshy, wholesome, and happily engaging in domestic chores. In contrast, the imminence of death and the physical and psychological suffering of the women, made apparent through their skeletal figures and the way in which their spidery, elongated fingers claw at their faces in despair, draws on earlier iconographic patterns which denoted that a woman's fall from respectability was 'made absolute by the manifestation of an irreversible physical change'.[72] Undoubtedly, the Salvation Army wished to portray a convivial environment which would encourage the women they met on night-walks to join their homes and contrast with public perceptions of the condemnatory workhouse or austere Magdalene Hospitals.[73] Yet, illustrations such as the contrary scene published in *The Graphic* clearly question to what extent the illustrations produced by the Army were contrived and can therefore be read as propaganda. Under their artistic control, the outcast woman has transformed from a dehumanised creature to one of domestic harmony and health – a stylistic change in approach and appearance which was undoubtedly intended to symbolise the success of the Salvation Army's rehabilitation programme.

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[71] 'A Salvation Army shelter for women in Whitechapel', *The Graphic*, 27 February 1892, p. 278.
[72] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 173.
[73] See Stanley Nash, 'Prostitution and charity: the Magdalene Hospital, a case study', *Journal of Social History*, 17, no. 4 (1984), pp. 617-628, for the development of Magdalene Hospitals in eighteenth-century England. Also, S. B. P. Pearce, *An ideal in the working: the story of the Magdalen Hospital, 1758-1958* (London: Skinner, 1958), Jenny Hartley, *Charles Dickens and the house of fallen women*, p. 31, and Eric Trudgill, *Madonnas and Magdalens*, p. 281. Trudgill describes the inmate of a Magdalene Hospital as 'a recalcitrant sinner to be won to repentance with severity and discipline: instead of a comfortable Home she was offered bleak houses of correction in which, with cropped hair, drab uniforms and hard, tedious labour, she might win her way to piety'.

The Salvation Army's intention to create a 'home' for the destitute and outcast within the city streets rather than just lodgings was certainly not unique. The location of Charles Dickens' own rescue home, Urania Cottage in Shepherd's Bush, Jenny Hartley maintains, was chosen specifically because of its rural, homely, setting; surrounded by fields, it was distanced from the temptations and dangers of the city.[74] Echoing this 'anti-urbanism', William Booth openly condemned the destructive nature of the city, writing that whilst 'the country is the breeding ground of healthy citizens … the towns, especially London, are being gorged with undigested and indigestible masses of labour [where] … children are not so much born into a home as they are spawned into the world like fish'.[75] Town lacked the family life which the countryside provided and Booth argued that industrialisation, combined with the social apathy which it engendered, had led to an underclass of unloved, uneducated, and unemployable people, stating that: 'society … has greased the slope down which these poor creatures slide to perdition'.[76] Lisa Tickner explains the popularity of such a response, arguing that 'an increasingly urban population began nostalgically to consume idealised representations of rural life', looking to romanticised notions of rural simplicity and tranquillity to remedy the apparent hostility of the city. [77]

The corrupting influence of the city was referenced in several images and articles published by the Salvation Army. The stories of 'Lily', 'Nell' and 'Lizzie' all follow the same course, whereby the innocent country girl is led into temptation by the beguiling experiences of the urban environment, echoing the long established trope by the artists and authors of the eighteenth century.[78] The city as the site of corruption had been firmly established within British visual culture, with the prints of Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (1732) being renowned in their own time and in the following century for their moralising message.[79] A series of six

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[74] Jenny Hartley, *Charles Dickens and the house of fallen women*, pp. 29-30.
[75] Victor Bailey, '"In darkest England and the way out"', p. 151; William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, pp. 62-64.
[76] William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, p. 48.
[77] Lisa Tickner, *Modern life and modern subjects* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 56.
[78] 'A blemished Lily', *The Deliverer*, April 1897, pp. 341-342; 'Our Nell', *The Deliverer*, May 1891, p. 172; 'Poor Lizzie!', *The Deliverer*, December 1899, p. 95. Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722), William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (1732) and John Cleland's *Fanny Hill* (1748) all follow this plot line.
[79] Peter Wagner, 'Hogarth's 'modern moral subjects'', in David Bindman (ed.), *The history of British art 1600-1870* (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), pp. 174-175, p. 174; Iwan Bloch, *Ethnological and cultural*

engravings, *A Harlot's Progress* charted the downfall of Moll Hackabout, an innocent Yorkshire girl who ultimately becomes another disease-ridden London prostitute. The series culminates in the funeral scene of the protagonist who dies from syphilis at the age of 23, leaving her young son surrounded by philandering men and her apparently unperturbed friends. As Timothy Erwin has shown, 'the familiarity of the subject … made it popular with all ranks of society', and therefore Hogarth's portrayal of the prostitute's inevitable end acted as a continual influence for numerous nineteenth-century commentators.[80] Similarly, John Cleland's *Fanny Hill* (1748) told of the protagonist's introduction to the sex trade after having been taken to London and then abandoned, discovering that she had been falsely promised work in the city. *The Deliverer* initially appears to have followed this firmly established trope. 'By the old pathway gate she halted' (fig. 56), published in *The Deliverer* in 1899, pictured a woman standing at a country gate looking back towards the church of her childhood village.[81] The quaint building, dusted with pure white snow, acts to remind her of the sanctity of her country home and the safety which it provided before she cast it aside to head for the city. The illustration is not dissimilar to Rossetti's *The Gate of Memory* (1857) (fig. 57), which likewise portrays a relatively young woman glancing through a red brick archway in contemplation of the lost innocence of her youth.[82]   In Rossetti's image, the woman looks upon a group of dancing children who are playing together, carefree and unhindered by the pressures and judgements which conversely define her existence. One of the girls wears a headband made of fresh flowers which contrasts with the 'bleak urban setting', heightening the chasm which separates the purity and innocence of country life and the squalor of the city.[83] However, once again the woman in the Salvation Army illustration appears to be physically different from the mid-century prototype. She wears a modest winter cape, lined with fur, a matching muff and hat which contrasts sharply with the ragged clothing of Rossetti's regretful woman. The article which accompanied the illustration describes the story of a young mother who leaves her husband and children behind in their 'intolerably dull' country village where, the Army writes, 'honesty, and decency, with all true love and happiness were left far behind'.[84] The story follows that after reading 'the daily paper [which] told of brilliant scene of "pleasure" in the city' the mother, urged on by the devil, left her

studies of the sex life in England illustrated: as revealed in its erotic and obscene literature and art, Richard Deniston (trans.) (Amsterdam: Fredonia Books, 1934), pp. 315-317.

[80] Timothy Erwin, 'Parody and prostitution', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68, no. 4 (2005), pp. 677-684, p. 680.

[81] 'By the old pathway gate she halted', *The Deliverer*, January 1899, p. 109.

[82] Linda Nochlin, 'Lost and *Found*', p. 148.

[83] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, pp. 129-130.

[84] 'By the old pathway gate she halted', *The Deliverer*, January 1899, p. 109.

quaint life and traditional motherly and wifely role to live in the city. She finds a lover who soon abandons her, but with the help of the Salvation Army, is brought back to her forgiving husband who helps her to reform her life. The moment at which the woman is portrayed presents her at the moment when she abandons her family. Youthful and beautiful, with elongated fingers which brush the snow in hesitation, she is not yet the ragged and ruined woman of Rossetti's *The Gate of Memory*. This explains the physical difference between the two portrayals, but begs the question as to why the illustrator has chosen to portray this moment in the story rather than the ruinous effects of her decision. It is my contention that the moment of the mother's decision reflects the importance of choice to the reader. Both middle-class women who may themselves have heard of the 'tempting delights' of the city, and the women who may have already made the same decision as the mother in the illustration, are encouraged to imagine the alterative path which she may have taken. The fact that the 'bitter mockery' of her life in the city is not pictured allows the readers room for imaginative space; they are told of the dangers of the city but are not shown them, therefore negating any possibility of finding such a life attractive. The emphasis which the image places on choice engages with central themes in the Salvation Army's rhetoric: readers are asked to choose to contribute to the campaign, are encouraged to decide to accept help from the Salvation Army, and insistence is placed on the moment of redemption which hinges on the woman's own resolve to make a change in her life. Moreover, whilst Rossetti's woman mourns her lost innocence, the viewer of the Salvation Army illustration is encouraged to lament over the decision made by another, thus instilling a sympathetic rather than condemnatory response. Thus, the Salvation Army rely on nostalgia, both by their use of long-standing tropes in fallen woman imagery, but also in lamentation of lost innocence, to elicit the desired response in their audiences. This approach was again featured in a double-page article written by Mrs. Brigadier Harding in the April 1897 edition of *The Deliverer*. 'A blemished Lily' almost seems to mimic Moll Hackabout's infamous downfall despite the author's claim to have personally known the young girl described in the article. The article tells the story of 'Lily' who, at the age of seventeen, left her rural family home to live an independent life. Alcohol led her into 'constant contact with men of doubtful character' and, following the typical pattern set out by Greg and Hogarth, she became a prostitute in Piccadilly Circus. 'Though still young, she [Lily] looked haggard and worn ... sin had done its work

thoroughly by bringing the poor body to an untimely grave', and so the story concludes with her death.[87]

A half-page illustration which accompanied the article depicts the moment when Lily leaves her family home (fig. 58). Dressed in fine clothes which accentuate her womanly figure and allude to her future profession, Lily waves goodbye to her mother, clearly ignoring her worries and pleas as well as those of the Salvation Army officer who similarly begs her to stay. Lurking behind the garden wall towards which she walks is the Grim Reaper, who stands cloaked in darkness, waiting to claim this next naive soul. The shadow which shields his face beneath the hood adds to the menace of the figure; unidentifiable and faceless, his anonymity makes clear the nameless dangers and temptations which await her in the city. As she walks towards the unknown, the girl looks directly into the eyes of the Salvation Army worker. Her face and the wall behind her both appear to be illuminated by the Salvationist's presence, signifying the goodness and safety which her intervention will provide. The open body language of the Army worker further denotes her virtuousness and contrasts dramatically with the concealed figure of Death, who draws his cloak close to his chest in a representation of his deceitfulness and the false promises which life in the city brings. Further foreshadowing her fate, the text beneath the illustration reads, 'on, on she went, heedless of tender warning – on, on to death!': the reader need not even scan the article to know the outcome of this story. As if the message of the illustration was not clear enough, the artist has also included a snake, labelled as sin, whose body curls to form the first letter of the text. The serpent devours a white lily, both the name of the protagonist and the flower of purity in religious art. Such clear allusions to the loss of innocence, which befell Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden and ultimately condemned mankind to a life of mortal pain and suffering, are made even more apparent through the subtitle, which reads: 'Sin when it is finished bringeth forth death'. Text and image have been interwoven to accentuate the inevitability of Lily's death. The title which labels her a 'blemished lily', therefore implies that once fallen she will be soiled and stained, and unable to return to the pure white of the lily when first in bloom.

The use of the flower as a metaphor for a woman's purity and innocence was common throughout the art and literature of the century and the Salvation Army's use of the lily in this

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[87] 'A blemished Lily', *The Deliverer*, pp. 341-342.

account suggests the influence which comparable earlier renderings may have had upon the content and style of *The Deliverer*. For example, the description of the ruin of young women at the hands of men in Eliza Meteyard's short story, 'The worm towards the sun' (1847), parallels the serpent's destruction of the flower in 'A blemished Lily'. In Meteyard's story Mr Shake, the driver who helps the protagonist of the tale save a young woman from suicide, observes that, 'We'se men, mum, take em' to our bosoms, as flowers jist when they're beautifullest with precious colours, to pretty quickly cast 'em forth as weeds'.[88] The brutal and careless destruction of youth and beauty here tallies with that in the Salvation Army rendering. Unlike 'Magdalene' who was saved in Meteyard's story, Lily from the Salvation Army's article was not saved, having disregarded her mother's warnings. The second illustration which accompanied 'A blemished Lily' depicted the consequences of these actions, showing Lily's 'lonely grave' attended by two lone Salvation Army officers and a host of angels. Therefore, through her wilful disregard of the Salvation Army officer's help, Lily has sealed her own fate in an almost suicidal mission to defy her mother. It is only at the end of her story, when she comes to the Salvation Army 'just in time' that Lily finds redemption and forgiveness. Her physical death therefore manifests itself as a representation of her spiritual rebirth, where the article states that through death her now saved 'spirit [i]s called to take its flight from that poor, defiled casket'. Whilst there is no direct connection between these examples, the fifty-year gap between the two publications suggests that the Salvation Army used themes which had been widely prevalent in earlier literature to appeal to their readers who, it was probable, would recognise these symbolic signposts.

Despite these allusions to recognisable literary themes and traditional symbols associated with the fallen woman, the women depicted in fig. 56 and fig. 58 clearly do not adhere to the stereotypical appearance of the prostitute which dominated mid-nineteenth-century visual renderings.   They lack the alluring clothing and playful glimpse of ankle displayed in images such as *Awkward Encounter with a Prostitute* (24 June 1871) and *Wronger and Wronged* (17 December 1870) (discussed in the previous chapter). Nor do they appear destitute or skeletal, as in fig. 57 and fig. 60, both of which typify the regretful fallen woman of the 1850s. Absent of traditional visual markers in her physical appearance, the reader of *The Deliverer* was made aware of her moral state through the textual description of her actions

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[88] Eliza Meteyard, 'The worm towards the sun', *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 5, no. 26 (1847), pp. 172-177, p. 174.

and fate rather than through her clothing, as was traditionally achieved. Yet, it is also necessary to question why the Salvation Army, despite conforming to traditional themes which had been prevalent in fallen woman storytelling throughout the period, such as the imminence of death and the corruptive influence of the city, chose to move away from more traditional renderings when it came to her appearance. The first explanation for this may seem somewhat obvious: some of the women who are illustrated are presented before their fall has been enacted, as in the two examples discussed above, and therefore do not present obvious signifiers of fallenness. Thus, it is unsurprising that they do not echo the playful women of *the Days' Doings* nor the hardened victims presented in the Jack the Ripper coverage. Moreover, fashions had changed from the 1860s when the stereotypical prostitute caricature had flourished, further accounting for this change. Yet, these suggestions do not justify the broader shift in the appearance of these women in the pages of the Salvation Army periodicals. It may be argued that the artists of the Salvation Army purposefully chose to avoid creating a formulaic appearance so as not to alienate readers who might consider going to the organisation for help. By portraying women in various situations and with differing appearances, the Salvation Army could appeal to real women who might align themselves with those portrayed rather than promoting an ideological construct which had little basis in the real life experiences of the women whom they were trying to attract. Furthermore, the individual nature of the cases covered in the Salvation Army periodicals not only made them more relatable to the readers, whilst reinforcing the ideological message that all women were welcome, but also potentially strengthened the message that the Salvation Army presented a unified, cohesive and persevering force – as its military name and branded uniforms suggested.

Moreover, the overarching message of the Salvation Army periodicals was that all who sought redemption and were willing to work for it, could achieve it. Thus, by refusing to create a stereotypical portrayal of the fallen women, in which their eternal punishment in hell was reflected by physical ravages in both dress and body, the Salvation Army further reinforced the idea that the divisions between the sinner and the salvationist were fluid.

The changing appearance of the fallen woman is perhaps most apparent when comparing George Frederic Watts' *Found Drowned* (1849-50) (fig. 7) with a very similar portrayal in *The Deliverer*. One of four canvases executed by Watts which were intended to

provide a social commentary on 'the wretched conditions of the poor', *Found Drowned*

depicted the aftermath of the suicide of one of the hundreds whom J. Ewing Ritchie stated

were recovered from the River Thames each year.[89] Although painted relatively early in

Watts' career, *Found Drowned* was not publically exhibited until 1862 when it was included in

the Liverpool Academy exhibition.   It was next exhibited at the Dudley Gallery in 1875 and St.

Jude's in Whitechapel in 1881 before being shown in a retrospective of Watts' work at the

Grosvenor Gallery the following year, alongside *The Seamstress*, *The Irish Famine* and *Under a

Dry Arch*.[90] The presentation of these socially critical canvases together proved uncomfortable

for some critics; *The Spectator* wrote, 'bad policy, Mr. Watts, to confront these "curled

darlings" with so vital a question. You come too close to home *Sir* to our consciences to be

agreeable'.[91]

It is, therefore, probable that the artists of the Salvation Army were aware of Watts'

critical social commentary, and this explains the clear parallels between his canvas and the

front cover illustration of the April 1889 issue of *The Deliverer*. Entitled 'Easter Realities' (fig.

59), the illustration is highly unusual for *The Deliverer* as it was printed in colour, suggesting

that this image was intended to make a considerable impact upon the readership of the

periodical. [92] Paralleling Watts' oil, 'Easter Realities' depicted the body of a young woman

which has washed up on the banks of the river Thames following her suicide. Whilst Watts'

woman appears to be intact and unspoilt by the effects of the water, however, the subject of

'Easter Realities' has a cut on her forehead, adding a sense of realism to the scene which

Watts purposefully omitted. The blood from the wound drips down into her golden hair as a

lily drops its petals onto the ground nearby. Again, an emblem of her lost innocence, the lily

reinforces the Army's use of traditional artistic symbolism in its portrayals of lost innocence.

The title of the illustration alludes to Christ's self-sacrifice at Easter, having died so that the

sins of the fallen, such as the woman pictured, would be forgiven. Yet it also perhaps

references Booth's view that women such as this were 'sacrificed' night after night on the city

streets before being cast aside 'by the very men who had ruined [them]', as he described in *In

darkest England*.[93]   As Lynda Nead asserts, the woman in Hood's poem *The Bridge of Sighs*,

[89] Patricia Mathews, 'The minotaur of London', p. 339; J. Ewing Ritchie, *The night side of London*, p. 6.
See Chapter One for a fuller discussion of this painting.
[90] 'The winter exhibition, Dudley Gallery', *The Athenaeum*, 30 October 1875, pp. 580-581, p. 581; Mark
Bills, '*Found Drowned*, c. 1848-50', p. 114.
[91] *The Spectator*, 7 January 1882, p. 15 cited in Mark Bills, '*Found Drowned*, c. 1848-50', p. 114.
[92] 'Easter realities', *The Deliverer*, April 1889, p. 1. This issue cost two pence instead of the usual one
penny, most probably due to the coloured illustration.
[93] William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, p. 13.

upon whom Watts closely based his own painting, appears to be young, slim and fair.[94] Her angelic appearance in Watts' painting presents an idealised beauty which is intended not only to reflect the baptismal qualities of the water, but to elicit a sympathetic response in the viewer. Cleansed of her sins, she no longer represents sexual aggression or contamination, but is neutralised and rendered safe for the viewer. Whilst the Salvation Army's *Easter Realities* adheres to these stereotypical forms of beauty so as to prompt the same sympathetic response as its progenitors, the visibility of blood reminds the viewer of the realities of the woman's situation. Thus, although she represents an idealised and generic form of beauty, the viewer is reminded that real stories and not only literary precedents have provoked the image. This demonstrates the complexity which the Salvation Army's illustrations present: they attempted to assimilate literary prototypes and eye-witness accounts so as not to alienate the middle-class reader who was accustomed to idealised portrayals of the outcast victim. Yet, at the same time, they were also trying to engage with the realities lived by real women whom such fictionalised renderings of their lives would seem out of touch and which would make the Salvation Army's entreaties to help seem unappealing and potentially insincere. Through his painting, Watts hoped to provoke social change, encouraging the viewers of his work to reassess their own attitudes towards the outcast woman. Thus, the intentional similarity of *The Deliverer* illustration, which was produced fifty years after Watts', made clear to the reader that even after half a century change was still needed.

