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SEX LIFE IN ENGLAND



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FOREWORD

The pattern of sexual life in England has been a miniature reproduction of the historical Western attitude to sex throughout the last thousand years. At times, the current of sexuality has been submerged by a rising clamor of politics or by a transition of the economic structure. At other times, the force of sexual behavior has been thwarted and twisted into perverted channels by the curious psychology of the English people, only to break through to a stronger and truer expression.

The value of this, Dr. Iwan Bloch's greatest work, lies not only in the hitherto inaccessible material he has brought together, but also in the interpretation we are forced to give to that material. Inevitably, we are led to the conclusion that the cyclical attempts at repressing this very human need result always in periods of debauchery and profligacy, to perversions and aberrations alien to the human spirit. Periods such as the Restoration and the Regency were caused not by the innate immorality of man, as the reformers would have us believe, but by the unnatural attempts of these reformers to eradicate that which is most human from humanity.

The strong historical sense of the Western man of today enables him to gain knowledge and understanding from the errors of the past. Until late, there has been a tendency to glorify such periods as the Puritan and Victorian as the prosperous result of moral living and

proper behavior. The resultant plunges of the people of the following periods into carnality and vice were not seen to have resulted from the stifling restraints imposed by the Puritan mind. The great discoveries of Freud and his successors were needed to open our eyes to the psychological truths.

Using these new technics provided by the psychologists, Dr. Bloch has, as with a surgeon's scalpel, opened the sex life of England to modern eyes, scientifically probing into the darker recesses of history to show that the determinants of periods of dissoluteness were the prudery and smugness of such years as the England of Victoria. The evils of censorship, of Mrs. Grundyism caused normal sexual behavior to turn into channels of perversity. The longer, the more powerful the period of restraint, the fiercer and wilder the resultant explosion. Today, with the factual knowledge presented to us by such workers as Dr. Bloch, we realize that sex is a necessary part of normal life, and, as such, cannot be repressed or curbed for long.

Past behavior and customs become clearer as Dr. Bloch unfolds a truthful picture of the sexual life of bygone generations. The modern presumption that the post-war period was the first time that man had broken off the restraining shackles of convention and sex was suddenly discovered, is shown to be false. The truth of Solomon's dictum cannot be denied. Nothing is new—it has only been forgotten.

Every fact cited by Dr. Bloch is confirmed by the writings of the period, every thesis drawn sustained by historical fact. This work is vitally important to every lawyer, every sociologist, every person interested in the accurate and clarifying depiction of the follies and aberrations of mankind. Dr. Bloch has, with the deft touch of an artist and a scientist, made the dead past come magnificently alive.

WILLIAM J. V. HOFMANN

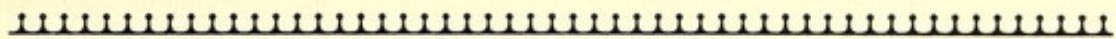
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VOLUME ONE



1

DEBAUCHERIES OF COURT LIFE

I

DEBAUCHERIES OF COURT LIFE

AMONG the factors which have given a certain stamp to the social life of a nation at any time or, at any rate, influenced it to a considerable degree, the first place must be assigned to the so-called "high society." In earlier times this society was exclusively of birth and at this period it was almost entirely confined to the life of the court. Since the seventeenth century there has occurred a certain democratization of this distinguished society owing to the reception into its ranks of aristocrats of wealth and also aristocrats of spirit. These three elements comprise what we today designate as "high life"—the name really pointing to the origin of the condition.

It was this distinguished society which has at all times been the teacher of morals to the people—to employ an expression of Pierre Dufour (Paul Lacroix). Their example corrupted or purified public morality. The average citizen always had before his eyes the doings of the great ones and imitated them in all things in order to gain for himself a reflection of this distinction. At all times, therefore, the immorality of the court and distinguished society has necessarily brought in its wake the corruption of the people. Dufour has investigated this influence in detail as far as France is concerned.

Whoever investigates the peculiarities of the sexual life of any nation cannot overlook this influence of distinguished society. Thus, for example, it is certain that many sexual fashions and perversions were first introduced by the latter. Dufour justly accuses Catherine of Medici and her court of introducing into France all the practices, instruments and

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stimulants of Italian libertinism and then popularizing them. Those who are ever ready to assume congenital perversities quite underestimate the tremendous influence exerted in the sexual affairs of human beings by example. When we hear that Catherine of Medici brought with her to France many Italian artists who flooded the country with obscene pictures and sculptures representing the most unnatural crimes in the most seductive fashion and that this dissolute princess was surrounded by a court that glorified homoerotic love almost exclusively, then we will be able to understand how it was that tribadism and pederasty became the fashion and found its way even among heterosexuals. This does not exclude the possibility that in certain cases a morbid diathesis can outright assume the form of a sexual perversity. Unfortunately the more recent medical writings concerning sexual psychopathies have aroused the belief not only among laymen but even among physicians that in those cases we are nearly always dealing with a disease, and only seldom with an anthropological or social phenomenon accompanying normal psychological development. It is my belief that the opposite is more nearly true.

The depraving influence of distinguished society can be traced with greater certainty in those periods where it stands over the people as a small and alien entity. Today, when high society is constituted from the wider circles and serves as the upper stratum of the whole population rather than as a distinct class existing in opposition to the entire group, this influence cannot be exactly measured. But it is still present. There are still fashionable modes and amusements which have taken their rise from the circles of the upper ten thousand and were then accepted by the profanum vulgus with great joy. There can be no doubt of the influence of society even today upon the form and direction of sexual life.

England had the chief part in the creation of modern "society." At the same time, in the seventeenth century, this modern sophisticated society developed in France too, but the influence of the latter was ephemeral. The concept of high life included not only the aristocracy of birth but also those of money and mentality, and in general, every man standing out from the mass by virtue of his excellency and merit. No-

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where else has the aristocracy of birth shown less stability than in England, where it is constantly liable to changes, and recruits its ranks from the people in a measure vastly different from Germany. I attribute this democratization of high society to two factors principally which may be regarded as specifically English: the concept of "gentleman" and that of "sport."

Thanks to this principle English society is today the "finest" in Europe, in the opinion of one of the most experienced observers of modern society: for the reason that it is the general possession of those who have been accepted into it. It is neither a phrase nor a mere idea, but is actually existent and its faithful are animated by a common interest.

This greatest common interest of modern society is of course sport—which is also a specifically English product, later introduced into the continent where it became the distinctive earmark of society. What are the links and the common foundations which connect and unite the different portions of London society?

It is neither the similarity of interests nor of taste; not even political sympathies can have this effect, and least of all, respect for ancient family traditions. No social tie is as strong and far-reaching as that of sport: shooting, hunting, gambling and betting. There is an English proverb to the effect that all men are alike on the turf and under it. By and large, sport is the most valuable addition that England has made to modern "social life."

The beginning of English sport life was during the Restoration. Horse races, these great meeting places of London society, already existed at the time of Henry II but the real heyday of this sport began after the coronation of Charles II who favored this sport greatly and frequently attended the races, even arranging matches himself at Datchetmead and Newmarket.

Since that time the great horse races, the Derby, the races at Epsom and Ascot, etc., are the annual general assemblages of British society. At these tracks one finds the cream of English society represented more fully even than at court receptions. In addition the better demi-monde and the domain of the lorettes in the form of the so-called horse breeders

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are represented at these fashionable races which have more and more become a great popular festival.

Under Charles II sailing became popular. Cricket, pall-mall, tennis and football were also played during the Restoration. Cock-fights continued to delight society. The schedule of pastimes was repeated with boresome regularity. Every day after lunch Charles II would go to the horse races, thence to a cock-fight and then to a game; and after supper he would betake himself to his whilom mistress. The Restoration period saw the high point of immorality in the sex life of the English. Never before were the senses served in so orgiastic a fashion. Never were raw, coarse sensuality and brutal lust so rampant in England as under Charles II.

That age can only be understood as a reaction to the extreme Puritanism that preceded it. It is a natural law that any too great strictness influences man's character adversely. Taine has taught that Puritanism ultimately culminated in orgies, that the fanatics brought virtue into disrepute.

It was Thomas Hobbes who ruled the roost with his materialistic world view and his naturalistic foundation of ethics.

Taine has remarked that just as the courtiers, tired of Puritanism, narrowed human life down to animal-sensual debauches, so also Hobbes, equally surfeited with Puritanism, confined human nature to its sensual side alone. He systemized their morality and gave to the fashionable world the handbook of its way of life.

Nevertheless, despite all efforts to ape French manners, the court of Charles II and the society of the time were far removed from the elegance, refinement and spirit which permit French corruption to appear in so seductive a light. One must not fall a prey to any illusions as one reads Hamilton's "Memoirs of Grammont," for he idealizes the conditions. He does, it is true, give a brilliant picture of the frivolity and cynicisms of that society, but it rather neglects to mention an essential element which gives the specifically British character to even the merry thoughtless days of Charles the Second. That is the unlimited coarseness and brutality of the debauches. Information on this score will be derived

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not from "Grammont" but from the diary of a Pepys, the poetry of a Rochester and the comedies of Etherege, Wycherly, Vanbrugh, Farquhar. It was from these writers especially that Taine derives the materials for his thoroughly correct judgment concerning the immorality of the Restoration. He draws an interesting comparison between the French and English corruption of that period, which brings out the point that French libertinism is not raw and brutal as the English was.

Whoever desires to enter directly into the spirit of that time and form a correct picture of a period whose wonderful plasticity will forever stamp it in the memory, must read the famous "Memoires du Comte de Grammont" by Antoine Hamilton, a French work written by an Englishman. That great epoch lives anew before the eye of the reader, who can actually imagine himself living in the midst of it and participating most actively in all the amusing incidents. I would count Hamilton's book among humoristic writings in the best sense of the word. One can detect everywhere the humor with which the author considers the whole superficial and frivolous to-do. But no harsh judgment slips from his mouth. With moderation and a slight smile he registers all the vices and the crazy pranks of this dissolute society.

Anthony, Count of Hamilton, was descended from an Irish-Scotch ducal family and was born in Ireland in 1646. After the execution of Charles I, he emigrated to France together with his family and later saw service in the army of Louis XIV. He subsequently returned to England where he lived at the court of Charles II and finally received an official post in Ireland from James II. Not until 1704 did he set about describing the youthful adventures of his octogenarian brother-in-law, Grammont, in order to amuse and rejoice the old man. Hamilton died April 21, 1720, a pious Catholic, in which point he was again, as Saint Beuve remarks, of the seventeenth century. Remarkably enough, this witty spirit was, in his personal contacts, extremely reticent. Hamilton himself complained that he lacked the capacity of light and fluent speech. But his innermost nature was a placid joyousness—a characteristic which lends his works an unforgettably classic character.

These memoirs can be considered as unique. No other language has

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anything to compare with them, and the loose, discursive materials do not swamp or sully him who controls them as a master.

The society of the Restoration is the creation of King Charles II alone. It stands and falls with him. Never did any king, not even Louis XV, so stamp his personality upon his environment, immediate and distant. Let it not be said that it is always the energetic characters which exercise the greatest influence upon their contemporaries. Inertia too can become infectious, especially when it occurs in such a virtuoso of pleasure as King Charles was. Add to this the general attitude of the people who saw in this king, returning from exile, the liberator from the oppressive bonds of Puritanism and dated the beginning of a new and merry way of life from his return. No English king was ever as popular as he; and Macaulay with his thoroughly English feeling has given a very excellent summary of the reasons for this. His merriment and joviality were manifested not only in the narrow court circle but also in the wider reaches of the people, as the king permitted every gentleman access to his palace. This affability was combined with a soft, mild, tender and lazy disposition. If sloth is the beginning of all sin, this is especially true of Charles II.

In a very old edition of the works of Rochester and Dorset, we learn that Charles was more negligent than passionate, and, like many female libertines of his time, permitted himself to be drawn into excesses more for the purpose of making others happy than for his own pleasure. Particularly in the last years of his life, it was much more sloth than love that accounted for all the hours he spent among his mistresses who only served the purpose of filling his seraglio. His real pleasure was derived from gaming and dawdling. In the psychology of the voluptuary one must not overlook the fact that it is not always passion that creates idleness; frequently enough the converse of the vicious circle holds true—that idleness is the mother of vice. Just so Charles was a lover of idleness and frivolous pleasures.

Even though this monarch, without principles, character or energy, was of a sensual nature and had established a veritable harem of mistresses, nevertheless, love was for him more of a diversion than a deep passion.

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After these preliminary remarks concerning the external character of the court of Charles II, we shall endeavor to present the most distinguished personalities of this court.

First, the ladies. It is a choice gallery of wondrous beauties which confronts us here with all the characteristic charm of the Englishwomen who, it is well known, are distinguished for their exceptional beauty. Her eyes are tender and deep, veiled and yet soft and full of lights. The mischievous eye is French, not English. The ear and the nose are small and the face is a gracious oval; the complexion is transparent, somewhat pale and illuminated by a fleeting red. The mouth is extraordinarily pretty. The whole body is silky and nothing is perhaps as gracious as the delicate and provocative curves of the interior of the legs in their ascending lines.

What the fine, soft harmonious faces of the Englishwomen most lack is expressiveness, the speaking physiognomy which constitutes the beauty of continental women. They never show, not even in the hot expansion of love, that passionate heat-lightning of the lascivious daughters of the Orient. The smile is the sole expression of mobility; and that they know how to employ in the most enchanting manner. The Englishwoman is more of an ethereal nature, the Frenchwoman more sensual and inciting to sensuality.

Among the numerous mistresses of Charles II the three most famous are, without a doubt, Lady Castlemaine, the Duchess of Portsmouth and Nell Gwyn.

Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine and later Duchess of Cleveland, was born at Westminster in 1641. She was the daughter of William Villiers, second Viscount Grandison. She was always surrounded by a circle of admirers and on April 14, 1659 she married Roger Palmer, later Earl of Castlemaine. However, he does not seem to have been the father of any of her numerous children. The intimacy between Charles II and Mrs. Palmer began May 28, 1660, the day of the king's return to Whitehall. On February 25, 1661, she bore her first child, Anna, which the king recognized as his own daughter, although it was attributed to the Earl of Chesterfield to whom it bore a striking resemblance. When

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Catherine of Braganza, whom the monarch had chosen for his consort arrived, May 13, 1662, the king was with Lady Castlemaine, as Pepys has related in his diary. But there was no light burning before her house, which caused a bit of a sensation. The king and his paramour had sent for a scale to weigh themselves; and these sportive measurements established the fact that the Lady, who was with child, was the heavier.

In general, the Castlemaine acted arrogantly enough to the new queen. Pepys relates that once the queen, who was in the company of her ladies, said to Lady Castlemaine that she feared the king would take cold if he would stay at Castlemaine's far into the night. The latter answered aloud that the ruler never stayed very late with her; he generally left early—although rarely before two or three in the morning—and that very likely he spends the night elsewhere. Just then the king entered and as he heard this impertinent remark he whispered something into her ear, called her a bold and rude woman and ordered her to leave the court. She did so immediately and moved into lodgings on Pall Mall where she remained for two or three days. She then sent to ask the monarch whether she could have her things removed, to which he answered that she had better come to see them. So she came, the king went to her and they again became good friends.

Such brief separations were not infrequent, but this energetic woman knew well how to manipulate the weak ruler so as to make him toe the mark. Pepys has preserved for us some specimens of her art in this respect. Once, after the lovers had experienced one of their periodic reconciliations, she did not live at Whitehall but with a Sir D. Harris whither the king came to visit her. Harris later related how she had demanded that the monarch go down on his knees to beg her forgiveness and promise never again to insult her in that fashion. She actually threatened to send all his natural children packing to his door. In her passion she cried that she wanted to be rid of the king and to have printed all his letters to her.

Despite the resistance of the queen, Lady Castlemaine was assigned to the court of the latter. In 1662 she bore the king a second child, Charles. More and more now she began to have numerous other affairs. Never-

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theless the king continued to visit her four evenings a week and returned home secretly through a private garden. Pepys remarks that the sentinels observed it and began to talk about it—which is not so good for a king, adds the diarist. On September 20, 1663, Castlemaine's third child saw the light. Despite the fact that the king did not regard this child, Henry, as his, he lavished costly presents upon her on this occasion. Two more children followed on September 5, 1664 and December 28, 1665. In 1666 Castlemaine occupied her luxuriously appointed chambers in Hampton Court. At that time her affair with the inconsequential Sir Harry Jermyn led to frequent quarrels with the king. On March, 1668, when many of the city's brothels were suppressed, there appeared an ingenious pamphlet entitled "Petition of the poor whores to the most splendid, illustrious, serene, excellent Lady of Pleasure, the Countess of Castlemaine," signed by Madame Creswell, a notorious panderess of that time. Somewhat later this was followed by a burlesque reply "given at our closet in King Street, the Veneris, April 24, 1668."

In 1674 Castlemaine was displaced from the king's affections by the Duchess of Portsmouth, but she consoled herself with innumerable other admirers. Her liaison with the rope-dancer, Jacob Hall, and with John Churchill, who later became the famous Duke of Marlborough, aroused a particular sensation. Hamilton makes a brief but significant report concerning the first. He relates that Hall, a famous rope-dancer, was very fashionable in the London of that day and delighted his audiences at public performances by his strength and skill. She desired to convince herself privately of his capacities; for in his professional attire he showed an athletic form and quite a different set-up from the victorious Jermyn. The dancer did not disappoint the expectations of Lady Castlemaine; that at least was the upshot of much public gossip and many satirical poems which were, of course, more to the honor of the dancer than the countess. But the latter stood above all idle talk, and her beauty shone more lustrously than ever.

The relationship between Marlborough and Lady Castlemaine has been very fully described in Mary Manley's "Atlantis." Herein the countess is designated as "Duchesse de l'Inconstant," and John Churchill

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as Fortunatus. One of his female cousins was overseer in the house of the duchess and a favorite of the king as well. The young man visited his cousin frequently and it was in the course of one of these visits that the duchess espied him. She was immediately overcome by love for him and asked that he come to her when the king had retired. The sly court mistress, who knew well her intent, could surmise what the countess desired her cousin for. She was overjoyed at this good fortune and spent all day anointing and perfuming him that he might be the more suited to sustain his triumph of love. After she had given him all necessary instructions, she led the young Adonis to the bed of his loving Venus. The countess was beside herself with joy for she desired to be the first to capture the sparks of his young heart and to cause his first sighs. The consternation staring from his countenance and enveloping him altogether so that he did not know what was happening to him, and the lack of experience he evinced—these were new love charms for her. She was also extremely satisfied with his first trial, and he likewise understood how to use his good fortune to best advantage.

Lord Chesterfield's characterization and eulogy of the Duke of Marlborough is of course well known.

Bishop Burnet related that after the countess believed herself to have been abandoned by the king, she surrendered herself to numerous infidelities. On one occasion, through Buckingham's intermediation, the king caught her in the act, and the gallant jumped out through the window. This Messalina also drew into her net the writer of comedies, William Wycherley, who was a very handsome man. Then she had a liaison with Lord Dover whose history Mrs. Manley has also presented to us in a somewhat drastic form. It appears that Churchill had long since tired of his affair with the Castlemaine. Besides he was in love with Sarah Jennings who was later to be his famous spouse. Hence he only sought a good opportunity to rid himself of the duchess. How happy was he therefore when he was able to persuade Lord Dover to substitute for him at a rendezvous with Castlemaine.

One afternoon she was due to visit Churchill and so great was her desire to be with him that she did not take time to finish her lunch lest

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she be late. Since she was expected at her lover's, all the servants except one who knew the secret, had as usual been dismissed. The latter informed the ardent Castlemaine upon her arrival that Churchill was asleep in a small room having just come from the baths. The duchess hurried into the room which was quite dark as the windows were shut and the blinds drawn. None the less she espied upon the couch a man who, under the pretext of the summer's heat, had stretched himself most indecently over it, and had nothing on but a light sleeping gown. The "sleeper" had exercised such care in preparing his stunt that he had even covered his face with the edges of the cushions to prevent the lady from recognizing him. But the joy he experienced at the arrival of the duchess caused certain movements in him which so pleased her that she would not tarry another moment and forthwith proceeded to enjoy the pleasant situation. It is easy to imagine the rest.

On July 16, 1672, she again bore a child—*patre incerto*—her third daughter, Barbara. In 1677 she went to Paris, where she corresponded with the king most diligently and in 1685 returned to England to enter into a new relation with the actor, Goodman. From him, this most fruitful of mistresses bore a son in March, 1685. Thereafter she had numerous love escapades. Her husband, the Earl of Castlemaine, who, as the important papal nuncio of James II, did not exactly cover himself with glory, died July 21, 1705. Four months later the man-crazy, 64-year-old widow married the young Robert Fielding, one of the handsomest men of his time, called "Beau Fielding" as a tribute to his looks. But he was a gruff patron who cruelly maltreated his old wife. Fortunately, it turned out that he was already married to someone else, and so Castlemaine had the marriage annulled. At the trial some of her letters were read. These were characterized by such obscene indecency as to make quite credible all the accounts concerning her depravity. She survived the last incident only a few years and died of dropsy. This woman, whom Macaulay branded the most spendthrift, ambitious and shameless among fallen women, was distinguished by extraordinary beauty of form and figure. According to Oldmixon, she was the most beautiful and passionate of the royal concubines. She had an exquisite round face of childlike ex-

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pression, auburn hair and lovely dark blue eyes. Numerous paintings have preserved this beauty for later generations. From the hand of Lely alone (or his school) we have five portraits of Castlemaine one of which is in the famous Hampton Court gallery. In addition Will, Gascar, and others painted her portrait.

Louise Renée de Kérouaille (Kéroualle), Duchess of Portsmouth and Aubigny, was born in 1649, the daughter of a Breton noble. She became court lady to the Duchess Henriette of Orleans, a sister of Charles II, with whom she came to England in 1670. At that time the monarch had had his fill of Lady Castlemaine and, in October 1671, she was elevated to the position of official mistress of Charles II—on which occasion Louis XIV congratulated her. On July 29, 1672, she bore the king a son, Charles Lennox, first duke of Richmond.

She was extremely unpopular in England because she was French and Catholic, and was popularly known as "Carewell" or "Madame Carewell." The title of Duchess of Portsmouth she received August 19, 1673, and Louis XIV added to it that of Duchess of Aubigny. It was her influence that induced Charles to effect a rapprochement with France. She kept her position, which even externally was a very brilliant one, until the death of the king. All in all she received £136,668 sterling from the king. Her dwelling was appointed with the utmost luxury. John Evelyn is witness to the fact that her apartments at Whitehall were ten times as magnificent as the queen's and in his diary he describes a visit he made to the duchess, in the company of the king. After the monarch's death she returned to France and rounded out her life at her Aubigny estate. She died November 14, 1734.

Voltaire saw her in his old age and found her very pretty. Another to see her before her death was George Selwyn. According to Evelyn, who saw her in November, 1670, when she first came to England, this famous beauty had a childlike, simple baby face. Macaulay holds that the soft and childlike features were made even lovelier by a Gallic vivacity. This extraordinary beauty was painted by Lely, Kneller, H. Gascar and Mignard. Her motto, "En la rose je fleuris," was perpetuated by her descendants, the dukes of Richmond and Gordon.

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Of all Charles's mistresses, undoubtedly, the most appealing figure and the one whose memory is still fresh in the minds of the people is Nell Gwyn. Even during her life she was the most popular of the king's concubines because of her devoted, childlike, naïve, and yet thoroughly British character. In general, according to Thomas Campbell, among all of Charles's paramours the "loves of the theatre" were the least expensive and popular and Nell was such a "theatre-love."

Eleanor Gwyn, generally called "Nell Gwyn," was born February 2, 1650, to a London fishwoman. Until her thirteenth year she sold oranges at the Theatre Royal and also, according to a satire of Rochester, herrings. Then a traveling juggler made her part of his company and sent her to sing at public houses. Her pretty face led the notorious brothel keeper, "Mother Ross," to take her into her house of joy where the child was taught reading, writing and singing. Among her lovers were the actors, Charles Hart and John Lacy. Hart undertook to educate the talented Nell for the theatre, and in 1665 she made her début as Cydaria, Montezuma's daughter, in Dryden's "Indian Emperor." She was not an artist of the first rank but she did combine natural vivacity and grace with a not inconsiderable talent in song and dance. Pepys frequently expressed his admiration for her, and termed her "pretty, witty Nell" (April 3, 1665). "The women play right well but above all little Nell." After he had seen her in "Celia" he kissed her and his wife followed suit—whereupon he exclaimed, "She is a mighty pretty creature." (January 23, 1666). It was in 1671 that Nell attracted the king's attention. Dryden had written for her an epilogue to his play, "Tyrannic Love or the Royal Martyr." Such epilogues, which contained quite frivolous and licentious verses, were generally assigned to women, and that to the most popular actresses. Nothing pleased the public quite so much as to hear the most slippery verses drop from the lips of a pretty girl, who, it was believed, had not yet lost her innocence.

There was another circumstance worthy of note in the king's first view of Nell. A certain mediocre actor by the name of William Preston, who was appearing in a very insignificant piece, had achieved great popularity by appearing on his little stage under a tremendous hat. The

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success of that trick led Dryden to fit Nell Gwyn out with a hat of the size of a large wagon-wheel. Her little figure appeared so droll under this enormous headgear and she made such a charming impression that everybody was enchanted. The king took her home with him and immediately made her his mistress although she continued to appear in the theater where Dryden cast her in the best roles and where she was the darling of the public. When Pepys saw her as Florimel in Dryden's "Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen," he wrote, "So great a performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before" and, "so done by Nell her merry part as cannot be better done in nature." (Diary, March 25, 1667). As an actress, Nell Gwyn was largely indebted to Dryden who seems to have made a special study of her airy irresponsible personality, and kept her supplied with plays which suited her. She excelled in the delivery of the risqué prologues and epilogues which were the fashion.

It was, however, as the mistress of Charles II that she endeared herself to the public. Partly, no doubt, her popularity was due to the disgust inspired by her rival, Louise de K roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, and to the fact that, while the Frenchwoman was a Catholic, she was a Protestant. But very largely it was the result of exactly those personal qualities that appealed to the monarch himself. Numerous anecdotes, particularly in Tom Brown's "State Poems" and in Etherege's verses, demonstrate how popular Nell became in a little while. She was known as the poor man's friend and her position as mistress was much less offensive than was the case with the noble mistresses of the king. The people regarded her position more as fate than as a vice; and whenever a dispute would arise between her and the Duchess of Portsmouth—they seemed to be forever quarreling—the people would passionately espouse the cause of their favorite.

Many anecdotes are told about these expressions of popular sympathy with Nell. Once when the Duchess of Portsmouth stepped into a jewelry store at Cheapside to pick up a gorgeous silver service that the king had presented to her, a mob assembled outside and gave vent to abuse and invective. They called out that they would rather see the silver molten so

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that they could pour it down her throat. The gift really belonged to their beloved Nelly. "What a pity it should not be bestowed on Madame Ellen!" Another time when Nell was driving her carriage through the streets of Oxford, the mob mistaking her for her rival, proceeded to revile and threaten her. Whereupon she poked her head through the window and smilingly said, "Pray, good people, be civil, I am the Protestant whore." Nell was most skillful in making her rival appear ridiculous. The Duchess of Portsmouth claimed that she was related to the foremost French families and whenever one of these relatives died she would put on mourning. Once when a certain French prince had died and she had consequently put on mourning clothes it chanced that the report of the death of the Khan of Tartary arrived in England coincidentally. Whereupon Nell put on mourning-dress, and, thus attired, came to court and took her place near her rival. Presently she was asked the reason for her weeds; whereupon she replied, "Oh, have you not heard of my loss through the death of the Khan?"

"What the devil was the Khan of Tartary to you?" inquired her friend.

"Oh, the same relation as Prince —— to Mlle. Kéroualle."

In one of her letters Madame de Sévigné has afforded us an insight into the relations between these two famous mistresses. "The duchess could not, of course, foresee that she would find an actress in her way, and an actress who was as haughty as Mademoiselle herself. For the younger rival insulted the duchess, made faces at her, frequently tore the king away from her, and always boasted when the monarch preferred her. Nell is young, indiscreet, wild and exceedingly merry. She sings, dances and plays her roles with exceeding charm. She has a son by the king and hopes to see him recognized. Concerning the duchess, Nell has said, 'This person claims to be a woman of rank, related to the first families of France. If that is true, then why does she stoop to be a courtesan? She ought to die of shame. As far as I am concerned this is my vocation. I would not wish to be better. I have a son from the king whom he will recognize, since he loves me as much as this lady.' " Nell bore the king two sons of whom the elder was created Baron Hedington and

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Earl of Burford and subsequently Duke of St. Albans. The younger, James, Lord Beauclerk, died in 1680 while still a boy. The monarch loved her tenderly until his death, and his last words to the Duke of York are said to have been, "Let not poor Nelly starve." Nell Gwyn did not survive her royal lover very long, for she died of an apoplectic stroke November 13, 1687, when she was but thirty-seven.

Nell Gwyn was thoroughly an "English girl, a true child of the London streets," frank, unsentimental, generous and grateful to old friends, among whom she counted Otway and Dryden. She never mixed in politics nor interfered in matters outside the special sphere assigned to her. In contrast to the Castlemaine she remained faithful to the king despite the fact that he was not her first lover. He was her third Charles. Macaulay believes that it is an open question whether Dorset or Major Hart has the honor of being her first Charles, but the testimony seems to favor Dorset. Bishop Burnet thought that Nell was the maddest and most wanton creature that had ever lived at court. She was short of stature, with a small but elegant frame; reddish-brown hair and very little feet; when she laughed her eyes became almost invisible. "Her recklessness, generosity, invariable good temper, ready wit, infectious high spirits and amazing indiscretions appealed irresistibly to a generation which welcomed in her the living antithesis of Puritanism." On May 1, 1667, Pepys saw the pretty Nell standing at the window of her residence at Drury Lane in her trim blouse and stays, watching the May festivities.

There are numerous pictures of Nell Gwyn. One by Lely is at the Garrick Club, another in the Lely room of the Hampton Court Gallery. Number 306 in King James' collection was a portrait of Madame Gwyn in the nude, with a cupid by Lely. Other artists also painted her portrait. And in literature, Swinburne has raised a lovely memorial to "the sweetheart of England, the lady of laughter and pity," in the poem, "Nell Gwyn," included in his "Poems and Ballads."

About these three of the most famous of Charles II's mistresses there are grouped the numerous other inmates of the harem of the woman-mad king. The names of some of these have not even been preserved;

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but all of those about to be named competed with the three just considered in the lust, love and luxuries, which gave the court its characteristic stamp.

Miss Stewart, later the wife of the Duke of Richmond, sought early to displace Lady Castlemaine from the grace of the king. She was strikingly lovely but not equally charming, though it is difficult to conceive so little spirit combined with so great corporeal loveliness. All her features were regular, she was slim, fairly straight and above the normal height for women. She was graceful, danced well and spoke French better than her mother tongue. And with her courtly nature she joined a tastefulness in dress that one seeks vainly to acquire if one has not spent one's youth in France. Her disposition was so childish that she would laugh over everything, and her empty head would find as great joy in the simplest sort of jokes as a child of twelve or thirteen. She was a perfect child and the game of blind-man's buff afforded her the greatest delight; or she would build houses of cards at which game the most zealous courtiers would be seen helping or outdoing her. Pepys regarded Miss Stewart as the greatest beauty he had ever seen. "If ever a woman can surpass Lady Castlemaine it is this one. Hence no one should be surprised if he makes a change; she is the reason for his coldness to the countess."

Miss Stewart was distinguished for her great lasciviousness and her cynical shamelessness. Hamilton remarks that the bathing negligee was especially enjoined for all women of that time in order to permit her to display her charms without affronting decency. Miss Stewart was so convinced of her superiority that one had only to praise another woman's lips or arms in her hearing to call forth an immediate exhibition of her own charms. With a little adroitness in this regard, Hamilton believed, it would have been possible to induce her to disrobe completely. In order to enjoy her perfect grace while riding, the latter presented her with a handsome mount. The king was particularly fond of falcon hunting because the ladies could easily participate in this sport and he very frequently engaged in such hunts surrounded by all the beauties of his court. Frequently these hunting parties afforded the ladies an oppor-

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tunity during a wild ride to expose, purposely or unwillingly, their most secret charms. Hamilton has described such a scene with the Stewart. But this desire to reveal her secret charms was the cause of her departure from the court. One day Castlemaine informed the king that the Stewart would be receiving the Duke of Richmond that night. After midnight the king approached the quarters of the latter and encountered Stewart's chambermaids. They bowed respectfully and informed him in a whisper that, after he had left Miss Stewart, she had felt bad but now was sleeping. The regent stepped forward pushing the serving women out of the way. He did find Stewart in bed but not asleep. The Duke of Richmond sat on the bedhead and was even less asleep. In 1667, therefore, she had to marry Richmond and left the court.

After Miss Stewart, Hamilton's sister, who was later to be the wife of Chevalier de Grammont, was the chief star at the court of Charles II. Her brother has left a classic description of her in the "Grammont": "Miss Hamilton was in that happy age when the charms of the female sex begin to develop. She had a handsome frame, a gorgeous bust and the most beautifully formed arms; she was slim, lovely and graceful. In her clothing and millinery she was the model of taste, and all women imitated her. Her brow was open, white and smooth; her hair rich and amenable to that natural control which cannot easily be imitated. A freshness, for which no artificial colors substitute, vitalized her complexion. Her eyes were not large but vivacious, and her look expressed everything she wished to say. Her mouth was ravishing, and the contour of her face perfect. A small delicately tilted nose was not the least ornament of her lovely face. In a word, on the basis of carriage, mien and form, Chevalier Grammont believed it possible to draw only the most favorable comments about the other charms.

"Her spirit corresponded to her physique. She made no effort to share in conversation by any indecorous merriments whose bursts could only dazzle; and conversely she avoided that dragging manner of speech which must result in drowsiness. Without hurrying in speech she managed to say the most essential things. She had a wonderful capacity for distinguishing the real from a deceptive dazzle; and, far from coquetting

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with her opinion at every opportunity, she remained reticent, but her decisions were definite and just. Her notions were noble and, when occasion required it, proud to the highest degree. Yet she was much less penetrated by a consciousness of her own worth than might have been expected in a person of her qualifications. So adorned, she had to win love, still she never sought it out; for she was strict in sifting out those who might cast their glances upon her."

At the court of the Duchess of York the honors were taken by the Jennings sisters and Miss Anne Temple. The elder sister, Miss Frances Jennings, was distinguished for beauty and vivacity, according to Macaulay. But she was very careful about the proposals and temptations of the Duke of York. Hamilton has left us some very amusing accounts of the numerous attempts made by the Duke of York to win the coy beauty to his designs. The king also conceived an interest in her but was diverted from his intention by the jealousy of Miss Stewart. She was first married to George Hamilton, a brother of Anthony Hamilton, and later to the Duke of Tyrconnel, and died in 1730 in her eighty-second year.

More famous than Frances is her sister, Sarah, who became the Duchess of Marlborough, the friend and teacher of Princess Anna, daughter of the Duke of York. She was not as pretty as her sister but more attractive. According to Macaulay, her face was full of expression, her form lacked none of the feminine charms, and her mass of beautiful hair, which had not yet been disfigured by the barbarous fashion whose introduction she survived, was the delight of numerous admirers. John Churchill, who had already tired of Castlemaine's ardent wooing, fell in love with her despite her poverty and presently won for his own that powerful and influential partner to whom he so largely owed his incredibly brilliant career. Miss Temple, about the same age as Frances Jennings, was particularly the target for the notorious Rochester and the tribade Hobart. The amusing competition of these two for the favor of Jennings has been delightfully recorded by Hamilton. She later married Sir Charles Lyttleton.

Half a dozen others, all beautiful and vivacious, are also described in Hamilton's vivid characterizations of the court beauties.

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The masters of this court were not outdone by their women in frivolity. On the contrary. As we read Hamilton's classic descriptions, we may well ask who has been let off better—the ladies or the gentlemen of the court. Rarely has such a multitude of varied and distinctive characters been combined into so small a space.

In the center of the "*Mémoires de Grammont*" stands the Chevalier de Grammont himself. Philibert, Chevalier (later Comte) de Grammont (or Gramont) was born in 1621 as the son of Antoine de Grammont, the second of the name, and the grandson of the "beautiful Corisande" (Countess Diane de Guiche), one of the youthful loves of Henry IV. In the Thirty Years War and in the wars of Louis XIV he served with distinction under Condé and Turenne, and soon became a popular figure at the court of this monarch by virtue of his numerous loves and his clever frivolity. In the famous "*Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules*," Count Bussy-Rabutin has narrated many interesting details concerning Grammont. The latter had a fine face, fairly good form, but walked with a slight stoop. His character was gallant and tender. He was alert and on the spot, and appeared never to sleep. If he desired to play some mischief upon a certain couple who were due for an assignation, it was impossible to escape him. In general he was a most capital fellow. If he failed of his goal he did not just meekly withdraw; he would sooner let himself be slain than yield peaceably to a rival. If he could create a sensation and confusion by persuading the world that he was in love, he recked but little of the consequences.

As a result of a strong statement against Cardinal Mazarin and an attempt to interfere with the king's beloved, he was exiled from the French court, and left for England in 1662. He was already acquainted with the royal family and a majority of the courtiers from having met them at the French court. He had only therefore to become acquainted with the women. Soon the Chevalier was beloved of all. He was friendly to everyone, accustomed himself to the new folkways, ate all English foods, praised everything, and set all England aglee. He paid particular court to the king and even gambled with him in which enterprise he never lost,

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thanks to his sly tricks. These little deceptions, in which both men and ladies excelled at that time, were regarded as quite noble.

After many amorous escapades, which Hamilton portrays for us, the Chevalier de Grammont was finally captivated by the charms of Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, and married her. They left England in 1669 and thereafter lived in France. In 1696 he became gravely ill. Louis XIV, who knew of his frivolity and freethinking, sent him the Marquis de Dangeau to remind him of God. Thereupon Grammont turned to his wife and said, "Have a care, Countess, lest he cheat you after he has converted me." At that time the report of his death seems to have been circulated. Ninon de l'Enclos, writing to St. Evremond at that time, remarks: "He is so youthful—and now I find him as merry as in bygone days when he hated people who got sick, and only began to love them again after they had recovered." He did not die until January 30, 1707, at the age of 86. While he was still alive, St. Evremond composed for his friend the epitaph which has become famous, celebrating in elegant verses the personality of "the most gallant man on earth."

After Grammont, the most important place in Hamilton's memoirs is occupied by King Charles II's brother, James, Duke of York and later King James II (born October 15, 1633, died in exile September 6, 1701). Macaulay's classic history treats the reign of this monarch whose character has become better known through the art of this inspired historian than the personality of any other king. Never before or since, was the psychology of a monarch more perfectly drawn. Neither Mommсен's King Pyrrhus, nor Carlyle's Frederic the Great, nor Laufrey's Napoleon are comparable to this master work. The form of this dark, bigoted voluptuary has been etched for all time by the British historian who develops the character of the prince in his deeds. Only rarely does he scrutinize his hero's character directly. Although a voluptuary, James was diligent and methodical, loving authority and affairs. His mind was exceedingly narrow and indolent, his spirit hard, unyielding and irreconcilable. Bishop Burnet has called our attention to the fact that in his youth the duke was distinguished for his doughtiness. The Marshal Turenne called such attention to him and thought so highly of him, that

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until his marriage reduced his activities, he quite eclipsed the king and appeared the more gifted of the two.

By nature James was open and truthful and a faithful friend, until the political and religious relationships overwhelmed his natural tenderness. Once the Duke of Buckingham gave a keen characterization of both brothers which seems so caustic because it is so true. Quoth he: "The king could see things as they really were, if he only would; the duke would see them so, if he only could." James did not have his own judgment and was wont to follow others whom he trusted. To all other admonitions he was deaf. Brought up with high ideas concerning royal worth he kept fast to one fundamental doctrine that all who deviate from the king's ideas are rebels at heart. He was forever entangled in one love intrigue or another without being especially careful in his choice. This led Charles II to remark that he believed that his brother James' mistresses were imposed upon him by the priests as a penance. He was of a vehement and revengeful temper. Hamilton asserts that practically every variety of daring exploit was attributed to him, as well as adherence to all kinds of virtues—fidelity, diligence, pride, thrift, arrogance—each in its place. A clear observer of the precepts of law and duty, he had the reputation of being a true friend and an implacable enemy.

And yet, as Macaulay remarks, no matter how hard and dour this prince's character was, he was scarcely less under the influence of female charms than his more vivacious and likeable brother. He did not, it is true, demand the standard of beauty required by the monarch of his favorite ladies. Barbara Palmer, Eleanor Gwyn and Louise K  roualle were among the most beautiful women of their time. He descended from his rank and aroused the displeasure of his family by his connection with the ugly Anna Hyde. Whether the latter was really so unsightly appears from other testimony to be somewhat dubious. However, Hamilton is our witness that of all the English ladies she was provided with the lustiest appetite. Perhaps this feasting compensated for other hungers that went unappeased. The duke, who devoted himself constantly to new amours, became enervated through his infidelities, and got thinner and thinner while his spouse fed well and grew stout.

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To the great delight of his family he was alienated from his ugly wife by an even uglier mistress, Arabella Churchill, who is represented in Grammont's memoirs as a thin and pale person. It is difficult to understand how the prince could tolerate such a face after his inclinations for Chesterfield, Miss Hamilton and the little Jennings. Havelock Ellis has given us many interesting data concerning the relations between religion and sex—in which connection he could well have mentioned the example of James II. In this man there was joined to bigotry and affected piety, an uncontrollable sensuality. Unlike many refined freethinkers, he was but little moved by beauty, charming form or education. His inclinations were of a coarser and more animal nature. It was the female as such, the "odor di femina" which attracted him—a fact broadly hinted at by Hamilton in reference to James' relations with Churchill. Thus he became the "careless glance-caster" of his time and could control his impulses so little that he even gratified them "coram publico." Hamilton has left us a picture of a very daring situation in which the duke and Lady Chesterfield found themselves. All the amorous relationships of the Duke of York (even later during his reign) show the same mixture of religious and sensual passion constituting something inexplicable and at the same time repulsive. This also appears from Macaulay's masterly description of James' love for Catherine Sedley, the daughter of the infamous Charles Sedley, to be considered later. Catherine herself was surprised at the vehemence of this passion. "It cannot be my beauty," she said, "for he can see that I have none; nor can it be my spirit, for he himself has too little of the latter to recognize that I possess any." But in this sexual relationship religious ecstasies alternated with erotic ones in a remarkable way—each influencing the other. Time does not permit our making any further sallies into the love life of James II which is so instructive in a number of respects. Anyone who has read Macaulay will agree with me that a closer investigation of this side of James' character ought to prove an interesting contribution to the psychology of love.

Innumerable writings, reports and anecdotes of that time deal with John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, renowned alike for the sharpness of his satire and the licentiousness of his debauches. His importance in the

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history of literature we shall study later. He belongs to the most characteristic phenomena of the Restoration period. His brief life, falling entirely during the reign of Charles II, offers a true picture of the wild life of that dissolute epoch. A number of Rochester's contemporaries have attempted to give a character sketch of the famous rake. Thus Robert Wolsley, son of Sir Charles Wolsley of Staffordshire, a famous worldling, contemporary and admirer of Rochester, composed a very warm and occasionally panegyric account of the latter's life in the introduction to his edition of Rochester's tragedy, "Valentinian," of 1685. Herein he describes Wilmot as the delight of men and the soft dove and infatuation of women. Aphra Behn, whom Rochester did not think much of, terms him none the less "the great and divine Rochester." Burnet who assisted the earl in his last days, when he was troubled by conscience, held the view that court life had corrupted Rochester's native nobility of soul. He held that no one quite achieved the unique charm of Rochester's humor. He lent himself to the maddest pranks, parading the streets as a beggar, attending the levees as a servant, setting up a plank stage as an Italian quack, etc. For a few years he was continuously drunk and made a lot of mischief. The king liked him more for his society than for himself, which feeling the lord quite reciprocated, and he expressed his revenge through his satires. He had a servant who knew the whole court. This fellow he fitted out with a soldier's uniform and musket and all winter long posted him as sentinel throughout the night at the door of those women whom he suspected of being involved in love affairs. A military sentry was not especially noticed for people believed him to be in service. In this way Lord Rochester got to the bottom of many mysteries. When he had assembled sufficient material he withdrew to the country and wrote satires for a month or two. Once while he was "in a stew" he wanted to give the king one of these products directed against a certain lady, but through an accident gave him a lampoon composed against the monarch himself. During his illness he became contrite and his conscience troubled him. Burnet, who spent much time with him towards the close of his life, claims that had he recovered he would have abandoned his previous errors. More details concerning the character

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and end of this wild genius are contained in another writing of Burnet's published in the year of Rochester's death (1680) under the title, "Some Passages in the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John, Earl of Rochester." Herein the author relates that the deceased had told him that he had once been continuously drunk for a period of five years. To be sure, this intoxication was not always obvious, but his blood was so inflamed that he was never master of himself. In line with this was his wild, dissolute life which was just one long succession of mad pranks. His countless amours kept the distinguished world of London in continual excitement. He was a habitué of all the brothels, carried on the seduction of women as a sport, found delight in the filthiest gossip, the most obscene satire, cudgelings, banquets and zanyish pranks. Hamilton thus describes, not without justice, the cleverest but most unscrupulous man in England (through the mouth of Hobart who was conversing with the Temple): "He is so dangerous to our species that any female need only listen to him a few times for her reputation to be lost. It is impossible for a woman to elude him, for if he does not possess her in body he does in his writings—and in our age it amounts to the same thing in the eyes of the world. One must admit that nothing is so seductive as the fine manner whereby he wins your soul. He enters completely into your opinions, shares your tastes and all your feelings, and while he does not believe a word of what he says, he makes you believe all. I wager that after hearing him talk you will regard him as the most candid and honest man on earth. As a matter of fact, I don't know what he purports with the attention he is paying you. It is true that it behooves the whole world to pay homage to you. But if he should succeed in ensnaring your little head, he could not even start anything with the most ravishing creature at the court. This has long been insured by his excesses with all the whores of the city."

In his diary Pepys relates the story of one seduction. Rochester seduced a Mistress Mallet, a famous and beautiful heiress, at Charing Cross when she was riding home with her grandfather, Lord Hally. He forced her into a carriage drawn by six steeds, where two women received her. But he was promptly arrested and sent to the tower. As long as he lived

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at the court he was exiled at least twice every year. For he no sooner had a jest at the tip of his tongue or pen, than it burst forth into the open. His caustic sarcasms stopped at neither minister, king, nor mistresses. Still, Charles II always called him back to court. Rochester's amorous escapades have been treated in various books, some of them obscene; also his supposititious contrition towards the close of his life. Some of these are: "The Singular Life, Amatory Adventures and Extraordinary Intrigues of John Wilmot, the Renowned Earl of Rochester"; by J. G. M. Rutherford, "The Adventures and Intrigues of the Duke of Buckingham, Charles the Second and the Earl of Rochester"; "The Libertine Overthrown"; J. Ley, "The Two Noble Converts, or the Earl of Marlborough and the Earl of Rochester, their dying requests and remonstrances"; Captain A. Smith, "School of Venus," etc.

Rochester found a worthy partner in his friend, the Duke of Buckingham. George Villiers, who was born June 30, 1627, and died April 16, 1688, was educated under the tutelage of Charles I. At the execution of the latter he went to France but insured the possibility of his returning to England by marrying the daughter of General Fairfax. At the Restoration he became Secretary of State and a favorite of Charles II, but was banned from the court by James. Buckingham was a man full of spirit and fire; and in his mad chase after pleasures he ran through his tremendous fortune. He was a true representative of the extremely low individual and political morality of the epoch of the English Restoration. Walpole said of him that when one sees how that extraordinary man, dowered with the beauty and spirit of Alcibiades, could enchant equally the Presbyterian Fairfax and the dissolute Charles, and then how he could mock the witty monarch as well as his pompous chancellor, or lead the way to the ruin of his country with an intrigue of bad ministers, or aim, with equal lack of principle, at the welfare of his country through false patriots, then one can only regret that such gifts have gone to seed without any admixture of virtue.

He was without religion, virtue or friendship and the only things dear to his heart were pleasures, mad pranks or debauches. He could never follow out any thought to its final consequences, could not keep a secret,

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could not husband his own fortune, at the time the greatest in all of England. Because he had grown up in the proximity of the king he continued to exercise an influence upon the latter for a long while, but spoke of him to the whole world with disrespect which finally drew upon him the lasting displeasure of the king. The insanity of vice seemed to be incorporated in this man to an extraordinary degree; he finally became despised, poor and sickly, and his gifts of character disappeared, so that he was finally shunned to the degree which he had previously been sought out.

Like his friend Rochester, Buckingham was a master in debauchery and coarse excesses. Once they hired together a public house on the street near Newmarket where they castrated the men and raped the women. Rochester once disguised himself as an old woman and entered the house of an old miser, abducted his daughter and presented her to Buckingham. Her husband hanged himself but they found the joke precious.

These are the most famous men types of the Restoration period. The rest of the worldlings who appear in Grammont's memoirs are less well known to posterity although they are quite worthy of their notorious models in respect of their dissolute life. Here we shall mention just a few of these fellows. First there is Henry Sidney, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Duke of York, with whom the duchess fell in love. Burnet is rather mild in his judgments of this chap and only refers to his inordinate love of pleasure; but Macaulay attacks him much more vigorously denominating him the "terror of husbands" and the "darling of women" and denouncing him as one "sunk in a debauched life and in violence." Then there are the effeminate Harry Jermyn, the actor Brouncker, and the poet Dorset, whom Horace Walpole termed the most brilliant cavalier at the voluptuous court of Charles II. Pepys has left us an account of his liaison with Nell Gwyn (Diary, July 13, 1667), as well as of his merry lusty life with Charles Sedley at the Kings Head Inn. This Sedley was known as a wit the license of whose writings was only surpassed by the licentiousness of his life.

The relationships subsisting between men and women must have been

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the coarsest conceivable. The lowest kind of gossip and the most malicious and filthy slanders were indulged in. For example, the systematic slander directed against Miss Hyde to prevent James II from marrying her. One, Talbot, averred that she had granted him such a lively interview in her father's chamber that both paid far less attention to the things that were on the table than to the matter that they were carrying out upon the table. Accordingly, in the heat of the activity, a whole bottle of ink was spilled and five pages of a very long and important communication were ruined. For this misdeed the king's monkey, upon whose poor head the couple laid the blame, fell into disgrace for a considerable while. Jeremyn, too, listed many places of long and happy meetings with the Hyde, but both admitted that they had enjoyed the "small joys of love" only. Not so Killgrew who said outright that he had enjoyed the highest favor of Miss Hyde.

Quite shameless were the conversations concerning the charms of the other sex which both men and women engaged in. The former delighted to chat about the physical prowess of famous heroes of love; while the latter subjected the form of the female body to a penetrating analysis. Husbands gave their wives to their friends for their use, as Mr. Cooke did in behalf of his friend, Sir William Baron.

On the other hand, deceived husbands occasionally took a unique sort of revenge, which though it lacked "poison or steel" still afforded thorough satisfaction. Thus Southesk sought out the most infamous places in order to obtain there the most horrible disease possible, but his vengeance was only half accomplished. For his wife no longer met the one for whom the scheme had been planned. The end of this nasty business was that after Southesk had been cured of the disease, after great difficulty, his wife returned it to him. The Marquis of Flamarens could indeed call himself lucky, as Lady Southesk had given him her heart and body—but nothing more.

Very frequently terrific scenes of jealousy were enacted between the various ladies, and especially between the various mistresses of the king.

Pregnancies and deliveries were daily occurrences. The proud War-mestree made a mistake in her calculations and took the liberty of giving

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birth in the midst of the court; and Miss Bellenden, warned by this example, had the good sense, some short time later, to clear out from the court before she was shown out. Lady Castlemaine's appearance was altered by her third or fourth pregnancy, which the king had the good grace to put down to his own account.

Pepys heard from Captain Ferrers that at a court ball a lady had given birth during a dance. The still-born infant was carried out in a handkerchief and the king held it in his room for a week and dissected it among coarse jests. The queen felt only too well that her consort would trouble himself but little about legitimate children as long as his attractive mistresses yielded him natural fruits.

Pleasures came thick and fast at this court of luxuriant passions. There were beautiful water parties. The whole court would leave the palace at Whitehall on the brink of the Thames to go boating when the heat and dust of a summer evening would not permit a ride through the park. An immense number of open vessels filled with all the attractions of the court and city would accompany the royal barge. Feasts, music and fireworks were the order of the evening. The Chevalier Grammont always participated in these excursions and nearly always he glorified the trip with something unusual. Occasionally there would be vocal, instrumental or dramatic concerts for which he had secretly brought artists from Paris.

The worst of all this was that the distinguished set carried their vice down to the people by direct contact with the ordinary citizens of the lower classes.

Reference has already been made to the scandalous conduct of Sedley and others in the midst of the people. Rochester over an extended period went down into the city regularly with the intention of learning the secrets of the citizens; under disguised name and clothing he desired to partake of their feasts, parties, and occasionally, their wives. Since he enjoyed everything, it can be seen how thoroughly he penetrated into the thick skin of the rich burgesses and the softer one of their loving and showy halves. He was invited to all parties and while in the company of the men he declaimed against the error and weaknesses of the govern-

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ment; he lectured their women on the mistresses and court ladies of the king. He asserted that this shameful abuse gnawed at the marrow of the poor people; the handsome women of the city were in no respect inferior to those of the West End, and yet a good husband could find perfect satisfaction in one woman; and finally outdoing their grumblings, he expressed his amazement that no fire had as yet fallen from heaven to consume Whitehall because it tolerated such ne'er-do-wells as Rochester, Killgrew and Sidney, who asserted that all the men of London were cuckolds and their women painted. This sort of prattle made him so sought after in the circle of London's merchants that he soon became tired of their idle banquets and their insistence.

Miss Frances Jennings and Miss Price disguised themselves as orange girls and offered their fruits in the city, cheap, whereby they had all sorts of adventures which Hamilton records. In general, this custom of dressing up in various disguises was quite popular with the ladies of the court. Even the queen dressed up as a peasant woman and mixed with the people at the annual fairs. Bishop Burnet has related that at that time the court fell into the most dissolute masquerades. The king, queen and the whole court went about in disguises, entered strange homes and danced about in their mad frolicking. If one were ignorant of their identity one could never detect it through their masquerade. They generally rode about in ordinary hired sedans.

But these exploits went even further. John Evelyn tells of great ladies who frequented taverns of the sort that even courtesans would shun. More than that, they drank their great beakers of wine, danced and distributed kisses freely—all of which they held to be quite honorable diversions. De Cominges, French ambassador to the court of Charles II, reports that excesses were committed in the taverns and brothels by people of rank just out of sheer licentiousness; and that even ladies of quality did not hesitate to accompany their gallants thither in order to drink Spanish wine.

In his "Literary and Historical Memorials of London," which he frequently vitalizes by scattering some of his own verse throughout, J. H.

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Jesse gives a poetic description of the life and times of the Restoration. "Live while we live," the frolic monarch cries, "away with thought in joy's delicious hours. Only love and mirth of melody and flowers!" With this extract epitomizing the debauched and reckless life of Charles' court, we may well bring this section to a close.

2

GALLANT LADIES

II

GALLANT LADIES

ONE of the most remarkable adventuresses of the eighteenth century was Madame Cornely (sometimes called Cornelys or Cornelis), the queen of taste and passion. She was no less famous for her amatory experiences than for her celebrated masquerade balls, the most sensational affairs of their kind in England.

Her original name was Teresa Imer, for she came from the German Tyrol, a daughter of the actor, Imer, whose troupe gave theatrical performances in Italy during the first third of the eighteenth century. Teresa, who was a dazzling beauty, very early entered into relations with one of the foremost worldlings of Italy, the Venetian Senator, Malipieri, at whose home Casanova met her in 1740. We know from the memoirs of the latter that for a while he was also her lover and that he adopted the son she bore in 1746 and took him to her in 1763 after she had removed to London.

She began her London career by giving concerts, despite the fact that she was but a mediocre singer. After she became acquainted with society women, she hired a large and beautiful home which she had furnished beautifully and used for concerts, balls and masquerades. Each party was different, thanks to the remarkable inventive skill of this woman. One saw here illuminated colonnades and triumphal arches, halls transformed into gardens decorated with orange groves and fountains, labyrinthine flower beds, transparent paintings and inscriptions; a series of rooms each one luxuriously appointed in the style of a different country—Persian, Indian, Chinese, etc. Cornely was not very avaricious, was forever in

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debt and after each festival had to go to jail, until finally the pleasures were ended and she, who had been termed the queen of taste, lived on the generosity of her friends.

Casanova, who was one of her lovers, has left us a very unfavorable impression of this woman whom he makes out to be cold and unemotional. He reports that he had heard of her having three secretaries, twenty-three domestics, six steeds, a pack of hounds and a lady companion. He attended one of her great dances and saw among others the Crown Prince of Braunschweig, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, but the whole business seemed to Casanova cold and stiff. But every fashionable gentleman had to attend Almack's and Cornely's alternately, and even Sterne did not neglect these diversions and actually went to the length of providing tickets of admission for his friends. Tobias Smollett also appears to have known Cornely's masks from his own experience, for in "Humphrey Clinker" Lydia Melford describes to her friends the beauties of London—Ranelagh and Vauxhall, and the brilliant receptions at Cornely's. In this same book is mentioned another special attraction of Cornely's establishment—the game of faro. This was one of the fashionable pleasures of the English smart set.

In general the distinguished British courtesans of the eighteenth century can be compared in every respect with the French mistresses who undoubtedly served as their models. There was the same brilliance, elegance, voluptuousness and, occasionally, the same *raffinement*. The pursuit of pleasure had seized the feminine world no less than the masculine. In one of her letters, Lady Mary Wortley Montague complains of the decline of marriage which at this time was as much mocked by young girls as it had once been by young men. It no longer aroused any sense of unseemliness to say that Miss So-and-So, a young girl at court, had successfully passed through her confinement.

The cleverest of these English hetæræ and the prototype of the whole species was doubtless the pretty actress, Miss Anna Bellamy, whose house was a bureau d'esprit—a gathering place of all distinguished and learned men and women of the first rank. She deserves honorable mention in the history of the emancipation of women, but she was also one of the

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most amorous and immoral girls of her age. She was born in 1731, the natural daughter of Lord Tyrawley, an old roué, became an actress at the Covent Garden Theater, where she ruled for some thirty years, then composed the rightfully famous memoirs of her remarkable and instructive life, and died in 1788. Archenholtz wrote that she was not altogether an Aspasia, but more than a Maintenon. Her beauty, wit, understanding, talents, generous spirit and refined manners enchanted all. She was an intimate friend of Young, Thomson, Lyttleton, Garrick and Chesterfield. Ministers of state, generals and envoys visited her daily and took their places at her table, where the spirit found such abundant sustenance and where the choicest viands and stimulating conversations always refined the pleasures of society. She took an active part in promotions, conferring of distinctions and parliamentary elections. It is true, that in regard to many feminine virtues, she was no model of morality for she always had a favorite lover with whom she lived. But so great was the power of her extraordinary merits and so frequently was her exceedingly noble temper proved, that even ladies of the strictest character not only associated with her intimately, but permitted their daughters a similar association for the education of their understanding and heart. In her memoirs Bellamy has drawn herself very truthfully, and as we read them we are frequently reminded of Schlegel's Lucinde in her passionate, glowingly erotic nature and extreme sensitiveness to spiritual pleasures of the highest sort.

It is of great psychological interest that this much-loved and much-loving woman, who even had a love relationship with the famous Fox, came at the end of her life to the conclusion spared to no worldling or amorous woman: "The joys which life offers our senses at long intervals are frequently false, nearly always equivocal and never durable; but the pains are certain and seem to be identical with the content of our existence." Too bad that the great philosopher of pessimism, who quoted numerous references of this sort, overlooked this example which by virtue of its pronouncement by such a mouth is doubly remarkable.

After Bellamy, Kitty Fisher and Fanny Murray were reputed to be the most finished hetærae of their time and in the writings of that period

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one finds them frequently mentioned; they were celebrated as extraordinary beauties by their most distinguished contemporaries and competed with each other in spirit, rash loves and luxury.

Archenholtz has left us an account of some of the exploits of Kitty who shone for a quarter of a century and became famous for the distinctive way in which she sacrificed to Venus. Amply provided by nature with beauty, understanding, humor and joyousness, she was an object for the adoration and desire of all those who preferred the grove of Amathunt to all other joys of love. The priestess knew her own value and fixed the price of her favor at one hundred guineas the night. Yet she did not lack admirers who were not restrained by the magnitude of the amount. The Duke of York was one of these. Once after a wakeful night spent with her, he gave her a banknote of £50 sterling, since he did not have any more with him. Miss Fisher was insulted and forbade him to visit her again; and in order to render notorious her disrespect for his gift she immediately sent the banknote (which, as is well known, was of exceptionally thin paper) to a baker to have it put into a cake which she then ate for breakfast. Thus she disposed of York's gift. This anecdote, reminding one of a similar story connected with Cleopatra's pearl, is quite in line with other accounts of the inordinate pride of the "Flora of London" as Kitty was called. She sought her lovers primarily among men of the highest class. Once when she was ill, no less than six members of the House of Lords were among her callers. In luxury and prodigality she sought to surpass the nobility; in short, she had the disposition and talents of an English Dubarry.

Fanny Murray, who died in 1770, was the daughter of a Bath musician. She was married to a Mr. Ross. Her period of fame fell in the years between 1735 and 1745. Horace Walpole mentions her as a famous beauty in a letter to Conway written in 1746. She was the paramour of John Spencer and Beau Nash among others. Her name was immortalized in a very questionable fashion by the role assigned to her in the obscene satire, "An Essay on Woman," composed by John Wilkes, famous political agitator and author. The latter not only dedicated the piece to her but in it depicted her in sexual activities. Many other courtesans, dis-

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tinguished for beauty and wit, shone in the smart society of the eighteenth century. Nearly always these priestesses of Venus surrounded themselves with a large circle of worshippers—apart from the gallant who maintained them. The former, who frequently glowed with a lasting passion for the beauty, might be driven to desperate steps—of which we have a tragic example in the case of the murder of Miss Ray by the insanely jealous preacher Hackman.

The world of the theater also supplied its contingent to the realm of the British *hetæra* of the eighteenth century. The ladies of the theater permitted themselves great liberties which in small towns and among wandering stock companies became actual and shameless prostitution. A very gallant heroine of the stage of Drury Lane and Covent Garden was the famous singer, Mrs. Billington. "Her obliging temper cannot resist the importunities of afflicted swarms," the author of the secret theatrical chronicle, "Secret History of the Green Room," had once remarked. In this same book, one may read of her love affairs for the impresario Daly and how her husband surprised her in flagranti—also of her liaisons with the Duke of Rutland, the old Mr. Morgan, etc.

Another gallant heroine of the stage who could look back to an agitated life was Mrs. Abington (Fanny Barton). The daughter of a soldier, she was at first a flower girl (the "Nosegay Fan") and had many affairs which led to the inescapable venereal infection. She was introduced to the sophisticated world by Sally Parker, a demi-mondaine and panderess who at that time kept a fashionable brothel at Spring Gardens. Here Miss Barton became a friend of the notorious courtesan and brothel keeper, Charlotte Hayes, and became very well known at the genteel houses about Covent Garden. In 1752 she made her *début* at the Haymarket Theater as Miranda in "The Busy Body," had a great success and married the orchestra conductor, Abington, with whom she had earlier been caught in the most tender *tête-à-tête*. On the day, or rather night of her marriage, a tragi-comic incident took place. Shortly before her marriage she had entered into a liaison with a rich and spendthrift creole. By a coincidence he returned to London after a journey, on the very night she was to be married, and forthwith set out to spend a few happy hours

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with her. At midnight he knocked at her door and, when he asked for Miss Barton, was informed by the maid that his lady had been transformed into a Mrs. Abington, who was at that very moment going to bed with her husband. Whereupon the unhappy creole created a frightful din and insisted upon speaking with the faithless one. The latter finally appeared, very scantily clad, and assured him that the servant girl had spoken the truth; but that nevertheless she would visit him every evening thereafter and spend the night with him. He, however, hurled several extremely forceful epithets at her and left her forever.

Baker has recorded that Fanny Abington was the bane of Garrick's life. Like all theatrical managers, Garrick was a martyr to the ladies of his company, but Fanny Abington was the greatest plague of all, the most capricious and unreasonable. She was in addition a passionate gambler and frequently spent whole nights at the gaming tables. But despite the fierce excitement of a life tossed by love and gambling, she lived to the ripe age of eighty-four.

Like Mrs. Abington, the actress Mrs. Edwards had also been a prostitute before, and stepped on to the stage direct from a Covent Garden brothel.

The actress, Mrs. Williams, of Drury Lane, was a steady visitor at the fashionable houses of joy on Duke and Berkeley Streets, where her private income was very considerable. Mrs. Curtis, a very immoral woman, a sister of the famous actress, Siddons, gave lectures at Dr. Graham's notorious "Temple of Health" on themes which only to mention is to bring a blush to the cheeks of decent folks. Mrs. Harlowe of the Covent Garden Theater got into bad repute through her numerous loves with old men, and was obviously a sufferer from the condition termed by Krafft-Ebing—gerontophily.

Our next figure belongs to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the gallant time of the Regency and the rule of George IV. The actress and courtesan, Harriet Wilson, the "English Ninon," was already the mistress of Lord Craven. Later she had innumerable affairs with personalities such as the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Argyle, etc. She wrote about her extremely checkered career as a courtesan in her

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memoirs which give a very vivid picture of how the smart set carried on in the reign of George IV. Incidentally, the title of her book is interesting: "Memoirs of the extraordinary life of and adventures of Harriet Wilson, the celebrated courtesan and demihoop of the time of George IV, interspersed with curious and amatory anecdotes of distinguished persons particularly the Duke of Wellington, Lord Byron, Duke of Argyle, etc."

In the Victorian era the earlier sexual freedom of actresses ceased, and indeed was condemned by the famous actress, Mrs. Siddons (1755-1831). She, the best impersonator of Lady Macbeth, moved George III to tears by her wonderful playing, received a respectful hand kiss from Samuel Johnson, served as the model of eloquence for the advocate Erskine, and finally was immortalized by Sir Joshua Reynolds as the tragic muse in the famous painting. In fact, so unapproachable were many actresses that some unfortunate men who fell passionately in love with them were forced to desperate methods, as in the case of the lovely tragedienne, Miss Kelly, who was twice shot at from the pit by rejected lovers. In modern English society, actresses lead quite an honorable family life. Only the poorly paid chorines and ballet dancers are venal.

Opportunity to meet the distinguished hetærae was afforded apart from the theaters, masquerades and promenades, in the fine confectionery shops such as Hickson's at Piccadilly where there were wonderful tarts to be had. One ate these tidbits standing up, meantime casting one's glance at the gallery which swarmed with assembled beauties, and cooling one's innards with soda water which became popular in 1810. Then too, the so-called "alpha cottages," the "petites maisons" of the distinguished English society folk, situated between Paddington and Regents Park, were also rendezvous for gallant adventures.

But the most usual opportunity to exhibit their charms was afforded the gallant ladies of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century by the "Evening Clubs" or "Routs," which were really gambling dens and the arena of fashion in the higher circles.

Among the many beautiful and gallant women of the nineteenth century, one woman confronts us as an extraordinary phenomenon, who

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not only represents an incarnate type of wondrous, healthy, animal beauty, but was herself a creator of beauties and the beautiful which she formed with a unique material—her own body. This woman was Emma Hamilton, whose wonderful life and destiny constitute a remarkable contribution to the *Sittengeschichte* of the high society of England. For this reason she deserves a special and somewhat detailed consideration.