The illustration clearly draws on symbolism which had been firmly established earlier in the century as the sacrificial, almost crucifix-like position of the limbs of the woman echoes that of Watts' heroine. Parallels can also be drawn between the illustration and Phiz's *The River* (1850) (fig. 60) which was produced for Dickens' *David Copperfield* and which depicts Martha's contemplation of the river as she wonders if, like so many other outcast women, this will also be her grave.[95] The cityscape is visible in both Phiz's illustration and the Salvation Army portrayal, suggesting that regardless of the victims it creates, industrial life continues unaffected and unchanged. The silhouette of St Paul's Cathedral acts as a constant reminder

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[94] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 169.
[95] For a reproduction, see James A. Hammerton, *The Dickens picture-book: a record of the Dickens illustrators* (London: The Educational Book Co., 1910), p. 362.

of both women's deviation from the Christian path of virtue, and a metaphor for the unyielding and omnipresent nature of the judgement which society places upon them.[96]

'A blemished Lily' and 'Easter Realities' are some of the relatively few images published in *The Deliverer*, *War Cry*, and *All the World* which actually displayed the fallen woman as having died as a result of her actions. Instead, she was most often depicted contemplating her fate, standing at the cross-roads between eternal damnation and redemption where there was a chance that she could still be saved. The front page illustration of the January 1891 edition of *The Deliverer* presented just this moment (fig. 61). Dressed in a tattered apron and shawl, a woman walks along the London embankment clutching her baby close to her chest, protecting it from the cold winter air in a bundle of thin rags. She looks into the dark water, contemplating its depths. The image visualises Dickens' description of the Thames in 'On Duty with Inspector Field':

> The river at night [is] … creeping, black and silent … rushing through sluice gates, lapping at piles and posts and iron rings, hiding strange things in its mud, running away with suicides and accidently drowned bodies faster than a midnight funeral should, and acquiring such various experience between its cradle and its grave.[97]

Dickens' rendering evokes the dark allure of the river – its soundless mass both a living entity whilst simultaneously a vehicle of death. The imagery of the unidentified bodies moving slowly by as they advance through the centre of the city reflects the internal conflict which is etched on the woman's face in fig. 61, as she finds herself torn between the depths of the Thames and the bitter cold night air.

The article which accompanied the illustration described this woman's predicament – 'hovering heart-broken on the brink of despair', it would only take 'one desperate plunge, and … she will wake to bear their pain no more perhaps, forever'.[98] With the snow whirling around her, the viewer is reminded of Richard Redgrave's *The Outcast* (1851) (fig. 6), where a daughter and her illegitimate baby are expelled into the wintry night by her unrelenting father.[99] As in Redgrave's diploma piece, here the snow symbolises the uncaring nature of the

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[96] Lynn Alexander, *Beyond despair: the drowned woman in Victorian literature and art*, 2009, <http://scholarship.utm.edu/264/1/alexander1A.pdf.pdf> [accessed 3 August 2013].
[97] Charles Dickens, 'On duty with Inspector Field', *Household Words*, 3, no. 64 (1851), pp. 265-270, p. 269.
[98] 'The brink of despair', *The Deliverer*, January 1891, p. 1.
[99] See Chapter One.

society which has banished this woman to the edges of the river; as the article indicates: 'she and her sleeping babe are forgotten, and left out of the world's life and light'. This illustration was reproduced in the October 13 1900 issue of the *War Cry* under the same title, and again in *The annual report of the Salvation Army women's social work: 1892-93* where – in the accompanying article – Florence Booth made explicit this symbolic use of snow in the representation of the ostracism of these women, writing that, 'all intercourse with the cold, cruel world, of which they are social outcasts … serves to intensify th[eir] hopelessness'.[100] Snow reappears continually throughout *The Deliverer* as a metaphor for lost innocence and social exclusion, with one woman recorded as having stated that, 'I once was as pure as the snow, but I fell – fell like the snowflake from Heaven to Hell'.[101] The easily recognisable location of the scene, made identifiable through the characteristic street lamps which line the embankment, was undoubtedly intended to promote further direct intervention from the reader. It helped to create the assumption that the image presented was not an imagined episode, envisioned in the mind of an artist, but instead illustrated a real event which – if the reader journeyed to the corner of Westminster Bridge – they would most likely be able to observe first hand.

Neither the text nor illustration provides a conclusion to the woman's turmoil, instead pleading with the reader to offer a 'hand of sympathy and love' where none has been found, asking 'would you save them?' before it is too late.[102] It is, therefore, significant that when 'On the brink' was reproduced in 1893, it was renamed 'Saved in time', presenting the successful reclamation of women. In contrast to its previous use, the image instead portrays the effective intervention of the Salvation Army in this woman's story, providing a positive conclusion to her tale. It may be argued that the charity's repositioning of the image is not surprising considering their aims to prevent the social exclusion and, in extreme cases, suicide of the fallen. Yet, as this chapter has shown, the artists of the Salvation Army were heavily influenced by the themes prevalent within art, literature and culture – a key component of which was the suicide myth. Through the presentation of the suicidal woman, therefore, the Salvation Army still engaged with prominent themes within the discourse, yet also tried to

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[100] *The annual report of the Salvation Army women's social work: 1892-93* (London: International headquarters of the Salvation Army, 1893).
[101] 'Have you a sister?', *The Deliverer*, p. 1.
[102] The same motif is found in the Christmas 1899 issue of *The Deliverer* in an illustration for the poem 'Poor Lizzie!', where cradling her illegitimate child, Lizzie walks down an icy city street surrounded by flurrying snow; 'Poor Lizzie!', *The Deliverer*, p. 95.

attain a sense of realism and hope. Evidently, the Salvation Army illustrations tended to follow the conventions which had been established in art, literature, and illustration earlier in the century, capitalising on perceptions which were already prevalent within the public consciousness. G. Kitson Clark argues that 'the Salvation Army ... used with great success all the elements of applied romanticism – the rhetoric [and] the melodrama' in order to attract a large following.[103] By participating in dialogues which already existed in the myth and representation of the fallen woman, such as the dangers of the city, the loss of family life, and the redemption which suicide promised, the Salvation Army were able to carry within their illustrations the messages which these themes already provided. Their periodicals actively promoted the idea that without Salvation Army intervention, the fallen woman was destined to succumb to death and despair as a result of her actions, reinforcing patterns which had been popular in art and literature earlier in the century but also reinstilling the importance of choice in this tale - the significance of which is discussed earlier in the chapter.

Whilst the city was presented in the Army's pages as the site of 'the deterioration of [the] population', Piccadilly was continually highlighted as a specific area of vice which needed to be tackled by the charity.[104] The Army's focus on Piccadilly and the Haymarket as areas rife with prostitution ran in conjunction with traditional social investigative texts such as Mayhew's *London labour and the London poor* (1861) and J. Ewing Ritchie's *The night side of London* (1858). In fact, Piccadilly was the subject of two articles written by Harriette Field which were published in *The Deliverer* in 1890 and 1893.   Describing the sight which met her as 'a scene of riot and disorder', in both articles Field expressed her horror at the numerous men and women who walked the streets at a time when 'the respectable part of [the] community has gone home' and 'those whose names must not be whispered at the dinner-table or breathed in the flower-scented drawing room' had emerged.[105]   Field commented:

> Men and women are walking to and fro as if on a shopping expedition: [the] women [look as though they] … might have just stepped out of those well-appointed carriages, so graceful and refined they look; [the] men … at first sight and in other circumstances show up to the world as gentlemen of stainless honour and repute. Are *these* the people we have come out to seek? Surely there is some mistake![106]

[103] G. Kitson Clark, *The making of Victorian England* (New York: Athenaeum, 1967), p. 189.
[104] William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, p. 62.
[105] 'At midnight on Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, November 1893, p. 66.
[106] 'The shades of Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, May 1890, pp. 151-152, p. 151.

Through this, Field identified the difficulty in recognising the prostitute as, to all intents and purposes, she appears to be no different than any other fashionable and respectable woman. Lynda Nead has observed that 'by the 1870s the lines of respectability were becoming blurred. The coded stereotype of prostitution [and its] … existing categories failed to work – the prostitute, it seemed, could not be distinguished from respectable society'.[107] This difficulty and the embarrassments it caused were satirised in an 1865 lithograph by C. J. Culliford which depicts a woman standing alone on a street corner. Having clearly mistaken the young woman for a prostitute, a cleric offers her a leaflet, the line beneath the image revealing the dialogue between them: 'May I beg you to accept this good little book? Take it home and read it attentively. I am sure it will benefit you', to which the woman replies 'Bless me, Sir, you're mistaken. I am not a social evil, I am only waiting for a bus'. As she is dressed in crinolines and standing outside a booking office, symbolic of the exchange of money for specific services, it is perhaps understandable how this error may have occurred.[108] The illustration undoubtedly also carried a deeper criticism of Victorian society beneath the humour, however, commenting upon the inability of a woman to walk the streets alone without her respectability falling under suspicion. Yet, as Lynda Nead contends, the illustration can also be understood to expose the falsity of the notion of separate spheres which so underpinned the presumption and suspicion that the unaccompanied female in the public sphere was somehow unfeminine or 'devious'. Nead observes that 'the cleric is the embodiment of the ideology of separate spheres, of female respectability being tied to the domestic realm: the woman who he approaches is testimony to a different populating of the city streets'.[109] It is significant that the person who views the woman with suspicion is male, as her presence on the city streets in the first instance also indicates the fallacy of the separate sphere ideology. As Chapter One has shown, whilst ideologically speaking women were thought to be domesticated creatures rarely seen unaccompanied on the city streets, the realities of working life meant that the lone woman in the public sphere was not unusual – especially by the 1890s.[110] None the less, the possibilities for unchecked sexual interactions, which lone women on the street could lead to, undoubtedly posed a serious problem for the female Salvation Army officers: precisely how was one to distinguish these philanthropic workers from the fallen, especially when, as Field herself stated, at that time of night 'the respectable part of the community ha[d already] gone

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[107] Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 181.
[108] For a reproduction, see Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, fig. 43.
[109] Lynda Nead, 'Mapping the self: gender, space and modernity in mid-Victorian Britain', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the self: histories from the Renaissance to the present* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 167-185, p. 168.
[110] Ibid.

home'?[111] And how was the safety of the Salvation Army officers to be ensured? Moreover, how, in representations of these interactions, were viewers expected to distinguish between these different types?

The illustration (fig. 62) which was produced to accompany Field's 1893 article underscores these concerns through the depiction of the dangers which faced women on the city streets. Men and women are grouped together, parading up and down Piccadilly's 'pavements of shame', walking away in their various couples towards waiting carriages.[112] The elaborate clothes of both sexes and the cigarettes and cigars they smoke symbolise their penchant for pleasure. Whilst the majority of the individuals seem to be enjoying themselves, the portrayal of a drunken woman being assisted into a carriage by two well-dressed gentlemen introduces a disturbing element into the scene. Clearly too intoxicated to act for herself, she is almost being manhandled into the vehicle, making clear the sinister intentions of her male companions.

Positioned alongside this scene, a group of Salvation Army workers can be seen preparing for their night's work. Donning their bonnets and dressed in simple, dark dresses and cloaks, Booth's 'women warriors' almost appear to be cladding themselves in an armour which will protect them from the dangers pictured in the adjacent portrayal.[113] The safety and comfort of the interior in which they sit contrasts with the chaos of the city street, further signifying the heroic bravery of the group. The courage and dedication which they exhibit is made even more apparent by the inclusion of a policeman in the crowded city scene. Seemingly uninterested and unperturbed by the unfolding events, he fails to uphold any legal or moral position in this environment, instead choosing to close his eyes to the horrors which surround him. Thus, even when those whose very job it is to protect the vulnerable from criminality and harm refuse to act, it is made clear that the women of the Salvation Army will not abandon their posts.

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[111] 'At midnight on Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, p. 66.
[112] 'On Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, November 1893, p. 65.
[113] 'Daughters of sorrow: who will save them?', *The Deliverer*, p. 313.

Furthermore, gas lamps are dotted throughout the scene. A significant component of the Victorian urban landscape, street lighting featured heavily in the illustrations of the Salvation Army and was often used to signify areas of debauchery, as in the opening illustration for 'Whitechapel women's shelter'.[114] Guiding those who walked the darkened streets towards one another, the 'glare of gas' often acted as an indicator of unsavoury activity and an advertisement for those looking for nightly entertainment, as Lynda Nead has explained: 'in the daylight the lamps stood dark and silent, but … it was at night, when the gas was lit and the flames were burning, that the street lamps became observers of the dark side of London'.[115] Standing sentinel on the city streets, silently observing the deeds which took place, the gas lamp arguably acted to facilitate the behaviour which the Army aimed to quell. Yet, throughout the illustrations of *The Deliverer* and *All the World*, the street light was also regularly portrayed as a meeting point for Salvation Army workers and the fallen, as evident in 'Aren't girls like that worth helping?' (fig. 63), printed in *All the World* in 1886 and 'The ruins of Melbourne' (1899) (fig. 64), published in *The Deliverer*.[116] In both images, the street light is central to the composition. Its light surrounds the women and unites them, creating an area of refuge and safety on the city streets which fallen 'sisters' were able to approach without fear or judgement. The street light therefore becomes more than just an emblem of modernity, but symbolises the hope of redemption and escape which the Army offers. Furthermore, through the alignment of the Salvation Army officers with the streetlights, it may be suggested that the gas lamps themselves act to symbolise the Salvation Army's presence on the darkened city streets in these illustrations: just like the gas lamps, the reader was shown that the Army was an ever-present feature of city life which, even if not necessarily noticeable at first, remained able to help those who sought their comfort and protection from the modern abyss, guiding the way to salvation.

This reading is strengthened through an analysis of the use of light in an illustration which was printed in the October 3 1883 issue of *War Cry* – one of the earliest examples of the charity's use of illustration to convey its message without an accompanying article (fig. 65).[117] The first of the two images presents a well-dressed woman, draped in a fur-lined coat which alludes to her life of pleasure, as she leans against the railings of a bridge. According to the

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[114] 'At Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, September 1896, p. 230.
[115] Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, p. 101; J. Ewing Ritchie, *The night side of London*, p. 223.
[116] 'Aren't girls like that worth helping?', *All The World*, April 1886, p. 79; 'The ruins of Melbourne', *The Deliverer*, April 1899, p. 149.
[117] 'The poor fallen girl led to Jesus', *War Cry*, 3 October 1883, p.1.

strapline, this 'poor fallen girl' has 'attempted suicide several times' before. Rather than plunging off the bridge into the dark water below, however, the second illustration portrays the young woman's rescue at the hands of a female Salvation Army officer who points to the sky, showing the way to salvation. The ominous clouds of the first image are now pierced by sunlight, symbolising the hope of redemption and forgiveness bestowed on the woman as she kneels in gratitude and remorse. The stark contrast in tonality clearly differentiates between the moral states of the two women, the 'fallen girl' being led to the path of reclamation after having been shown the 'pure light of Christian truth' by the Salvation Army worker. [118] Booth argued that without this open honesty and the admission of sin, none who fell would be able to recover completely, one article stating that without the acceptance of help, 'death's dark portals' would be the only alternative.[119]

        This symbolic use of light was commonly referenced by the artists of the Salvation Army who employed the characteristics of the print medium to accentuate the division between the virtuous woman and the fallen; the Salvation Army worker and her charge. 'Two sides' (fig. 66) presented the different fates open to women, with one cast out into the cold, alone and shivering in the winter wind, whilst the other is bathed in light which is reflective of the warmth which society conversely bestows on her.[120] The close cross-hatching of the darkened scene segregates the outcast woman from her counterpart, making clear the seemingly impossible divide which she must cross to join the other 'side'. The darkness is oppressive and claustrophobic. It closes in on the woman as she tries to shield herself from its icy breath, containing her and isolating her, reflecting the lack of compassion and help which she is offered by society. The lamp conversely projects its light firmly onto the Salvation Army worker, having seemingly turned its back, and therefore its help and guidance, on the first.

        The use of tonal contrast to convey meaning was a feature regularly employed by the artists of the Salvation Army and is again visible in the contrast of two lives, where 'Rescue cases – failures and successes' (fig. 67) juxtaposed the harsh realities of the night-walker with the safety and comfort of the domestic home.[121] In this image, the artist has used delicate

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[118] J. Ewing Ritchie, *The night side of London*, p. 213.
[119] 'The shades of Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, pp. 151-152.
[120] 'Two sides', *The Deliverer*, December 1890, p. 83.
[121] 'Rescue cases – failures and successes', *The Deliverer*, March 1897, p. 321.

lines to portray a contented woman, dressed in an apron and happily sewing in her home. The calm, safe and comfortable atmosphere created is in contrast with the rough, thick strokes of the left-hand image where, under the ominous title 'The wages of sin is death', an outcast woman looks towards a house which is advertised as to let. She is barred from entering not only by the closed gate but also by her deviation from traditional feminine roles. This technique gives an unfinished feel to the illustration, which promotes a sense of uncertainty and danger that is absent in the calm domestic scene.

The tonal significance of these portrayals may be seen to be reminiscent of Phiz's original illustrations for *Bleak House* (1852-53) which caused controversy due their dark tone. Ten of the forty illustrations which Phiz produced for the serialised novel were created by using the dark plate technique – a process which entailed using a machine to etch lines into the plate to create a darker base from which to work. Phiz was criticised for his use of this technique, his illustrations so lacking in clarity that one reader derided the artist, stating that he 'need only dip his finger in the inkstand, blacking bottle, or what else may be at hand then dash it anyhow, with true poetic frenzy, on the paper' to now create "Art"', concluding sarcastically, 'no longer need his mighty spirit stoop to the indignity of learning drawing'.[122] Despite this censure, the dark plate technique undoubtedly complemented Dickens' text. The barren, harsh and uninhabited landscape of *The Lonely Figure* (fig. 68), in which the character of Lady Dedlock is barely visible as she flees from respectable society under the impression that once her illegitimate child is exposed she will be cast out by her husband, owes its bleak character to the dark tonality of the image. Michael Steig has argued that Phiz purposefully employed this technique 'to convey graphically what [was] for Dickens' novels a new intensity of darkness', using the atmospheric effect created by the medium to engage with the novel's wider themes of individual powerlessness in the face of social forces – an observation which clearly tallies with those concerning the illustrations of *The Deliverer* and *War Cry*. [123] The influence of Phiz is perhaps most evident in 'On the wings of an Army song' (fig. 69), which was published in *The Deliverer* in January 1896.[124] The Salvation Army illustration parallels Phiz's *The Morning* (fig. 70), which was one of the dark plates which caused controversy when *Bleak House* was first published. Phiz's image depicts the body of Lady Dedlock at the gates of the

[122] *Diogenes*, quoted in Valerie Lester, *Phiz: The man who drew Dickens* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2006), pp. 152-154.
[123] Michael Steig, *Dickens and Phiz* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 131.
[124] 'On the wings of an Army song', *The Deliverer*, January 1896, p. 110.

cemetery where the father of her illegitimate child lies buried. Petrified that if her secret child is revealed it will bring shame and scandal to her husband, Lady Dedlock flees and is ultimately found having died from exposure. The illustration reflects her heart-breaking condition as Dickens had described it: 'she lay there, with one arm creeping round a bar of the iron gate, and seeming to embrace it … she lay there, a distressed, unsheltered, senseless creature'.[125]

It may be suggested that the Salvation Army's allusions to Dickens' famous character – the clinging to the cemetery gates, the icy setting, and the once-respectable dress – were deliberately intended to remind readers of *The Deliverer* of the desperate circumstances in which Lady Dedlock died. Believing herself to have no place left in society, she effectively committed suicide through her actions. The fact that the woman is still living in 'On the wings of an Army song' suggests that there is still time to show her the compassion and forgiveness which Dickens' character mistakenly thought would never be given to her.

Likewise, the relentless black of Watts' *Under a Dry Arch* (c 1848-50) (fig. 71) carries a similar message. The left-hand side of the canvas is almost completely black; the outline of the archway of Blackfriars Bridge, the murky waters of the Thames, and the imposing shadow of St Paul's Cathedral are only just discernible.[126] The woman's haggard face is only half lit by an unseen source – perhaps one of the sentinel gaslights which lined the structure. The strong *chiaroscuro* heightens the feeling of exclusion, as she turns towards the light as though trying to gain some warmth or comfort from it.

Rather than suggesting a lack of originality, these nods to the artistic and literary traditions of the mid-century were arguably partly due to the Salvation Army's need to appeal to a wide and varied audience. By citing the visual conventions employed by artists such as Hogarth, Phiz, whose illustrations were widely known in all sectors of society, and Watts, who used his art to speak to his viewer's social conscience, the Salvation Army illustrations built upon the messages which these pre-existing visual markers carried.

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[125] Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, 1853 (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 869.
[126] Mark Bills, 'Dickens and the painting of modern life', in Mark Bills (ed.), *Dickens and the artists*, p. 147.

The Salvation Army's use of tonality therefore built upon a long tradition present in art and print which determined that meaning could be read through tone and technique. Illustrations such as 'The shades of Piccadilly' (fig. 72) which was published in *The Deliverer* in May 1890 further suggest this through the use of 'shades' in the title. This illustration portrays numerous Army workers handing out literature to the women who walk the streets at night. The Army workers are only made discernible amongst the crowds by the uniform that they wear. Less elaborate than that of their fallen counterparts, the uniform of the Army not only helped to promote the charity and make their workers easily identifiable in the urban landscape, but also acted as a form of protection, shielding them from the dangers of London after dark. Describing the progress of the Salvation Army in the reclamation of fallen women, 'Seed-sowing' (fig. 73) presented a typical Piccadilly scene, with carriages and well-dressed men and women occupying the city streets. At the centre of the image one of these women is being comforted by a Salvation Army officer who places a soothing hand on her shoulder. Two more prostitutes look on, appearing both wary of her presence but also intrigued. The Army worker is made instantly distinguishable by her compassionate pose and her modest uniform.[127] Dressed in a long skirt and jacket, and wearing a traditional bonnet on her head which contrasts with the elaborate fabrics displayed behind her, her apparel clearly denotes her as 'other' in this dangerous city environment. She is immediately singled out as sexually unavailable.

Jill Rappoport has studied the significance of uniform in the social work of the Salvation Army and suggests that rather than simply being used as a signal to ward off unwanted advances, clothing was integral to the success of the charity's missions. Focusing on the social work that the Army undertook with the homeless, unemployed and destitute, Rappoport argues that the Army workers purposefully adopted simple, and sometimes even shabby, clothing in order to align themselves more closely with the working classes.[128] Rappoport surmises that whilst they wished to relate to these women 'slum sisters never attempt[ed] to dress like *these* sisters', but rather aimed to make themselves appear approachable and unprejudiced by the way they dressed.[129] It was a difficult line to tread; too

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[127] Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of dreadful delight*, p. 75.
[128] Jill Rappoport, *Giving women*, p. 111.
[129] Ibid., p. 114.

ostentatious and the Army would appear out of touch with the problems faced by those they were trying to help, too ragged and their presence would seem insincere. Thus, it was hoped that their modest yet respectable attire, more akin to the 'form-fitting sleeves and hip-skimming skirts donned by other serious social workers' than the middle-class garb often worn by other philanthropists, would create a new, more compassionate movement to which the poor and the fallen could turn, rather than appearing to be another group spouting unattainable moral ideals which could not apply to the majority of women who found themselves involved in prostitution.[130] This modest attire helped to place the Army workers on a level playing field with the women they hoped to approach, presenting the Army as a compassionate movement which did not see those they aimed to help as beneath them, but instead would be more understanding of their fallen sisters than other philanthropic groups.

The depiction of one woman's experience of Piccadilly at night, published in *The Deliverer* in 1896, helps to support this reading (fig. 74). In the first of the images, the young woman is shown being coerced onto the streets, 'trying to halt [but] afraid to run'.[131] She is clearly fearful of the environment which surrounds her, and the second scene, entitled 'hounded and pounded', depicts her being grabbed by a rough, burly man whose fist is clenched which makes plain the danger he presents. In an action reminiscent of Watts' *Minotaur* (fig. 28), whose muscular and beefy fingers crush an innocent bird, the brute's other hand aggressively pulls at the woman's sleeve similarly trying to thwart her escape.[132] His dark form contrasts dramatically with the pale dress of the woman, heightening his predatory nature. Further emphasising his animalistic desire and the brutality he inflicts on his 'prey', the text describes how he 'feasts on the viands and the cups of red wine of Piccadilly'. This imagery harks back to *In darkest England* in which Booth wrote that 'the young and the poor and the helpless go down before my eyes into the morass, trampled underfoot by beasts of prey in human shape that haunt these regions', illustrating how the periodicals of the Salvation Army continued to engage with Booth's original text.'[133] However, unlike the crushed bird in Watts' *Minotaur* which remains trapped under the monster's indomitable grip, the final scene in the series shows the same woman having been 'befriended' by two Army

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[130] Ibid., p. 111.
[131] 'At Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, p. 230.
[132] For an in-depth discussion of Watts' painting, see Chapter Three.
[133] William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, p. 13.

workers who have managed to save her from the claws of this beast. Standing between them and holding their hands, the woman has found protection in their presence.

The same motif was used in the illustrations printed alongside a poem in the September 1894 issue of *The Deliverer* (fig. 75), where the Salvation Army officers again flank their fallen 'sister', guiding her to safety.[134] It is not surprising that an almost identical portrayal was used here, given that both series were produced by the same artist.[135] None the less, the 1894 series further strengthens the argument that the Salvation Army uniform was not only integral to the charity's public image, but held a significant role in their ability to achieve their aims as one of the Salvation Army officers uses her mantle physically to shield the woman from harm. It provides a concrete barrier against the dangers of the city and extends the Salvation Army's protection to her - her own lavish dress having conversely invited danger in. Moreover, when the saved woman is returned to her anxiously awaiting mother, having been 'snatched from the path of vice' and counselled by the charity workers, she wears clothes which echo those of her saviours. Although not wearing the Army uniform itself, the dark colour, simple sleeves and modest cap reflect the moral change which has taken place in her. It is significant here that the women are only made distinguishable by their clothing and not their bodily appearance. As has been discussed earlier in the chapter, during the 1890s 'patterns of respectability' which had dominated portrayals of the mid-century gave way at the *fin de siècle*, as theories of phrenology succumbed to the increasing prominence of the redemptive discourses of philanthropic groups.[136] The faces of both the prostitute and the Salvation Army are highly stylised, devoid of any sense of age or physical hardship. Thus, the outcast woman is able to return to a respectable mode of life without carrying with her signifiers of her past transgressions.

The possibility of such a reversal was further reinforced by an illustration published in *The Deliverer* in 1899 where 'The seven stages of women' (fig. 76) were displayed in two storyboards. The first series depicted the downfall of a woman as she passes from a life of luxury to male companionship and then on to prostitution. This is then followed by poverty

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[134] 'Oh, thou child of many prayers', *The Deliverer*, September 1894, p. 43.
[135] Both sets of images carry the monogram W. J. G. It appears as though this individual produced numerous illustrations for *The Deliverer* between 1889 and 1899; however, I have not yet been able to identify the artist.
[136] Deborah Cherry, *Painting women*, p. 161; Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*, p. 173.

and drunkenness before she is found by the Salvation Army. The last stage shows her first steps to salvation as she crosses the threshold of the rescue home where she is welcomed with open arms. 'The reply' answered this account with an illustration of the seven stages of recovery, where firstly the woman is offered food and warmth by those who have rescued her. Having asked for forgiveness in the second scene she then undertakes training and exercise before leaving the home for a job in service. The final panel in the series shows the woman, now dressed in the Salvation Army uniform, passing a leaflet to another young girl who is about to embark on this same journey. Through wearing the uniform, the woman has not only become cleansed of all of her former sin, but – as Susan Mumm has argued in relation to penitentiaries – has re-joined society 'in a higher spiritual and social class than [she] had been before her fall from virtue'. Thus, she has undergone 'a radical transformation, socially as well as morally' which is outwardly shown through her change in dress.[137]

The cyclical nature of the illustration creates the impression that redemption is not only possible, but is the only conclusion that is open to this story.   Whilst the move away from a reliance on the physical ravages of immoral life in representation emphasised the possibility of redemption, it can also be argued that the facial similarities of the Salvation Army workers and the fallen in both fig. 75 and 76 suggest the ease with which a woman could transgress. Unlike earlier portrayals which rested on physical and class predispositions towards deviant behaviour, the Salvation Army presented the opposing choices open to women. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's illustrations for Christina Rossetti's *The Goblin Market* (1862) innovatively reflected this idea in illustration, where despite their differing exchanges with the goblin market, symbolic of sexual experience, he portrayed the two sisters identically (fig. 77). The relationship between two sisters, Lizzie and Laura, in the poem holds clear parallels to the messages promoted by the Salvation Army illustration: the dangers of male sexuality, economic exchange, and the importance of sisterly love and self-sacrifice are echoed throughout the pages of *The Deliverer*.[138] Dante Gabriel Rossetti's illustrations for the poem display interesting similarities to the Salvation Army's portrayal of redemptive and rescuing women. Physically alike, Rossetti's illustrations emphasise just how easily Lizzie could have sold her coin instead of Laura, and in the same way, the Salvation Army's illustrations echo this

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[137] Susan Mumm, '"Not worse than other girls"', p. 542.
[138] Jill Rappoport has valuably explored the relationship between Rossetti's *The Goblin Market* and philanthropic discourses, arguing that in the poem, as in later philanthropic activities, 'only sisterhood appears to have any saving power in this market'. See Jill Rappoport, 'The price of redemption in "Goblin Market', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 2010, 50, no. 4 (2010), pp. 853-875.

sentiment through the highly stylised faces of both women. However, just as the fallen could

ascend through the ranks, so too the virtuous could slip, as was demonstrated by the fictional

story of a Salvation Army officer who, through her own selfishness, failed to save a woman

who wanted her help. Reminiscent of Dickens' *A Christmas carol* (1843), the Army worker at

the centre of the story is visited by an Angel who takes her back to the previous night and

shows her the error of her ways.[139]

The use of uniform by the Salvation Army was, therefore, not just a practicality but

held symbolic significance and meaning. As Jenny Hartley has identified, uniforms were

traditionally adopted by penitentiaries, workhouses and Magdalene Hospitals for their

residents to wear to carry a 'clear message' of 'punishment, abasement [and] atonement'.[140]

The Salvation Army, it can be argued, took ownership of this commonly negatively viewed

element and transformed it into a symbol of strength. By adopting the Army uniform, the

fallen woman was no longer condemned as a reprobate but instead showed how she had

reformed and dedicated her life to helping others do the same. Indeed, even the 'S' or double

'S' which was embroidered onto the collar of Army uniforms, acted as a reminder to all of

those who were recruited into its ranks from the city streets of their new-found role, meaning

'saved to serve'.[141] Moreover, the uniform helped to create a sense of community, cohesion

and pride in one entity moving forward together in strength and unity, harking back to the

military language which underpinned the Army's philosophy.

Thus, it may be argued that in contrast to the prevailing myth which determined the

fallen and the virtuous woman were almost two distinct species, the Salvation Army presented

a much more fluid view where women could move between the states of sinner and saint

without tarnish. This observation is central to understanding the position taken by Salvation

Army publications in regards to the fallen woman. It suggests that in contrast to previous

patterns which determined that the fallen woman's story concluded with death as her final

[139] 'You've been a bad girl!', *War Cry*, 10 June 1899, p. 3.

[140] Jenny Hartley, *Charles Dickens and the house of fallen women*, p. 31.

[141] Emily A. Berry, 'From criminal to caretakers: the Salvation Army in India, 1882-1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Northeastern University, 2008) <https://repository.library.northeastern.edu/files/neu:1459> [accessed 3 June 2015], p. 139.

punishment, the Salvation Army not only offered the very real hope that reclamation was possible but expressed it through illustration.

The pages of *The Deliverer* were filled with stories of rescued women who, through the charity's intervention, returned to respectable life, contradicting the established tradition within visual and literary representations which decreed that once fallen, there was no possibility of redemption. The Army went one step further, however, as many of the women they reportedly rescued became Salvation Army workers themselves. A letter received from 'Sergeant Annie' to the editor of *The Deliverer* told first-hand of this possibility:

> I cannot express in words my thankfulness … I do pray that my story may be a blessing to those who read it … No one would scarcely believe how kind a look, word or action from a respectable person is valued by those who have lost their all. I remain, your sister in Jesus.[142]

Annie illustrated how women could come full circle – rather than simply finding a respectable position and integrating back into society, she was now the expression of purity, acting as a role model to those who were once like her. Even the reclamation of men from alcoholism and gambling was presented in this way, *The Deliverer* having celebrated the fact that the captain of the Hanbury Street Rescue Home had once been 'a sad drunkard until … a discourse at a Salvation meeting had made him reflect, and had [made] … him a sober, happy man, now used to the benefit of those whom once he so pitifully resembled'.[143] Through the promotion of stories such as these, the Army was able to 'narrow the distance separating them from their plebeian audiences' by showing that 'working-class people could find leaders from among themselves'.[144] This feature, however, also enabled the Army to establish a dialogue between themselves and their readers much like Stead had achieved with the responses which he published in the wake of the *maiden tribute* scandal. Audiences who might go to the Army for help were reassured that they would have a voice, and readers who had donated to the cause, and were possibly even members of the Army, were satisfied that their contributions had made a meaningful impact.

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[142] 'To the editor of *The Deliverer*', *The Deliverer*, March 1898, p. 133.
[143] 'A peep at shelterdom through Spanish eyes', *The Deliverer*, p. 119.
[144] Seth Koven, *Slumming*, p. 100; Victor Bailey, '"In darkest England and the way out"', p. 140.

But to what extent can the Salvation Army's publication of stories, letters, and images of a full-circle return to respectability be seen as representative of the work which actually took place? Do these representations present a truthful account of Salvation Army intervention or do they rather present polished versions which have been manipulated for propagandistic purposes? Whilst it is impossible to answer these questions with certainty, it may be argued that the choice of graphic illustration as the primary medium used by the Army, the understanding of the role of graphic illustration in line with philanthropy within a wider social setting, and the production process used by the Army itself can reveal how these accounts were shaped to suit the publications' propagandistic and promotional roles.

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the Salvation Army began to use photography rather than illustration to accompany their articles.[145] This was despite the fact that by the 1890s, photography was beginning to become more widely used in the illustrated press. As Julian Treuherz has shown, during the 1870s graphic illustrations were considered to be 'essentially works of art, not of record'. This was because – despite their prominent use in the field of journalism – 'they were conceived by artists to tell a story or to arouse the feelings and often pity of readers'.[146] This description certainly fulfils the role of art as discussed in Chapter Two. Significantly, however, this definition of art also finds credence in Koven's exploration into the controversial use of photography by Dr Barnardo in 1877.[147] Dr Barnardo had used photography to promote his homes for destitute children and show the contrast in their appearances before their admission and under his care, much as the Salvation Army did in its own 'before and after' images. In order to accentuate the change which had taken place, some of the clothing worn by the children who were photographed to publicise Dr Barnardo's campaigns had been deliberately torn. This was undoubtedly done to appeal to the sympathies of viewers, prompting them to support Barnardo's philanthropic work. The photographs, however, promoted a backlash against the organisation. The images were branded 'artistic fictions'. Having apparently been 'staged' and 'arranged', the photographs were accused of being disingenuous. Yet, the harrowing illustrations published in periodicals such as *The Graphic* were commonly 'staged' in this way, with the appearance of the subjects altered to appeal to readers' sensibilities. For example, Luke Fildes' *Houseless and Hungry*

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[145] The earliest instance of the use of photography in the portrayal of the Salvation Army's rescue homes in *The Deliverer* dates to the May 1897 when photographs of nine London rescue homes populated the front cover.

[146] Julian Treuherz, *Hard times*, p. 64.

[147] Seth Koven, *Slumming*, pp. 88-139.

(1869) (fig. 24) was modelled in a studio and Gustave Doré's visions of the city in *London: a pilgrimage* were not formed from direct observation but were conceived when the artist was alone.[148] Moreover, thirteen years after the Barnardo scandal, Dorothy Tennant unashamedly described how she dressed 'street specimens' in rags from her dressing-up box so as to make them more ragged and 'urchin-like', echoing the very actions for which Dr Barnardo had been publically lambasted and showing how attitudes towards the fictionalisation of graphic illustration had not changed.[149] As Koven has shown, whilst Barnardo believed that photography 'should be judged by the prevailing standards of truthfulness expected of works of art including social realist paintings and literature', his critics argued that photographs should be 'documents of social reality'.[150] This suggests that photography was deemed to be a different beast to graphic illustration, being a vehicle of truth which honestly reproduced 'objective facts' in a way which the artist need not. The inference, therefore, is that illustration was not expected to present the 'truth' in the way that photography was.[151] This suggests that through the medium of print, the artists of the Salvation Army were able to (and in some ways were expected to) manipulate their representations in order to evoke an emotional response in the public. This perhaps goes some way to explain why the themes which were prevalent in the art and literature of the mid-century were echoed in the pages of the Salvation Army's publications of the 1890s, as artists were able to build on themes which their audiences would easily recognise.

This seeming reliance on artistic traditions may also be explained by exploring how *All the World*, *War Cry*, and *The Deliverer* were produced. Unfortunately records detailing precisely how the Salvation Army periodicals were put together do not exist; however, an article published in the *War Cry* in 1900 provides an indication of the structure and organisation of the editorial team.[152] The image (fig. 78) shows the Editor-in-Chief enthusiastically gesticulating to a faceless artist whose back is positioned to the viewer. The anonymity of the artist in the scene suggests his secondary role in the production process and

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[148] Gustave Doré and Blanchard W. Jerrold, *London: a pilgrimage*, p. xxvii; 'London: A Pilgrimage', *The Athenaeum*, 31 August 1872, p. 259; Blanchard W. Jerrold, *The life of Gustave Doré*, p. 153 and p. 196. The rough sketches which Doré created from life are reprinted in Jerrold's biography of the artist and show the summary nature of his initial work.
[149] Ellen Ross (ed.), *Slum travelers: ladies and London poverty 1860-1920* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2007).
[150] Seth Koven, *Slumming*, p. 117 and p. 115.
[151] Ibid., p. 118.
[152] 'Departments of the international headquarters', *War Cry*, p. 6.

is further indicated by the Editor-in-Chief's exclamation, '"Why don't you put more action into your pictures?"'. It is safe to assume that the illustrations produced for the Salvation Army periodicals were therefore quite controlled in both subject and style and not produced from first-hand observation. Indeed, V. F. Ward, the editor of *All the World*, was described as having control of the illustrations published in the periodical, the article stating that, 'artistic taste belongs to her – her magazine is noted for illustrative beauty'.[153] It can, therefore, be reasoned that rather than drawing from life and accurately portraying the realities of these night walks, as *The Graphic* often emphasised of their own images, the Salvation Army artists produced illustrations to accompany articles which had already been written and were therefore crafted to fit into the wider feel of the publications. This perhaps helps to explain why in the illustrations printed in *The Deliverer* especially, there appears to be a reliance on themes and patterns which had been prevalent in the art of the mid-century which portrayed the fate of the fallen woman. Additionally, it is interesting to note that out of the fourteen editors and writers who held key roles in the publication of the Salvation Army periodicals before 1900, seven were women. Major Forward was the sub-editor of *The Young Soldier* – the 'Salvation Army's weekly newspaper for children', and E. P. van Norden was the editor of *The Deliverer*. V. P. Ward and Brigadier Mildred Duff were both recorded as being editors of *All the World*, and Mildred Duff also edited *The Young Soldier*. The importance of the positions of these women was further reflected in their superior army ranking and show that in the Army, women were not only fundamental in dissemination of *The Deliverer* and the facilitation of rehabilitative training in the Rescue Homes, but were also integral to the production process of its periodicals.

The charity appears to have employed several regular artists to produce illustrations for *The Deliverer*, *All the World*, and *War Cry*. Whilst many of the illustrations are unsigned, some do carry names which reveal that a number of well-known artists were commissioned by the Salvation Army. John Henry Frederick Bacon is perhaps the most prominent of these, having provided illustrations for *The Girl's Own Paper* and *Black and White* as well being appointed as an associate of the Royal Academy in 1903 and made a Member of the Royal Victorian Order in 1913.[154] Whilst Bacon's involvement in other religious publications, such as

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[153] Ibid.
[154] Simon Houfe, *The dictionary of nineteenth-century British book illustrators and caricaturists* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club, 1996), p. 52; 'Current Art Notes', quoted in J. T. Herbert Baily (ed.), *The Connoisseur: an illustrated magazine for collectors, vol. 38* (London: Otto Ltd., 1914), p. 202.

The Quiver, and the production of numerous large-scale religious paintings may possibly suggest that his work for the Salvation Army was the result of personal beliefs, it is unlikely that the religious orientation of the artists played much of a role in the work which they undertook, as Bacon also worked extensively for non-religious publications, such as *The Windsor Magazine* and *The Ludgate Monthly Magazine*.[155] Instead, it is more probable that artists simply worked for the charity as a means of earning money. This argument is further indicated through an exploration of the work of an artist who produced illustrations for the Salvation Army and signed his work with the monogram J. W. G.