Emma Lyon was born in 1761 to very poor parents. At the age of twelve she became a nursemaid at the home of a physician; at sixteen she entered service at the home of a London mercer and then became connected with a rich lady in whose service she was able to gratify her great love of reading; here she read all manner of bad novels which had the effect of inflaming her fantasy prematurely. Her ever-increasing corporeal charms enabled her to obtain a position with a family in all of whose parties and pleasures she participated. It was here too that her inclination for the mimetic arts was aroused.

Her further progress was determined by her incomparable beauty. A contemporary has depicted her in the following terms: "Together with the most charming figure, she combined a perfectly symmetrical face and something indescribably lovely and attractive in her facial expression. Her zephyr-like form lent every movement of hers a rare gracefulness. Her vivacity, playfulness and the joy-of-living that enveloped her was far removed from being an expression of forwardness. Her silvery, expressive and naturally musical voice aroused general admiration and unanimous praise. Already she was beginning to show that audacity and certainty in her bearing which remained her dominant characteristic."

Emma entered upon her first gallant relationship in a very unique way. One of her relatives was impressed into the navy, and when she went to intercede with the captain, John Willett Payne, for his release, she gained her end only at the price of her own body. She then became the lover of the captain. Soon after Sir Henry Featherston fell in love with her, whereupon her first lover ceded his place to the newcomer. She forthwith went to Featherston's country estate in Sussex where she lived in luxury and pleasure for a number of months. In the fall, the

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nobleman brought her back to London but soon left her and for a while she was in dire need. Quite accidentally, she made the acquaintance of the notorious charlatan, Dr. Graham, the proprietor of the famous "Temple of Health" which we shall analyze at length. Graham, delighted by her beauty, conceived a daring plan to give new life to the descriptive explanations of his doctrine and to extend the circle of his pupils. It struck him forcibly what an exemplary device a young female, designed by nature to be a perfect specimen of beauty and health, would be in elucidating his lectures. He sought and found her in Emma, who was suddenly raised from the brink of penury. Graham was not disappointed, for she delighted his rapidly growing circle of disciples and in addition she served as the model for many distinguished artists and sculptors. Many valuable works of art produced at that time were copies of her lovely form. The number of her admirers constantly grew and they helped raise her beyond any immediate monetary need.

It was particularly the eccentric painter, Romney, who used her characteristic representations for artistic imitations. One frequently saw him neglecting numerous works just to draw his idol in some new character or position. . . . He felt delighted at the sight of the remarkable power with which she could control her eloquent physiognomy; and in all the frequently changing circumstances in which fate set her, she found a sort of noble pride in serving him as model. And always the power and diversity of the expression of her sensations vitalized and ennobled the works of the artist. One of the first paintings he sketched from the living model was Circe in life size with her magic wand. He drew it about the year 1782 and the effect it had was extraordinary. A Calypso, a Magdalene, a wood nymph, a bacchante, a Pythian priestess on her tripod, and a holy Cecilia owed their origin to the same lovely model.

Among the numerous pictures Romney drew of Emma, the one that shows her at her loveliest is that representing her as she gazes at a sensitive plant with mixed sensations of wonder and delight; in which the idea of the artist was to represent her as the goddess of emotion.

A certain Sir Charles Greville of the house of Warwick, an art lover, also made Emma his mistress, aided her talents and brought her to

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Ranelagh, then the favorite resort of merriment and gallantry, where her nymphlike form attracted general attention and aroused such enthusiasm that, at the behest of her lover, she consented to give several exceedingly charming exhibitions of her musical and dramatic prowess to the circles of his friends that swarmed about her. She took her mother to live with her, now called herself Emma Harte, and became the mother by Sir Greville of three children, two daughters and a son, who were led to regard her as their aunt.

Sir Charles was the nephew of the famous diplomat and connoisseur of art, Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador to the court of Naples, who was praised by Winckelmann and Goethe as the friend and patron of all artists on their pilgrimage through Italy. Wraxall described Sir William Hamilton as a character reminiscent of Senor Rolando, the robber chieftain of *Gil Blas*, with long, lean, dark brown face and a large eagle nose. Hamilton belonged to the number of those learned English epicureans who, ever since the middle of the eighteenth century, had settled in sunny Italy in order to enjoy to the highest degree the pleasures of life in a mild climate surrounded by the loveliest treasures of art, and in association with scholars and artists. In Naples, William Hamilton led an extremely diverse life of pleasure. He cultivated the fashionable philosophy, also the art of poetry. Like Pliny, he also studied the phenomena of Vesuvius, and, like a modern Pausanias, the antiquities of Pompey and Herculaneum. He was also a passionate hunter and even as a seventeen-year-old youth could traverse the mountainous forests with the king for days and weeks, or could, in an open boat, lie in wait for fish with darts in hand during the heat of the sun. His fire and bacchantic pleasure in physical exercise were so little extinguished even in his old age that in April, 1801, at the celebration of Lord Nelson's victory at Copenhagen, he danced a tarantella with his wife and completely exhausted her although she was forty years younger than he.

This man, so avid of art and life, came to London in 1789 and here, at the house of his nephew, Greville, he met the latter's beautiful mistress, whose beauty and artistic spirit immediately captivated him and aroused in him the desire to have her for his own. Greville's unfortunate financial

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condition facilitated the accomplishment of this wish. Thus, as Goethe wrote while on his Italian journey, after a lifetime spent in the love of art, and the study of nature, Hamilton found the acme of all, the joy of nature and of art in one beautiful girl. Emma accompanied him to Italy and so perfected her artistic talents and her propensities under Hamilton's guidance that her delighted teacher married her next year, whereby she achieved entrée to the court. Here she soon won considerable influence which became fortified by her growing intimacy with Queen Caroline of Naples, whose dissolute life stamped the court of Naples as a modern Capri (as Marquis de Sade has described it in an exaggerated fashion, of course, in his "Justine et Juliette"). After the critical revision of the reports of Gorani and Coletta by the German investigator, Moritz Brosch, there can be no doubt that Caroline deserved the appellation of the "Neapolitan Messalina" as she not only maintained intimate relations with numerous men, but also burned with an unnatural love for her friend, Emma Hamilton. These two were inseparable and contended with each other in arranging luxurious festivals, and in the artistic decoration of a life of perpetual pleasure. In this environment, likewise, Emma found numerous admirers, nor can it be said that she remained unsusceptible. Among others who enjoyed her favor was Count Bristol, Bishop of Derry, a clever, vivacious man abounding in obscene wit, whose conversation was inexhaustibly full of anecdotes and bon mots.

The most famous liaison of Lady Hamilton and the one most fraught with consequences for her was the one with Nelson, the great British admiral and victor of Abukir. When he first came to Naples in 1798, Lord and Lady Hamilton arranged a great banquet in his honor attended by eighteen hundred persons. Soon the relationship between Emma and Nelson was very intimate. Together they traversed the streets of Naples in disguise, and visited public houses where they took delight in the society of girls. From Naples, Nelson accompanied his love, who was fleeing from Italy as a result of a tiff with the court, to Palermo, and let himself be glorified at intoxicating festivals arranged by the enthusiastic Sicilians. In 1800 Lord and Lady Hamilton, accompanied by Nelson, returned to London where they took lodgings together at Piccadilly.

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There Emma bore her lover a son, whom they baptized Horatio Nelson. During their separation, necessitated by Nelson's expedition to Copenhagen and Bourlogne, Nelson sent her the most passionate letters. "You need not fear any woman in the world—for aside from you none of them means anything. I know only one; who can be like my Emma?" . . . "May Heaven soon grant me the blessing of seeing your lovely angel face. You are incomparable. No one is worthy of blacking your boots. I am, always have been, and always shall remain your fast, steady and unalterable friend." On September 6, 1802, Sir William Hamilton died, and Emma was forced to leave the house at Piccadilly and remove to Clarge Street. Nelson assigned her an annual sum of £1200 after she had borne him another daughter. But his heroic death at Trafalgar (October 21, 1805) put a sudden ending to the new union. Shortly before his death Nelson called out that he was dying and that soon it would be all over; and he willed to Lady Hamilton "his hair and everything that belonged to him." And when he was already in the throes of death he cried out to his physician: "Hardy, take care of my poor Lady Hamilton! Take care of poor Lady Hamilton!"

After the death of her heroic lover Emma rapidly declined. She surrendered herself completely to debauchery, plunged into debt, was arrested in 1813, served a sentence for debt, and died at Calais of a liver complaint in 1815.

This extraordinary woman has achieved a lasting importance in the history of morals and art, not only by her gallant and adventurous career, but by another aspect of her activities. She was the discoverer and first consummate representative of the so-called "plastic poses" or "living statues." Barbey d'Aurevilly once gave a fine characterization of Emma's art when he said that the best sculptor England had produced was a woman, Lady Hamilton, who sculptured with her body and had the most beautiful figure that was ever touched.

Her contemporaries have left us enthusiastic descriptions of the enchanting metamorphoses in which Emma caused to pass, in rapid succession before the rapturous eyes of the spectators, the most wonderful pictures of antiquity. "The genius of Mrs. Hamilton," wrote Archen-

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holtz, "showed itself principally in a new discovery, the imitation of antique costumes of famous statues and paintings, which painted or sculptured figures she then impersonated with the highest skill. Thus she would now represent the living essence of Guido's Madonna sunk in meditation: and in a few instants, thanks to some slight changes in clothing and decoration, the Madonna had disappeared and had been changed into a bacchante, giddy with merriment, then into a hunting Diana, then, finally, into a Medician Venus. In this fashion she would impersonate all the great works of brush and chisel and the illusion was so perfect that it seemed as though the figures conjured up by the artist upon canvas or in stone were now rendered living by her."

An interesting description of the attitudes of Lady Hamilton, which enables us to surmise her light gracefulness, has been left us by Goethe in the "Italian Journey" and is really a permanent and most worthy monument to that wonderful artist: "An Englishwoman of about twenty years—very beautiful and shapely. She had a Greek costume made for her which suited her admirably. Then she loosened her hair, took a few shawls and arranged a series of attitudes, poses, gestures, so that one finally thought that one was dreaming. Here one saw what so many artists had created, in motion and in surprising change. Standing, kneeling, sitting, lying, earnest, sad, droll, debauched, repentant, enticing, threatening, terrifying, etc.—one followed right after another. She knew well how to choose and change the folds of her veil for each expression and made herself a hundred kinds of head-dress out of the same cloths. The old knight found in her all antiquity, all the beautiful peoples of the Sicilian coins and even Apollo Belvedere himself. So much is certain—the play is unique. We have already been enjoying it for two evenings. This morning Tischbein is painting her."

The most beautiful "attitudes" of Lady Hamilton were drawn by Friederich Rehberg, historical painter to the Prussian court, and published in a volume containing twenty-four of these copper engravings.

Harry Angelo mentions in his "Reminiscences" that Emma once served as a model at the royal academy of arts. Perhaps this is the reference of the rather drastic etching of the caricaturist, Thomas Row-

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landson, once in the possession of the bibliophile, Pisanus Fraxi, but now in the South Kensington Museum at London. It carries the caption "Lady H—— Attitudes" and represents the inside of a painter's atelier: An old man draws back a curtain and points to a nude girl who is posing for a youth. The latter is seated in front of an easel and is painting with one hand while the other holds a magnifying glass through which he inspects the girl. In the background, right, two figures are clutched in an embrace and in the left foreground two heads kiss. The composition is very clever and the naked girl especially is well drawn.

Lady Hamilton's plastic representations found serious imitations in Germany, but, in other lands, they soon degenerated to the frivolous "poses plastiques" and "tableaux vivants."

3

FAMOUS RAKES

III

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A STUDY of the British Don Juan affords us some highly interesting psychological insights into the character and distinctiveness of the English man of the world who became the prototype for the French and German novels of the nineteenth century.

One primary characteristic of the British Don Juan, which thoroughly distinguished him from the worldlings of Latin and German lands, is the cold, brassy repose with which he indulges his lusts. This to him is much less a matter of passion than of pride and satisfaction of his sense of power. The French or Italian Don Juan is driven by a fiery sensuality from conquest to conquest; that is the chief motive for his deeds and mode of life. The English Don Juan, however, seduces for the sake of experiment; he pursues love as a sport. Sensuality plays a secondary role and in the midst of ecstasy the coldness of the heart peers through terrifyingly. That is the rake, the type of Lovelace, whom Richardson drew with incomparable masterliness in his "Clarissa Harlowe."

Generally these fellows would arise about noon and sometimes as late as three in the afternoon, breakfast, betake themselves to the promenade or riding stable, dine with some friends at eight and carouse with them until eleven. Then they hied themselves to Vauxhall where they spent twenty pounds more for bad wine, and later paid a visit to one or more brothels to return home finally at about four in the morning.

These nocturnal visits to the brothels were considered quite the thing. One could meet there all the worldlings of the eighteenth century, e.g.,

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Foote, Selwyn, George Alexander Stevens, Lord Pembroke, Gilly Williams, etc.

In the "Beggar's Opera" Gay created a parody of such an elegant in the person of Macheath—who has half a dozen women, a dozen children, visits the brothels and is exceedingly gracious to the girls there.

One striking phenomenon in English society was the frequency of suicide—a condition noticed even by Montesquieu. Archenholtz was quite amazed at the frequency of suicides among the London voluptuaries. In other lands one heard only rarely that a young man of fortune and rank became tired of life. But in England this was not uncommon—Von Schutz has also attributed these suicides less to climate and nurture than to surfeit—the deep melancholy which arises from the disappointment with the vanity of all sense pleasures. When the youth who has been accustomed to indulge all his passions in the luxury so characteristic of London comes to man's estate, he is seldom prepared to bear the calamities of life, as a result of his youthful follies and excesses; hence it is not remarkable that he should seek to put an end to the unpleasantness. But certainly a very considerable factor in the cause of these suicides is the hypochondriacal disposition, the gloom and heaviness of the English character. According to Rosenberg, the suicides are especially numerous in November which is notorious for its fogs. Not infrequently these acts are committed in the brothels. Thus the son of Lord Milton betook himself to a fashionable brothel, where he ordered twelve of the prettiest daughters of joy to be brought and ordered them served with everything they desired. Then the doors were shut and they had to undress and in this nymphal dress amuse him for several hours with passionate poses and dances. Thereupon he rewarded them handsomely—and shot himself.

In the "Nights of Love" which appeared in 1874 there is depicted with great fidelity to nature, the person of Lord Brougham, an English worldling surfeited with life. To one of his very last loves, the beautiful Narwa, he says, "The world is empty! When one has seen all lands, men, art works, then there only remains the underworld or heaven, that is, death. There is but one thing I am curious about—the feeling one has

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when one is dead. Pleasure is a very equivocal concept, for it affords only external dissatisfaction—the yearning for pleasure. Hence pleasure is really dead at the moment of pleasure.” This philosophical voluptuary left himself one more pleasure for the last year of his life—platonic love. To be sure, this soon turned into a very physical one, and after a year Brougham approached the very last pleasure. Before the eyes of his mistress he poisoned himself with potassium cyanide.

During the second half of the eighteenth century there was no personality among all the English voluptuaries more outstanding for spirit, wit, humor, modishness and love of sport, than George Selwyn. In all the correspondence, memoirs, gallant writings and diaries of that time we meet him; and his own letters have been pronounced to be a most reliable picture of the time by such an authority as Thackeray.

George Augustus Selwyn was born at Mahon, August 11, 1719, the son of a distinguished noble, and was educated at Eton together with the poet Gray and Horace Walpole. After a youth spent in idleness he came into possession of a considerable fortune at the death of his father, thus winning the possibility of playing a more significant role in the world of society. Soon he was the one who set the pace for the whole fashionable world, and for forty years he served and glorified it with amazing constancy. He suffered from gout in his last years, but lived until seventy-two, dying at Cleveland Row, St. James, on January 25, 1791.

In his extraordinary combination of diverse traits, Selwyn is without a doubt one of the most interesting figures of the eighteenth century, so rich in bizarre and remarkable personalities. Dowered with a brilliant wit, a fine sense of the humorous and ridiculous, and thoroughly acquainted with the world and human nature, he combined with these qualities a distinguished erudition in the realm of classical literature, and a choice artistic sense. On the other hand, Selwyn was a thoroughly sensual nature, passionately devoted to all the joys of life and society, a roué, a gambler and toper, but generous withal, captivating all hearts at the first moment. In his outer life he strongly recalled the personality of the Marquis de Sade who, as is well known, was also a fascinating phe-

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nomenon, characterized by a certain generosity, and, like Selwyn, also a passionate friend of children, in the best sense of the word. Finally we are forcibly impressed by the most striking similarity in their natures—the orgiastic cruelty common to both. In Selwyn, this manifested itself in a unique desire to see human suffering and torture and particularly in his passion to be present at executions, which we shall discuss more fully later.

It was the natural wit of Selwyn which chiefly contributed to his great popularity and after this, his great predilection for children. He was never married and so this passionate love for children constitutes a unique contrast to his debauched life. The greatest, most inward and selfless love he ever bore concentrated itself upon the little Marie Fagniani (1771-1856) whom he called his little "Mie-Mie." She was the daughter of an Italian lady, the Marchesa Fagniani, who resided in England for a period. The origin of the interest which Selwyn took in the child is obscure, but the history of his inclination is quite remarkable and worthy of mention.

From a letter of the Marchesa Fagniani to Selwyn in the year 1772 we learn that the baby, then but one year old, had spent a number of months with him; and in 1774 Lord Carlisle wishes him luck so that "Mie-Mie" may remain with him forever. Selwyn first mentions his darling in a letter of July 23, 1774, wherein he describes himself. He was sitting in his doorway holding the exotic child in his arms and happy over the general attention it was arousing. When it was four years old he took it along when he went visiting. But at that time the Earl of March (Duke Queensberry) also devoted much attention to Marie so the most peculiar reports circulated through London concerning the paternity of the child. Selwyn was held responsible, then Queensberry; but a greater probability speaks for the latter. Selwyn's interests sprang entirely from his uncommonly strong love of children. He was delighted to watch her grow and develop and found great pleasure in her education. As he aged he found comfort in her society. When he first saw her he immediately was inspired by the wish to adopt her; and to the close of his life she remained his first and last thought.

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George Selwyn was the "general friend" in the distinguished English society of the latter half of the eighteenth century. He was equally at home with politicians, art lovers and statesmen. He was so sociable and likeable a person that everyone enjoyed his company—statesman, worldling and schoolboy alike. And yet the circles of his intercourse can be divided into two distinct groups. The first was comprised of men of his own age: Walpole, Edgecombe, Gilly Williams, who together with Selwyn, formed the famous "Strawberry Hill Group" because they used to meet at Horace Walpole's pretty villa, "Strawberry Hill." In a famous painting Reynolds has immortalized this out-of-town party of Walpole. It was a highly free and cultivated group and one devoted to pleasure. None of them married, for that was regarded as unfashionable, if not downright unpopular. Of course, these voluptuaries were scarcely fitted for marriage since they sought and found their happiness in a fully free, untrammelled life. An Edgecombe who spent the major portion of his forty-five years at the card table, or a March with his countless loves even in extreme old age, was scarcely fitted for marriage.

The second group of Selwyn's associates belonged to a younger and more modern generation. One may call it the "Fox-group" after its most outstanding personality. The members of this circle followed politics, played at Brooks where they lost their money with the indifference of true joy, and took delight in the keen wit and understanding of their confreres. To it belonged Charles Fox, the Earl of Carlisle, Hare, Fitzpatrick and Storer.

There is an interesting note concerning Selwyn's manner of life in a letter of his friend, Lord Carlisle, to the effect that this crowd generally arose at nine, played with their dogs until noon, sauntered over to White, spent five hours at the dinner table, then napped until supper, after which they had themselves carried three miles in a sedan (for just one shilling) with three quarts of bad claret in their bellies.

As a friend, Selwyn was praised by this same Carlisle in rapturous expression; and at the death of the gay favorite, Horace Walpole wrote to Miss Berry that he had lost his oldest friend, George Selwyn, whom

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he had truly loved, not only for his incomparable wit, but for a multitude of other good qualities.

We might mention some famous portraits of Selwyn. The best known is the so-called "Strawberry Hill picture" painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds and now in the possession of the Rt. Hon. Henry Labouchère. This beautiful painting represents Selwyn in a library room with his friends, Richard Edgecombe and Gilly Williams, seated before him at a table. About 1770 Reynolds also drew another picture representing "George Selwyn, Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle, and the dog, Batou." This painting is in the possession of the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, Yorkshire. A third portrait of Selwyn derives from an Irish artist, Hugh Douglas Hamilton, and is likewise in the possession of the Earl of Carlisle.

The one who came nearest to the Don Juans of Latin lands in respect to the insatiability of their sexual passion was Selwyn's friend and boon companion, the notorious Duke of Queensberry, who was also known by the nicknames of "Old Q," or "Lord Piccadilly," or "Piccadilly Ambulator." His life was really one long series of love adventures and gallant episodes.

William Douglas, third Earl of March and fourth Duke of Queensberry, was born in 1724. Even when he was a schoolboy he evinced serious inclinations to extravagances in the sexual domain, in which he later surpassed all the worldlings of his time. In this his high position and princely fortune were of course quite helpful. We pass over the fact that he was in every respect an elegant worldling, that he glorified the sports and gambling, that he distinguished himself as a connoisseur and Maecenas of the arts, that in respect to clothing and exterior he was "nonpareil" and that, like his friend, Selwyn, he was generous, charitable and jovial. All these things pale in the face of the multitude of tremendous sexual excesses of this devotee of Venus. The older he got, the madder his pranks became. His house in Piccadilly and his villa in Richmond were the Capri of this modern Tiberius. In the last years of his life, after he had exhausted all the pleasures of human life, he could be seen on the veranda or at the window of his house in Piccadilly, leering amorously

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and libidiously at the beauties passing by. His groom always stood at the door to summon any girl who was known to him or who pleased him especially. How many scenes of brilliant vice, insane eccentricities in the domain of sexual enjoyment must have been enacted in this house! To be sure, his contemporaries merely hint at this lightly, but from their references to "oriental orgies" and "ultra-sophisticated sensuality" one can conclude plenty. Women meant everything to him—the sum of life and being, even though towards the end of his life he became deaf in one ear and blind in one eye; and even when he was paying large sums to his personal physician Elisée (formerly private physician to Louis XV) for every day he prolonged his life. Of course this physician had to be of help to him in arranging for his patient's veneries and in planning the love festivals. "Old Q" did not die of love. On December 23, 1810, he died of over-indulgence in fruits, at the age of eighty-six, looking death calmly and coldly in the eye, in sharp contrast to the pious Samuel Johnson. Like Selwyn, he never married and left his immense fortune to his relatives; but he did bequeath more than a million pounds sterling to his servants and numerous erstwhile loves. It is interesting to note that after Q's death the Piccadilly apothecary, Fuller, demanded ten thousand pounds for nine thousand three hundred and forty visits made to the duke during the last seven and one-half years as well as for one thousand two hundred and fifteen nights he had remained up with him. The court granted him £7000.

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall who saw "Old Q" practically every day during the last seven years of the old dog's life reported that, at eighty, the latter sought pleasure in every form as energetically as he had done at twenty, for only his body was a ruin not his spirit. When he lay dying in 1810 his bed was littered with at least seventy billets-doux directed to him by women and girls of the most diverse sorts and conditions, from duchesses down to women of the most questionable sort. No longer able to open or read them himself he commanded that they be placed and left upon his bed unopened where they remained until his death. Many fabulous stories were circulated about his exploits, such as that he took milk baths, etc., but it was a fact that the duke did have enacted in his

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dress-
ing room the scene of Paris and the goddesses. Three of the prettiest girls that could be found in London appeared before him in this chamber in the same costume worn by the Homeric goddesses on Mt. Ida when they strutted before Paris; while he, clad as a shepherd, presented a gilded apple to the one he regarded as the most beautiful. This classic scene took place in his house facing Green Park. Wraxall believed that neither the Duke of Buckingham, mentioned by Pope, whose life was one passionate ecstasy, nor any of the other debauched nobles, who were his contemporaries, ever committed such extravagant deeds as were enacted in this dissolute period.

In his amours "Old Q" evinced a definite predilection for ballet dancers and opera singers, which is to be explained as due to his passion for music. And the Italian opera in London owed a substantial debt of gratitude to his passion for prima donnas and danseuses for he was one of its most liberal patrons. Among these loves of Queensberry, perhaps the best known was the dancer Zamparini, born at Venice in 1745, whose lovely features have been preserved for us by the painter Howe. In 1766 "Old Q" wrote to Selwyn, then in France: "I love this little girl but how long my affection will last I cannot say. It may increase, or, on the other hand, be dead before you return." This attitude is typical of the English Don Juanism of that time. But, undoubtedly, Lord Piccadilly had a worse reputation than anyone else because of the numerous loves finished by him every year, and also because of his extraordinary experience in erotical matters for which reason he figured largely in the gallant and pornographic literature of England. There is first the understanding work of J. P. Henstone, "The Piccadilly, or Old Q, containing memoirs of the private life of the evergreen votary of Venus." Then too "Old Q" is mentioned in the memoirs of Wraxall, Bellamy's memoirs, Thackeray's "Virginians" where he appears as the Earl of March, Walpole's letters, Wheatley's "Round About Piccadilly," "Sérails de Londres," and in another eroticum, "The Wedding Night, or Battles of Venus, a Voluptuous Disclosure." Jesse has provided the fourth volume of his large work in the epoch of Selwyn with a frontispiece depicting "Old Q." He had a jovial, smiling face and a giant eagle nose; the latter

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appears to confirm the ancient popular belief that men with large noses are also avid devotees of Venus.

As can be seen from Selwyn's two groups of friends, the English Don Juans of the eighteenth century are divided into two groups—the noble and the bourgeois. The first is characterized by a certain cosmopolitanism in their pleasures, whereas the other was more homespun; but in their limited and circumscribed way the latter aped the conduct of the former most eagerly and madly, so that the paths of both groups frequently crossed.

To the first circle belonged men like George James Williams, better known as Gilly Williams, the intimate friend of Selwyn and almost as witty as the latter; Lord Frederick Carlisle, who in letters to Selwyn truthfully described himself and his wild pranks at the fashionable spas; Topham Beauclerk, the friend of Johnson and like him a great lover of books (he owned thirty thousand volumes); and Lord Pembroke who might have served as the model of the pleasure-sated nobleman for the second plate of Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode." Casanova has left us a splendid picture of this man who boasted that he never slept with the same woman twice. This Pembroke was also a bibliophile and published an edition of the obscene poetry of the Venetian patrician, Giorgio Baffo, which is exceedingly rare today.

In 1823 Henry Coates wrote the biography of Edward Wortley Montague, son of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague, entitled "The British Don Juan, being a narrative of his singular amours, entertaining adventures, remarkable travels, etc." In this "British Don Juan" we find a unique mixture of dissoluteness, spleen and academic inclinations, together with a wanderlust inherited from his mother. His life (1713-1776) constitutes one chain of extraordinary adventures in all the lands of Europe and Asia. While still a boy he ran away from the parental home on several occasions, became apprenticed to a chimneysweep once, and another time became ship's boy or muleteer in Spain. His parents, who forgave him many times, finally gave him up, and at her death his mother left him just one guinea. After the death of both his parents he left England for good, traveled continually and

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spent most of his time in the Orient. He changed his religion frequently and died a Mohammedan. In every land he had numerous amorous adventures and many women made a father of him. Finally, as old age swooped down upon him he conceived a yearning for a legitimate heir. But since he realized his own incapacity in this regard, owing to his age and weakness, he gave up hope of procreating his own child. Hence he planned to marry a poor woman who was already pregnant and to adopt the child of this woman when it was born. So a few months before his death he made known the following decision: to marry a widow or single woman of good birth and fine manners, but who was already in the fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth month of pregnancy. Concerning this queer fellow his cousin, Elizabeth Montague, said: "When I first met him, a voluptuary and a dandy, I had no notion that some day he would occupy himself with rabbinic studies and then traverse the whole Orient as a scholar." (He wrote many contributions for the Royal Society and also larger works, e.g., "On the Rise and Fall of the Ancient Republics.")

The counterpart of Montague was the notorious Baltimore who set up a veritable Turkish harem in the midst of London. After he was tried for rape and acquitted, he left England never to return. Casanova met him in Naples. Barthold has quoted for us a striking picture of this splenetic worldling. "Lord Baltimore, almost as mad as and more dissolute than Montague, whose blasé nature brought the kindly Winckelmann to desperation, has been travelling through Europe restlessly for the past few years. He is accustomed never to cease journeying for he is not desirous of knowing the spot where he will be buried. A sultan in his own right, he travelled in 1769 with eight women, one physician and two negroes whom he calls his 'corregidores' because they police his travelling seraglio. With the aid of his medico he garnered unique experiences on the subject of his houris; he fed the stout ones acids, and the lean ones milk dishes and broths. When he came to Vienna with his retinue, the famous Count von Schrottenbach called to inquire which of the eight was his wife. To this query the lord had the following reply submitted: 'That he was a Britisher, and that where he was pressed for an account-

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ing concerning his marriage, if he could not fight the matter out with his fists he would depart hot foot.' ”

From these descriptions of the most outstanding types of noble English worldlings of the eighteenth century, we can see that we have to deal here with a special and unique species of Don Juan, inasmuch as the eccentricities of the English character have lent an unmistakably specific cast to their adventures and exploits. The latter could more easily become manifest since these roués, for the most part, had tremendous fortunes which permitted them unlimited satisfaction of their peculiar desires and loves.

In comparison to the worldlings of noble birth, those of the middle class played a comparatively smaller role, even if they were just as assiduous as their models in their attendance at brothels, public promenades, parks, amusement places, theaters and races.

Among these bourgeois noblemen belonged Charles James Fox, the famous statesman, one of the best-dressed men of his age, a leader of the “Maccaronis” and a voluptuary of the worst repute. In all vicious propensities, in insane luxury, in wild jokes, in the hunt after women and the excesses of the bottle, Fox soon surpassed the most notorious voluptuaries of Brooke’s and White’s. Then there was Samuel Foote (1720-1777) “the modern Aristophanes,” an actor of the Haymarket Theater and a dramatic poet, a spendthrift and merry man-about-town, who took an active part in all the mad pranks of the ne’er-do-well’s of his time. In the “*Sérails de Londres*” there is an account of a visit paid by him, George Selwyn and Price, to the brothel of Hayes, after the last had made their mouth water by his lengthy description of the pleasures awaiting them there. Here they made the acquaintance of a famous Spanish courtesan, the “Countess of Medina,” who recounts at full length her life history studded with amorous escapades. Thereupon Samuel Foote delivered a little speech to Mrs. Hayes in which he praised the appointments of her brothel; and in the meantime Selwyn was carrying on an investigation—into the virginity of the inmates.

There was another gallant trio of friends who also visited brothels most assiduously—Tracey, Derrick and George Alexander Stevens, the clever

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writer and author of "Lecture on Heads" to which we shall refer later. They were frequent visitors at the brothel of Weatherby where the courtesan, Lucy Cooper, arranged rendezvous with them, and with the actor Palmer and others. Tracey, who also kept Charlotte Hayes, was one of the most dissolute young men of the century. He was five feet nine in height, had the build of a Hercules and a very pleasant appearance, which in conjunction with his elegant raiment, earned him the reputation of the "handsome Tracey." He was educated, eager for knowledge, possessed a good library and was wont to read his books while his barber cut his hair. The motive he adduced for this practice was that while one worried about adorning the exterior of one's head one should also have a care for the interior. Tracey ruined his health through his excesses before his thirtieth year and died young. Derrick was frequently so poor that he had neither shoes nor stockings. While he was at Charing Cross one day he withdrew into the Temple of Venus Cloacina a number of times in order to fix his stockings whose large holes were continually coming into view. The famous writer, Smollett, chanced to observe this and gave the poor shabby "elegant" a guinea that he might provide himself with shoes and socks.

Inasmuch as we are reserving for the next chapter the descriptions of George IV and his friend, George Brummell, who were the typical representatives of the English smart set at the turn of the century, we shall close this whole series of English Don Juans with a few words about Lord Byron concerning whose love life there once raged such a bitter controversy.

It cannot be asserted of Byron that he was a much-loving man, a typical Don Juan; and this despite his passionate, fiery soul and also that his love urges became manifest very early. When he was only eight he glowed with tenderness for Mary Duff, and at twelve he burnt for his charming cousin, Margaret Parker. Byron was rather a "much-loved" man to whom women always gave much more than he to them. His genius, his passion and his beauty captivated them and stormed their hearts. But his remained cold in most instances, as witness his relation to Lady Caroline Lamb and also to Jane Clara Clairmont, the mother of his

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child, Allegra. In parts of "Don Juan" Byron depicted his life in English society prior to his marriage. Byron's poetry, rank, youth and rare beauty created a tremendous sensation in the feminine world. Walter Scott said of Byron that the latter's face was something one could dream about. And one of the most famous beauties in England exclaimed when she saw him for the first time, "That pale face is my fate." Ackermann, a noted German biographer of Byron, also comes to the conclusion that in many cases he exercised the sheerest fascination upon his admirers but was himself the slave of no woman.

The memoirs of Fanny Ann Kemble report accurately the tremendous wizardry exercised upon the female species by this handsome, sultry man. This enables us to see how little Byron could, in his relation to women, be led by the customary ruler of the philistine; how much he was exposed to the temptation and jealousy of women. Thus Lord Byron got the unfortunate reputation of a vicious Don Juan; but the prudish English society did not turn away from him until the mysterious tragedy of his marriage with Annabella Milbanke had been played to the end. As is well known, the latter suddenly left her husband after a year, and a divorce was granted on the secret testimony of a woman spy. It is certain, however, that it was only much later that Lady Byron raised the shocking accusation against her husband that he had committed incest with his step-sister, Mrs. Augusta Leigh. This story, which even Jeaffreson regarded as monstrous and absolutely false, she told Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, who in turn brought all these disclosures before the reading public in her libellous book, "Lady Byron Vindicated, etc." But the whole emptiness of this accusation has been sufficiently demonstrated by the best Byron biographies such as those of Elze, Jeaffreson, Ackermann, etc.

A unique contribution to the question concerning the ground of Lady Byron's separation from her husband is provided by two obscene poems which appeared in the years 1865-1866. Naturally they must be viewed with the greatest caution in respect to their chief point, yet they should not be overlooked in any history of the gossip surrounding this marriage, so we shall consider them now.

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The title of the poems contained in one of these volumes is "Don Leon; A Poem by the late Lord Byron, Author of Childe Harold, Don Juan, etc. And forming Part of the Private Journal of his Lordship supposed to have been entirely destroyed by Thomas Moore. To which is added 'Leon to Annabella, an epistle from Lord Byron to Lady Byron.' "

The first poem, "Don Leon," consisting of 1455 verses, is an enthusiastic apology for pederasty. In it Lord Byron describes his various pederastic loves and defends his inclination to pedication. It is here asserted that the reason for the marital rift was Byron's attempted and consummated pedication with his wife during her pregnancy. He defends his aberration by urging that in view of her advanced gravidity it was impossible to have coitus in the legitimate fashion.

The second poem, "Leon to Annabella, an epistle from Lord Byron to Lady Byron," explains the real cause of the separation and forms the most curious passage in the secret history of the noble poet. This is prefaced by a declaration of Lushington, Lady Byron's attorney: "Lady Byron can never again live with her husband. He has given her provocation for a separation which can never be divulged. But womanly honor forbids any further intercourse." In the poem the wayward cause of the separation is hinted at in decorous fashion; "Thankless is she who nature's bounty mocks—nor gives Love entrance whereso'er he knocks." This poem was later reprinted under the title: "The Great Secret Revealed! Suppressed Poem by Lord Byron, never before published. Leon to Annabella. Lord Byron to Lady Byron, An Epistle explaining the Real Cause of Eternal Separation, and Justifying the Practice which led to it. Forming the Most Curious Passage in the Secret History of the Noble Poet, Influencing the Whole of His Future Career."

Naturally neither of the poems was really composed by Byron. Pisanus Fraxi ascertained from a certain man who knew the publisher, William Dugdale, that when the latter bought the Ms. in 1860 he really believed that the poems derived from Byron himself. Accordingly he desired to apply to Lady Byron, who was still alive, for a considerable sum in payment for the nonpublication of these poems; but he abandoned his intention as a result of a warning issued by this man. The

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latter found, upon examining the poems, suggestions of many facts which happened only after Byron's death.

At any rate it is remarkable that even before the accusation of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, another accusation had been promulgated against Byron. Both times it concerned a sex crime. We shall omit any discussion as to whether incest or pedication is to be regarded as the graver offense. There is not the slightest point of fact for substantiating either charge—nor for the putative homosexuality which Mill has expatiated upon at considerable length. What Jeaffreson reports about Byron's harem at Venice must also be taken "*cum grano salis*" in view of the former's partisanship and his prepossession against Byron, although it cannot be denied that the poet did surrender himself to inordinate sexual excesses in Venice. It was this life which must have given the greatest impetus to the copious literature of his love adventures.

With George IV (1830) who continued his dissolute life until his last years, this whole gallant period which comprehends the second half of the eighteenth century and the first third of the nineteenth comes to a close. There followed now—aside from the brief period of King William IV—the extended reign of Queen Victoria stretching over almost sixty-five years. In this period the external character of society became thoroughly different—one might even say more moral, except that this attribute underwent a certain constriction.

The influence of the court has ever been of the highest importance for the character and ethical deportment of high society, and, since the latter has been the model for the bourgeoisie, for the whole body of society. Thus the exemplary, happy and pure family life of Queen Victoria could not remain without influence and it did betoken an abrupt end to the wild excesses of the Regency. Instead of gambling halls, the gallant promenades of Ranelagh and Vauxhall, the life of taverns and brothels, we now meet the strictly moral, fashionable clubs; and in place of the "routs" with their encitements to amours and seductions, the receptions and garden parties. Dueling was abolished, the theater was thoroughly reformed and thus society became externally at least a pic-

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ture of moral purity. It is only a pity that now and then sudden glaring, lightning flashes illumine the dark side of the picture.

Such glaring flashes are the ever recurring scandalous divorce suits; such a terrifying streak was the revelation of the "Pall Mall Gazette" concerning the epidemic mania of defloration in the 80's, which is especially English in its whole spirit; and such flashes occur annually in the so-called "Elopement season," the seduction season when one distinguished lady or another permits herself to be seduced by her groom or driver.

Nor was the life of gallantry entirely extinguished. Only the Don Juan of the day sought his amorous adventures in Paris rather than London and, especially during the Second Empire, rich and distinguished Englishmen were much sought after by famous Parisian women. However, even in the distinguished English society of the day there was not completely absent that mysterious creature from the half-world. There were certain elegant ladies who inhabited swanky dwellings, lived from their revenues and yet were neither honorable bourgeois women nor actual cocottes.

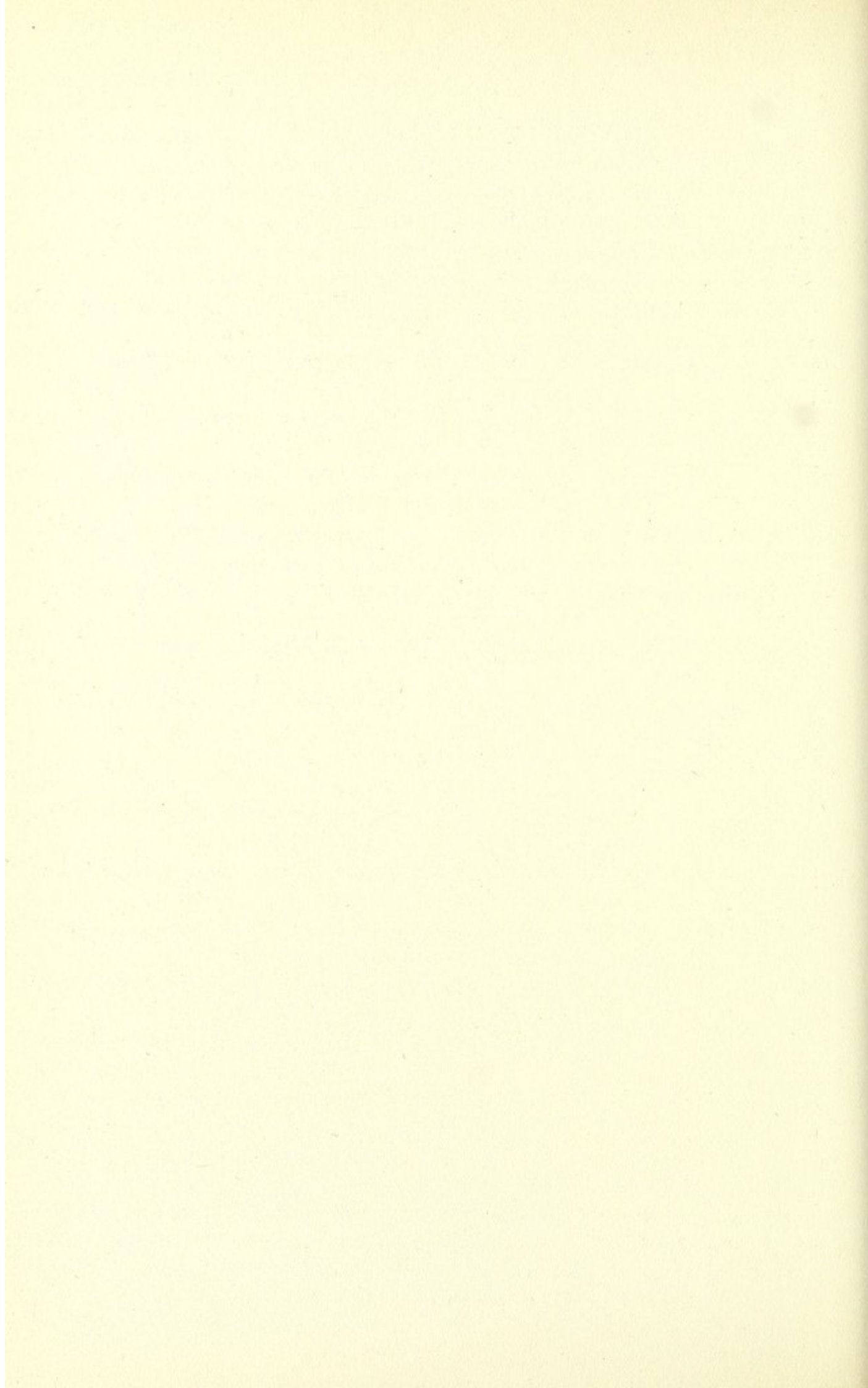
In addition to these women there have always been distinguished cocottes whom one could meet in Bond Street and Hyde Park during the promenade times. These were not entirely excluded from contact with decent women.

The picture drawn of English high life in a well-known book, "Aus der Londoner Gesellschaft von einem Heimischgewordenen," by a German diplomat, is in general a true one. He does not omit to characterize the frivolity hiding behind the prudery which frequently comes to light very clearly in questionable topics of conversation. A glaring searchlight was thrown on this dark background of English life by the authoress of another German book which appeared in 1861 under the title, "Denk würdigkeiten einer deutschen Erzieherin." These memoirs, which are thoroughly authentic and reflect actual experiences and impressions, also contain certain terrifying descriptions of moral corruption in certain circles of the British nobility.

We must not overlook these shady aspects of distinguished English

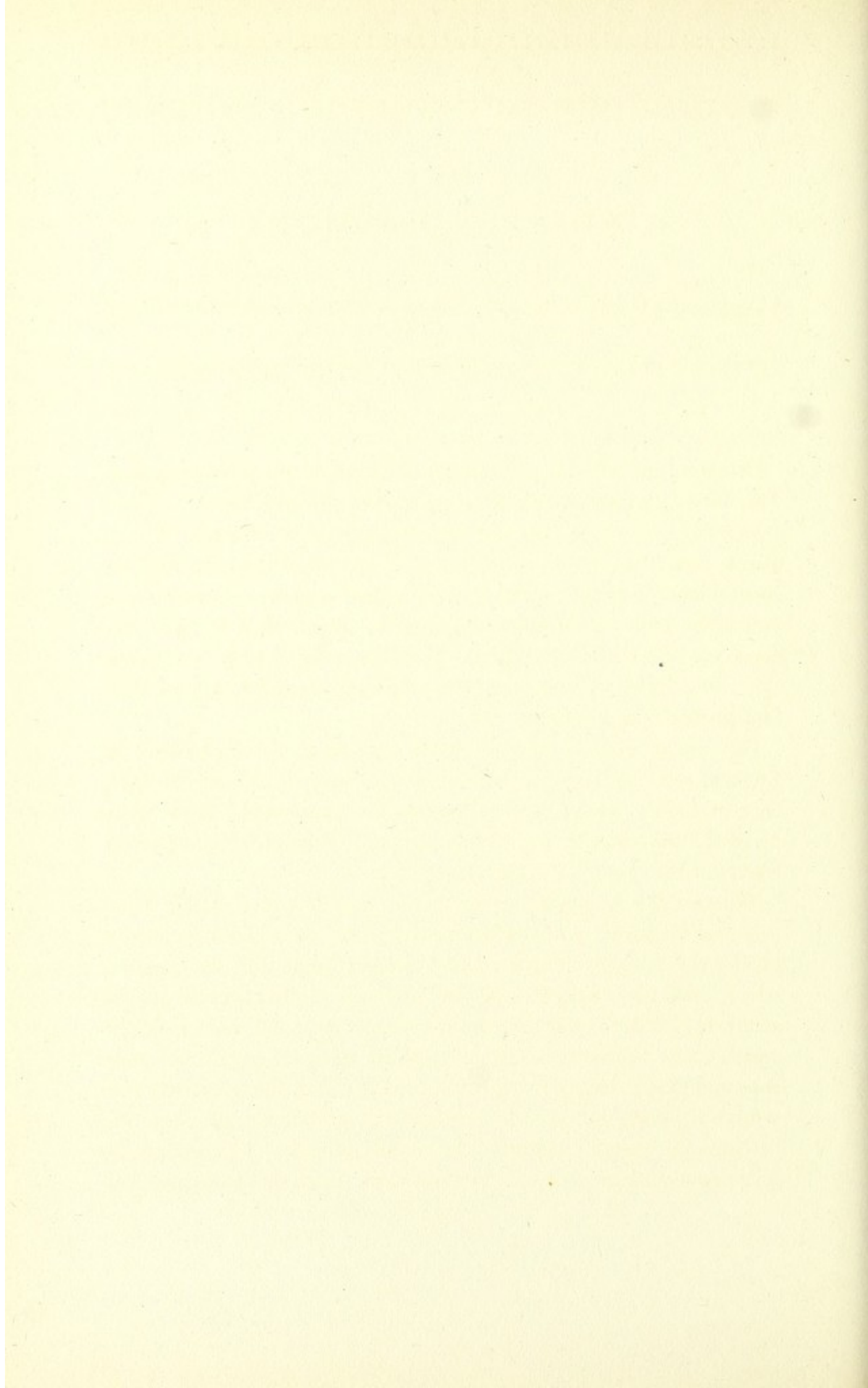
FAMOUS RAKES

society even though they are frequently concealed by the prudery mentioned above, and even though, contrariwise, life in England is enjoyed in so high and noble a way as seems possible nowhere else. That is why I conclude these remarks with a friendly glance at the refined art of life which has been referred to by the art connoisseur in the following words: "Taking everything into consideration, one can say that no one enjoys life in so refined and manifold a way as Englishmen of the higher class who are fortunate in possessing an all-around culture in addition to wealth. Remove those worthy, exalting surroundings of pictorial arts, musical pleasures, the most frequent contact with all the treasures of literature purveyed by their excellent private libraries, their vacations at the most charming country seats, or their travels through the most beautiful districts of Europe, and finally the most diverse and interesting social contacts and you will be forced to admit that there are few thing left which are worthwhile."



4

INDECENT FASHIONS



IV

INDECENT FASHIONS

CLOTHING and fashions are products of the sexual life of human beings. This notion has been completely confirmed by the investigations of such outstanding anthropologists and ethnologists as V. D. Steinen, Westermarck, Stratz, etc. Clothing developed as a means of sex attraction, the concealment of certain parts, as well as their exposure, serving sexual excitation. This was already recognized by Tasso when he said "*Non copre sue bellezze, e non l'espose.*" In studying the fashions of different ages and peoples we will everywhere be confronted by both of these fundamental sexual elements.

One can only speak of the English fashions in a limited sense, for England more than other European nations came early under the influence of France which in these matters was omnipotent. Walsingham dated the introduction and popularization of French fashions in England from the capture of Calais in 1347.

Whereas the Anglo-Saxon conquerors held fast, in general, to the primitive Germanic garb, the Normans at a very early period inclined to greater elaborateness in dress and developed considerable luxuriousness, which came into evidence especially after silk clothes became popular at the beginning of the fourteenth century. At a ball held in Kenilworth Castle at Warwickshire in 1286, the wives of certain noblemen appeared in silk dresses for the first time. At that time garments were worn very long and actually covered the ground on all sides. The "clothes-tails" were frequently the objects of satire. This excessively long upper garment was worn by prostitutes, slit on the sides about half-

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way so that their legs, clad in tightly-fitting breeches, were visible. In addition they had special pouches for their breasts which thus became tremendously accentuated.

But the really omnipotent rule of fashion began in the fourteenth century. Hitherto a few decades had elapsed before the new French mode became acclimated in the British Isles; but now the English kept pace with all the French developments in fashion. Presently an effort was again made to throw off French domination and to give a distinctively English stamp to clothes, but the resulting fashion was even more monstrous and uncomfortable. Subsequently the desire for luxurious clothes became rampant among all classes.

Especially during the reign of Richard II did this pursuit of magnificent clothes reach incredible proportions. Sir John Arundel possessed fifty-two new suits sewn with gold thread. Above all, the prelates of the Church reveled in these luxurious extravagances of the mode. Chaucer said of them that they had a change of clothing every day. In the "Parson's Tale" he pours all the lye of his satire upon the diabolical fashions of this time and expatiates at length upon the highly serious consequences, especially in sexual relationships, of their undue scantiness. For the tightness of the breeches caused the anal and genital regions to be emphasized in the most shameless manner, "so that in many persons the buttocks behind looked as if they were the hinder part of a sheape in the ful of the mone." In these clothes men, particularly when regarded from behind, looked like women. To cap all, these long robes were provided with a stand-up collar which came up to the chin in front and reached up beyond the roots of the hair in back. Of course the face was shaved and the beardless faces had a feminine smoothness. We must not omit to mention the uncommonly large diversity of colors in the various parts of the clothing—a circumstance we are well acquainted with from the descriptions in the "Canterbury Tales." One and the same piece of clothing was particolored: for example, a stocking was white at the top and red underneath, or white and blue, or white and black or black and red, etc. All this must have led to an effeminacy among the men and given a considerable impetus to homosexual relations.

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This merry and adventurous garb maintained itself throughout the whole of the fifteenth and on into the sixteenth century. An old picture of the time of Henry VIII drawn by the clever Andrew Borde (born 1480) plays upon this wild variety of dresses in a very witty fashion. It represents a nude Britisher with a piece of clothing hanging from his right hand and a pair of scissors in his left. The legend reads: "While it is true that under Henry VIII smoothly shaven faces disappeared and were supplanted by beards, yet on the other hand a new immoral fashion arose—the so-called genital-case of the men. This was a padding of the trousers in the region of the genitals which were therefore projected outwards to a certain extent in the most indecent fashion, and thus exposed to the lascivious glances of all." Hottenroth has described many of the ludicrous costumes of that day.

During the Elizabethan period the stiff Spanish dress did not interfere at all with the development of great pomp and the rise of various eccentricities in the domain of fashion. Thus J. Disraeli has noted that the fashion of enormous stockings was carried to the most ridiculous extremes. The dandies of that time stuffed their trousers with lumps, feathers and other objects until they looked like sacks.

Before James I, night shirts were still very rare. Archenholtz has related that when this ruler was still a child, and under the care of the Countess of Mar, he was once seized at night with a colic. All the male and female attendants rushed in stark naked and only the countess appeared in half a shirt.

An extreme example of the luxurious excess of fashion under James I is to be found in the latter's favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, whose wardrobe exceeded all measure. Aside from the fact that for his suits he always used the most costly fabrics, like velvet, satin, gold-and-silver-brocade, he had them decorated not only with the most expensive braids and elaborate embroideries, but also with pearls and precious stones, particularly with diamond buttons set in the most artistic jewelers' art. Of such magnificent suits he had in 1625, no less than twenty-seven, each of them costing about 3500 francs; and for one suit in which he appeared at the wedding of Charles I he paid 500,000 francs.

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This overloaded dress was followed in the frivolous era of the Restoration under Charles II by a fashion of nudity. Now the beauty and elegance that was exposed to view was not that of clothes but of the human body, and the pretty ladies of Charles' court vied with each other in exposing as much of their hidden charms as they dared. In the uncovering of throat, breast and arms, in the employment of false hair, cosmetics and patches, England yielded nothing to France, but on occasion even surpassed it. As a matter of fact, so great was the shamelessness of this exposure of female shoulders and breasts that various literary protests were raised against it. In 1672 a book appeared bearing the title: "New instructions for youth in regard to their conduct, together with a treatise on certain innovations in fashion; against powdering the hair, bare breasts, beauty patches and other unseemly usages." This booklet was provided with two pictures of women representing "Virtue" and "Vice." The clothing of the first is chaste and modest; but from the low corselet of the second, large breasts stand out and the countenance is disfigured by numerous plasters.

Another peculiar custom of the time was the wearing of muffs by men. Thus, Samuel Pepys has related in his diary that he had taken his wife's old muff for his own use and bought a new one for her.

Towards the middle of the century the discovery was made that nature had been rather niggardly to the lower quarters of the female species. Hence the defect was improved, and during 1759 and 1760 old and young women looked as though they were pregnant.

Since 1765 it had become customary for women's shops to employ young, powerful and handsome men, who, by virtue of the impression made by their personality upon the female clientele, were designed to increase business; and already at that time certain abuses had grown out of these relationships. Boettinger, who wrote at the end of that century, remarked that "since the female tribe of this metropolis is not insensible to a handsome male form and to fresh red cheeks, the crafty Bond Street merchants manned their shops with well-built, healthy and much-promising attendants with whom a lecherous lady might well

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exchange a couple of dozen more words than her purchases at the store required."

Of course for male patrons there were pretty salesgirls and modistes, all of whom vied with each other in catching the attention of the passersby. As he would make his purchase, the man would let slip some word concerning love; the salesgirl would respond with a sweet smile or a furtive wink of the eye. Very frequently of an evening, one would find these pretty modistes in Ranelagh on the arms of their gallants, and all too frequently such a much-desired sales nymph would enter upon the path of prostitution.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the extravagance of fashions developed to a remarkable degree. Naturally this lavishness frequently led the women in poorer circumstances to corruption, adultery and prostitution. They sold their charms to whoever offered most, in order to pay the bills for their expensive costumes.

As far as details of this pomp in fashion are concerned, this luxuriousness showed itself first in the coiffure of the women. After the middle of the eighteenth century the coiffures developed to enormous proportions. Through the use of divers materials such as wool, ribbons, lace, feathers, locks, combs, needles, pomades, pastes and false hair, it was piled up so high upon the head that when the person stood up, it constituted at least a third of her height. Frequently enough a whole garden of flowers and fruits blossomed on the head. The actor Garrick made this last-named fashion ridiculous by appearing on the stage one day dressed as a woman and bearing on his head a coiffure constructed of all sorts of vegetables in which red beets peeped out most ludicrously. Even little coaches, boats and animals might frequently crown these two-feet-high coiffures.

Numerous anecdotes circulated about the consequences of these extravagant fashions. A tale was told of a lady who at a certain party complained of sharp pains in the neck. It came out that she had driven to the party in a coach whose roof was too low to enable her to sit upright because of her towering coiffure. During the entire trip therefore she had been compelled to sit with her head bowed so low that her chin

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rested upon her knees. Contemporary caricatures represented ladies in sedans with open roofs through which the tremendous coiffures towered up.

Because these artificial coiffures required much time and money, they were frequently worn for weeks without combing; the pomades turned rancid and led to an accumulation of dirt of all sorts so that not infrequently bugs settled in these extravagantly arranged heads.

A large role was also played by artificial hair perukes which came to be regarded as indispensable parts of a fashionable toilette. This mania for perukes created a special category of thieves, peruke thieves, who ranged the streets of London in large numbers and through extremely daring attacks snatched the wigs from the heads of the passersby and sold them.

Corsets and imitation wax bosoms now became very fashionable. The crinoline and bustle styles aimed at an enormous exaggeration of the natural forms of the pelvic girdle, forcing the eye to the charms therein concealed. The "hooped petticoat" was the object of numerous satires and lampoons by the people. A song of 1721 sings right humorously the tragicomic fate of such a fashionable lady clad in a crinoline, who, alas, lost her padding, so that she who had come with a hoop departed with a hollow.

In 1794, during the French Directory, the so-called "fashion of nakedness," through which the body was unveiled to the limb, became rampant. Above, the neck and bust were exposed, and below, the legs. Later Lady Charlotte Campbell introduced the even more revelatory garb which Madame Tallien decreed upon the Parisian society of the Directory. In this scant attire a thin transparent muslin covering constituted the whole covering of the body. In a few days the fashionable walks, New Bond Street, Pall Mall, Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, etc., were filled by hordes of half-naked figures.

Quite a unique thing (and specifically English) was the female custom of providing shoes with certain apparatus against soilure. These were generally ring-like iron apparatus which were attached to the shoes by the aid of straps and removed upon entering the house. The origin of this

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queer practice was undoubtedly the vogue of silk and cloth shoes in the middle and upper classes for the servant girls wore only leather shoes. Later these gadgets were replaced by wooden sandals with iron stilts.

An indispensable component of the fashionable toilette of an English-woman of the eighteenth century was the fan, the history of which, in England, dates back to the fourteenth century. It first appeared there under Richard II and became especially popular among the higher classes during the reign of Henry VIII. Elizabeth too had a weakness for fans and owned one which was set with diamonds. In Shakespeare's time these articles cost up to forty pounds. Every woman carried one. The fan became a general vehicle of expression and communication concerning politics, literature, drama, art, and especially coquetry, since many things were represented upon it in word or picture. But there was something worse—the obscene pictures which disfigured the fans of many women, the shameless nature of which placed a lady in the difficult predicament of blushing behind or in front of the fan.

The eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth were the golden age of masculine dandyism in England, which was the birth-place of the genuine article. Here, where the individual and eccentric came to greater expression than elsewhere, but where, none the less, great importance was placed on external appearance, was the most suitable soil for the development of that remarkable species of men who, to a certain extent, equated clothes with their life. Barbey d'Aurevilly was right when he described the essence of the English masher as "*Paraître c'est être pour les dandys comme pour les femmes.*" Rather did the true English dandy, especially as he appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century, seek to form his exterior and his clothing in the most individual fashion and, in so doing, to effect the strongest possible contrast with the conventionalities of fashion, and thereby arouse the wonder of the crowd.

The oldest dandies were the beaux who were already celebrating their triumphs under Charles II and Queen Anne. To this number belonged Sir George Hewett Wilson, the handsome Fielding (1712), Colonel

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Edgeworth, the poet Steele, and lastly, the famous Nash, who was a beau for three generations—inasmuch as he was born during the reign of Charles II and died under George III. Thereafter, he probably continued to delight as a dandy the retinue of Proserpine in the underworld—as the poet Austey expressed it in his “New Bath Guide.” It was to this generation of dandies that Addison, in his “Spectator” erected a monument of satire in his well-known analysis of a dandy’s brain.

After the middle of the eighteenth century there arose the “Macaronis” or “Jessamies.” The first name was applied to these coxcombs because of their fondness for the Italian dish of that name which they ate at Almack’s. They founded a club which, as Horace Walpole wrote in a letter to Lord Hertford on February 6, 1764, “consisted of all the widely-travelled young men, who wore curls and sported lorgnettes.” In 1772 they used to parade around with very tight and parti-colored jacket, vest and trousers, with a tremendous knot of artificial hair at the back of the head, a ridiculously small hat perched on the top, red heels on their shoes, and an enormous walking-stick with tassels.

In the eighteenth century men’s clothing underwent as frequent changes as women’s. Every year brought a new style, sometimes utterly different from that of the preceding year. The author of a rather rare book, “Thoughts on Gallantry, Love and Marriage,” said of the effeminate men of 1750: “There is yet another type of man which should be banned from the society of every woman of fine sensibilities. These are the ‘fops’ and ‘fribbles’ and the ‘petits maitres’ of our day—these pretty fellows all compounded of powder, and essence and perfume. His own dear self is the sole object of his care and attention. Here, ladies, you have an object for your humor and your jests—a butt for your satires. But, alas! how far removed is your usual treatment of these gilded playthings, these glittering nullities? Instead of mocking these things of silk, you all too frequently serve their vanity by your boundless praise and wonder.”

This excessive emphasis upon clothes necessarily led to an effeminacy in these men, and created the type of the “pretty fellow” and the “exquisite” who were so violently lashed by domestic and foreign authors of the eighteenth century. Archenholtz remarked that the men were now

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more like women than had been the case in any previous age. They wore their hair in long curls, strewn with flour and reeking of perfumes, and the coiffure was augmented by borrowed locks; they encased their hands in gloves and painted their faces too. They indulged to the full their craving for soft foods, comfortable cushions and luxurious beds. In order not to be outdone by the women they employed fine linens and laces for their everyday apparel, and covered their fingers with rings. According to Hüttner, the men were frequently indistinguishable from women, except for their trousers. No wonder that these feminine exquisites also labored under all the pains and sufferings peculiar to women. Thus one of these fine chappies once fell into a dead faint on Bond Street and had to be carried into a store. Upon examination, it turned out that the young man was—too tightly laced.

Schütz was unable to make peace with the fact that dandies were so prevalent among the English people who are considered rather serious, and he never got over his surprise upon seeing all these aforementioned caricatures. Another thing that struck him as being very funny was their use of little cudgels in place of walking sticks. The former were far too small to be used while walking, and were held in the hand just as women held their fans.

Dressing one's hair in the eighteenth century was a very elaborate affair. In the hair-dressing establishments four persons were frequently employed to trim one head. To these powdered heads of dandies Burke applied the tasteful name of "guinea pigs."

A custom very common among the fashionable men of that time was the wearing of eye-glasses and spectacles, not to aid vision, but because they were considered fashionable. Moritz was struck by the numerous riders who wore glasses, among whom were many young people. On this subject Schütz wrote: "With the exception of Spain, no other land can boast of so many wearers of spectacles as England. One sees young bespectacled people on the London exchange as well as in the comedy theaters, taverns and coffee houses and even more striking is their use of them while riding. Unusually vain coxcombs had their glasses framed in gold and even set with brilliants."

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Of all occupational groups it was the theologues and medicos who supplied the largest contingent to the dandies and gallant men. Archenholtz has drawn vivid pictures of the transformation in appearance of these gentry—so different now from their professional attire of yore.

Under the ægis of the Prince of Wales, later George IV, the world of English coxcombs developed, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, into real dandyism in which realm this prince and Beau Brummell were the foremost figures.

The essence of this first gentleman of Europe, as George IV loved to call himself, was, to use Thackeray's words, nothing more than a coat, a multitude of vests, a wig, an affected smile and an outer mask. At his first court ball he wore a coat of shining red silk with white frills; and his white vest was richly decorated with bright ribbons and plastered with a multitude of ornaments which had been decorated with two rows of pearls aggregating about five thousand. Among the London dandies, George Brummell took his place at the beginning of the nineteenth century as the equal of the prince, and earned for himself the dubious reputation of "dandy" par excellence.

As is well known this hero of fashion found a passionate admirer and enthusiastic biographer in the person of the clever French writer, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, who was himself a dandy and whose book, "*Du Dandysme et de Georges Brummell*," constitutes a unique apotheosis of dandyism.

This Brummell (born 1778) was really a remarkable specimen of the genus dandy, as will appear from the following short sketch of him.

It was Brummell who introduced into dandyism the fundamental rule that the most distinguished was at the same time the most simple. In his costume he avoided everything striking and shied away from all the extravagance of the coxcombs of the eighteenth century. For this reason, excessive use of perfumes, pomades and oils was strictly avoided by him. He avoided exaggerations and ridiculousness in his clothing and appearance, and yet was able to draw general attention to himself by means of his exterior. His own success in this regard is attributable to a unique

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mixture of the highest intelligence, irony, impertinence, indolence and grace of manner which charmed everyone.

From 1799 to 1814 London knew no festival or social gathering at which the presence of this renowned dandy was not regarded as a triumph and his absence as a sort of disgrace. At Carlton House he was the life of the party and for a long time he was the bosom friend of the king who regarded him as his only rival in the realm of dandyism. He was even able to captivate the mental giants of his time. The poet, Moore, celebrated him in verse, and Byron often mentioned him very favorably. Barbey D'Aurevilly has gone as far as to suggest that in composing "Don Juan," Byron had in mind the picture of Brummell since this poem is filled with the "tone of the dandy." The mystery of Brummell's influence rests for the most part on the fact that he never made himself common, and entered into the life of all parties or gatherings as a species of shining meteor, never staying anywhere very long. It was his strong opinion that one must only stay in a place until one has exercised a visible influence—after which one must leave directly. For him effectiveness was a matter of nothing so much as time.

Women worshipped Brummell. The famous courtesan, Harriette Wilson, devotes some passionate words to him in her memoirs.

Yet the end of this famous dandy was a sad one. He had to leave England in May, 1816, as he had ruined himself by gambling and his erstwhile friend, the prince regent, refused to grant him any aid. In Calais he was for some time maintained by his friends. His reputation as the pope of fashion was still undiminished and many distinguished Englishmen made pilgrimages to him to ask his counsel concerning clothes. But gradually the assistance of his friends was withdrawn and he slowly sank into oblivion. In 1830 King William IV appointed him consul at Caen, but the post was shortly after taken away from him. Finally, he could be seen wandering through the streets of Caen, a doddering fool and the mere ghost of his former self, yet not without certain pretensions to elegance even then. It was here that Barbey d'Aurevilly saw him. He died in the 30's.

However, it cannot be denied that it was just this idiosyncratic dandy-

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ism of England which served as the transition to a gradual simplification of masculine clothing. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the English fashions freed themselves almost completely from the omnipotent French influence and won a large measure of independence. The growing sense of national importance, continually nourished by the new developments in every field of science abetted the deviations from the French modes, until the latter were positively rejected. As this feeling became stronger, there was a steady growth in the demand for individuality. Although this striving did occasionally degenerate into extravagances, the English fashion did oppose French monstrosities decisively and imposingly so that it found numerous imitators even in France.

Thus the modern male costume, especially the frock coats, is essentially of English origin, and at the present time male styles draw nearly as much inspiration from Paris as from London. In this regard the Prince of Wales, who was to become King Edward VII, played a large part. Sombart has written that the center for the origin of male fashions is still the circle around the Prince of Wales whose rule has extended far beyond the limits of both Indies, at least as far as cravats and hats are concerned.

Women's clothing during the nineteenth century remained more subservient to the French style. In 1818 Bornemann scored the balloon-like dresses which, in order to leave nothing undesignated, had a great cloth button right in the middle. When Empress Eugenie reintroduced the crinoline, England was the first land to welcome this barbarous fashion; and although after 1880 the "esthetic" and "dress reform" movements began energetically to combat the all too great inclination to imitate French extravagances, they were never able to prevent the importation of the most incredible monstrosities of fashion such as, for example, the so-called nipple rings.

In the British journal "Society" during 1899 there are some remarkable details concerning this sophisticated style. It consisted essentially in having holes bored through the nipples of the teats and drawing golden rings, set with brilliants, through them. Of course the purpose of this operation, which reminds one of the incisions into lips and nostrils prac-

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ticed by savages, is a purely erotic one, forcing attention to that place when décolleté is worn. In this respect the nipple ring was a competitor of the corset.