The letters 'J. W. G', arranged with the letters placed on top of one another, appear on some of the illustrations which were published in *The Deliverer* between 1890 and 1892. The monogram seems to resemble that of John William Godward, the neo-classical artist famed for his marbled balconies and tranquil, draped beauties.[156] If the illustrations produced by J. W. G. are indeed by Godward, they do appear to differ dramatically from his painterly style and subject matter. In his monograph on the artist, Vern Swanson has argued that whilst some works attributed to Godward display subjects, techniques and styles which do not correlate with the majority of the artist's work, the 'interlocking "JWG" monogram was apparently unique to the artist' and therefore may be used to certify the authenticity of such attributions.[157]

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[155] '*The Windsor Magazine*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900*
<http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/series2/showarticle.asp?id=81722&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=windsor~magazine> [accessed 27 October 2015]; '*The Ludgate Monthly Magazine*', [n.d.], in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/series2/showarticle.asp?id=88577&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=ludgate> [accessed 27 October 2015].

[156] Vern Grosvenor Swanson, *John William Godward: the eclipse of classicism* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1997).

[157] Ibid. Swanson's monograph on Godward provides the most exhaustive account of the artist's *oeuvre* and includes a *catalogue raisonné* complete with details of the artist's method of signature. Swanson writes that the vast majority of the bibliographical information in his book was provided by the family of the artist and therefore does not present a complete account of his work and life, many of the artist's personal letters and records having been burnt following his suicide in 1914. He also comments that the lack of work produced by Godward in 1891 remains unexplained, yet surmises that the artist's other activities at the time (such as other work, personal commitments, health and travel) may have interrupted his productivity. The likelihood that Godward could have been illustrating for other clients during this period, such as The Salvation Army, is therefore not unfeasible. See pp. 38-39.

Godward was not consistent about how he authorised his work, signing some paintings and sketches with a date and 'J. W. Godward' whilst other works were left anonymous. The monogram formed of layered initials which is visible in the Salvation Army illustrations was not the most common form of signature used by Godward, yet it reappears throughout his *oeuvre*, both before and after his likely contributions for *The Deliverer*.[158] It is most commonly found on studies rather than finished oils, which suggests that perhaps the monogram was a method of identification which the artist reserved for his informal works. Thus, if Godward was one of the artists who provided illustrations for *The Deliverer*, a clear contrast can be seen between his oil paintings and his Salvation Army work. The illustrations provided for *The Deliverer* would have been executed when Godward was establishing himself as an artist, having first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1887.[159] *The Betrothed* (1892) (fig. 79), which would have been contemporaneous to the Salvation Army work, portrays a young woman lying on a marble seat which is draped in leopard skin, her head resting on a cushion. She lovingly caresses the engagement ring she wears, dreaming of her lover as she relaxes in the warm Mediterranean sunlight. The semi-transparency of her dress and her reclining pose add to the sensuality of the image, encouraging erotic undertones as the viewer seems almost to interrupt this private moment where the woman is deep in thought, contemplating married life. This painting, which is typical of Godward's *oeuvre*, presents a problem when assessing the artist's potential involvement with the Salvation Army's rescue work, since here the woman is clearly placed as an object to be viewed and touched, whereas *The Deliverer* aimed to dispel the need for the sexualised female. In comparison to the scenes of desperation, hardship, opium addiction (fig. 80), and suicide he possibly produced for *The Deliverer*, Godward's oil paintings conversely present 'the archetypal perfect world of women, beauty and peace' to counteract the 'jungle of pauperism, vice and despair' of modern London.[160]

Yet, can the illustrations produced by the Salvation Army be viewed as entirely de-sexualised because they depict the conversion of the fallen? It has been suggested that rather

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[158] For examples of the use of this monogram in *The Deliverer*, see 'From the brothel to the cross', *The Deliverer*, September 1890, pp. 38-39; 'The brink of despair', *The Deliverer*, pp. 105-106; 'Opium', *The Deliverer*, May 1890, pp. 141-143; 'The shades of Piccadilly', *The Deliverer*, pp. 151-152. Examples of Godward's use of the monogram in his *oeuvre* are reprinted in Swanson's monograph. See *Reverie (Study)* (c. 1890), p. 179, *The Signal (Study)* (1899), p. 200, *Dreaming (Study)* (1901), p. 204, *The Rendezvouz (Study)* (1903), p. 75, *Nerissa (Study)* (1905), p. 82, *The Jewel Box (a)* (1905), p. 215, *Reverie (Study)* (1908), p. 221.
[159] Vern Grosvenor Swanson, *John William Godward*, p. 26.
[160] Ibid., pp. 169-170; William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out*, p. 85. See 'Opium', *The Deliverer*, pp. 141-143 for images of London's opium dens.

than presenting a wholly propagandistic account of the Salvation Army's work with the reclamation of the fallen, the portrayal of individuals who came to the organisation for help can, in some respects, be considered to represent an exploitative re-selling of these women and their life stories. Jenny Hartley has suggested the uneasy relationship between the re-selling of personal stories of hardship and prostitution to a commercial audience in her study of Dickens' involvement in Urania Cottage. Hartley describes how the accounts of the applicants to Urania Cottage which Dickens recorded in his 'case book' informed the plots and characterisation of his novels. She argues that the stories of the girls who were admitted to Urania Cottage shaped the plots of *David Copperfield* (1849-50), *Bleak House* (1853), and *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), all of which were written during the years in which Urania Cottage was active.[161] The claims of the Salvation Army that their periodicals 'recorded' real-life stories can be seen to echo Dickens' use of real-life observation in his own novels, and therefore the same concerns expressed by Hartley can be applied here. The portrayal of the deaths of real women such as 'Lily', and the recovery of others, was undoubtedly intended not only to pull at the heartstrings of audience members who had the means to donate to the Salvation Army, and encourage those who required help to come forward, but also to provide entertainment and visual pleasure. Whilst this may be argued to compromise the illustrations of the publications, the voyeuristic gaze can perhaps be seen to be an unavoidable by-product which is ever-present in portrayals of the fallen woman. Simply because the topic approached relates to prostitution and therefore the sexualised and commercial female body, portrayals arguably and unavoidably became to some extent eroticised. This is evident throughout this thesis: in Chapter One with Ruskin's concerns regarding the explicitly nude *Mary Magdalene*, in Chapter Two in regards to the sexualised language used in art criticism, in the accusations of the dissemination of erotic literature which were levied at William T. Stead as shown in Chapter Three, and in Chapter Four where it has been argued that the overt display of the sexualised murder victim still managed to retain some sense of feminine beauty, despite her mutilation (and even decapitation).

The Salvation Army was certainly not a pioneer when it came to the establishment of reformative homes. Jenny Hartley has shown how between 1846 and 1858 Charles Dickens and Angela Burdett Coutts paved the way for a new kind of rehabilitation which centred on

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[161] Jenny Hartley, *Charles Dickens and the house of fallen women*, pp. 154-167.

helping the fallen woman through familial care.[162] Gladstone had walked the London streets in the hope of rehabilitating the fallen women he found there. Moreover, Barnardo had championed the use of visual imagery to provoke an emotive response in the viewer in the 1870s (even if this did have injurious consequences).[163] None the less, this chapter has shown that the Salvation Army triumphed in its innovative use of the print medium as a method of self-promotion.

Print culture was clearly a significant propagandistic tool in the Salvation Army's rescue work and women were fundamental to its success; working in the charity's rescue homes as well as being central to the production and dissemination of its periodicals. The periodicals consequently reveal a great deal, not just about the rescue work which the charity undertook, but how the organisation was structured and the Army's manipulation of its public image through print. The illustrations which this chapter has discussed provide key insights as to who produced the periodicals, the importance which was placed on the dissemination of the print medium, and the role which it was perceived art would play in this. *The Deliverer*, *All the World* and *War Cry* therefore reveal the significance which the Salvation Army placed on print in order to reach both those they aimed to help and readers who could donate to the cause in some way. This is even more significant because *The Deliverer* provides a still largely unexplored resource which offers a revised reading of the use of illustration in the portrayal of Victorian attitudes towards the fallen woman.

Despite the continual visualisation of the rehabilitated fallen woman, the themes which were prevalent in the art and literature of the fallen woman at the mid-century were still fundamental to the articles and illustrations produced in the organisation's periodicals. Thus, the blurred lines between fact and fiction which so characterise the periodicals produced by the Salvation Army were not simply the result of the editorial team's propagandistic intentions but can be seen to reflect the influences of literature and newspaper culture from earlier in the century.   Moreover, the illustrations reveal that well-known artists influenced the charity and worked for it, even though the artistic outputs were still ultimately controlled by the editors of their respective periodicals. This awareness of prominent themes in past visual culture alongside the employment of academically trained artists suggests that

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[162] Ibid.

[163] Seth Koven, *Slumming*, pp. 88-139.

graphic illustration was considered to be a fundamental element of the Army's structure and was thought to have a significant impact on the Salvation Army's ability to promote itself in the Victorian market-place. Significantly, this chapter has shown how the Salvation Army was able to adopt into their publications elements from the representation of the fallen woman in all aspects of popular culture that this thesis has discussed, relying on nostalgia to provoke a sympathetic response. Encompassing religious narratives, artistic themes, the publicity garnered by the sensational press and graphic illustration, they were able to produce publications which successfully promoted the brand as clearly as its uniforms and as loudly as its marching bands. The periodicals therefore helped to position the Army as both a commercial venture and a charitable enterprise, a vehicle of artistic beauty and social reform, a movement for those who needed to be 'delivered' and those who hoped to be 'deliverers' themselves.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to discover how the medium in which the fallen woman was portrayed affected how she was presented during the latter half of the nineteenth century and how this shifted between 1850 and 1900. This has required the consideration of several issues which dominated art production and criticism during the period. These have included the significance of the perceived impact of art and visual culture upon the viewer, debates concerning the role of art and literature, and the composition of the intended audience of the portrayal. Through this discussion, it has become evident that the intended function of the image (being produced for visual pleasure, as a piece of social criticism, or journalistic reportage) affected how the fallen woman was portrayed and, moreover, the message which the image was intended to carry.

Through the study of the periodicals which the Salvation Army produced in the 1880s and 1890s, this thesis has gone some way to assess areas of the subject which had scarcely been considered before. This, alongside the reassessment of more comprehensively studied materials, such as the press coverage of the Ripper murders and the paintings of the mid-century, provides a new perspective on the significance which illustration played in the communication of attitudes towards class, violence, gender, and sexual deviancy through the assessment of these illustrations in the wider artistic context.

This thesis argues that rather than being two distinct mediums which can be viewed separately, the press and the art world were bound by common subjects and shared social issues which were explicitly voiced in each medium. For example, concerns regarding the proliferation of child prostitution and its causes were voiced in the works of artists such as Ford Madox Brown and Spencer Stanhope, but were also key to the Salvation Army's rescue work and William T. Stead's journalistic account of 'The maiden tribute of modern Babylon'. Therefore, this thesis highlights the collaborative nature of art, print culture, political activism, and philanthropy during the period, and argues that the portrayal of the fallen woman in art, the press, and the publications produced by the Salvation Army was not only shaped by contemporary events but by mutually-influential relationships which transcended the different media. The dialogue between William Stead's exposé and G. F. Watts' *Minotaur* (fig. 28), explored in Chapter Three, again illustrates the extent to which these creative networks

influenced one another, spreading discourses across different media and speaking to wider audiences.

Illustrating the intertextuality of these media, several themes emerge in the portrayals of the fallen woman that this thesis has considered. Firstly, the role which intended audiences played in the formation of works of art and print were fundamental to their construction. Rather than following the traditional divide between audiences which is suggested by the illustrated press' treatment of the Ripper murders, where it has been shown that an assumed higher class of audience warranted a more couched illustration, this thesis has exposed dialogues which cross over these boundaries. The Salvation Army periodicals, for example, were produced for a dual and seemingly incompatible audience, speaking to both those whom they hoped to help and those who were in a position to provide this support. Moreover, the illustrations which were printed in the Salvation Army publications show that both high art and print influenced their production. This suggests that the charity aimed to speak to the masses through the adoption of visual trends already existent in mass media, using art, prints, and the popular press as areas from which to draw inspiration. Moreover, publications such as *London: a pilgrimage*, *The Graphic* and William Stead's 'maiden tribute' scandal used hyperbole to provoke emotive responses in their audiences and, despite affirmations of reality and visual honesty, commonly employed aspects of romanticism and classicism from high art in their portrayals. This continued late into the 1890s, as the study of the Salvation Army prints shows. This thesis, therefore, places the Salvation Army material as an example of how the boundaries between mediums and audiences, and visual distinctions between the respectable and the fallen woman, became much more fluid by the end of the nineteenth century. High art and themes in literature certainly influenced the work of graphic artists working for the Salvation Army. Yet, as Chapter Three has shown, the press also influenced painters to produce compelling works of social criticism in their own medium. Academically trained artists, such as John William Godward, moved between creating works for gallery exhibition and for graphic reproduction, and journalists such as William Stead combined informal friendships with movements of political activism in order to campaign for social reform.

Concerns regarding the effect of imagery upon the viewer were also prevalent in all media. The dramatic apologies of Acton and Greg in their investigative treatises of the 1850s

were echoed in the art criticism of the period, where representations of the fallen woman were deemed to be unsuitable for the 'young, unstained, unpainted and happy faces' who came to the gallery 'to chat and trifle'.[1] The harmful impact of such 'unsavoury' material was again hurled at William Stead in response to his attempts to raise the age of consent in the 1880s. Even more, the variation in how the Ripper murders were portrayed suggests a clear concern for the sensibilities of newspaper readers. The plethora of graphic, sexually and violently explicit illustrations in the newspaper reports covering the Ripper murders were so prevalent that the concern they evoked was parodied in popular culture, with *Punch* satirising fears that pictures of the murders might provoke further crime. The Salvation Army's publications reinforced the need for the fallen woman to be portrayed in print, but moved away from the apologetic stance which had characterised earlier renderings. Instead, the outcast woman became the poster-girl for their campaigns, showing why the organisation needed the support of their readers. And through her conversion, the fallen woman became the spokesperson for her own story, even if in reality the publications which she was seen to write remained under the editorial ownership of the Army's hierarchy.

Thus, despite clear concern for the sensibilities of viewers, this thesis suggests that the need to provoke an emotive response in the audience remained the main intention of all mediums. Certainly, Butler and Cady Stanton's use of biblical figures to expose the gender inequalities in Victorian society was a purposeful move which enabled them to bring contemporary social concerns to the middle and upper classes through a language which they could readily understand. None the less, artists and poets also used the fallen woman as a subject which could appeal to the newly arising middle-class art market, using the critical debates which they created as a method of self-promotion. Despite this intention to make their paintings commercially viable, the decision to portray the fallen woman also allowed artists a platform from which they could address social issues and injustices. This same dual intention drove William Stead's exposé, using his position as editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* to provoke social change whilst also bolstering his sales and reputation. The illustrations produced by the press in the coverage of the Ripper murders also, unsurprisingly, demonstrates this commercial drive. The Salvation Army periodicals again echo this need for self-promotion, being positioned as both a vehicle through which to encourage sponsorship and an advertisement for the help the organisation offered. Through their astute use of the themes and discourse which had previously surrounded portrayals of fallen women, the

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[1] 'Fine arts: Royal Academy', *The Athenaeum*, p. 566.

Salvation Army publications can be seen as a very successful propagandistic enterprise whilst simultaneously attempting to remedy the social issues which their magazines addressed.

Significantly, women were also vital to the production of some of these portrayals. Chapter Two has shown that several female artists produced paintings which presented the economic difficulties which led to prostitution and the social ostracism of the fallen woman, as well as exposing the double standard which existed between the sexes. Josephine Butler led the feminist campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts and the social exclusion of the fallen woman, but also played an active role in the organisation of Stead's 'maiden tribute' campaign. Chapter Five has shown how women were central to the reclamation of the prostitute. Commonly presented as actively leading women towards the help of the Salvation Army in the charity's periodical illustrations, women also occupied key positions in the editorial teams of the Salvation Army where it seems they held great influence. A significant proportion of the authors and poets who contributed to *The Deliverer* were also female, although evidence of female artists working for the publications has yet to be found. This enhances our understanding of the role of women in philanthropic organisations towards the turn of the century. Whilst the role which women played in the reclamation of their 'fallen sisters' has long been known and has been studied in the work of Trudgill, Nead and Walkowitz, this thesis reveals that women were not only fundamental to the recovery of the fallen, but were active participants in the narrative which surrounded how their reclamation could be achieved, the impact which active intervention could have, and the dissemination of these messages.[2]

None the less, several of the images discussed in this thesis still present the fallen woman in a salacious way, as both the body of the fallen woman and that of her 'seducer' became sites of social meaning. The portrayal of the middle-class male consumer of prostitution as the ferocious minotaur in both Stead and Watt's interpretations, and then as the untrustworthy Jew or skeletal harbinger of death in the Ripper coverage, has shown how notions of class influenced who was thought to be responsible for the suffering of the women who found themselves in the sex trade. The portrayal of the male consumer, however, still

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[2] Amanda Anderson, *Tainted souls and painted faces*; Linda Mahood, 'The Magdalene's friend'; Susan Mumm, '"Not worse than other girls"'; Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality*; Eric Trudgill, *Madonnas and Magdalens*; Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian society*.

received comparatively less attention. As Chapter Four has argued, the use of Jack the Ripper's victims as headline images reflects their perceived status as public women, due to their position as prostitutes. The Salvation Army's portrayal of the Army officers in comparison to the women they saved suggests that this use of the body as an indication of the moral status of women continued, although the significance of physical degeneration shifted to promote their philanthropic agenda. This is, perhaps, most noticeably evident in the use of Army uniforms, both in the illustrations and in reality. The transformation which the bodily change represented similarly manifested in the numerous portrayals of the drowned woman which spanned the period. The emphasis which is placed on the contours of the body in Hood's *The bridge of sighs* and its subsequent painterly realisation in Watts' *Found Drowned* (fig. 7), for example, underlines the return to purity which death has brought: no longer aware of her womanly allure (even if the viewer remains encouraged to observe the portrayal with a voyeuristic gaze), she lies as if she is now naked, no longer feeling the weight of her clothing or of her sins.

Through the discussion of these themes and their implementation into painting, print, and the press during the nineteenth century, this thesis has offered new fields of visual material to the discussion of the fallen woman in Victorian visual culture. Significantly, publications such as those produced by the Salvation Army suggest that women who had once been seen as sexually deviant could also be shown in art as returning to society and holding respectable and responsible positions. This research thus offers an expanded understanding of attitudes towards the prostitute in late nineteenth-century visual culture and argues for a revised reading of late Victorian portrayals of the outcast woman. However, the limitations of this range of reference also mean that there are still several avenues of exploration still to be considered. The publications of the Salvation Army offer significant opportunities for wider study. *The Deliverer* in particular contains illustrations of the Salvation Army's work in various sectors throughout the late nineteenth century and beyond which will broaden our understanding of the charity's use of print in the period. The portrayals of the charity's organisation, London poverty, the lives of children, and social issues in the British Empire more generally provide numerous potential areas for further study. Moreover, whilst the identification of John William Godward as an artist who potentially worked for the Salvation Army informs how the Army's publication process functioned, this discovery also undoubtedly adds to the knowledge of this somewhat underrated artist's work. Appreciation of Godward's *oeuvre* has until now remained limited by the destruction of his personal letters and effects

upon his death, and Vern Swanson's book remains the only thoroughly researched monograph which has hitherto been published. The identification of Godward therefore represents an opportunity to expand his presence within art historical scholarship, but also suggests that other known artists may equally have worked for the Army and have yet to be discovered.

This thesis has shown that it was not only as a result of an increasing awareness of contemporary social issues that painters, philanthropists, and the press chose to depict the fallen woman, but through active collaboration and awareness of their audience bases. Audiences were both encouraged to take enjoyment, however voyeuristic or salacious, from the depiction of the fallen woman and prostitute, whilst also being encouraged perhaps to become involved in social change; a dual purpose which was embodied in the Salvation Army's publications. Thus, philanthropists, painters, and the press tailored their representations of the fallen woman to their own specific media in order to achieve their own aims. Moreover, the increasing democratisation of art, coupled with increasing awareness in social and legal discourses, enabled a wider range of people to become involved in debates surrounding gender and sexuality. Thus, the study of the portrayal of the fallen woman in the latter half of the nineteenth century can be considered as a case study for the exploration of wider Victorian attitudes towards gender, morality, and artistic production.