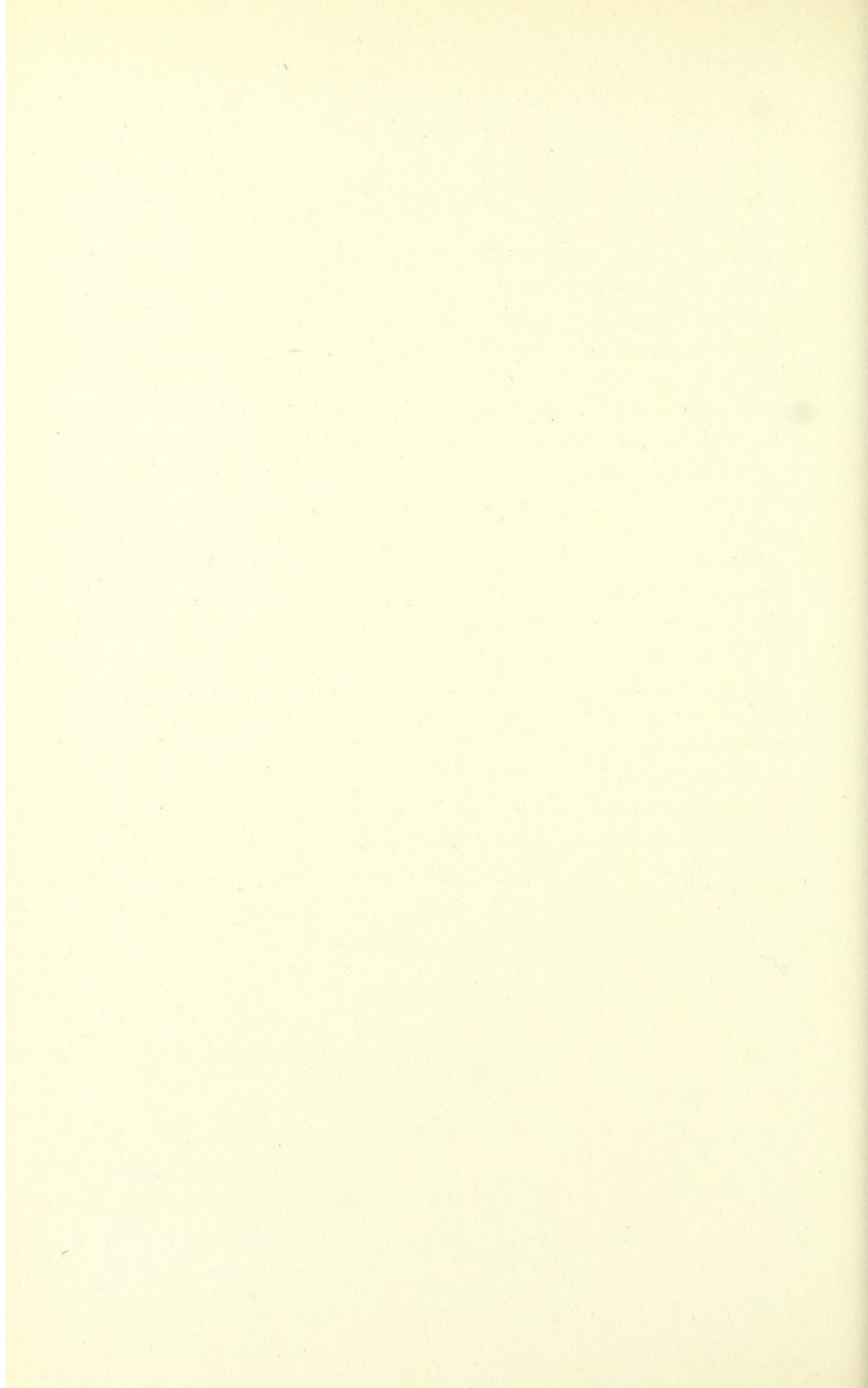
A certain modiste of Oxford Street, however, expressed somewhat different notions concerning this fashion. It was her opinion that the bust of a woman wearing such a ring was invariably rounder and fuller than those who lacked it. She further reported that the wearing of these rings, far from causing the wearer unpleasantness or pain, actually occasioned pleasurable sensations, for the gentle rubbing and gliding of the rings in their apertures caused an extremely pleasant tickling sensation.

This custom of nipple rings is quite ancient and is said to have existed among the ancient Egyptians. In addition they are mentioned in very old Italian romances. In ancient Spanish works these rings are mentioned as instruments of torture. Girls and women suspected of heresy had their nipples, or the whole breast, bored through with red-hot needles or pincers—after which rings were drawn through the holes.

The fashion of nipple rings is also widespread among the women of Tunis and the Greek archipelago. In Abyssinia women are said to magnify their breasts in a most unusual way. They allow bees to sting them until their breasts swell to three or four times the normal size.

In 1898 a Bond Street jeweler performed nipple operations upon forty English girls and ladies; and the Oxford Street modiste, referred to above, aided the spread of this vogue through London's fashionable world.

Many women carried in place of these rings, little charms which were fastened from breast to breast. Thus a famous actress of the Gaiety Theater wore such a connecting link, consisting of a string of pearls with a bow at each end, joining her breasts.



5

SEXUAL QUACKS



V

SEXUAL QUACKS

QUACKERY is a universal evil of the human species as is attested by the ancient Salernitanian verse: *Fingit se medicum quivis idiota profanus*. But in no land has it found as favorable a ground for subsisting and multiplying as in England. Samuel Johnson held that the reason for this extraordinary success of quackery in England was that nine-tenths of the population were utter fools, as far as medical matters were concerned. For further information in this connection see the work of Mühry on the comparison of medicine in France, England and Germany.

In keeping with the famous proverb that hunger and love rule the world, quackery has always turned gladly to the domains of digestive diseases and sexual ailments. Particularly in the last department, these charlatans have scored unusual successes which give perhaps the most instructive insights into the lengths that human folly, corruption and superstition will go. When one compares the history of quackery and medical charlatanism of all times and places and nations, one is unable to escape the conclusion that there is a steady equation between quackery and the dissemination of sexual vice and immorality. These relations of venereal charlatanism to sex life and sexual crime have been drastically illuminated by Dr. C. Reissig in his interesting writing on "Medical Science and Quackery." He pointed out the demoralizing conduct of many magnetists, lay hypnotists and similar folks who satisfy all sorts of immoral desires of their own under the guise of helping the sick, and bolstered up his assertions by citing some characteristic examples

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of these misdemeanors. Police records have indicated that numerous masseuses and male quacks who treat discreet female diseases, really specialize in abortions, pandering, artificial and highly sophisticated sexual excitation, and the purveying of human material for the satisfaction of perverse impulses. In another article Dr. Reissig has also called our attention to the fact that a certain Princess Maria von Rohan in Salzburg considered it a holy obligation to testify in behalf of the carpenter Kuhne of Leipzig that his sexually-massaging baths were of incalculable value and tremendous effectiveness, etc.

In England sexual quackery has flourished for the longest time and has brought the richest fruits to its representatives and practitioners. The most active in this field during the early middle ages were "medicine women," "herbwomen" and "witches," and until the Reformation, male quacks were relatively rare. Yet even during the reign of Edward IV there arose a health "invoker" by the name of Grig who for his equivocal activities finally was set into stocks and pillory and was condemned to ride through the city with his back facing the rump of the horse. Henry VIII took special action against quacks. At his time merry Andrew, that is Andrew Borde, accompanied by his attendants, rode through the country making unique speeches to the hordes of gapers who always streamed to him and even carried out some of his wonderful cures, "coram publico" amid enthusiastic applause. The "Quack's Academy, or the Dunces' Directory" issued in 1678, contains an amusing catalogue of the requisites and paraphernalia of a quack, at the end of which is appended some valuable advice to these worthies: they should be assiduous in their attendance at the ale houses; and establish many relationships with the nurses and midwives of the city; and above all be always eloquent and shameless. The most famous charlatan of the time of King Charles II was a weaver, Thomas Saffold by name, who proclaimed that he could heal all diseases and also prophesy the future. It was he that introduced the custom of distributing cards to passersby, a practice which became so popular among English mountebanks. He stationed his card distributors in Cheapside, Fleet Street, the Strand and even in the sacrosanct precincts of Whitehall and St. James,

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and these pressed into the hands of the passing throngs, circulars in prose or verse, both of his own composition. From certain satirical verses composed after his death on May 12, 1691, we can form some notion of his notorious activities among the fair sex, who would come to his house masked, to ascertain their matrimonial prospects or doom.

At the time of Queen Anne a certain Paul Chamberlain invented a neck-band which was to serve as a preventive of difficult labor; and another charlatan rhapsodically recommended for this purpose his "Unicorn's Horn Powder" by the aid of which he had saved the lives of numerous women who had been sterile before they took his powder. In the "Tatler," No. 240, of Oct. 21, 1710, there is a vivid description of the activities of the quacks—their advertising, distribution of tickets, etc. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Ned Ward issued his "History of London Clubs" and included herein an excoriation of the dangerous practices of these miscreants. He makes it abundantly clear that these baneful quacks were quite unread in physic's art and were really recruited from the lowest orders. Starting as apprentices to weavers or cobblers, or perhaps of even lowlier estate, these poor scoundrels had swept stages for their master mountebanks for scraps; finally they set up for themselves in their cheating and poisonous business, and by vain pretences picked the patient's purse, making him ten times worse with their sham medicines.

In 1730 a Joshua Ward "healed" all manner of diseases with his marvelous drops, and even cured the excessive lasciviousness of old worldlings. Moreover he even went so far as to assert that he could restore to not quite innocent girls, the virginity that had once been theirs.

The real heyday of quackery in England, which record has never been achieved before or since, was the second half of the eighteenth century. This was the age of "enlightenment" but it was tremendously hospitable to every sort of superstition, magic, and medical swindle and folly. "The physician who must so often feel his way in the darkness despite the fact that his eyes and mind are wide open, now heard about perceptions of the abdominal fundus, about manipulations of joints, flanks, breasts which are much more effective when carried out by the hand of a man than by a woman's; he now heard of clairvoyance through tightly shut eyes, of

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self-prescribed remedies and their marvels, of disorganization and ecstasies which set the nervous and psychopathic patient 'en rapport' with all of nature and with the realm of spirits." So wrote C. J. Weber in his "Democritos."

Perhaps the most vivid and interesting contemporary account of the doings of these wretches has come to us from the pen of V. Schütz. He reported that whoever sold pills or powders called himself publicly "doctor," without ever having to give an account to anyone concerning schooling or graduation. Many of these "doctors" maintained public drug shops and again were free from any supervision over the drugs they dispensed. Every apothecary had the right, as a physician, to treat diseases and indeed every one of them did. A swarm of Germans, Frenchmen, and Dutchmen who were unable to earn a livelihood in their own country descended upon London—and murdered human beings ad lib. They not only called themselves doctors but often added to this title the most unique predicates such as "practicing physician for the whole of France" (or Holland) or something of the sort; or "physician in ordinary to the most distinguished princes of the Roman empire." These gentry made a great show and display and practiced their healing art in their own homes and elsewhere. On every street, near the stock exchange and the coffee houses there stood men and women, frequently the liveried servants of these healers, who distributed handbills and tickets bearing the most curious sort of announcements. One bade the reader to please send the morning urine to the doctor who didn't wish to see the patient himself at all, but would on the basis of the urinary examination prescribe the most necessary medicaments. Another undertook to come to the aid of the sterile of both sexes. A third even promised the opposite, i.e., to curb the fertility of the female at will. In general, however, the usual run of these advertising cards vaunted their skill in curing gallant diseases. Others undertook to deliver gravid women at the home of the healer assuring the prospective service of the best in accoucher service, comfortable quarters, soft beds, excellent attendance and inviting them to apply in person at given addresses. Every street corner and lamp-post—and even the royal palace at St. James—was plastered with such affiches

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and the London police obviously abetted this charlatanism. An illustration of what must have been police connivance is afforded by the daily construction in Towerhill of a medical booth. The boards were covered with canvas at the top and at the side, a set of wooden stairs was drawn up. Hither assembled sick folks of all sorts whom a doctor would heal publicly—and gratis, in order to secure a following. Majestically the healer would ascend the stairs and take his place on the platform. After he had delivered a solemn address to the audience he would operate on his patients who sat in rows on stools and benches. . . . Later he would distribute medical cards and finally he would deliver another solemn speech to cap the climax and confirm his power over the newly won friends. When he left the booth, the sick folks followed him home. His attendants now packed up the medical supplies into a chest and the theater was broken up. On the next day the farce would be repeated. Once Schütz himself, while he was in a public house, was accosted by a quack and invited to visit him. He refused at first but some time later, as he passed the house, he was attracted by its magnificence and couldn't resist entering. The master of the house led Schütz into a beautifully appointed room where he presented him to some women whom he introduced as his cousins. These five creatures were so primped up and so sumptuously attired that Schütz could have no doubt as to the class of society they belonged to. It was with difficulty that he effected an escape from this company and he was only allowed to go after he had given his solemn promise to return that evening. Somewhat later Schütz ascertained from a German who lived near the quack's establishment that his hunch had been correct: that all sorts of gallantries and divers rascalities were actually practiced in this house.

This close connection between quacks and brothels rests in part on the fact that in the latter quarters they can get patients in wholesale quantities and can dispose of their store of remedies against venereal diseases as well as their other apparatus and stock in trade relevant to sexual matters. The author of "An Idler in London" reported that these charlatans aimed particularly at yokels just or but recently arrived from the

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country who would generally fall into their hands on account of some venereal disturbance.

The charlatan who speculated most skillfully on the sexual instincts of his clientele and exploited them most intensely and effectively was Dr. James Graham, the true Cagliostro of quackery, the famous discoverer of the "celestial bed" and the "temple of health." The literature concerning this personality, who is of undoubted importance in the history of morality, is large; and in addition Graham is a regular and steady figure in many erotic or semi-erotic English books. The most important account is found in H. Sampson's "A History of Advertising"; J. C. Jeaffreson, "A Book About Doctors"; John Davenport, "Aphrodisiacs and Anti-aphrodisiacs" and Archenholtz "England und Italien." We shall mention later the name of a book devoted entirely to Graham's heavenly bed. This piece of furniture is also met with rather frequently in German erotica—as in the imitative description of the Paradise of love which occurs at the end of the second volume of Bruckbrau's erotic book "Rosa's Curtain Groaner."

Graham, the son of a poor Edinburgh saddler, was born in 1745. He was graduated as a physician and practiced for a while at Pontefract. Later he went to America where he set up as a philanthropist who was journeying through the world in the interests and for the benefit of mankind, that he might bring healing and salvation to those grave diseases which had resisted the efforts of other physicians. Here he garnered a vast treasure of experience which he later capitalized. As he was a handsome man of courtly presence and eloquent tongue, possessing to a high degree the gift of entertainment, he quickly secured entrée to the best circles, especially in New England, where he achieved what he himself dubbed "a golden reputation." Then he returned to England, toured the whole country and was, according to his own statement, exceedingly successful in the treatment of desperate cases. In 1775 Graham settled in London and opened a house in Pall Mall where he specialized in the treatment of the diseases of the eye and ear. To advertise his specialized practice he inserted notices in the daily newspapers which already, as Sampson said, contained the seeds of quackery. Somewhat later he visited

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Scotland and was in great demand among the higher classes because of his fascinating manner and the report of his remarkable cures. He was so tremendously popular that if he had settled in Edinburgh permanently he would have become quite wealthy, but he presently returned to London where he organized and opened one of the most original and extravagant institutions that man has ever devised (Sampson). This unexampled notion was sprung upon London by the man, who when he was able to live in wealth and luxury in a foreign land, abandoned everything to return home and risk his all in playing the charlatan.

To quote the clever doctor's own words the purpose of the new enterprise was the production of a human race far stronger, handsomer, healthier, and wiser, and a breed more energetic and virtuous than the present, insignificant, foolish, sullen, vicious and stupid representatives of genus homo, who bite and fight and quarrel with each other, and cut each other's throats without knowing the reason why. Graham's idea was certainly original and clever. It was based on an accurate knowledge of human nature, and its incredible success demonstrated the accuracy of Graham's speculations. In May 1779, he opened his famous "Temple of Health" in Adelphi. An idea of the cost of these operations may be gleaned from the fact that the "divine bed" alone, one of the most important and renowned fixtures of the establishment, cost £16,000.

We are beholden to Archenholtz for a circumstantial account of the Temple and its services. Everywhere in this building one saw the most sumptuous pomp: crackling electric fires that hurtled through the room shedding their bow-like radiance; transparent glasses of all colors, wisely selected and cleverly arranged throughout the building; precious vases filled with the most excellent perfumes and incense which aroused the most poignant and intense desires. All these glories situated in the exterior of the Temple were shown free of charge and were ravishing. They made one tremendously curious to see what was within—what was in the sanctuary itself, since luxury, art and invention seemed to have been exhausted in the ante-chamber. For the price of one guinea our Æsculapius distributed printed copies of the rules of life by means of which he undertook to cure the sterility of one sex and the incapacity of

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the other. After a very voluminous outline of the procedures necessary to achieve success in the work of procreation (among which cleanliness occupied a very important place), he earnestly counselled moderation in sacrificing to Hymen. He emphasized the importance of retiring early and rising early, and sleeping with the shutters open so that light, and especially moonlight, might penetrate into the room. He also urged married folks to entertain each other with song. For through song the souls of a happy couple are rendered soft and filled with harmony and love; their souls and bodies meet, mix, surrender to the transport of a secret ecstasy and together fly to Elysium. At those moments of synchronization and rapturous harmony these fortunate beings can no longer believe themselves to be dwellers of this underworld. He continued in this key until he reached his chief battery.

He now would turn to them and solemnly avow that if they had followed his directions unswervingly, and if they had taken the divine balsam—that incomparable tonic and restorative which he had prepared for the good of mankind and sold at only a guinea the bottle—and despite all these endeavors had not achieved their purpose, then only one remedy was left, one that was quite extraordinary, but infallible and absolutely certain to heal their malady. That was the wonderful divine bed—the “Magneto-electric,” unique and incomparable, for nothing like it had ever been produced before. It was located on the second story in a large and magnificent chamber to the right of the orchestra and in the front part of his attractive hermitage. In Graham’s office, next door to the divine bed, there was a cylinder through which the emanations of the “divine and all-animating fire” (electricity) were conducted into the bedchamber. Moreover, vapors of strong medicaments and oriental incense were conveyed into the room by the aid of glass pipes. The divine bed itself rested on six massive, transparent pillars. The bed linens of purple and sky-blue satin were drawn over mattresses and cushions perfumed with Arabic and other oriental essences, all arranged in the style of the Persian court as it is exemplified in the chamber of the favorite sultana in the seraglio of the omnipotent ruler. This bed, then, was the

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product of great diligence and unremitting application, not to speak of the cost which, as we have seen, was staggering.

No consideration for comfort was omitted. Neither Graham nor his crew ever found it necessary to inquire who were the clients that came to rest in this room—the sanctum sanctorum of the Temple. This chamber was never shown to visitors who came to inspect the establishment just out of curiosity. Now this precaution, insuring the anonymity of the occupants of the divine bed, was not only a gesture dictated by tact, but as Graham explained, by the hygienic rationale of the whole procedure. For who could resist the pleasure and delight which this place aroused. This atmosphere caused new ideas of refinement to stream in, increasing passion and multiplying the delights of sensual pleasures to the utmost degree—but which result in the weakening of the body and the shortening of life. Those who sought admittance to this place overflowing with joys were required to submit in writing a statement of this fact and to select the night they wished. If this letter were accompanied by a banknote of £50, the prospective client was forthwith sent his card of admission.

Graham used to say that nothing was more amazing than the divine energy of the divine and electric fire with which this bed was filled, the mixture of magnetic emanations being extremely efficacious in restoring to frayed nerves their original health and integrity. But these devices of physiotherapy were not all. In addition there was added to the total effect the melodic sounds of the harmonica, celestine, soft flutes, lovely voices and a great organ. The power and unique character of the whole could not fail to arouse the greatest degree of pleasure and wonderment among philosophers and physicians. No one has ever excogitated a similar device to remove from women the curse of sterility and bestow upon them the gift of motherhood—and to restore to senescent man his pristine potency.

We would be doing the English an injustice were we to suppose that it was the hope of the marvelous results which induced so vast a number of them to patronize this divine bed. Practically everyone saw through this splendid farce. Suffice it that Graham and the rich Britishers chasing hot foot after pleasure enjoyed themselves. How many there were who

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spent a hundred or more guineas of an evening in a tavern or bagnio, or gambled away thousands in the great gaming casinos! Why shouldn't such a one who wanted to ease himself of some money invest £50 in obtaining a unique sort of pleasure which would intoxicate all his senses and enable him to feel a new and incomparable sort of passion? Young men who had just come in from the country, heavy laden with guineas wherewith to gobble up all of London's pleasures during their brief vacations; officers of the marines and pirates who had captured goodly prizes which they desired to dispose of in short order, since service and the hope of new booty drove them to sea again; fellows just arrived from the East Indies and as richly freighted with riches as nabobs; kept mistresses of counts who hankered to taste this new voluptuous passion and persuaded their lovers to taste this pleasure—in which endeavor they were the more likely to succeed since everyone remained incognito at Graham's Temple; these were the chief patrons of our doctor—not to mention the swarms of other spendthrifts.

But we have not yet exhausted the attractive features of this arch-charlatan's institute. We must allude now to the role played by a beautiful young woman whom he called Vestina, the rosy goddess of health who was present at his evening lectures and guarded the sacred vital fire whose employment in the healing of diseases she daily supervised. For a while this role was personated, and these services performed by the beautiful Emma Hart, who later became famous as Emma Hamilton. She also accompanied Graham to the demonstrations of his mud baths which he praised as the most certain remedy against all diseases. These baths entailed covering one's naked body with dirt or mud, way up to the neck or, preferably, permitting oneself to be buried in the earth. He himself set a good example in this regard and in September 1790 had himself and a surgeon, Wilkinson, who accompanied him in this feat, inhumed so thoroughly that only their heads remained uncovered. In this condition they remained for six hours, surrounded by more than three thousand gaping onlookers of both sexes.

Early in 1781 the Temple of Health was moved to Schornburg House in Pall Mall, the "Temple of Hymen" and the "Celestial Bed" were

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revealed to the admiring gaze of the profane and curious, and "Vestina the Gigantic" on her divine throne exposed her charms to the lascivious eyes of the multitude. Admission to this Elysian palace now cost a shilling but the several marvels found in various departments within necessitated the expenditure of a much more expensive obolus. He also sold medicaments, text books and manuals and his biography, etc. For two shillings sixpence you could buy "*Il convito amoroso*," or "a serio-comico-philosophical lecture on the causes, nature and effects of love and beauty . . . and the prolific influences of the celestial bed, by Hebe Vestina, the rosy goddess of youth and of health, from the electrical throne at the Temple of Hymen in London." Ever so often he arranged lantern parties and Elysian promenades for ladies and gentlemen to which masked figures were also admitted. The announcement of one of these parties read: "The enchanting glory of these magical scenes will commence at seven and end at ten—during which time oriental perfumes and ethereal essences will perfume the air and the hymeneal bed will shimmer in the glow of soft celestial fire."

From satirical allusions scattered through the magazines and pamphlets of those days one derives an unmistakably clear idea of the true nature of those gatherings in the Temple of Health, and near the celestial bed—not to speak of what was enacted upon it. Sampson's communications also render it certain that Graham's house was really nothing more than a fashionable, luxuriously appointed brothel.

This glory lasted only till March 1784 when the Temple of Health was closed forever and all the furniture sold, including the famous bed. Graham continued the practice of the arts of charlatanism and among other things delivered lectures on macrobiotics in which he taught the doctrine of leading a long and healthy life without eating (sic). However his star was sinking, and in the 90's he died near Glasgow in very penurious circumstances.

Mesmerism also scored its triumphs in England. That there is a very strong relationship between this practice and the domain of sex has been demonstrated by Eugen Sierke in his study of swindlers and fakirs at the close of the eighteenth century. Very numerous charges were

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raised against the "magnetism" of Mesmer owing to its threat to morality. An anonymous pamphlet bearing the title "Concerning the Abuses to Which Mesmerism Has Given Rise" emphasized how much there was that was dangerous to morality in the hypnotic "chain" and "crises." Many other brochures scored the grave malpractices of magnetists with their patients. Numerous scandals came to the attention of the Parisian authorities and the mesmerist Deslon admitted to the prefect of police that the sexual abuse of a girl in a state of "crisis" or mesmerism (under hypnosis) was quite likely. The painter, Louthenburg, anointed by Cagliostro to the throne of "supernatural artist" introduced mesmerism into England and erected his magnetic-magical temple in the London suburb of Hammersmith. Thither fanatical men and women would resort to be indoctrinated by him into the wonders and mysteries of mesmerism. Soon he found imitators, among others a certain Mainaduc, a disciple of Mesmer, who founded in London a "Wonder-School" to which likewise many believers swarmed for the purpose of being introduced to the mysteries of magnetism for one hundred and fifty guineas. Even George IV, before his ascension to the throne, was present at the seances of this swindler. We might mention in passing that sexual mesmerism was treated in a highly erotic book, "The Power of Mesmerism, a highly erotic narrative of voluptuous Facts and Fancies." In this tale the "hero," by the instrumentality of mesmerism, seduces his whole family to sexual debauchery, and then mesmerizes his groom, his errand boys, the preacher, two nieces, etc.

As worthy companions to the mesmerists we may mention the Rosicrucians who, as the "Successors of the Chaldaic Sages" and as "disciples of the Egyptian priests," revealed the arcana of therapeutics to their amazed auditors. The meetings of the English Rosicrucians took place in Hatton Garden Street.

England even saw a predecessor of Leopold Schenk. In September 1776 the "Morning Post" published a notice of a Piedmontese by the name of Lattese announcing that he, after a long series of experiments, had discovered the wonderful secret of creating a boy or girl according to the wish of the parents. "If they should wish a girl then success can-

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not be guaranteed unconditionally, although the chances are very much in favor of such an eventuality; but if they should be desirous of a son they can certainly bank upon it that if they follow a few easy and natural means they will attain their desire." Lattese was so convinced of the infallibility of his methods that he claimed his fee only after the mother had given birth to her child.

Schäfer Ast who, as is well known, determined the nature of a disease and prescribed a remedy for it by merely inspecting the hair (sic) of the afflicted person, has until now been regarded as the "discoverer" of this queer notion. I regret that I must spoil his glory in this regard. For in Archenholtz's annals I find the following notice dated 1795: During July in the streets of London, a quack has been distributing handbills in which he promises to cure the sick of both sexes of all their afflictions by means of his unique power of "sympathy," if only the patients will send him a lock of their hair.

It is a striking fact that among the London charlatans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the German element played a predominant role. Huttner asserted that of all the German adventurers who sought their luck in London, the most dangerous were the medical ones. These quacks bragged shamelessly of the great wonder cures they had effected in other lands and which they would duplicate here. One made the blind to see, another undid the processes of nature herself in restoring to health the most emaciated and helpless invalids. . . . They would be unscrupulous enough to pay certain people of various classes of society to take oath before a court that, by using the universal remedy of the quack who was paying them to perjure themselves, they themselves had been cured of their diseases—diseases which they had never had. In the eighteenth century German Doctor and quack were synonymous terms. Böttiger has given a rather sardonic explanation of the reason for the tremendous success of these German fakers: their great ignorance of the English tongue. "It is literally true," wrote this shrewd observer, "that for the masses of English people, the reputation of a physician grows in the measure that he slays, mutilates and jargonizes English. For the more obscure and incomprehensible, the more learned is the physician."

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Such a German charlatan was the notorious van Butschell, one of the greatest originals of the eighteenth century. His odd advertisements sprawled over the papers daily. When his wife died he had her embalmed and then invited his patients to view the corpse. One of his announcements shrieked impertinently: "Come from ten to one—For I do not go to anyone." To those women who desired handsome children he recommended a queer, but in his opinion, unfailing remedy. "Am I not," he inquired, "the first healer of bad fistulas, I, the man with a beard as handsome as Hippocrates? To those of the fair sex who desire pretty children, I shall sell all the hairs of my beard. I cannot explain how the effect will supervene. That is my secret. Some (namely hairs) are all brown, others silvery white, half a quarter full, long growing by day and night only 15 months. . . ." This "mixtum compositum" of pitiable English and nonsensical sentences goes on and on. This original also got up some "magnetic knee bands" for which he requested fifty guineas—and he got them too. Naturally he had a large following. Still more visited his house merely for the purpose of seeing him and listening to his gibberish. He was so successful in dispensing his secret remedies that in 1783 the State saw the necessity of levying a tax on patent medicines which indeed has continued ever since and has been the source of much revenue.

Among the quacks of the first half of the nineteenth century the first place certainly goes to St. John Long. He was originally a painter but went in for charlatanism and scored a signal success. In 1830 he had an enormous following, principally of women. He had two chief remedies: one a liniment which he himself rubbed into the patients, and second, a mixture whose vapors the patients had to inhale through an enormous inhalator-pipe. In his waiting-room one might see women, young and old, crowded around two enormous inhalators which sent out pipes in all directions, and from these the women avidly inhaled the strong vapors. In an adjoining room the great mage was receiving other patients. For some he prescribed inhalation; others he himself undressed and then rubbed with his wonderful liniment, either upon their back and rump or their shoulders and breasts. St. John Long was a handsome man, consorted with the best society, and was much pampered by the female

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portion of the latter. He treated feminine clients very unscrupulously, and as a result of several casualties for which he was responsible, was brought before the court. Yet he was able to maintain his reputation until his premature death. And then his female patients set up a monument to him in Kensal Green.

A great reputation for the treatment of venereal diseases was enjoyed at the beginning of the nineteenth century by two charlatans, Douglas and Matthews.

The first of these inserted the following notice in London's foremost newspapers: "Men of every rank bring their veneration to the altar of marriage. Hence it is absolutely indispensable that those whose constitution has suffered from the secret disease should undertake a reconstitution of their bodies. For nothing is more calculated to destroy the happiness of Hymen than diseases which are the consequences of reckless pleasures. These considerations led Doctor Douglas, while he was still a student at the most important universities in the world, to devote his whole attention to venereal diseases and their sequelæ."

In forty years Matthews treated ninety thousand luetics, which led the author of the "*Tableau descriptif de Londres*" to an interesting calculation of Matthew's income during that period.

In Cornwall the belief was current that the seventh son of a seventh son would be an especially fortunate physician. This fact was already alluded to by the notorious voluptuary of the Restoration period—the Earl of Rochester. These notions were expressed in a speech, "The Quack Doctor's Speech," which Rochester, disguised as a charlatan, had delivered on some stage. This superstition was exploited by two charlatans, Dr. Benjamin Thornhill and Dr. Bossy, who advertised themselves to be such seventh sons of seventh sons. Bossy had constructed in Covent Garden a platform upon which his patients sat on stools. From this eminence he would harangue the assembled multitude with bombast and fury in an English-German dialect and would arouse gales of laughter through his amusing dialogues with his patients.

Two other quacks of that time were Katterfelto, who composed a warm and eloquent poem on the salvation-bringing celestial bed of

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Graham, and Morison, whose pills are even now used by the people as a cure-all. The latter could show a program wherein was contained a sketch of his biography and a statement that he had studied in Germany, at Hanover, as a matter of fact; that after thirty-five years of suffering, bodily and mentally, he had made his fortunate discovery, after the whole faculty had been unable to cure him. In addition, this circular contained a picture of him in mustache, fur coat and white hat.

A delightful account of the advertising stunts resorted to by the London quacks was given by Adrian in 1830 in his depictions of his experiences with this "reklame" on his journey through the Strand and Fleet Street.

Even today, the British quacks do a rushing business. Generally they maintain an "office" on one of the main thoroughfares such as Fleet or Oxford Street, and in their windows they arrange a most odd exposition of objects relating to their craft, e.g., great medical bottles with high-sounding inscriptions, photographs of parts of the body, very frequently skulls mapped out with Gall's phrenological scheme; electrical and magnetic machines, etc. Every visitor to London has been struck by these scores of small establishments run by quacks.

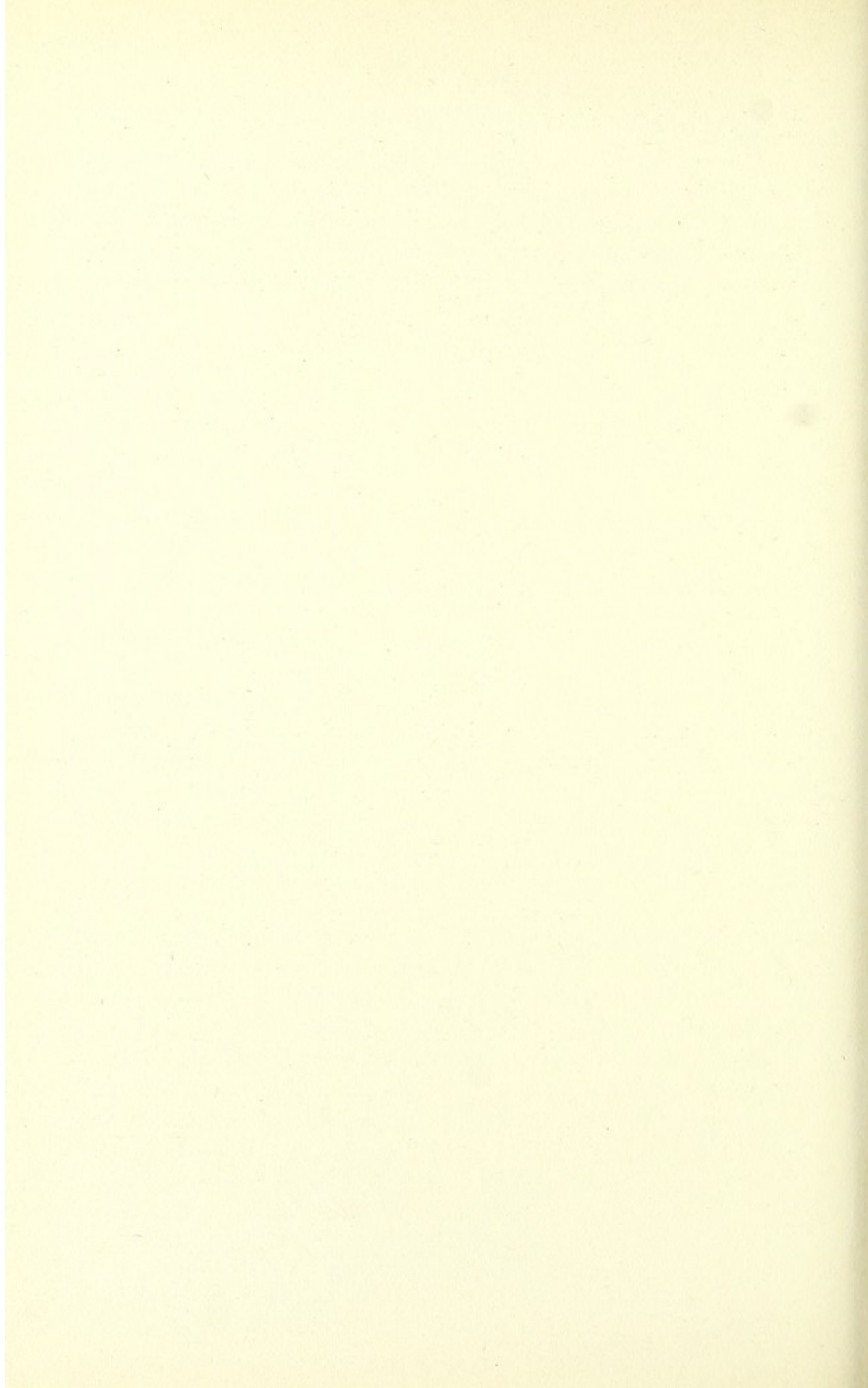
A subspecies of quacks is constituted by fortune tellers, male or female, who as Ryan has remarked, are quite frequently the cause of the spread of vice, seduction for immoral purposes, and infidelity. The author of "An Idler in Germany" has given a graphic account of the shady practices of these foretellers of the future.

We may remember that Wollstonecraft was particularly irked by handsome male fortune tellers. "Here in London," she wrote, "there is a swarm of leeches who lurk in the dark and fatten on their scandalous business by taking advantage of the naïveté of gullible women. I once lived in the vicinity of such a man who happened to be handsome and observed with dismay and disgust that hordes of women gravitated to him, even such whose bearing and retinue demonstrated their high rank."

Among the eighteenth century female fortune tellers the most famous was Mrs. Williams of Bedford Square, and after her the "enchantress of

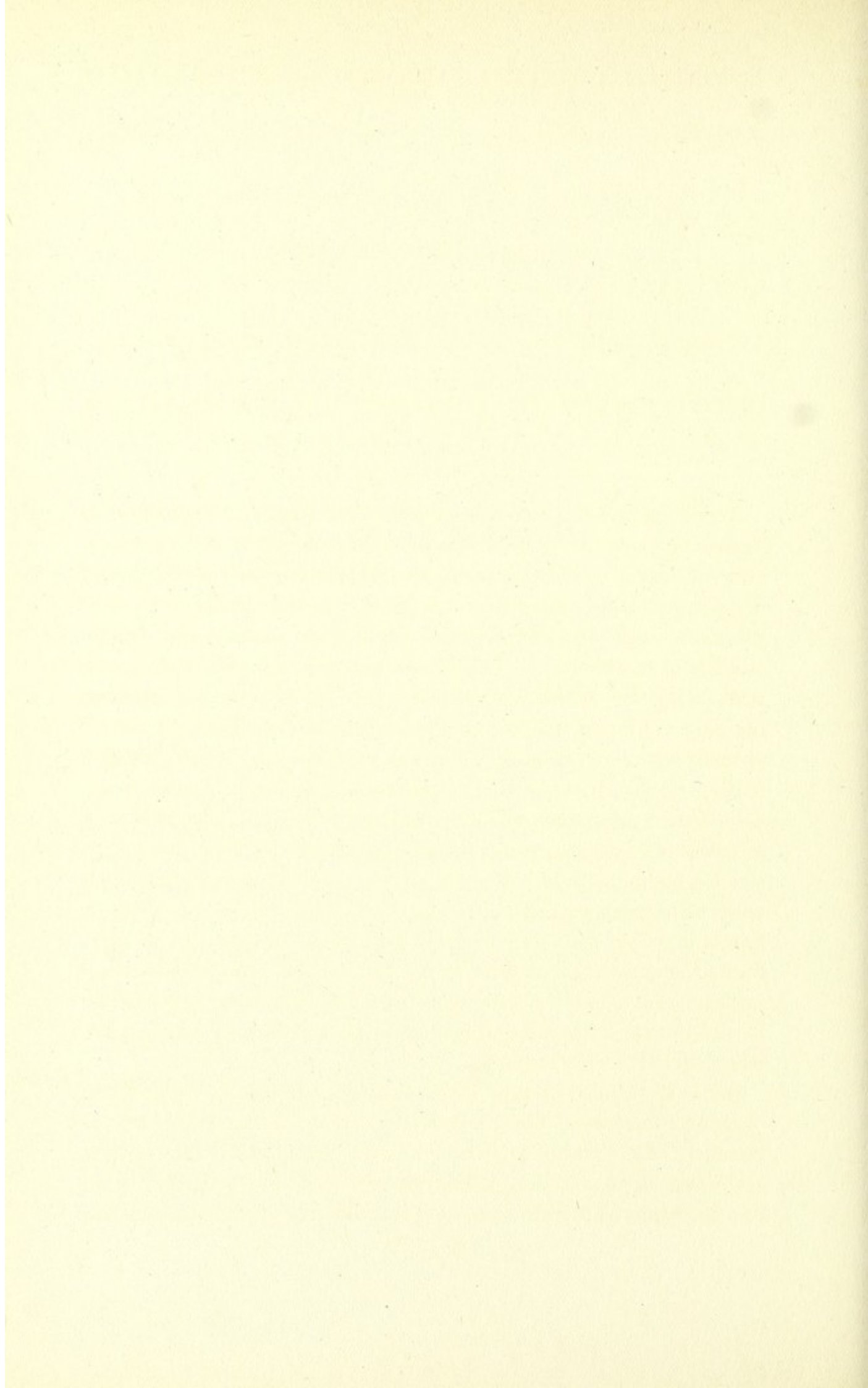
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St. Giles." The "Daily Telegraph," July 10, 1900, reported some exceedingly interesting things concerning the fortune teller Zuleika who served as counsellor to London's smart society women in love matters and other affairs as well and earned epaulettes in this enterprise. To this very day these creatures of mysterious activities enjoy great custom.



6

HOMOSEXUALITY



VI

HOMOSEXUALITY

ALTHOUGH we shall find that the history of English morals offers us interesting evidences of the existence of homosexuality (uranism, pederasty and tribadism), yet it was Pisanus Fraxi's opinion that the number of homosexuals in England was much less than in other lands, particularly the Latin ones. Havelock Ellis did not wish to venture any definite estimate of the number of English homosexuals and contented himself with stating that the assumption of five per cent of homoerotics among the most cultivated elements of the middle class was bold; so that he virtually left us in ignorance concerning the frequency of this condition in England. Nor have the sexological data of J. L. Pavia brought us any more definite information about the number of British urnings. However, it is clear from his reports that there are quite a few of them, not only in London but in the provincial cities as well, and that naturally there have arisen institutions to minister to their wants and comparable to those found in other European metropolises. These include special halls, theaters, and baths for their exclusive use. For this reason Fraxi's statement is rather questionable and is at least subject to further investigation. In all lands the large cities are gathering places for many homosexuals who drift in from the country.

Just as in German lands so also in England there can be discerned an occasional increase of homosexuality in certain circles. This is always the effect of an external influence, be it the corruption of the court, as at the time of Charles II, or certain aberrations of the mode such as we find during the eighteenth century. Times like that so realistically drawn

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for us in Rochester's notorious drama of pederasty "Sodom," are unusually favorable to the spread of an epidemic of homoerotic tendencies; these may arise slowly and obscurely in wide circles but can soon become mighty and lead to overt perversions of natural sensations. This condition will give rise to a pseudo-homosexuality which existed in contemporary England as Pavia has demonstrated. For it may be found among sailors, students (including those at the university), workers in mines and on roads, football players, athletes, members of the Salvation Army and the Boy Scouts, etc. The two chief factors in creating this condition are indulgence in alcohol and, primarily, the absence of females.

The development of pseudo-homosexual relations was certainly aided by the unique institution of the English club which is frequented by men only. Perhaps, too, gymnastic sports so avidly cultivated there, exerted an influence on the growth of homoeroticism even as the athleticism of the Greeks was a very strong factor in engendering the same consequence in Hellas.

On the other hand, we must point to a very strong deterrent to the development of homosexuality in England: that no other people has looked upon this act with so much disgust or judged those participating in it as harshly. Archenholtz pointed out that because English women are so beautiful and the desire to be with them so strong, the repulsion against pederasty knew no bounds. Any attempt at this act was punishable by the pillory and long imprisonment, and the actual deed, by the gallows.

This tendency to homoeroticism was occasionally condemned even in erotic books. Thus in the introduction that Mary Wilson provided to the third volume of the "Voluptuarian Cabinet," which contains a translation of Mirabeau's "Le rideau levé," she explains that she had omitted a scene of Socratic love, a practice she regarded as obnoxious.

The extremely strict penalties on pederasts that were imposed in England show that it was regarded as an execrable crime. Numa Paretorius, in an authoritative article, has summarized the provisions of contemporary English law relative to this crime. The law differentiates between

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buggery (unnatural intercourse), including a sodomy-entailing *immisio penis in anum* without reference to the sex of the individual, and bestiality, and immoral acts between two persons of the male sex (mutual masturbation and coitus-like manipulations). The first set of transgressions are punishable by life imprisonment if the act was actually completed, and a ten-year sentence if it was only attempted but not carried through. The second group is punishable by two years of forced labor. Abetting, inciting or attempting this group of sex acts is punishable by a like penalty. In Scotland until 1889 the penalty was death.

Of course these barbaric laws are unworthy of a civilized nation and, moreover, they cannot prevent the spread of homosexual tendencies and activities. In the general paragraphs of the legal code relevant to immorality, the state has just as many means of safeguarding children and minors from homosexual seduction as from heterosexual malpractices with them.

Extortion is almost as severely punished in England as pederasty, but the law requires that the extortion, actual or attempted, must be connected with a direct accusation of pederasty—especially an epistolary accusation. Despite the severity of the law, however, extortion flourishes in all its forms, as Pavia has shown.

The first traces of homosexuality in English history go back to Norman times. Havelock Ellis believes that William Rufus (1087-1100), the second Norman king of England was undoubtedly homosexual, but this is not altogether certain. Another English monarch suspected of homosexuality was Edward II (1307-1327) who was accused of indulging his homoerotic tendencies with his favorites, especially with the Frenchman, Gaveston. Christopher Marlowe has clearly brought out the homosexual nature of the relations between the king and Gaveston in his famous play about the troublesome reign and lamentable death of Edward II. Of course this evidence does not permit us to conclude that the monarch was exclusively homosexual for before he developed a passion for men and boys, he had loved his wife passionately.

Marlowe himself was suspected of homosexuality by Havelock Ellis, but this soupçon is also unproven. But of course, while it is true that he

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frequented brothels and had numerous passionate love affairs with women and even met his death on account of a soldier's whore, it does not follow that he might not sometimes have paid tribute to the god of pederasty.

In the case of another English poet of the sixteenth century, it seems much more likely that there was a definite homosexual inclination. This was Nicholas Udall, the author of the first English comedy, "Ralph Royster Doyster." While he was a teacher at Eton he was notorious for his predilection for whipping the boys. It was related by one Tusser that Udall had given him fifty-three strokes for no reason at all. Udall's case was obviously one of sadism with an admixture of homosexuality. In 1541 he was convicted of unnatural intercourse and sentenced to a brief term in prison. This affair doesn't appear to have injured his reputation very much for he later got the vicarage of Braintree and stood in high favor with Edward VI and his queen, both of whom conferred honors upon him.

Richard Barnfield, a lyric poet of Elizabeth's time, avowed passionate homoerotic tendencies in his verses which were addressed to his friends. This poetry aroused considerable displeasure even among tolerant contemporaries. Barnfield, who was a squire of Shropshire, died a bachelor.

Among the homosexual personalities of the seventeenth century, we may mention especially King James I (1603-1625) of whom it was wittily said: "Rex fuit Elizabeth, nunc est regina Jacobus," and whom Ellis regards as an unquestionable urning. Historians have pointed out that James always took pleasure in handsome young men and always chose such for his favorites. The theme of James' homoerotism was used in a German play by Schaufert which represents the king being led to an important decision by the clever devices and erotic byplay of a clever girl dressed up as a youth.

On May 14, 1631, Mervin, Lord Andlegh, Earl of Castlehaven, was executed. He was a typical homosexual voyeur, who had had sexual intercourse with his servant and in addition compelled his wife and daughter to have connections with this servant and others.

In 1643 a remarkable booklet was issued at the instance of Parlia-

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ment to brand the crimes and vices of various priests: "The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests, etc." Herein is found the following accusation against John Wilson, vicar at Arlington: That on numerous occasions he had made in the bestial fashion attempts to have pederastic relations with Nathaniel Browne, Samuel Andrews and Robert Williams, members of his parish. Through persuasion and force he led them to yield to his monstrous desires. He had also declared that he preferred to carry out this act with men in order to avoid the shame and dangers consequent upon the procreation of bastards. Furthermore he had attempted sodomy with a mare; and had openly declared that pederasty was no sin.

On December 5, 1640, Atherton, bishop of Waterford, was executed at Dublin, also for pederasty.

The period of the restoration, whose sexual license and debauchery have already been depicted, must have been very favorable to the spread of pederasty. From various hints scattered through the literature of that period we learn how frequent pederastic relationships were under Charles II. The infamous drama of pederasty that Rochester wrote under the title of "Sodom" constitutes a terrific satire on the actual doings of the pederasts of that time who looked on homosexual intercourse as a *raffinement*—a sophisticated novelty in place of the heterosexual joys of love which had been indulged in to satiety.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the number of urnings increased to such an extent that these people organized clubs of their own. The first of which was "The Mollies' Club." The effeminate creatures who comprised the membership of this organization were utterly without masculine characteristics and acted like women. When they foregathered, they would engage in womanish tittle-tattle, and one of the "sisters" would dress in woman's clothing and "bear" a child. Then they would all "baptize" the "child" and proceed to discuss their own family affairs, each of the "sisters" representing a wife, mother or widow. By this imitation of the petty weaknesses of women who prattle around the coffee table, they sought to destroy man's natural inclination to the female sex and to direct erotic desires to unnatural fulfillments.

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The dissemination of pederasty, which began with the Restoration, continued into the eighteenth century where it was abetted by a freak of current fashion. We have already discussed the influences of fashions in general upon sexual practices and particularly the influence of the eighteenth century mode in conducing to the growing effeminacy of man. Even at that time the connection between the clothing of these "pretty fellows" and their inclinations toward pederasty were well recognized. Thus a book published in 1749 under the strange title of "Satan's Harvest Home, or the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy, and the Game of Flatts, and other Satanic Works daily propagated in this good Protestant kingdom" enumerates all sorts of incredible freaks of fashion among men, all of which helped reduce them to the status of women. Furthermore the author inveighs against one practice consequent upon the increasing effemination of men which has perhaps the gravest consequences: the custom of kissing. This custom was introduced from Italy, the mother of pederasty, where wealthy and distinguished men more frequently engaged in love relationships with handsome young pages than with a pretty woman. This author regarded the habit of such warm embraces among men as most likely to help in the sin of pederasty. While it is true that these aberrations of the vogue are not as such indicative of a generalized tendency toward homosexuality, yet it is unquestionable that these customs did engender a pseudo-homosexuality and permitted the congenital urnings to indulge their desires publicly and without any hesitation.

The spread of pederasty during the eighteenth century is further witnessed by the organization of numerous boys' brothels and the existence of numerous secret ones.

From the court records of Old Bailey, between 1720 and 1730, it appears that there were special brothels for pederasts in which boys prostituted themselves to their male lovers. In addition, numerous writers of the eighteenth century report that such secret clubs existed. Archenholtz has left a very detailed account of one such institution situated in a hotel near Clare Market in London. Another club of urnings held its

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meetings in Clements Lane near the church at Strand during 1785. Like the others this place was also the scene of the worst sexual debauches. When it was raided something very droll happened. When the police arrived they found the pederasts giving food to their "wives" who had just been "delivered" of "children" (large dolls) which lay beside them. So well did one of these new "mothers" play her role that one of them was believed by the police to be utterly genuine and was not molested.

At the same time the city of Exeter boasted a pederastic club whose members were drawn from the high born and wealthy groups. This place was also raided, but all the fifteen members were acquitted after a trial. However, the mob was so unconvinced that they burnt them all in effigy.

The best proof of the wide spread of this vice in the eighteenth century is afforded by the numerous trials of pederasts common at the time. Of course most of the malefactors who were tried were recruited from the lower classes and had not had skill, wit, caution or money enough to cover up their tracks. Still there were numerous cases where men of high rank were haled to court on similar charges. However, most of these cases ended in acquittals due to a lack of concrete evidence. Archenholtz has pictured for us such a trial. Two Englishmen, Leith and Drew, were accused of "the abominable accursed crime which must not be mentioned among Christians." All women and children were ordered from the court in view of the nature of the case. As was customary in such cases, the testimony of the plaintiffs was quite incomplete and, on the other hand, the defendants denied the acts and brought witnesses to establish their predilection for the opposite sex. Hence the defendants were acquitted.

Among the various trials of this sort current at that time we shall mention but two: that against the actor, Samuel Foote, whom we have already seen to be a lover of the fair sex and a steady visitor of brothels, and that against the innkeeper Thomas Andrews for active pederasty with the sleeping John Finmore.

A large list of the pederasts active at this time is to be found in the works of Mrs. Manely, Pavia and Frustra. In "The Crimes of the Clergy"

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quite a number of clerical pederasts are mentioned. Finally, for a detailed account of one of these crimes the reader should be referred to the booklet: "A Faithful Narrative of the Proceedings in a late affair between the Rev. John Swinton and Mr. George Baker. To which is prefixed a particular account of the proceedings against Robert Thistlethwayte, Late Doctor of Divinity, for a sodomitical attempt upon Mr. W. French, commoner of the same college."

The history of homosexuality in nineteenth century England begins with the discovery of the notorious Vere Street coterie who carried on their shady activities in Vere Street near Clare Market in London. Clare Market was a notorious haunt of vice and seemed to be especially preferred by homosexual organizations. A detailed description of this organization is to be found in a very rare book, one copy of which is to be found in the British Museum: "The Phoenix of Sodom or the Vere Street Coterie. Being an Exhibition of the Gambols practiced by the ancient lechers of Sodom and Gomorrah embellished and improved with the modern refinements in sodomitical practices by the members of the Vere Street Coterie of detestable memory." This book was written by a lawyer named Holloway in the interests and defense of James Cook, who was owner of the White Swan, the Vere Street inn, at which the pederasts were wont to assemble. It appears from this book that Cook was really being made the scapegoat for others higher up. In an effort to reduce his sentence, Cook volunteered to divulge the names of the rich and distinguished visitors to the house. But this embittered the judge even more and the poor culprit was sentenced to the pillory at once. Had Cook been permitted to divulge what he knew it is not to be doubted that many men of rank would have been compromised, for even men of the cloth would descend from the pulpit to these cloaca of infamy and vice on Vere Street and elsewhere.

This book contains the most remarkable details concerning this house. One room was provided with four beds, another with a whole wardrobe of feminine clothing, and a third was the chapel where "marriages" occasionally took place between a "female" grenadier some six feet tall and a "petit maître" half as big as his "beloved wife." These marriages were

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celebrated with bridesmaids and best men, etc.; and the "bridal night" was frequently acted out by two or three couples in the same room before the eyes of all the others. The upper part of the house was reserved for chaps who were always at the disposal of visitors and who were equipped to provide all the attractions that could be purveyed by female prostitutes in heterosexual brothels. One could meet here men of distinguished rank and profession lying with boys in or *supra lectum*. But the actual carrying out of the disgusting act was not as intolerable as the highly obscene conversations and entertainment that accompanied it. It appears that many of these youths were married and when the former came together they always poked fun at their wives whom they called "Tom-mies," boasting that they had forced their wives to do things which are too revolting even to name. One such case may be mentioned here—a famous one which brought a peer of the land and his infamous consort to the gallows. Lord Audley arranged to have his wife raped and pederastically abused by one of the Vere Street boys. The lord himself told the story before a number of visitors at Vere Street and the lady participated in the narrative as though it were something quite comprehensible or even laudable.

The majority of these reptiles assumed fictitious names which suited their actual callings but little. Thus a coal dealer was called "Kitty Cambric," a police messenger "Miss Selina," a drummer "Black-eyed Lenore," a butcher "Pretty Harriet," a waiter "Lady Godiva," a valet "the Duchess of Devonshire," etc. It is generally accepted that this perverted passion has as its objects essentially effeminate individuals. But, according to Cook, this seems to be false and in many cases the opposite is true. Thus, at the time Fanny Murray, Lucy Cooper and Kitty Fisher were represented in the circle of the urnings by an athletic sailor, a herculean coal carrier, and a deaf blacksmith respectively. The last of these had two sons, both strong, young fellows and both as corrupt as their father.

We have mentioned the usual equipment of these houses, but for the richer patrons there might be even more profligate amusements. Many of these "ladies" had private lovers just as real ladies would, and would milk their fond devotees even as their weaker sisters.

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Sunday was the great day of rendezvous on which patrons would come in order to participate in the festivities and elegant pleasures with grenadiers, servants, waiters, drummers, and the whole mass of catamites in human form from the sweepings of Sodom to the offal of Gomorrah.

Pisanus Fraxi, following a newspaper account of the time, has left us a vivid account of the discovery of that pederastic club and the arrest of all its members—twenty-three in all. When they were being transported to their hearings a great mob of infuriated citizens, consisting principally of hysterical women, surrounded them and milled about so fiercely and aggressively that only with great difficulty were they saved from lynching.

On September 22, seven of them were brought to trial at Middlesex court, Clerkenwell, and all were found guilty. William Amos, alias Sally Fox, who had already been sentenced for similar transgressions on two previous occasions, was sentenced to three years in jail and to stand in pillory at Haymarket near Pauton Street. All the others received a two-year sentence with pillory, except Aspenal who came off with only one year.

The pillory constituted a frightful martyrdom for the unfortunate victims who were sentenced to it. The deep disgust, felt by many against the crimes for which punishment was being meted out, caused thousands to gather for this scene. The stores from Ludgate Hill to Haymarket were all closed and the streets thronged with folks eager for a glimpse of the sentenced. Shortly after twelve, when court closed, wagons appeared. These were a number of carts drawn by butcher boys and containing all the refuse of the shambles. Moreover, a number of hucksters were requisitioned. These moved through the crowds carrying apples, potatoes, beets, cabbages and other vegetables, all in various stages of decomposition, and also the remains of cats and dogs. All these things were sold to the public at exorbitant prices, for no one would want to be without some foul missile to hurl at the unhappy victims. Fishwomen were at hand to sell stinking flounders and decayed fish entrails.

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Finally the prisoners were led out under heavy police escort, and when they were mounted in their open cart they were preceded and followed by police wagons. The first greeting that came to the prisoners was a salvo of dirt and a serenade of hisses, curses and profanities. They could not shield themselves from these attacks because they were chained and so placed in the wagons that they would be unable to move or bend forward. All they could do was to move their heads from side to side, but this was scant protection against the ceaseless hail. The mob, especially the women, had heaped up great masses of manure to give a warm reception to the objects of their indignation. These heaps looked like great pyramidal piles of cartridges. The poor devils were soon exhausted from their vain efforts to dodge the missiles, and by the time they were halfway from their destination they were no longer recognizable as human beings, the whole wagon was nearly filled with excrement. At one o'clock they reached the pillory—and four of them were installed together. When the four malefactors took their place they looked like moving heaps of offal and their faces were utterly unrecognizable, full of wounds and covered with the excrementitious veil. Now, some fifty women who had obtained special permission surrounded them and bombarded them incessantly with dirt, dead cats, rotten eggs, animal refuse and leavings brought especially from St. James Market. These four did not suffer as much as the other two who were to follow them. When this was done the quartet were mounted on wagons again and led to Cold Bath Fields prison—and all along the way they were greeted in the fashion they had already learnt so well during the first lap of their journey. As soon as these four were on their way a collection was taken up for the women who had just been so active, and the butcher boys that had brought the ammunition—and immediately whisky and beer was bought and distributed to these energetic souls.

A few minutes later Cook, the host, and Amos had to take their places in the pillory. Cook held his hand up before his face and complained about the blows already received; and Amos also cried out his grief and pointed to a huge brick that had just been hurled at his face. However, the punishment had to be inflicted. Cook said nothing as he entered the

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pillory, but Amos made solemn protestations of innocence which the crowd received with obscene remarks. Cook suffered a number of blows on his face and a large bump over his eyebrow. Amos' both eyes were completely closed and when they were unbound Cook was in a faint and had to be helped on to the wagon. They were now led back to Newgate to the accompaniment of more of the same activities on the part of the mob. Cook again lay on the seat of the wagon but Amos lay in the midst of the nasty filth to shield himself from the wrath of the mob. When they got to Catherine Street, a coachman stood up on his wagon and gave Cook five or six good whacks with his whip. Nothing can give even a small notion of the incredible profanity, brutality and hatred of the inflamed and riotous mob. The streets, through which the unfortunates passed, fairly quaked with the loud cry and curse of the hysterical populace.

Now, even if one favors state interference against the spread of pederasty, one will condemn most heartily such scenes as the one just described and which was provoked by the judicial and executive authorities. There is some small comfort to be derived from the reflection that in the first decades of the nineteenth century the pillory, with all its attendant repulsive mob participation, was a frequent penalty for many other types of crime.

However, at about 1830 the penalty for pederasty became milder. At about that time Adrian remarked that this vice was spreading rapidly, to judge by the frequency with which such cases came up before the courts. Thus a man who had lured a boy behind the St. Giles church was caught and sentenced to seven months of strict imprisonment. In another case a paperhanger, who was married and the father of children, had sought to touch one of his apprentices and was sent up for a year, despite the fact that he received excellent references from all who knew him. And finally, three boys, who had been accused of this crime, were sentenced to spend eight months in solitary confinement.

Let us mention a few more scandals of that period.

Mr. Greenfield, one of the most famous preachers at Edinburgh, had, like so many other Scottish clerics, been augmenting his scanty income

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by running a small home for young university students. Once the preacher was caught in unnatural sex intercourse with one of these youths. In deference to Greenfield's fame and position, the matter was hushed up especially since there was some ground for supposing that the dereliction was attributable to mental disease. The preacher immediately resigned from his post and spent the remainder of his life in retirement under nominal supervision. His family changed their name to that of the mother—Rutherford. The son, a Scottish advocate, later became the judge of the supreme court and received the title of Lord Rutherford.

The last Earl of Findlater and Seafield died in 1820. He was a man of talent and education. But when his peculiar tendencies became commonly known he had to spend the greatest portion of his life on the continent where he could more readily gratify his unnatural desires. After his death, the title of Findlater disappeared but that of Earl of Seafield devolved upon Colonel Grant. However, nearly the whole fortune was left to a family in Saxony by the name of Fischer, particularly to one young member of it, who had served the deceased as page and then as private secretary. As could be expected, the relatives of the earl refused to pay and the Fischer family had to bring suit in the Scots courts. Payment was refused by the relatives on the ground that the legacy had been left "*ob turpem causam*." The trial lasted some time and two commissions were sent to Saxony to investigate the matter. But the scandal, which a distinguished family was seeking to impose on one of their number for pecuniary reasons, was so large that friends had to intervene and a settlement was reached by the terms of which the Fischers received the enormous sum of £60,000, almost the whole amount of their suit.

Several years later Mr. Grosset Muirhead, a wealthy landlord of Lanarkshire near Glasgow, was forced to flee from England as a consequence of pederastic acts.

Mr. John Wood, an Edinburgh lawyer, who moved in the best circles and had quite a reputation as a philanthropist, spent a great portion of his time in advancing the cause of schools and for a number of years he was wont to spend several hours each day teaching. However, it turned out that in these educational philanthropies he was soliciting and carry-

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ing out criminal practices with his students. He turned to good account a semi-official hint and fled to America, never to return.

It would appear that pederasty found numerous admirers in Scotland particularly. Even now, according to the forensic physician, Taylor, Socratic love is especially common in the English county of Lancashire. In Manchester and Liverpool scarcely a court session passes without one such case. There are also quite a number of such acts recorded among seamen. According to Pavia, the Duke of Cumberland (a son of George III), and Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822) later Marquis of Londonderry and minister of war, were homosexuals.

The doings of the London pederasts at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century are very vividly described in the book "Yokel's Preceptor or More Sprees in London" which saw the light about 1860. One section of this treatise describes in considerable detail the "margeries" or "poofs" who were then becoming exceedingly numerous, despite the penalties which the law held out against them. The miscreants who went in for this type of prostitution were very well paid and some of them were kept by their rich companions so that a few months of prison didn't really matter very much. (The pillory had already been abolished as a form of punishment.) These creatures walked the streets like their female colleagues and sought purchasers. In London, Fleet Street, Holborn and the Strand were full of them. Not so long ago even respectable inns in the neighborhood of Charing Cross hung out signs warning people to beware of pederasts.

Generally they took up their position near picture stores and were quite recognizable by their effeminate appearance and modish dress. If they saw anyone who looked like a prey, they inserted their fingers and moved them in a very peculiar way between their coat tails. This was their way of indicating readiness for their particular kind of service. Many of them took as their hunting ground the saloons, loges of theaters, coffee houses, etc.

Many tales could be told of the disgusting bestial practices of these poor creatures but there is no point in consuming the reader's time with

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such revolting themes. Yet we cannot refrain from recounting two relevant anecdotes.

The Square was always full of a large number of the most notorious pederasts who, day and night, sought their prey there just as female prostitutes would. One of them who bore the name of "Fair Eliza" lived in Westminster and had a mistress who did not scruple to live off the earnings accruing from his disgusting activities. It is not quite clear whether this Eliza is the homosexual actor, Eliza Edwards, concerning whom Taylor and Tarnowsky have written. Another rascal, known as "Betsy H—," who went up and down Fleet Street, the Strand and St. Martins Court, was a very notorious and shameless pederast who could very frequently be found in variétés where he declaimed obscene verses. His father was a notorious panderer and supplier of male prostitutes; and he himself had served several prison sentences but still continued his animal-like activities.

Many of these fellows belonged to the theatrical profession and had some repute in their craft. Of course this type of life has always encouraged sex delinquency of one sort or other. So it is not at all strange to find that a rich theater director maintained pederastic relations with one of his young actors; and it was a well-known fact that another actor, who was wont to impersonate French roles on the other side of the Thames, was also one of this unfortunate company.

A good account of pederasty in London towards the close of the nineteenth century is found in the book "The Sins of the Cities of the Plain; or the Recollections of a Mary Ann. With short essays on sodomy and tribadism." The author relates that as he was walking through Leicester Square one sunny afternoon in November, 1880, his attention was strongly drawn to a handsome youth of effeminate appearance who was walking ahead of him, peering into showcases and turning around continually to draw the attention of passersby to him. This effeminate youth was Jack Saul, a "Mary Ann"—the popular designation for this type of individual at this time. His adventures and practices are there related so that the booklet contains very interesting revelations of the activities of the pederasts whose activity was, however, by no means confined to the

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members of their own sex. The author gives special treatment of the distinguished Bolton and Park with whom he was personally acquainted. Disguised as women practitioners they had numerous relationships with men until finally, worsted in the courts, they left for Lisbon to continue their activities in more favorable climates.

A sort of supplement to the account of modern urnings contained here, will be found in F. Rémo's descriptions which also treat of the same period, and the detailed reports of Pavia already referred to, as the latter is one of the best authorities on homosexuality in England and on the life and activities of London urnings. The latter mentions, among other things, the Dublin scandal of 1884 and above all the Cleveland Street affair of 1889. The latter was caused by the appearance in the "North London Press" of an article asserting that certain aristocratic gentlemen, under the leadership of the then Earl of Euston, were wont to visit the house at 19 Cleveland Street, Tottenham Court Road, for homosexual purposes. Despite the fact that enough evidence was brought before the court to show that a homosexual brothel was maintained on these premises by one Hammond, and that a male prostitute by the name of Saul actually identified the count and other aristocrats as habitués of this brothel, nevertheless the editor of the newspaper was sentenced to a year in jail for libel. Among older and more recent meeting places of London homosexuals, Pavia mentions Holborn Casino, the Argyll Rooms, the parterre of the Empire Theater, the buffets of the St. James and the Piccadilly, the Marble Arch at Hyde Park and "The Enterprise" at East End, a homosexual gathering place near Elephant and Castle, etc. In his "The Third Reich," Johannes Schälaf, describing London by night, remarks on how frequently he had found rich old gentry with young, handsome, robust soldiers hired for divers uses for a pound sterling.

In England, as in other lands so also, schools, colleges and boarding schools were very favorable to the development of homoerotic tendencies. The "New Review" for July, 1893, carried an article under the caption "Our Public Schools, their Methods and Morals," in which the anonymous author compares the morality reigning in the large English schools with conditions of Sodom and Gomorrah. And in the "Review of

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Reviews" for June 15, 1895, W. F. Stead said that if everyone were to be imprisoned for having committed the transgression for which Oscar Wilde was imprisoned then there would supervene a most remarkable exodus from Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester to the gaols at Pentonville and Holloway. . . . Until then, the students at these institutions will continue to indulge, with impunity, tendencies for which, when they leave school, they will have to do time.

We have already noted that toward the middle of the last century the punishments inflicted upon pederasts were considerably reduced. Later, however, there has been a tendency to return to a greater strictness in judging and punishing such delinquencies. Thus on July 15, 1886, a seventeen-year-old boy, named John Osborne, who had extorted money and a precious watch from a young man, named Marling, under the threat of divulging that the latter had been guilty of unnatural vice, was condemned to lifelong imprisonment.