Illustrations

When an item is in a private collection it is not always possible to provide dimensions.

Chapter One

Fig. 1.   *Eve Tempted*
John Roddam Spencer Stanhope
1877
Tempera on panel
161.2 x 75.5cm
Manchester Art Gallery
Image credit: wiki commons public domain PD-US
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=30848159>

Fig. 2.   *Lilith*
John Collier
1887
Oil on canvas
46 x 86cm
Atkinson Art Gallery, Southport
Image credit: wiki commons public domain PD-US-no notice
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=207924>

Fig. 3.   *Lady Lilith*
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
1868
Oil on canvas
96.5 x 85.1cm
Delaware Art Museum
Image credit: Wiki commons public domain Creative Commons © Delaware Art
Museum Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6055292>
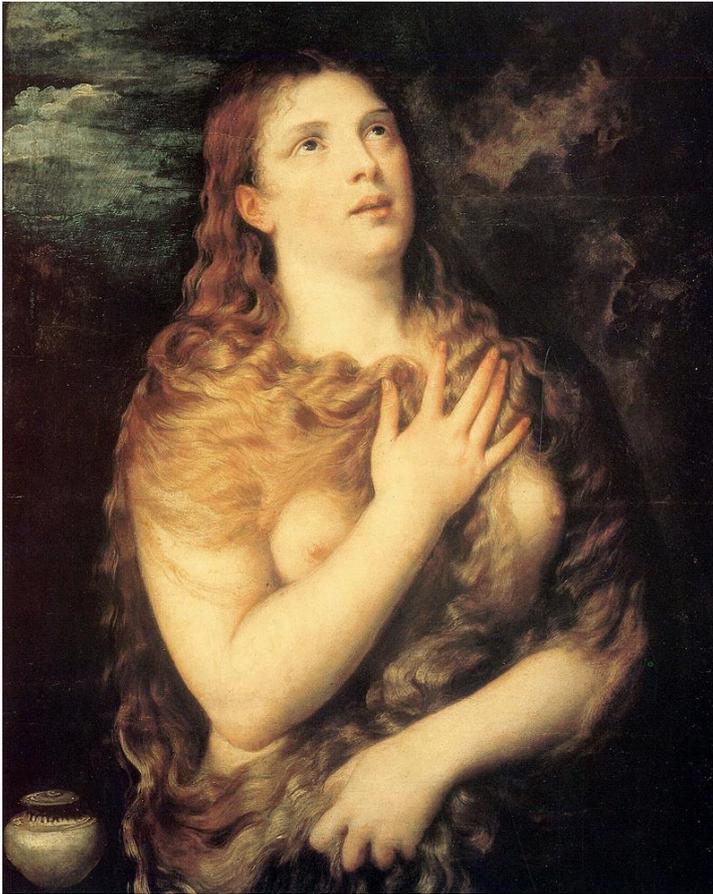
Fig. 4.   *Saint Mary Magdalene in Penitence*
Titian
c. 1530-35
Oil on canvas
85 x 68cm
Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Image credit: Wiki commons public domain *GNU Free Documentation License*
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=159483>

Fig. 5.   *Travelling Companions*
          Augustus Leopold Egg
          1862
          Oil on canvas
          65.3 x 78.7cm
          Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery
          Image credit: Wiki commons public domain PD-US-no notice
          <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=29657338>

Fig. 6.   *The Outcast*
           Richard Redgrave
           1851
           Oil on canvas
           78.7 x 104.1cm
           Royal Academy of Arts, London
           Image credit: Wiki commons public domain PD-US
           <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1264180>

Fig. 7.   *Found Drowned*
George Frederic Watts
1848-50
Oil on canvas
119.4 x 213.4cm
The Watts Gallery, Compton
Image credit: Wiki commons public domain, PD-US-no notice
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=15481066>

Fig. 8.   *The Bridge of Sighs*
            Gustave Doré
            1872
            Engraved print [unpaginated]
            Image credit: sourced from *The British Library*, public domain mark 1.0
            <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-favourite-poems-of-thomas-hood-with-illustrations-by-dor>

Chapter Two

Fig. 9.   *Haymarket – Midnight*
            William Powell Frith
            1862
            Oil study
            38.1 x 68.6cm
            Private collection
            Image credit: The Athenaeum public domain © 2000-2014 The Athenaeum <http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=168543>

Fig. 10a. *Past and Present No. 1*
Augustus Leopold Egg
1858
Oil on canvas
63.5 x 76.2cm
Tate collection
Image credit: © [Tate, London] Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0
(Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/egg-past-and-present-no-1-n03278>

Fig. 10b. *Past and Present No. 2*
Augustus Leopold Egg
1858
Oil on canvas
63.5 x 76.2cm
Tate collection
Image credit: © [Tate, London] Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0
(Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/egg-past-and-present-no-2-n03279>

Fig. 10c. *Past and Present No. 3*
Augustus Leopold Egg
1858
Oil on canvas
63.5 x 76.2cm
Tate collection
Image credit: © [Tate, London] Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0
(Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/egg-past-and-present-no-3-n03280>
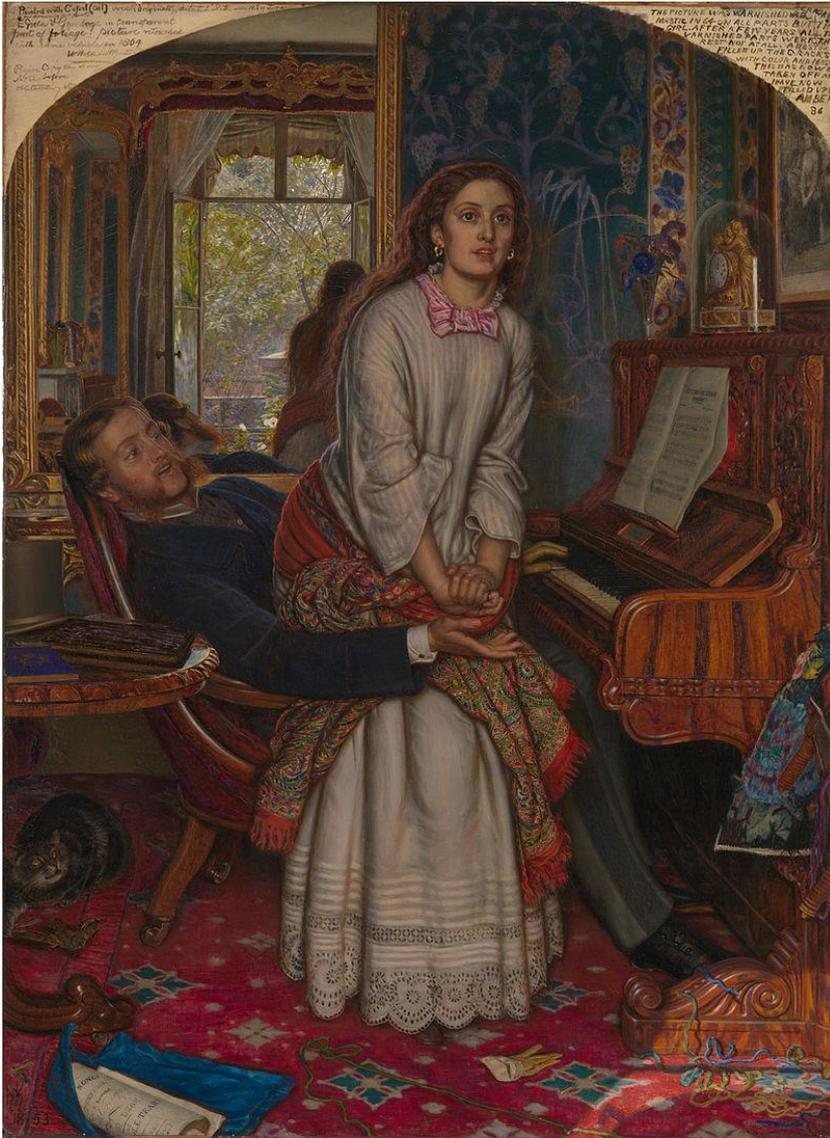
Fig. 11. *The Awakening Conscience*
William Holman Hunt
1853
Oil on canvas
76 x 56cm
Tate collection
Image credit: © [Tate, London] Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0
(Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hunt-the-awakening-conscience-t02075>

Fig. 12. *Mauvais Sujet*
Ford Madox Brown
1863
Watercolour on paper
23.2 x 21cm
Tate collection
Image credit: © [Tate, London] Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0
(Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/brown-mauvais-sujet-n03228>

Fig. 13. *Found*
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
1859
Oil on canvas
91.4 x 80cm
Delaware Art Museum
Image credit: Wiki commons public domain, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0
Unported © Delaware Art Museum
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6055392>

Fig. 14. *Robins of Modern Times*
John Roddam Spencer Stanhope
c. 1857
Oil on canvas
85.7 x 48.2cm
Private collection
Image credit: wiki commons public domain PD-1996
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6078515>

Fig. 15.   *Thoughts of the Past*
John Roddam Spencer Stanhope
1859
Oil on canvas
86.4 x 50.8cm
Tate collection
Image credit: © [Tate, London] Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0
(Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/stanhope-thoughts-of-the-past-n03338>

Fig. 16. *Nameless and Friendless*
Emily Mary Osborne
1857
Oil on canvas
82.5 x 103.8cm
Tate collection
Image credit: © [Tate, London] Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0
(Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/osborn-nameless-and-friendless-the-rich-mans-wealth-is-his-strong-city-etc-proverbs-x-15-t12936>

Fig. 17a. *The Song of the Shirt*
Anna Blunden
1854
Oil on canvas
47 x 39.5cm
Yale Center for British Art
Image credit: Wiki commons public domain, <u>PD-US-no notice</u>
<<u>https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/76/Anna_Blunden_-
_%22For_Only_One_Short_Hour%22_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg</u>>
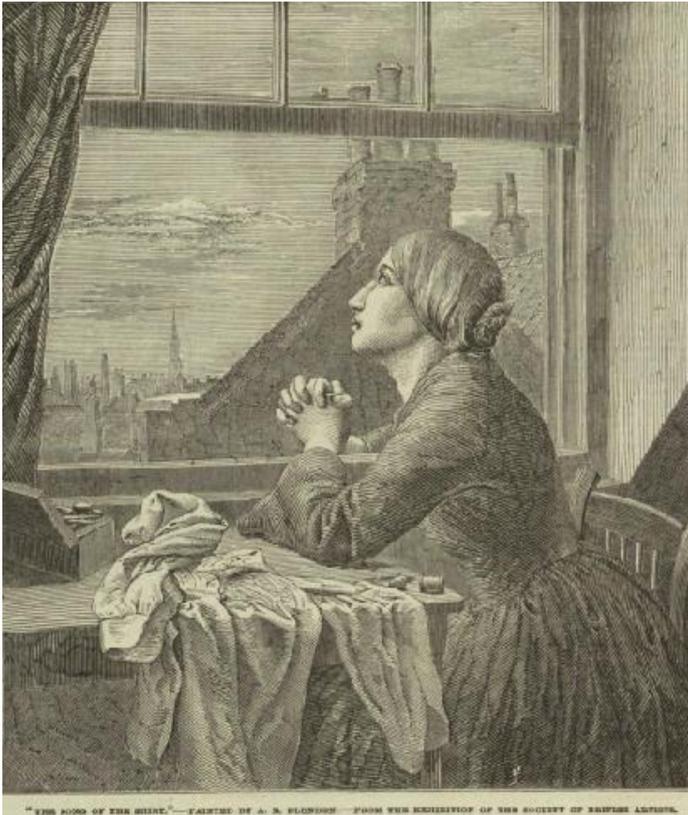
Fig. 17b. *The Song of the Shirt*
Reproduction of the painting by Anna Blunden
The Illustrated London News, p. 37
15 July 1854
Print
Image credit: sourced from *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: HN3100037045

"THE FRIEND IN NEED."—BY MISS SOLOMAN.—IN THE FLATOU EXHIBITION.

Fig. 18. *The Friend in Need*
Reproduction of the painting by Rebecca Solomon
The Illustrated London News, p. 400
23 April 1859 (original painting 1856)
Wood engraving
Image credit: sourced from *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: HN3100525821

Fig. 19. *Drowned! Drowned!*
Engraving of the painting by Abraham Solomon by J. and G. P. Nicholls
Art Journal, p. 73
March 1862
Engraved print
33.6 x 24.8cm
Image credit: sourced from the *British Periodicals Database* © 2010. ProQuest document ID: 6759701
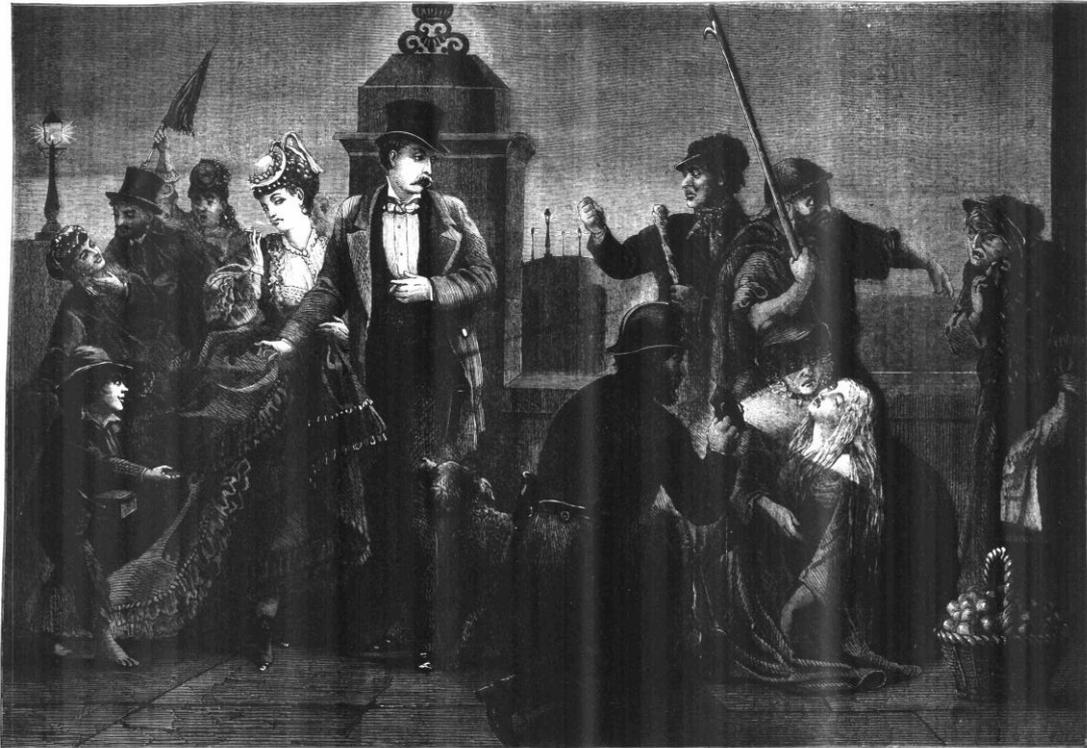
Fig. 20.   'The Bridge of Sighs – anywhere, anywhere, out of the world'
           The Days' Doings, p. 9
           4 March 1871
           Print
           Image credit: sourced from the *British Newspaper* Archive and the *British Library Board* © THE
           BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2016. ProQuest document ID: 6759701
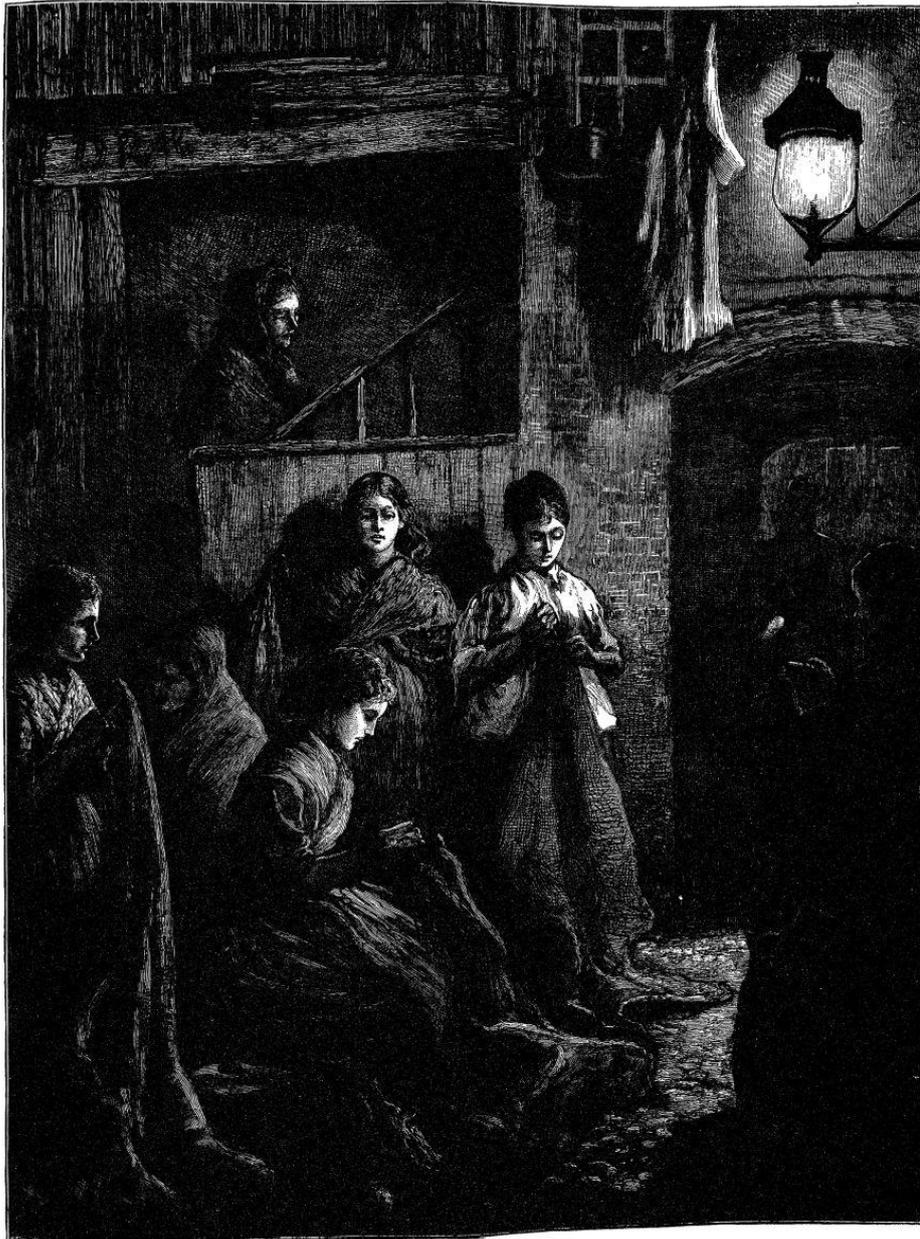
LONDON LIFE AT THE EAST END—SACK-MAKING BY THE LIGHT OF A STREET LAMP

Fig. 21.   *London life at the east end – sack-making by the light of a street lamp*
3 April 1875
The Graphic, p. 9
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3201421642
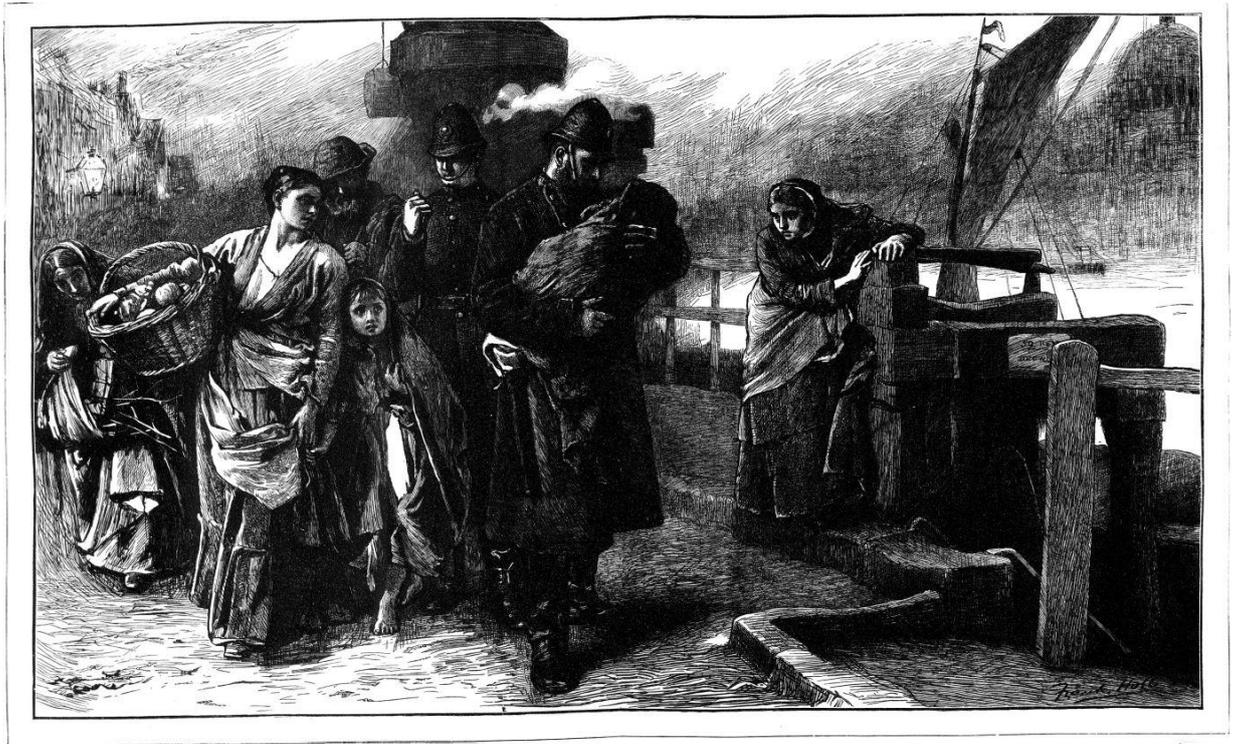
LONDON SKETCHES—THE FOUNDLING
DRAWN BY FRANK HOLL

Fig. 22. *London sketches – the foundling*
Frank Holl
26 April 1873
The Graphic, p. 392
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3201418388

Deserted.