The most sensational homosexual trial of all time perhaps, was that of the famous poet, Oscar Wilde, in the year of 1895, a case which aroused world-wide attention and provoked no end of discussion and literary treatment. Wilde, who possessed a very significant poetic talent, was the foremost exponent of an exclusively esthetic view of life. This latter-day asceticism came to clear expression in nearly all his writings, but above all in the novel "The Picture of Dorian Gray." It appears that Wilde, who was married, developed in himself the predilection for homosexuality, and for the same reasons that the Greeks had done. At the beginning of Dorian Gray he depicts the love of the painter, Hallward, for the youth, Dorian Gray, which relationship was ideal and spiritual, and maintained on the purely esthetic level, but none the less definitely homosexual. Wilde's book has a number of intense and rhapsodic eulogies of the love between an older man and a younger of the sort exemplified in the relation of David to Jonathan, and of the sort that Plato laid at the basis of his philosophy and that can be found in the sonnets of Michelangelo and Shakespeare. This high and spiritual love, existing between an old man who was clever and spirited and a young man who was fresh, hopeful and joyous, Wilde insisted was pure and perfect and the source

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of the highest art; and sharply deplored the tendency of the world in not recognizing this as love but branding it as sin and to pillory the practitioners of it. But unfortunately, as in Hellas, this theory was wrecked on the rocks of reality when it came to be applied in life. The purely esthetic conception of the sexual is impossible and no truly spiritual friendship between men can exist without some sexual nuance, without assuming some homosexual character. In addition, the sexual side was paramount in Wilde, for, as Numa Praetorius pointed out, he led the life of a sexual voluptuary and gave free play to his sensuality. He moved in aristocratic circles and met numerous young men with whom he doubtless entered into homosexual relationships. What is more, he even took on male prostitutes. His relation with the twenty-year-old Lord Douglas led to the denunciation of the poet by the father of the youth; whereupon Wilde was arrested and in 1895 sentenced to two years of enforced labor for having committed immoral acts with men. After the sentence had been served the poor unhappy poet, abandoned by all his friends, left for Paris where he died December 7, 1900.

Even if it be true that Wilde could not have been acquitted of all guilt, nevertheless, it must be admitted that the punishment was rather severe and incommensurate with the actual misdemeanor.

Another literary man who evinced homosexual tendencies was John Addington Symonds, physician, famous investigator of the Renaissance and collaborator with Havelock Ellis in his work on homosexuality. The splendid chapter on homosexuality in Greece, contained in this work, is the product of Symonds' pen. Further details concerning Symonds' personality can be found in Horatio Brown's biography. It is interesting to note that Symonds manifested homoerotic tendencies despite the fact that he was married.

According to the report printed in the "*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*" the Marquis of Anglesey, who died in 1905, also seems to have had homosexual tendencies, or at least to have been effeminate to a high degree. Everyone was immensely surprised at the news that the very beautiful young marquise was seeking a divorce from her spouse. It had, to be sure, become public knowledge that she had left her hus-

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band during their honeymoon. Before her marriage this woman had been accredited one of the most beautiful women in England and had been wooed by innumerable suitors but she had chosen Anglesey whose character, tender to the point of softness, had won her heart. But she had no way of discovering, until after their marriage, how much the choice of her heart resembled a pampered eccentric woman with all the whims and weaknesses of the latter. He really had the appearance of a pretty woman attired in male clothing. Silky locks surrounded a pink face, distinguished by the softness and gentleness of its features. In order to appear even paler and more interesting he didn't hesitate to use the powder box or blanching toilet waters. He was always strongly perfumed and his dainty long fingers were enmeshed in rings. He could frequently be seen promenading through Piccadilly or the Parisian boulevards with a snow-white beribboned poodle under his arm who, just like his master, reeked of patchouli and l'eau d'Espagne. The favorite pastime of this marquis was to appear on vaudeville stages as an imitator of the graceful Loïe Fuller.

Spitzka has stated that Lord Cornbury, the English governor of New York during the reign of Queen Anne, who was a frightful libertine, used to go about in women's clothing, despite his exalted position, and disport himself with all the coquetry and shamelessness of a courtesan.

One of the earliest documents dealing with homosexual relationships among women (tribadism) can be found in the idyllic romance of "Arcadia" written by Sir Philip Sidney at the close of the sixteenth century. Sidney paints for us a picture of two princesses who are preparing to sleep with each other. They decorate the bed with the finest trappings so that on their night of love it will surpass even the couch of Venus. Then they embrace with tender, though chaste, embraces and kisses sweet though somewhat cold. Sidney remarks significantly that it was as though the god of love was playing with them without his *arrow*, or that, tired of his own fire, he had come hither among them to refresh himself between their sweetly aromatic mouths.

At the voluptuous court of Charles II, Lesbian love found a great

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field for its activities. It appears that one of the court ladies in particular was prone to these venereal exercises and from her the influence spread to others. This was no other than Miss Hobart, to whom Hamilton has devoted considerable space in his "Memoirs of Count Grammont."

Miss Hobart was at that time a fairly unknown character in England and her physiognomy must have appeared striking rather than pretty. She was well formed, and her mien spoke of much determination; she had a trained mind but lacked prudence. Her fancy was extremely active and altogether uncontrolled, and her fiery glances did not please very much. Her heart was tender, but, so it was whispered, only to the fair sex.

The first to attract Hobart's tenderness and solicitude was Miss Bagot who reciprocated innocuously and without deceit. But when she discovered that friendship alone would not satisfy the ardent desires of Hobart, she withdrew and substituted the little niece of the governess who felt considerably honored by this elevation. Soon Hobart's idiosyncrasy was known all over the court. Pasquinades were circulated among the courtly folk and Hobart's comrades left.

One day, on the way home from a ride, Miss Temple stopped at Miss Hobart's to rest. She asked permission to undress and change her underwear in the presence of her hostess. Miss Hobart began to praise Temple for her cleanliness, in which respect she was far different than Jennings who feared water worse than any cat. Jennings, Miss Hobart continued to say, was reputed to be rather clever, but if her mind were no better than her feet, then the less said the better. And as to dirt, well, she never really washed, but poured a little water over as much of her body as was exposed, breast, face and hands—no more.

This flattery was even more agreeable to Temple than the refreshments she had been served and in order to lose no time Hobart proceeded to undress her guest even before the arrival of the chamber-maid. At first the young and frivolous guest made some slight protest against having so important a court lady as Hobart do such a service for her, but the latter insisted that this would give her pleasure. When Temple was all undressed, the mistress suggested that they both go into the bath for

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a long chat and thus obviate the possibility of their being disturbed by some tedious visitor. This they did and sat down together on a couch. Immediately Miss Hobart began a lengthy and impassioned disquisition on the foul evils of men which Temple was far too young and lovely to be subjected to. The one who fared most in this account was Rochester who was drawn in the blackest colors possible. Of course the point of the whole harangue was to show Temple, by comparison, the advantages of love for women—and particularly to make her more susceptible and amenable to the advances of Hobart. After this tirade the trap was sprung and Temple was caught. Hobart now asked her to assume a position in which her charms could be seen to best advantages. Unfortunately for the latter's plans, the whole discourse had been overheard by a chamber-maid who forthwith reported the whole matter to Rochester. The latter immediately dispatched Killigrew thither to disturb the intimate séance and to deliver a severe verbal drubbing to Hobart in the presence of Temple. He strongly urged her to desist from Temple who was too moral even to suspect what Hobart was driving at, and to resume her relations with her chamber-maid who was going about everywhere saying that she was pregnant and claiming that Hobart was responsible.

What conditions obtained among the tribades of London in the eighteenth century we can learn from "Satan's Harvest Home." At that time Lesbian love passed by the name of "Game at Flats," a designation for a peculiar sort of sex intercourse among women. This new sort of sin which was quite popular among women was as widespread in Twickenham as in Turkey.

Hüttner has reported the occurrence of homosexual practices in girls' boarding schools. At bedtime many of these young, thoroughly inexperienced girls, still full of sensuality, read lascivious novels, then proceeded to dramatize the lewdness they had just become inflamed by, in their own constricted and limited fashion.

Archenholtz has even referred to the existence of secret, tribadic clubs in London where no expression of sensuality or voluptuousness was denied expression. There were women who had abjured all intimate contact with the male sex and clung to each other. These formed small

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societies known as anandrous clubs at the head of which stood a Mrs. Y——, for some time a famous actress of the London stage. At these clubs the tribades brought their impure sacrifices. On July 5, 1777, a London woman was sentenced to six-months' imprisonment because, disguised as a man, she had three times already married various women.

At the present time tribadism is to be found mostly among London's theatrical ladies and prostitutes. A friend of Havelock Ellis called the attention of that distinguished student to the homoerotic relationships subsisting among the girls of London's theaters and music halls. He had noted that passionate friendships between girls were very common among the theatrical personnel, from the most innocent relationships to the highly developed forms of Lesbian love. In nearly every theater there are some girls (chorines, balletueses or actresses) who don't associate with the others, and are rather shunned by them, but have one or more intimates with whom they are always to be seen and for whom they manifest the greatest solicitude. Some of these even avoid men altogether and have eyes only for their chosen friends. Today, however, these relationships seldom go very far. The English girl of the lower or middle class, whether she has lost her innocence or not, is thoroughly dominated by conventional notions. Ignorance and convention deter her from following out the logical conclusions of this perversity. But in the higher classes of society (and in finer types of prostitution) this perversion will be found fully developed, because in these groups there is a greater freedom of action and a much greater absence of prejudice.

It is quite obvious that in the case of the theatrical folk just discussed, the homosexual inclinations and practices were frequently and largely the consequence of accidental conditions and circumstances. The same is true of the tribadism of prostitutes. This too is generally not inborn but is quite frequently a result of the loss of the love which has been or should be directed towards men. While tribadism is not common in London, it certainly is not absent. A certain number of famous prostitutes are reputed to be addicted to this practice but their business doesn't seem to suffer at all. There are practically no prostitutes who specialize in Lesbianism to the exclusion of all else. In the lowest ranks of

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prostitutes, such things are extremely uncommon. Generally they have heard of nothing beyond pederasty and are generally amazed and shocked to learn about tribadism. When they do learn about it they are inclined to attribute it to "French bestiality." Naturally each of these girls has a special friend with whom she sleeps occasionally, but this condormancy is not distinguished by any acts that would be absent among more innocent creatures.

Having considered male and female homosexuals, we must now speak of certain monstrosities that rightfully belong with the former. We refer to viragines, hermaphrodites, women-men, in short, all those individuals whose inclinations are not definitely homosexual or heterosexual, but vary from time to time so that sometimes they can participate in one type of sex activity as men, and at other times they can play the role of women. Such a creature, who could play the role of both man and woman, was mentioned by Butler in his "Hudibras" (seventeenth century). Now, at that time there were several such people who might have served as the model for the *virago* described by Butler. Thus we might mention first the female thief, Moll Cutpurse, who lived during the reign of Charles I. This woman found no pleasure in clothes and all the customary occupations and avocations of her sex. Her greatest satisfaction was to dress up as a man and to thief and burglarize in the proximity of London. Once the notorious thief, Thomas Rumbold (executed in 1689) came across another thief poaching on his special district and a battle ensued from which Rumbold emerged the victor. After he had bound his captive hand and foot he proceeded to go through his clothes. Great was his surprise when, upon opening the coat of the shackled thief, he discovered a woman in the guise of a man. The virago then confessed to him that she was the daughter of a smith and weapon-maker and that her mother had wished to make a seamstress of her, but that her pugnacious instinct had early destined her for another type of life. She couldn't abide helping in the kitchen but would forever be hanging about her father's smithy and playing with the weapons after he had forged them. Her special delight was to swing a sharp, handsome sword; and at the age of twelve she secretly took lessons in the use of arms.

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When she was fifteen she was married to an innkeeper, but the marriage was quite unhappy. From time to time she would disguise herself as a man, slip out of the inn unobserved and go somewhere where she could swing arms and use the weapons she so adored. Of course burglarizing and highway robbery were obviously indicated as suitable pastimes for her.

In almost the same way, as the result of external influences, Maria Read, an amazon of the early eighteenth century, turned to piracy to carry out her instincts. She was systematically educated by her mother as a boy, and later she was hired out as page to a French lady. In this way, the masculine urge innate in Maria was developed more and more, until finally she joined the navy. Her experience as a sailor finally led her into the piratical exploits for which she became renowned. Still, she was undoubtedly hetero-sexual, for she was passionately in love with a certain soldier and finally married him.

During the 70's and 80's of the eighteenth century a very famous man-woman or woman-man lived in England, the renowned Chevalier d'Eon. He was generally taken to be a woman. But Archenholtz, who was also in England at that time, conceded the possibility that the Chevalier was a man in view of the fact that he had been accepted into the Free Masons lodge. In 1777 d'Eon made it known that on a certain day he would reveal his sex. He appointed time and place for this revelation—one of the great coffee houses at exchange time, so that as many people as possible would be at hand. An enormous crowd showed up. D'Eon appeared in the French uniform of a cavalry commandant and sported conspicuously his military cross of honor. He addressed the multitude and assured them that he had come in order to prove his virility to all doubters—and asserted that he was willing to use either dagger or cane to support his proof. No one came forward to doubt and so the knight returned home triumphantly.

Later on d'Eon made a public appearance as a fighter. In 1793, a very elegant fencing match took place at Ranelagh at which this remarkable person, now in her sixty-seventh year, appeared accoutered in the costume of Minerva. She fought with another Frenchman, named Sainville,

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who was a great fencer, and showed extraordinary skill. The novelty of the spectacle attracted a great crowd and a special stage was erected for the occasion. A certain young and handsome Englishwoman, Miss Bateman, was so attracted by the spectacle that she developed a great passion for the art of fencing and became a pupil of d'Eon. The two became very fast friends.

For a very long time Hannah More had been desirous of making the acquaintance of the Chevalier d'Eon before she was finally able to realize her ambition at a dinner; she averred that she was charmed by the humor, education, merry disposition and conversational talents of the chevalier. The latter's good humor flowed with especial intensity after he had imbibed two bottles of burgundy. Hannah More found it very ridiculous to hear this female discussing military matters with General Johnson and going into elaborate details, referring every now and then to the time "*quand j'étais colonel d'un tel regiment.*" However, this pious woman finally came to the conclusion that one d'Eon was sufficient.

The Chevalier d'Eon also played a role in English erotica. Thus in the "*Adventures of an Irish Smock*" there is an account of how a courtesan receives a confession from the chevalier, Madame d'Eon, concerning his true sex.

Adrian, an English writer of the first decades of the nineteenth century, was of the opinion that the English woman was by nature rather more inclined to viraginity than others. He was especially impressed by the military step of most English women, who, when they walk in pairs or groups, seem to be hearing the rattling of drums and seeing the corporal marching ahead of them, so straight and manlike is their posture, so measured and firm their step.

Bornemann was not inclined to regard this viraginity as being more than an exceptional expression of the Englishwoman's nature, but he did feel that the wild riding, hunting and racing were instances of this type of amazonian reaction on a more normal level.

Among the real hermaphrodites, Bob Bussick, a cattle drover of St. John Street, London, achieved quite a reputation at the close of the eighteenth century. He was the most famous freak of London. To this

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pitiable creature a highly obscene book was dedicated bearing the title "Letters from Laura and Eveline; giving an account of their mock-marriage, wedding trip." Laura and Eveline were both hermaphrodites who, in sexual intercourse, could participate both actively and passively. They relate the incidents that took place before and after their marriage with husbands who were extraordinarily edified by the remarkable super-sexual capacities of their wives. At the conclusion of this hermaphroditic novel there is a most obscene account of an orgy carried out in the honor of these couples at a pornological club of London.

7

SADISM AND MASOCHISM



VII

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WHEN one speaks of the cruelty and brutality which characterizes the English character, this judgment is based on utterly impartial sources and on accounts derived from even the most enthusiastic friends of the English nation (the author of this history regards himself as being such an admirer of England and her tradition of freedom). Archenholtz, Macaulay and Taine are all agreed in this regard. Taine has pointed out that the ancient brutality of the Anglo-Saxons still persists among their successors today, and finds expression in boxing, wild animal hunts, inordinate use of the rod, etc. The Englishman, Macaulay, also recognized that the essential trait of the English character, during many centuries, has remained the same even if it is true that advancing civilization has eliminated many instances of earlier brutality. However, even late into the nineteenth century there remained such institutions as the pillory and public whippings.

All foreign observers from Lichtenberg to Steffen have described for us the powerful impression made upon them by the originally English sport of boxing. Thus Lichtenberg has related how, at a fight held on February 13, 1775, one chap dealt the other a fatal blow. In the summer of 1802, Hüttner saw a boxing match between the celebrated pugilist, Tom Jones, and the Jewish fighter, Elias; after a terrific battle, lasting for some twenty minutes, Elias dealt his opponent a blow behind the ear which floored him. As late as 1830 boxers gave performances in the little theaters, especially in the one on Catherine Street in the Strand. To get some idea of the spontaneous brutality of the public which went into

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ecstasies of savage delight at these performances, one must read the chapter in Adrian's sketches of English life entitled "The Boxer." In the 1840's boxing was prohibited by the police, but prize fights continued to take place, were advertised and were attended by hordes of people. These grim spectacles were greatly applauded and honored by all sorts of wagers. As soon as the fight was over the results were published in the newspapers and thus this sport was glorified. The reader interested in this aspect of our discussion is referred to Pierce Egan's "Boxiana, or Sketches of ancient and modern pugilism."

These facts already point to the strong sadistic streak among the English people. But even more remarkable testimony to the history of sadism in England, the passionate joy in the pain and suffering of a fellow man is purveyed by the incredible popularity of public executions. For centuries these spectacles proved to be enormously attractive and exercised an uncanny fascination on great masses of people who never omitted any opportunity of filling themselves with passionate shivers of a sadistic nature. It is a secret passion which draws countless people to the horrible spectacle of a public execution; and it is an excitation with definitely marked erotic undertones that takes possession of them during the performance itself. This is the terrifying theme of the Marquis de Sade's novels which are not the products of an idle fantasy but really mirror actual happenings.

This pleasure in murder and torture came to such clear expression in merry old England that it is superfluous to expatiate on that theme. One need only think of the dramas of Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ford and Massinger, in which the cruel, passionate spirit of those times is horrifyingly depicted in single scenes. We shall content ourselves with reporting a few modern illustrations of this predilection for executions.

In the exceedingly dissolute epoch of the Restoration, the noble cavaliers and even ladies would attend the executions and horrible tortures. The courtiers talked about these events and sang their praises, for so low had they sunk and so jaded were their senses that they found not disgust, but pleasure in scenes from which every human feeling would recoil in horror. But many went further than this. When Colonel Turner

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had witnessed the execution of the legal scholar, John Coke, he ordered his henchman to bring forth another convicted man, Hugh Peters—and the executioner, rubbing his bloody hands, asked the latter whether the job was to his liking. It is very significant that these inhuman nobles would hasten from their feasts of blood to the most dissolute orgies, which demonstrates clearly the sexual basis of their cruelty.

During the eighteenth century, Tyburn, London's execution place, was a veritable pleasure ground for the people. For this spectacle, places would be rented a long time in advance just as for a cock-fight or prize boxing match. No Monday passed without an execution, and often as many as fifteen poor devils were dispatched from the world at one sitting, which wholesale performance naturally brought a great crowd. Tom Browne, writing at about the year 1709, mentioned that an old barrister of Holborne always gave his clerks the day off on execution days that they might have some fun. Then, too, when Lady Hamilton was in Naples, she found a special pleasure in witnessing the executions of the old Prince Caroccioli and the physician, Cirillo. Thackeray remarks in his "English Humorists" that a hundred years before the people had streamed thither to witness the last act of a footpad's life and to jest about it. Even men of the intellectual eminence of Swift would laugh and shout coarse remarks; and Gay was moved to his best ballads by this sort of thing. This intense fondness for witnessing executions could be noted until fairly recent times for even at the middle of the nineteenth century there was a mad scramble for places at Newgate or Horsemonger Lane when executions were scheduled. People who lived in the vicinity would do a thriving business in hiring out windows, roofs and other points of vantage. Countless booths were set up and the concessionaires did a rushing business on those days. And everywhere there were throngs of women—not only of the lower classes but fine, gentle, blonde curly heads as well. And the newspapers completed the tragic business by cataloging, with the encyclopedic precision of a professional physiologist, the last movements of the unfortunate victim.

This depressing state of affairs continued until recently not only in the large cities but in the country as well. At an execution the small town

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folk would act like a bunch of degenerates and even the best among them would be corrupted by the contagion of brutality. When an execution took place at the little town of Chelmsford a veritable carnival of debauchery reigned there. The night before the executioner was given a party at one of the local hotels and he had to tell the sanguinary tales of his best "jobs." Folks came from miles around and the young men and women organized picnics. This picknicking of young people of both sexes, in connection with executions, illustrates again the intimate relationships of the pleasure in cruelty and sexual motives. This is just what characterizes it as being specifically sadistic.

Under the influence of these spectacles and their frequent repetition, certain individuals gradually developed into true habitués of executions, and many persons of birth and distinction were found in these ranks. Of one nobleman S——, it is related that his friend once inquired how a man otherwise so exemplary could be so passionately fond of executions. The noble admitted the force of his friend's rebuke and made a wager that he would stay away from the next one. But when the day came, so great was the coercive power of sadistic urge, that he capitulated and went to Tyburn. When the regicide, Damien, was to be executed in Paris by being torn apart by horses, S—— journeyed to Paris just for the purpose of witnessing the grievesome spectacle. When he arrived at the scene, he bribed the executioner to permit him to ascend the bloody platform that he might see the inhuman scene in all its cruelty. From this vantage point he saw it—and returned to England immediately afterwards.

This anecdote is derived from Archenholtz and it is quite likely that the person in question is identical with George Selwyn, one of the most remarkable execution habitués of the eighteenth century. In the case of this nobleman the sexual foundation of this passionate desire for the sight of executions is the more significant, since by nature he was especially kind and generous and fond of children. According to Rodenberg, Selwyn spent as much time at Tyburn as in the fashionable club at White's. He used to study with passionate curiosity all the details of the crime that had been committed and the conduct of the criminal during

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the trial, and then, at the execution proper, would study with the greatest eagerness the conduct of the victim in the face of death. The most horrifying details of a murder or suicide, the depiction or actual sight of a transformed and ghastly appearance of a corpse, the sight of someone dying, afforded him a painful-mysterious joy. Horace Walpole told numerous stories concerning the remarkable desires of his friend. When the first Lord Holland lay dying Selwyn called and insisted, as an intimate friend, upon being permitted to see him, but in vain. "When Mr. Selwyn calls next time," Lord Holland said to his servant, "let him in; if I am still alive, I shall be glad to see him; and if I am dead he will be glad to see me."

On the day of Damien's execution he wore very plain clothing and thus attired pushed through the crowd up to the scaffolding. A French nobleman, mistaking him for an executioner, asked whether he had come to see the spectacle from the viewpoint of a professional. To which Selwyn replied by saying that he did not have that honor and was, alas, only an amateur. However, after he had wormed his way so far forward he was pushed back by one of the executioners. So Selwyn proceeded to explain that he had come all the way from England to see this execution. This so moved the burly beast that he commanded, "*Faites place pour monsieur; c'est un Anglaise, et un amateur.*"

In England Selwyn would frequently attend these affairs dressed as a woman in order to escape detection, but no subterfuge was too difficult or shameful, so great was his nervous irritability and passionate desire to see men put to death. His friends praised this unique sport and so encouraged him in his aberration. There are extant a number of letters to him from his cronies, Gilly Williams and Henry St. John, which are eloquent testimony to their love of these shambles.

It is interesting to note that James Boswell, the famous biographer of Samuel Johnson, was such an execution habitué. In the biography he mentions that Mr. Ackerman, the overseer of Newgate, was his esteemed friend. Aside from Boswell's desire to be in the midst of distinguished folk and to surround himself in life and on paper with people who had made their mark in one field of activity or another, legitimate or illegiti-

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mate, this reference to his friend Ackerman testifies to his love for attending executions at Newgate. At these spectacles Boswell always wore a special suit of "execution"—black—in order to observe the proprieties of the occasion.

Even in more recent times England has seen such execution amateurs. Hector France has reported the case of an English baronet who for years collected knives and daggers of murderers, and ropes of hanged victims, and who later, seeking strong emotions, played the executioner himself. This fellow was known in Essex as "Amateur Hangman." One day when the official hangman was prevented from executing his function, the baronet immediately volunteered to substitute. He found rare pleasure in this activity and at every execution begged the sheriffs of the county to delegate their "executive" power to him, which he carried out gratis, with aristocratic elegance and obviously to his own intense pleasure. In a short time he had dispatched three murderers, two parricides, two wife-killers and four killers of children as well as two poisoners. He seemed to derive an extraordinary pleasure from stringing women up, during which process a most peculiar cruel grin would contort his face. This gentleman, who bore the distinctively French name of Sir Claude de Crespigny, was a member of the swanky "Army and Navy Club." As a consequence of his nefarious activities he was called on by this organization one day to defend himself, and so well did he plead his cause that the club continued to keep his name among their members.

Concerning another similar English sadist, the brothers Goncourt have left us a most vivid account in their diary.

Hector France was once present at a most remarkable auction. In a modest salesroom situated on Euston Road, London, he attended an auction at which there were sold the ropes that had pulled various convicts to their death on the gallows. Every rope was ticketed with the name of the hangman, Marwood, with a designation of the name, crime and date of execution of the criminal. In this way one could retain an everlasting remembrance of a poisoner, a choker, a parricide or what-you-will, depending on your taste in homicides. The most sought after ropes were those that had pulled out of life such men as had killed their

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own wives. Numerous gentlemen and young poetical misses competed for the possession of these questionable mementos. An elderly virgin bought up a whole collection of these sacred relics. The most desirable bits were those sections of the rope that had bound the neck of the victim.

Among the really sadistic criminals of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the robber, Tom Dorbel, requires special mention. After he had committed several deeds of violence and had hardly escaped the gallows, he became a lackey at the home of a lady in Ormond Street. Once his mistress sent him to Bristol to accompany her niece back to London. On the last lap of the journey homeward these two were left alone in the train. He immediately set about manhandling her and in a very few moments he had injured her grievously. He then proceeded to gratify his animal lusts upon the gravely injured girl. This done he seized all her effects and fled. However, he was caught and executed.

The famous hetaera, Miss Annabella Parsons, was once raped by a sadist who also injured her genitalia with a penknife.

One of the earlier examples of what is known as girl stabber was the so-called "monster," a man named Williams, who made the streets of London unsafe during April and May of the year 1790. In this short while he had wounded a large number of women. When he was brought to trial at Old Bailey on July 8, 1790, a whole tribe of females appeared as plaintiffs all of whom had been bled by the monster or at any rate sustained some dagger wound through their clothes. This individual, whose name was Remrick Williams, was only five feet and a half tall and very spare; his boyish dark-brown face was distinguished by a long nose and a wild glance. He was sentenced to spend six years at Newgate and at the expiration of this period he had to deposit £400 sterling as security for his subsequent good behavior. One result of the terror created by this "monster," and occasional other analagous cases, was that the nocturnal street-scenes of the passion-chasers and girls of joy received a considerable set-back. No man of gallantry would hereafter approach any girl. The pretty ones fled; and even the priestesses of Venus, who were lying in wait for their victims, feared to begin their intimate con-

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versations lest the man turn out to be the "monster." In fine, the "peripatetic" passions almost disappeared.

Many people are familiar with the famous French scandal of the French Jesuit Father Girard and Mlle. Cadière. At about this time there was a striking analogy to this in England. A certain minister by the name of Scoolt became friendly and more, with the daughter of an English overseer named Reddic. He read obscene books with her, took her to the theater and finally to the brothel where he taught her all manner of erotical tricks, only at the end to leave her in the lurch after he had administered an abortifacient to her, much as Girard had done earlier to Katherine Cadière.

Somewhat apart from the sadism which we are discussing but quite in keeping with the incidents alluded to in the preceding paragraph, is the act of the Catholic priest, John Carroll of Ballymore, committed on July 9, 1824 (he was later declared to be insane). This chap had already exorcised the devil from many folks by jumping around on their bodies. On Friday, July 9, 1824, he came to the house of Thomas Sinnot, a mail maker. Quite by chance, Sinnot's child, a pretty little girl of about four who was lying in bed in the same room, began to cry. The priest immediately declared that the child was possessed of the devil, sprang into the bed and began to jump around on the body of the poor child. When the father, awestruck by his baby's pitiful cries, desired to intercede in her behalf, he was restrained by several fanatics who happened to be present. The child's own mother even assisted the priest at his shameful ceremonies. She brought him a keg of water and salt and he poured both over the bleeding and unconscious child. As the water mixed with the streaming blood he cried out hoarsely and madly, "See the miracle! I have turned the water into blood." Then he turned the keg so that it pressed against the throat of the child—strangulating it, and thus freeing it from its sufferings. Thereupon he left the house but not without having given an order that no one was to touch the child until his return. Two physicians pronounced Carroll to be insane and he was committed to an institution. However, the fanatical spectators of his crime were not psychopathic but they made no move to interfere with the crazy priest.

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They offer a saddening example of the sadistic basis of religious fanaticism. A full account of this case may be found in a booklet devoted to it, bearing the title "Atrocious Acts of Catholic Priests, etc. . . . Fanaticism! Cruelty! Bigotry! etc."

Corvin has left us a report of a children's nurse, residing in London during the 1840's, who confessed that she derived extraordinary and unaccountable insane pleasure from the killing of children and animals. She felt perfect satisfaction when she observed the pangs of death. For years she served and indulged her irresistible inclination to homicide and offered up many sacrifices to it, but finally she was discovered.

According to the authoress of the "Memoirs of a Singer," who is in general a reliable writer, rape-murders in England are of relative frequency, and she gives numerous examples to substantiate her statement. The most famous of these malefactors was the anonymous one known as "Jack the Ripper" who in the 90's terrorized the East End of London (he was later declared to be a psychopathic student).

It is quite noteworthy that in the course of the nineteenth century the semi- and thoroughly-erotic literature of England assumed a sadistic character the scope and intensity of which at least had been lacking before this time. Fraxi stated, as a fact, that the English writers of this time had permitted themselves to become influenced by the corrupt, bloodthirsty and unnatural doctrines of the Marquis de Sade; and that they had aped the cynicism, cruelty and immeasurable sensuality of the Frenchman who certainly was an incomparable master of these articles. In this way the character of English erotic literature was completely changed, and lost its healthy tone (if this adjective can at all be applied to this type of literature).

Undoubtedly this sadistic tendency of modern English erotica is to a large degree a product of the Englishmen's idiosyncratic craving for sensationalism, a characteristic which confronts us in every relationship of life. Tobias Smollett knew whereof he spoke when, in "Roderick Random," he has Melopoyne achieve success in the writing game only after he has gone in for sensationalism. Burglary had been valuable to him; but a good murder in time was just invaluable.

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Let us glance at a few of these modern English sadistic novels and see the influence of the Marquis de Sade upon the fancies of their authors.

The most notorious book of this ilk is "The Pleasures of Cruelty, being a sequel to the reading of Justine and Juliette." This book is based on a thorough reading of the works of the French sadist and even mentions some of the scenes found therein. Sir Charles Dacre, a rich baronet and thoroughly profligate, one of the merry company of Charles IV, is already at thirty-eight thoroughly enervated and blasé and a physical wreck. Vainly does he seek to arouse his extinguished senses at the gaming tables and the brothels of Brussels, Vienna and Paris, but all the innovations and striking allurements to the senses are powerless. For this reason he turns one day to Madame Josephine, a notorious panderess at whose home he happens to be staying, with the request that she afford him new sexual pleasures. For £500 she undertakes to rejuvenate him completely. But this can only be accomplished by the aid of his three daughters—Sir Charles is the father of three daughters—Maud, Alice and Flora, aged 18, 17 and 15. It will be necessary for him to rape his own daughters—to torture and humiliate them in every way. In order to gratify their sadistic impulses with impunity and without police interference, they journey to Turkey on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus where they hire a house and equip it with a full torture chamber containing chains, whips, rods and other punitive instruments. Here at the same time, the sea will afford Sir Charles sufficient outdoor sports with fishing and sailing. In the ensuing portion, "The Torture Chamber," there are described the most monstrous sadistic scenes which the father and Mme. Josephine carry out with the three girls who must also take an active part in the proceedings. Sandwiched into this portion of the book is a story narrated by Mme. Josephine concerning the rape and cruel abuse of a German girl by a French voluptuary. In this first portion flagellation and pedication figure very largely. In the second scene, Maud is whipped to death by her own father.

Now Sir Charles journeys to Constantinople to obtain new victims on whom he can satisfy his sadistic desires; this forms the theme of the second book. In Constantinople, he discovers four orphaned girls, daugh-

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ters of a Greek merchant who had some time before lost his whole fortune and then died of the cholera. These girls, Haidé, Veneria, Sophia and Melissa (24, 17, 13 and 10 years old respectively) are lured to his castle and immediately subjected to the most gruesome sadistic acts in which there is one more torturer now, Lucidora, once an inhabitant of a harem and now special assistant to Josephine. These horrible things can't be described here but it is sufficient to note that for the most part they are imitations of similar scenes in the "Justine et Juliette." In this section, too, various lascivious episodes are woven into the account.

In the third part a new sadist appears on the scene, Count Le Bonvit of Paris, who participates in the "séances" of Charles, Josephine and Lucidora, and has some exceedingly lewd conversations with the first of these worthies on various aspects of the *ars amandi*. In the meantime there is more excremental talk, and an account of the sexual excesses of Henry IV and of the amorous adventures of a Belgian nun. At the conclusion of the third and last volume of this work, the "victims" have already become active and enthusiastic sadists and Mme. Josephine is sent to Paris to bring back with her new (active and especially passive) participants and members for their sadistic club.

Another book of this sort is "Revelries! and Deviltries! or scenes in the life of Sir Lionel Heythorp Bt." Four Oxford scholars and an officer, whose name Pisanus Fraxi knew but refused to divulge, united to write this obscene effusion. Each wrote one story which they later fused into one continuous account in three chapters. In this book there is much talk of flagellation in addition to numerous other highly disgusting episodes among which the rawest is perhaps an account of a visit to a lunatic asylum, in which the erotic idiosyncrasies of the insane inmates are described in the lewdest way. The whole closes with a chapter entitled "A Night in the Borough," which is such an obscene orgy that even the Marquis de Sade in his wildest imaginings never dreamed of.

"The Inutility of Virtue" describes, in autobiographical form, the adventures of an opera singer of Neapolitan origin. On her way to Rome to marry a Count Torso, she falls into the hands of a brigand who rapes her. Later on she marries a man she loves and is eager to remain true to him.

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But despite her good desires and her repeated protestations of fidelity, she becomes the prey of every man with whom she comes into contact. However, all these adventures are rather ordinary. While this book is not a translation from the French as it claims to be, it does seem to hint back at a French original. If the cruelty and bloodthirstiness in which the jolly Marquis revels are less outspoken, still a number of the episodes of this book remind one of the "Justine," in which Sade develops the idea of the eternal misfortune of virtue. Moreover, in "Justine" the heroine also falls into the hands of brigands right at the beginning of the story.

A notorious product of sadistic fantasy is "The Romance of Lust." This sotadicum was also the work of many pens and contains various stories which were brought into the framework of one connected account by a famous collector of erotic pictures and "objets d'art" while he was journeying through Japan. This book, which depicts the love adventures of the youthful Charles, contains scenes which, as Fraxi has said, are not surpassed by the most obscene sections of the "Justine."

In the "Experimental Lectures of Colonel Spanker," there are expressed very outspoken sadistic ideas. This booklet is an apotheosis of the joy which springs from physical or psychical cruelty. The experimental colonel believed that passion can be aroused in men in two ways: either by having the object of our love approximate our ideal of beauty, or letting this person feel the strongest possible sensations. No feeling is more vivid than that of pain for its convulsive emotion is genuine and certain. It is never misleading like the comedy of passion which is always played by women but never really felt. (This notion of the colonel's shows that even before Lombroso there were adherents of the theory that woman has little of genuine passion.) Hence the man who will have the strongest effect on the woman, who will cause her whole body and soul to be set vibrating in a convulsion of excitation, will also produce for himself the strongest degree of sensual pleasure.

An English bibliophile has justly remarked that these notions are the very quintessence of philosophy which the Marquis de Sade developed so elaborately in his nefarious works in which, in addition to his wild

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fantasies of bloody orgies, phlebotomy, vivisection and torture of all sorts accompanied by the most hideous blasphemies, he places so much stress on the moral humiliation of his victims. However, the incidents recounted in the "Justine and Juliette" seem somewhat unreal because so many individuals participate in the orgies. But in the "Experimental Lecture" where again a sensitive, well-bred and refined young woman is exposed to the most horrible tortures, the illusion of reality is kept because the action is so very methodical and consequent.

As a result of all these readings, we may well conclude that we can and do daily rub shoulders with men who take a secret delight in torturing weak and confiding women, and who, by so doing, can produce an erection and consequent emission. Experience proves this to be so and other cases could unfortunately be quoted to show that girls have been tied up to ladders, strapped down to sofas, and brutally flogged either with birch rods, the bare hand, the buckle end of a strap and even a bunch of keys! Some have been warned beforehand that they will be beaten till the blood comes, pecuniary rewards being agreed upon; others have been cajoled into yielding up their limbs to the bonds and gags by the promise that it is only a piece of fun. Once fairly helpless in the hands of the flagellating libertine, woe betide them. These cowards are bent on inflicting the greatest amount of agony possible and their pleasure is in proportion to the damage done. They seem sometimes like devils unchained, and howl with delight almost as loudly as the girl cries out in pain. And yet immediately their paroxysm is over, they will treat their wretched victim with the utmost kindness and buttoning up their frock coats, appear once more as affable, kind gentlemen.

Masochism, the sexually flavored suffering of pain and humiliation, appears in the sex life of the English for the most part in connection with passive flagellation. In general, the English character inclines more to sadistic acts, yet there are traces of masochistic reactions in the English *Sittengeschichte*, aside from the medieval period. Thus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were fellows who swallowed sulphur and wine in order to win their ladies, which facts are noted in Middleton's

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"Drastic Courtesan." Butler's "Hudibras" gives a drastic description of these lovesick and uxorious slaves and masochistic weaklings. Addison appears to have had Butler's verses in mind when he repeatedly refers in his "Spectator" to the uxorious husbands who are virtually slaves to their wives. He found such masochistic creatures not only in marriage but in the "suburbs of marriage" as well, in the slavery of lovers to their mistresses or their less pliant and more virginal loves. Indeed Addison even found such slaves to women among the wisest and bravest men of all time. In the 129th piece there is a delightful sketch dealing with the destiny of one Freymann, who was a slave to his wife.

In the book, "Satan's Harvest Home," referred to earlier, we read of a type of men termed "petticoat pensioners" who appear to have been masochists that prostituted themselves to female roués. That married women of rank, and widows too, would permit themselves extra marital joys has been known from time immemorial; but that young virgins should support men and maintain homes for them was a novel practice that was popular at about this time.

A famous masochist of the eighteenth century was the worldling, Tracey. His mistress, the brothel keeper, Charlotte Hayes, ruled him despotically. He was entirely in her power and suffered patiently and with slavish subservience even infidelity on her part. In fact, she kept her various lovers at the Shakespeare and other taverns where Tracey had opened accounts for her. She knew how to charm him ever anew for she would come to him in the most elegant and voluptuous dress—but she would only confer her favors at a steep price—a guinea per hour. In a short time he had run through his whole tremendous fortune, and died quite young.

In 1791 another masochist aroused a great sensation in London by his peculiar death which was a direct effect of his masochistic fancies. The affair of the musician, Kotzwarra, is so interesting (and authentic) that we can't forbear to mention it at this point.

Francis Kotzwarra was a very talented Bohemian musician who could play thirteen instruments and had a genuine virtuosity in several. Bach

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and Abel held him to be the best double-bass player in Europe. But despite his great gifts and successes he surrendered himself to a rascally and vicious life. He became a voluptuary of the first water and was continually devising new schemes for the multiplication of sense pleasures. He had learnt that one who hanged himself experienced for several minutes thereafter certain extremely agreeable sensations owing to the accelerated circulation and the dilation of certain blood vessels. He had already made this experiment many times—always in the company of strumpets who were paid to assist in the operation in one way or another. One day he found a street walker near Covent Garden and arranged with her that she draw him up for five minutes and then cut the rope down. The poor girl wouldn't hear of this at first, but later, after he had paid her in advance and persuaded her of the innocence of the whole enterprise, she consented. She strung him up, tied the rope to the door and cut him down after five minutes had elapsed, but Kotzwarra gave no sign of life and all efforts to revive him were fruitless. The girl, Susannah Hill, was arrested and charged with willful murder. However, she was fortunate in having a prudent judge who regarded the matter as unintentional homicide and she was acquitted with the admonition to better her ways. The facts revealed at the trial were so extraordinary, so revolting to decency and so dangerous to morality that the judge not only ordered all women from the courtroom but ordered the whole record of the affair, together with all relevant papers, to be burnt.

This famous case, together with other similar examples, was treated in a highly interesting brochure of that period, one which is now very rare: "Modern Propensities; or an essay on the art of strangling, etc., illustrated with several anecdotes. With memoirs of Susannah Hill and a summary of her trial at Old Bailey, etc." One incident relevant to this case and the general subject of masochism may be cited from this book. Kotzwarra had entered Susannah's house without any previous introduction to her, merely because the door happened to be open. He immediately asked her whether she wished to drink and sent her out to buy drinks and food. After they had eaten they went into a side room where

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numerous highly indecent actions were performed. During these manipulations and maneuvers he requested that she abscind his genitalia and cut them into slices—but she was reluctant to do this. The next suggestion was the one about strangling.

The "Bon Ton" magazine for 1793 stated that the Kotzwarra affair did not by any means completely eliminate the practice of suspension. Why? Because the fair one who had been present at that operation of the eccentric lover testified that a few instants before his end he manifested certain symptoms which betrayed unmistakably the good effects of this procedure. A certain rich citizen of Bristol heard of this and, being in dire need of some startling remedy for his inert libido he was strongly desirous of trying Kotzwarra's remedy immediately, but prudence forbade it. So he journeyed to London and forthwith sought out a pretty daughter of joy residing at Charlotte Street and confided to her that his flesh was weak but convinced her that if she would help him in this hanging exercise he would be able fully to enjoy her lovely body. He paid her handsomely in advance and the game began at once. She hanged him up so that there would be a minimum of danger and then kicked the small stool from under his feet but he continued to touch the floor as he swung. Even after half a minute the stimulatory effects of this unique procedure were clearly manifest, but unfortunately danger signs began to appear and she cut off her strange lover at once. To restore him completely it was necessary to call in the assistance of the society for the resuscitation of the drowned.

The Berlin masseuses also have a similar sort of clientele and many of them have such hanging apparatus among their collection of torture instruments.

Latterly masochism seems to have become more widespread in England, if one is to judge by the rise of numerous masochistic writings. We might mention, as the prototype of these writings, the story "Gynecocracy—a narrative of the adventures and psychological experiences of Julian Robinson (afterwards Viscount Ladywood) under petticoat rule written by himself," which was translated into French and German. This book deals with the planned education of a young nobleman for mas-

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ochism which end is achieved by his French governess, a very strict young lady, through divers means. This French teacher, aided by other "energetic" ladies and chambermaids, dresses the lad in woman's clothes and inculcates in him the taste for disgusting masochistic procedures which she knows how to combine with various sexual pleasures.

8

CURIOUS SEXUAL INSTRUMENTS

VIII

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AN integral portion of the history of human sex life is afforded by the study of internal and external curious "sexual instruments" from all points of view, i.e., of the natural and artificial, alimentary and medicamentous materials for increasing one's own sex impulse, for arousing that of the other person, and for the elimination and prevention of certain consequences of legitimate and illegitimate sexual intercourse.

The alimentary means for arousing and vitalizing the *libido sexualis* is the indulgence in alcoholic and gastronomic excesses; and the same effects can be achieved in the medicamentous way through the employment of aphrodisiacs and cosmetics.

Among the undesirable consequences of sexual intercourse against which special safeguards must be taken, the most important are venereal disease and impotence. From days of old, a whole arsenal of secret sexual devices have been employed. This multitude of devices has been supplied by a specially notorious criminal class of quacks and has frequently led to very serious onslaughts upon human health and life.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the history of erotic devices in England and we shall see all these facts and relationships exemplified and illuminated.

The universal striving of men to increase their natural capacities is perhaps, in regard to the function of the sex impulse, one of the motives for the employment of aphrodisiacs in the narrow sense of the word. This endeavor would become particularly obvious in cases where there

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was a diminution or even cessation of the "potentia coeundi et generandi." These matters have been treated by Venette in a very interesting chapter of his famous work on generation, wherein are expressed some very shrewd and sceptical opinions anent the nature and apparent efficacy of divers aphrodisiacs.

He also distinguished aphrodisiac foods from aphrodisiac drugs. In the first class he includes the albumen of eggs, testicles of cocks, young bulls, crabs, ox-marrow, sweet strong wine, milk and other highly nutritious foods. Of the foods regarded in England as possessing sexually stimulating properties, Ryan has listed the following: fish, turtles, oysters, crabs, lobsters, eggs, artichokes, truffles, mushrooms, celery, cocoa, onions, cinnamon, pepper, apricots, strawberries and peaches.

King George IV, that corypheus of all voluptuaries, had such a high opinion of the aphrodisiac effects of truffles that his ambassadors at the courts of Turin, Naples and Florence received special orders to supply to the royal kitchen by private courier, particularly large, delicate and aromatic truffles.

In England cinnamon was used as an aphrodisiac not only internally but externally, as it was believed that its application would elicit and magnify the libido sexualis. In an erotic writing, "The Amatory Experience of a Surgeon," the hero seduces two women by touching them with his hand smeared with cinnamon.

During the Middle Ages the medicamentous love remedies most frequently used were the love potions and powders. In the fifteenth century, at the instigation of Richard III, Lady Elizabeth Grey was accused by Parliament of having lured King Edward IV into marriage by means of a love potion. Later the most frequently used of medical stimulants was cantharides, which constituted the chief ingredient of all aphrodisiacs during the eighteenth century. Of course the harmful after-effects of this drug have long been known, particularly the intense inflammation of the urinary passages. Besides, this drug is not always efficacious. An example of this circumstance is found in the "Serails de Londres" where a certain noble must resort to flagellation with birch rods to educe the potency not sufficiently heightened by cantharides.

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In another eroticum, "Randiana or Excitable Tales," wonderful results in raising sexuality are attributed to Pinero Balsam. At the present time such medicamentous aphrodisiacs are purveyed chiefly by the French druggists in the neighborhood of Oxford Street and Soho Square. Yet they have met with as little approval in England as in other northern lands—and even less so here because an Englishman who stands in need of stimulation will prefer flagellation to any drug.

The last group of aphrodisiacs to be mentioned are certain apparatus used by women to excite their libido sexualis, which to a certain extent can be regarded as substitutes for real men. These are the artificial imitations of the male genitalia in the form of phalli, godemichés, "conso-lateurs," "bijoux indiscrets," "bijou de religieuse," "cazzi," "parapilla," etc. In England, too, these articles were used and were known as "dildo" or "indiscreet toy."

According to the author of "Love and Safety," these dildoes can boast a hoary antiquity. Sculptures of ancient Babylonia show such objects in the hands of women. For far away in those mystic times among those primeval civilizations one thing was then as it is today, one thing was destined to continue unaltered—the passions, the loves and the lusts of women. Similarly erotic writers have reported that such venereal objects were employed by the women of ancient India.

That the ancient Greeks were acquainted with the godemiché we have long known from the dramas of Aristophanes and other comic writers. A very vivid confirmation of these items of information and a graphic depiction of this practice can be found in the sixth Mimiamb of Herondas. (These Mimiamb were rediscovered in 1891 after they had been lost for two millenia). These leather phalli which were secretly manufactured and purveyed by a skilled shoemaker were ecstatically welcomed by the women who found their ministrations superior to the best efforts of their husbands.

From Heronda's realistic descriptions, which leave nothing to be desired in the way of detail, it appears that in the third century B.C., godemichés made of leather were widely used by women of the middle classes. The description of the geegaw is somewhat meager but it is suf-

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ficient to show that this apparatus was so cleverly constructed as to simulate the external genitalia of the male in form and function, both in regard to shape, color, and capacity for erection which can be induced by certain mechanical contrivances. Naturally the price of the "consolateurs" was consequently so high that several women had to use it in common. The manufacturer of these articles had to ply his commerce secretly for the state had a weather eye open for these goods.

Herodotus has also left us reports concerning similar apparatus employed by the ancient Egyptians as far back as the fifth century B.C. He had reported that women, through the streets and villages, led by a string figures about a yard long, whose phalli, almost as large as the figures themselves, were being constantly jerked up. The whole procession is preceded by a piper and the women follow singing songs of Dionysius. Herodotus relates further that Melampus introduced and popularized Dionysius' name, service and organ. From this there gradually developed the profane use of artificial phalli for aphrodisiac purposes similar to those employed among the Romans for the purpose of devirginization.

Extremely ancient is the use of godemichés in eastern Asia. The Spaniards found such articles among the women of the Philippines. Jacobs has reported that in the boudoir of many women of Bali, and in every local harem in the Malayan archipelago, there can be found a waxen "plaisir des dames" which bears the name "ganem" or "tejlak"—"tejlakan malim" (tejlak = penis, malim = wax); and many an hour is spent in quiet retirement with this consolateur. Similarly Japan and China used artificial phalli. But in Japan the latter are eclipsed by the notorious "Japanese balls," which refined orgiastic apparatus are described in great detail by Ploss and Bartels.

Turkish women use certain elastic fruits which swell up in the hand and in Smyrna these articles were sold publicly for the seraglios. The rings of caoutchouc used by Indian women must be regarded as imperfect godemichés whose European imitations are designed as "bagues de la Chine."

The west European lands learnt about godemichés from the ancients. The physicians of the Middle Ages already knew these apparatus. In the

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list of Church punishments composed by Bishop Burchard of Worms during the twelfth century we read the following: "Have you done that which women are wont to do—to make a machine in the form of the membrum virile for the satisfaction of your desires? . . . Have you committed fornication through it with other women?" . . . From other questions in this questionnaire it can be seen how godemichés were used for the various purposes of masturbation and coitus.

In the Renaissance such apparatus of passion were marketed from Italy and introduced into France. "It was the Italy of the Borgias and the Medici which taught France all the practices, instruments and stimulants of prostitution," wrote Dufour. Catherine of Medici once found no less than four such "bienfaiteurs" in the trunk of one of her ladies-in-waiting. In France during the seventeenth century godemichés of velvet or glass were used. At that time a refined innovation was introduced which in the eighteenth century achieved tremendous popularity. This was the addition of an artificial scrotum that was filled with hot milk, and the compression of this little sack was to simulate the act of ejaculation. The eighteenth century erotica abounded in descriptions of such consolateurs. In Germany, too, these instruments of passion were not unknown. Thus in the year 1701, Marie Cillie Jürgens of Hamburg was accused of having had unnatural and sodomitic connection with Anna Elizabeth Buncken by means of "a special instrument prepared for this purpose."

In England the so-called dildoes appear to have been given wide circulation after the eighteenth century. It has been stated by John Bee that the name was originally "del-doe" and that these instruments were formerly more widely used than in his own day (1835). Archenholtz has left us the following information concerning the traffic in dildoes during the eighteenth century: "A woman by the name of Mrs. Philipps used this means to make her store known, for it consists of goods which are nowhere publicly sold—and indeed can only be found in few large cities, materials which even voluptuous Italy is ignorant of and which are produced and distributed only in the two dissolute cities of Paris and London. In the former place these articles were sold secretly in the

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gallantry-shops, whereas in London this woman sold her stock publicly at her store, hard by Leicester Square."

Ryan mentioned the use of *godemichés* in the brothels of London during 1840. According to the statement of recent writers dildoes are at present sold by dealers in erotic books. They usually cost a pound or two, and are for the most part made of india rubber. There is quite a variety of these instruments; one that can be used by two women simultaneously, another with attachments for several *orificia corporis*, a third that can be fastened to the chin, etc.

There are some superstitions attached to the use of these apparatus. Thus, in the pornographic book, "Nunnery Tales; or Cruising Under False Colours. A Tale of Love and Lust," we are treated to a circumstantial account of how chlorotic girls find easement for themselves through using the neck of a turkey cock.

Detailed accounts of the contemporary use of dildoes in England are to be found in the "Story of a Dildo, a Tale in Five Tableaux," in which three young girls come by the gadget through their milliner. All the details of the purchase, preparation and use of the instrument are described most fully.

The "Wonderful and Edifying History of the Origin of the *Godemiché* or Dildo" which was printed at the end of an erotic book, "The School-fellows; or Young Ladies Guide to Love," is not original but a translation of "*L'histoire merveilleuse et édifiante du Godemiché*" in the second portion of "*L'Arétin ou la Débauche de l'esprit*" of the Abbé Dulaurens.

The means of beautification (*cosmetica*) have always played a great role in England. According to W. Roscher, the luxury of cleanliness which, with its salubrious physical and spiritual effects, is found only among rich and highly cultivated peoples, is most highly developed in England.

The use of warm and cold baths was probably introduced into Great Britain by the Romans. It is Archenholtz's opinion that it was Alexander Severus, who according to Lampridius, was fond of cold baths, that

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introduced the latter into England where he stayed for a while. The Anglo-Saxons learned the custom from the Britons. Warm baths were frequently mentioned in their church laws, viz., at the time of King Edgar warm baths and soft beds were prohibited as superfluous luxuries as being conducive to effemination.

In the Middle Ages the English system of baths was thoroughly organized and the baths, known as bagnios or hothouses, were frequently equipped as official brothels.

The modern system corresponds in general to what is common on the continent. We meet here also such features of the continental system as non-medical massage connected with hot baths. For a good description of Oriental baths in Great Britain the reader is referred to Pückler-Muskau's detailed report in the work previously referred to.

With regard to cosmetics, it is fair to say that in England they are less widely used than in other lands, particularly in the Latin ones. A propos of this, Archenholtz has remarked that Englishwomen rely so much on their natural beauty that quite frequently they neglect entirely any artificial heightening of that beauty. It was his opinion that only the daughters of joy used rouge. Instead of artificial adornment they placed great reliance upon cleanliness—the virtue so emphasized and practiced in this land—which indeed served to enhance their charms not a little.

Still the Celtic inhabitants of Great Britain did know certain cosmetic materials, rouges, hair tonics, and hair dyes. We learn from Wright that in the graves of Anglo-Saxon women there have been found little pincers which were apparently used to remove superfluous hair. After the Danish invasion it was particularly the men who used cosmetics lavishly. It is interesting to recall at this point the condemnation expressed against cosmetics in Thomas More's "Utopia" and in Addison's "Spectator." Despite these fulminations, however, the century of gallantry and "refinement" in England was also one in which cosmetics flourished greatly.

Innumerable toilet waters and soaps were imported from Spain, Portugal, Italy, France and Turkey. In addition, Windsor and Bristol soaps were widely used, and also the notorious "washballs" which included such noxious substances as white lead, quicksilver, etc. There was a par-

ticularly popular Danish cosmetic, consisting of beauty waters mixed with borax, vinegar, bread, eggs and the heads and wings of doves. The use of this mess was reputed to restore to women of fifty the freshness of twenty.

After toilet waters, the facial cosmetics which were most important in the eighteenth century, were rouge and powder. Archenholtz alludes to the matter thus: "Although no women in Europe could as easily do without rouge as those of England, nevertheless the use of facial coloring matter is increasing there, especially in the larger cities. In the latter there are women who go from house to house for the purpose of giving instruction in make-up to inexperienced women and girls. Indeed, this year advertisements have actually appeared in the public press in which women offer "to keep ladies' faces in order by the year." Hüttner believed that the Englishwomen had reduced the application of make-up to an art, constituting in this regard, a pleasant contrast to the negligent untidiness of their Parisian sisters; and that in fact this remarkable art of imitating nature to the greatest possible degree in the borrowed flush of their cheeks contributed greatly to the enhancement of their beauty. Every conceivable mixture of red and white was drawn into service. The toilette table of a lady with its "Netherland pink" or "Bavarian red water" for the production of blushes, and with its Chinese pigments, constituted a whole chemical laboratory. In one of his charming poetic notations on the eighteenth century, Austin Dobson comments on these ladies of St. James who were painted to the eyes, so that their white stayed forever and their red never died. These facts enable us to appreciate fully the significance of a statement made by Lord Chesterfield to Voltaire. When the latter inquired of the British courtier what constituted the difference between English and French beauties, he answered that he was no judge of paintings.

The use of powder which had been known in England since the sixteenth century was carried to absurd lengths during the eighteenth. In 1795 a tax which greatly embittered the people was levied on powder. By the middle of June of that year 300,00 people had already registered their desire to use powder for a year's time, and paid their guinea for the

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privilege. Others eschewed the privilege of powdering themselves but continued to powder their dogs or horses since no tax had been levied on animal indulgence in talc. This tax had the salubrious effect of engendering an energetic opposition to extravagant powdering. This anti-powder movement was led by the Duke of Bedford. Archenholtz has reported the following interesting details concerning the efforts of these crusaders: The Duke of Bedford arranged a most unusual scene. In September 1795 he planned a pleasure party to Woburn Abbey and took along with him many of his friends among whom were Lord L. Russell, Villiers and Paget, the members of Parliament, Lambton, Day and Vernon, and various others distinguished in rank and reputation. In an open space near the abbey, the whole party went through the solemn ceremony of combing the powder out of their hair and then cutting it. All the heads were roundly shaved and all the members of the party pledged themselves upon the pain of a considerable fine, to abstain from curling the hair or powdering it for a given length of time. This example of these doughty crusaders was soon followed by the counties of Bedfordshire and Hampshire, and here the women vied with men, not in cutting the hair forsooth, but in eliminating the powder.

A particular cosmetic specialty of the eighteenth century was the care of the hands, which aimed at keeping the hands soft and white by the aid of certain lotions, perfumes and gloves. Miss Bellamy has related in her memoirs that people used to make her thousands of ridiculous compliments daily on the whiteness of her hands but in her opinion she had not by any means achieved perfection in this regard. For this reason she was always intent on making her hands even whiter. Before retiring for the night her maid helped her pull specially constructed and very tight gloves over her hands and then tied her arms to the head of the bed. In the morning her arms would be totally lame as a result of the continuous pressure on the nerves. These practices had so ruinous an effect that she was finally compelled to submit to a very long and radical cure.

There were also specialists in the cutting of nails. "Fifteen years ago (1772)," wrote Archenholtz, "there was a man in London who asserted

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that he had a special method of cutting nails so that they would assume an attractive shape, and in general serve the purpose of lending greater charm to the hands, which constitute so important an element in a woman's beauty. The ladies of England were not at all indifferent to these promises, and they flocked to his shop. As a result of this flourishing business he inhabited a large house and maintained his own equipage. For two years this professor of manicure plied his trade and amassed a considerable fortune; nevertheless he managed so poorly that when he left London he departed a debtor to the tune of £3,000."

The perfuming of gloves was known in England as early as 1600 when the Earl of Oxford imported the mode from Italy. The University of Cambridge made Queen Elizabeth a gift of a pair of gloves, embroidered with gold threads and perfumed. However it is asserted that even Henry VIII and Queen Mary had already worn scented gloves.

During the reign of Queen Anne the use of perfumes increased to a tremendous degree. Manufacturers of perfume became rich and attracted to themselves the attention of contemporary writers. Thus one of these manufacturers, Mr. Charles Lillie, was mentioned in Steele's "Tatler" and the "Spectator." A certain Mr. Payne who had his shop near St. Paul's Churchyard in the vicinity of Cheapside, advertised his incomparable, perfumed drops for towels and other linens, clothes, gloves, etc., which did not stain, and disseminated the most ravishing odor, and in addition were an excellent remedy against all headaches and brain pains. These wonderful drops because of their wonderful scent which "animates and refreshes all the senses, animal and vital, revives the spirit and rejoices the heart and exorcises melancholy" were recommended for the perfuming of the whole body, clothing, beds, drawers, coffers, etc.

With regard to the history of the prevention of venereal diseases in England, we must mention first the condom, that sheath for the covering of the male member during coitus. This instrument is generally regarded as having been devised by the British physician Condom who lived during the reign of Charles II. This husk which may be made of caoutchouc, fish bladders, or the cæcum of lambs, served for the prevention of venereal

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infection. Despite the most zealous investigations, I have been unable to discover anything at all concerning the personality of this seventeenth-century physician. Already during the sixteenth century physicians recommended sheaths of linen for the male organ. That similar contrivances were in use during the seventeenth century may be seen from a reference in a pornographic book, "*L'école des filles*," which appeared in 1655, even before the reign of Charles II. Here Suzanne explains to Fanchon that the men drew "*un petit linge*" over their organ which received the ejaculated semen. Nevertheless, the improvement of these envelopes through the employment of animal membranes may be due to the aforementioned English physician who was regarded by later writers as the inventor of the condom. Casanova has also spoken of little precautionary coverings which the English discovered. In the eighteenth century condoms were generally disseminated in England. Hector France has mentioned a modern English specialty in this field—condoms with a portrait of Gladstone and other important personages.

Bee has informed us that at this time the word "relieved" was popularly employed as a "*terminus technicus*" to designate artificial abortion of a foetus. Already then the newspapers carried such criminal advertisements. A certain White who lived in the vicinity of St. Paul's Cathedral made a profession of inducing abortions. In more recent times Pisanus Fraxi has reported on the wide dissemination of these criminal practices in England, which are much more numerous than the cases which get to court, permit us to realize. A man who had thoroughly investigated these conditions wrote him as follows: "I know of a case where the girl went to a surgeon in the west end and found seven young women in the waiting room, all of whom were there to be operated upon. She had the same experience on two subsequent visits to this same physician. These women were principally ballet-girls or women connected with the theater in some way or other. The honorarium for the job, payable in advance of course, amounted to £5."

In addition, internal remedies were used to induce abortion. According to Taylor, Englishwomen use various herbs, drugs and chemical preparations. The "*Maiden-Pills*" of a French doctor enjoy a large custom,

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and there is furthermore a large demand for certain apparatus which have been invented by English and American physicians.

For women and girls who hesitated to adopt such criminal remedies or who had used them in vain, there were already in the eighteenth century occasional establishments and institutions for secret deliveries. "We have a number of private houses," wrote Hüttner, "to which young women come secretly and deposit their bastards. Almost every newspaper contains announcements of one or more houses of this sort and they all do a most thriving business." Archenholtz gives further details concerning these establishments. He has informed us that in London there were houses where women were delivered of the undesirable fruits of their passion and folly. Here they were treated with the greatest courtesy and care, and no comfort was denied them. The name and rank of the patients remained unknown not only to the attendants of the establishment, but even to the proprietor. Hence these mothers could be as certain of their secret being kept as though they had been delivered in another kingdom, especially if they chose a maternity home at some distance from their residence. The location of such institutions was brought to the attention of prospective patrons by newspaper advertisements, and by placards and signs affixed to the places in question or set up in the street nearby.

In connection with pregnancy we ought to mention two interesting books that saw the light of day at that time.

One, from the pen of John Henry Maclerc, who wrote under the pseudonym of Jacob Blondel, was epoch making in the history of the doctrine of the supposed ability of certain sights seen by pregnant women, or certain fears experienced by her during her period of pregnancy, to influence the foetus. In 1727 Maclerc wrote this dissertation on the imagination of pregnant women under the title "Three remarkable physical treatises of the imaginative capacities of pregnant women and the influence of this power of imagination upon their foetuses." In this work Maclerc subjected that doctrine to such a thorough criticism that little was left of this ancient belief.

The second owes its origin to a dispute which arose at that time be-

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tween Albrecht v. Haller and Casper Friedrich Wolff concerning various theories of reproduction. It is a very delightful satire by Sir John Hill, or according to the bibliographer Lowndes, by F. Coventry. Its title characterizes its contents quite adequately, "*Lucina sine concubitu*, a letter to the Royal Academy of Sciences in which is demonstrated in an incontrovertible way, from reason as well as from experience, that a woman can become gravid without the aid of man, and can subsequently bring her child into the world." As a counter-blast to this, Richard Roe wrote a second satire bearing the following title in the French edition of Combes: "*Concubitus sine Lucina, ou le plaisir sans peine. Réponse à la lettre: Lucina sine concubitu*," and later in the translation of Mercier de Compiègne under the even more vivid title "*Lucine affranchie des lois de concours*." Further bibliographical details may be found in H. Hayn's "*Bibliotheca Germanorum gynæcologica et cosmetica*," and J. Gay's "*Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour*."

Diseases of the genital organs are mentioned as far back as in mediæval English medical books. But prior to the fifteenth century, only purely local disturbances are mentioned, viz., sores, ulcers, and suppurative discharges, which are commonly designated by the general name of "burning" or "brenning." It was not until 1496 that syphilis was introduced into England, probably by English mercenaries who had fought in Italy in 1495 under Charles VIII. This new disease was termed "Spanish pox" or "French pocks" and in Bristol it was known as "*Morbus Burdigalensis*" because it had been introduced there from Bordeaux in 1498. Somewhat later the belief became current that all forms of venereal disease were identical, and this erroneous doctrine was confirmed in England by the famous experiments of John Hunter, known to every visitor of London because of the Hunter Museum named after him. Not until Ricord's brilliant experiments was the opposite position regarded as proved, i.e., that syphilis is a disease differing entirely from local venereal afflictions.

What with the commercial relations of the English which early became very far-flung, it was only to be expected that venereal diseases would soon achieve an extraordinary dissemination. This was the more

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to be expected as London had become the metropolis most sought after by foreigners and travelers. In an old work which appeared in 1749 under the expansive title of "Satan's Harvest Home or the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping, etc." there can be read the following: "The greatest evil accompanying prostitution and the greatest which could have befallen mankind is the spread of that infectious disease called 'French pox,' which has spread such incredible ruin in all of Europe during the last two centuries. In these realms it so seldom fails to accompany whoredom, which today is known as gallantry and fine deportment, that a healthy constitution is looked upon as a sign of poor education and vulgarity. Indeed a perfectly healthy young fellow is looked upon askance as though he had spent his life in a peasant's hut. . . . Our nobility seems to be distinguished by poor health which is quite probably a consequence of this pernicious disease. Men transmit it to their women folks, wives to their husbands or even to their children, these to their nurses and the latter in turn to other children, so that no time of life, no sex or condition is quite free from this malady." That syphilis was very common in the smart English society of the eighteenth century is confirmed by the author of the "Serails de Londres." Even foreigners knew this and were afraid of London on this score. It was Schütz's opinion that visitors to London were generally quite untrustworthy on the subject of their diseases; for if strict inquiry were to be made into their way of life, it would soon be discovered that the sensual pleasures which London had so amply stored up for them were more responsible for the diseases of the visitors than the moderate climate.

It will be recalled that in Gay's "Beggar's Opera" the brothel-keeper Mrs. Trapes complains that eleven of her fine customers were already in the hands of the surgeon. Yet other brothel owners were much more solicitous concerning the welfare of their clientele. Like the famous Mrs. Goadby, they kept a physician whose function it was to supervise the health of the girls before they were accepted into the brothel. Every doubtful or questionable case had to be dismissed. Girtanner has mentioned another interesting precautionary measure. It was the custom

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among the young and dissolute blades to carry with them at all times a bit of bacon to use in an emergency, and to smear it upon the phallus before intercourse.

Even the old motif of transferring venereal disease out of revenge confronts us here ever so often. In the "Serails de Londres" we read of a nobleman who related to the panderess Charlotte Hayes that he had made a wager with a rival for the love of his wife that the lover would within a month acquire syphilis from the adulterous wife. Hence he appealed to Charlotte Hayes to find him a syphilitic girl by the aid of whom he would be able to avenge himself upon his rival. Hayes found him such a vessel at the price of thirty pounds; and the infected girl did readily transmit her infection to the blade in question.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the frequent incidence of syphilis in children was appalling. If Ryan was correct in asserting that every year the brothels received one hundred thousand boys, then we must not be surprised that during 1827 to 1835 there were noted not less than two thousand seven hundred cases of venereal diseases in children from eleven to sixteen years of age. Logan who reported these facts also related that in one of the London hospitals he had found five little girls, aged 8 to 13, who were suffering from a shameful condition. The mother of the last one was herself afflicted with this disease. Three of the children were seduced in their mother's home—and not by other children. In London one can even find special children's hospitals for these youthful prostitutes; here children from ten to fourteen who suffer from venereal diseases, may be cured. Among these hospitals for venereal diseases may be mentioned Lock Hospital at Harrow Road which was founded as early as 1746. Abundant details about the number of patients treated in this and other hospitals have been left us by Lecour in his work on prostitution in Paris and London. According to Ryan, from January 1747 until March 1836, 44,973 venereal patients were treated at the Lock Hospital.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, venereal diseases were so extremely common in London and the English harbor cities, that a so-called health bureau was organized to insure a supply of healthy

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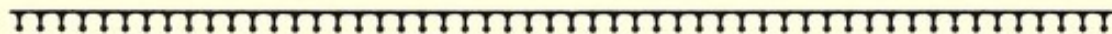
prostitutes. The latter would receive from the examining physicians assigned to these functions, certificates attesting to their health and freedom from lues.

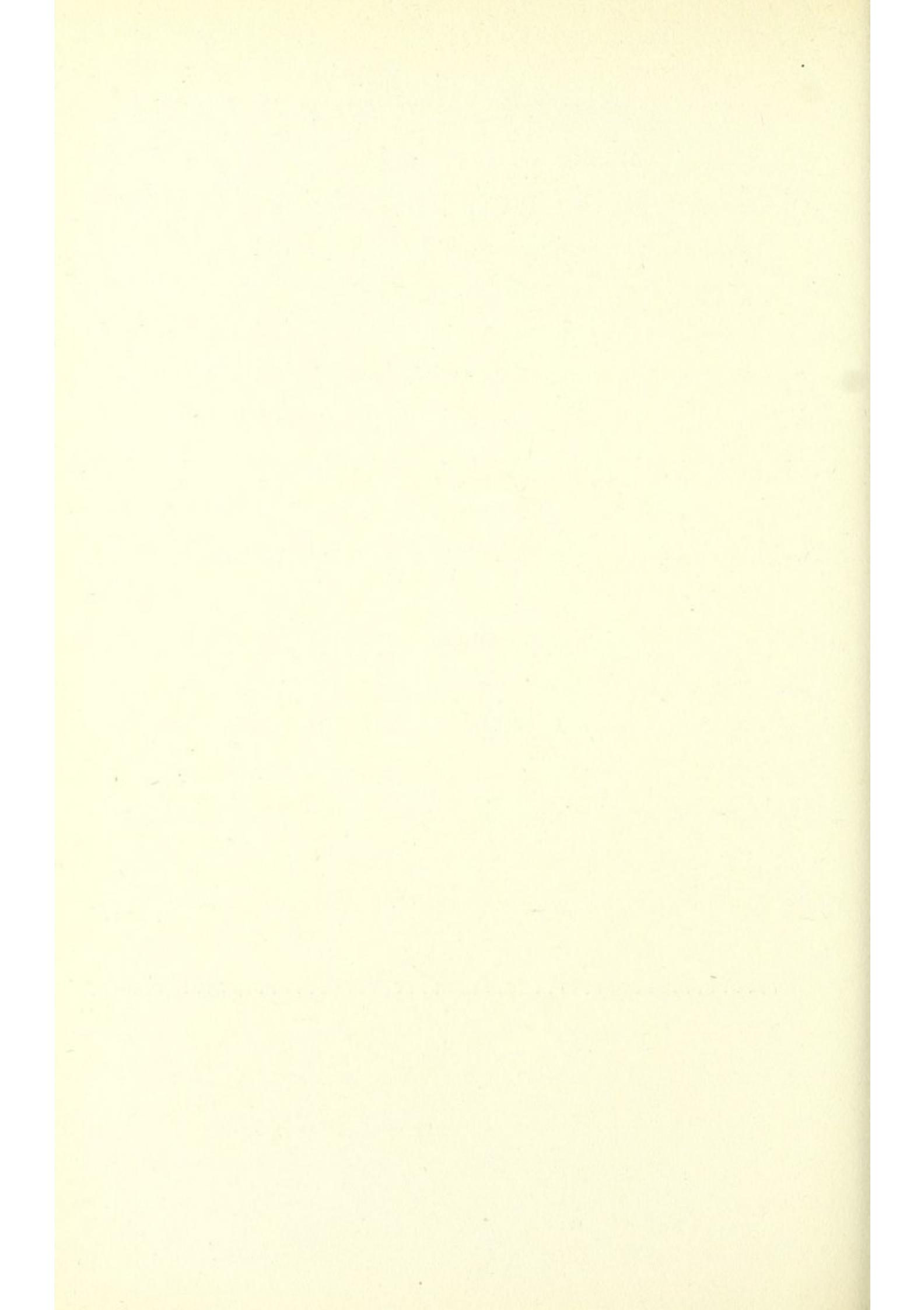
That England, because of its tremendous transatlantic commerce and its colonial empire extending over the whole globe, was the chief seat of venereal infection and was instrumental in disseminating this virus, has been asserted by Jeannel in his important work on prostitution during the nineteenth century. And it received confirmation from Tarnowsky.

In the very recent past, however, it appears that matters have improved. As a result of the amelioration of socio-economic circumstances, and of the gradual education of the people to a realization of the dangers and consequences of venereal diseases, the number of those afflicted with syphilis has diminished considerably in England. At the present time among unmarried Englishmen there can be noted a great diffidence in indulging in unregulated extra-marital satisfaction of the sexual impulse, and early marriages are becoming more acceptable wherever economic circumstances permit.



VOLUME
TWO





9

FLAGELLATION

IX

FLAGELLATION

FLAGELLATION, or the fondness for administering thrashings and whippings, may well be termed a vice peculiar to the English. Indeed, one may regard this passion, so widespread among all classes and age groups, as the most interesting chapter in the history of English sexual life. Moreover, it can little be doubted that this punishment has frequently resulted in aphrodisiacal effects, or that it was often administered for sexual motives. The relationship of active or passive flagellation to the sexual motives has certainly been well known everywhere at all times. But in no land has the passion for the rod been as systematically developed and cultivated as in England. In no land has the whole literature, decent and pornographic, since the seventeenth century, been as filled with the theme of flagellation as here. Similarly, nowhere else have the stage and daily press treated these themes with such publicity, which is all the more remarkable in view of the prudery of the English in all other sexual matters. Finally, no other people can point to such a goodly number of artists who have devoted their talents to this unique subject as England.

What is the explanation of this widespread interest in flagellation in England? It is almost certainly due to the fact that in the other west European lands this passion has always appeared under the protective mantle of religion, whereas in England its purely secular character was bound to give a great impetus to its wide dissemination.

Long ago Giovanni Frustra remarked, in his "Flagellation and the Jesuit Confessionals," that in England—the classical land of freedom—beat-

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ing, whipping and lashing were of great antiquity, despite the fact that there were no Jesuits there. Domestic education was prosecuted with uncommon strictness and flagellation employed for both sexes.

My friend, Pisanus Fraxi, who died in 1900, was the greatest authority on the sexual life and perversion of human beings all over the earth and among all peoples. This great erudition he had acquired in his extensive travels through all the continents of our globe. Despite the fact that he himself was an Englishman, he was in full agreement with my notion that the vice of flagellation is idiosyncratic to the English. Indeed upon this subject we can cite as testimony his own words culled from the introduction to the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," that remarkable volume of "notes bio-biblio-iconographical and critical on curious and uncommon books": "The inclination most cultivated by the English is undoubtedly that for flagellation. Naturally it cannot be denied that in all the Catholic lands the rod is used by priests as an instrument to satisfy their lasciviousness. Yet in no other country has this vice struck deeper roots than in England. This is a matter of fact and record which, were discretion not to forbid it, could be illustrated by examples of men occupying the highest places in diplomacy, literature and the army who at the present time glorify this idiosyncrasy; and it would be just as easy to list the places which they patronize to indulge these desires. Innumerable books in the English language are devoted to this one subject; furthermore no English eroticum is free from depictions of flagellation. The rod has separated men and women; its devotees have made the most refined girls' schools serve their lusts and even in earlier times the problem was discussed upon the stage with utter frankness."

Perhaps the most substantial proof of England's supremacy in the matter of this sexual practice is the fact that the more recent literature on flagellation produced in Germany and France consists largely of translations or imitations of English originals. Neither French nor German literature has ever manifested this tendency to the extent that it is found in English literature, erotic and non-erotic. Among the other nations it was a few voluptuaries and impotent individuals who resorted to the use of the rod as an aphrodisiac measure; but in England there

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existed a veritable passion for the rod which was much more general than in other lands.

The writer of the introduction to one of the best known English books on flagellation, "Venus School Mistress of Birchen Sports," has made the following statement: "Many people who are insufficiently acquainted with human nature believe that the passion for flagellation must be confined either to old fellows or to chappies who have become enervated by sexual debauchery. But that is not the case. There are as many young men and men at the full tide of their life who are a prey to this passion as there are senile and impotent addicts to this vice." The author thereupon goes on to mention a goodly number of such lovers of the rod, among whom are included generals, admirals, mayors, captains, bishops, judges, advocates, lords, members of the House of Commons and physicians. The same thing could be said of the female sex among whom the use of the twig was not confined to the lower classes but practiced in the very highest circles.

Taine is inclined to see the most general cause of the passion for the rod of the Anglo-Saxon race in their excessive indulgence in flesh and alcohol. After the enjoyment of vast quantities of meat and its immersion within great seas of alcohol, the coarse human animal comes at last to the sensual pleasure.

But in addition to this mode of living there is another element that plays an important role in the history of English flagellation. That is the sexual motive. To understand this one must have a clear picture of the general relation between sexuality and flagellation.

The scientific knowledge of these relations are of comparatively recent date. The first physician to write on the question of erotic flagellation was Johann Heinrich Meibom, senior, professor of medicine at Helmstadt. The idea for this book was derived from a conversation at the table of a Lübeck patrician. The question had been raised concerning the medical value of flagellation. Meibom asserted that flagellation could be used for medical purposes. Later, in 1629, to further clarify his views on the subject, he published his famous dissertation, "Tractatus de usu flagrorum in re medica et venerea" ("Treatise on the uses of whipping in its

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medical and sexual relationship"). It bases itself on Aristotle, Galen, Coelius Aurelianus, Phazes, Avicenna, Petronius, Ovid, Tibullus, Apuleius, Menghus, Faventius, Pico della Mirandola, Coelius Rhodiginus, etc., whom Dr. Meibom regards as the predecessors of his theory in asserting that flagellation is one of the most powerful aphrodisiacs.

The most famous author on flagellation, after Meibom, and the first historian of the practice was the Abbé Boileau, a brother of the famous poet. His work first appeared in 1700 in Latin as: "*Historia flagellantium, de recto et perverso flagrorum usu apud Christianos*," but was soon translated into French, the best French translation being that of the Abbé Granet. It dealt with religious flagellation from the earliest times until the end of the seventeenth century. Everywhere the author placed special emphasis upon the dangers of flogging and he mercilessly exposed the criminal conduct of certain sects and orders in this regard. It is not remarkable, therefore, that this book was roundly attacked by the latter, especially the Jesuits. The poet, Boileau, then took up the cudgels and wrote a set of verses in answer to the religious broadsides being leveled at him: "To combat the false piety which, under the pretext of exorcising from us all joy for the sake of austerity and penitence, does nothing more than light the fires of lubricity."

A copy of Boileau's work was found and purchased in Italy by an Englishman, J. L. Delolme, who subjected the work to a thorough reworking, and supplied it with a commentary. In 1777 the whole was issued in the English tongue, and it is a valuable contribution. "The History of the Flagellants, or the Advantages of Discipline: Being a Paraphrase and Commentary on the '*Historia Flagellantium*' of the Abbé Boileau, Doctor of the Sorbonne, etc. By one who is not doctor of the Sorbonne (J. L. Delolme)." In 1784 a new edition appeared under the title of "Memorials of Human Superstition."

From the medical point of view the Geneva physician, François Amédée Doppet, investigated the importance of flagellation as an aphrodisiac and published a small but valuable booklet on the subject.

But the most valuable book on flagellation has yet to be published. It is known to just a few that the learned diplomat, Karl Freiherr von Mar-

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tens (1790-1862; see "Brockhaus Konversations-lexikon") worked for many years on the theme of flagellation, but death prevented him from finishing it. Concerning this matter the bibliographer, Grässe, has written the following in his "Trésor de livres rares": "It is a pity that this unique work concerning the chastisements and punishments of monks and nuns which Baron Karl von Martens undertook was never completed. He started out with the theory that all these measures were invented, undertaken and carried out for the sole purpose of satisfying sexual desires. As sources and illustrative materials for his investigations in this subject he had accumulated an almost perfect collection of instruments of flogging and chastisement which after his death were publicly exhibited in Dresden."

We may consider as a partial substitute for this work of large scope and proportions, the work on the history of the rod from the pen of James G. Bertram. In 1870 this book saw the light under the title, "Flagellation and the Flagellants, A History of the Rod in all countries from the earliest period to the present time," and was attributed to the pen of "Rev. Wm. Cooper, B.A." Despite the absence of exact quotation and references, this book is still the best one on the various fashions of applying the rod, and is a relatively complete collection of the material scattered through Martens' work.

The admirable treatise on flagellation in "Centuria Librorum Absconditorum," from the pen of Pisanus Fraxi, may be regarded as an exemplary specimen of bibliography and the history of literature which must remain a model for later researches in this field. The more recent flagellant literature has drawn much from Fraxi's work: Michael's history of the rod, translated by Hurlbert into English under the title "The story of the stick in all ages and lands"; also Jean de Villiot in his various compendia, which include some novel things among their repetitions; the investigation of flagellation in belletristic literature by Ullo entitled "Die Flagellomanie"; and finally the useful book of Hansen, "Stick and Whip—their use and abuse in modern education and punishment."

Among the more recent authors who have dealt with this theme scientifically is A. Eulenberg who in his book, "Sadismus und Masochis-

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mus," has garnered numerous details interesting from the point of view of literary history. Furthermore, the present writer has expounded a new theory of flagellation based on its physiological elements in "Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia sexualis," as well as in the "Sexual Life of Our Time."

Before we go on to a closer examination of the individual elements and relationships of sexual flagellation and its practice in England we must consider whether whipping was known in antiquity as an aphrodisiac. Two modern, well-known authors have answered this question in the negative.

Pisanus Fraxi has said: "In Rome the lash was freely used against slaves, children and even against actors. But I am not acquainted with a single reference in Greek or Roman books which would lead us to suppose that flagellation was ever used directly as a means of exciting the sexual impulse."

This opinion was shared by Eulenberg who asserted that the authors of classic antiquity nowhere show any certain traces of familiarity with the aphrodisiac properties of flagellation.

Even if it be admitted that the association of sexual flagellation with religious usages (whipping expeditions, "discipline" of monks and nuns), met with in the Christian middle ages and modern times, was as good as unknown to antiquity, nevertheless there is incontrovertible evidence that the sexually stimulating effect of flogging was well known to the ancients. When one remembers that in sexual flagellation (at least of the active type) the buttock attractions of the flogged individual play an important role, and that the Greeks even venerated a Venus Kallipygos and arranged infamous buttock games in her honor, at which orgiastic movements of that portion of the anatomy constituted the chief charm for the spectators, then we may be permitted to assume that the relation of flagellation to these aspects of the erotic realm was not unknown. There is another significant testimony to the fact that the Hellenes were acquainted with erotic flagellation, namely, that certain hetærae had nicknames which indicated that they had reputations as flagellants: the Kame-tupe (*kamen*—to work, and *tupes*, blow), concerning whom Timocles

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reported that it was a great delight to be beaten by her lovely hand. Finally there are two more items testifying to the relationship mentioned above: the tale of Lucian concerning the cynic, Peregrinus Proteus, who surrendered himself to masturbation in front of the assembled group and at the same time permitted himself to be flogged by some of the assemblage; and secondly, the annual public whipping of young men in Spartan temples carried out under the supervision of priestesses. Both of these bits of information evince definite erotic nuances.

When it comes to the ancient Romans, the existence of sexual flagellation among them cannot be denied at all. Unless we assume that the Romans were acquainted with the aphrodisiac effect of flagellation, it would be difficult to explain the ancient festival of the Lupercalia. When the women of Rome and Italy found difficulty in conceiving, Juno, to whom they had turned for counsel and succor would proclaim, "Italidas matres, inquit, caper hirtus inito!" Fortunately there was an augurer hard by who understood the injunction to offer up a goat "cum grano salis," and forthwith commanded to bring straps of a goat's hide and lash therewith the hind cheeks of the women, which action would be calculated to make them fertile. From this procedure there developed the feast of the Lupercal observed on February fifteenth of every year—at which women ran about naked and were beaten by naked Luperci who wielded goaten straps. The poet, Ausonius, also refers to this fondness of the Romans for flagellation. Festus has left us a report of people who let themselves be thrashed for money. These were known as "flagratores." Obviously these individuals served the lusts of active flagellants by satisfying their sexual desires.

Especially favored by the Romans was that sort of erotic flagellation known as "urtication," which means lashing one with nettles. In Petronius' *Satyricon*, Enothea obtained a bushel of green nettles whereby she hoped to restore the impotent Encolpius to renewed powers. With them she belabors all there is of him below the navel.

Very interesting in this connection is the remark found in the Talmud that a beating over the back may be the cause of a seminal ejaculation.

After all this, it can scarcely be doubted that the ancients already knew

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of and used flagellation as an aphrodisiac. Still it was not until the Middle Ages that sexual flagellation achieved a systematic development and expansion which came about through its connection with religion, as presented to us in the phenomena of flagellantism or whipping pilgrimages and monasterial discipline. The flogging sport with the accompanying aura and aroma of sanctimoniousness which called forth, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such insane cramps of passion and pain, became in later times confined to the "discipline" whose "sine qua non" was immoral exposure. The latter began with an "upper" exposure and later descended until it became a lower one, and in this latter process the flogging of the rump played the chief part. Concerning this practice, there are extant the most detailed accounts in the histories of monks, convents, Jesuits and other religious orders.

It cannot be doubted that until very recent times the institution of religious flagellation has much to do with the spreading of flagellation in secular circles as well. For the monks and nuns soon passed from self- and mutual-flagellation to the flogging of their devotees who came to them for confession. In this way they developed countless lovers of the rod, both active and passive, who in turn passed this vice on to ever wider circles.

If erotic flagellation may be explained as serving the purpose of arousing the libido sexualis, or being an accompaniment of the sexual act, or being a substitute for the latter in view of the natural phenomena of the vita sexualis, then it must be added, similar phenomena can be observed not only in man but also in the animal world as well. The physiologist, Burdach, has called to our attention numerous interesting details from the realm of nature relative to this point. Many animals even have special organs of irritation. Thus the scorpion, under the lid of the genital opening, has a comb on either side, which is probably used as a device whereby male and female stroke each other mutually. Among the animal forms *Helix* and *Parmacella*, there can be found, in a blind appendix of the common genital cavities, the so-called love arrow, a small, pointed, chalk-like square body which rests on a small nipple. After they have turned the genital apertures inside out, the arrows come out, and mutu-

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ally wound each other at some point. Every snail fears this and hides in its shell when it sees the arrow of another. However, the male finally reaches the female, inflicts the wound, and then starts the chase anew. Other animals wound each other in different ways. The cock picks at the neck and occiput of the hen. The male aguti inflicts a deep biting wound in the neck, as does the wild tomcat. Among others the irritation consists of a soft beating. Thus the female fish taps on the posterior surface of the male's body with her head; the tritons put their heads together and then the male raises his comb, moves it right and left, and with his twisted tail strikes the female; the male of the *salamandra exigua* bends its tail forward, moves it very rapidly and then strikes the female with it; the male of the *salamandra platycauda* takes its position at the side of the female, gets a grip with its forefeet, beats the water with its tail and, approaching nearer and nearer to the female, beats her.

It follows from all this that among animals certain painful manipulations may be undertaken in order to arouse and strengthen the sexual impulse. These painful manipulations consist of biting, pricking and, especially, of beating. What happens among salamanders and tritons can be regarded as a typical case of flagellation "ante coitum."

In man, while sexual flagellation as such cannot be regarded as normal, yet it can be derived or deduced from the natural accompaniments of the customary sexual act.

Hence flagellation has become the usual method of indulging sadistic impulses because in it especially there are united all the physiological, sadistic accompaniments of sexual intercourse. Only in flagellation can the sadist enjoy the complete ensemble of etiological moments which arouse in him sadistic feelings of pleasure. For this reason flagellation is generally explained as an imitation and a conscious syntheses of all the physiological sadistic accompaniments of coitus.

Certain expressions, movements and color changes of the flogged individual are similar to those that occur during the sex act and therefore they can arouse associations of ideas similar to those aroused by sexual impressions.

Let us now examine the individual motives for sexual flagellation. It

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should be emphasized at the outset that when we speak of the latter, reference is generally made to the most customary form of the practice—the flogging of the rump. For this practice there is another mediate cause, other than the erotic: the purely erotic charm emanating from these corporeal areas.

It is certainly true that posteriors above the normal size, such as are found among certain negro peoples and the Hottentots, exercise a strong attraction for certain individuals. For this reason flagellants not infrequently resort to artificial enlargement of this area.

In England this extraordinary fondness for the mere sight of callipygous charms created a unique type of prostitute, the so-called "posture girls." This type seems to have come into being about 1750, for they are mentioned in various erotic books published at that time. Thus in the "History of the Human Heart, or the Adventures of a Gentleman," there are references to the "posture girls" who stripped naked and mounted on a table to demonstrate their posterior attractions. In the fifth tale of the "New Atlantis" for the year 1762, titled "The Royal Rake, or the Adventures of Prince Yorick," "Posture Nan" is mentioned as being the greatest master in this art of her sex.

In discussing the motives for the act of flagellation, we must also mention attractions of a coloristic nature which pass before the eye of the active flagellant before and during the process. In general it can be safely asserted that color plays a considerable part in the *vita sexualis* of both sexes.

The strong peculiar sexual attraction of these areas, engorged by the blows, is strongly emphasized in all flagellational writings. Frustra has reported that a famous and distinguished German princeling of the eighteenth century, who was terribly in love with his young and pretty wife, never found her more lovely than when he had given her a sound thrashing with a rod. After such a ministration—which she enjoyed but little—she could obtain from him anything she pleased. That which attracted him most in the whole proceeding was the changing color of her skin. For hours he would contemplate these colored charms and the eye alone was not satisfied with seeing. Similar things are related by Brantôme in his

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"*Dames galantes.*" I have already called attention to the fact that this passion for the changes in color during flagellation can be seen in many pictorial illustrations of flagellational scenes wherein the flogged parts are painted a garish red.

The strong movements and pulsations which come over the flogged parts during the beating, and which can be regarded as an imitation of certain movements during coitus, may be said to constitute another attraction. The ancient Hindus, who achieved great things in respect to the observation and analysis of the external phenomena of the libido sexualis, listed as one of the symptoms of the passionate heat of women, the quivering movements of the buttocks.

Cooper has said that among the elements that combine to form the passion of flagellation, the chief component would seem to be a feeling of satisfaction at the pain of others, arising from the evil that, together with the good, is found in every human heart. Another element is undoubtedly the close relationship between cruelty and passion which finds enjoyment in the sight of the ridiculous movements and convulsions of the flogged individual.

Those cases where individuals are inordinately fond of whippings may be explained as due to sadistic impulses. An officer who had frequently looked on while his younger sister was chastised, later became the prey of a wholly insane passion for flogging.

These sadistic flagellants became most excited by the sight of flowing blood induced by the whipping. For this reason the beating must always continue until this point in order to afford the flagellant the desired pleasure. In this thirst for blood, Dufour has seen the characteristic difference between ancient and Christian flagellation. In ancient times the usage of flagellation was well known to all debauchees who invoked its aid to prepare themselves for the pleasures of love. But in the Middle Ages, if erotic flagellation was practiced only rarely and secretly, it had the character of sanguinary ferocity.

In passive flagellation the masochistic element occupies the foreground of the picture. According to Krafft-Ebing, passive flagellation is the principal device employed by those afflicted by the perversion of masochism

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to create or express the situation they desire so warmly—namely, that of subjugation to woman. Such a situation has been drawn for us rather drastically by Hans Baldung in his picture which represents Phyllis using Aristotle as a horse and driving him with a whip. The following case, reported by Cooper, also illustrates the masochism of the flagellated: A nobleman of the time of George II hired a house in London, and a pretty housekeeper as well. Once a week she would have ready for him everything needed to scour a house. In addition she would have two women, one representing the housekeeper and the other a servant girl. Both of these hired women would have to aid in the scrubbing. There now ensued the housecleaning with the nobleman participating actively in all the tasks. During this scene he would be acting like a girl just out of the poorhouse, and doing the cleaning as carelessly and untidily as though the lack of neatness and polish had been bred in him by long years of life spent in those horrid institutions. So poorly did he do his work in this game of housecleaning that he required a beating. And so the final move in the game was made. One, or both of the women hired for the day, was expected at this point to set upon him and belabor him heftily, as though he were actually an orphan and they really the kindly guardians of the unfortunate youngsters cooped up in those cruel orphanages.

In explaining medieval flagellationism and monasterial discipline, perhaps the most important element is the passionate emphasis of religious sensations which result from the close relationship between religion and passion. Indeed, in another work I have suggested that in a certain sense the history of religion is the history of one manifestation of the sexual impulse. In this theory I was preceded by Schubert in his profound work on dreams. Schubert's exact words, written in 1840, are: "Religion and sexuality touch each other most intimately in their 'Ahnung' of the metaphysical and their feeling of dependence. From this there spring those remarkable relationships between both, and those easy transitions of religious emotions into sexual ones which become evident in all the relationships of life." For this inner relationship between religious and sexual sensation Krafft-Ebing has set us the following significant formula: Religious and sexual emotional states show, at the height of their develop-

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ment, an agreement in the "quantum" and "quale" of their excitation and under suitable conditions may substitute one for the other.

The chief characteristic of religious flagellation of "askesis," self-humiliation, shows definite sexual elements. In this connection I have written the following: "After the vow of poverty, the most important psychological characteristic of asceticism is sexual abstinence, the fight against the flesh (among the ancient church fathers 'caro' always refers to the genitalia). But in order to combat this mighty sexual impulse, which in every person becomes at times even more mighty and irresistible, the ascetic must always be on guard against it, must always be thinking about it. In this way he becomes much more engrossed with the sexual drive than is the case with normal men. Sexual chastisement and sexual debauchery—these are the two poles between which the life of the ascetic moves; but in either case there is a strong undertow of sexuality in the troubled waters of the ascetic's life. Asceticism is frequently only a means of obtaining for oneself sexual pleasure in another form and in a heightened measure."

A remarkable case of the union of religion and passion was the English monarch, James II, one of the greatest voluptuaries of his time, but also an extremely bigoted and fanatical Catholic. His wife, Maria of Modena, who was most shabbily neglected and deceived by him, kept, as Macaulay relates, to the end of her life, the rod with which he avenged upon his own back the injustices he had committed against her. At her death she left this rod as a treasure to the cloister of Chaillot. The religious discipline rapidly brought sexual abuses in its wake, when it was undertaken in common by persons of both sexes, where women administered the chastisement to men, or men to women. A Puritan writer has remarked that the girl who had received a drubbing from a man was already on the road to debauchery.

Passive flagellation played a considerable role as a preparative to coitus. Pisanus Fraxi was of the opinion that if, indeed, flagellation had any value at all it was only as a preparatory act—an incentive to a higher pleasure, but not really itself the goal of the act. The physician, Meibom, even asserted that one could accurately observe the effect of flagellation

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in the supervention of erection. Frustra attributed this aphrodisiac effect of passive flagellation to the more rapid circulation of the blood. In passive flagellationism, particularly where it is undertaken out of mysticism or mania either by oneself or by others, and where it occurs in the discipline of monks in such uncommon and numerous variations, one can always observe the supervention of a passionate irritation occasioned by the accelerated circulation of the blood. This is especially true where the castigation has been inflicted by fine instruments.

As an example of the aforementioned preparatory effect of passive flagellation, we mention the case of the duchess, Leonore Gonzagh of Mantua, who suffered herself to be flogged with rods by her own mother that she might be the hotter in the embraces of her husband and thereby conceive the more surely.

However, it must be made clear that active flagellation also is frequently employed for preparatory aphrodisiac purposes—in order to put the flagellant quickly in a condition favorable for the practice of coitus. This holds true of men and women alike.

The preparatory, aphrodisiac properties of flagellation appear even more clearly in the following authenticated story: The elementary school teacher, Franjo. M. of Pozega, used to take five or six boys entrusted to his care and beat them upon their bare bodies mercilessly until their blood flowed. Then he would hasten away from the helpless youths and run directly to a common whore. During the flogging he would laugh with intense glee at the excruciating yells of the boys and his blue eyes would sparkle with passion.

The stimulatory effect of active flagellation has been employed for therapeutic purposes even more than the passive variety. Flagellation was adopted in all seriousness by the older physicians as a proved instrument against various hindrances to normal sexual intercourse and fertility, but above all, as an effective remedy for impotence. It was the Arabian physicians of Salerno especially that were wont to prescribe this remedy for the class of patients just discussed. Thus it is narrated of Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, Tasso's protector and persecutor, who was unable to beget

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a child by any of his three wives, that he could not have intercourse until he had suffered a mighty thrashing.

A very vivid account of the flagellation undergone and practiced in brothels, during the eighteenth century, by impotent worldlings may be found in Doppet's work, from which we now quote the following extract:

"Let us now transport ourselves in spirit for just a moment to that spot where passion and love is venal. Here we will find ample opportunity of convincing ourselves how frequently recourse is had to floggings in preparation for sacrificing to the god of love. Immediately upon entering that temple of Venus, you will notice various instruments of that sort scattered about. The priestess of passion shows you a bundle of rods tied together by a very elegant ribbon; and now she brings to your attention a knout which bears at the end of every strap a gold or silver tip and has a handle of rosewood and various other attractive devices. You ask her what these weapons are needed for? And she will answer you in a childish fashion that they serve to impart passion. No prostitute hesitated to use this instrument and knew well its efficacy when her client was a septuagenarian."

During my sojourn in Paris, I was called to one of the many harems which were found in the Rue St. Honoré to bring medical succor to a priestess of Venus who had become diseased in the service of her goddess. When I entered her room I heard from an adjoining room the curse words of some woman. Now the woman who was awaiting my visit bade me keep silent and lightly lifted a curtain permitting me to look into the adjoining room. The chief person, a charming brunette was exhibiting her breast, calves and posteriors. She was surrounded by four old men with stately perukes. Her position, clothing, attitude and gesturing led me to bite my lips lest I laugh aloud. These white-haired voluptuaries played the game children play ever so often—school, the half-naked female impersonating the teacher. The trollop, not leaving the bundle of rods out of her hand for a moment, tapped each of them in turn. He that received the most blows was also the most powerless among them. The sick doddering old fellows kissed their castigatress, while she

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mortified her own unchaste skin, and the comedy only neared its end when a sleepy and powerless nature resisted all efforts. My patient found my amazement very amusing and recounted many anecdotes of a more comical turn which were daily enacted in her cloister. She concluded by remarking that she had perhaps the most important establishment in Paris, for it enjoyed the distinction of being able to flog the most distinguished members of the church, state and commerce.

In flagellation writings the motif of impotence is very frequently employed. In the "Venus School-Mistress" a physician confers on an impotent husband a good flogging—while the patient is in bed; whereupon the sufferer is forthwith enabled to discharge his marital obligations. In England, too, flagellation was frequently employed for such purposes.

The use of castigation for the cure of female sterility is of great antiquity as the testimony of the Lupercalia proves. This practice played a considerable role in the superstitions of various peoples. Ploss and Bartels have pointed out numerous analogies to the Lupercalian strikings or lashings: the practice of young boys in Voigtland and other districts of Germany who, early Easter morning, drive girls from their beds with fresh green sprigs. . . . According to Pouqueville, it was customary at Athens for pregnant women, and for women who desired fertility, to rub themselves on a rock in the vicinity of Kallirrhoe, invoking the Fates and supplicating them for their grace. Of course this rubbing took place significantly enough with the lower half of the body.

Active, as well as passive, flagellation may, through repeated usage, become an indispensable attraction for the flagellants as well as the flagellated. I have stated elsewhere regarding schoolmasters, that whereas at the outset of their activity they may yet be free of any sadistic inclinations, nevertheless, as a result of continuous administration of these corporeal chastisements, the practices may gradually become thoroughly pleasurable.

According to one German scholar, floggings can be divided into state and private, public and secret, voluntary and involuntary, purposeful and unpurposeful, rationalistic and supernatural, religious and secular, regular and irregular, dry and wet, etc. Furthermore, we may distinguish

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them according to the subject who is administering the drubbing; the object receiving the beating; the materials used; the parts of the body in question; and the duration of the punishment.

An analysis not less subtle has been directed to the materials of castigation by Pater Gretser and Abbé Boileau. They have designated stocks, whips, knouts of cord, wire and strap, cowhide or brake, and rods of birch or bulrush to be the chief tools of castigation. Cooper's work contains an exhaustive chapter on instruments of flagellation. From this we gather that aside from the usual instruments of castigation to be enumerated hereafter, other articles may be used for the same purposes: hats, handkerchiefs, rulers, brooms, chains, hoes, fire-tongs, key-chains, fans, feather bundles, etc.

Of all these numerous devices of flagellation only a few achieved lasting and general popularity. Aside from the human hand which, to a certain extent is featured as a mild prelude to the act in many flagellational writings, by far the most significant role as instrument of flagellation is played by the rod—especially the birch rod. We might recollect at this point Samuel Butler's unequivocal celebration of the rod in his "Hudibras."

From Doppet's account, it appears that even in the eighteenth century the rod was a necessary part of the equipment of every brothel. Further confirmation of this is afforded by Hogarth's third sketch anent the progress of a strumpet, which represents a brothel room equipped with a rod. At the present time, prostitutes must have at least a couple of rods in their supply closet if they are to compete with others of their craft. Carlier, a former chief of police in Paris, and an exact student of these relationships, has asserted that among certain prostitutes, one can find a perfect arsenal of instruments of torture—knouts, rods, whips, leathern lashes tipped with nails, etc. The dried blood which covers these instruments is proof that they haven't merely been on display but that they have actually been employed to gratify unnatural whims.

A form of flagellation very popular in earlier times, and, even to this very day, is urtication or whipping with nettles, a practice described by

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Petronius. To this peculiar abuse there can be applied liberally the word of the learned Virey that passion is the sweeter the more it burns and smarts. The author of "Hudibras" also celebrated the nettles which aroused the passions. The physician, Christian Franz Paullini, knew an old gardener who, before every venereal exercise, would anoint his member with green nettles in order to carry out his desires with greater animation. Similarly, a woman by the name of Susanna Luasiz testified before the court that her husband used nettles to rub his membrum virile. On the basis of this report, Dr. Johann Christoph Westphal advised urtication as a remedy against impotence, for through it the tactual sense is affected and a greater circulation of blood is induced in the organ in question.

There are other peculiar types of flagellation. Thus in the eroticum, "Am Venusberg," it is set forth that fine-fibered asbestos is such a device. When it is pulverized and spread over an area of the human skin it elicits a violent prickling and burning, which increases the more one rubs or scratches the anointed area. Thereby the same effect is produced as by whipping but without entailing any injury to the skin.

The effects of both urtication and the rod are combined by a flagellational instrument not infrequently employed, the brush. This method is described in an English erotical book, "Lascivious Gems." Here Edward Tracy, who has been found impotent by his lover, is tied to the bedpost and belabored first with the rod and later with the brush. "Still I was not satiated. Seizing a hand-brush, I struck the raw flesh with the bristles, and scrubbed it with them. I then took the eau de cologne bottle from the dressing table and poured the contents over the parts, and resumed the use of the hair brush." Under these savage manipulations the poor lover gradually became weaker and finally fell into a faint.

Sophisticated flagellants have devised a plan whereby castigations could be administered by machines, and to more than one victim at a time. These queer gadgets are mostly of English or American provenience. Even in the eighteenth century, before the machine age, the English worldling, Chase Price, suggested the plan of a flagellating machine which could take care of forty victims at once. The famous actor, Samuel

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Foote, once had a long debate with the inventor of this contraption—in the brothel of Charlotte Hayes. Price actually wanted to have this machine patented. What is more, Talbot really saw such a remarkable punishing engine in some London brothel at about 1830. Since then Americans have taken up the idea. Thus the English magazine, "Society," published in its issue of October 14, 1899, a letter from one Henry Rowland which describes certain American devices of this sort. However, he denies any originality to the latter inasmuch as an old book he had once picked up on the Rue Montmartre already describes some devices having two rods for the synchronous flagellation of a boy and a girl.

But let it not be supposed that the American boast of marching in the van of civilization is an idle one. It remained for Americans to achieve something novel in this realm: applying electricity to the service of flagellation. Chicago newspapers have reported that an industrial school at Denver used an electrical flagellational apparatus as a supplementary technique in the education of their charges. De Villiot, who saw the device, has described it quite fully in his "Etude sur la flagellation" and the interested reader is referred to that work. Suffice it to say here that the operator had to seat his patient on a chair and press a button—the rest would be done by the current.

We turn now from flagellational instruments to the persons participating in the process. It is not a matter of indifference as to who wields the rod and in what manner it is handled.

To treat the second point first. In England particularly, flagellation has been developed to a true art and has created its own branch of prostitution—the so-called "governesses." In the introduction to "Venus School-Mistress" we read that the women who bring most pleasure to the lovers of discipline are called "governesses," because by virtue of their experience they have developed a tact and a *modus operandi* which most others lack.

Sexual flagellation requires great delicatessen and considerable *savoir faire* on the part of the flagellant, male or female. The author of a flagel-

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lational book that appeared in London during 1868 under the title "The Merry Order of St. Bridget, Personal Recollections of the Use of the Rod," has remarked that the use of the rod affords no pleasure when it is employed in the usual way as, for example, when an enraged woman inflicts a beating upon someone. Far different is the case when an elegant, well-educated woman belabors you with sedate manner and gracious mien; then both the infliction and suffering of the punishment is an actual pleasure.

Only rarely does sexual flagellation spread itself so as to include the whole body. However, in de Sade's "Justine," such a total flogging is inflicted by the Monk Clement. Meibom has mentioned the flogging of an arm alone—with sexual signification. The so-called "upper" discipline covered the shoulders, back and occasionally also breast, upper arm, neck and head, whereas the "lower" discipline included loins, hips and legs. Naturally the chief role in the lower discipline is played by the rump.

In certain cases the clothing of the flagellant, male or female, plays a large role. Numerous active flagellants of both sexes prefer to undress their victim partially as this has a much greater charm for them than complete disrobement. The author of the "Romance of Chastisement, or Revelations of the School and Bedroom" rightly regards the nakedness in the bath to be decent by comparison with the lascivious partial undressing of the boys and girls who are the recipients of the flogging.

A strong effect is frequently exercised upon the flagellant by the ensemble of clothes—the total costume. This goes for both active and passive flagellants. Thus, one passive flagellant required that the woman who was to beat him always had to dress in a nun's habit. In the "Romance of Chastisement," the girls all wear costumes of the Empire period. In the collection of anecdotes pertaining to flagellation entitled "Sublime of Flagellation," a young lover of the rod is so attracted by the costume of his lady love that he solicits a beating from her hand. He was charmed by her gold-spangled shoes, her silk stockings threaded with gold, her short petticoats and her jewelry.

Another group of lovers of the rod is composed of the so-called "Voyeurs," individuals who find sexual satisfaction in just seeing others

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practice flagellation. We find here that sexual excitation is not caused by active infliction or passive suffering of flagellation, but by the mere sight of such scenes. As a matter of fact some of these fellows actually detest carrying out the act and can only find satisfaction in seeing others do it.

Thus Frustra has reported the case of an officer who for many years would pay one or another official money for the privilege of witnessing the flogging of whores who had been arrested by the police and sentenced to this punishment.

The existence of female voyeurs is told in one section of the "Memoirs of John Bell, a Domestic Servant," which appeared in London in 1797. He took service in a family consisting of a rich widow, two nieces in their teens and a nephew of twelve years. When she engaged this servant, the pretty mistress stipulated that he would have to help her in everything. Pretty soon he found out what this entailed. She inquired whether he had ever flogged anyone and he replied that he had sometimes chastised his younger brother. Shortly thereafter, on slight provocation, she ordered the servant to thrash the young nephew, and stood by to enjoy the performance. When it was finished she expressed her gratification at the servant's technique but bade him be certain always to have her present at these exercises. Towards evening she ordered the servant to punish her young nieces. He hesitated a bit at this strange proceeding but was threatened with expulsion unless he complied. So down on the sofa they went and had their rumps flailed. The mistress desired these pleasant scenes enacted before her eyes several times a day. She would sit calmly by and derive intense satisfaction from the proceedings. Ever so often an order would slip from her mouth as "Please, John, a little to the right." ... Later she engaged a fifteen-year-old page who became another victim.

The sexual character of flagellation naturally appears most clearly when the act is carried out between men and women. A flogging upon a woman inflicted by a man may be started without any sexual wishes but through the very difference in sex will receive a certain sexual undertone; whereas among persons of the same sex this will be of much rarer occurrence and will supervene only after numerous repetitions.

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On the other hand, where sexual relations subsist between persons of the same sex, that is among homosexuals, flagellation will naturally have the same erotic character as among persons of different sex.

Moll has recorded cases of flagellation among urnings. But most interesting are the parallels which he has drawn between passive pederasty and passive flagellation, both of which he reduces to a desire for exceptional irritation of the gluteal regions. This analogy was not lost upon the Marquis de Sade, for in the "Juliette" he asserted that passive flagellation predisposes to passive pedication and vice versa. Similarly, Doppet has observed that in boys, castigation of the rump with rods not infrequently results in pederasty. In the same way sexual flagellation is quite common among the tribades or female homosexuals. Moll assumes that homosexuality among women predisposes to the other practice.

After this account of the general causes and forms of manifestation of erotic flagellation which has contained numerous references to English conditions we now turn to the special history of these practices in England.

Perhaps the thing that strikes us first in the history of English flagellomania is the extraordinarily widespread tendency of English women to active flagellation.

It is exceedingly difficult to find a satisfactory answer to the question whether cruelty occurs more frequently among men or among women, but one can state with absolute certainty that the cruelty of women is more sophisticated than that of men. Of course there are other grounds for this cruelty besides sexual passion. Thus, among certain savage tribes, women frequently take delight in torturing and then murdering their prisoners. Or again as late as the nineteenth century, the women of Rome would, during their summer evening walks, stroll into the shambles to see how oxen were slaughtered and to inspect their quivering entrails. Then, too, we must remember that in ancient Rome it was the women who gave the sign of death for the gladiators by inverting their thumbs, and that in Spain it is the women who are more passionately fond of bloody bull fighting than men.

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It appears that female cruelty very often chooses flagellation for its satisfaction, and Fraxi believed that they were more voracious in carrying out the punishment than men. Zimmerman has remarked on the frequency with which women would be present at the castigation of slaves of both sexes, and frequently wield the lash themselves. He felt that the domestic negro was very often the martyr of a white woman. Finally we all remember that in the frightful whipping to which Justine is subjected at the close of de Sade's book, *Nicette and Zulina*, the two women who participate in the enterprise with the men, are depicted as the cruelest and it is they who tortured poor Justine the most.

According to all the descriptions, the Englishwoman seems by nature to have greater coldness of disposition and tendency to cruelty than her continental sister. In "Little Dorrit," Dickens has given us an excellent description of this type of cold English beauty in the person of Mrs. General. It is such proud and imposing figures who delight in administering the birch, and it is they who, by the aid of the rod, have long ago succeeded in subduing the world of English men. There is extant an excellent picture of this type of woman: the picture of "Lady Termagant Flaybum" about to belabor her stepson.

It must be remembered that the female English flagellant is essentially an active flagellant in all classes of society. This was the testimony of no less an authority on English affairs than Pisanus Fraxi, himself a passionate lover of the rod.

As we have already indicated, the true history and background of flagellomania among English women can be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon period. Here the inclination of the women seems the more peculiar seeing that the Anglo-Saxon laws relative to corporeal chastisement were very mild. One of the best authorities on this period, Thomas Wright, has emphasized the point that the cruelty of Anglo-Saxon women to their subordinates was quite extraordinary, for not infrequently servants or maids were lashed to death by their mistresses. The skill with which these women wielded the rod can be gathered from numerous reports, and have been preserved for us in numerous pictorial representations of flagellational scenes enacted in that period.

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For a later day, one of the most interesting documents which serves to demonstrate the great spread of flagellomania among English women is a section from Samuel Butler's "Hudibras," a satirical poem, which throws much light generally on the moral conditions of his time—the middle of the seventeenth century. From this source it appears much more clearly than from the epigram of Kit Marlowe that already in the seventeenth century the inclination to flagellation was deeply rooted in the secular society of England. To the active flagellants there corresponded, of course, a similar number of passive ones. The passage is one in which Mrs. Igetsart speaks to Hudibras who lies in chains in the castle waiting for her deliverance—a piece of heroism she is quite willing to enact provided he will submit to her flogging. The section abounds in arguments for the practice derived from the current mode and from history. It culminates in describing a flagellation that had recently been inflicted to some poor devil in England and which had aroused great furore. It concerned William, Lord Munson, who was one of the judges of Charles I. He had refused to sign the death verdict and thus appeared to be favoring the party of the king. This came to the ears of his wife who, in order to show him the extent of her displeasure at his conduct, tied her husband to the bedpost with the aid of her maids, and then flogged him so cruelly, until faint with pain, he was ready to confess his error and promised to beg his superior for forgiveness. When Parliament got wind of this it transmitted its thanks to her, and the incident became celebrated in street songs like "She and her maids gave him the whip."

At any rate, this bit, from the pen of a man who everywhere in his writings animadverts upon the moral obliquities of his time, points to the fact that at the middle of the seventeenth century in England the passion for the rod had become deeply rooted.

In the eighteenth century there were already quite a number of formal flagellational clubs, from which it may be concluded that the number of women addicted to this practice had increased considerably.

In the 136th "Spectator" which appeared in 1711, there are queer reports concerning a "club of female wrestlers," which leads us to suspect that we are dealing with a club of female flagellants. In this number of

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the "Spectator" there is printed a letter from a female reader which describes the activities of this organization. Once a week the club assembled at quarters which they had hired for the year. Once there they threw off all restraint and decency and flew at each other in a free for all scramble and tussle. From ten in the evening until four the next morning they tumbled about wildly, pummeling and scratching each other and destroying both the property and clothes of each other. Once a month they had a special session. To this they would invite some prude, whom they would proceed to demolish. All the other females would make a flying tackle for her, messing and mauling her pitifully—until the demure female was a fright to behold.

It is quite likely that in this effusion Addison wished to lash, in a veiled way, the activities of certain female roués who banded together in secret clubs for the purpose of indulging in sexual orgies and savage sadistic excesses.

At all events, it is certain that, in the eighteenth century, clubs of female flagellants existed in London. A full description of one such organization, which met every Thursday night at Jermyn Street, was printed in the "Bon Ton Magazine" for December, 1792. The members were mainly married women who, tired of the customary round and the cold indifference which generally tend to accompany Hymen, determined to reawaken ecstasy by the aid of those devices they had learnt at the beginning of their marriage. This club never had less than twelve members of whom six were always flogged by the other half dozen. They would cast lots for their turn and then there would follow a discourse on the effects of flagellation from the most ancient times until our day, as carried out in the cloisters of monks, nunneries, brothels or private homes. These preliminaries completed, the six victims assumed their positions and the six flagellants uncovered parts of the body not only less visible but also less accessible to misuse, and then began their work. The chairlady of the club gave each flagellant a rod and began the bloody work herself, while the others looked on; when she was through, the others began. Sometimes the president would order the castigation to

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begin at the calf and work upward to the rump until the whole area became red.

These clubs were in no respect mere products of the fancy but actually existed, and, if we are to trust the English journalism and literature of our day, appear still to be with us. Eulenberg believed that at all times there have been, among women, lovers of active and of passive flagellation; and he felt that it was noteworthy that female cruelty took especial pleasure in wreaking itself upon women—passionate female flagellants frequently deriving sexual stimulation from the flagellation of their sisters.

The most notorious English female flagellant of the eighteenth century was Elizabeth Brownrigg, a public sadist, who was executed at Tyburn, September 14, 1767. She was the wife of James Brownrigg, a plumber of Fleur-de-luce Court, Fleet Street, London, and served as a midwife in St. Dunstan's parish. In addition she took care of several girl apprentices. To all outward appearances she seemed an excessively pious and God-fearing woman, but actually at home she manifested extreme cruelty to the poor girls entrusted to her care. She "educated" and "disciplined" them by means of cruel daily beatings. She beat these children as a drunken huckster would his donkey. One succeeded in escaping but another was apprehended as she attempted to flee and brought back by Mrs. Brownrigg's three sons. But worst of all was the plight of a third, who was beaten daily with a cane, broom handle or horsewhip, and in addition, entirely undressed, tied up for several hours and incarcerated in the cellar on a bread and water diet. One day she was undressed five times, bound hand and foot and whipped—after which frightful manhandling she died a few days later in a hospital. As a result Mrs. Brownrigg, her husband and sons were arrested. She was sentenced to the gallows but her men-folk got off with six months apiece. Lanning composed a poetical inscription for the cell of Newgate where she had been gaoled—parodying, in so doing, Southey's similar poem on the regicide Martin.

Very interesting and significant for the deeply rooted inclination of the English toward flagellation is the fact narrated by Pisanus Fraxi that

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Mrs. Brownrigg found a literary defender who wrote a brochure in defense of her conduct and of the necessity of frequent whippings on all manner of occasions. From this booklet "Mrs. Brownrigg's Case Fairly Considered," Pisanus Fraxi cites a section that is highly indicative of the spread of flagellational fantasies in the eighteenth century. The author asserts that Mrs. Brownrigg had every right in the world to flog her apprentices as much and as frequently as she wished, for the good old customs of the land had permitted every sort of chastisement through which peace and order were maintained. But Mrs. Brownrigg was the victim of her own ignorance. She could have whacked her girls as much as she pleased without giving offence had she only fed them well, lodged them comfortably and treated them with friendliness, aside from the periods of flagellation, and healed their wounds properly after the operation. The author regards it as unusual that Mrs. Brownrigg neglected the hygienic care of her victims. One might have assumed that, from the point of view of good taste, she would have preferred to smite clean, fresh flesh rather than raw tissues. Her neglect in this matter is regarded as unforgivable, for in all good seminaries the bottoms of the girls are well tended as every good master always had ointments near the rods. Then he relates what joy John, the son of Mrs. Brownrigg, had found in helping with the whipping of the girls. The latter related that he had several times flogged them with great gusto—tying one up to a staple on one occasion stark naked for stealing some chestnuts, and using the horse-whip vigorously. This apologete finally comes to the result that Mrs. Brownrigg was guilty of sin, not because she had whipped her girls which was always justifiable and in order, but because she had starved her girls and had not provided for their proper physical care. From this cause célèbre the rod emerged entirely undiminished in glory—and it would always maintain the wonderful quality of blessing him that gives and him that takes.

Nowhere was flagellational prostitution cultivated so early and spread so widely as in England. Speculation as to the masochistic inclinations of men to passive flagellation combined with their own predilection for the exercise of active flagellation led many women to a sophisticated develop-

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ment of the art of flogging and applying the art—and subsequently to the construction of special flagellation brothels. About 1760 a Mrs. Jenkins achieved among the worldlings a great reputation as flagellant. From the close of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century these brothels were a characteristic feature of London prostitution.

Even before these institutions became so popular the eighteenth century had seen special institutions devoted to flagellation: the "White House," the "den of Mother Cummins," the "Elysium of Brydges Street," etc. For the most part they were lavishly equipped and served not only as places where the male world would be able to gratify their desire for passive flagellation but also as academies for those women who desired to learn the "art of the gracious and efficacious application of the rod."

Pisanus Fraxi, who collected reliable information concerning these flagellational brothels, reported that many of the female heads of these establishments took a passionate pleasure in their calling. They wielded the rod with pleasure and passion, and were not comparable to ordinary prostitutes. In addition they themselves, as we have noted, trained pupils in the "ars flagellandi."

According to Pisanus Fraxi, it would have been very easy to set up a long list of the leaders of such establishments but he contented himself with naming the most famous. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a Mrs. Collet enjoyed such a great reputation as a skilled and sophisticated flagellant that even George IV visited her—which was an open fact at that time. At first she had a brothel in Tavistock Court, Covent Garden, whence she moved to the neighborhood of Portland Place and finally to Bedford Street, Russell Square, where she lived until her death. She educated her niece to the same profession. Then comes Mrs. James who was first a servant in the family of Lord Clanricarde and later equipped a flagellational brothel at 2 Carlisle Street, Soho. This enterprise brought her such an immense fortune that she later was able to "retire." We must also mention the brothels of Emma Lecelias Richardson in Margaret Street and Regent Street; of Mrs. Phillips in Upper Belgrave Place 11, Pimlico; and of Mrs. Shepherd in Gilbert Street 25.

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In the preface to "Venus School-Mistress," other famous governesses of the first third of the nineteenth century are mentioned: Mrs. Chalmers; Mrs. Noyeau; Mrs. Jones of Hertford Street and London Street, Fitzroy Square; Betty Burgess of York Square; Mrs. Pryce of Burton Crescent; and above all, Mrs. Theresa Berkley, the "queen of her profession."

This queen of flagellation, who had her world-famous establishment at Charlotte Street 28, Portland Place, was a consummate mistress of the various predilections of her male clients which she sought to gratify in the most sophisticated ways. At the same time she was a shrewd business woman who knew how to accumulate a goodly fortune during the period of her activity.

She possessed the first great prerequisite for any courtesan—lewdness. No woman who is not herself libidinous can long retain her inclination for this type of activity. She was jovial and witty and was wont to investigate every inclination, notion, wish or whim of her clients and to satisfy it as well, provided only her love of money was satisfied in sufficient measure. Her arsenal was much richer and better equipped than her competitors' and her stock of rods was unusually large. They were always kept in water to insure their suppleness. She had whips of a dozen lashes, a dozen cat-o-nine tails equipped with nail heads, various sorts of lithe switches, leather straps as thick as wheel spokes, horse curry combs, oxhide straps grown stiff from long service in flagellation and studded with nails, prickly holly and an evergreen prickly brush, called butcher's brush. During the summer she always had on hand glasses and Chinese vases filled with green nettles, by the aid of which she would revive those who had lost consciousness. Thus everyone who was provided with funds could, in her establishment, be beaten with rods, whips, straps and lashes, could be stuck with needles, or half strangled, could be pricked with the sharpest brushes, be switched with nettles or curry-combed, until he had had enough.

For those men whose passion it was to flog women, she was herself available up to a certain point. For men who were extremely merciless in this regard she had a whole stock of women who could stand as many blows as the male clients might be pleased to administer—provided the

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flagellant paid enough. Among these long-suffering and much-beaten underlings of hers were Miss Ring, Hannah Jones, Sally Taylor, the patient Peg, the piquant Poll and the black girl called Ebony Bet.

Theresa Berkley earned special fame in her field through her invention of the "Berkley Horse" or "Chevalet." She devised this instrument for the flogging of men early in 1828. In general, it is a disguisable ladder which can be stretched out to a certain degree on which the given individual can be buckled up for there are openings for the head and genitals. In Mrs. Berkley's memoirs is a copperplate engraving which shows the horse in action. One can see Mrs. Berkley beating with her own hand the posteriors of the man fastened to a chevalet, while a girl in décolleté is sitting on a chair underneath him and acting as a "frictrix."

This unique invention brought Berkley tremendous custom and enormous profits. When she died in September, 1836, she left a fortune of £10,000 which she had accumulated in eight years. The Berkley Horse was left to the Society of Arts in Adelphi, London, by her executor, Dr. Vance. In her memoirs there was also included a pictorial representation of another specialty of her establishment. This was a block and pulley with which she drew a man up by his hands in order to flagellate him in this position.

The long-heralded memoirs of Berkley were concealed by Dr. Vance and were not even published after his death. Shortly after the death of Berkley, her brother, who had been a missionary in Australia for thirty years, returned but refused to have anything to do with the estate when he discovered how his sister had amassed it. He promptly returned to Australia. As Dr. Vance, her physician and executor, also refused to accept it, the estate fell to the crown. The exceedingly voluminous correspondence of Berkley, which filled several chests and contained very compromising letters from men and women of the highest rank, came into the possession of Dr. Vance who probably destroyed them. Towards the end of the "Venus School-Mistress," there can be found the statement that at that time there was on the press a book, "The Autobiography of the late Theresa Berkley of Charlotte Street, Portland Place, Containing Anecdotes of Many of the Present Nobility and Others Devoted to

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Erotic Pleasures with Numerous Plates," but this never saw the light.

An interesting characterization of Mrs. Berkley can be found in the "advertisement" to the third volume of the "Voluptuarian Cabinet" of the notorious brothel keeper, Mary Wilson, who, for a while, ran several flagellational establishments one of which she turned over to Berkley in 1828. The advertisement reads: Hall Place St. Johns Wood November 12, 1828. To my clients who have been accustomed to patronize me as a governess, I take the permission of announcing that I have given up my flagellational institute at Toubridge Place, New Road Saint Pancrass and have withdrawn from that enterprise in favor of Mrs. Theresa Berkley whom I can honestly recommend. She is a wise, pleasant and reliable woman, a perfect mistress of her art and is still in the flower of life. Her museum of natural and artificial curiosities, and her collection of illustrations "De arcanis Veneris et amoris" are by far the richest that can be found anywhere.

Naturally Theresa Berkley recompensed her friend who had been so lavish in her praise. When the latter fell on evil ways, Berkley recommended her friend highly to numerous rich clients.

A very interesting glimpse into the activities of the flagellants and the eccentricities of their male clientele may be derived from the following letter first published in "Venus School-Mistress." A flagellomaniac is writing to Berkeley.

Dublin, January, 1836

Madame T. Berkley
28 Charlotte Street, Portland Place

Dear Madam:

I am a "naughty boy" and absolutely incorrigible! The most famous governesses in London have already rapped their ferules on me but have failed to cure my refractoriness. A gentleman, de Brunswick, recommended Madame Brown to me as the possessor of a good strong arm. Another recommended Mme. Wilson in Marylebone, who is even harder. The old hotel keeper Jaunay of Leicester Square recommended Mrs. Calmers to me as reputed to possess a good technique in the use of the

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rod. I received an invitation to "diner" at this lady's and she received me in her elegantly furnished apartment—but in vain. Despite her imposing figure and the power of her arm she could not leave a permanent impression upon me. Another counseled me to try Mrs. Jones; but she, too, like the others made only vain efforts to belabor my posteriors with canes. Then Captain Johnson insisted that I visit Betty Burgess who was supposed to be a skillful governess. The bookseller Brookes of Bond Street gave me a card of Mrs. Collett and Beverly. I observed that these ladies understood their metier, but their combined efforts fell short of making any impression upon me.

Finally, honored lady, I was recommended to you by your intimate friend Count G; and I was fairly ready to leap for joy after I had been informed about your famous apparatus, the chevalet, which is designed to punish mischievous boys.

I shall visit you in the early part of February when my friend, the Count, and I come to London where parliamentary duties await us. To prevent any misunderstanding I wish to make the following points clear:

1. It is necessary that I be securely fastened to the chevalet with chains, which I shall bring myself.
2. A pound sterling for the first drop of blood.
3. Two pounds sterling if the blood rolls down to my heels.
4. Three pounds sterling if my heels will be suffused with blood.
5. Four pounds sterling if the blood accumulates in a puddle on the floor.
6. Five pounds sterling if you are able to make me lose consciousness.

I am, most honored lady,
Yours thoroughly incorrigible,
Frobenius O'Flunkey.

Now at first glance this letter may appear to be a joke which Mr. O'Flunkey permitted himself with Berkley. But when one remembers the museum and arsenal of torture instruments alluded to above, which could well have had the effects O'Flunkey stipulates, and if, in addition,

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one remembers that, even today, masochists still suffer themselves to be tortured and flayed in the most terrible ways, as appears from the works of Jacobus X, Hirschfeld, Krafft-Ebing, and others, as well as from numerous masochistic erotica of our time, then we are entitled to take perfectly seriously the amazing desires of Mr. Frobenius O'Flunkey.

In the second half of the nineteenth century also, flagellational establishments flourished in London. Among others, Mrs. Sarah Potter achieved a considerable fame in her profession in the 60's. In July, 1863, under the auspices of the society for the protection of females, the notorious academy of this Sarah Potter, alias Stewart, in Albion Terrace, 3 King's Road, Chelsea, was raided and she was arrested. In that establishment they confiscated a remarkable collection of flagellational apparatus which they brought to the Westminster police court. For the first time the public became aware that young girls were lured into the flagellational school of the Stewart where they were flogged by old and young flagellants; these performances naturally were paid for and the money went into Stewart's pockets. The curious apparatus of her business included collapsible ladders, straps, birch rods, prickly brooms, and secret contrivances for the use of men and women.

She ran her business in the following way: Young girls were guaranteed lodging, board and clothes and in turn they were required to serve the lusts of the "boarding-house's" clientele. They were treated in different ways. Many times they were tied to the ladder; another time they were whipped all around the room; and still another time they were laid on the bed. Every variation that a perverse fantasy could devise was carried out in order to make the orgies as varied as possible, the mistress receiving sums of between five and fifteen pounds sterling. The income from this "school" enabled Stewart to hire a country home and support a lover.

Such is the account printed in this booklet, but Pisanus Fraxi regarded it as exaggerated inasmuch as no girl was flagellated against her will. Indeed, it was the girls who flogged the gentlemen, and if they submitted to this operation it was a voluntary act undertaken in return for a payment in money. Besides, it is certain that the girl on whose account

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Potter was imprisoned returned to her mistress when the latter was released and stayed with her for quite a while at Howard Street.

The flagellations carried out under her direction were administered mostly to men although every now and then girls were swatted as well. Her specialty was the employment of very young girls, with whose parents she made some sort of arrangement to prevent any trouble with the law. These children she would clothe in fantastic costumes and teach all sorts of tricks for the delectation of their guests.

More flagellational brothels of the more recent past have been listed by Pisanus Fraxi, among them one where about twenty young girls came to go through all stages of a "schoolmistress" education. The wishes submitted in writing by some of their "charges" were frequently very remarkable. Certain men wished to be set across the knee like children, others wished to be flogged on the back of a servant girl, and still others desired to be chained.

An article of Otto Brandes and letters published in the English magazine "Society" in 1900, show that even then the inclination to active flagellation was very widespread among English women.

A short time after the appearance in Paris of the "Fashionable Lectures" the following card was distributed by the bookseller to all who had purchased the book:

"All purchasers of the 'Lectures' who are desirous of deciding for themselves the effect of the same when properly delivered are referred to a lady of excellent physical and mental culture who, if only one gives her a proper implement, will deliver for everyone all the lectures with all eloquence and happy combination of an energetic passionate voice and movement.

"This lady has her own house. Her 'lecture-room' is fitted out with rods, cat-o-nine tails and some of the best pictures of flagellation. In addition she has there a strong woman who is able to take a man over her knee in case he wishes to be treated as a schoolboy. She and her woman are also available for passive flagellation if there is any call for that. The price of the first lecture is one guinea—and every subsequent one, half a guinea; and for the girl if she is used as a horse—half a crown.

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"Gentlemen who are fond of playing at being schoolboys can be visited by the lady or her servant, at any hour of the day or early in the morning. Before rising they may have this delightful pleasure—of being taken out of bed, set upon the 'horse' and whipped, all of which is carried out with the most remarkable skill."

We have already seen above that male flagellomaniacs generally desire to "be" flogged but occasionally they desire active flagellation—which they inflict upon boys and girls alike. In the introduction to "Venus School-Mistress" male flagellants are divided into three classes:

1. Those who like a more or less severe drubbing at the hands of a pretty woman who is sufficiently strong to manipulate the rod with power and efficacy.
2. Those who desire to administer the rod to a woman.
3. Those who are neither passive nor active flagellants but derive sufficient sexual excitation from the mere sight of flagellation.

We might add those cases in which men desire to be flagellated by children—or desire to flog them—be it boy or girl.

These various rubrics can all be illustrated from the history of male flagellants in England.

Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593) has represented a passive flagellant in the characteristic verses which are well known. It concerns Francus who when he comes to solace himself with his whore sends for rods and strips himself stark naked; for his lust sleeps and will not rise before it be awakened by a whipping from the wench.

On the other hand, that individual who terrorized the streets of London toward the end of the seventeenth century by lifting up the clothes of every woman he met and leaving a good solid thump or whack, was afflicted by the "flagellandi tam diro cupido."

Sexual flagellation and lustful passion for the rod are in England not confined to brothels but appear in all the relationships of society where they play or have played a larger role than in any other land.

Above all it is in point now to consider the English school. Very numerous are the men who have left us reminiscences of their school

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miseries. They have described so vividly the beatings inflicted upon them by their teachers that we can readily see from the account how much pleasure the schoolmasters must have taken in the chastising. Thus, floggings in school are recorded by S. T. Coleridge (in *Specimens of Table Talk*, May 27, 1830), Charles Lamb (*Recollections of Child's Hospital*), Alexander Somerville (*Autobiography of a Working Man*), Capel Loft (*Self Formation or the History of an Individual Mind*), etc., etc.

Much material concerning the history of flagellation in the English schools is contained in numerous novels, tales and other productions of belletristic literature which none the less are based on actual experience like Richard Head's "English Rogue," Fielding's "Tom Jones," Smollett's "Roderick Random," Marryat's "Rattlin' the Reefer," Dicken's "Nicholas Nickleby," Kingsley's "Westward Ho," Whitethorn's "Memoirs of a Cape Rifleman," etc. A very drastic description of corporal punishments in schools is contained in the books, "Settlers and Convicts," and "Twelve Years a Slave." Frustra has commented on the fact that in England, the classic land of freedom, domestic education was pursued with remarkable sternness, and flagellation practiced upon both sexes, but that boys had to suffer more, and that in the colleges until recently even young men of twenty-one had to submit to this. The memoirs of Trelawney, the famous friend of Byron, afford an amazing picture of the school floggings in many institutions.

Teachers like Dr. Gill who flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century (consult the booklet with the amusing title "Gill upon Gill, or Gill's Ass Uncased, Unstript, Unbound"), Dr. Colet of St. Paul's School, Dr. Drury and Dr. Vaughan at Harrow, Dr. Busby, Dr. Keate, Major Edgeworth of Eton, and the Rev. James Bowyer of Christ's Hospital have become proverbial. When Coleridge heard of the death of his old teacher, Bowyer, he remarked that it was fortunate for the cherubim who were leading Bowyer to heaven that they had only head and wings, else the old schoolmaster would have flogged them.

The Westminster School had an evil reputation from very early times. According to Cooper, they didn't use birch rods there, but twigs of the apple tree which were set in a wooden container. Two juniors occupied

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the post of rod-makers and were required to supply the school with rods. The inventor of the Westminster rods was supposed to have been Dr. Bacher, who was active in the school from 1454 to 1487. At the chastisement, the delinquent had to kneel on a block, his rump exposed, while the teacher gave him four strokes—the so-called “scrubbers,” or six called the “Biblical.”