Fig. 23.   *Deserted*
Frank Holl
1874
Reproduction printed in *The Art Journal*, p. 9
Image credit: sourced from *British Periodicals Collection 2* © 2008 ProQuest LLC.
ProQuest document ID: 6958217

Fig. 24. *Houseless and Hungry*
Luke Fildes
4 December 1869
The Graphic, p. 10
Wood engraving
Image credit: image scanned by Philip V. Allingham on the *Victorian Web*
<http://www.victorianweb.org/victorian/art/illustration/fildes/1.html>

Fig. 25.   *Resting on a Bridge*
Gustave Doré
London: a pilgrimage, p. xxxi
1872
Print
Image credit: image formatted by George P. Landow on the *Victorian Web*
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/dore/london/6.html>

Fig. 26. *Pietà*
Michelangelo
1498-99
Marble
174 x 195cm
St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City
Image credit: Photograph by Juan M Romero available under the Creative
Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piet%C3%A0_(Michelangelo)#/media/File:Michelangelo%27s_P
iet%C3%A0,_St_Peter%27s_Basilica_(1498%E2%80%9399).jpg>

Fig. 27.   Front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1
2 May 1885
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale Document Number:
BA3200801402

Fig. 28. *The Minotaur*
George Frederic Watts
1885
Oil on canvas
118.1 x 94.5cm
Tate collection
Image credit: Creative Commons © Tate London Photographic Rights © Tate (2014), CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (Unported) <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/watts-the-minotaur-n01634>

Fig. 29. *Torso of a Minotaur*
Roman copy of Greek classical sculpture
73cm in height
National Archaeological Museum of Athens
Image credit: Photograph available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Minotauros_Myron_NAMA_1664_n2.jpg>

Fig. 30. *Work*
         Ford Madox Brown
         1852-65
         Oil on canvas
         137 x 197.3cm
         Manchester Art Gallery
         Image credit: Wiki commons public domain PD-Art
         <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4454264>

Navvy. "AH, BILL! IT SHOWS THE FORRARD MARCH OF THE AGE. FUST, THE BRUTE FORCE, SUCH AS 'IM; AND THEN THE LIKES OF US TO DO IT SCIENTIFIC, AND SHOW THE MIGHT OF INTELLECT."

Fig. 31.   'Navvy'
Punch, p. 61
17 February 1855
Print
Image credit: sourced from *Punch Historical Archive* © 2014 Gale. Gale Document Number: ES700213359
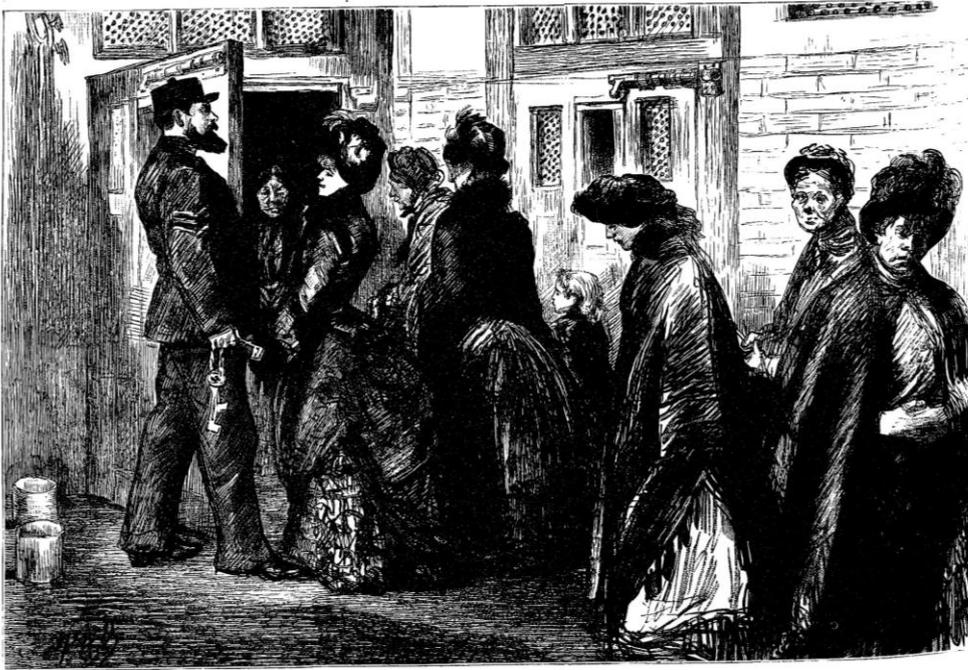
ENTRANCE TO WOMEN'S CELL

Fig. 32.   'Sketches at the London police courts'
The Graphic, p. 2.
27 August 1887
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3201443337

ANXIETY

Fig. 33. 'Sketches at the London police courts'
The Graphic, p. 2.
16 July 1887
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3201443140

Fig. 34. Front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1
13 October 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number:BA3200806817

Fig. 35.   Front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1
10 November 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3200806929

Fig. 36.   Front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1
             20 October 1888
             Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
             Document Number: BA3200806849

Fig. 37. Front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1
17 November 1888
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3200806955

Fig. 38.   'Horrible London: or, the pandemonium of posters'
Punch, p. 170
13 October 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *Punch Historical Archive* © 2014 Gale. Gale Document Number:
ES700281563

SHOCKING MURDER IN WHITECHAPEL.

SIX WOMEN MUTILATED.

NAMES OF THE VICTIMS.

Emma Smith 45, had an iron tipped stake thrust into her body, near Osborn St., Whitechapel, April 3rd. Martha Tabram, 35, stabbed in 39 places, at George Yard Buildings, Commercial St., Spitalfields Aug. 7. Mary Ann Nicholls, 47, had her throat cut and body mutilated, in Buck's Row, Whitechapel, August 31 Annie Chapman, 47, her throat cut and body mutilated, in Hanbury St., Spitalfields, Sept. 8. Elizabeth Stride, her throat cut, in Berner St., Whitechapel, on Sunday, Sept. 30th. Catherine Eddowes, found with her throat cut and body mutilated in Mitre Square, Aldgate, also on Sunday, September 30.

Come listen to a dreadful tale I'm telling,
In Whitechapel six murders have been done;
With horror many hearts they now are swelling,
Those fearful deeds that now to light have come.
Six months ago a woman was found lying
In deaths cold arms, how dreadful to relate,
What agony they suffered here when dying,
They were all nearly found in the same state.

Air—Railway Train,

Now ladies all beware or you'll get coughisin a snar,
They seem to say the devils running loose,
With a big knife in his hand he trots throughout the land,
And with all the ladies means to play the deuce.
He's knockout I declare, here, there and everywhere,
And to catch we all know they've had a try,
He's got the laugh as yet but his day will come you bet,
And he'll play his little game out bye and bye.

Chorus.

Has anyone seen him, can you tell us where he is
If you meet him you must take away his knife,
Then gibe him to the women, they'll spoil his pretty fin,
And I would not give him two-pence for his life.

Now they've searched the underground and country all around,
In every hole and corner so they say.
Out he comes out of a night and puts us all in fright,
And he manages somehow to getaway.
We can't tell if we're standing on our heads or on our heels,
While mystery these crimes still enshrouds,
We must ask professor Baldwin to go up in his balloon,
And see if he can find him in the clouds.

Now Mrs. Potts says she I'd let the villian see,
If I had him here I'd sure to make him cough,
I'd chop off all his toes, then hiccers and then dis nose
And I'd make him such a proper drop of broth
His hat and coat I'd stew and flavour it with glue,
Blackbeetles, mottled soap and bol the lot.
I've got a good sized funnel I'll stick it in his guzzle,
And make the humbug eat it boiling hot.

Now at night when you undress and about to go to rest,
Just see that he aint underneath the bed,
If he is you musn't shout but politely drag him out,
And with your poker tap him on the head.
So look out Jack the Ripper we're on your blooming track,
There's a pretty piece of rope for you in store,
We'll give you beans old bogey then good old Ripper Jack,
He'll never go out killing any more.

Fig. 39. 'Shocking murder in Whitechapel – six women mutilated'
[n.d.]
Broadside Ballad, MS V30164, p. 72.
Print
Oxford, Bodleian Library
Image credit: sourced from *Broadside Ballads Online from the Bodleian Libraries*, licence:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/deed.en_GB#>
<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/15619>

Fig. 40.   Front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, p. 1
        8 December 1888
        Print
        Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
        Document Number: BA3200807037

Fig. 41. 'Chapter LIII: Accusations and explanations'
The Mysteries of London, p. 161.
1846
Print
Image credit: Image credit: sourced from victorianlondon.org, images free of copyright
<http://www.victorianlondon.org/mysteries/mysteries-53.htm>

Fig. 42. 'Poverty and vice at the east end of London: reminiscences of children-waifs, and of Mary Kelly'
The Penny Illustrated Paper, p. 328
24 November 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3207713586

REMOVING THE BODY TO THE MORTUARY.

Fig. 43. 'Removing the body to the mortuary'
The Pall Mall Gazette, p. 8
10 November 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BB3200414018

Fig. 44.   'The recent murders in Whitechapel (29 Hanbury Street)'
  The Pall Mall Gazette, p. 7
  10 September 1888
  Print
  Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
  Document Number: BA3200412791
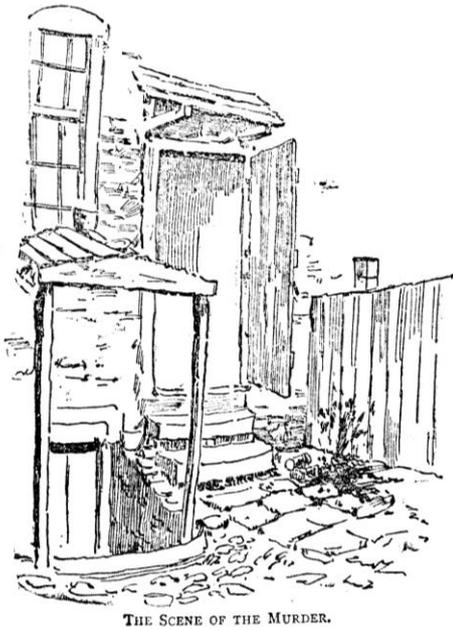
THE SCENE OF THE MURDER.

Fig. 45. 'The scene of the murder'
The Pall Mall Gazette, p. 7
10 September 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3200412791

THE LATEST HORROR IN THE EAST-END.
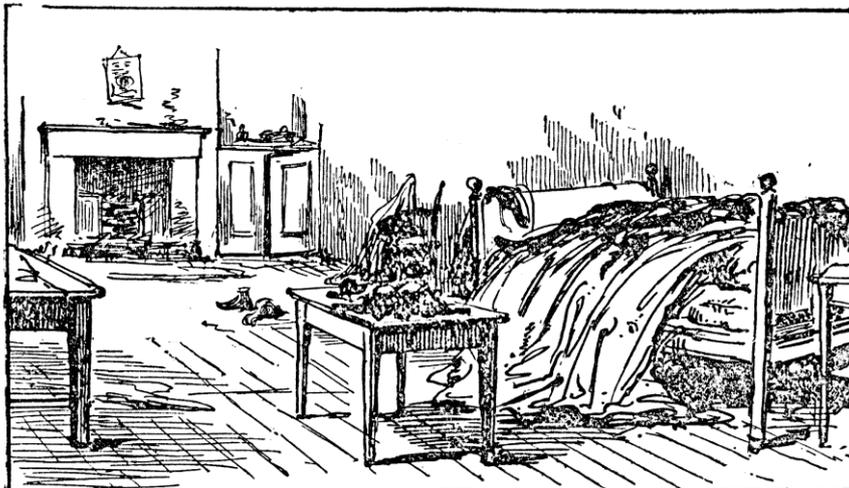
THE VICTIM'S BEDROOM.

Fig. 46. 'The victim's bedroom'
Reynolds's Newspaper, p. 5
18 November 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3200602187

THE SCENE OF THE MURDER.

Dorset-street is a fairly wide thoroughfare, occupied almost entirely by common lodging houses, one immediately opposite the entrance to Miller's-court accommodating some 300 men. The court, containing six two-roomed dwellings of the poorest and meanest description, with whitewashed fronts, forms a *cul de sac*. The boarded-up window of the room in which the murder was committed is marked in the above sketch with a X. It looks into the court, and the room is entered by a door at the end of the covered passage, not more than a yard wide, which runs between 26 and 27, Dorset-street, and forms the entrance to Miller's-court. The room, however, is really the back parlour of 26, Dorset-street, the front shop being partitioned off, and used for the storage of barrows, &c. This was formerly left open, and poor persons often took shelter there for the night; but when the Whitechapel murders caused so much alarm the police thought the spot offered a temptation to the murderer, and so the front was securely boarded up. Although the window was open to the observation of any of the inmates of the court, the door was some distance from any other, and afforded the utmost facility for an easy escape.

LOCALITY OF THE SEVEN MURDERS.

The figures in the above chart show the places where the Seven women have been murdered.
1. Emma Elizabeth Smith, 45, stabbed near Osborne-street, Whitechapel, April 3.
2. Martha Tabram, 35, stabbed in 39 places, at George-yard-buildings, Commercial-street, Spitalfields, August 7.
3. Mary Ann Nicholls, 47, had her throat cut and body mutilated, in Buck's-row, Whitechapel, August 31.
4. Annie Chapman, 47, her throat cut and body mutilated, in Hanbury-street, Spitalfields, September 8.
5. Elizabeth Stride, throat cut in Berner-street, Whitechapel, on Sunday, September 30.
6. Catherine Eddowes, *alias* Conway, *alias* Kelly, mutilated in Mitre-square, Aldgate, also on September 30.
7. Mary Jeannette Kelly, mutilated in Miller's-court, Whitechapel, November 9.

Fig. 47a. 'Locality of the seven murders'
Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, p. 7
11 November 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale Document Number:BC3206267889
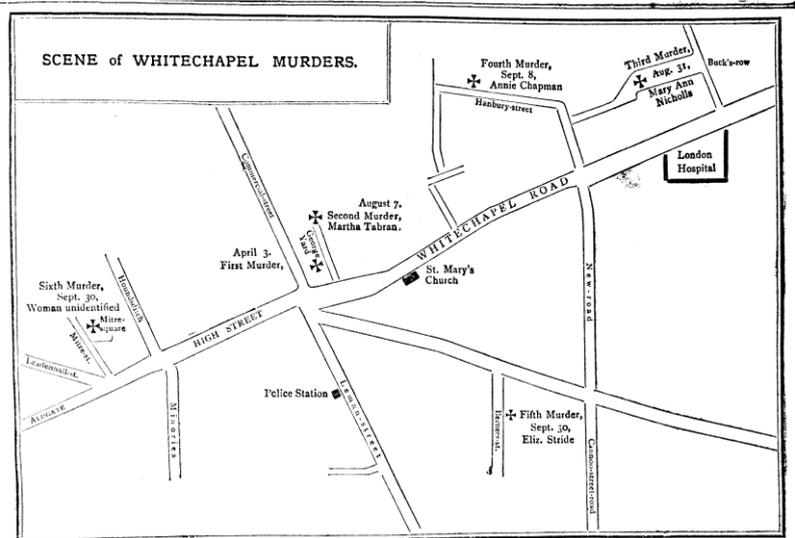

Fig. 47b. 'Scene of Whitechapel murders'
The Pall Mall Gazette, p. 11
2 October 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale Document Number: BA3200413234
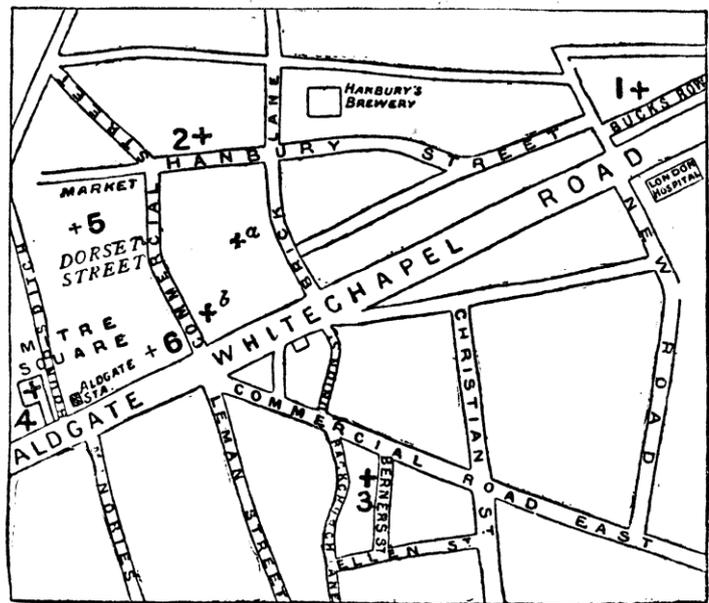
1.—The murder in Buck's-row, Whitechapel, August 31, 1888.
2.—The Hanbury-street murder, September 7.
3. } The murders of Sunday morning, September 30.
4. }
5.—The murder and mutilation in Dorset-street, November 9.
6.—Wednesday morning's murder in Castle-alley.
a and *b* are near the sites of the two earlier murders near Commercial-street and Brick-lane, which may or may not be connected with the more recent series.

Fig. 47c. 'The east end murders'
Reynolds's Newspaper, p. 5.
21 July 1889
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale Document Number: Y3200604595

Fig. 48.   *The Jew and Morris Bolter both begin to understand each other*
George Cruickshank
1838
Etching on steel
Image credit: image scanned by Philip V. Allingham on the *Victorian Web*
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/cruikshank/ot20.html>

A TRAMP SLEEPING IN THE CORRIDOR OF A WHITECHAPEL LODGING-HOUSE.