The most famous flagellants of the Westminster School were Dr. Busby and Dr. Vincent. Busby's rod was “the sieve which separated the wheat of learning from the chaff.” Vincent's reign was almost as bad as Busby's reign of terror for he did not content himself with the prescribed places but also cuffed and pinched the boys elsewhere. Under Vincent's rule the school founded a magazine, called the “Flagellant,” which so aroused his ire that he desired to take legal action against the publishers. Whereupon Southey, who had contributed a derisive article, came forward and asserted that he was the originator so that Vincent could do nothing to his pupils.

A peculiar flagellant of Westminster School was Dr. Parr. He was supplied with rods by a man who had been cut down from the gallows and restored to life. Undoubtedly the chastisement regimen of Westminster School produced numerous flagellomaniacs. In the seventeenth century already Thomas Shadwell plays on this theme in his “The Virtuoso.” The old voluptuary, Snarl, who comes to a brothel for a flagellation, is asked by the girl how it comes that something that affords her so little pleasure should bring him so much joy. To which he answers that during his sojourn at Westminster School he became so accustomed to this practice that he could never do without it thereafter.

It is very likely that these oblique activities at the Westminster School serve to explain the utter immorality and sexual freedom which Hüttner believes to have reigned there, and also at Eton during the eighteenth century.

At Eton it is significant to note that every boy was charged half a guinea for rods. From 1809 the famous Dr. Keate ruled here with implacable severity for a quarter of a century, and contemporary as well as later literature abounds in many stories concerning this unlimited pas-

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sion for flagellating. One anecdote had it that he knew the posteriors of his charges better than their faces.

Even in the universities, corporal punishment of students was common until the eighteenth century. Cooper has related that Meibom and Johnson were both punished in this way "coram publico."

In these chastisements the "flogging horse" and "flogging buck" played an important role. In his "English Humorists" Thackeray has given us an account of one of these instruments of torture found at the old Charterhouse school, and reconstructs for us the chastisements allotted to the poet, Dick Steele, at this institution.

In girls' schools, particularly in the so-called "boarding schools," the use of the rod was as firmly established as in boys' schools.

How matters stood in these English girls' schools during the eighteenth century we can glean from many interesting accounts in Cooper. In the diary of Lady Frances Pennoyer of Bullingham Court, Hertfordshire, there is the following entry under January 21, 1766: "Went to school as I had planned and met Dr. Aubrey on the way. Found the schoolgirls all assembled and the teacher looked terrified. Dr. Aubrey went in with me and assured me that in higher girls' academies he had frequently been present at flagellations, and that he always experienced a very definite pleasure when the girls got red. The two girls who were to be flogged were prepared by the teacher. They kneeled and begged for forgiveness. I was delighted at the good breeding manifested in the way they received their punishment which I myself administered, to show the teacher how best to handle a rod."

These reports need no commentary for they clearly manifest the sexual element present in these practices. Hence, although we could cite many similar authentic accounts, these are sufficient to enable us to understand Hüttner's opinion concerning the immorality rampant in the English boarding schools of the eighteenth century.

The application of the rod was naturally most dangerous in co-educational schools where generally the punishment of the boys was enacted in front of the girls and the latter were punished in front of the boys. This was commonly the case in the English poor schools where fre-

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quently the noble patronesses of the institutions would attend the floggings and hold so-called punishment days. At these whipping parties the ladies applied the rod indiscriminately to boys and girls and this seemed to afford them special pleasure, according to an authentic report which has been preserved for us from that time. Pisanus Fraxi cites an authentic letter of an acquaintance dated March 13, 1859, in which the author describes the flagellational procedures in co-educational schools.

The abuses and dangerous consequences of the flagellations in the schools which we have just described could not long remain hidden. For this reason there have been numerous prohibitions of every form of bodily punishment in the English schools. Thus, in 1838, such a prohibition was issued to all the better schools and colleges. But so deeply rooted among the English is the passion for the rod that bodily punishments have remained an accepted institution in schools and boarding schools until this very day and in the same degree as in the past. The fact that the English magazine "Society" has been able to fill two annual issues with whole columns of reports, letters and communications about the use of the rod makes it clear that the so-called pedagogical flagellomania, which is nothing more than concealed sensuality, is still extremely widespread in England—as in days of yore. The same conclusions are forced upon us by the communications concerning flagellation in the schools of London found in the "Étude sur la Flagellation" and in the drastic reports found in Hector France's "Nuits de Londres."

Similar to the conditions obtained in the secular schools were those in the schools of monasteries, nunneries and churches. Such a clerical flagellant was the gentleman, Reverend Zachary Crofton, mentioned by Delolme, who in 1660 was at the head of the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, London, and a very quarrelsome person even in religious and political matters. Bishop Kennet's memoirs stated that this Crofton was a strong adherent of flagellation, that he once inflicted a severe drubbing upon his maid, and later published a book in favor of flagellation. In the "Flagellation Experiences" there is described a scene which takes place in a convent school in which the mother superior serves as the flagellant

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and finds ecstatic delight in the shrieks and groans of her manhandled charges.

In regard to the domestic use of the rod the most important aspect is its employment in married life. A correspondent of the magazine "Society" wrote extensively in praise of the connubial employment of the rod, and expressed the hope that the time would come when all disputes would be settled by the rod. The ideal of this exponent of marital flagellation was probably like that of certain primitive tribes who look upon flogging as a token of great tenderness. Thus the Indian women of Guiana look upon blows as embraces, as tokens of affection. This taste they share with the women of Russia who were wont to regard it as a sign of disesteem and dwindling love if they were not flogged from time to time by their husbands. This belief was not confined to the lower classes either. In the "Toilette of the Graces" we read of a peculiar incident that befell an interesting Frenchman who married a lovely Russian lady. After a fortnight she became very depressed and did nothing but sigh and pine. When he inquired the reason for this moping she informed him, amid deep blushes, that she could not have any certainty that he loved her in view of the fact that not once since their marriage had he flogged her. The happy husband lost no time in providing himself with an "elegant and humane rod" wherewith he gave his young and ardent wife satisfactory assurance of his striking love for her.

It is Cooper's opinion that during the whole Anglo-Saxon period the husband had the right to beat his wife. At the time of Charles II this right was available only to the lower classes. On one of the seats in the church at Stratford-on-Avon there is a wood carving representing a husband administering to his wife somewhat more than "*modicam castigationem*" and in this her position is as original as it is uncomfortable.

The motive of connubial flagellation has also been treated in "The Merry Order of St. Bridget" in which an old husband flogs his young wife.

However, more frequent than the type of flagellation just referred to is the chastisement of children by parents. Here again certain cor-

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respondence that appeared in "Society" gives us an inkling of the frequency of these chastisements and we learn that even in these cases lascivious motives may determine the floggings. This appears quite unmistakably clear in the interesting and authentic "Memoirs of a German Teacher" already referred to. The authoress recounts her experiences in the house of Lady Georgiana N. at 7 Park Crescent, London. The latter was the mother of a number of children, among them a beautiful girl of twelve and a son of eleven, the former of whom she abused with peculiar cruelty. The governess found the lady quite likeable in most respects but somewhat moody and inconsistent to which she attributed the barbaric treatment of her daughter. The German teacher was unable to understand why ever so often the girl should emerge from a visit to her mother's room crying and so cruelly beaten that she could neither sit nor walk—especially since the child had done nothing to deserve such punishment. For a long time no explanation was forthcoming, and the mother would soon after the castigation shower the child with embraces and gifts.

Every morning after breakfast the child was taken to her mother by two of the attendants and only rarely was she not beaten until blood flowed. The teacher and another attendant heard the blood-curdling screams of pain and terror but were unable to do anything about it. After her, George, the son, was flogged, and only Lavinia, the oldest, a girl of thirteen, was never called to her mamma and never flogged. The governess used to wonder at the immunity of the oldest child and once expressed to the mother the opinion that the latter was probably free from the vice but received the answer that she was probably as bad as the others but was so ugly she wasn't worth worrying about. The tortures continued with various machines and now the whippings came every day; and, after the blood began to flow, Mrs. M. was directed by the loving mother to rub pepper and salt into the wounds. And all these diabolical enormities were committed by Lady N. on the pretext that she was curing her children of unnatural sin. Matters grew considerably worse. Now the children were tied at night to the four bedposts by their hands and feet, etc.

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It needs no further citation, although the original account contains many more relevant details, to establish the true nature of the cruelties this woman inflicted upon her children. That it was purely sexual motives which actuated her conduct may be seen from the imputation to them by her of sexual abuses and from the fact that only the handsome children were flogged, while the plain ones were not molested. Further examples of the flagellation of grown-up daughters by the mother or father may be read in the "Étude sur la Flagellation."

Much more frequent, and at any rate more comprehensible, if less pardonable, is the flagellation of children by their step-parents. Frustra has remarked that this desire of many foster parents to beat the children entrusted to them is indeed a remarkable psychological fact. In many lands step-parent is identical with one who beats or whips. In this nasty propensity there are mixed egoism and hatefulness, cruelty and sensuality; and in these practices the female sex has the supremacy. Frustra once knew a famous officer who had been flogged by his step-mother until he was twenty when he had already gotten his epaulettes. Another who also had gotten regular whackings and had been present at the flagellation of his nubile sisters and cousins after they had incurred parental displeasure was driven to debauched sexual indulgence in the most excessive degree which was augmented by an unlicensed mad fondness for flagellation. Not so long ago a youth of sixteen hanged himself out of pain, shame and despair, for, in his father's absence, his step-mother had compelled him to undress completely and castigated him with a small rod. Frustra also knew a pretty milliner who used to receive a goodly portion of ferules upon her hind cheeks daily from the hand of her step-father because he was terribly in love with her and jealous of her. A characteristic picture of this sort of relationship is the drawing of Lady Termagant Flaybum, referred to above, who flayed her son after every dinner to the intense dissatisfaction of her neighbors in Grosvenor Square.

On the subject of flagellation in prisons we derive considerable information from the books of Lanjuineis, Ullo, Quanter and chiefly the famous book of W. Reinhard. In England the prisons have long been

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noted for the frightful whippings administered there for which Ryan, Cooper and Macaulay are our authorities. Thus the overseer of a workhouse in England had to be discharged because he had flogged a number of his female charges in a most indecorous way. In 1841 James Miles, the overseer of a workhouse in Rochester, was accused of having flogged children with birch rods. The court decided that it was gross indecency for a girl to be whipped by a man.

The sexual motive appears very clearly in the whipping of prostitutes in the London prison of Bridewell. Already at the beginning of the eighteenth century Edward Ward gave the following vivid description of this flagellation of prostitutes:

"From thence my friend conducted me to Bridewell, being court day, to give me the diversion of seeing the lechery of some town ladies cooled by a cat-o-nine-tails. . . . We followed our noses and walked up to take a view of these ladies who, we found, were shut up as close as nuns; but like so many slaves, were under the care and direction of an overseer who walked about with a very flexible weapon to correct such hempen journey women who were unhappily troubled with the spirit of idleness. These smelt as frowzily as many coats in a Welsh gentleman's stable, or rather a litter of piss-tail children under the care of a parish nurse; and looked with as much modesty as so many Newgate saints canonized at the Old Bailey. . . . Some seemed so very young that I thought it very strange they should know sin enough at those years to bring them so early into a state of misery. . . . My friend reconducted me into the first quadrangle and led me up a pair of stairs into a spacious chamber where the court was sitting in great grandeur and order. A grave gentleman, whose awful looks bespoke him some honorable citizen, was mounted in the judgment seat armed with a hammer, like a change broker at Lloyd's Coffee House when selling goods by inch of candle. In the next room there was a woman under the lash—the folding doors of which were now opened that the whole court might see the punishment inflicted. At last down went the hammer and the scourging ceased; I protest that till I was undeceived, I thought the offenders had been popish penitents who by the

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delusion of their priests were drawn thither to buy lashes by auction. The honorable court, I observed, were attended by fellows in blue coats and women in blue aprons."

In the English army and navy the cat-o-nine-tails has played its sad part until our very day and in addition no slight was given to castigation with the rod. Of course, monsters like Captain Kimber, who had an innocent negro girl whipped to death just for his pleasure were not common, but in these chastisements the sexual motive was definitely and manifestly present.

In earlier times flagellational scenes were even enacted on the stages of the better English theaters and this theme was developed on the stage with the greatest frankness. Thus in 1733 the Drury Lane Theater produced an opera by the name of "The Boarding School, or the Sham Captain" in which occur such lines as "While she is stripping to get a good whipping, I'll away dance and play." In the year 1901, I myself saw such a play on the stage of London's notorious suburban theater, The Standard. The piece was the thriller, "A World's Revenge," and in it, a woman flogged the naked body (upper half) of a man. And after every swish of the lash the red streaks, which were very obvious to all, gave indubitable pleasure to the honored public.

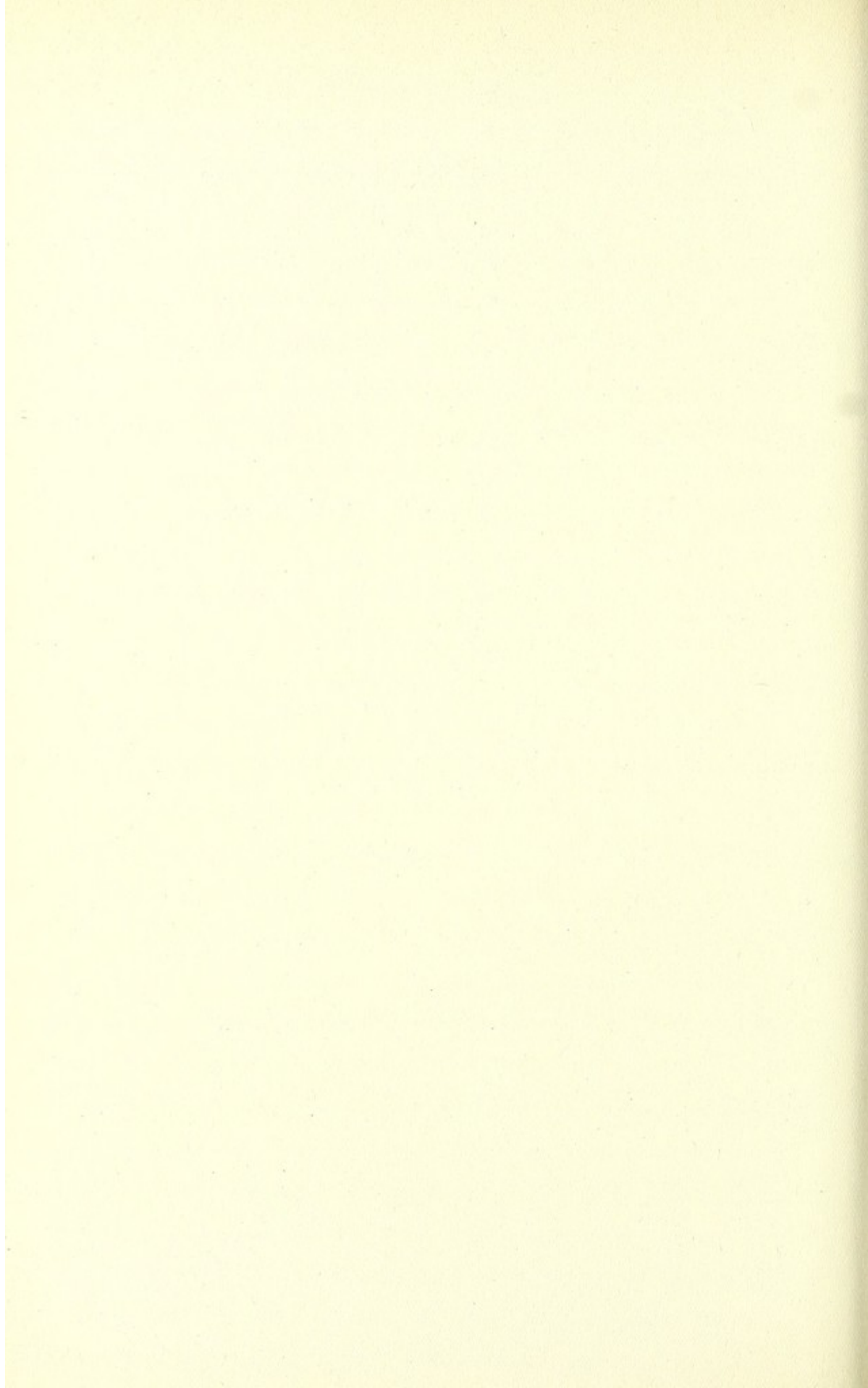
Furthermore, flagellation has constituted a favorite theme for discussion in English magazines to a degree that is unknown and impossible in other lands. This subject was already treated in the old "Spectator" and "Rambler," as well as "The Original Rambler's," and "Notes and Queries." This theme also appears in newspaper advertisements, usually under the rubric of "manicure" establishments but frequently quite openly as "discipline."

We have already alluded, at the beginning of this chapter, to the literary dissemination of this theme. We have already seen how the "pope" of English literature, Samuel Johnson, omitted no opportunity of praising the rod and, according to Cooper, actually passed as an authority in this field. The poetic anthology of the rod is a very voluminous one. And so, in closing, let us mention the most famous exemplar of the latter,

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George Coleman's "The Rodiad," which was really produced by a client of Sarah Potter and not Coleman. It is this work which summarizes the quintessence of English flagellationism in the oft-quoted words:

*Delightful sport! whose never failing charm
Makes young blood tingle and keeps old blood warm.*



10

SEXUAL PERVERSIONS

X

SEXUAL PERVERSIONS

IF we are to believe the authoress of the "Memoirs of a Singer," a sexual perversion that is particularly common in England is exhibitionism—the uncovering of the discreet parts "coram publico," for the purpose of arousing and gratifying sexual pleasures. This tendency created a specialized type of prostitute in eighteenth-century England, the so-called "posture-girls" and "posture women." Such an exhibitress is depicted by Hogarth in the third plate of the "Rake's Progress," where she is showing off her charms in a remarkable way. For a full explanation of this type of perversion as depicted in Hogarth, one should read Lichtenberg's detailed analyses of the Hogarthian copper plates.

Until the end of the nineteenth century the little town of Coventry was the only place (according to Lichtenberg) in Europe where a naked woman might show herself publicly. In accordance with an old local custom there was one day a year on which a nude girl might ride through the streets, and afterwards, still in the same dress, dine with the mayor. The chronicles assure us that the city never failed to do justice to this ancient and honorable usage.

The history of English morals can show numerous examples of sexual fetishism. Thus Archenholtz has reported the case of a trichological fetishist whose greatest pleasure was combing the hair of a woman. This act would virtually intoxicate all his senses. For this purpose alone he maintained a charming mistress. Love and fidelity didn't enter into the picture at all, for he was interested only in hair; at such times as he might be disposed, she would remove hairpins and clasps and let him revel in

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the fragrant soft tresses. This operation brought him the highest degree of physical passion.

In the "Venus School-Mistress," a story is told about a certain elderly gentleman who became strongly excited sexually whenever he saw a lady's muff. His greatest pleasure was having some woman stroke his whole body with her muff. He was also excited by the mere sight of a lady with her hands in a muff.

A comparable case of costume fetishism may be detected in the erotic book, "The Battles of Venus." Therein the author weighs the attraction between a "femina denudata" and an elegantly clothed lady, and decides in favor of the latter.

Race fetishism has found numerous adherents of both sexes in England. In the "Sérails de Londres," there is a detailed description of the way the negress, Harriot, gathered around herself a great number of distinguished lovers. In a copper plate entitled "The Discovery," Hogarth has depicted the negress as a lover. Lichtenberg has remarked à propos of this picture that the proof of the attraction exercised by dusky beauties upon white men is to be found in the genealogies of the numerous colored folk and mulattoes (*gens du couleur*) in the West Indies. But even in other places, too, distinguished voluptuaries will occasionally prefer swarthy ladies to their blonder sisters for various reasons, including the one that for a jaded Germanic palate, Westphalian pumpernickel is frequently quite a tidbit.

Adrian has reported that many London women have a weakness for Arabs. He had frequently seen these sons of the desert standing on street corners and imitating entirely the antics of female prostitutes. By and by a servant or chambermaid of some rich dissolute lady would approach one, and by word or gesture, invite him to follow her home. Adrian also ascertained that the London pederasts had a special predilection for these Arabs who played the part of real male prostitutes with them.

That coprophilous and scatological tendencies are not altogether alien to the English may be gleaned from the epigrams of Ben Jonson and many portions of Butler's "Hudibras"; also from a book, "The Benefit of farting explained," and the fact that recently a wealthy English biblio-

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phile has published a book dealing with this theme. This appeared in but twenty exemplars under the amusing title of "An essay on wind with curious anecdotes of eminent peteurs. Written for the edification of windbound ladies and gentlemen." Still one cannot say that this field is an English specialty. A cursory glance at the "Biblioteca scatologica" will show that it is the French and Italians who rule here.

It may come as a surprise to learn that incest occurs in England quite frequently. The shocking frequency of it among the lower classes has been attributed, by numerous observers, to the crowding of families into one room. The extreme poverty of some of these families sometimes makes it necessary that father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister sleep in one bed. Since Archenholtz and others have detailed accounts of the occurrence of this vice in more recent times, we shall refer only to two notorious cases of this sort dating from an earlier day.

The first concerns a mayor of Edinburgh, Thomas Weir, whose trial took place in 1670. The details of this case may be read in a very rare brochure bearing the title "Ravillac Redivivus etc. To which is annexed an account of the trial of that most wicked Pharisee, Mayor Thomas Weir, who was executed for adultery, incest and bestiality, etc., etc."

Weir, who was mayor of Edinburgh during the rebellion, distinguished himself for his great cruelty against the members of the royalist party, and, through simulation and hypocrisy, earned the reputation of a very God-fearing man. After a life full of murders, shameful deeds and unnatural lusts he was overcome by a profound regret in his seventieth year and made a clean breast of his whole muddy past to Lord Abbots-hall, then Lord Commander of Edinburgh. As court physicians asserted that Weir was sane at the time of deposition, his testimony became the basis of court action against Weir and his sister. This took place April 9, 1670. Here Weir's confession was read again and the following points were made. 1) that he had raped his little sister, Jane, when she was but ten years old; that he had frequently had sexual intercourse with her in their father's house and that, finally, they had hired a house together in Edinburgh where for many years they had lived in incest; 2) that he had had sexual relations with his step-daughter, Margaret Bowden, the daugh-

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ter of his deceased wife; 3) that even during the lifetime of his wife, he had frequently committed adultery with numerous married and unmarried women, particularly with Bessy Weems, his servant girl, whom he kept in the house for twenty years; and finally, in addition to all this whoring, adultery and incest, he had also been guilty of the unnatural sin of bestiality, for he had committed sexual intercourse with mares and kine. Witnesses were then called who corroborated to the minutest details all the horrible accusations—which testimony we are unable to print here for obvious reasons. Both brother and sister were sentenced to death. On April 11, 1670, he was choked to death and his body burnt; the next day the sister was strangled.

Weir was on terms of intimate friendship with the "Ravillac Redivivus" of the brochure, the preacher, James Mitchel, who was executed January 18, 1678, for his attack upon the Archbishop of Canterbury as both of these malefactors were covenanters. There is extant a vitriolic satire in verse: "To the Memory of Mr. James Mitchel," which denounces fiercely the sexual malpractices of these two. Incidentally, the accusation is there made that for four years Mitchel lay with Mayor Weir and from his ghostly father learned to be with women and get no bairns. The scathing summary of this satiric blast is that he who whores best and murders most—of him shall the covenanters always boast.

However, the most shocking picture of an incest carried on for a generation is that of the robber, Sauney Beane, who lived during the reign of James I of Scotland.

Sauney Beane was the son of a poor ditch digger in the Scots county of Eastlothian. He very early showed criminal tendencies and when he was still quite young escaped from home with an equally depraved female. They hid in a deep wide cave in Galloway so near the sea that at high tide the water would sweep into the cave. The entrance into the cave was very winding. From this point Beane and his wife began their robberies and in order to cover up their tracks they murdered everyone whom they had robbed. Since food was difficult to obtain, they decided to live on human flesh. They dragged the corpses of their victims into the caves, cut them up and salted the pieces. In this way they lived until

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they had borne eight sons and six daughters, eighteen grandsons and fourteen granddaughters—all the fruits of incest. This whole menagerie participated in the horrible murders. Although the disappearance of so many people had aroused the suspicion of the authorities and had led to thorough investigations in this neighborhood, which was becoming progressively depleted, it was a long while before they discovered the den of the incestuous cannibals. Upon entering the cave, the eye was met by the most extraordinary sight in the world—feet, arms, thighs, hands of men, women and children hung in rows like chunks of dried beef. Other human organs were salted, while a huge pile of money, as well as gold, silver, rings, clothes and numerous other articles were heaped in piles or hung on the walls of the cave. The entire savage family was arrested and led to Edinburgh. The remains of the people were buried on the shore. This rare and fearful spectacle attracted a tremendous crowd who were eager to view such a remarkable incestuous family which, within twenty-five years, had grown to twenty-seven men and twenty-one women.

The very next day the whole family was put to death in the most horrible fashion, without any pretense of legal procedure. The men had their intestines torn out, their hands and feet cut off, then left to bleed to death. The women were simply burnt alive. They all died without expressing the least sign of regret, but shrieked the most terrible curses until the last moment.

One must admit that the example of Thomas Weir and, to an even greater degree, that of Sauney Beane and his family is a remarkable testimony to the fact that occasionally the wildest imaginings of a de Sade are actually exemplified in reality, and even surpassed.

The incest motive has found expression in English literature also. The most famous example is John Ford's "Giovanni and Annabella," the monstrous tragedy of an incestuous love between brother and sister. The author does not hesitate to portray Annabella impregnated by her brother, Giovanni; and, in the last act, he represents an even more horrible love scene between the two culminating in the knifing of the sister by her brother.

Easily the most revolting specimen of an incestuous novel is the two-

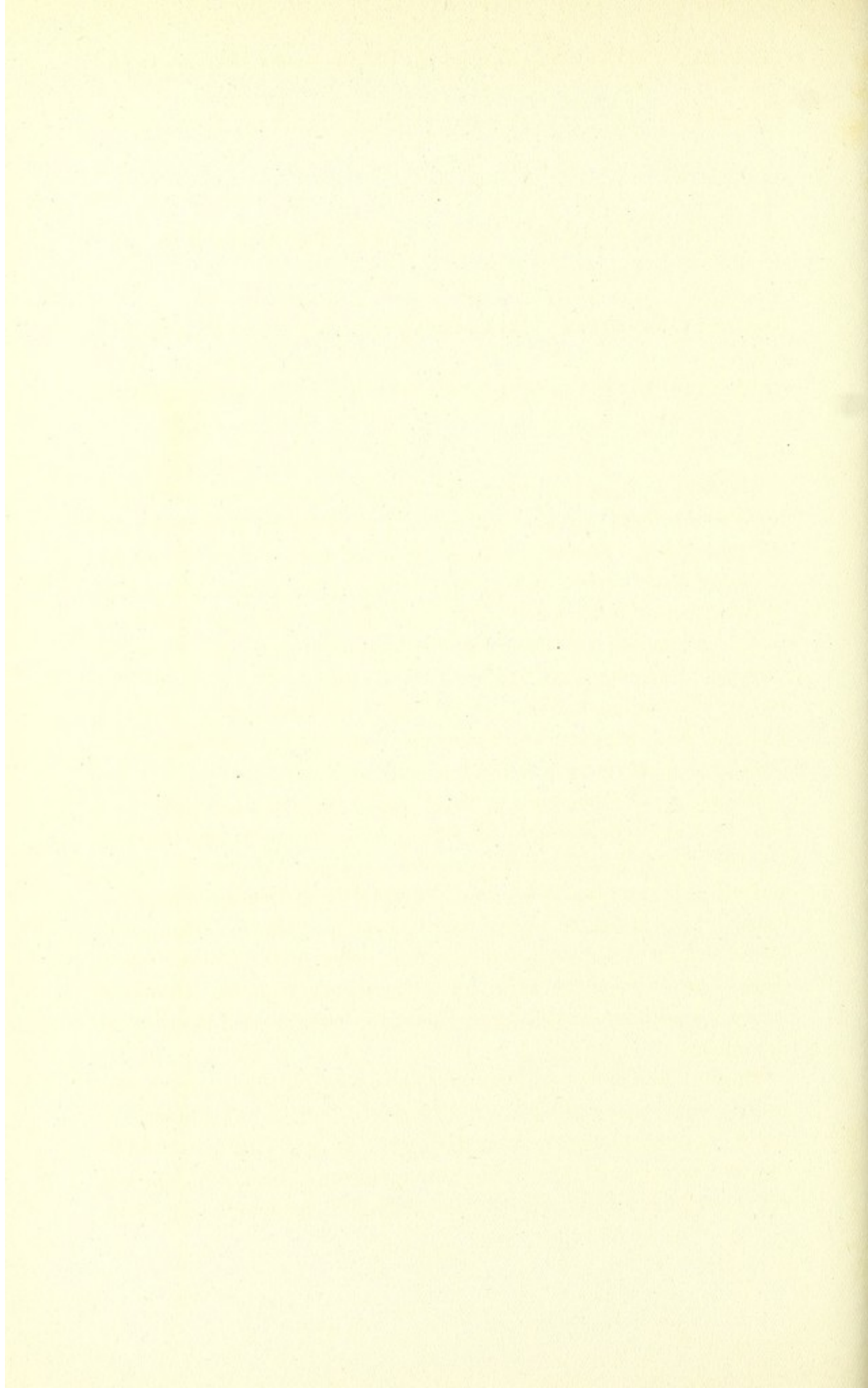
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volume work, "Letters from A Friend in Paris," in which one incestuous scene follows another. The scene of these letters is France. The author and hero of the tale is a photographer who gains access to a certain family through a friend with whom he has pederastic relationships. This family has a daughter who is to marry the friend after the hero has enjoyed her. It is indeed a most uncommon family for father, mother, two daughters and a son live in wholly indiscriminate and promiscuous incest with each other, and gladly welcome the photographer as companion of their orgies. Later, he himself marries and begets a daughter whom he early inducts into the mysteries of Venus after she had already received instructions from her own mother in this regard. In the end he marries his daughter off to his own natural son and so effects a union between brother and sister. In this book, which is a product worthy of the corrupt fancy of a Marquis de Sade, pederasty plays a part second only to incest.

Finally, let us mention the ubiquitous masturbation, a theme which boasts a voluminous literature in England. Here are just a few of the titles of eighteenth-century works on this subject: "Erononia, or, the misusing of the marriage bed by Er and Onan, and to which is added letters of advice about a weighting of conscience, of defiling himself"; "Ononia, or the heinous sin of self-pollution and all its frightful consequence in both sexes"; "Ononia examined and detected," etc. As in all other lands, quacks used this sexual practice to the utmost for exploiting the gullible, by drawing the darkest pictures of all possible, and many impossible, evils resulting from addiction to self-pollution. After they had invoked these awful fears they offered their quack medicines as remedies for the ills. They advertised their nostrums through the newspapers and through leaflets which were thrust into the hands of passers-by. Readers who may be interested in the advertising tactics of an earlier day would do well to consult Ryan's "Prostitution in London" for numerous examples of these frightfully exaggerated advertisements.

11

INDECENCY IN THE THEATRE



XI

INDECENCY IN THE THEATRE

THE theater, being the place where human characters and passions are represented, could scarcely avoid treating the manifold phenomena and relations of love. Tragedy preferred the ideal aspects while the lower, sensual, broadly comical aspects of love, the strictly sexual, were treated in comedy, satire, farce and mystery plays. The Christian church, as usual, condemned all theatrical performances—even the innocent “School of Impurity” (Cyprian) and “Arsenal of Prostitution” (Jerome). The Puritans had the same attitude to the theater. (It is of course true that the comedies of the Restoration evinced little moderateness or chastity in regard to their treatment of sex matters.)

Moreover, the appearance of females upon the stage exercised a certain effect upon the character of the comedy, farce or pantomime, and it is but a step from that to effecting some relations between the actress and the male spectator. Very soon, beautiful demi-mondaines used the boards of the theater to expose their charms and achieve a reputation. Heine already called attention to the fact that these “femmes entretenues” were immensely eager to appear on the stage for reasons of vanity and prudence as well—since there they would be seen by the most distinguished voluptuaries.

Thirdly, even in antiquity and to some extent still today, the theater was a favorite playground of prostitution. In the vicinity, and even at the doors, of the ancient theaters the lower type of prostitutes would lie in wait for their prey but the finer demi-mondaines would display their charms and offer them for sale inside the theater. This is still true today.

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The theatrical plays of "merry old England" are raw bacchanalian revels at which man throws off all restraint and appears as the representative of utterly natural life. This applies to the Miracle plays and the Moralities, at which the old pagan wantonness would everywhere break through.

This was true in England to a greater degree than other non-Latin lands. Hence when the so-called "English comedians" arrived in Germany in the sixteenth century, they became notorious for the sexual freedom manifested in their productions and dialogues, which were the last word in realism. In these farces the players appealed to the coarsest impulses; and it is a bit difficult to understand, no matter how low an opinion we have of the morality of that time, how it was possible for women and children to witness such amorous scenes of unlimited freedom and debauched lasciviousness. The foul speeches and absolutely unrestrained, obscene gestures surpassed all belief. Not infrequently these English plays comprised a mixture of murder passion in typically sadistic fashion.

Not even Shakespeare could drive the old, coarse and smutty tone from the older comedies although he did suppress it somewhat and make it secondary (indeed Shakespeare has enough of these elements himself). However, when the Puritans came to power, the theater fell on evil ways for they regarded it as a work of the devil. The typical document of this Puritan spirit is William Prynne's "Histriomastix, or the players' scourge," a tremendous volume containing all the arguments that have ever been raised against the stage or actors. Later on, when this pious fanatic fulminated against a theatrical performance at which the royal family happened to be present, both his ears were cut off. But between 1642 and 1648 all the theaters were closed, the actors expelled, man-handled by the soldiery and hurled into prison.

But all was changed with the accession of Charles II. Now the voluptuaries reigned—not the Puritans; and they demanded the same things from the theater that they got out of life. The stage dramatized orgies and intrigues which these worldlings actually lived all their days. For them (and their stage) all women were venal strumpets and all men

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coarse libertines; and, under their hands, debauchery became something that was taken for granted and considered a part of *bon ton*. Rochester and Charles II could leave the theaters edified, more confirmed than ever in their conviction that virtue was only the mark of arch rogues to bring the highest price possible.

The relationships subsisting between the sexes could be represented the more realistically after 1660, the time when women were first admitted to the English stage. Soon they surpassed the male actors in the boldness of their expressions and publicly exposed their intimate charms in the most shameless manner. Often indeed many of them went direct from brothel to stage, or from the stage to the brothel or harem of the king like the famous Nell Gwyn whose name was chosen by Thackeray as symbolic of the immorality of the stage.

The gallant cavaliers were wont to dally with the actresses in their green rooms in so indecent a fashion that Queen Anne was later compelled to issue an ordinance forbidding all persons from going behind the scenes or coming upon the stage, before or during any play. The same edict forbade the women spectators to wear masks in the theater. It was customary at that time for women who attended the theater to mask their faces, because the words and action of the piece were so obscene that no woman could hear them without blushing and without feeling that a deep insult had been inflicted on every decent impulse. But this unique method of combining prudery with frivolity gave rise to the worst abuses, for frequently women of very questionable character hid under these masks and accosted men and made overtures to them.

A unique contingent among the theatrical prostitutes of the Restoration period is given by the "orange girls"—young girls who sold oranges at the entrances to the theater.

The comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Farquhar and others poke fun at normal (heterosexual) libertinism, but the nefarious Rochester did not shrink from dramatizing in his "Sodom" even the unnatural delights of love.

It is no wonder then that at the close of that century Jeremy Collier wrote his famous "A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of

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the English Stage." And the very next year (1700) complaints were entered before the Grand Jury of Middlesex against Drury Lane, Lincoln Inns Fields and other theaters, because these places had produced profane pieces.

The two largest theaters during the eighteenth century were Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Among the famous actors that appeared in the former were Garrick, the Kembles and Edmund Kean; and the Drury Lane boards heard the voices of Nell Gwyn and Siddons. During the summers the Haymarket Theatre was also important and here such actors as Macready and Bannister were to be heard. Of course great actors like Garrick and Siddons, whose names will forever be enshrined in the history of the English theater, contributed to the raising of the moral niveau of the English stage; nevertheless all through the eighteenth century the theater remained the rendezvous for the gallant world which used the theatrical pleasures only as a means for other ends.

The smaller theaters, like Goodman Fields, in which Garrick made his first appearance, were dreadful sources of immorality for the whole neighborhood. Sir John Hawkins reported that the last named theater was surrounded by a whole circle of bagnios and even half a century later this continued to be the case.

Many times the appurtenances of famous brothels were presented upon the stage. Thus, Dr. Graham, the notorious owner of the Temple of Health, was presented upon the stage in the farce called "The Genius," Bannister acting the role of Graham. For this performance, the stage was equipped with imitations of all of Graham's apparatus, including the divine bed and even his goddess of health.

Even Samuel Foote was not averse to borrowing some girls from nearby brothels to complete the personnel of the Haymarket Theatre. Thus, he once sent into Charlotte Hayes' brothel for a girl whom he needed immediately.

As far as the nineteenth century stage is concerned, it can scarcely be said that Shakespeare's mighty spirit hovers over it. From the beginning to the end of the century, the sensational piece was the only one that had a chance. And even when a piece had some slight value, the actor

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would give it such a low interpretation and speak the words in so common and vulgar a fashion that everything would be lost. In short, the theater of London was the school of vice for the whole nation, for here the youth of both sexes could see vicious things presented uncensored and laughed at.

Between 1830 and 1850 the evil of the so-called "penny theaters" was very large and many writers of that time took up arms against this evil. Ryan called these cheap places the nurseries of young thieves and prostitutes. Talbot agreed with this, but was especially angered by the obscene presentations which served thoroughly to corrupt the youth.

A distinctive feature of the large London theaters, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century, were the saloons which were almost exclusively devoted to prostitution. A very vivid description of the theatrical saloon of Covent Garden theater has been left us by Bornemann. During the intermissions, this saloon would be crowded by daughters of joy in deep décolleté and transparent clothes, well designed to set off whatever voluptuousness they possessed. But they were quite discreet in their deportment. If they saw a yearning glance they would approach the ardent man and, reaching into their bosoms, draw out a neat, scented address card and gracefully invite the gentleman to visit them. Only the higher class of the unhappy victims of Venus vulgiva was on exposition here.

Rosenberg has reported that the theater proper was employed by prostitutes for soliciting trade. Even a duchess in a loge might be surrounded by "filles de joie," and the gallery just swarmed with them. Indecent jests passed between them and the young libertines, but were looked on as a matter of course. This writer was considerably revolted by the impertinence and shamelessness of the prostitutes and libertines, young and old, in the saloons of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. In the "Doings in London" there is a description of the Drury Lane saloon from which we learn of an old libertine who comes there nightly to get young girls for the satisfaction of his lusts.

In general, no decent woman who attended these performances, was guaranteed against objectionable contacts. For, as we have seen, not only

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did every theater have its saloon for the special convenience of common whores, but these folk made themselves at home everywhere in the theater.

Further interesting descriptions of the prostitution that flourished in theatrical saloons are to be found in Pierce Egan's famous "Life in London" in which he presents to us a whole series of these saloon types: "brilliant Fanny," "pretty Ellen," "black-eyed Jane," etc., as well as the tricks of the panderesses who, disguised as fruit peddlers, carried on their nefarious activities in front of the theaters. Also, Goede, Venedey and Rémo have left us good accounts of these matters.

Finally, we might note that for two whole years a certain bookseller named Glanville, whose Emporium was under the Piazza at Covent Garden, published a list of the handsome visitors of the Covent Garden saloon under the title: "The Fashionable Cypriad."

12

MUSIC AND IMMORALITY



XII

MUSIC AND IMMORALITY

MUSIC, which in Schopenhauer's words is the melody to which the world is the text, speaks to the human heart more directly than any other art. For this reason, it has of old played a very significant role in love since it renders the soul receptive for all erotic excitations, pure and impure. Numerous writers have dealt with this theme of the relationship of music to the erotic—among them Dufour, Günther and Meibom. Among the Greeks and Romans there was a special class of musical prostitutes, and in modern times Italy, with its opera cantates and cantatrices, castrates, fiddlers and musicians of all sorts with whom it flooded the countries of northern Europe, formed the starting point for a new type of prostitution.

Despite the fact that the English produced no great composers, the love of musical enjoyment was nowhere more developed than here. This passion of the English for music was mentioned by a writer as early as Erasmus; and all the literary travelers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century were amazed at the extraordinarily great role which music played in England. Archenholtz's report gives us a good insight into the relation of this passion for music with the *vita sexualis*. It was his opinion that towards the end of the eighteenth century music was at the peak of its popularity in England, and it never saw a more brilliant day. It was very common for an orchestra to have three hundred pieces; and again the Italian singer, Marchesi, got for one winter £1500 sterling, plus the total gate receipts of one performance, free board and free equipage. Mara and Storace, two other famous opera singers of the day, were as

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royally rewarded by the people as by the king. These and many other similar facts we could mention, prove to us that we are dealing here with more than a mere vogue. We can see clearly, in this tremendous popularity of music, the fact that the rich and great of the time, bored with their empty life, were ready to pay any price for the amusement of a few moments. These facts are symbolic of the unnatural softness to which nations on the highest level of culture degenerate through luxuriousness and incontinent pleasure. It is true that just as we apprehend with our eyes harmony of colors and forms, so also does our ear give us harmony of tones. Perfection enters into our innermost being and fuses with it no matter through what channel it has entered. Still we are freer through our vision than through our audition, for the eye perceives a more manifold relationship in things, and by the help of this sense, we also penetrate more deeply into their essence. The sensations coming through the ears are vaguer and rougher by comparison, just as the medium of air is more corporeal than that of light. The dark and passionate sentiments of the tonal artist touch our ears in a varied succession of tones; and dark passionate feelings echo within us. For this reason Plato thought music to be dangerous and banned it from his republic, especially the soft Lydian music. This generation of passionate music lovers, the English of the eighteenth century, however, did not judge according to Plato's standards. On the contrary, it was the strong effects of music that attracted them. The frayed nerves of the idle rich needed something to titillate them with pulsing tremors. They found it in the passionate, languishing, dying moan and plaint of the feminine strings.

Tony, Adrian and Rosenberg have made interesting observations on the strongly developed love of music and song in the English—in the lower classes as well as in the upper. A wandering musician needed only to make his appearance in the slum districts of London and after he had sounded the first few notes on his fiddle he would be surrounded by a large crowd of people—all displaying great interest in the harmonies the musician was creating. Archenholtz has even left us an anecdote with a tragic nuance—of an ordinary soldier of Norwich who went without

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food for several days so that he would be able to buy a ticket to a concert he was very eager to hear.

Since England produced no outstanding composers, musicians or singers of its own, very early alien artists came hither and found a rich and fertile field for their efforts. These artists derived principally from Italy and Germany.

The first Italian Opera House was opened April 9, 1705, at Haymarket; the second (Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden) on April 6, 1847. In both houses the singers received tremendous salaries. In 1734 Farinelli received £2500 before he left for Spain; and the famous Faustina Bordoni often got £1500 for one evening, not counting rich presents from her patrons of both sexes. The great popularity of singers at the time of George II even made them influential in politics; and just as in Byzantium, the party disputes of Whigs and Tories would frequently be back of the competition of celebrated theatrical heroines. These two parties were divided in fighting for Faustina, on the one hand, and Francesca Cuzzoni-Sandoni on the other. Even the maestri di capella were driven into the dispute, Händel being for Faustina and Buononcini espousing the part of Cuzzoni. In order to restore peace, it was finally necessary to dismiss both.

The English nobility were very fond of inviting Italian singers to their castles for private performances. Thus Wagen has left us an account of a private musicale at the home of the Marquis of Lansdowne at which the two best basses in Europe rendered magnificently the famous duet "Se fiato," from Cimaroso's "Matrimonio segreto," and other great music was sung by other distinguished artists.

It was too bad that the evil of Italian castrates found its way into England. The role of these unfortunates, as bearers of sexual corruption, has been well described by Barthold. This writer felt that when one visited the magnificent theater dedicated exclusively to Italian opera, which the British had erected as a sort of monument to their spendthriftiness, one could see how low the taste had actually sunk. For in order to produce those empty tones that brought them these pleasures it was necessary for some poor fellows to sacrifice their virility upon the

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altar of the god of music. The speech of nature and the expression of passions here sounded out in burlesque trills which they called a recitative and which was much more declamation than song. To find attractiveness in such squeaks and squawks argued a substantial degree of mental poverty and incapacity for appreciating the beautiful. Now the effeminacy of these castrates added to the general corruption of morals and softness, and choked all manly feelings in the young nobles. Instead of having patriots and heroes as models, the English youths saw before them a group of poor creatures, midway between men and women, lacking all manhood, no matter how much dramatic talent they had.

After the Italians, the German musicians and composers occupied the most important place in England since the end of the seventeenth century. The most popular of the German composers were Händel and Weber. As is well known, the former lived in England for forty-nine years and is buried in Westminster Abbey. A most magnificent ceremony was held in his memory at Westminster on May 26, 1784, of which Malcolm has left us a graphic account in his "*Londinium redivivum*."

Carl Maria v. Weber, who journeyed to London during February, 1826, for the first performance of *Oberon*, scheduled for April 12, 1826, died there on June 5. He had aroused great enthusiasm, and his death evoked the most touching expressions of sympathy from the English populace. During the brief period of his stay he had become the idol of the British audiences. A few days after his death there was a benefit concert at the Italian Opera for orphan children. Among the numbers were Weber's *Freischütz* overture and his hymn on the deceased king of Prussia. After the performance of the latter, a number of women fainted, and even men were deeply moved. There wasn't one sound of applause—the room was deathly quiet, filled with the spirit of Weber and the love borne him by the audience.

In addition to the large opera houses we must mention the larger and smaller music halls of London which were also important for the production of musical pieces.

A peculiar precursor of the music halls during the seventeenth and

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eighteenth century was the very popular music boat on the Thames—to which we shall now devote a brief description.

Near the entrance of Cooper's Garden, a famous London pleasure place of the eighteenth century, there lay upon the Thames (between Somerset House and the Savoy) a large barque built in the form of a house whose construction might be compared with that of the Chinese flower boats. The "Folly," for such was the name of this unique thing, contained several saloons and various small rooms; the roof was fixed as a promenade and had a little tower at each of the four ends. This comic piece of architecture, as Thomas Brown called it, was built shortly after the Renaissance. On April 13, 1668, Pepys visited it, and noted, in his diary that he had spent a shilling there. The boat was originally built as a summer music house and it rapidly became a place where people of quality came and ogled each other. Soon the "ladies of the town," the demi-monde, recognized that this place was admirably suited to their purpose, and swarmed there in such numbers that they soon displaced the honorable women who had also come there to seek their amorous intrigues. Queen Mary, the spouse of William III, once paid a visit to the "Folly," whereupon the proprietor changed the name of the boat to "The Royal Diversion," but the people continued to call it by its old name. Thomas Brown visited this boat in 1700 and wrote down enough to convince us that the whole presented a confused scene of folly, immorality and debauchery. At a somewhat later day, the "Folly" became the rendezvous for honorable artisans, apprentices and clerks who would come here with their sweethearts after a day's work to spend a pleasant evening. This unique institution existed until about 1750 and underwent a steady alteration of its clientele; finally, when it was known as "The Golden Gaming Table," it fell into disrepute as a gambling hall. Other observers who visited this place have noted that the "Folly" swarmed with whores who were available for service either at "Cupid's Garden" near by or wherever else the gentleman preferred.

Now it is the true music halls which constitute the real specialty of the English cultivation of music. These institutions came into existence during the last days of the commonwealth. The first music house in the

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grand style was erected at Islington by one Sadler. In his poetic "Walk to Islington" Ned Ware, the author of the "London Spy," has drawn for us a very vivid and delightful picture of the activities and patrons of this institution in the year 1699. We can actually hear the scrape and hum of organs and fiddles, the prattle of women and clatter of men; and we can see, through the heavy fogs of tobacco smoke, the painted nymphs, the puffing butchers and bailiffs, the dancing girls, the clowns, etc. We see that the English music hall was, in the seventeenth century, a sort of *variété* or "tingle-tangle," a form of entertainment which first became an institution in England. In a very interesting work, Arthur Möller-Bruck has shown that the *variété* was the actual basis of the medieval mysteries, miracle and morality plays; and in English vaudeville the dionysiac elements of these medieval spectacles were to a certain extent localized and thereby insured a permanent influence upon the people. The more the earlier spectacles and holiday performances and fair amusements diminished in importance, the more important these music halls grew for the entertainment needs of the middle and lower classes; for the latter could find again in the noisy offerings of the "tingle-tangle" those manifold elements in which the old English love of life had expressed itself: music, song, dance, clown, jongleur, acrobatics, all in colorful mixture. Some famous music halls of the eighteenth century were "The New Pantheon" (a playground of the *demi-monde*), "Dog and Duck" and "Apollo Garden"; and a few of the famous nineteenth century ones were "Evan's Music Hall" at Covent Garden, the "Cave of Harmony" (mentioned by Thackeray in the "Newcomes") and the "Highbury Barn" at Islington.

A curious specialty of the London music halls until about 1870 was the highly cynical and even obscene dramatization of sacred institutions or secular events. Thus in the notorious rotunda at Blackfriars Hill, London, the churchly rites were parodied in the most shameless fashion; in the "Judge and Jury Society" divorce suits were dramatized and the most scandalous details were acted out; and in the "Coal Hole Tavern" at the Strand, probably the worst place of all, Baron Nicholson brought upon

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the stage all of the scandals of the 60's and 70's in addition to "poses plastiques."

Another distinctive feature of the London variétés was the appearance of real (or artificial) colored singers. In 1830 the first real negroes came to London from America to appear there as concert singers. This was the company of "Christie's Minstrels" which first appeared in St. James Hall and achieved a startling success with their negro songs. After that time black faces, stand-up collars, blue-and-white striped shirts, banjos and guitars became very popular; and behold, these black serenaders who wandered through the streets of London singing their exotic songs, were very frequently good London boys. Thackeray is authority for the fact that at the beginning of the nineteenth century it became customary for men of the upper classes to go to a music hall after the opera, where they would enjoy supper and a song. If our reader should be desirous of learning just what happened in one of these places we may refer him to the semi-erotic book entitled "Pretty Betty's Adventures in London" which is based on accurate studies of London life. This book includes an account of a visit to a cheap music hall in the vicinity of the navy yard. Of course the whole quarter was a true Paphos and besides Neptune, the regent of the sea, only Lady Venus, born of sea foam, was worshipped here. An even worse music hall, the disreputable "Little Tom's Tavern" in Whitechapel, has been described by Hector France in his "Va-Nu-Pieds-de Londres."

All the music halls, lower as well as higher, came into disrepute during the first half of the nineteenth century owing to the obscene songs sung in them. Pisanus Fraxi arranged a very interesting collection of these obscene music hall songs which were once so very popular. William West, a London artist and publisher, whose chief activity falls between 1815 and 1835, composed and published the majority of these songs. At the same time he was an excellent artist whose portraits of contemporary actors and actresses were very famous. West must not be too strongly condemned for having composed these obscene songs which were sung at that time everywhere where youths and grown-ups would

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congregate. He was only satisfying the demands of his time, and according to Fraxi, he evinced considerable artistic feeling.

The most famous song book of West bore the quaint title "The Blowen's Cabinet of Choice Songs; a beautiful, bothering, laughter-provoking, collection of spilficateing, flabbergasting smutty ditties." This collection contained, among others, the following titles—"Great plenipotentiary! A most outrageously good amatory slave"; "Oh Miss Tabitha Tickelcock"; "The Magical Carrot or the Parsley Bed"; "The Lost Cow or the bulling match under the tree"; "The Soft Wind." West published many other song collections of similar scope and freedom—all to sell at sixpence. Others adorned with his colored copper plates sold at one shilling: "The Ticklish Minstrel," "The Gentlemen's Steeple Chaser," "The Regular Bang-up Reciter," "The Maiden Lane Songster," etc.

Another noted publisher of obscene songs was John Duncombe who pursued his trade of publishing and selling obscene books in London under a variety of names. Another publisher of these songs was William Dugdale (whom we shall meet again later as publisher of erotic books) who issued such booklets as "The Tuzzymuzzy Songster," "The Wanton Warbler," "The Black Joke," etc. From a somewhat earlier day dates the following collection bearing the following title: "The Buck's delight, being a collection of humorous songs sung at the several societies of choice spirits, bucks, free masons, albions, and antigallicans with universal applause."

All these songs were sung publicly at about 1840 by various interpreters in London's music halls, but these obscene and merry songs had to go when the gates of Canterbury Hall and Weston music hall were opened to women. Although now there was a superficial improvement in the character of the musical numbers which became somewhat more decent, still the music halls changed from places where men had been able to enjoy broad but humorous songs into rendezvous for prostitutes. Hence the collection of erotic songs which appeared after 1850 like "Cytherea's Hymnal, or Flakes from the Foreskin," which saw the light in 1870, never were sung very publicly.

A more important role than that played in England by the production

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of the music halls belongs to street music and street songs. In no other city in the world was there so much music sung and played on the streets as in London. These street songs go back to old English ballads to whose profound poetical riches Thomas Percy, bishop of Dromose, first called attention by his famous collection, "Reliques of Ancient English poetry, etc." Later many similar collections were issued by numerous other authorities. With the Norman invasion, the name of "minstrel" came into existence to designate wandering bard and singer who nearly always composed the melodies and verses for his songs.

In the ancient English and Scotch ballads there is a moving simplicity, a deep and tender feeling for love and fidelity, a unique susceptibility for the beauties and influences of nature. The ancient romances are full of lovely nature pictures such as the "Robin Hood ballads." But, above all, the most dominant characteristic of the old English ballads seems to be its sweet melancholy, its elegiac romanticism. Of course, it must be admitted, there were ballads with a broad and merry tone.

A characteristic old English ballad is that of the London goldsmith, Shore, and his unfaithful wife, Jane, who, seduced by her lust and the incitements of a panderess friend, became the mistress of Edward the Fourth. After living amid all the pleasures of the court and being a lady of great consequence, she was reduced to the most abject poverty when her royal lover died. Richard III, the new king, punished her severely for her sin. For her lewd and wanton life, she was dragged through Lombard Street in a sheet where many thousands viewed her. No one would befriend her save one man whom she had once delivered from death, but alas, he was hanged for his pains. She dragged herself miserably through London's streets as a beggar woman, and finally died at a place which has since been called "Shoreditch." Of course, the moral of the tale is to admonish wanton wives that fall to lust, of God's justice—that whoredom shall not escape His hand.

Minstrels flourished until the middle of the sixteenth century. But from the time that the printer's art began to make books the common property of people, the minstrel profession began to decline. A new race of ballad writers arose who wrote their inartistic but powerful productions just

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for the press, and by the end of the sixteenth century the old minstrels had been completely displaced. The minstrels who survived this period sank to the menial position of beer fiddlers and cantabanqui since, as they were no longer able to amuse the nobility and middle classes, they had to choose the ale house for their stage. And if their songs were filthy and obscene, it is obvious that they couldn't go in for more delicate forms of amusement considering their clientele. And yet many of these performers who gave a bit of mirth for a groat, sang songs of the olden days—really good songs in which the higher classes had lost all interest but which their lowly audience still relished.

In London the ballad singers of the sixteenth century had their position at Temple Bar where there was always a large crowd assembled to hear their vulgar songs and ale-house stories.

Still, the higher forms of ballads and songs did not disappear altogether. Thus the erotic song, "Dulcinea," attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, was very popular in the sixteenth century. In this, a shepherd comes to Dulcinea resting at noon in her sweet and shady bower and requests the privilege of lying in her lap for an hour. She bids him forgo and return later—at night, but he is ardent and desires her forthwith. How did it end? Well, she was fair and he was young; the tongue may tell what the eye discovers, but joys unseen are never sung. Such songs are very numerous in Shakespeare's works as well as in Ben Jonson and other contemporaries.

The real popular poetry was now exclusively in the hands of the ballad makers who had their productions printed on single sheets and sold them. Later on these were garnered up into small booklets called garlands ("Garlands of Love," etc.). These songs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain pictures of the new fashions, accounts of wonderful happenings, effusions of tender love, and descriptions of a broadly humorous and even obscene nature.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Thomas D'Urfey prepared a collection of poems in six small volumes. Of these two appeared under the title "Wit and Mirth; or pills to purge melancholy; being a collection of the best merry ballads and songs." These were set to music

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by Henry Purcell and other excellent music masters of the town, and issued under the title: "Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive." This collection impresses us at once with the free, merry and profligate tone of the Restoration epoch which expressed itself in frivolous word plays, in highly realistic descriptions of nocturnal love escapades, etc. Such a song as the one with the refrain: "What is a maidenhead of which weak fools so often prate?" leaves nothing to be desired for frivolity and license. D'Urfey's collection also included a few specimens of late seventeenth century ballads, especially the famous "Hopeful Bargain" which described an authentic practice of the time—the selling of wives. It concerned an ale-draper who sold his wife for a shilling. The buyer sold her again for five shillings and after she had lain with other folks three days and nights, her husband received her back again.

The development of the lowest type of street singers reached its peak in the early part of the nineteenth century. Now there was a new feature about the tribe of balladiers—women singers who flooded the streets of London. Archenholtz has left us much unmistakable information concerning the obscene character of the ballads sung by these women. After the latter had sung their naughty songs to the vast delight of the youths and servants who always formed the greater portion of their audience, they would sell printed copies of these filthy songs to those who had tarried to admire their virtuosity.

The dissemination of these street songs of the lowest caliber remained a very fruitful source of income for London booksellers and distressed, poverty-stricken authors even of the better sort. Thus, for quite a while, Oliver Goldsmith wrote such ballads for street singers, and for each of these productions he received a crown. Frequently he would steal out at night to hear some of his songs sung. In "Roderick Random," Smollett has done an excellent description of the lamentable penury of an author who is willing to do any sort of work where his real talents can find expression, but his frantic search for employment is fruitless and he is driven as a last resort to try the publishers of street songs. He finally is taken on at such a job but his first poem, the product of his most tender and eloquent fancy, is cruelly criticized and found to possess just one

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merit—good orthography. But after assiduous study of the technique of this branch of composition, the starveling writer finally makes a go of it.

Among the collections of such free songs and ballads we may mention, "The Lovers" (found at the end of the "London Bawd"), and the luscious title, "Love's vocal grove, or the bucks in high humour, being a choice collection of the most favorite songs of the town."

Nor was there any dearth of attempts to raise the niveau of the ballad. Thus in 1758 Bishop Percy wrote for his bride, Anna Gutteridge, the famous poem, "O, Nancy," which was set to music by Carter. Other popular English folk songs of the end of the eighteenth century were "Sweetest of Pretty Maids," "Sally of Our Alley," "O, the Roast Beef of Old England," "Come Haste to the Wedding," etc. Those who were desirous of being regaled with the good old songs would go to the famous music dealer of the Strand, Thomson, who knew the tunes of most of the English folk songs and frequently sang them to his guests. In general, however, the eighteenth century saw a rapid destruction of the poetical tendencies of the English people, a tendency which was intimately connected with the rise of the moralizing, utilitarian tendency in literature and art (Richardson, Addison, Hogarth). Moreover, the development of the factory system had some share in this responsibility for the disappearance of popular poetry. Gradually there developed a lurid sensationalism; the more filthy and monstrous an event, the more likely it was to become the theme of a popular song. The criminal, whose life of shame had been terminated on the gallows, became at his death a citizen of a poetical world, for the "Newgate Ballads" celebrated all executions. However, it is true that in the country a greater love for nature and a greater refinement of feeling were retained in the ballads. In the west of England, even until the most modern times, Christmas carols continue to be sung; and in general even in London, the Victorian era introduced a finer tone into the popular song, and tended to elevate the poetic sense of the people. Thus in the 1860's Rodenberg, who was visiting England, was immensely impressed by the richness and melodiousness of the English popular songs, the so-called "Songs of Bohemia." Then as now, the fancy of the public was very fickle and a song that had just been

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tremendously popular and on everybody's lips was soon forgotten. A few of the favorite songs of the time were "Sweet Minnie," a tender and sentimental piece; "The Ratcatcher's Daughter," with coarsely obscene expressions; "Polly, Won't You Try Me," which contains another characteristic of English folk songs—the introduction of numerous euphonious but meaningless syllables so that the whole appears nonsensical; "Bobbing around, around, around"—which requires no further analysis; and finally, "I wish I was with Nancy." It appears, in short, that the popular poetry of London had a bit of sentimentality and a good measure of coarse naturalness, corresponding to the character of the people.

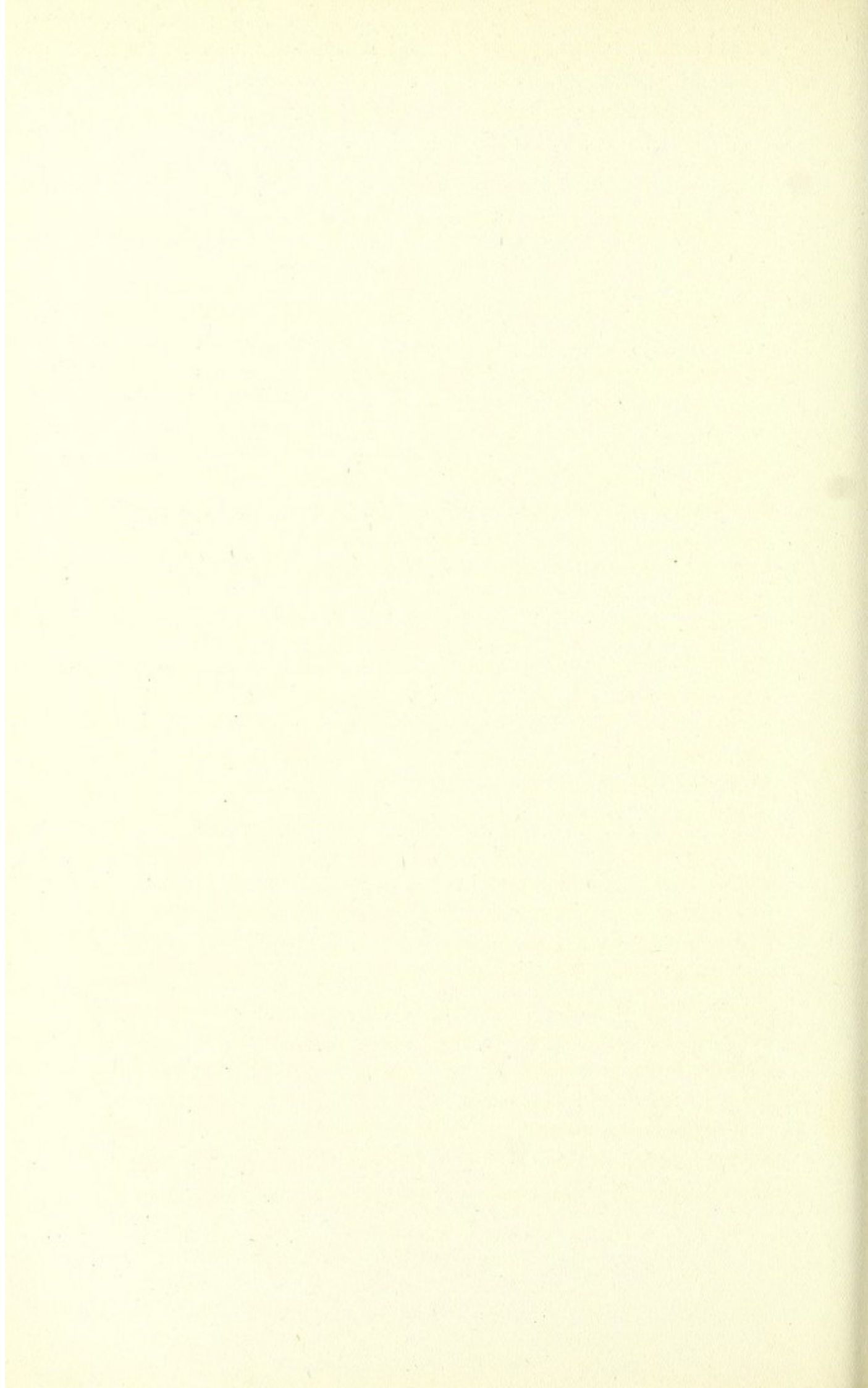
A distinctive specialty of the London street songs were the songs in London argot or cant which have been collected by J. S. Farmer in his "Musa Pedestris. Three Centuries of Canting Songs and Slang Rhymes."

In addition to the singers of ballads and songs it is an old-established custom for street vendors to call out their wares in peculiar loud, long-drawn-out melodious noises. These "cries of London" very early became a popular theme for artistic historians of culture. At the end of the seventeenth century, Peter Molyn Tempest published a collection of copper plates illustrating these "Cries" after the drawing by the Dutchman, Laroon. Later on the famous caricaturist, Thomas Rowlandson, drew appropriate pictures to illustrate various cries, which give a very lively picture of the life and activities of the hawkers of old London.



13

EROTIC DANCING AND PASTIMES



XIII

EROTIC DANCING AND PASTIMES

DANCING was one of the chief pleasures of medieval England. Everyone had to know how to dance, for it was a popular pastime with both the higher and lower classes. Even kings aspired to have the reputation of being good dancers and, as a matter of fact, Henry VIII was really an excellent dancer. On St. Valentine's Day, young folks danced in gay freedom through the streets, on the meadows and in the woods. Old Stow, who lived in the sixteenth century looked upon girls' dancing out of doors—a practice which had become common in London since the twelfth century and did not stop before about 1530—as being a preventive against worse things within doors, which he feared would result from the suppression of *al fresco* dancing. Country girls danced all their rustic measures, round and jigs outdoors, and the interesting dances of the milkmaids around the Maypole were just one type of these delightful exercises on the smooth malls.

At certain times in the Middle Ages, especially in the fifteenth century, the passion for dancing became so very widespread that various corrupt practices grew out of the fad and became the source of moral corruption against which moralists fulminated. Chaucer spoke of love dances and lascivious postures during the dance; and in an old Ms. at the British Museum there is a picture of a girl dancing on the shoulders of a bagpiper.

Wright has distinguished two types of dances during medieval times—domestic dances and the dances of the jugglers and minstrels. After the first crusades the west European jugglers learnt many of the arts of their

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Oriental colleagues and had even—as appears from numerous accounts of contemporary writers—transplanted into the Occident the “Almehs” or Oriental dancing girls. These dances, like the *fabliaux*, always constituted a portion of the jongleur’s program, and both were nearly always coarse and indecent. The domestic dances, called “carole,” in which men and women participated holding each other’s hands, were generally speaking, more innocuous.

These genuine folk dances were at their peak at the middle of the sixteenth century, and after that were displaced by the social dance which first achieved real importance at the court masquerades and balls under Elizabeth and James I. In keeping with this, after the Restoration there came to be a demand for instruction in the dance, which need was supplied by alien teachers, mostly Frenchmen.

In the 43rd “Spectator” (1711), Addison has set down for us some extremely interesting items of information concerning social dancing and its instruction in England towards the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Herein the author scores the new-fangled dances like the *Allemande*, which by its swift whirling motion, causes the dress of the female to be raised above decorous levels. Addison remarks that there are even worse dances like the “kiss dance,” where the gentleman must abide for a long moment on the lips of his partner unless he is to fall out of time. The “*contredanses*” and all the other *terpsichorean* novelties, the “Spectator” pointed out, were liable to have very dangerous consequences as a result of the intimate positions which were assumed during the dance. No matter how hard female hearts might be, it was difficult for him to see how they would not be dangerously softened by the wizardry of the music, the force of the movements and the power of the young man who was continually hovering before his partner and clasping her. But since Addison believed the country dance to be an English invention he did not wish to see it completely abandoned but only refined and danced innocently, inasmuch as it had an indubitable value in engendering poise, a natural carriage and movement of the body.

As a matter of fact, the dancing masters of the eighteenth century en-

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joyed the worst possible reputation. Under the guise of private dance instruction and exhibition, they often arranged the foulest sexual orgies. These conditions were first discovered by the judge, Sir John Fielding.

Already in Shakespeare's time all the dances of the continent were known in England. Especially favored was the Moorish dance at which the dancers painted their faces black, dressed in Oriental costumes and hopped about so wildly that many addicted to these dances developed gout.

Among the English national dances Storck includes the cushion dance, a combination of game and dance in which cushions and kissing played a role together. One of the dancers would place a red velvet cushion before him and choose, by certain appropriate verses, a lady who would kneel on the cushion and receive a kiss. She in turn would act thus toward a man who would kneel before her, until all the young folks had come to the cushion and been kissed. This game-dance was very popular in England way back in history and is mentioned in Shakespeare's "Henry VIII."

Another English national dance is the hornpipe at which the upper part of the body is kept stiff and straight, the arms crossed on the chest, and the legs kept moving in bent and kicking movements. There was another dance, "Hunt the Squirrel," where the man chased the woman and then the female pursued the male. The dance termed "Anglaise" was, however, of Bohemian origin, only when it was danced in France it was combined with certain distinctly English steps. However, the country dance is purely English; but when it was introduced into France in 1710 by a British dancing master the name was corrupted into "contredanse," which is more appropriate as the couples faced each other in it.

The first German waltz was introduced in 1813 at Almack's and aroused general disapproval, not only among the prudish, but even by such critics as George Gordon Byron who denounced drastically all women that danced the waltz. He asserted that the mind of such a woman goes with the caresses that she must in the dance perforce give to a score; and with the mind he felt would go the little left to bestow.

Even during the nineteenth century dancing masters did not stand in

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the best repute. Dickens gave a very delightful description of the swindlers who frequently ran so-called dance academies in his "London Sketches."

The dance as spectacle—the ballet, was first introduced into England during the eighteenth century and found here, as everywhere, a most enthusiastic reception. Ballets became universally fashionable. Kings adorned their private performances with them; and the smallest stock company dragged a whole swarm of dancers with them.

It was Mlle. Sallé, the famous French ballet dancer celebrated by Voltaire, who first introduced the opera ballet into England when in 1734 she scored her signal success as Galatea, in the ballet of "Pygmalion and Galatea." The enthusiasm she aroused was almost pathological. So great was the crowd that swarmed to see her that those who had been fortunate enough to obtain, at steep prices, tickets of admission to her last performance had to push their way to their seats with daggers in their hands. The gifts she received on this evening totaled 200,000 francs.

Later on the ballet master, Noverre, came to London and presented, at the Drury Lane Theatre, ballets of an incomparable magnificence, at which Miss Lydia Thompson appeared in Scots costume. In 1789, Mlle. Guimard celebrated her triumphs at the Kings Theater, and toward the close of the century, Parisot, del Caro and de Camp were the much admired stars of the ballet. All three were favorites with the public but each had her distinctive merits. Miss de Camp, the Englishwoman, was the most beautiful and lovely. Mme. del Caro, an Italian, had the most perfect figure, and Mlle. Parisot was the best dancer from the point of view of technical achievement. A splendid description of the respective merits of each of these dancers is to be found in Boettinger's "London and Paris."

Goede, who visited the Italian Opera of London in 1802, reported that, thanks to the generosity of the English, this institution had a large number of famous dancers, and was almost equal to the Paris ballet. Indeed it was his honest opinion that Paris had no dancer like Mlle. Parisot who, for him, was the essence of that soft female grace which lends to the beauty of that sex its omnipotence; and he felt that her dancing

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was free of that unnatural straining by which French dancers were so frequently beset in their efforts to create *tours de force*. Parisot's every movement was characterized by the highest honesty and the most noble character and was free from all trace of coquetry. Other famous dancers, male as well as female, were members of this troupe at that time so that Goede came to the conclusion that, while in the Parisian ballets the groupings were more artistic and the pictorial effect more beautiful, in London the performances were distinguished by a greater profusion of naïve situations and a freer and more poetical spirit.

In addition to the celebrated ballet of the Italian Opera there was during the eighteenth century that of the Royal Circus situated near London Bridge.

As in Paris, so also in London, the ballet dancers very early became an attraction for the worldlings and a much sought after object for liaisons of all sorts. The backstage of the London Italian Opera was always besieged by a great swarm of roués. In the great Italian Opera it was customary for the elegants to crowd around behind the curtains to scrutinize more closely the dancers and singers.

In the nineteenth century two foreign balleteuses became especially famous in England—Fanny Elssler and Maria Taglioni, who had their great triumphs in the 40's and 50's. The difference between the two was expressed by one critic in the statement that Taglioni was the poetry of movement and Elssler the wit. Elssler invented a ballet which, since then, has been used by many ballet dancers. The subject was as follows: A young painter has been painting a very beautiful girl who disappears and leaves the painter with a broken heart; now he spends much time in moping over her picture. His mother decides to cure the youth and finally discovers the girl. One day the beauty walks into the studio while the artist is out, and, removing her picture from the frame, takes up her position there. The artist enters and pulling aside the curtain stands before what he adoringly believes to be only the picture of his love. Thereupon she looks at him lovingly and steps out of her frame to make him happy forever.

The stay of Elssler in London and her appearance in Drury Lane

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Theater was treated in the seventh chapter of a piquant erotic book—"Loves of a Ballet Dancer"—which describes the supposed adventures of Elssler in Vienna, Paris and London.

There were other dancers who achieved a considerable reputation at that time, especially Fanny Cerito whose moonlight and shadows dance delighted the London public.

At the present time London is distinguished, above all other metropolises, by the presentation of great ballets which surpass anything found in any other world capital. The author of "Pretty Betty's Adventures in London" describes a magnificent ballet that was enacted during the seventies in the Alhambra at which ninety-nine beautiful ballet girls participated. At some of these performances girls represented butterflies, lotus flowers, glow-worms, bees, flies, moths, so that the eye was dazzled by the most magnificent colors. . . .

A unique phenomenon of the eighteenth century and the first third of the nineteenth century were the prostitutes who danced on the streets. This class of strumpets actually danced around the passersby and by jumping and singing sought to force their charms upon the client thus engulfed.

Adrian reported that once, while he was walking through Bird Cage Walk, he saw a crowd of people watching someone dancing. It was a girl about twenty years of age, nicely built and well-dressed, dancing like a bacchante. Her straw hat lay on the ground, and her brown hair was flung wildly about her burning eyes and bare throat. When she was tired of dancing she sat down on the ground near her hat and began to sing an immoral song. Presently she arose and flung her arms about the throat of one of the horse guards who, with the help of a comrade, disentangled himself from her embrace. While the crowd hooted, the girl still dancing madly and cursing the soldiers furiously, jumped up the mall. A subordinate officer of the guards then remarked to his comrades that he knew well the pretty Fanny and expressed sympathy for the disintegration and decay he saw her in. The previous summer she had been one of the most sought after beauties that patronized Vauxhall. At that time she

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drank champagne. But now she had just come out of the hospital and, business being bad, she had taken to whisky.

In "Betty's London Adventures," we can read penetrating descriptions of the deportment of prostitutes in dance halls of the low type in the East End. In these dives German and English girls sang with the dancers the foulest verses to the dance music. In one such place, reserved for the use of sailors, there were about sixty strumpets all dressed in colored silk robes.

More recently it is the eastern suburbs of London like Maidstone, Greenwich and Gravesend which are in disrepute because of their dance halls—the combination of prostitution and dancing; and also because of their presentation of highly lascivious ballets, like the "Drawers Ballet," described by Hector France.

Furthermore, such erotic dances are also presented in the brothels of London. Casanova has described a satyr dance in the London bordello named the "Cannon."

Rémo has drawn our attention to such erotic balls in fashionable London houses of joy even at the present time. Nellie Cawsten, mistress of such a house (and a very fashionable one at that) in the London suburb of Brompton gave balls at which she assembled over a hundred pretty girls for the delectation of the London worldlings who were patrons of her establishments. Generally the most wicked and dissolute orgies would be enacted in the upper stories of her house as sequels to these dance festivities.

As was mentioned above, music and the dance generally constitute only a part of a much richer program of public entertainment which in its entirety created the type of the modern specialty theater, the "tingle-tangle" or vaudeville.

Among the various specialties of these institutions, of which the most famous in contemporary London are the Alhambra, Empire, Hippodrome, is the pantomime.

In the eighteenth century it was the little theaters especially that cultivated pantomime. But it is significant that even the large theaters of Drury Lane and Covent Garden saw themselves compelled to tack onto

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their large and serious bill, some items of pantomime in order to attract the poorer classes and that class of girls who, while the pantomime was in progress, would start a similar game with the spectators in the loges. The English pantomimes of 1800 were designated by Goede as being on the lowest plane possible. And yet, despite the revolting indelicacy of these entertainments, they were so popular that when Lichtenberg went to see the pantomime, "Harlequin Restored," at the Sadler's Wells Theater, it was so crowded that he could only get a seat by taking upon his lap a little girl of six.

After the pantomime, rope dancers, clowns and acrobats formed an indispensable portion of every English vaudeville performance. Indeed the circus itself has an irresistible attraction for the English. The combination of power and humor evinced here pleases the English character which desires such a combination in sport too. And as a matter of fact in the early period of opera some such vaudeville effects were always included.

One of the oldest of these places was Figg's Amphitheater, where in the 20's and 30's of the eighteenth century, Amazonian contests attracted large multitudes. Women appeared upon the stage dressed and armed as men and fought with one another. The beginnings of another element of the circus—equestrian sports—must be sought in an old inn, "The Three Hats," situated at Islington. It was here that Thomas Johnson, the Irish Tartar, who could ride horseback standing on his head, made his début. His success led others to take up the profession. Soon a Sampson entered into competition near by and added a new attraction—his wife—who joined him in the equestrian tricks. Thereafter there were a large number of clever and daring horsemen who invented all sorts of breath-taking tricks. Perhaps the most famous home of equestrian art was Astley's famous circus which also purveyed, during a five-hour performance, music, races, farces and rope dancing. Any reader desiring a graphic and amusing picture of how Astley's circus operated is referred to von Treskow's valuable book, "The Sufferings of Two Chinese in London," and dealing with conditions in London at about 1840.

The first woman trapeze artist who bore the nom d'aréna of Azella

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made her appearance at Holborn Amphitheater in 1869 and soon found numerous successors. Soon most of London's music halls had female trapeze artists.

No people has so rich a history of public festivities, amusements and entertainments as the English. In 1600 Richard Burton admonished the authorities to let the people amuse themselves with whatever type of entertainment they chose, to prevent them from doing worse things. The high point of this popular immersion in pleasures and entertainments of all sorts was reached under Queen Elizabeth. No period of English history is richer in the most numerous and diversified public processions, solemnities, hunts, fairs and festivities of one kind or another than the Elizabethan era. One of the most beautiful productions of the English printers' art (and one forming an inexhaustible well for our knowledge of English public festivities) is the de luxe work by John Nichols on "The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth" (1788) which is concerned with the numerous festivals held in honor of the Queen on her numerous journeys through England. Hüttner and Taine have also had something to say concerning the grotesque indulgence of the English of Elizabeth's time in public entertainments.

Among these none had a more conspicuous place than the great annual fairs. It was an old tradition in London that three such were held annually, the most famous being the Bartholomew fair at Smithfield which lasted until 1855. This was held several times a year but the Bartholomew fair par excellence fell in September. Concerning another of these fairs (at Southwark) Evelyn has left us a vivid account of the apes and the ass that danced on a rope and the tricks of an Italian prostitute whom everyone flocked to see. The best account of these fairs by an eyewitness is undoubtedly that of Goede who has preserved for us all the color and sound and movement of the Bartholomew fair of 1800. After describing the manifold attractions, the diversified booths and exotic materials, strange animals and unique games, carousels and balloons and other apparatus which attracted thousands by the thrills it held out to them, he goes on to say that everything here was calculated to arouse the senses of the populace which did indeed abandon itself to the most dissolute

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pleasure. During the three days of the fair, public girls swarmed all over the place; but, in addition, many a young and inexperienced girl was sucked into the merry and depraved crowd, so that it may be said that many of those, who at that time held first place among the priestesses of Venus in London, first made their *début* on this stage and reeled from the hands of drunken sailors into the arms of a lord. Still, so powerful was the remembrance of the first intoxication of pleasure that many of these nymphs, who now shone in the highest circles, were irresistibly drawn back to these festivals, and, forgetting their distinguished lovers, ran down here to feel again the hot breath and brutal hands of the intoxicated mob. Another London fair where happenings similar to those described in Sodom and Gomorrah is detailed in Santo Domingo's "London as it is."

An outstanding figure of the London fairs was Punch, the comic figure of the English puppet shows. Punch is the abbreviated form of Punchinello, an Italian who erected in 1666 at Charing Cross a booth containing a puppet show, thus introducing "Punch and Judy" into England, for which privilege he had to pay a fee to the heads of the St. Martin's parish. The following year another man got the concession and soon the practice spread and became so popular as even to steal patrons from St. Paul's Cathedral; the predilection for the humorous and coarsely ribald antics of Punch soon threatened the theater and opera. In 1870 there were eight large Punch and Judy shows on the streets of London.

The public that patronized these performances has been well described, in the "Doings in London," as a mixture of butchers, chimney sweeps, pickpockets and dairy maids; old and young fools all of whom held their sides with laughter and shrieked whenever Mrs. Punch got a whack over the head. But even men of rank frequently came to enjoy the coarse obscenity of these shows. Thus whenever Wyndham, a secretary of state, was on his way from Downing Street to the House of Commons he would never fail to halt for a while before a puppet show and enjoy the performance.

Nor did literature and art hesitate to employ Punch—this original representative of human weakness and folly. So George Cruikshank

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drew his grotesque pictures of Punch for Collier's interesting book, "Punch and Judy," and Haydon drew Punch with Hogarthian wit in 1829. Aside from a farce, "Punch as Schoolmaster," this figure was immortalized by the London humorous journal, "Punch," or the London Charivari, established in 1841.

Punch with his long nose and hump (a family heirloom from Italy) is the embodiment of English brutality—a bad husband, a heartless father, a profligate citizen who gives his tongue absolute freedom; in politics and in sexual matters he develops thoroughly free views; knight, bluebeard and polygamist, he lives with his spouse in a thoroughly "free" marriage, later slays his wife and child, and then turns to the pretty Polly and, finally, after various other exploits, ends at the gallows.

Among the English festivals the ones that deserve mention, aside from the Christmas festival well-known to all, is the festivity attending the first of May and Valentine's Day, both of which were already celebrated in the early Middle Ages. From Stubbes' anatomy of the abuses current, then, we learn that on the first of May all the men, women and children of every village, town or diocese went to the forest where they spent the night in various diverting pursuits. In the morning, they returned carrying with them branches of birch and other trees and a Maypole which was transported on a wagon drawn by twenty to forty oxen all of them garlanded about the horns. . . . Upon their return, they planted the May tree, littered the meadow with flowers and erected bowers, and then jumped, danced, banqueted and caroused for all the world like heathens at their pagan festivities. . . . Of a hundred girls that spent this night in the woods less than a third returned home intact.

In London at the end of the eighteenth century very dissolute May-parties took place at the inn, "The Yorkshire Stingo," situated at Marylebone Road. So many things happened at these parties that they were finally suppressed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

On Valentine's Day (February fourteenth) every pretty girl got numerous letters, gilt-edged and exceedingly decorative, and containing all sorts of flattery, declarations of love and offers of marriage. Very frequently a young man would marry the first girl whom he met on

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Valentine's Day and, according to the English belief, this was regarded as a particularly happy marriage for on this day birds are wont to mate for the whole year.

In Wales the custom of trial nights is still extant which practice Rémo attributes to the sensual nature of Welshmen who have undoubtedly the most ardent natures of the three national groups who constitute Great Britain. For these reasons the men proceed with the greatest audacity in their love adventures and in certain districts the betrothed couple is granted a trial night without any hesitation whatever. This privilege is called picturesquely "the right of the latch-key." The young man sleeps with his bride, and if either party is not thoroughly satisfied, the match is forthwith off; if, however, mutual satisfaction is felt, the marriage takes place within a few days.

The same writer has called our attention to the unique custom of the so-called "excursion-advertisements" which has come up during the last decades. In these advertisements young men seek young girls as companions for their Sunday trips into the country. This type of Sunday love proved to be extremely popular.

Archenholtz is our authority for a queer custom that reigned in Hertfordshire up to the end of the eighteenth century. Once every seven years, on October tenth, a group of young men, for the most part rustic swains, would assemble in the fields and, after having chosen one of their number as their leader, would begin their march over hill and dale. Whomsoever they would meet irrespective of age, sex and position would have to submit to the ceremony of swinging. Naturally women were not exempt from this delightful penalty, so decent women and girls would not stir from their homes on this day. Only profligate females came forth and gladly let themselves be swung; and, after having been warmed in this preliminary exercise, she remained with the jovial troop far into the night when, if the weather was clement, banqueting and bacchanal would be held under the starlit sky.

In general it may be observed that during the eighteenth century there were no objections raised if any man swung his girl on a rope. Thus

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Gay wrote that he swung his Blonzalinda on a slackened cord from two near elms.

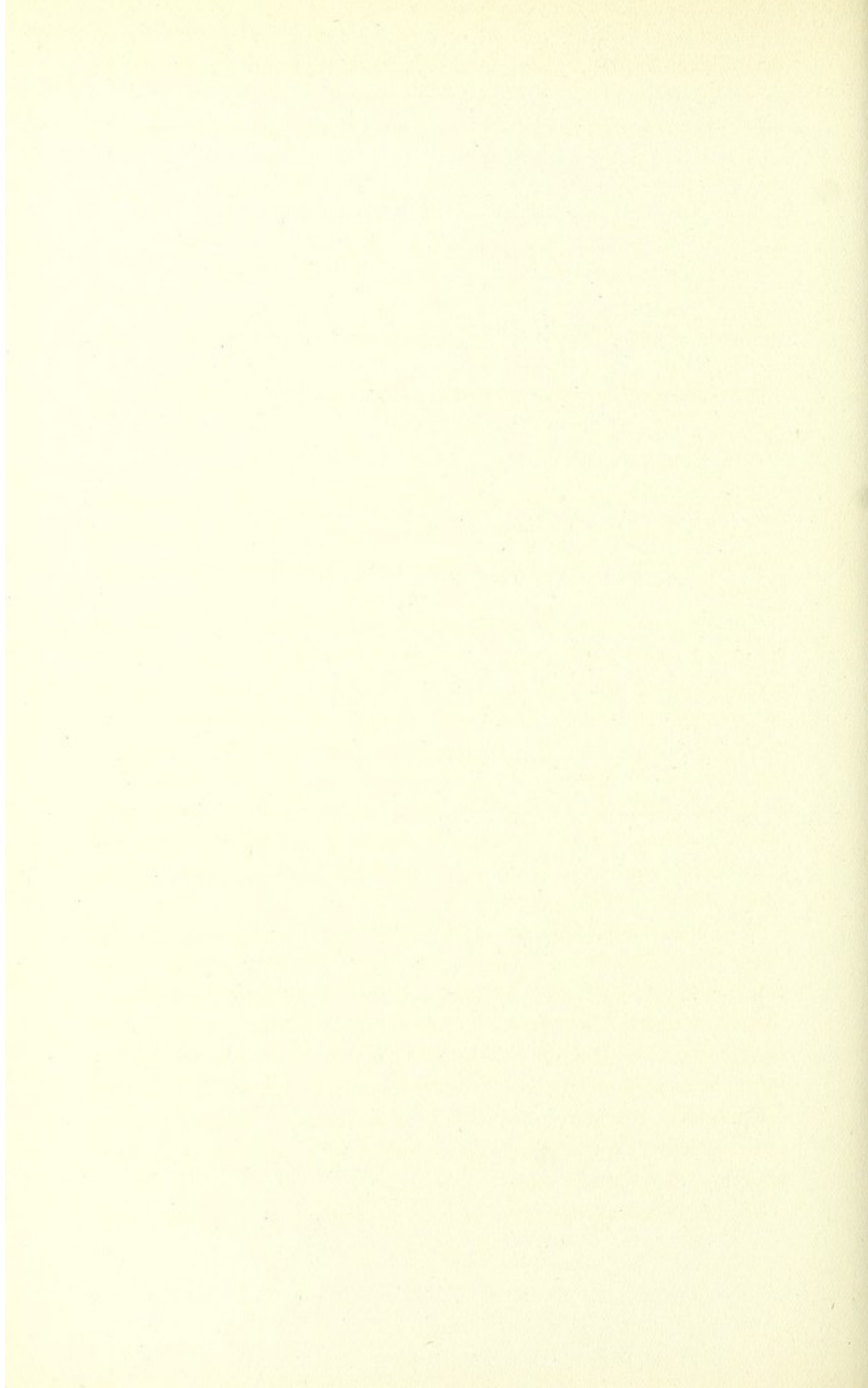
Certain districts of England retained the practice of punishing women by ducking in water until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Those punished would be seated on a stool which would be gradually dipped into the water by the aid of ropes. This was the "ducking stool." There is extant a document for the year 1572 which is a bill for such a stool and for various repairs upon it; this justifies us in concluding that it was frequently used. In his "Miscellaneous Poems," B. West has celebrated this ducking act in verse.

At the close of this section let us mention a remarkable, indecent game between young girls called "The Shape Test" which consists in the following antics: Two girls stand erect with their legs together; and their shape is considered perfect if a sixpence can be kept between their ankles, calves, knees and thighs. The girl with the perfect shape will hold them firmly; whereas the girl with the imperfect shape will let them fall.

The "fool's festivals" of the Middle Ages, with their sexual excesses, were connected in England essentially with the personality of the "Lord of Disrule" who led these profligate mysteries which were enacted in and around the church.

14

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XIV

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ART, whose primary function will always remain the representation of man, his activities, sensations and passions, very early drew human love into the domain of its thematic material, both in its ideal and corporeal aspects.

The question whether purely sexual relationships can become the subject of artistic representation must be answered in the affirmative if one presupposes the purely artistic representation of erotic objects. In the art work the purely sexual must disappear into the highest artistic conception. Of course this can only be possible if the object portrayed has been entirely abstracted from its actuality and is now considered in its general human aspect apart from all considerations of time and place and if, in the recreation of the utterly sexual, there comes to expression that conception of the artist which transfigures and, to some extent, transcends the merely physical.

How much material the sexual realm does provide for humorous treatment! How short in this realm is the transition from the sublime to the ridiculous! However, we must bear in mind Schopenhauer's teaching—that these sexual relationships of human beings could not purvey so much material for laughter did they not contain profoundly serious elements. The poet and artist can therefore, as the mirror of humanity, celebrate either passion or mysticism, be Anacreon or Angelus Silesius, write comedy or tragedy, and represent the base or the exalted, depending on his diathesis and mood.

The most brilliant representative of the humorous and artistic con-

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ception of the sexual is Thomas Rowlandson. The frequent combination of passion and mysticism found in many perverted phenomena of sex life, makes possible that mystic-satanic conception of the erotic in which realm Félicien Rops is the indubitable master. Finally, in works of this sort, the purely moralistic conception may be exemplified, as in Hogarth for example.

In the case of all these artistic sexual representations (which can usually be classified in one of the above three categories although sometimes these rubrics are insufficient—as in the unadulteratedly obscene drawings of Carracci) the sexual elements will be less important to the spectator who is mature and whose esthetic sense has been cultivated.

The history of obscene and erotic representations in art is of great antiquity for they are found among prehistoric peoples. Perhaps the origins of sexual art works among primitive peoples are to be sought in their religion, the sexual cults; from imitations of the generative organs which were employed in these ceremonies as fetishes, the step was made to the actual representation of the sex act. Such erotic pictures are to be found in West Africa, Bali, New Guinea, Japan, etc. Classical antiquity has a great treasure of obscene wall paintings, vases and pictures of a very high artistic quality. In this connection one has only to think of the "musee secret" at Naples. But the heyday of erotic art was in the Renaissance period. At that time Giulio Romano drew the obscene pictures of Aretino's sonnets. Augusta and Annibale Carracci represented in erotic drawings the postures of coition, and the palaces of the nobility were decorated with erotic frescoes and pictures. Even articles of furniture and table service were decorated with lascivious pictures. Brantôme describes in detail a beaker thus decorated.

The history of erotic pictures in France and England, during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is almost entirely bound up with the dissemination of the "Figures" of Aretino and Romano's obscene illustrations of the sixteen sonnets of Aretino referring to the "Figurae Veneris"—postures during sexual union. Although most of the editions were confiscated by Pope Clement VII, the original plates were saved and brought to France where many other editions appeared, with

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more of Aretino's sonnets and more pictures. Brantôme knew of a nobleman who, at the end of the sixteenth century, presented his mistress with an obscene picture album showing thirty-two ladies representing twenty-seven figures of Aretino, most of the figures having more than one man. In the seventeenth century all obscene paintings, pictures and drawings were confiscated and destroyed, and all the original plates have disappeared so that none is extant today.

The pictures illustrative of Aretino probably came to England during the sixteenth century, and in 1674 a reproduction was issued at Oxford by some people at All Soul's College. Another notice concerning the dissemination of the "*Figurae Veneris*" is found in Mrs. Manley's "*Atlantis*." There Charlotte Howard is left alone in the duke's library, purposely, so that she may become properly inflamed by a perusal of lubric books like "*The Wandering Whore*" which was probably a translation of Aretino's book.

In the "*Sérails de Londres*," a French translation of an English book which appeared in the eighteenth century, there is depicted daughters of joy in a fashionable brothel in beds, practicing the various postures of Aretino, using as models the pictures that lie before them. In this book Aretino's "*Figurae Veneris*" is lavishly praised as the "*grand chef-d'œuvre des voluptés*." Lastly, this same book is mentioned in a story, "*The Force of Instinct*," that appeared in an erotic collection, "*The Bagnio Miscellany*," about 1820. Here Clara asks Betty what she understands by the positions of Aretino; and the answer given is that it is a book which Cambridge students used to show her depicting all possible attitudes of the love act.

The first obscene pictures original to English soil were those provided by a London artist to the erotic book, "*The Pleasures of Love—containing a variety of entertaining particulars and curiosities in the cabinet of Venus*"; shortly after that an edition of John Cleland's famous obscene novel, "*Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*," appeared with erotic illustrations.

The greatest artist of the eighteenth century, who also drew the representation of erotic objects and themes into the domain of his moral-

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izing art, was William Hogarth (1697-1764). In his portrayals of the sexual he is most concerned to show the animal in man and to draw, in the blackest possible colors, the evil consequences of sensuality and debauchery. He is primarily a moralist and did for his contemporaries what Aristophanes had done at Athens for his—painting the satirical comedy, the ridiculousness and consequences of vice. In inimitable fashion he represented love and sex in their personal and social relationships in a manner that was broad and natural, not even stopping at the limit of decency. Hogarth brought immorality out of its foul corners so that everyone who had eyes could see. He painted all types of man and evil—the slothful vagabond, thief, the noble, fallen from his high estate, who sells his coat of arms for gold plus a rich burgher's daughter, the sanctimonious hypocrite who puts on the black robe of Puritanism the better to conceal his secret sins. He entered into the dens of crime and vice—the nasty stenchful puddles of the new society. There was no delicacy in his entry into these places. He was not clever or piquant in the frivolous, lascivious style of the French; he treated the most piquant themes in the coarse, virile manner of a man who grabs a butterfly in his fist. Hogarth's complex pictures constitute a more valuable contribution to the *Sittengeschichte* of his period than many library volumes; add to this the commentary supplied by the distinguished German satirist, Georg Christian Lichtenberg, and you have a compendium of the history of English morals in the eighteenth century.

We will mention a few of the most important of Hogarth's copper plates and we begin with the most famous scene of all, "The Harlot's Progress." It is sufficiently characteristic of the coarseness of the age, that Hogarth should have chosen the life of a whore for artistic representation. There were twelve thousand subscribers for the edition; after the book was published, these pictures were seen everywhere, printed on fans, on coffee cups, in operettas and stage pantomimes. They trace the fortunes of Mary Hackabout, the daughter of a poor Yorkshire preacher, whom her father brings to town. Directly upon her arrival, Charters, one of the most disreputable usurers, panderers and brothel keepers of the first third of the century, whom Swift and Pope characterized as the

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associate of the devil, meets them and, through the good offices of his assistant, the notorious Mother Needham, a brothel keeper of Park Place, he succeeds in enticing Mary into his house of joy. In the next picture she is already the mistress of a rich banker who arrives at an inopportune time one morning and scarcely gives Mary's lover a chance to pull his trousers on and hide. In the next picture she has already sunk deeply; she is now tenanted in a low brothel at Drury Lane and arrested for petty theft. The room contains the ominous rods, the peruke box of a notorious street thief whom she supports as her Alphonse, bottles of medicine, and ointments which tell a very clear story. In the next we see her in jail—she has been sentenced, not only to be whipped privately, but also to do hard labor and to beat hemp. In the same picture are represented another prostitute, a gravid negress, and a ten-year-old daughter of joy, all engaged in the same labors. The next step in her progress depicts, in the most unequivocal way, the disease of all merry girls, syphilis, with its devastating effects; of this ailment she subsequently dies. The last step in her progress shows her in a coffin, surrounded by numerous public girls and several rascals who had come to accompany her on her last journey.

In his second famous work, the eight plates of "The Rake's Progress," Hogarth again finds ample opportunity to castigate the corruption found in various quarters of London society, the coarse parvenu and unscrupulous seducer, the repulsive prattle of the castrates, the horrible orgies in the brothels, alcoholism, money marriages, debt imprisonment and the interior of Bedlam. Another series, "Marriage à la Mode," leads us into high society whose moral corruption was fully as great as that of bourgeois society. A certain lord, who has sunk very deeply into debt, marries off his son, who has already been fairly exhausted by his dissipating, to the pretty and healthy daughter of one of the city aldermen. This union is foredoomed to failure and after the birth of a daughter each goes his own way. The unhappy wife takes a young and robust lawyer for her lover, while the young lord takes his pleasure with unripe girls. However, tragedy lurks for all. The young wife is discovered one day at an intimate session with her advocate, and an affray ensues be-

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tween husband and lover, during which the husband is stabbed to death. The lawyer is arrested and sentenced to the gallows; and on the day of his execution his paramour takes poison at the home of her father. The last picture shows her father, the alderman, pulling the marriage ring from the finger of his dead daughter before the undertaker arrives.

Other characteristic representations, with moral implications, are the series, "Strolling Actresses," "Industry and Idleness," "Southwark Fair," "The Discovery" and "Confessions of a Lady's Maid." That Hogarth didn't shrink from drawing obscenities is proven by the ninth page of "Industry and Idleness" where a grenadier draws a phallus on the wall with charcoal, and also by the depiction of scatologic products in "A Midnight Modern Conversation," etc.

Ever since the seventeenth century an extremely fertile field for the exercise of the Englishman's artistic talent has been provided by caricature. This art form first flowered during the civil wars against Charles I, when it was naturally employed for political purposes, especially against the absolutism of the Stuarts. The success of this war meant the guaranteeing of full development to every individuality, without political interference. Personal opinion, criticism and satire were untrammelled and, for a while, caricature became one of the foremost powers in public life.

Another factor that aided the growth of caricature in England and gave it a very definite character was the fact that in no other land could there be found so many actual caricatures in the guise of men as in the England of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The artist could actually take his types from the people without making many changes. I have already repeatedly pointed to the national characteristics of the English, their self-consciousness, their tendency to eccentricity and their brutality, all of which reached their fullest expression at that time. In addition, Fuchs has called attention to the fact that these traits of character came to clear expression in the physical appearance of the Englishman of that period; that is, the over-ruddy face, herculean body form and ugly fleshiness, which we are apt to regard as the vagary of a

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caricaturist's pen, were actually to be found at that time as the inevitable result of the English passion for pleasures of the belly and gullet.

Soon caricatures were produced in great numbers and not only played a part in public life but were tremendously popular among all classes and were sold in special stores. The better of these establishments exhibited caricatures of the ridiculous excesses of fashion and elegance, the most ludicrous scenes of great assemblies and even secret sessions of the cabinet. At the close of the eighteenth century and in the first third of the nineteenth, exhibits at caricature shops were one of the things that just had to be seen and for this reason they were very useful for rendezvous purposes. Gillray's caricature, entitled "Before Humphrey's Store," shows us just what crowds would do in front of this most famous of London's caricature establishments.

After political caricatures, the chief attraction of these shops was their exhibit of indecent and obscene caricatures which at that time were produced and disseminated *en bloc*. Aside from Humphrey's, where Gillray's things were sold, most of the other stores finally got around to handling only the most equivocal sort of humor and the lowest type of pornographic drawings.

The three greatest English caricaturists were James Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson and G. Cruikshank, and all of them treated sexual themes. Gillray is famous not only for his brilliant caricatures on the French Revolution and Napoleon I, but is also the author of numerous drawings relevant to our theme—his satires on the fashion of nakedness introduced by Mme. Tallien; the sexual debauches of the Prince of Wales, Lady Hamilton and Josephine (the last shows her and Mme. Tallien dancing naked before their former lover, Barres). He also painted two flagellation scenes. One called "Lady Termagant Falybum going to give her stepson a taste of dessert after dinner" (1786) shows a distinguished looking Englishwoman about to administer a thrashing to her stepson who is being led in by the chambermaid in quite an indecent fashion. The other flagellational drawing is even worse. A bare-bosomed lady with hair worn high, sits on a sofa belaboring with a rod the bare posteriors of a youth who is laid across her lap. One pretty girl stands nearby

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and holds one leg of the boy while another little girl is represented in a very indecent posture.

Incontestably the greatest artist in the representation of erotic matters, before Félicien Rops, was Thomas Rowlandson and no one before or since (not even Rops) has demonstrated such mastery in the purely humorous depiction of the sexual and obscene. This artist adds, to the representation of the sexual act, some humorous accompaniment whose delightful drollery raises the whole to a purely artistic level. Occasionally, of course, he overdoes the obscene counterpoint of the picture but he never transgresses beyond the limits of the natural and human. He is never bestial or unnatural, but confines himself to the diversified representation of the natural sex act. In this respect he differs from many modern artists who have sought to multiply the "*figurae veneris*" in the most unnatural and impossible ways. Of course he lacks the finesse and precision of some of his French contemporaries in the same genre because he dashed off his pieces hastily and laid very little stress on accuracy of detail.

Very interesting is his conception of the female body. He started out with the traditions of the classic school on this score, but soon combined the Flemish and English idea with the earlier view in his drawing of the female form; on the one hand, small foot, elegant stature, and heads of true English beauty; on the other, bodies of Ruben's fullness and voluptuousness. Rowlandson's female forms arise from this unique combination of different forms of beauty.

Rowlandson (1756-1827) studied in Paris and, when he returned, threw himself into the mad life of the worldlings of his time, spending every evening at the famous pleasure places of London, especially Vauxhall, seeking everywhere themes and subjects for his paintings and drawings. This restless life finally impelled him to the sphere where he became a master caricaturist, where the execution could take place as soon as the idea had been born. Despite the haste and crudity of his work, in originality of humor, vigor, color, drawing and composition he exhibited talents which might, but for the recklessness and dissipation of his character, his want of moral purpose and his unrestrained tendency to

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exaggerate and caricature, have enabled him to rank with the highest names in the annals of art. In his tinted drawings with the reed-pen, as in the production of his inimitable and too facile needle, his subjects seem to extend over the whole domain of art and remind one of the free and luxuriant outlines of Rubens, of the satiric humor of Hogarth, and the daring anatomy, rustic truth and simplicity of many other artists. Other artists and great ones too, were astounded at the talent of his works and the consummate power of the man.

Let us now mention a few of Rowlandson's pictures. First there is the collection of ten plates which appeared under the title, "Pretty Little Games for Young Ladies and Gentlemen with Pictures of Good Old English Sports and Pastimes"—every picture containing some doggerel verses of explanation, probably composed by Rowlandson, which cannot be quoted here. Let us briefly glance at a few of these. "The Willing Fair, or any way to please" represents a young captain sitting on a chair with a very plump and almost entirely naked girl who seems ready and eager for the fray. "The Country Squire New Mounted" portrays a country squire just come to London to seek finer sport than the dogs and game he had left behind; before him stands a woman in adamitic costume, a feather in her hair, displaying her nudity. "The Hairy Prospect, or the devil in a fright" shows Chloe preparing to go to bed while the devil looks on with roguish eye. She lifts up her skirt and displays her charms which so frightens Satan that he takes to his heels. "The Larking Cull" sets off a bedroom occupied by two young people, the young man "cum membro elephantiastico opus enter mammas peragit." "New Feats of Horsemanship" manifests a man and woman in intimate connection on a galloping horse. "Rural Felicity, or love in a chaise" depicts a fond couple fulfilling their desires in a chaise. "The Curious Wanton" describes two girls in a bedroom. One bends over the bed while another kneeling down holds a mirror before her in which she views her nether charms with philosophic alarm.

Pisanus Fraxi has collected 107 erotic and obscene etchings of Thomas Rowlandson of which forty have been photographed and disseminated. Many specimens of Rowlandson's indecent etchings are now in the

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British Museum. A few of the more whimsical titles are "Rural Sports, or a pleasant way of making hay," "Off She Goes," "Touch for Touch, or a female physician in full practise," "Symptoms of Sanctity," "The Dairy Maid's Delight," "The Merry Traveller and Kind Chambermaid," "Such Things Are, or a peep into Kensington Gardens," "Inquest of Matrons, or trial for a rape."

In addition to these pictures which appeared as copper plates, Thomas Rowlandson produced a vast number of obscene drawings and sketches all of which were produced with the same gracious talent. Most of these drawings are found in the hands of English collectors, in the British Museum, South Kensington Museum and elsewhere. Aside from these erotic caricatures Rowlandson was, for the end of the eighteenth and the first third of the nineteenth century, what Hogarth was for the latter portion of the eighteenth, the greatest depicter of the moral conditions of his time.

Before leaving Rowlandson we should mention a few of the drawings and engravings of his which are of great importance for the *Sittengeschichte* of his time. "Charity covereth a multitude of sins" depicts a brothel of Cleveland Row; "The Devonshire or the most approved manner of securing votes" scores the practices of the Duchess of Devonshire in obtaining votes for her lover, Charles Fox; "Opera Boxes" shows us the gallantries current in the opera loges; "Damp Sheets" lashes the filth in the English inns; "A Little Tighter" scores the custom of tight corsetting; "A Sale of English Beauties in the East Indies" attacks the sale of English girls to the East Indies; the English divorce trials are denounced in the "Secret History of Crim. Con.," etc.

Practically all of Rowlandson's colleagues in the field of caricature tried their hand at erotic and obscene drawing.

First we must mention the famous family of Cruikshanks. The father, Isaac, drew the title-page to the erotic novel, "The Cherub or Guardian of female innocence." Another picture from his hand is the title page of the collection of anecdotes entitled "Useful Hints to Single Gentlemen Respecting Marriage, Concubinage and Adultery." Isaac's son, George (1792-1878), drew a series of pictures for John Cleland's famous obscene

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story, "Fanny Hill, or the memoirs of a woman of pleasure"; and for Pierce Egan's book, "Life in London," this artist drew a series of pictures which did not even flirt with obscenity and served to establish him as one of the greatest caricaturists. A conception of the sexual similar to Rowlandson's was held by his friend, George Morland, which can be seen best in the latter's representation of the female body. However, Morland was still a rococo artist (like Gainsborough) and charms us with his small world of lovely women with bright blue ribbons and tremendous straw hats, rose silk dresses and gleaming white shoulders. Together with his brother-in-law, Ward, and the engraver, John Raphael Smith, he drew a large number of highly obscene pictures and cut them into mezzotints. The majority of these were intended as illustrations of various famous novels of the eighteenth century: Fielding's "Tom Jones," Sterne's "Sentimental Journey," Rousseau's "Confessions," etc. Morland's excellent mezzotints to Cleland's novel are examples of his work in illustrating thoroughly obscene books. Pisanus Fraxi has listed numerous other works from his hand alone and also from his collaboration with the aforementioned Morland and Smith.

Richard Newton was another master of naturalistic drawing in the erotic realm. Most people are acquainted with his three famous caricatures: "Which Way Shall I Turn," "Old Goats at the Sale of a French Kid," and the third representing, in the most realistic way, the corporeal fatigue that supervenes upon the enjoyment of physical love after the battle—in the form of a luxurious woman sunk lazily into a soft arm-chair. Fraxi surmised that Newton was also responsible for ten highly obscene mezzotints dating from this time.

From the hand of an unknown artist there is extant a series of fourteen obscene mezzotints in Sterne's "Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy," comprising a portrait and thirteen drawings. The portrait is the head of a minister whose nose and upper lip form a phallus. The thirteen pictures bear the following legends underneath (among others): "Such a silly question," "Par le moyen d'une petite canulle"; "Right end of a woman"; "A limb is soon broke in such encounters"; "I will touch it"; "Take hold of my whiskers"; "Widow Wadman"; "Tom's had more gristle in it."

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With vivid double entendre each of these genial titles summarizes its picture.

After 1830 there are very few erotic drawings of really artistic value but a vast number of bad colored lithographs of which some appeared separately and some appended to books. An exception to this statement is an album containing twelve colored lithographs and attributed to H. K. Browne, an artist of importance. The title of this album is "The Pretty Girls of London—their little love affairs, playful doings, etc." These colored lithographs are very well drawn and executed. Without being obscene they are still very free.

George Augustus Sala, the renowned writer, journalist and author of the flagellational novel, "The Mysteries of Verbena House" (1882), tried his hand at painting in color various flagellation scenes.

The renaissance of puritanism in England during the Victorian era evoked in English art also a reaction against the broad naturalism of an earlier day. Everything naked was exorcised from art and the slightest physical contact between man and woman was regarded as indecent. This attitude toward the nude in art showed what limits were set to English art. When one remembers that France had publications like "Le nu au salon," and thinks of Degas, Carrière and Besnard, for whom the play of light on the nude female body was such a rich field for study, one realizes what the conditions were in England during the Victorian era under the "Lex Heinze." Even Watts, the revered master, had to make a written statement explaining why he had to paint Psyche and the young girls in "Mammon" naked. When the classicists, Poynter, Tadema and Crane did occasionally paint nudes, their female forms are abstracted from everything fleshly and are virtually marble statues. In general, nudes disappeared, except for babies who were permitted to appear unclad on English canvases. Leighton put floral garlands around the shoulders of his pious nudes and Calderon gave a theological motivation to his representation of a female nude in the "Saint's Tragedy" in which a naked young girl kneels before the crucifix and offers to follow naked her naked Lord.

The movement against nudity was much stricter and of longer dura-

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tion in England than in Germany. The leaders of this crusade during the 80's were Mrs. Grundy and an old painter, Horsley, who denounced the unclad human body as indecent and immoral, and thus, as Hector France cleverly put it, accused the Creator indirectly of "bad taste." At one exhibition of the Royal Academy, a super pietist even wished to pierce several paintings with his umbrella, because he could not stomach the sight of innocent nudity.

However, despite (and perhaps because) of this horror at the representation of the nude body in the English art of the late nineteenth century, the artistic conception of the erotic took on a new and heightened color and the expression of sex took on various new nuances. Since love could no longer be reproduced in its simple, natural expression as the thoroughly naïve naturalism of a Hogarth, Rowlandson and Morland had conceived it, there now arose a new artificial eroticism which looked away from the corporeal and sought purely spiritual, inward expressions; and necessarily developed a new and more refined sensuality than was formerly expressed in the merely obscene and natural representation of actual sex practices. This movement proceeded from the school of the so-called Pre-Raphaelites whose most famous representatives were Holman Hunt, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones. Soul conditions, sensations, feelings, the psychological "Erlebnis" again became the chief preoccupation of the Pre-Raphaelite interest in art.

Rossetti, the soul of this brotherhood, was also the originator of a new concept of the erotic in English art. In the love scenes drawn by him from the Bible, the Arthurian saga, the Decameron, the Divine Comedy and the Roman de la Rose, a new type of pulsating sensuality becomes manifest which was thoroughly foreign to earlier English artists. There was no longer any question of sensuality in the old sense, but in that sultry passion sensible of its own guilt that Christianity brought into the world. Surrender, languishing yearning love, over which a dark destiny hovers; incest, love over graves, this is the theme of their works. There is an infinitude of kissing but these kisses are not the light frivolous ones of Fragonard. Lips press together in painful soul-sucking kisses. Rossetti draws "la bella mano," the whole picture being the sensation of a soft,

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white, long hand whose touch brings shudders; or he draws Venus Astarte where the whole crux is a slender throat bent back as far as possible under the impact of insane kisses. Always Rossetti's goddess of love is a terrible creature of cruel and terrifying beauty. Never before had England seen pictures of such vibrant sensuality. Erotic refinements like the enchantment of a woman's hands, the perfume of her hair, her cruel red mouth, comparable to a poisonous flower which sips through her white teeth the sap of the veins, the mysteriously sensual-cruel expression of the eye in beautiful women has been reproduced by Rossetti as by none before or after. He is the new psychologist of love who sees in it the burning desires of the soul to flee from the grayness of everyday life to startling new beauties embodied in the figure of woman as the priestess of such soul wishes. The natural consequence of this tendency was mysticism and asceticism, which in truth we find in the pictures of Burne-Jones. His ethereal female figures have put off corporeality; the voluptuousness of the female form has given place to an excessive ethereal slenderness and all of these women revel in mystical pleasures. The type of the modern tall, angular and athletic English woman goes back to the pictures of Burne-Jones.

To a certain extent the eroticism of Rossetti and of Burne-Jones were synthesized by the very gifted Aubrey Beardsley who died, alas, at the age of twenty-six. He was virtually an English Rops who expressed the whole "raffinement" of modern love and, following Rops, emphasized the satanic element inherent in it. He sang the song of sex as the satanic, cosmic, creative and destructive power. In his early works he followed Burne-Jones and represented woman as essentially the priestess of asceticism transfigured by a mystical breath of tremulous wistfulness. However, a tremendous change was wrought in him after he became acquainted with Rops, the satanical, to whom women meant the incarnation of passion, the daughter of darkness, the servant of the devil. Into Beardsley's work there now leaped the "note macabre," the line of perversity. Heaven and hell, asceticism and passion, Old English bigotry and modern decadence were fused into a demoniac potpourri. In this second period he developed his idiosyncratic line style to a wonderful mastery. Love,

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as sin and vice, appears here even plainer and more painfully than on Rops' more plastic creations. Never before has the animal in woman, the wild obscenity of the sexual as such, been so artistically expressed as in the "Incipit vita nova," the "Messalina," and "The Wagnerites" of Beardsley. It is night and to the fever-stricken woman appears an embryo which her body receives in horror—"incipit vita nuova." It is night and like a diabolical monster fury-swollen with a thousand sucking lusts the Baal priestesses go out upon a chase—"Messalina." It is night and a horde of frightful, half-nude vampire women, half crazed with delight, neighing, necrophilic, their lips distorted in the cramp of satyriasis, hear the music of Tristan—"The Wagnerites." In the very last period of his short creative period Beardsley advanced, from his representation of the sinful and criminal in love, to a less sophisticated conception of the erotic. Woman is still voluptuous but without sin, the lusts of her body no longer appear as ends in themselves, but as means. Her breasts give milk again and are no longer the object of sterile lust. Woman is now a symbol of fertility that brings blessing—a healthy Cybele. His Volpone initial is perhaps the best example of this conception. It represents a woman without sign of vice or sin, her body highly stretched with a new life within and a child at her feet stretching its hands to her in entreaty—alma mater. That Beardsley was also a unique caricaturist and depicter of morals, may be gathered from the illustrations he provided to the three volumes of "Bon Mots" issued by Walter Jerrold.

The representation of sexual objects in art can only be justified when real artists engage in the pursuit and where the finished product is designed for persons capable of esthetic observation and delight. But as soon as erotic "art" is degraded to the level of the ordinary pornographic pictures of the lowest sort (which is designed for an indiscriminate mass dissemination) there is no longer any question of artistic effect but an exploitation of that instinct which, in the first category, should have been artistically transcended.

Aside from the obscene lithographs already mentioned, the products produced in England for mass consumption were, in earlier times espe-

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cially, obscene playing cards and tobacco snuff-boxes, and, during the last decades, obscene photographs.

Playing cards, which were introduced into England at the end of the fifteenth century, began after 1700 to appear with drawings à la Hogarth relevant to erotic subjects. Thomas Heywood possessed such a set, one card of which represented Cupid plucking a rose, with the legend "There is no pleasure without pain." Ryan reported at a later day that such playing cards with dirty representations were widely disseminated. Generally the pictures in question were only visible when the cards were held up to the light.

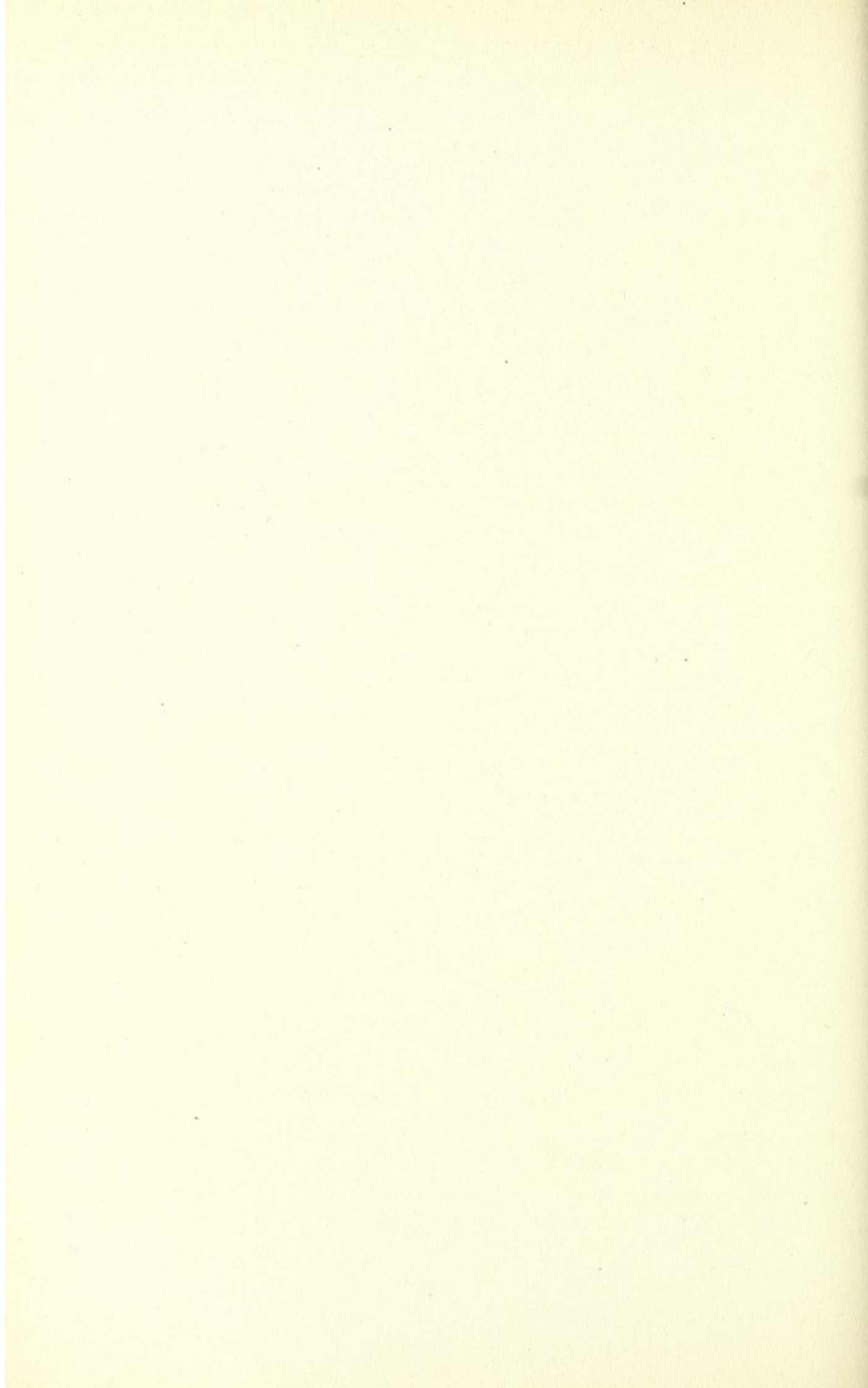
From the beginning of the nineteenth century, a favorite method of circulating obscene pictures was to provide snuff-boxes with lascivious pictures on the inside of the cover. The author of the "*Tableau descriptif de Londres*" reported that in 1816 the court imposed a considerable fine upon a merchant who had sold "tabatières" adorned with obscene pictures; and another peddler, James Price by name, caught vending his wares, confessed that he had sold these articles in girls' schools and had done a splendid business and was sentenced to three months in the house of correction. During the 30's these indecent snuff-boxes were everywhere displayed in tobacco stores.

According to Pisanus Fraxi, no land in the world was so prolific in the production of obscene photographs (the so-called "smutty" photos) as England. These were obtainable in certain book and paper shops near Leicester Square. In the early 70's, Mr. Henry Hayler enjoyed a European reputation for these photographic studies "from life." Mr. Collette, the chief of the moral division of the police, put a sudden end to his activity on March 31, 1834, by raiding Hayler's atelier and seizing no less than 130,248 obscene photographs and 5000 plates. Hayler himself escaped. He fled to Berlin and disappeared. It is interesting to note that in the foulest photographs of Hayler's stock, one could make out the figures of Hayler himself, his wife and two sons. A large number of letters were also found from which it appeared that the disposal of obscene photographs had spread over all of Europe and America.

Rémo has reported a unique use of photography in one of London's

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fashionable brothels. As one enters the salon one believes oneself to be in the anteroom of a photographer's studio. The walls are littered with photographs of pretty young girls, among them many of good society. No name appears on the picture but each one has a number. The guest selects the one that seems to promise him most and, at the appointed hour, the girl appears. This is reminiscent of similar practices in certain Dutch brothels.



15

PORNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

XV

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FOR the knowledge of the character of a nation and a certain cultural epoch, the idea of the pornographic, as expressed in literature, is of even greater importance than the reflection of that conception in art. Of all the sentiments which the literary art deals with, the erotic plays the greatest role. How it is conceived and represented is therefore of the highest significance in studying the national "Zeitgeist," for the true conception of the pornographic can serve as an exact gauge to determine the intensity, variety and temperature of the emotional life of a whole period.

This general judgment, on the significance of the pornographic in literature, can be best proven when we turn to the so-called "erotic" literature in the narrower sense. As a matter of fact, the character of a nation is faithfully reproduced in its erotic literature. These extreme expressions of the English national character—brutality, coarseness and eccentricity, confront us even more boldly in the erotic books than in regular literature where there are in addition other elements of the English national spirit—profundity, nobility, sadness and sentimentality.

The best student of English obscene and erotic literature, Pisanus Fraxi, has asserted that these productions are pretty sorry things from the literary point of view which alone can establish their claim to existence in the eyes of an educated man. It appears that the English language is not suited for the representation of erotic subjects and that the delicate treatment of such themes is impossible for the English people. Such sophisticated and refined sensuality, not vulgar, ignorant and indiscrimi-

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nating, but that exquisite sensuality which is to sense what Atticism is to the spirit, is rarely found among the English. On the contrary, all English writers in this realm helped to develop the thesis, attributed to Buffon, that there is nothing in love save the physical, and employed for this purpose the most profane words, so that unfortunately their productions repel much more than attract and are nothing more than bawdy. To a large extent the repulsive character of English pornographic writing is due to the fact that, whereas in France, Italy and Germany, outstanding thinkers and writers did not disdain to try their hand in the specifically erotic realm, in England it was only the fellows without any literary or artistic culture that placed their pens at the disposal of Venus and Priapus. The greatest name of which England can boast is John Cleland and he is only a star of low magnitude compared to numerous French pornographers of his time.

Matters became even worse during the nineteenth century when the influence of foreign erotic writing, especially French, came to be felt. England adopted all the unnaturalness and "raffinement" of the French without a trace of their "delicatesse" of expression and form, so that the more recent English erotica constitutes a disgusting combination of foul coarseness and shocking perversities. A comparison of "Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure" and "Memoirs of a Coxcomb" with the "Romance of Lust," "Experimental Lecture" and "Lascivious Gems" shows that, whereas in the first two books the characters, scenes and incidents are natural and the language not excessively coarse, in the others the characters and incidents are impossible and the words and expressions foul. Cleland's characters are drawn from life and only do that which they must considering the circumstances into which they have been set, whereas the characters in the last three novels are unreal creations of insane fantasies and, of course, their acts are improbable or altogether impossible.

The English have a fairly large supply of obscene words which is richer than the Germans; though not as full or finely-shaded as the obscene argot of the French. John Bee listed many of these words in his "Sportsman's Slang" (1825); but a fuller thesaurus of the pornographic

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idiom is to be found in Captain A. Grose's, "A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue." The expressions included in this lexicon were culled out and published in the second volume of the collection, "Kryptadia" under the title of "An English Erotic Dictionary." This lexicon of obscenity is of considerable interest to linguists and historians of culture and history; and even the ordinary reader will find some use in them since many of the best prosaists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (especially the humorists) use them. It will unfortunately not be possible for us to quote any here with their definitions. In some of these idioms, which are paraphrases of sexual objects, there is expressed a very drastic and original humor which, coarse and uncouth though it be, still does make very telling comparisons. These numerous comparisons and terming of obscene things with other names, have added a great store of equivocal words to the English language which the foreigner must always remember lest he commit a grievous "faux pas" in his speech.

Another peculiarity of English porneia is its extraordinarily long and highly-spiced titles. One can almost say that the longer the title, the more worthless the content. Particularly did little brochures a few pages long (especially during 1850-1870) seek to lure the purchaser by detailed exposition in the title. A very characteristic example of this tendency is the following specimen title:

"Yokel's Preceptor: or More Sprees in London (being a regular and curious show-up of all the rigs and doings of the flash cribs in this great metropolis; particularly Goodered's famous saloon—gambling houses—female halls and introducing houses! The most famous flash, and cock and hen clubs, etc. A full description of the most famous store thumpers particularly Elephant Bet, Finniken Fan, the Yarmouth Bloater, Flabby Poll, Fair Eliza, the Black Mott, etc. And it may be fairly styled every swankey's book or the greenhorn's guide to little Lunnon. Intended as a warning to the inexperienced—teaching them how to secure their lives and property during an excursion through London, and calculated to put the Gulpin always upon his guard. Here will be found a capital shop-up of the most infamous pegging kens, bellowing rooms, dossing hotels, sharking fakes, fencing cribs, fleecing holes, gulping holes, molly clubs,

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etc. To which is added a joskin's vocabulary of the various slang words now in constant use; the whole being a moving picture for all the new moves and artful dodges practiced at the present day in all the most notorious flying kens and flash cribs of London! By which the flat is put awake to all the plans adopted to feather a green bird and let him into the most important secrets. With a characteristic engraving. Price, one shilling. London. Printed and Published by H. Smith, 37, Holywell Street, Strand. Where may be had a catalogue of a most extensive variety of every choice and curious facetious work." This title which promises so much is the top-heavy designation of a little brochure of thirty-one pages.

The history of "erotic" literature as such—those writings which treat sex for its own sake—begins with the Restoration, at which period eroticism first began to be the spice of everyday love. To the broad naturalism of medieval English literature, which lasted until Shakespeare and his contemporaries, this artificial and special emphasis of sex was as foreign as the prudery which was to supervene in the Puritan period. From Chaucer to Marlowe and Shakespeare there was considerable obscenity but it was naïve. All through the medieval period the worst infractions of chastity were exceedingly common and only the conscious refinement of life, consequent upon modern times, excogitated new pleasures of vice; but at the same time it prevented the colossal enormities of medieval times in the sexual realm, and above all, brought sexual debauches out from their utter publicity into secret corners.

Geoffrey Chaucer, the first great English poet, has many obscene verses. We all remember the broad naturalism of the "Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale," in which there is considerable discussion of the question whether the genitals were also created for the purpose of micturition. And how naïvely does this good wife, who has buried five husbands, prate of her intense predilection for the joys of Venus and Bacchus—even proceeding to detail the merry lubric comedy of her marriage bed.

Love as baroque and bizarre, and as an insane passion with its gigantic debaucheries, can all be found in the dramatic and poetic fantasies of

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various precursors and contemporaries of Shakespeare: Marlowe, Greene, Ford, Webster, Massinger, etc. Love becomes a delirium which, with insane strength, destroys all things including finally itself. These poets know only the terrors and pains of love, not its joys. Woman has become a devil, as in Webster's "Vittoria Accoramboni," which drama actually bears the subtitle of "The White Devil."

Still, womanly grace, fidelity and marital love are brought before us by these poets, too. The deserted Aspasia in Beaumont and Fletcher's "The Bride" is the same tender, moving figure as Shakespeare's Ophelia. These poetic and lovely forms often appear in the midst of brutal murders and foul debaucheries and are the more radiant for all the filth which surrounds them.

If all these writers were actuated by a sense of reality rooted in the conditions of that dissolute age, Ben Jonson was the moralist of the period, the theoretician who displayed crime in all its voluptuousness and license, only to combat it.

It was Shakespeare who took up all phenomena and manifestations of love, its baseness and idealism, its tragedy and comedy, its folly and wisdom, its debauchery and fidelity, its good and evil consequences and represented them all with peerless genius. Finck has called the bard of Avon the first poet of modern love, since in his writing for the first time all the sentiments that constitute love—the sensual, esthetic and spiritual—appear mixed in their proper proportion. The love he depicts is primitive passion purified and refined by spiritual, esthetic and ethical culture. In general, love in Shakespeare is a superhuman passion incomprehensible by earthly reason, a force beyond good and evil that seizes man, against his will and drives him to exaltation or shame. Love is ecstasy and rapture, and hence the chief motive of poetic creation.

No poet, not even Goethe, has created so many and diverse female characters and all of a unique charm, as Heine first pointed out. Some, like Ophelia, Miranda, Julia, Imogen, etc., are the embodiments of tender loveliness, perfect female softness and grace, in fine the very fulfillments of romantic and ideal love. But Shakespeare also knew the demoniac-

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bacchantic elements in the love of a woman, and Cleopatra is his magnificent symbol for that aspect of love.

Shakespeare was not only a keen student of all manifestations of human love, but also a highly realistic observer of all corporeal manifestations of it. The striking image of "the beast with two backs," to represent a couple *in coitu*, is not original with him and has been proved to be a translation of an old French proverb. But there are other examples. Thus, in "Antony and Cleopatra," he has the eunuch, Mardien, make some keen observations on the sexual impulses of castrates. Then, too, no other poet has referred so frequently to the evil consequences of impure love; and even syphilis is mentioned often and in certain places described very realistically as in "Timon of Athens," Act 4, Scene 3, etc.

The history of the real obscene literature of England begins in the Restoration period when the cult of sex, for its own sake, dominated morals, the theater and literature. After the titanic figures of a Marlowe and Shakespeare and their illustrious colleagues there arose (under Charles II and James II) a new generation of clever writers who, from Dryden to Dufey, cultivated the questionable and pornographic above all else, and exhibited a hard-hearted and shameless libidinousness. None of these fellows understood that, even for passion, a certain modicum of decency is indispensable, that concealment lures more than utter nakedness, that fantasy is much more excited by delicate suggestions than by coarse revelations.

The crassest representative of Restoration porneia is, without doubt, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, of whom even Hume said that his very name insulted a modest ear. In his poetry and dramas, Rochester was actually the founder of a new type of eroticism—obscene satire—in which he is unsurpassed so far as impertinent jest, dramatic utterance of the foul and also elegance of verse are concerned. Even the obscene pieces of Rochester had, as a contemporary biographer judged, their unique beauties comparable only to the work of Petronius and Meursius' "Elegantiae latini sermonis." Taine has written a superb characterization of Rochester's achievement in robbing love of all decoration and transform-

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ing it into the nastiest buffoonery. All the noble sentiments—sweet dreams, beautiful charm and golden radiance from on high, which transform and illumine our miserable existence; that illusion which lures us into seeing perfection in an imperfect being and finding eternal happiness in a momentary flutter—have disappeared and left behind nothing save surfeited lust, dull sensuality. The worst thing about Rochester is the utter correctness, the “classical” Boileauesque perfection of these frosty obscenities, utterly without a trace of natural fire or picturesque sensuousness.

Still, Rochester has an indubitable place as a satirist, and, had he lived longer, might have become England’s greatest satirist. Nor is he always obscene, as is proven by his charming and tender love verses. To be sure, the productions of these love lyrics are very few in comparison with the number of obscene poems and, despite their finish and lightness, seem to have been penned in a state of priapism or after a night of love. Sometimes he indicates the obscene interest by paraphrasing—as in the song “*Et Cætera*,” which begins by describing how, in a dark and silent grove fit for the delights of love, he lay on Corinna’s breast apanting. On other occasions he just revels in the foulest conceivable words, as in the “*Wish*,” which must have resulted from an attack of satyriasis, in which he prays that by some chymick art he could convert to sperm his heart and vitals, and at one thrust translate his very soul into his woman so that he would be steeped in the ardent and fetid darkness of lust. The grandiose satanic obscenity achieved in this last poem has been duplicated by only one modern writer who must surely have read Rochester: Edmond Haraucourt in his “*Légende des sexes*.”

We might also mention Rochester’s highly lascivious comparison of a maidenhead to a chimneysweep in “*A Description of a Maidenhead*,” the amazing account of his impotence in a certain amorous trial in “*The Disappointment*” and of his daily debaucheries in “*The Debauchee*.” It is interesting to remark in passing that Rochester was even more powerful in his satires for which his strongly developed caustic wit predisposed him greatly. The most notorious satires are those against marriage and against the king. The conclusion of the first is that, while the evil conse-

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quences of a venture with a strumpet can be redeemed by cost and care, a "damned wife," on the other hand, destroys soul, body, credit and estate. The satire against Charles II, for which he was banned from court, lashed in the most shameless fashion the extraordinary achievements in the erotic domain of the king whose scepter and phallus were of the same length, and the consequent impotence resulting from incessant use of the attached wand.

But all the obscene songs and satires of Rochester are surpassed in their shameless cynicism, corrosive sharpness and obscene detail painting by the notorious drama, "Sodom," a picture of pederasty which is supposed to represent actual conditions at the court of Charles II.

This play was translated into French a number of times and evoked many English imitations, the best known perhaps being the pantomime "Harlequin Prince Cherrytop" (the rest of the title cannot be quoted). In this piece there is related divers events that befell a youth sunk in the morasses of masturbation. This imitation also contains a character "Clitoris" (a maid of honor) and a conclusion similar to that of the original, that pure love brings the greatest happiness and is to be preferred to the finest unnatural pleasures.

In comparison to Rochester, the other poets who cultivated obscene and gallant lyrics like Dorset, Waller, Otway, occupy quite a subordinate place. It is interesting to note that even the women of that time tried their hand at obscene verse and, in this connection, we must mention three authoresses who achieved fame by their erotic works: Aphra Behn, Susanna Centlivre and Mary Manley, whose "Atlantis," a satirical indecent novel, is a faithful representation of English morals at about 1700. *En passant*, we might just remind the reader that Butler's "Hudibras" abounds in cynical expressions relevant to the erotic realm.

We have already spoken of the obscenely frivolous character of Restoration drama. Even a poet like Dryden is not without traces of it, but the culmination of this tendency is to be found in the pieces of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar. It was Thackeray's opinion that a reading of these authors aroused sensations similar to those that would be engendered if one were to inspect the remains of an orgy at the home

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of Sallust in Pompeii. These authors practiced all the vices they depicted.