Fig. 49.   'Peeps at the east end'
        The Penny Illustrated Paper, p. 308.
        17 November 1888
        Print
        Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
   Document Number: BA3207713540

The reports of his superiors bear record of his courage and fighting qualities at the battles of Resaca and Peachtree Creek:—

" General Hooker rode the lines the day after Peachtree Creek, and, as he shook hands with the young commander, said ' Harrison, by ——, I 'll make you a brigadier-general for this fight ' ; and his word of mouth on the battle-field was supplemented by a hearty letter of commendation written to the Secretary of War a few months later. While on temporary leave to visit his family, General Harrison was cut off from immediate return to Atlanta by the rebel invasion of Tennessee and Northern Georgia. He took command of a brigade at Nashville, however, and led in the bloody battles about that place ; and under General George H. Thomas—one of the finest figures of the war—aided in defeating Hood and putting his army to flight. Called home to the bedside of his two children, who were stricken with scarlet fever, General Harrison was attacked by the disease in a malignant form. After barely escaping a fatal termination of the fever, he rejoined his regiment in North Carolina, and remained with Sherman's army until the close of the war, returning to his home a brevet brigadier-general."

＊　　＊　　＊　　＊

In the fall of 1864 General Harrison was re-elected reporter of the Indiana Supreme Court, and in the same year he became a member of a law firm, and was elected Governor of Indiana in 1880. In January, 1881, General Harrison was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed J. M'Donald (Dem.).

His term of six years as Senator of the United States established General Harrison's reputation as a sound statesman and a powerful debater. His position on the question of Civil Service reform is indicated by the following sentences from the speech with which he opened the Indiana campaign of 1882 :—" I want to assure you that I am an advocate of Civil Service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish, with an emphasis that I do not often use, that I might be for ever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens,

PEEPS AT EAST LONDON: DISPENSARY OF THE LONDON HOSPITAL.

PEEPS AT EAST LONDON : HOW OUTCASTS OF A "CHRISTIAN" CITY SLEEP.

Fig. 50.　'Peeps at the east end'
The Penny Illustrated Paper, p. 309.
17 November 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: BA3207713540.

OUTCASTS SLEEPING IN SHEDS IN WHITECHAPEL.

HOMELESS. — A SUSPICIOUS CHARACTER.

WITH THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE IN THE EAST-END.
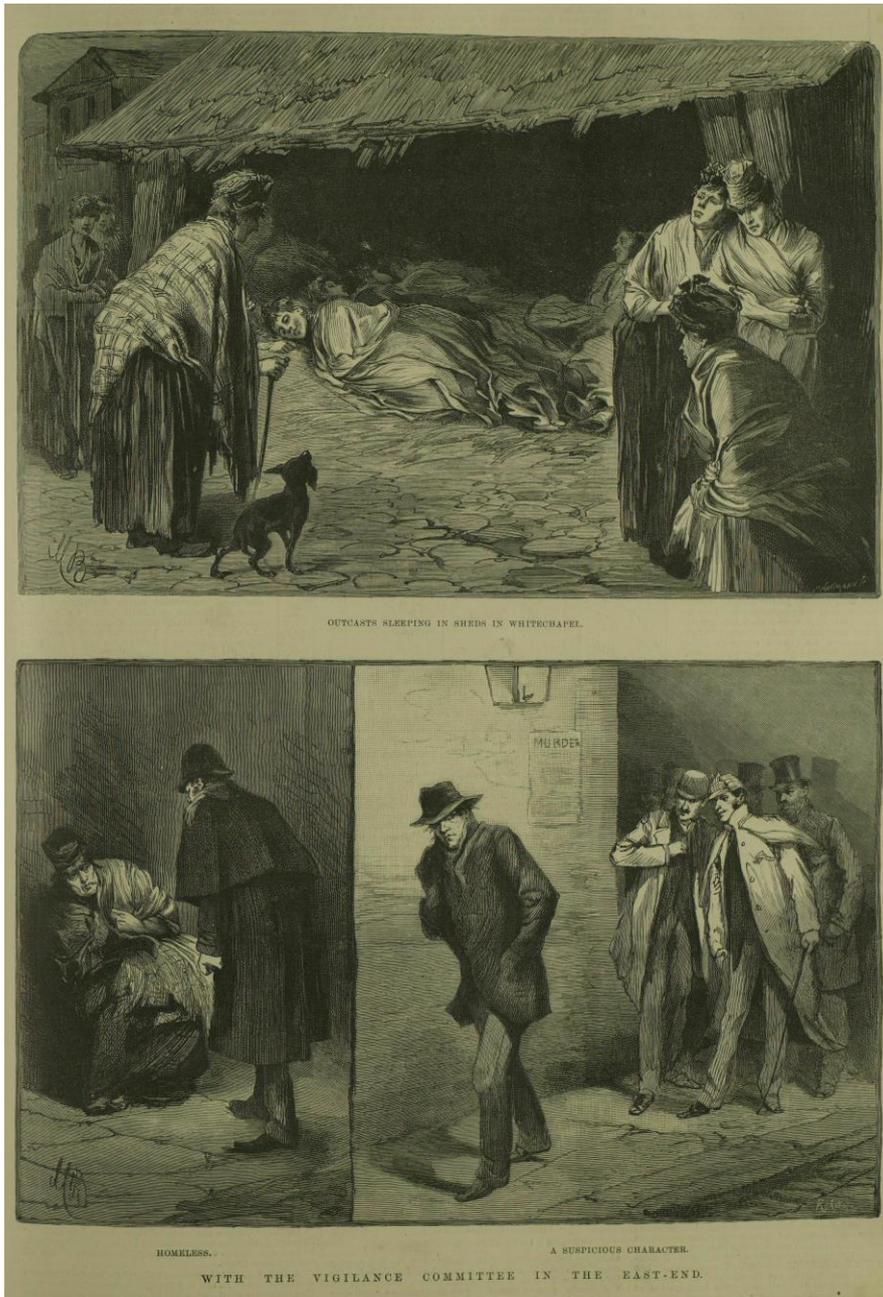
Fig. 51. 'With the vigilance committee in the east end'
The Illustrated London News, p. 421
13 October 1888
Print
Image credit: sourced from *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive* © 2014 Gale. Gale
Document Number: HN3100452447.

Fig. 52. 'Greeting'
The Deliverer, p. 53
15 November 1889
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

DAUGHTERS OF SORROW: WHO WILL SAVE THEM?

An Appeal to the Women of England.

BY THE GENERAL.

I SUPPOSE that every kind of toil that has for its object the Salvation of Men and Women, either for Time or for Eternity, has some forms of Discouragement peculiar to itself. Anyway, discouragements sufficiently various and depressing meet the dear Comrades who work in that particular field of labour to the interests of which THE DELIVERER is devoted.

The disheartenments and exhaustive toils connected with this work are comparatively unknown to those who merely stand by and look on at the conflict, although only too well known to the Women Warriors whose whole time and energies are absorbed by the fight. All hail to those who struggle on, not only from month to month, but year after year, to save their poor lost Sisters.

At the beginning of the New Year, I would like to assure them of the appreciation in which I hold their self-denying labour, my gratitude for their brave perseverance, and my prayers to our Heavenly Father for greater successes than any they have as yet experienced, which, I know, will be their highest, their most coveted reward.

Encouragement.

" *The workers in our Rescue Departments ought to be cheered forwards by every class of the community.*" The magnificent world-wide organization which has sprung out of their love and labour and the machinery of mercy maintained by their sacrifice, which daily performs such miraculous transformations of hearts and lives and circumstances, deserve the acknowledgment and encouragement of every lover of humanity.

" *Every father ought to bless our Rescue Officers, and bid them 'God-speed.'* " The indescribable agony of having to remember, as he lays himself down to sleep at night, that he has a daughter earning her daily bread in the darkness and shame of some black thoroughfare, by association with some villain whose heart is blacker still, has been spared him. But he may know—nay, he does know—that other Fathers have these agonies, therefore let him thank God that there are women at work at that very hour—indeed, at all hours of both day and night—trying to rescue these " other fathers' daughters."

" *Every Mother should wish the Rescue Officers 'God-speed.'* " I often wonder that the Matrons, the Divinely-appointed Guardians of purity in our homes, do not manifest more concern for these Daughters of Sorrow, for whom some other Mothers' hearts are bleeding, or who have the bitterer lot still of not having Mothers who care whether they are saved or not.

Oh! you Mothers, when you look at your own precious daughters, can you not find a tear of sympathy, or a sigh of compassion for these desolate outcasts? And if you cannot find either the opportunity or the courage to throw around them the arms of your own Love, or invite them to the Saviour with your own lips, surely you ought to praise God for having raised up an Army of Sisters who will do the task for you!

Doctrine of Love.

" *The Churches of every shade of doctrine, order, or discipline, ought to wish the Rescue Officers 'God-speed.'* " Here is no room for the bitterness engendered by theological controversy. With us, one doctrine is paramount, and that is the doctrine to which every Church worthy of the name must cling—the Doctrine of Love.

Here is no competition in Practice. There are thousands of Churches who have within their own pale no effective means of helping these unfortunates. They have no Homes for the purpose, no Workers who understand the business, and although our methods and worship may differ from those employed in their Temples, yet there are very few persons, however prejudiced against our peculiarities in this respect, who would not rather that a girl knelt and wept in confession at our Penitent-form,

" GOOD-NIGHT, FATHER."

HIS CHILD IS SAFE, BUT SOME ONE ELSE'S ISN'T.

Fig. 53.   'Daughters of sorrow: who will save them?
The Deliverer, p. 313
February 1897
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

Fig. 54a. 'In a Salvation Army shelter'
        The Deliverer, p. 45
        September 1891
        Print
        Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre
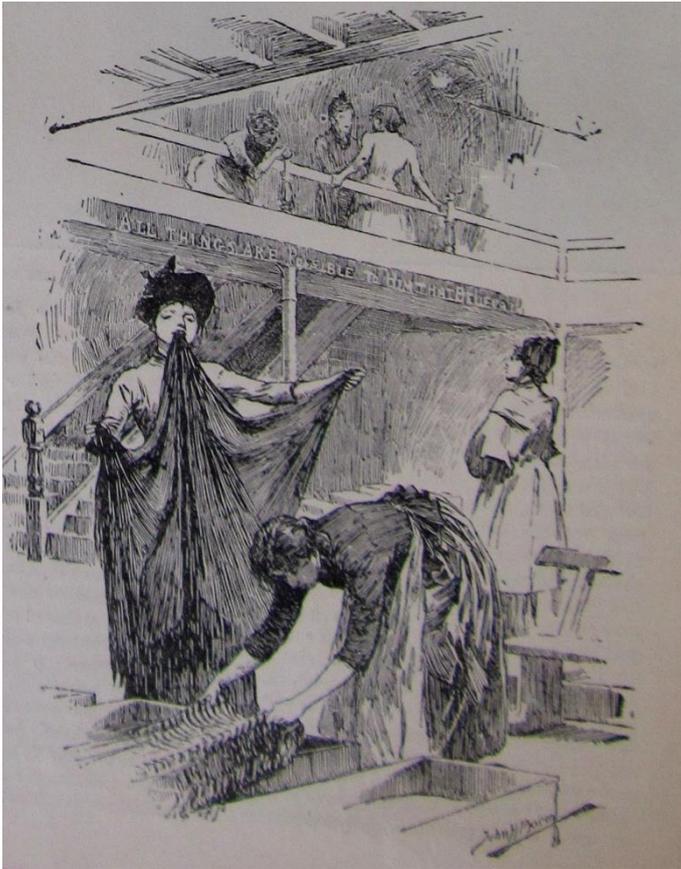
Fig. 54b. 'In a Salvation Army shelter'
   The Deliverer, p. 46
   September 1891
   Print
   Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre
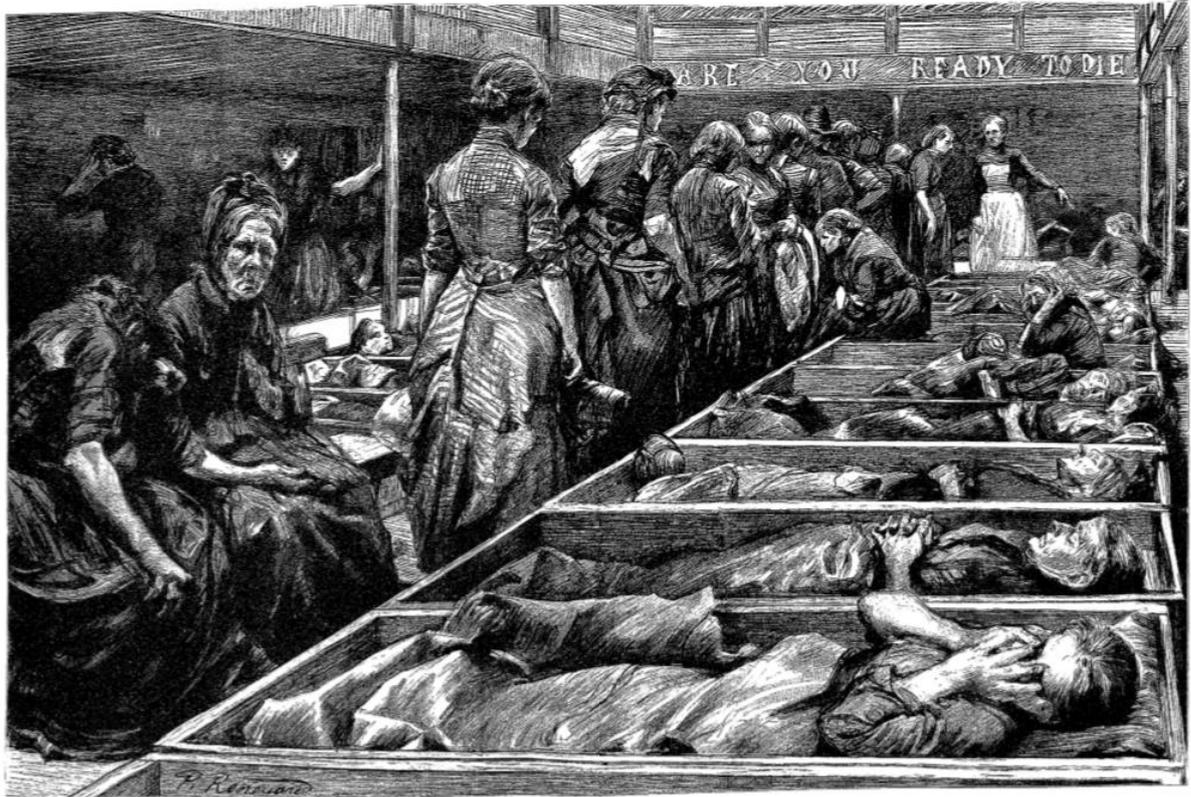
ARE YOU READY TO DIE

A SALVATION ARMY SHELTER FOR WOMEN IN WHITECHAPEL
DRAWN FROM LIFE BY PAUL RENOUARD

Fig. 55.   'A Salvation Army shelter for women in Whitechapel'
          The Graphic, p. 278
          27 February 1892
          Print
          Image credit: sourced from *British Library Newspapers 1600-1950* © 2014 Gale. Gale
          Document Number: BA3201452740

"BY THE OLD PATHWAY GATE SHE HALTED."

Fig. 56.   'By the old pathway gate she halted'
          The Deliverer, p. 109
          January 1899
          Print
          Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

Fig. 57. *The Gate of Memory*
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
1857
Chalk on paper
33.7 x 26.7cm
Makins collection
Image credit: The Athenaeum public domain © 200-2014 The Athenaeum < http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=301>

A BLEMISHED LILY

"SIN WHEN IT IS FINISHED BRINGETH FORTH DEATH"

By Mrs. Brigadier Harding.

BORN to be happy, the light and joy of a loving mother's heart, little Lily spent her childhood's days as thousands of other children do, without a cross or a care, as light-hearted and bright as any child need wish to be.

Very early in life, at the age of seventeen, she left her parents' roof for a home of her own, where a few more happy years passed over her head. But sorrow and loneliness were soon to be her lot, for death laid its iron hand upon her dearest treasure, and he was snatched from her side.

Left poor, and having no trade in her hands, the world showed a hard and cruel front, and Lily knew not which way to turn to earn an honest livelihood.

The only course that presented itself was life behind a public-house bar. At first a revulsion of feeling kept her from it, but as there was no other opening, Lily summoned up courage and entered into an engagement as barmaid. Little did she know of the temptations that would surround her, and what the terrible end would be. But the first wrong step was taken, and down what seemed to her a flowery path she hastened, unmindful of her mother's blessed memory, though times and again her pure and beautiful life and tender love would come with swift reprimand to her conscience. But on, alas! she went. An unlimited supply of drink was the order of the day, and at first Lily drank because others did so; but by degrees she became an awful slave to the cursed cup. As the days passed by, she found that a terrible craving was gathering strength, like unto a horrible nightmare, and in vain did she strive to break away from its power. There seemed no escape from the grip of this terrible monster—drink she must have, or die!

It is needless to say that her life behind the bar brought Lily into constant contact with men of doubtful character, and when almost insensible with drink, it was very easy for her to be carried away with their flatteries, and to drift into the traps set by these VULTURES FOR HER DEEPER DESTRUCTION. All thought of purity and goodness was soon killed by drink, and poor Lily ere long found herself upon the streets, friendless and hopeless. Those who had led her there soon forsook and left her—either to die, or exist in this most shameful manner.

More and more drink was now necessary to make life at all endurable, and Lily soon

ON, ON SHE WENT, HEEDLESS OF TENDER WARNING—ON, ON TO DEATH!

Fig. 58. 'A blemished Lily'
The Deliverer, p. 341
April 1897
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

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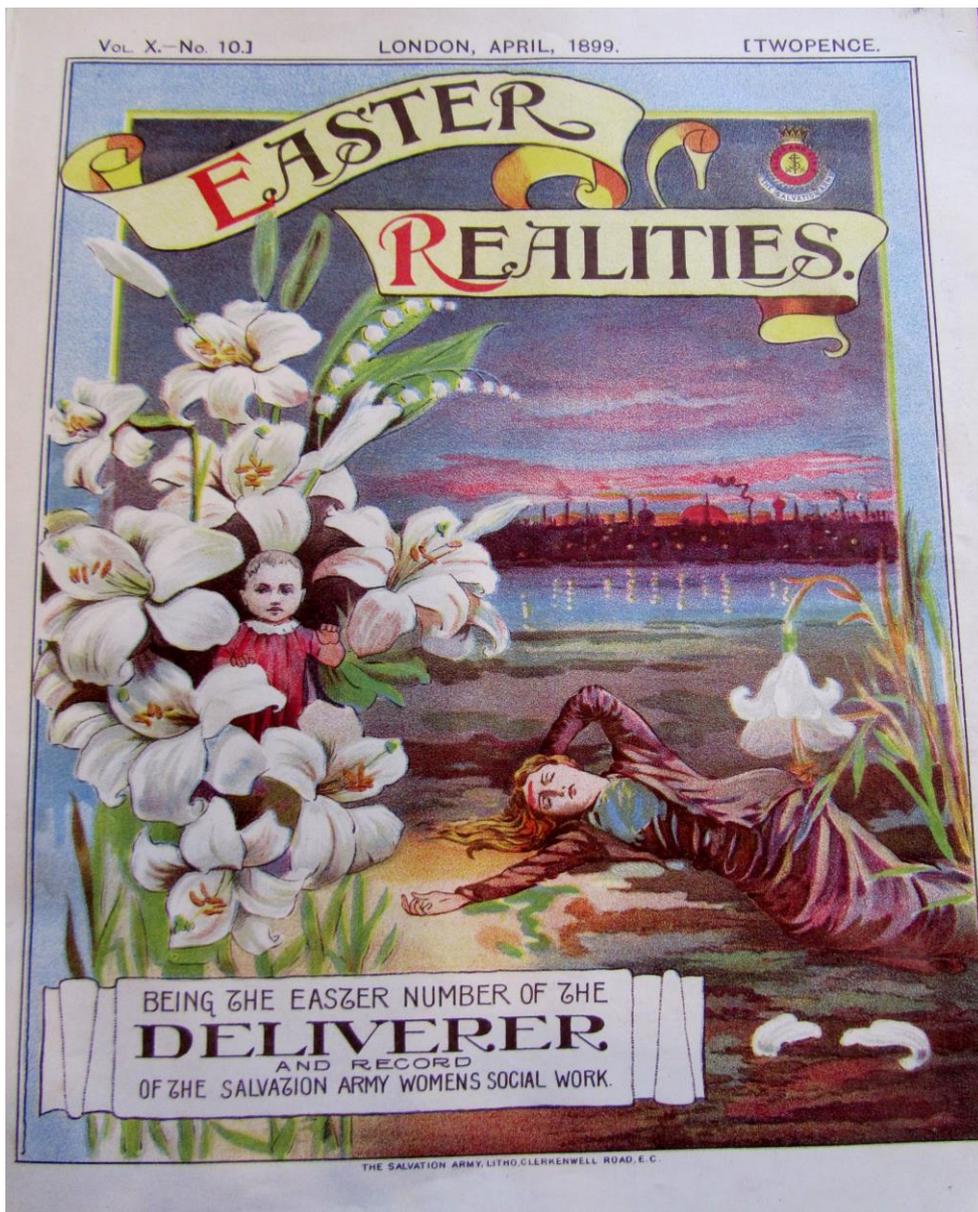
Fig. 59. 'Easter realities'
The Deliverer, p. 1
April 1889
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

Fig. 60. *The River*
Phiz (Hablot K. Browne)
1850
Steel etching
Image credit: image scanned by Philip V. Allingham on the *Victorian Web*
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/phiz/dc/33.html>

SAVED IN TIME.