The first half of the eighteenth century is the time of the moralistic and satirical writings represented by the productions of Fielding, Defoe, Swift, etc.

The first who deserves mention in this connection is Defoe, because of his two novels dealing with prostitution, "Mother Ross" and the well-known "Moll Flanders" (who was born in Newgate and during a life of threescore years, besides her childhood, was twelve years a whore, five times a wife, once to her own brother, twelve years a thief, eight a transported felon in Virginia, at last grew rich, lived honest and died a penitent). Whenever Swift touched sex he did so only to bring out the repulsive aspects. In truth, he dragged love into excrement, and polluted it by a peculiar combination of pharmacy and medicine (as in "A love poem from a physician"). Sterne also evinced peculiar reactions to sex in "Tristram Shandy," which contains numerous objectionable passages. He loved nudity, not out of an esthetic appreciation, or sensuality, or lust for pleasure, but merely because it was forbidden; his depraved imagination found pleasure in the most repulsive ideas.

Similar obscenities and cynicism are found in the well-known works of Smollett and Fielding.

Let us now turn our attention to the real genuinely obscene works of the eighteenth century. The two most famous works of this class that appeared in the first half of this century are William King's "The Toast" and John Cleland's "Fanny Hill or the memoirs of a woman of pleasure."

William King, son of the preacher, Peregrine King, wrote his famous poem in Ireland. He was highly esteemed by the foremost men of his time, including Swift and Dr. Johnson, for his wit and erudition, moving eloquence and elegant literary style (he was as much master of Latin as of English).

"The Toast" is one of the most remarkable productions of English satirical-erotic literature. For one thing we are surprised that so much effort and erudition should have been expended in attacking one unimportant woman. Then too, it is quite remarkable that so hateful a satire

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should have emanated from the pen of a theologian. The whole thing is an amazing production full of wit, humor, erudition and satire. King wrote this work to revenge himself on a Lady Frances Brudenell, the widowed countess of Newburgh, who had borrowed great sums of money from his uncle and cheated him out of it, so that, even after protracted law suits, he was unable to recover anything. The only vengeance open to the learned King was the composition of this toast, one of the most extraordinary lampoons ever composed in which the profoundest erudition is employed to attach monstrous and unnatural vices and crimes to the object of his hatred. We cannot take the time to analyze the whole poem but merely desire at this point to indicate that Lady Newburgh appears as Myra, an unnatural and immoral old witch.

The most famous work of English pornographic literature, and one of the most outstanding specimens of the whole realm of erotic belles-lettres, is John Cleland's famous novel, "Fanny Hill, or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure." John Cleland received a good training at Westminster College and after the death of his father went to Smyrna as English consul. It was here perhaps that he imbibed those immoral ideas and views he was later to incorporate in his notorious books. Later, he went to India but quarreled with the authorities there and had to return to England where he got into pecuniary difficulties and had to serve a prison sentence. While in this predicament he received an offer from a publisher to compose a pornographic book. He complied and wrote "Fanny Hill." For this he had to answer to the Privy Council, but the president, John Earl Granville, in the most noble manner later supported him with an annual pension of £100 sterling in order to restrain him from similar literary activity. The result was that, aside from the "Memoirs of a Coxcomb," which still belong to this frivolous category, and the "Man of Humor," a sort of literary penance for "Fanny Hill," Cleland devoted his whole time to political and philological publications. So he lived on his pension for many years, in a French home, surrounded by a good library and heartened by the visits of a few literary friends who found him very good company. In his other publication Cleland displays a large fund of ingenuity and erudition.

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Various opinions have been held of the literary significance of Cleland's "magnum opus." Winklemann thought that it was written in a Pindaric style by a master of the writing art and was replete with tender sentiment and exalted ideas.

The bibliographical history of this book is extremely involved and obscure. Even such an elementary fact as the date of its first appearance is debated, but it appears likely that it first came out in 1749. There are a score of genuine editions and very numerous castrated ones which still are sold in the trade. Among these we might mention two titles: "The Singular Life and Adventures of Miss Fanny Hill. A Fair Cyprian, etc." and "Memoirs of the celebrated Miss Fanny Hill detailing in glowing language her adventures as courtesan and kept mistress, her strange vicissitudes and happy end."

There is perhaps no other eroticum which underwent so many translations into so many European languages. Of course, all these foreign versions have been abridged, altered and tampered with in many ways. And as far as illustrations are concerned, among the numerous pictures that have been drawn for this book, we might mention the engravings by Borel, Eluin and George Cruikshank.

These "Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure," for which Cleland had to answer to the Privy Council, and the bookseller, Drybutter, had to stand in the pillory in 1757, has again and again been prohibited and confiscated in England, France and America. The publishing rights were sold for twenty guineas to the bookseller, Griffiths, who made £10,000 on it.

"Fanny Hill" is the most lubricious, obscene novel in the English language. The plan of the book is very simple, the succession of scenes very natural and the description vivid and alive. The most intimate details are told, but in finer and choicer language than can be found in any other English porneia. Cleland was quite disturbed by one problem at the outset of the activity: How to prevent the reader from being cloyed and tired with a uniformity of adventures and expressions inseparable from a subject of this sort, whose bottom or ground-work is in the nature of things one and the same, no matter what variety of forms and modes the situations are susceptible of. There seems to be no escaping the repetition of

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the same images and figures, the same expressions, and there is this further inconvenience added to the disgust it creates, that the words of joys, ardors, transports, ecstasies and the wit of those pathetic terms so congenial and common in the practice of pleasure, flatten and lose much of their spirit and energy by the frequency with which they occur in the narrative. He endeavored to avoid such consequences and to a large measure he succeeded in varying his expressions so cleverly that the reader experiences no pain or revulsion.

We append a brief resumé of the story: After the death of her poor parents Fanny Hill, a Lancashire girl, comes to London with a friend who leaves her in the lurch. Fanny applies to an agency and falls into the hands of a panderess, Mrs. Brown. After a few days consumed in disrupting the rustic girl's primitive ideas of decency, a purchaser is found for her virginity—a horrible old man who is willing to pay fifty guineas for the privilege. But Fanny refuses to yield to this man and chooses instead a handsome young patron of Mrs. Brown's seraglio. Charles, her liberator, is amazed and delighted to find a virgin in a brothel. The two young people live together but their happiness is of short duration, for Charles' father sends him off to the South Seas on a business venture. Fanny has a miscarriage and after her recovery, Mrs. Jones, her landlady, who has tended her during her illness, brings to her a Mr. H. whose attentions she must submit to. Her necessity compels her to abide with him and she remains faithful until she discovers him one day in an amorous tête-à-tête with her maid. Whereupon she permits herself a like privilege with a man-servant in which H. surprises her, and, as a result, she is dismissed. There now appears a notorious brothel-keeper of Covent Gardens, Mrs. Cole, a middle-aged, discreet sort of woman, who offers Fanny shelter. Everything seems snug and cozy here and the girls, four in number, are well kept. Fanny is quite happy and remains here until the infirmities of age compel her mistress to give up the establishment and retire to the country to spend her last days in peace. Fanny now hires a neat little house in Marylebone, pretending she is a married woman whose husband is at sea. Here she has a most fortunate stroke of luck; an old man, whom she had succored in an accident, takes her and, at his

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death, leaves her his large fortune. Fanny now becomes an important lady, her sole desire being to see Charles, whom she has never ceased to love. While journeying to visit her birthplace she stops at an inn. A storm breaks out and two riders dash in to take refuge; one of them turns out to be her long-lost Charles. Fortune has not been too kind to him, but she has now enough for both. After making a clean breast of the life she had led during his absence, they are legally married and Fanny becomes a moral Hausfrau.

The lesson the book wished to teach is that the paths of vice are sometimes strewn with roses, but they are forever infamous for the thorns; those of virtue, however, are strewn with roses, eternally unfading ones. The tendency of the book is none the less dangerous because the heroine does not, as usual, end up in prison or the hospital, but is favored by fortune to the most unusual degree. Moreover, within the main plot, there are interwoven numerous accounts of brothel life. Then, too, the various sexual passions and aberrations of the male clients of the brothel are accurately described, and there is no lack of very lascivious descriptions of scenes of this sort in which flagellation plays a considerable role. (The reader should be warned, in passing, that the name of Cleland's heroine has often been used in the titles of quite a number of worthless literary products to make them more attractive.)

A counterpart to the "Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure," is the "Memoirs of a Coxcomb," a book that Cleland composed some years later. It is written in a light and pleasant style and contains very true descriptions of contemporary morals, only now it is the worldling, not the strumpet, that occupies the center of the stage. This voluptuary, throughout all his wild and passionate chase after sense pleasures, develops a very philosophical viewpoint from the height of which he looks down upon crime and the vicious practices in which he himself participates. The descriptions of this vice and debauchery are never indecent and in this respect the book is markedly different from "Fanny Hill."

A rare book, of considerable interest from the point of view of contemporary customs, is the "New Atlantis" which appeared in 1762,

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a collection of five original stories which gives us a splendid picture of the moral conditions of that time.

To the "Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure," there corresponds a book, "Memoirs of a Man of Pleasure, or the amours, intrigues and adventures of Sir Charles Manly," originally issued under another title. This fellow starts his amorous career at the age of twelve by seducing his cousin of the same age. When his parents send him on an educational tour to correct his evil impulses, his instructor abets his lascivious inclinations and inducts him into evil society. After numerous venereal adventures, mostly of an improbable sort, Charles marries a girl he had seduced and later abandoned but who has followed him to London. His wife mixes love and marriage with so much tenderness that he soon realizes that one hour spent with her brings him more joy than all the sinful hours in the pursuit of which he had wasted so much of his money, time and youth. The text abounds in a number of interesting reports concerning the pleasures of the worldlings of his time, autobiographical sketches of prostitutes and other contemporary erotics.

Let us now mention two extraordinary products of the obscene satire of that time, the "Fruit Shop," and the even more famous "Essay on Woman," by John Wilkes. The first work is dedicated to the author of "Tristram Shandy" against whom a mighty tirade is delivered. The "Fruit Shop" refers to woman and contains a humorous and allegorical investigation of all those portions of the female body which serve the purposes of copulation and the reception of fruit. The author seeks to emulate the wit of Sterne and Swift but never quite achieves their sarcastic wit. The book opens with a tedious treatise on the possible location of Paradise, goes on to report the probable course of events after the fall, and deals with the invention of the fig leaf, love, marriage, cuckoldry and the "unnatural desertion" of the fruit shop. The third part contains a review of the unwearied passion for the fruit shop among the Romans. The most remarkable conclusions are contained in the fourth part, the chapter about conception, celibacy and flagellation as a road to heaven. There are numerous casuistical reflections on the

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tendency toward flagellation, proceeding from true piety, as expressed in the phrase, *nez à terre, cul en l'air*. The author discusses Platonic love, eunuchism and the "Philo-gonists, the truly orthodox." The theme of the book is woman as a source of pleasure and the perpetuation of the human race. Those who refrain from using the established institutions of nature, like celibates, masturbators and pedarasts, are severely criticized. In addition there is a detailed explanation of the object and title of the work and a collection of citations in various languages relative to the female breasts.

After William King's "Toast," undoubtedly the most outstanding satirical eroticum of the eighteenth century, is John Wilkes' "Essay on Woman," an obscene parody of Pope's "Essay on Man."

There is no need to review here the variegated career of John Wilkes (1727-1797), his wonderful political career, his persecution as editor of the "North Briton," his exclusion from Commons, his imprisonment and his subsequent elevation to the mayoralty of London. Although he himself was a voluptuary, his public career was free from selfishness; at home he was a loving father adored by his daughters. His manners were those of a gentleman; despite the fact that he was very ugly (so much so that he was frequently the subject of caricatures), he had numerous successes among the fair sex. He is said to have boasted that in one hour he could supplant the handsomest man in the affections of his wife, and is also reported to have won such wagers frequently. These victories were ascribed to the magnetic attractiveness he exercised upon women, his brilliant conversational powers and certain corporeal characteristics that belong in the realm of *odoratus sexualis*. Nichols described him as full of wit, easy in his conversation, elegant in his manners, and happy in a retentive memory—his company a perpetual treat to his friends.

A characteristic anecdote is told of him illustrating his moral unscrupulousness. In his sexual debaucheries, Wilkes always proceeded cautiously. Thus once he asked Sir Fletcher Norton for legal advice in regard to a prospective amorous adventure. He wanted to know whether if he took a certain girl into his own house her father could

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bring suit for seduction. Fletcher, a very clever lawyer, showed Wilkes how to get around the law. He had only to engage the girl as an upper servant and pay her double wages which would be an expression of the fact that more would be required of her than ordinary service. Wilkes took the hint, hired the girl as "fille de joie" and servant for twenty pounds annually and at the same time hurled fierce thunderbolts at the whole tribe of lawyers whom he called rascals.

The "Essay on Woman" contains ninety-four verses. It begins with an invocation to Fanny (Murray) urging her to wake and leave all meaner things. Since life can supply but little save a drop of amorous pleasure, he summons her to immediate and repeated copulation. There follow the three calls from the phallic muezzin: "Universal Prayer," "Dying Lover To His Staff," "Veni Creator, or the Maiden's Prayer."

From the standpoint of literature the "Essay on Woman" has little value, and the notes are perhaps the best thing in the work. Had not Wilkes been so cruelly persecuted by the government, this inferior production would never have become famous and been perpetuated. At its appearance, it was condemned in the sharpest fashion as a highly scandalous, obscene and godless blasphemy. Horace Walpole, Bishop Warburton and others united in vitriolic denunciation of the book.

The best analysis of the "Essay on Woman" has come from the hand of Kidgell, who pointed out that Wilkes' poem was line for line a parody on Pope's Essay. The coarseness that flows through the whole book is of a repulsive originality. Many grave verses of the Evangel are, through a most skillful turn, woven into obscenity. From beginning to end (starting with the title page) the poem reeks of the foulest indecency, the most incredible godlessness, the most naturalistic account of disgusting happenings and the vilest denigrations of the fair sex. But the peak of obscenity and nastiness is reached in the obscene echo of Pope's universal prayer and of the monologue of Hadrian, which Pope designated as the words of a dying Christian to his soul. The latter Wilkes makes into the words of a dying voluptuary to his genitalia. And finally, the paraphrase of the Veni Creator, the Maiden's Prayer, reaches the summits of blasphemy. Here God is degraded in the most unheard

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of fashion. The Holy Ghost is insulted by an enumeration of highly corporeal obscenities; and the expression "thrice blessed glorious trinity" becomes the object of a monstrous genital reference.

Wilkes defended himself very eloquently against these accusations in a letter to the electorate of Aylesbury. That he was the only author of the dirty poem is doubtful. The government never proved this fact. In his "Memoirs of King George III," Horace Walpole asserted that, at a bacchanal, Wilkes and Potter composed this obscene screed but that Wilkes had printed it. This Thomas Potter, the son of the deceased Archbishop of Canterbury, was at that time the lover of Bishop Warburton's wife, which gave the case especial piquancy and did not tend to allay the bitterness of the bishop.

At all events the conduct of the government in regard to Wilkes was illegal and biased. Walpole and Kidgell supply us with sufficient data to establish the truth of this assertion. Immediate court action was demanded by the accusers, most of whom were unsavory individuals of one sort or another. Thus Lord Sandwich and Lord de Spencer were among the founders of the notorious "Medmenham Abbey," the Duke of Queensbury was one of the maddest voluptuaries of his time, and William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, who combined the power of a giant with the mind of a voluptuary but was none the less impotent (a fact played up by the poet, Churchill, in his "The Duelist"), which accounted for the love affair of his wife with Potter. Finally John Kidgell, the rector of Horne and author of a tedious novel, "The Card," later embezzled some money and fled to Flanders where he died after having adopted Catholicism. Public opinion was rather on the side of Wilkes, owing to the illegality of the court proceedings and the nature of the accusers. However, the scandal caused by his trial increased the demand for his "Essay on Woman" and numerous pirated editions supplied this demand.

One of the most interesting authors of the eighteenth century, from the viewpoint of *Sittengeschichte*, was George Alexander Stevens who has already been mentioned as one of the fashionable men about town of his day. Although he was a likeable fellow, he was a failure, a ne'er-

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do-well, compound of wandering actor, poet, dramatist, monologist and, according to his friend, Sparks, the best Greek scholar in all England. Always in penury, and ever so often in prison, he ran the gamut of all experiences and, although he never was guilty of crime, his life was disreputable through all manner of irregularity and coarseness. He possessed a bright wit and a very extensive knowledge of human nature.

Stevens was the discoverer of a new type of theatrical performance, the so-called "Lecture upon Heads," in which he first appeared at Haymarket Theatre in April, 1764, and which soon after brought him considerable renown and income. To illustrate his lectures he employed a mass of cardboard busts, whose clothing and general form designated the various individuals whom he represented by imitating their speech, voice and gestures. Courtiers, physicians, barristers, preachers, merchants, rustics, soldiers, savants, artists, court ladies and fish-wives all were successively presented. Most of the things he said were quite worthwhile and constituted a good schooling in human nature but, of course, the performances were not patronized for this reason as much as for the delightful humor and mimicry which Stevens displayed. He generally concluded his lecture with a satire directed against himself.

His poem, "Religion, or the Sorrowful Libertine," is an excellent sketch of his own sordid career with its wild race through the world of vice, its destruction of youth, health, fame and fortune.

More biographical material concerning Stevens' life is also contained in the interesting book, "The Adventures of a Speculist, or a Journey through London." These fugitive papers are a valuable treatise on how life was lived in the London of 1760, for who knew it better than Stevens, a regular man about town and constant frequenter of its most doubtful haunts. The "Speculist" begins his journey in the city, then visits the jails, the Exchange, the hospital and bedlam, all of which he describes with a powerful humor. His friend then hands him a manuscript entitled, "Authentic Life of a Woman of the Town," which he reads and discusses. This is followed by humorous and interesting sketches of the taverns and night clubs. There are recounted various anecdotes of prostitutes, kept women and "tavern-plyers." Incidentally,

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the lengthy interlude on the life of a daughter of joy, itself a compound of several stories, is written very amusingly and purveys a thorough knowledge of the corruption of that day.

A writer quite comparable to Stevens was Samuel Johnson Pratt (1749-1814) who wrote under the pseudonym of "Courtney Melmoth (his mistress' name was Mrs. Melmoth). He too was actor, poet, bookseller, reciter and an author of numerous novels and other productions, a gentleman, indeed, but one who did not think it beneath him to be supported by his mistress. Pratt interests us as author of the book, "The Pupil of Pleasure or the new system illustrated." The "Pupil of Pleasure" has a tendency to moralize. It confutes the maxims of Lord Chesterfield and shows their corrupting effect in one given case. Sedley, a rich and handsome young nobleman, thoroughly permeated by the doctrines of Chesterfield, visits Buxton where he succeeds in seducing two married ladies. His rascality is discovered and he is slain by the infuriated husband of one of them. The story consists of over a hundred letters, mostly by Sedley and his friend, Thornton. Despite undeniable originality, "The Pupil of Pleasure," is written in a vague and affected sentimentality which is rather unpleasant to the modern taste. Although it is almost entirely concerned with the seduction of women there are no obscene descriptions or filthy words in it.

It is quite likely that Mirbeau's "Journal d'une femme de chambre" goes back, at least in idea, to a notorious English original which was published, at the close of the 1770's or the beginning of the 1780's, under the title of "The Waiting Woman, or Gallantries of the Times." In 1830 a new edition of this appeared under the title "The Mysteries of Venus, or Lessons in Love exemplified in the amatory life and adventures of Kitty Pry." This book narrates the experiences of a chambermaid, a creature whose curiosity has become proverbial. It was this curiosity which induced her to seek out such employment, hoping later to publish her discoveries for the use and entertainment of mankind. In every home where she serves, Kitty Pry spies into the most intimate details of the inhabitants; hence we get numerous descriptions of amorous scenes among all classes of society. Moreover, she herself has two

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adventures. The book is not badly written and, although every chapter has an immoral episode, obscene words are avoided. Persons of rank, like the Dukes of York and Cumberland, Lady Grosvenor and others, are mentioned by name, so that it was not difficult for contemporary readers to identify the rest of the characters by their initials.

The most important porneia, from the point of view of sales and influence, of the period between 1780 and 1810 were: "The Woman of Pleasure's Pocket Companion," "Dialogue between a Woman and a Virgin," "The Voluptuarian Museum," "The Adventures of Sir Henry Loveall," "A Cabinet of Amorous Curiosities" and "The Cabinet of Fancy."

The years between 1820 and 1880 were especially fertile in erotic literature. Publishers like Brookes, Duncombe, William Dugdale, whose activity in this field was unremitting, were especially responsible. We shall mention a few of them by name and describe them briefly. "The Bedfellows or Young Misses Manual in six confidential dialogues between two budding beauties who have just fledged their teens. Adapted to the capacity of every loving virgin who has wit enough in her little finger to know the value of the rest." This story is very well written and above the level of the average book of this sort. Every night before going to bed, Lucy and Kate tell each other of their love adventures and describe their first seductions to the minutest detail—only interrupting their lascivious conversations to engage in tribadic practices.

The fulsome title of the next work constitutes at the same time a summary of its contents. "The Modern Rake, or the Life and Adventures of Sir Edward Walford, containing a curious and voluptuous history of his luscious intrigues with numerous women of fashion, his laughable faux pas, feats of gallantry, dissipation and concubinage. His numerous rapes, seductions and amatory scrapes. Memoirs of the beautiful courtesans with whom he lived, with some ticklish songs, anecdotes, poetry, etc."

"The Amorous Intrigues and Adventures of Don Ferdinand and Donna Maria" are set in Italy, as is also "The Seducing Cardinal," the latter, especially, being extremely obscene. "The Lustful Turk" de-

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scribes the cruel fate of two young English girls, Sylvia Carey and Emily Barlow, who, while on a passage to India, are captured by pirates. They are turned over to the Bey of Algiers who debauches Emily on the night of her arrival and then wreaks his lusts upon Sylvia. This recital is interspersed with the histories of several other ladies confined in the harem of the Bey together with scenes on flagellation. The book also contains an apocryphal account of the horrid practices then carried on by several French and Italian monks established at Algiers who, under pretence of redeeming Christian slaves, managed an infamous traffic in young girls.

"The Scenes in a Seraglio" are also enacted in the land of the crescent and tell the story of Adelaide, a young Sicilian beauty, whom the corsair, Tick, has captured with the idea of making her his mistress. But his avarice overcomes his passion when, discovering her virginity, he determines to sell her at a dear price. Hence he compels her to yield to his lesser caresses and to witness his amorous dalliance with a countess whom he has kidnaped. Finally he brings his victim to Constantinople where he sells her to the sultan, Achmed. The sultan treats Adelaide with the greatest tenderness, eventually bringing her to the point of voluntary compliance with his wishes.

Others of this ilk are "The Favorite of Venus," "How to Make Love" and "How to Raise Love," "The Adventures, Intrigues and Amours of a Lady's Maid," and its sequel, "The Life of Miss Louisa Selby," "The Lady's Tell Tale or the Decameron of Pleasure."

Among the great number of obscene books that appeared in England in the third quarter of the nineteenth century those of the anthropologist and historian of culture, Edward Sellon, deserve special mention. For in Sellon we have perhaps the only English pornographer of the nineteenth century whose works can be compared with those of John Cleland as to literary and cultural significance.

Edward Sellon (1818-1866) was one of those clever, but deeply unhappy, epicureans who turn from desire to pleasure and from pleasure to desire, not from motives of vulgar sensuality, but from some deeper and more compelling urge. In this respect he possessed a true Casanovan

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nature, save that he lacked the optimistic world view of the latter and his religiosity, for Sellon died an atheist. He has described his own life in a highly erotic work, "The Ups and Down of Life." The sub-title of this work is "My Life: the beginning and the end. A veritable history." He was the son of a wealthy father and destined for the army. For ten years he was in India and at 26 became a captain. The greater portion of this book is taken up with the account of his stay in India and the various amours he carried on with European and native women. He describes at long length his preferences for Hindu women to English, French, German or Polish girls.

Edward Sellon shot himself in London in 1866, but his friends so arranged matters that the newspapers printed nothing of his unhappy end. Before the suicide, Sellon wrote a friend that he had determined to end his life but the letter arrived too late for intervention. In this letter there was also a poem to a woman who loved him and had sought to help him in his need. These verses were entitled "No More," and are an adieu not only to his love but to all life, ending with the summary statement: "Vivat Lingam, Non Resurgam."

With this swan song of eroticism, there ended the life of a man who was born for better things. Sellon died a confirmed atheist and firmly believed in the concluding words of the poem. The gap between the sudden end of his autobiography and the equally sudden end of his own life can be filled in from data supplied in another letter of Sellon's to the same friend who had been apprised of the suicide. Herein Sellon humorously relates how he had accompanied another friend who was journeying to Vienna with his bride. On the way Sellon seduced the bride, for which gesture of friendship his friend gave him such a drubbing that he had to spend all his money in Vienna and returned to England penniless.

Before we go any further into Sellon's erotic works we must draw the reader's attention to the fact that Sellon earned a considerable reputation for his knowledge of Hindu culture. To this, his numerous addresses to the London Anthropological Society give ample testimony. His first slightly erotic novel, "Herbert Breakspear, a legend of the Maharatta War," already gives clear proof of his familiarity with the

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Indian scene. This book tells the story of two cousins, the good Herbert Breakspear and the evil Evrehard. The latter finally falls into the hands of the Maharatta chieftain through the treachery of a native girl whom he had abandoned, and is executed as a spy; while Herbert, who has also been captured, is released by the generous Maharatta whose life he had once saved, and returns home to marry the girl of his choice. Sellon's contributions to Hindu *Kulturgeschichte* include his treatise on the "Monolithic Temples of India," his translation of the Sanskrit poem, the "Gita-Radhica-Krishna," and his "Annotations on Sacred Writings of the Hindus," an epitome of some of the most remarkable and leading tenets in the faith of that people, and rich in interesting observations on sacred prostitution among them.

The transition to the really erotic writings of Sellon is afforded by his translation of selections from the "Decameron" of Giovanni Boccaccio. Despite its boast that it contained all the passages hitherto suppressed it really contains nothing which cannot be found in the usual run of translations.

In the last two years of his life Sellon, probably under the stress of poverty, wrote for the publisher, William Dugdale, a number of erotica which have since been reprinted many times.

The first of these was "The New Epicurean; or the delights of sex, facetiously and philosophically considered in graphic letters to young ladies of quality." In this work Sellon limned a character and a way of life entirely to his own taste in the person and activities of Sir Charles. He was a man who had crossed the Rubicon of youth and had come to that time of life when passion needs a more stimulating diet than can be found in the arms of a courtesan. With this end in view, Sir Charles rents, in the suburbs, a villa whose solitary, idyllic position behind high walls conceal it entirely from the glances of the neighborhood. It is surrounded by a typical English park with lovely shaded walks, alcoves, grottos, fountains, beautiful flower beds, a statue of Venus in the midst of a rose bush and Priapus statues at the end of every shady walk. In the lakes gold and silver fish paint the water with their lustrous gleams. The villa itself is furnished with aristocratic elegance, entirely in the style

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of Louis XV, decorated with beautiful Watteau paintings and provided with a library of pornographic works; silk beds, gilded furniture, rose-colored Venetian "rouleaux," etc. In this Elysium, Sir Charles revels in sexual orgies with young girls who are provided for him by a female school superintendent. His wife, Lady Cecilia, participates in these amorous exercises. . . . The work has a tragic conclusion. Sir Charles eventually retires to his estate at Herfordshire and his wife enters a convent to expiate her sins.

"The New Epicurean" contains autobiographical material no less than a second book which Sellon wrote as a sequel to it, namely, "Phoebe Kissagen, or the remarkable adventures, schemes, wiles and devilries of *une maquerelle*." This latter follows the style of French erotica of the eighteenth century, a series of letters. The book begins with an account of the death of Sir Charles who bequeaths a large legacy to his favorite concubines. With this money they open a large brothel in London. All the rooms have peep holes through which the brothel keepers can observe what goes on within and themselves remain unseen. It is the description of these varied sights that fills the greater portion of this book. The remainder is the "bagnio correspondence"—letters which the owners received from their numerous male and female clients whose diversified and disgusting passions and perversions are minutely catalogued and discussed. . . . Finally, the brothel keepers come to grief and ruin.

Sellon wrote other porneia, most of which were not printed, but destroyed by his publisher, Dugdale.

A specialist in the realm of flagellation literature was St. George H. Stock, whilom lieutenant in the Queen's Royal Regiment who later wrote under the pseudonyms, "Expert," "Major Edgar Markham" and "Dr. Aliquis." He wrote the following books: "Plums without Dough; or 144 quaint conceits within the bounds of becoming mirth"; "The Charm, The Night School, The Beautiful Jewess, and the Butcher's Daughter"; "The Nameless Crime, a dialogue on stays, Undue Curiosity, the Doll's Wedding, The Way to Peel, The Jail and the Stiff Dream"; and "The Romance of Chastisement, or revelations of school

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and bedroom." In addition there are in the possession of London bibliophiles numerous manuscripts of other flagellational stories from Stock's pen like "Tales Out of School," "The Reckoning Day, or Rival Recollections," etc.

All these writings expatiate monotonously on one theme—flagellation—of which he was a passionate adherent. He very frequently inserted equivocal advertisements in the press. Thus in 1871 the "Day's Doings" carried over many weeks the following announcement: "It is said that Xerxes offered a reward to those who would be able to supply him with a new pleasure. Address inquiries to Aliquis, 2 Crampton Quay, Dublin."

Henry Thomas Bucke, the famous author of the "History of Civilization in England," has wrongly been accused of being a collector of porneia, especially flagellational books. In 1872 the publisher, Hotten, collected some flagellational writings—"Exhibition of Female Flagellants," "Lady Bumtickler's Revels," "A Treatise on the Use of Flogging in Venereal Affairs," "Madam Birchini's Dance," "Sublime Flagellation" and "Fashionable Lectures"—into one book which he issued under the title: "Library illustrative of Social Progress from the original editions collected by the late Henry Thomas Buckle, author of "History of Civilization in England." In a prospectus, sent out with this work, Hotten asserted that Buckle, who was a collector of erotica curiosa, had specially preferred flagellational literature. But this was false. Buckle had never collected or possessed these books. As a matter of fact, they were derived from the library of a famous London collector who had them bound together. Hotten borrowed this volume and had it reprinted without the knowledge or consent of the owner.

We pass over the numerous unimportant porneia which the Dugdales issued at about 1860. Since that period there have been a number of erotica whose authors were noted men. Thus there is the "Amatory Experiences of a Surgeon." This book described the erotic adventures of the natural son of a nobleman who became acquainted with pederasty in school.

The other is "The Mysteries of Verbena House," by the journalist,

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George Augustus Sala. This book is the truest picture of English flagellomania and describes actual incidents. Miss Sinclair, the head of such an institute at Brighton, is inducted into the mysteries of active flagellation by her spiritual adviser, the Reverend Arthur Calveston. Thus, in a short time, she is transformed from a chaste maid-matron into the lascivious lady of Verbena House who handles the rod with fervid passion.

A unique phenomenon of English erotic literature which we must note is the field of erotic magazines, which are more numerous here than in any other land.

The first of these appeared in 1774 and was called "The Covent Garden Magazine or Amorous Repository; calculated solely for the entertainment of the polite world." It contained scandals, lists of prostitutes and erotic poetry.

The second was the "Rambler's Magazine or the Annals of Gallantry, Glee, Pleasure, and the Bon Ton; calculated for the entertainment of the polite world and to furnish the man of pleasure with a most whimsical, humorous, theatrical and polite entertainment." This sheet contained a most varied assortment of items.

We come now to the most important of the gallant magazines of England. It was the "Bon Ton Magazine; or microscope of fashion and folly." This journal played a role for scandal and high life comparable to that played by the "Gentleman's Magazine" for things of greater and more general importance. This magazine contained just about everything possible in the erotic realm even to historic essays on eunuchism, a *savoir-vivre* vocabulary, description of marriage rites and prostitution, erotic letters, etc.

The next of these productions to appear bore the title: "The Ranger's Magazine; or the Man of Fashion's Companion; being the whim of the month, and general assemblage of love, gallantry, wit, pleasure, harmony, mirth, glee and fancy. Containing monthly list of the Covent Garden Cyprians; or the man of pleasure's vade mecum—the annals of gallantry—essence of trials for adultery—*crim. con.*—seduction—double entendres—choice anecdotes—warm narratives—curious frag-

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ments—animating histories of tête-à-têtes—and wanton frolics—to which is added the fashionable chit chit and scandal of the month from the Pharaoh table to the fan warehouses.” Some twenty-seven years later this journal came out again under the title of “The Rambler’s Magazine.” This set up to be a fashionable “emporium” of polite literature, the fine arts, politics, theatrical excellencies, wit, humor, taste, gallantry and all the gay variety of supreme bon ton. This magazine contained many erotic features among which may be mentioned “London’s Hells Exposed,” “The Cuckold’s Chronicle,” “Fashionable Gallantry,” and an unfinished erotic novel, “The Rambler, or the life, adventures, amours, intrigues and eccentricities of Gregory Griffin.”

“The Rambler; or Fashionable Companion for April; being a Complete Register of Gallantry,” came out between April, 1824, and January, 1825, when it was stopped, because of its immorality. It was followed by “The Original Rambler’s Magazine or Annals of Gallantry; an amusing miscellany of fun, frolic, fashions and flash. Amatory tales, adventures, memoirs of the most celebrated women of pleasure, trials from crim. con. and seduction, bon ton, facetiæ, epigrams, jeu d’esprit, etc.” For the most part this sheet contained biographical articles, as “Life, Amours, intrigues and professional career of Miss Chester,” or “Amours of Napoleon and Mrs. Billington,” or “Memoirs of Miss Singleton” (with a portrait of this beauty of Arlington Street in the nude), etc. In addition there are numerous interesting descriptions of London brothels. Many articles are signed J. M. (Jack Milford). The leisured, rambler was a very common and popular figure in London’s life, apparently, to judge by the number of magazines named after him. Thus, from 1827 to 1829, there was a new “London Rambler’s Magazine” which purported to supply a delicious banquet of amorous, bacchanalian, whimsical, humorous, theatrical and literary entertainment. The whole enterprise was to be gay and free, to make love and joy the choicest treasure and to ramble over scenes of pleasure. The publisher of this sheet was John (Jack) Milford, a person of high birth and classical education, who had served with distinction in the English navy under Hood and Nelson, but had subsequently fallen into straits as a conse-

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quence of his debaucheries (he finally died in St. Giles workhouse in 1831). The chief features of the new magazine were the "Saloon whores" and "Bazaar beauties," two series of biographies of free ladies and courtesans of the period. There were also accounts of Byron's amours, scandal chronicle, amatory and bon ton intelligence and erotic novels like "Helen Glenshiel, or the miseries of seduction," "Amours of London and Spirit of bon ton," "The Confessions of a Methodist, or pictures of sensuality," "The Cambridge larks," etc.

There were even sheets with titles like "The Crim. Con. Gazette, or diurnal register of the freaks and follies of the present day," and "The Quizzical Gazette and merry companion." The first of these contained not only minute reports of scandals, etc., but also memoirs of worthies like Silly Maclean, Mme. Vestris, Clara Foote, etc.

"The Exquisite, a collection of tales, histories and essays, funny, fanciful and facetious, interspersed with anecdotes original and select. Amorous adventures, piquant jests, and spicy sayings," was issued by W. Dugdale. For the most part it contained novels and stories, but there were a large number of erotic miscellanies strewn throughout its pages. Every number also included poems, and among them was Wilkes' "Essay on Woman." Under the rubrics "Stars of the Saloons," "Sketches of Courtesans," and "Seductions unveiled," there were given the names, addresses, physical dissipation and biography of the most popular prostitutes after the fashion of Harris' notorious catalogue of prostitutes. In addition, "The Exquisite," contained memoirs of Mrs. Davenport, Mme. Vestris, Mlle. De Brion, Madame Gourdan, Marie Antoinette, and original anecdotes and sketches of Charles II and the Duchess of Portsmouth. This magazine also contained numerous essays on the "ars amandi" which was to be the handbook for the bride, and a certain guide through the territories of Venus for the man; and there were also articles on prostitution in Paris, phallic cults and eunuchism. Various translations from French and Italian erotica appeared here, done principally by James Campbell, among which were Nerciat's three salacious novels. There were plenty of original stories, however, bearing such suggestive titles as "Nights at Lunet, or a budget of amorous tales," "Where Shall I go

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tonight?" "The Loves of Sappho," "Wife and no wife, a tale from Stamboul," "The child of nature improved by chance," "The history of a young girl's researches into the nature of the summum bonum," "The practical part of love exemplified in the personal history of Lucy and Helen, eminent priestesses of the temple of Venus," "The illustrious lovers, or secret history of Malcolm and Matilda," "Julia, or Miss in her teens," and "The London Bawd."

We come now to the most obscene of all English magazines—"The Pearl, a monthly journal of facetiæ and voluptuous reading." This contained principally poetry, facetiæ and licentious tales. The contents were so obscene that we shall not even list them, much less describe them. "The Pearl" occupies the same place among pornographic magazines as "Fanny Hill" occupies among pornographic novels. However, the latter is comparatively modest in relation to the monstrous and revolting stories to be found in "The Pearl." The magazine appeared monthly from July, 1879 to December, 1882.

There have been two other erotic magazines since "The Pearl." The first was "The Cremorne, a magazine of wit, facetiæ, parody, graphic tales and of love." The other, "The Boudoir, a magazine of scandal, facetiæ, etc." "The Boudoir" contained numerous short anecdotes in prose and verse and some longer stories among which are "The Three Chums, a tale of London everyday life," "Adventures and amours of a barmaid," and "Voluptuous Confessions of a French lady of fashion."

Since the 1880's, London has witnessed a gradually diminishing number of these magazines. The reign of King Edward VII, probably because less puritanic and less restrained, was much cleaner than the reign of Queen Victoria in this respect, while the present reign of King George V has witnessed, especially since the World War, the almost complete disappearance of such obscene magazines.

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XVI

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ASIDE from France no other country has seen such a wide dissemination and intense cultivation of book collecting as England. "England," said Otto Mühlbrecht correctly, "is the Eldorado of bibliophiles and bibliomaniacs." Even the oldest monograph in bibliophilism was written by an Englishman. It is the "Philobiblon" written in 1344 by Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham. Chaucer already mentions the love of books in his prologue in the "Canterbury Tales." Other noted bibliophiles of an older period are Roger Ascham, Lord Bacon, Samuel Daniel and William Shakespeare. We all remember the lines from the "Tempest": "Me, poor man, my library, was dukedom large enough." And in a delightful old song of this period, preserved in Alexander Ireland's "Enchiridion," we read an impassioned cry for a book and a shady nook, either indoor or out, for a jolly good book whereon to look is better than gold.

It is significant that at this period already there could be found the type of the modern bibliomaniac. In the "Compleat Gentleman," Henry Preacham (who died in 1640) pokes fun at those fools who burn with a silly desire to amass the greatest possible number of books, not to read, however; and he compares these dubs with the child who wants to have the taper kept burning at his bed even when he is asleep.

On the other hand, Macaulay has stated that, already in the seventeenth century, the shops of the large booksellers in the vicinity of St. Paul's were filled with readers all day long and that some of the patrons who were better known were permitted to take books home with them overnight. But the great bibliophile of this time was Robert Burton

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(1576-1640), the famous author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy." Fletcher has reported that Burton bought all available books on divers subjects, including marriages, masquerades, pleasures, rape murders, monstrous rascalities of every sort, comic and tragic incidents, etc.

It is interesting to note the comment of Bishop Burnet on the reading done by the notorious Rochester. The latter's preference in books ran to the droll and humorous writings of the older and newer writers, the Roman classics and books of natural science and, in his last years, historical works for the most part.

At about 1700 book trading in London was already highly developed. This we gather from the interesting reports of the great friend of books, Zacharias Conrad v. Uffenbach, who sojourned in London for the express purpose of studying the book market. At that time Paternoster Row was a street devoted exclusively to the sale of books, and Little Britain was littered with second-hand book-stalls. Book auctions generally took place in the coffee houses. This scene certainly savors of the large and leisurely days of bygone generations—to sit back in a comfortable chair, sipping coffee and drawing at a pipe, and, occasionally, when a good book is offered to put in a bid. Frequently it was possible to obtain books at a much cheaper price than in the stalls.

In the eighteenth century the love of books was very common in England. Books could now be found on and under many tables and against many walls. Muther has called attention to another indication of the spread of books at this period—their importance in English painting. Among the famous bibliophiles of the nineteenth century, perhaps the best known is Samuel Johnson, concerning whose passion for books Boswell has left us detailed reports. Some others are Horace Walpole, who amassed a choice library at his mansion at Strawberry Hill; Topham Beauclerk, who collected 30,000 volumes at his house in Muswell Hill near Highgate; and finally, the Duke of Roxburghe, the greatest English bibliophile, whose splendid library at St. James Square Palace in London, contained a dozen works from the press of the oldest English printer, Caxton, the famous Valdorf Boccaccio, many famous printings of Pynson, Wynteyn, de Worde, Julian Notary, etc., in addi-

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tion to the first, second and third folio editions of Shakespeare, complete editions of the English dramatists of the Elizabethan period, a splendid collection of rare ballads, a manuscript of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," etc. This invaluable library was sold in 1812 by Mr. Evans at a public sale held in the dining room of the Roxburghe palace and brought £23,397 sterling. The Boccaccio for which Roxburghe had paid 100 guineas now brought £2260. A "diner" was given that very day at the St. Albans Tavern in honor of Dibbins, the famous English bibliographer who reported the above auction in his "Bibliographical Decameron"; at this repast Dibdin, Earl Spencer and other bibliophiles constituted themselves into the famous "Roxburghe Club." Since that time these repasts have been repeated every year and the club still flourishes.

The love of books found another expression in the astonishing development of the lending libraries and second-hand book shops which in England date back to the seventeenth century. However, it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that these institutions were really developed and organized. This activity is intimately bound up with the name of James Lackington. What an interesting life story has this man, a poor shoemaker's apprentice, whose love of books made him one of the richest booksellers in England. Born in 1746 to a shoemaker father, he was destined to carry on the family tradition, but at 22 he turned to book selling, starting this new venture with a capital of one guinea. But in a short time, through skillful use of new business methods, his enterprise was bringing him £6000 annually. Part of his success was due to a loud and insistent advertising campaign. His great stock and exhibit of 150,000 books at the "Temple of the Muses" in Finsbury Square which had no peer, became very famous. This immense display, which was very cleverly gotten up, could be maintained on condition that there were an extremely large number of purchasers and a relatively rapid turnover. Lackington achieved both by virtue of the fact that he kept on adding to his stock constantly through purchases of various private libraries and selling his wares at prices considerably lower than all the other London booksellers.

Lackington's "Temple of the Muses" was also very popular as a lend-

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ing library, but in this department of the book business Hookhams Reading Institute at Bond Street gave him pretty successful competition. Every girl in Westminster and environs knew of Hookham who stocked up more than a score exemplars of every new book to supply the demand.

Very early the lending libraries became favorite places for gallant rendezvous, especially at the fashionable bathing resorts. Many of these lending libraries also carried the prohibited, piquant and naughty books. To this group Walker's lending library at Maidstone appears to have belonged, such books as the "Fruit Shop" being lent out here. Rémo has given a detailed account of the corrupting influence of the sentimental and gallant literature purveyed by these libraries. A delightful picture of a London reading room at about 1870 and its various clients, who request the most diverse items, is to be found in Jouy's work.

After this general conspectus of the English book world we turn to a consideration of the latter in its relation to erotic and obscene literature. Just as the rise of actual erotic literature in England dates from the eighteenth century, so do the publishing and book business also turn to erotica beginning with this time.

One of the first publishers of obscene books was Edmund Curll who published, among other things, the worst poems of Rochester. This is the man whom Thackeray has called the publisher of all the filth and slander of his age. In 1727 he stood in the pillory at Charing Cross for having printed an obscene book, "Venus in a Cloyster, or the nun in her smock"; Gay has reported that Curll's ears were cut off, but this is not true. On the contrary, the populace appeared to have wished him well and protected him against all abuse, and later led him in triumph to a neighboring tavern.

Ralph Griffiths deserves mention as the publisher of John Cleland's "A Woman of Pleasure." His bookstore, situated at St. Paul's Churchyard, carried the remarkable name of "The Dunciad." He was the publisher of the "Monthly Review" in which organ he praised "Fanny Hill." More details concerning these extremely enterprising and intelli-

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gent publishers can be found in Charles Knight's "Shadows of the Old Booksellers" and Forster's "Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith."

Archenholtz has left us a very interesting record of a trial of the booksellers Morgan and McDonald on the charge of having disseminated lewd writings. The first had published "The Battles of Venus, a descriptive dissertation on the various modes of enjoyment," and the other had sponsored a translation of the "School of Venus" from the Italian of Antonio. The attorney general asserted that these books were entirely calculated to arouse the passions of young people, to undermine morals and to uproot all foundations of virtue. He therefore demanded the maximum penalty and reported that a certain society composed of distinguished men had contributed the expenses of the trial and were determined to prosecute all booksellers who would be guilty of trespasses. The attorneys for the defense argued that their clients were poor and had been ignorant of the noxiousness of these pamphlets. The presiding judge, however, had no ear for these apologies and insisted that the growing immorality required a severe penalty. The booksellers were sentenced to the pillory and to serve a year in jail, after which they would have to give security for their future good behavior.

Even at that time certain publishers had chosen to specialize in erotica. George Peacock and W. Holland together issued a whole series of works on flagellation during the years 1777-1785.

In the first third of the nineteenth century the traffic in obscene books saw a marvelous expansion. This branch of business was carried on by people in positions of respectability. The agents of these dealers, mostly Italians, traversed the whole kingdom as hawkers and generally visited large cities, like Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, in groups of two or three. Even female agents participated in this prohibited traffic, gaining admission into houses on the pretext of desiring to purchase old clothes. The total number of individuals engaged in this business, including dealers, agents and venders, during 1817 was estimated at exceeding six hundred. To a great extent these filthy books were smuggled into schools, particularly into girls' schools, by some of the servants. However, these naughty books were sold to teachers as

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well as pupils. Thus the rector of the school at Ewhurst in Essex, who was accused of pederasty, was also accused of having corrupted his charges by showing them the illustrations to "Fanny Hill."

A very good market for obscene writings and pictures was the great races where, under the title of "Sport Lists," these dirty brochures were thrown into the carriages of the ladies.

From 1817 to 1839 some twenty book dealers were prosecuted by the "Society for the Suppression of Vice" for the dissemination of indecent books and, from 1802 to August, 1838, eighty persons came before the court of King's Bench for this misdemeanor, fifty-three of whom were punished by fines and pillory. Many thousands of obscene writings and books were confiscated and destroyed. In just three years (1835-1838) the "Society" confiscated 1162 obscene books and brochures, aside from a horde of loose folders, 1495 dirty songs and 10,493 bawdy pictures of the worst sort (the last were said to have been produced by foreign prisoners of war). These obscene pictures and woodcuts, most of which represented "the new fashion," i.e., acts of pedication, were sold every evening in front of the prison, at a definite hour, to youths as well as adults.

In 1838, Ryan informs us, there were twenty-nine firms in London publicly distributing obscene writings, but other stores and bazaars also sold them, frequently through women. Among these booksellers and publishers the most important are John Sudbury, John Brookes, William West, the brothers Duncombe, and Dickenson who combined with this activity the highly moral position of the sextonship of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. The most notorious of this first generation of dirty book publishers was William Dugdale who for thirty years was active as the publisher of numerous old and new sexualia. This worthy was born at Stockport in 1800 and at nineteen was already embroiled in the Cato Street conspiracy, got into jail repeatedly even in the last years of his life, and actually died in the house of correction on November 11, 1868. He did a very extensive business at various places in London under numerous aliases as Turner, Smith, Young and Brown. He had a younger brother, John, who engaged in similar activity, also under vari-

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ous names and addresses, including two on Holywell Street which, until its disappearance in 1901, was for fifty years the center for the purchase of erotica, curiosa and porneia.

But not only booksellers of second- and third-class cultivated this questionable branch of their business, but even highly esteemed publishers manifested an unflagging interest in it. Above all others, J. C. Hotten was such a one.

John Camden Hotten was born at an old house near the church of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkinwell, a London suburb. He was a descendant of Sir Christopher Wren, the famous builder of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was educated at the Manor House, a preparatory school situated on the estate of the Marquis of Northampton. Very early he evinced a passion for books, so that at the age of eleven he was already the possessor of a library of 450 volumes. At fifteen this bibliomania was so active in him that he would spend several hours of every day in Petheram's bookshop to ransack the latter's large stock of old and new books. Another daily visitor of this bookshop was none other than Lord Macaulay who ferreted out these old books and pamphlets for his English history. Hotten would assist the historian by leaving for Macaulay what he thought would be of interest to the latter and also by supplying him with notices of books he had seen elsewhere. These little courtesies won for Hotten the favor of Macaulay, but didn't prevent the latter from hurling a large quarto volume at Hotten one day when he didn't get change of a five-pound note quickly enough. Hotten now undertook an adventurous voyage to the West Indies, à la Robinson Crusoe, and finally landed at Galena, Illinois, in the "Gazette" of which town his first literary productions were published. In 1854 he returned to England and the next year opened a small book store at 1516 Piccadilly, right across the way from the place where he was later to establish a business that achieved a world reputation.

Hotten was not only a very interesting publisher but also an estimable writer who might have contributed much more significant things in this realm had not his business engrossed him so completely. His hobby in the selling and publishing of books was erotica and sexualia; he

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himself possessed a very extensive library of these books which, at his death, were purchased by a London amateur.

Allibone's "Critical Dictionary of English Literature" has a list, somewhat incomplete, of the writings, editions and published works of Hotten. Many of the works reprinted or newly published by him have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters.

Hotten died on June 14, 1873, at his villa in Hampstead and was buried at the Highgate cemetery where London booksellers erected a monument in his memory. His friend, Richard Herne Shapferd, wrote a necrology that appeared in the 1873 edition of "The Booksellers," in which lavish praise is showered upon the outstanding business talents of Hotten who, without any capital, was able within a few years to amass considerable wealth. Hotten was first to publish in England the works of the great American poets and humorists, Artemus Ward, Lowell, Holmes, Walt Whitman, Bret Harte, Mark Twain, etc.; and to create the proper respect for them. In addition he was the Maecenas of the younger generation of poets and his efforts in their behalf were very considerable. He was the only one who had the courage to publish Swinburne's poems after all the other London publishers had refused to do so. Primarily, however, he advanced the literature of the history of culture and morals by the publication of works on flagellationism, phallic cults, aphrodisiacs, the moral history of London, etc. He was a man of enormous drive. His faculty for work was a lasting wonder even to those who knew him best. He would reach Piccadilly at ten, read and answer a mass of correspondence, sometimes extending to fifty or sixty letters in one morning; see customers, authors, artists, printers, stationers, binders, going into elaborate complicated details with each and, after snatching a hasty meal in the neighborhood, would repeat the same program in the afternoon, rarely leaving his shop before nine o'clock in the evening, and then frequently taking some young writer or artist half way home with him to discuss a new plan or give instruction for fresh work. His fertile brain seemed never to be at rest. He overtasked it and at last it gave way under the strain. Essentially a man of the time, he felt he must keep pace with the railroad speed of the age or leave

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others to outstrip him in the race. As a loyal servant to the public, untiring and unresting, he lived and died in the harness.

After Hotten, two well-known London booksellers of German origin, Trübner and Bohn, should be mentioned as having evinced great interest in erotic literature. Trübner was the son-in-law of the famous Belgian bibliophile who resided in London, Octave Delepierre, who generously subsidized him in his researches on erotic and maccaronic literature. Henry G. Bohn was the first to introduce to the English the complete Martial in an English translation.

As we come to the end of our remarks about the publishers of erotic books we must say a word at this point about the "eroto-bibliomaniacs," by which name Octave Uzanne, in his amusing "*Caprices d'Un Bibliophile*," designates the book enthusiast who cultivated the realm of erotica, curiosa, facetiæ, exotica, esoterica and porneia. This tribe already existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for an early artist, James Caulfield, in his "*Chalcographimania*" scored that shameless band of people who spent large sums for indecent books and disgusting prints. However, the majority of cases among the bibliomaniacs are not actuated by filthy motives in the collection of erotic books. This forthright interest in the ribald and lascivious for its own sake is much more frequently found among that part of the reading public devoid of literary or bibliophilic interest, which seeks in this type of literature merely the lewd. It is to this portion that surreptitious printers turn with their stream of rubbish—original contributions or poor translations and editions of eroscentia of a bygone day. I need not emphasize the fact that, unfortunately, the immature youth furnishes a large contingent to this class of tabloid readers of smut to whom erotic book collecting holds no interest whatever.

It is possible, even probable, that at the beginning of his activity the eroto-bibliomaniac is actuated in his book collecting by motives of a sexual sort. Later, however, this point of view is completely displaced by that higher interest with which the study of erotic literature is connected and which have led all the great libraries of the land to cultivate this branch of the world of books. It is not merely the rarity of erotica in

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their original editions which makes them desirable for eager book collectors—there are certainly people who have collected for this reason alone—but their eminent value for the history of literature, culture and morals. This is so because the best and most genuine books of this genre treat not only the sexual domain, but also represent all the other relationships of human life and human culture in a fashion that cannot be found elsewhere. For this reason they become an extremely valuable source for a knowledge of their time. One need think only of Aretino's "Ragionamenti," Retif de la Bretonne's numerous pornographic novels, de Sade's amazing productions which were born out of the spirit of the French Revolution. Finally, erotica may be interesting from a considerable psychological and medical point of view in that they are frequently accurate reflections of the sexual development of given individuals. In this regard, I recall especially, Retif de la Bretonne's autobiographic novels ("La pied de Fanchette," "Monsieur Nicolas," etc.) which cast appreciable light on the rise and decline of all sorts of sexual perversion. There are other arguments that might be adduced to show the indubitable value of erotica to the investigator and the student of mankind. But this is not the place to present them.

Incontestably the greatest of all English "bibliomaniacs" in the erotic domain was Frederick Hankey, a "bibliophile d'une espèce particulière," as he was called in his necrology. He was the son of Sir Frederick Hankey, the English governor of the Ionian islands, and a Greek woman. Later he became captain of the guards and, upon his retirement from active service in 1850, moved to Paris where he resided until his death on June 8, 1882. Hankey's collection was small but exceedingly choice. In addition to erotic books and pictures he also had other erotic objects. Thus he possessed a wonderful marble group by Pradier representing two tribades which he called "the sign of his horn"; also a handsome bronze representing "Satyrus opus per linguam peragens"; a real chastity belt; a dildo made of ivory, etc. The writings consisted of illustrated manuscripts, the best editions and most costly copies of the most treasured erotic books which were frequently decorated with original drawings and bound by famous French bookbinders. Those copies which did

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not wear the bindings of their own day (or those whose bindings had been injured) he gave to Trautz-Bauzzonet or some other well-known master of the bookbinding craft to bind and he himself supplied the plans and specifications for the covers. He frequently promised his friends to produce a "catalogue raisonne" of his beloved books but this was never accomplished.

In his mode of life, too, Hankey was quite original. He never arose before midday and he never received company before ten in the evening, when he could be found among his books. He had blond hair, blue eyes and an almost feminine expression. In many respects he resembled the traditional descriptions of the Marquis de Sade who was his favorite author. He told Pisanus Fraxi that at one time he was very sick but was immediately cured by obtaining a copy of de Sade's "Justine" that he had sought for a long time. In conversation he frequently repeated himself. In 1878 Octave Uzanne's "Caprices d'Un Bibliophile" appeared, and therein was a description of an eroto-bibliomaniac named "Kerhany"—in whom everybody saw Hankey. But this was not true for, at that time, Uzanne had not yet made the acquaintance of the famous "*riche amateur anglais*." This introduction was provided by Fraxi who presented Uzanne to the bibliophile of Rue Laffitte in March of 1882. Uzanne, Felicien Rops and Pisanus Fraxi had dined together when it was suggested that they visit Hankey and spend the remainder of the evening with him. Shortly after ten, they arrived at 2 Rue Laffitte and found Hankey in his customary déshabillé: short velvet jacket, shirt without collar, thin trousers, thinner socks and slippers. In spite of the cold weather, the room was not heated. Hankey was obviously flattered at the visit of two such distinguished artistic personages as Rops and Uzanne, who contributed their admiration and stayed till far into the morning.

The "close" of Hankey's collection was formed by three works, the "trois bons livres," concerning which Baron Portatis has written an article.

The first was a gorgeous example of the "Liaisons dangereuses" of Choderlos de Laclos, on vellum paper with pictures "avant la lettre"

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engravings and fifteen original drawings by Monnet and Marguerite Gérard, in blue morocco binding and decorations by Kohler. This splendid specimen of the book-makers' art was from the collection of Guilbert de Pixéré Courts and was sold in 1839 to Armand Bertin. In the 1860's Hankey paid the bookseller Durand 1100 francs for it, and in 1878 a Parisian bookseller offered him ten times that amount, but he refused to part with it.

The second work was a "unicum," the famous "Tableaux des mœurs du temps" of La Popelinière in the original manuscript of the author with twenty lovely miniatures (sixteen in color) attributed to Monnet. This pearl of Hankey's collection was bought from the Parisian bibliophile, Charles Cousen, for 20,000 francs. The third "opus rarissimum" was a manuscript of La Fontaine's "Contes"—also on vellum paper and dressed in blue morocco. The calligraphy in this volume was extremely handsome. Incidentally, the volume had been produced in 1746 at the order of Gaignat, a great lover of curiosities. Hankey's library boasted a number of other very rare and exquisitely produced volumes.

Another eroto-bibliomaniac of an original sort was James Campbell (pseudonym for J. C. Reddie) who died in Scotland in 1872 at an advanced age, after his ruined health and increasing weakness of the eyes had compelled him to abandon his literary studies and leave London. Without having had the opportunity of enjoying an academic education, Campbell none the less did possess considerable scholarship. He read with ease Latin, French and Italian and, despite his slight acquaintance with German, knew practically all the erotica in that tongue. His knowledge in this domain was so thorough that scarcely any obscene book in any language escaped his notice. Every book, every new edition, would immediately upon accession be collated, bibliographically verified and compared with some other edition of the book side for side, and word for word. Of very rare books that he could not come into the possession of, he frequently made a copy in his own hand. He regarded erotic literature as the clearest illustration of human nature and its weaknesses. His collection of erotic books was very large but it was more comprehensive than choice, for he laid more stress on the contents of books

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than on the covers or other decorations. Since Campbell never refused to lend books it frequently happened that a book was not returned. He was equally generous with his knowledge and would spare neither time nor energy to render assistance in various scholarly enterprises. Practically all of the English erotica found in Gay's "Bibliographie de l'Amour" were reported by him, which fact is admitted in the introduction to the third edition of that work. Campbell's own Ms. of that work, which later came into the possession of Pisanus Fraxi, showed numerous corrections and additions. The chief result of his bibliographical investigations and notes Campbell set forth in a three-volume manuscript which he gave to Fraxi shortly before his death. The latter used these notes for his "Catena Librorum Tacendorum." Campbell also supplied material for Gay's "Inconographie des estampes a sujets galants, etc." Finally, Campbell also wrote a number of erotic stories for the publisher, William Dugdale, and was one of the collaborators of the magazine "The Exquisite"; he was also an intimate friend of Edward Sellon.

Before we conclude we must mention two English lovers of erotica who were very similar in their external life for both were exceedingly successful merchants, avid collectors and enthusiastic travelers. They are William S. Potter and the famous Pisanus Fraxi.

Potter (1805-1879) possessed a very large collection of erotic books, engravings, photographs and numerous other erotic objects which he had accumulated on his far-flung travels. He was a large, handsome man and in his later years his white hair gave him a very reverent patriarchal appearance. The prize pieces of his collection were the famous erotic pictures which Boucher had painted at the request of the Marquise de Pompadour and which Louis XVI later caused to be removed from the Palais de l'Arsenal with the command: "Il faut faire disparaître ces indécentes." This wish of the monarch was not literally carried out until a hundred years had elapsed. Potter's collection was purchased by a bookseller of Edinburgh for an American collector and brought to America. In the New York Customs House the obscene nature of these precious art works was discovered. They were shipped back to England and there destroyed by the English authorities.

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Potter was the author of a sadistic novel, the "Romance of Lust," which he composed while on a trip through Japan. From December, 1875, to April, 1876, he visited India and during his sojourn there wrote some interesting letters which he had printed in 1876 for private circulation.

The greatest bibliographer and bibliophile of erotica that has ever lived is undoubtedly Pisanus Fraxi, the learned author of the "Index," the "Centuria" and the "Catena," three works of a unique and remarkable bibliographic excellence.

Fraxi was born April 21, 1834 and died at his country home in Kent, July 29, 1900. By profession he was a merchant and for many years the head of the firm of Charles Lavy Co., Coleman Street, London. Through travels in all parts of the globe he amassed a considerable knowledge of man and the world which he found very useful in composing his great works. He knew all the capitals of Europe, and undertook long journeys through India, China, Japan, Tunis, Cyprus, Egypt, North and South America and elsewhere. Above all, his heart inclined to Spain which he knew as well as his London, whose language and literature he knew so well that in the last decades of his life he composed his incomparable "Iconography of Don Quixote," for which the Royal Spanish Academy at Madrid elected him a member.

Fraxi was one of the most successful and fortunate book collectors of the nineteenth century, for which activity he was well fitted by his distinguished and cultivated spirit, and refined taste in art and literature. This did not prevent him from exercising his critical faculty in this domain and becoming an extremely thorough, critical investigator whose statements are the most reliable possible. In his house at Bedford Square in London, he had a magnificent library and a choice collection of paintings which, in 1895, he brought to his villa at Hawkhurst. He frequently invited book-lovers and the representatives of learned societies to inspect his treasures and would give brilliant dinners on these occasions. Fraxi also maintained intimate relationships with French book-lovers; he was one of the few foreign members of the French "Société des amis des livres." In collecting books he would demand such as were unbound,

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uncut and with clean outer wrappers; these he would then have luxuriously bound according to his own specifications, sometimes including original drawings by distinguished French masters.

His library certainly had the greatest collection of English erotica of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And very few of the foreign erotic classics were missing. All books mentioned in the three large volumes of his bibliography were in his possession. Moreover his collection of erotic pictures and drawings was remarkable from the artistic standpoint. A large number of paintings by famous English and foreign painters were left by Fraxi, at his death, to the South Kensington Museum (where they are kept in a special room) and the National Gallery.

Fraxi's library had very many prize pieces, erotic and non-erotic. Among the latter were Nichol's "Literary Andecdotes," originally consisting of nine volumes but, through the addition of 5000 pictures, expanded into thirty-four handsome volumes bound by Roger de Coverley, etc. Fraxi had the painter, Chauvet, illustrate the "Contes Rémois of the Count de Chevigné" so that each poem was adorned by a charming picture. Another rarity was Saint Beuve's "Livre d'Amour" bound together with his "Portraits des Femmes" and containing corrections by the author himself. Unique in its completeness was Fraxi's collection of all the editions of Cervantes and illustrations to them, and also a complete collection of the drawings and engravings of Chodowiecki.

Our bibliographer generally spent the winters on voyages—at the close of his life practically always in Spain—and during the summer led a very regular life in London—a morning ride through Hyde Park, a few hours at his office, lunch with a few friends at home or at one of the many clubs he was a member of, and, in the evening, attendance at the meetings of the "Royal Society," "Society of Antiquaries," "Ex Libris Society" or the "Bibliographical Society."

He was a very handsome man whose amiable countenance expressed a winning mixture of goodness, frankness and generosity. He died suddenly of a heart affliction early in 1900.

In the three volumes of his work, Fraxi has created a model of bibliography for all time in method of work, accuracy, reliability and hand-

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someness of edition. These erotic bibliographies have been continually employed throughout this book. They are the following:

1. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*: being Notes Bio-Biblio-Iconographical and Critical on Curious and Uncommon Books. This volume of 542 pages contains chiefly bibliographical specimens, all the works of E. Sellon, John Davenport, bibliography of the "Essay on Woman," and numerous books on flagellation.

2. *Centuria Librorum Absconditorum*: Being Notes Bio-Biblio-Iconographical and Critical on Curious and Uncommon Books. This volume contains, among other things, numerous works on Catholic casuistry appertaining to sex, and Rowlandson's obscene pictures, Rochester's "Sodom," etc.

3. *Catena Librorum Tacendorum*: Being Notes Bio-Biblio-Iconographical and Critical on Curious and Uncommon Books. This volume contains a bibliography of various writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on various sexual relationships, Cleland's works, a list of Spanish erotica and "varia."

No one who pretends to be a serious student of books can afford not to read these bibliographic masterpieces, especially the classic introductions to each volume, the reprinting of which is strongly to be desired in view of the rarity of the works. Before he undertook his task he made a careful study of the bibliographic methods of his predecessors; he was a thorough student of Bayle, Quérard Lacroix, Brunet, Gay, Hayn, etc. He raised bibliography to the rank of a science—which must purvey actual knowledge of the contents as well as of the externals for a book. It was Southey who said that next to writing an epic poem was the talent to appreciate one, and Fraxi thought this remark most appropriate to bibliography. Not many are sufficiently competent, however fond of books, adequately to catalogue, describe and classify them. Fraxi conceived the task of bibliography to lie in extracting from books their pith and marrow, and to put the same in a useful, convenient and readable form for a lasting and trustworthy record. This, he insisted, was a noble and elevating pursuit which requires tact, delicacy, discrimination, perspicuity, not to mention patience and untiring assiduity.

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To carry out his project he used to the utmost his very diversified erudition, thorough knowledge of modern languages and literature, keen observational powers and critical discernment. He achieved a highly impartial and purely scientific consideration and evaluation of the erotic in literature, art and life which must remain exemplary for all works of this sort. What he brought forth and emphasized as the relative justification and value of erotica from the point of view of literary and cultural history will be admitted and endorsed by every serious student of this domain who is not a prude. This admission will be the more readily made since Fraxi expressly emphasized the noxiousness of these writings for the immature youth and for uneducated individuals, and demanded that erotic works be kept from this class of readers.

It is a very sound truth that he expresses when he compares obscene books to poisons that must be studied and thoroughly investigated but can be entrusted only to such as recognize their possible harmful effects, lest it overcome and paralyze them.

In accordance with these principles, Fraxi traversed the realm of erotic literature. Everywhere his interest ran to what is interesting, psychologically and sociologically, in the various books, and he often made very illuminating observations as he correlated the character of the writings with the personality of the author or the circumstances of his life. Furthermore, he had a keen eye for distinctive national peculiarities which come to clearer expression in this realm than anywhere else. His style is short, concise, clear, and everywhere intent on transmitting the essentials of the subject.

Fraxi's bibliographies are the most thorough works of their kind. All the books he talked about he knew from personal experience; whereas other bibliographers, especially Gay, relied only on notices that had appeared in catalogues. Fraxi proceeded to compare the various editions of a given book and investigated the authorship, date and circumstances of publication, publisher and fate; where no dates were indicated he sought to fix a date by a pragmatic criticism of the contents. Every volume contains a list of authorities consulted—a repository of bibliographical aids and a general index which is virtually a succinct summary

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of the whole. He himself was always guided by the maxim that he set nothing down unless he had seen it with his own eyes, for surmise and imagination led to lies.

Pisanus Fraxi solved perfectly the real problem of the bibliographer which is to provide the reader with accurate knowledge of the outer and inner form of books. To employ a charming phrase of his, the function of the bibliographer is to be the servant of the reader and, as a guest, to introduce him to those who can and will entertain him.

Thus, it is most fitting to close here with Pisanus Fraxi this history of sex life in England, for erotic book collecting is, in a sense, the final will and testament of a nation's sexual customs and habits; and Pisanus Fraxi was, and perhaps will always remain, as supreme among all English collectors of erotica.

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