A FOUNDATION PRINCIPLE.

BY MRS. BRAMWELL BOOTH.

THE principles and methods by which The Salvation Army is dealing annually with over three thousand cases of women in its Rescue Homes, are but the adaptation to a particular phase of evil of the main principles of its work as a whole. *Faith in the salvability of every soul* is, I believe, one of the most important of these. *Hope for all*, for the old and hardened as well as for the young, for the vile and degraded as for the outwardly respectable. Hope, not merely of heaven at last, but of restoration to purity and usefulness here and now. The great majority of these women have lost all hope about their own reformation. Underneath the apparent carelessness, and often brazen impudence, which characterizes many of them, lies hidden the anguish of despair. ...ll intercourse with the cold, cruel world, of which they are social outcasts, and even with ...companions of infamy and shame in their own circle, but serves to intensify this hopelessness.

Fig. 61.   'The brink of despair'
The Deliverer, p. 1
January 1891
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre
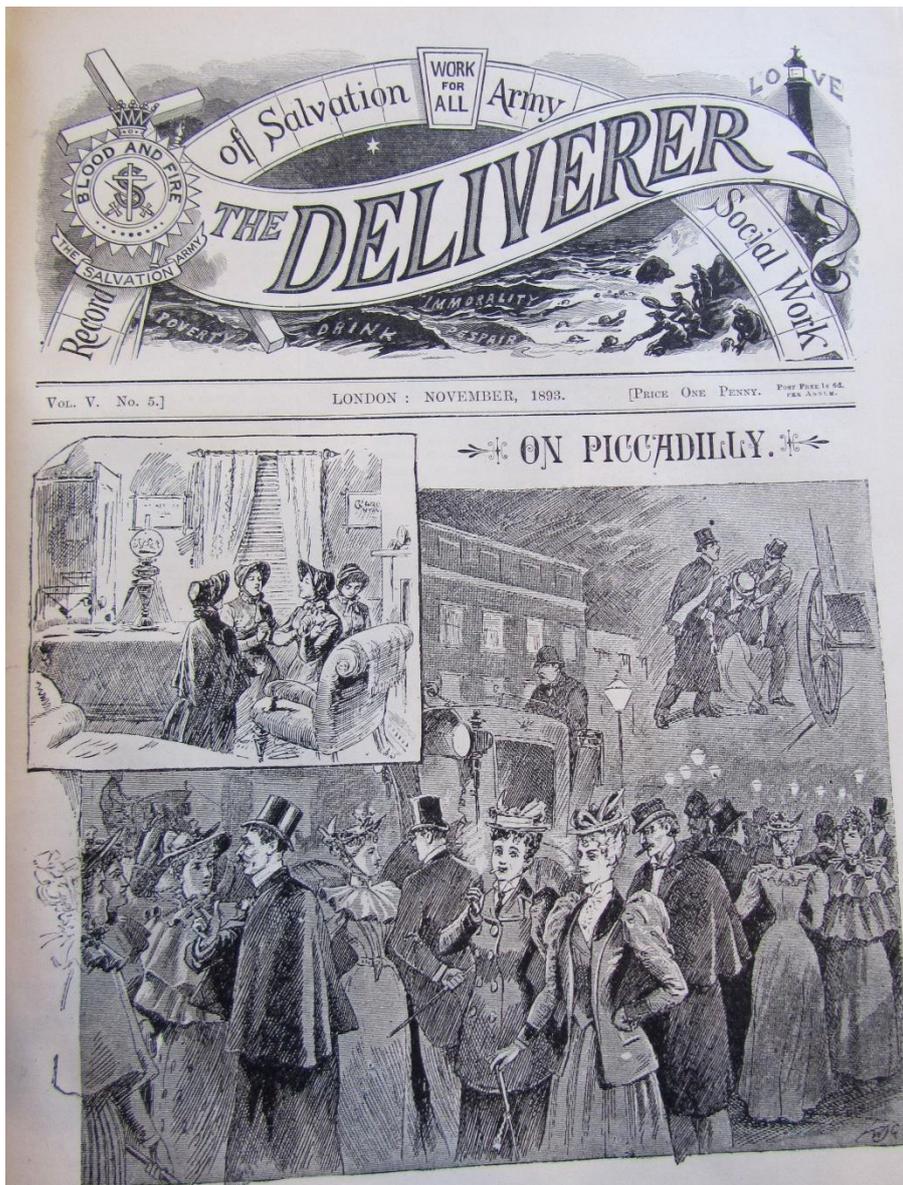
Fig. 62.   'On Piccadilly'
The Deliverer, p. 65
November 1893
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

"ARN'T GIRLS LIKE THAT WORTH HELPING?"

Fig. 63.   'Aren't girls like that worth helping?'
           All The World, p. 79
           April 1886
           Print
           Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

"OH, I'M IN GREAT TROUBLE," SHE
SOBBED.

Fig. 64.   'The ruins of Melbourne'
         The Deliverer, p. 149
         April 1899
         Print
         Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre
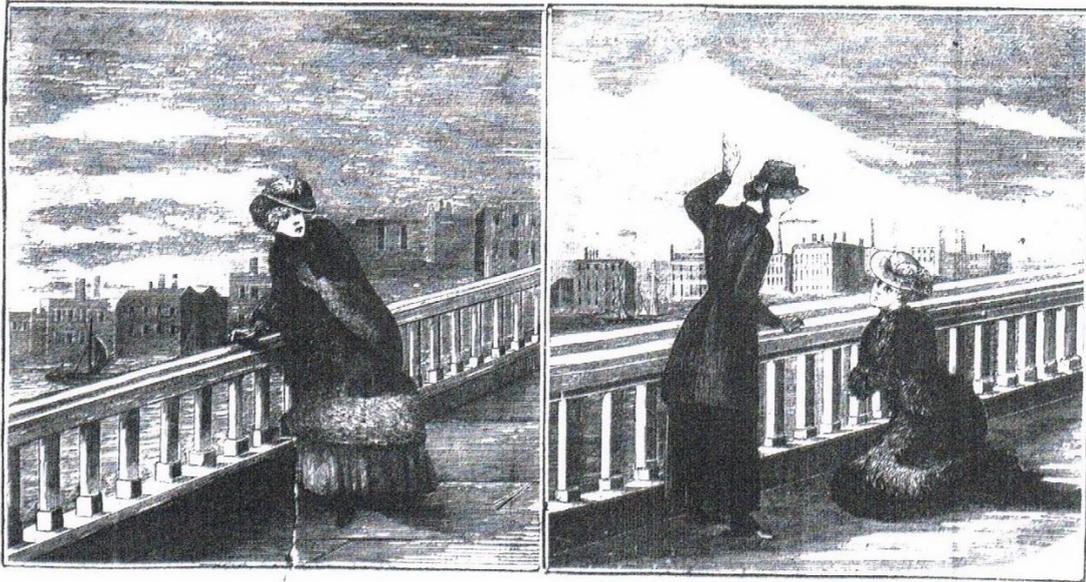
The Poor Fallen Girl who Attempted Suicide Several Times.

But was Stopped by a Soldier and led to Jesus.

Fig. 55.   'The poor fallen girl led to Jesus'
           War Cry, p. 1
           3 October 1883
           Print
           Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre
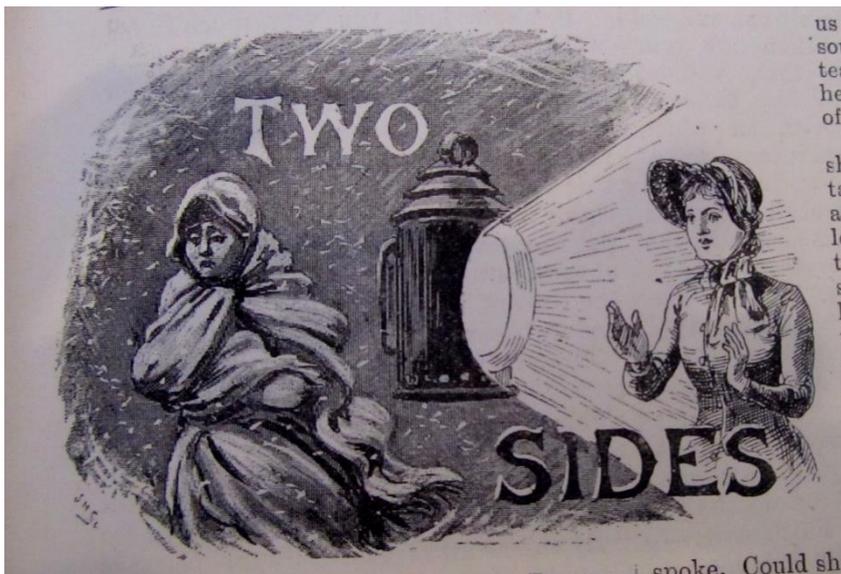
Fig. 66.   'Two sides'
           The Deliverer, p. 83
           Christmas 1890
           Print
           Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

Fig. 67. 'Rescue cases – failures and successes'
The Deliverer, p. 321
March 1897
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

Fig. 68. *The Lonely Figure*
Phiz (Hablot Knight Browne), illustration to *Bleak House*, chapter 56
1853
Dark plate etching
Image credit: image scanned by George P. Landow on the *Victorian Web*
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/phiz/bleakhouse/35.html>

Fig. 69.   'On the wings of an Army song'
         The Deliverer, p. 110
         January 1896
         Print
         Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

Fig. 70. *The Morning*
Phiz (Hablot Knight Browne), illustration to *Bleak House*, chapter 59
1853
Dark plate etching
Image credit: image scanned by George P. Landow on the *Victorian Web*
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/phiz/bleakhouse/37.html>

Fig. 71. *Under a Dry Arch*
George Frederic Watts
1849-50
Oil on Canvas
137 x 101.5cm
The Watts Gallery, Compton
Image credit: The Athenaeum public domain © 200-2014 The Athenaeum <http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=214715>

Fig. 72. 'The shades of Piccadilly'
The Deliverer, p. 151
May 1890
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

CHAPTER I.

SEED-SOWING.

Fig. 73. 'Seed-sowing'
The Deliverer, p. 93
December 1889
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

AT PICCADILLY!
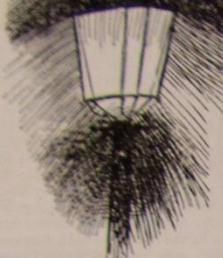
BY
COMMISSIONER NICOL.

Surging along in the gay-dressed throng—
Friendless, helpless, a victim of wrong—
          At Piccadilly,
Trying to halt, and afraid to run,
Sighing and crying—poor Marie Lunn!
          At Piccadilly.

'Twixt dread of want and enticing spell,
She paces and paces o'er the London hell,
          At Piccadilly.
'Tis her first night out on the pavement of shame,
Dragged there by a friend with a lust for gain,
          At Piccadilly.

"TRYING TO HALT—AFRAID TO RUN."

"Look sharp," cries he, as the clock peals twelve,
"Do as others do, and do it well!"
          At Piccadilly.
"I can't," she pleads; "for God's sake spare
Me the shame—it's more than I can bear."
          At Piccadilly.

With a piercing laugh and hateful ire,
His fist upraised, and his eyes on fire,
          At Piccadilly,
He seizes his prey, and dashes her among
The giggling, chaffing, swellish throng,
          At Piccadilly.

"You've got to do it or starve —— there!
So none of that cowardly, squeamish air."
          At Piccadilly.
"D'ye hear? I keep you in clothes and out of quad,
For that you ought to be mighty glad."
          At Piccadilly.
So hounded and pounded, poor Marie Lunn,
Like a brute she is driven to the shambles of sin,
          At Piccadilly.
While he—ah! he—with the greater crime,
Feasts on the viands and the cups of red wine
          Of Piccadilly.

"HOUNDED AND POUNDED."

Oh! Army of Hope! Oh! people of God!
Shall these pearls lie trampled on vice's high road,
          At Piccadilly?
Our sisters they are—not brutes of the field—
Stamped with God's image, tho' by sin deep defiled,
          At Piccadilly.

Wanted! some sister to seek them, some sister to bless,
Some sister to love them, some one to redress,
          At Piccadilly,
Their wrongs and their sorrows, their shame and their sin—
Will you be that sister, and lead them to Him?
          At Piccadilly.

REFRIENDED.

Fig. 74. 'At Piccadilly'
          The Deliverer, p. 230
          September 1896
          Print
          Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

"Oh, thou child of many prayers,
Life has quicksands – life has snares."
– Longfellow

I. INNOCENCE.

HUSH! 'tis a mother's voice
  Lifted in prayer—
"Father, protect my child,
  Make her Thy care;
Over life's wilderness
  Be Thou her guide;
Lord, may she ever keep
  Close to Thy side!"

Daily this prayer ascends
  Fervent, sincere,
Uttered with many a sigh
  And many a tear:
Well does this mother know
  Dangers abound,
Snares for her dearest one
  Spread all around.

II. GUILT.

Drawn by the fatal charm
  Pleasure revealed,
Drawn to an awful doom
  Danger concealed,
Far from her village home
  And kindred dear,
Wanders this erring one,
  No pity near.

Bitter the gall of sin,
  Still she must drink—
What the result will be
  She dare not think.
Nightly her evil course
  Must she pursue;
Still on the downward track
  No help in view.

III. HOPE.

HARK! 'tis the midnight hour
  Dolefully chiming,
Stars from their lofty place
  Brightly are shining;
Silenced life's busy throng,
  Resting in slumber—
All but these fallen ones,
  Thousands in number.

All but these fallen ones?
  Stay, there are others:
Out on love's errand bound,
  Sisters and mothers:
Hear now their plaintive voice—
  Someone is pleading—
Homeward these erring ones
  Gently they're leading.

IV. SALVATION.

"SISTER"—that loving word
  Reaches her heart—
"Jesus is waiting now
  Peace to impart.
Love brings us to you, dear,
  Come to our Home;
We cannot leave you here
  Come, sister, come!"
    *   *   *
See in that Rescue Home
  Comrades are kneeling
With that poor prodigal
  Tenderly dealing.
Sweetly the light of God
  Dawns in her soul;
Jesus is saying now,
  "Daughter, be whole!"

V. RESTORATION.

Back to her mother's arms,
  Back to her own,
Back to her childhood's haunts,
  Back to her home!
Plucked as a precious brand
  Out of the burning,
Snatched from the path of vice,
  To God returning!
    *   *   *
God speed the woman-hearts
  Patiently toiling,
Down in the haunts of shame
  Jesus extolling!
Truly their lives are love,
  And their desire
Only to gather home
  Souls for their hire!

Fig. 75. 'Oh, thou child of many prayers'
The Deliverer, p. 43
September 1894
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

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Fig. 76. 'Is loves labour lost? The seven stages of women'
The Deliverer, p. 95
December 1899
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre
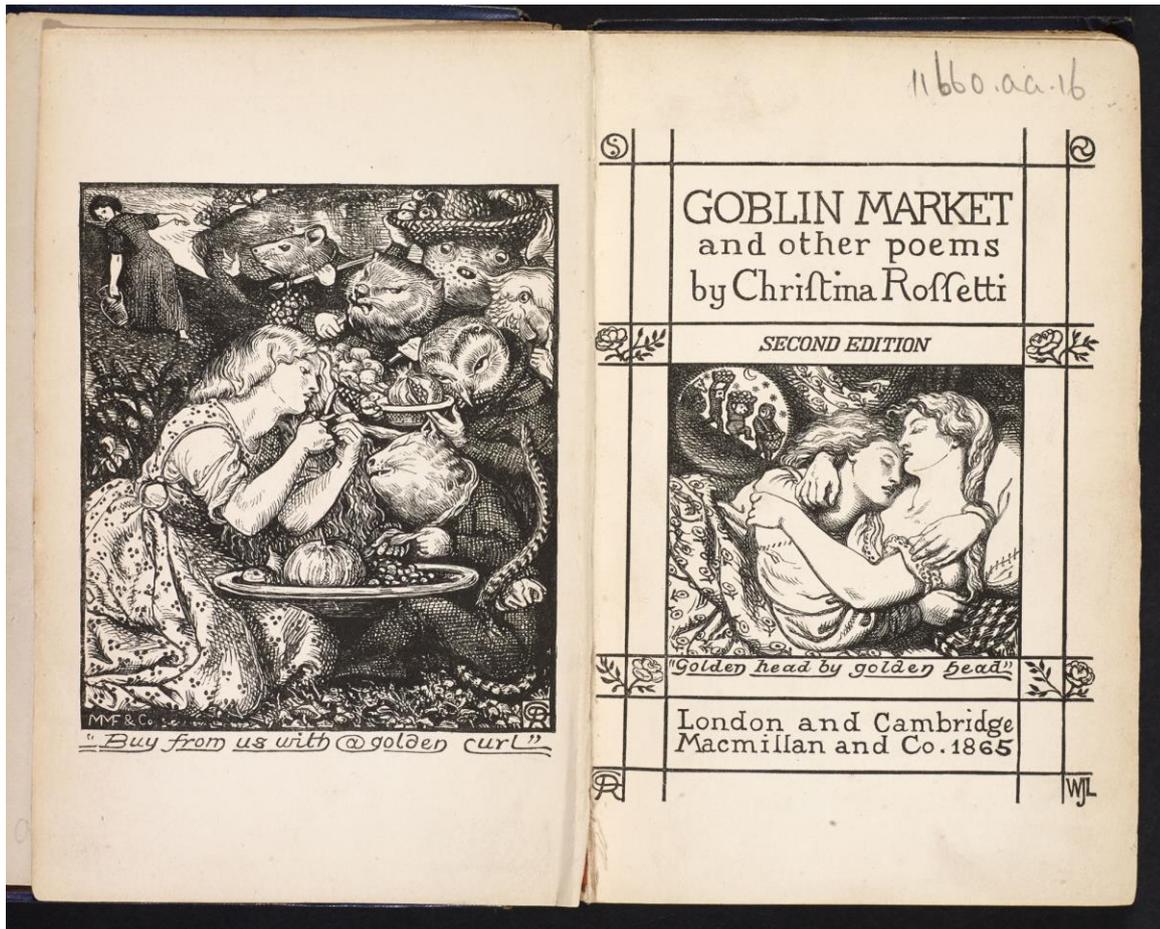
Fig. 77. '*The Goblin Market*'
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
1862
Print
Image credit: Image credit: sourced from *The British Library*, public domain mark 1.0
<https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/an-introduction-to-goblin-market>

tain much-advertised wares "grateful and comforting" in times of stress and storm.

ADJUTANT RUTH TRACY.

"Cousin Faith" and "R. T." is on "The Young Soldier" Staff, too. Her special gift is a talent for poetry. Give

1. Staff-Capt. Cunningham prepares to "make-up" this week's "War Cry."
2. The Editor-in-Chief to an Artist: "Why don't you put more action into your pictures?"
3. "Hay Tee" (Capt. Telford): "What shall I do with my next Woman's Page?"

Fig. 78.   'Departments of the International Headquarters'
War Cry, p. 6
December 1900
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

Fig. 79. *The Betrothed*
John William Godward
1892
Oil on canvas
83.8 x 43.2cm
The Guildhall Art Gallery, London
Image credit: wiki art public domain <http://www.wikiart.org/en/john-william-godward/the-betrothed-1892>

Fig. 80.   'Opium'
The Deliverer, p. 141
May 1890
Print
Image credit: Salvation Army International Heritage Centre

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