McEnery, Anthony, and Helen Baker. "Notes." *Corpus Linguistics and 17th-Century Prostitution: Computational Linguistics and History*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. 207–228. Corpus and Discourse. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781474295062.0012>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 09:22 UTC.

Copyright © Anthony McEnery and Helen Baker 2017. Released under a CC BY-NC-ND licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>). You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 In exploring censorship in the seventeenth century, we were able to build upon previous work by McEnery (2005) on this topic.
- 2 See <http://clu.uni.no/icame/hc/index.htm>.
- 3 See <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lcl/research/projects/archer/>.
- 4 See <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/domains/CEEC.html>.
- 5 This describes version 3.2 of this corpus.
- 6 We have focused here on the diachronic component of this corpus – it has other components, including supplements for Scots and American English, but our interest here is in the diachronic English corpus as described.
- 7 See Krug (2000) for a study of modals using the Helsinki Corpus.
- 8 These assumptions are confirmed by the authors of the Culturomics paper at <http://www.culturomics.org/Resources/faq#dataquality>. They are, however, silent on the issue of variant spelling, which must be an issue, certainly prior to the early eighteenth century.
- 9 The corpus used here is a 50% sample of the UKWac corpus available via the CQPweb system at Lancaster University. The full UKWac is available through SketchEngine.
- 10 See <http://www.culturomics.org/Resources/A-users-guide-to-culturomics>.
- 11 Also, the point about there not being enough books prior to 1800 to reliably quantify queries is, to our mind, disputable. As this book will show, using the right corpus resources yields plenty of material to explore many hypotheses and to reliably quantify them.
- 12 While this book is not concerned with later periods, for readers interested in the period 1800 onwards, the corpora and interface produced by Mark Davies provides, in our view, a much better way of exploring American English over two centuries than Google Ngram Viewer does. See <http://corpus.byu.edu/>.
- 13 See <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>.
- 14 See <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/CEEM/>.
- 15 For more details, see: <http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/home/>. The corpus used in this book is the third version of the EEBO corpus, though in the book this will simply be referred to as the EEBO corpus for the sake of brevity. In the period 1600–99, the corpus contains 996,472,953 words.

- 16 For more details see: <http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/tcp-texts/>.
- 17 The graph was drawn from 1600 to 2000, with no smoothing and as a case sensitive search.
- 18 www.opensourceshakespeare.org/concordance.
- 19 Seitoshi Sekine has written a brief and very engaging account of the origins of named entity recognition available at <http://cs.nyu.edu/~sekine/papers/NEsurvey200402.pdf>.
- 20 For a broader overview of the relationship between digital resources and the work of historians from the late twentieth century to the present, see Hitchcock and Shoemaker (2015).
- 21 See <http://cass.lancs.ac.uk/?p=1133> for a brief introduction to the statistic.
- 22 Taken from file N20 in the British English 2006 corpus.
- 23 A subset of the British National Corpus called the BNC sampler.
- 24 This category bears some relation to the 'seasonal' collocate category of Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 11). However, seasonal collocates were defined by them as being related 'to specific events' (Gabrielatos and Baker: 12). While specific events may indeed give rise to transient collocates, transient collocates need not be linked to events as such. For example, if a debate began in society about a certain topic, it may not be linked to an event as such, but it may well cause a transient collocate. So the category of transient collocate includes, but is potentially greater than, the category of seasonal collocate.
- 25 For the curious reader, using Gwet's (2008) AC1 agreement statistic reveals an agreement between the windows in the period between 0.66 and 0.81. However, comparing the results for 1600–9 with those for 1611–20 shows a very low agreement score of 0.11, providing support for our assumption that meaning change is slow-moving, so sampling decade-long chunks and contrasting them is a productive approach to looking at meaning change in the period.
- 26 See, for example, Norton (2013).

Chapter 2

- 1 Taken from the description of a Mrs Williams in 'Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies', reproduced in Rubenhold (2005: 140).
- 2 These figures are estimates made by Laurence (1994: 166). See Cressy (1977) for an in depth discussion.
- 3 See Thirsk (1985: 2).
- 4 Mendelson and Crawford (1998: 10).
- 5 See Laurence (1994: 8).
- 6 For a discussion of the historiography of prostitution, see Nash (1994: introduction).

- 7 Archer (1991: 205) has argued that the small number of indictments gives a misleading glimpse into criminal activity because they reduce its scope to the one occasion where the criminal was caught.
- 8 See Mowry (2004: 15–16).
- 9 Sharpe (1984); Archer (1991: ch. 6); Shoemaker (1991); and Griffiths (2008).
- 10 Sharpe (1980) and Gowing (1993).
- 11 Karras (1996: 7–9) has written of the dilemma faced by scholars who risk stripping their subjects of all agency if they choose to present prostitutes as passive victims forced against their will into the sex trade.
- 12 Ungerer (2003) and Clayton (2008).
- 13 See influential works by Laurence (1994); Gowing (1996); Mendelson and Crawford (1998); Froide (2005); Walker (2003); and Hughes (2012).
- 14 See Clark (2004: 137–9) and Knights (2010: 439–44) for a more in-depth discussion of these ideas.
- 15 Griffiths (2008: 198) notes a big spike in the use of *nightwalker* in the Bridewell records in 1638 in the wake of orders from the London authorities to crack down on women walking late. Referring back to Table 4.6 in Chapter 4, we can see that there is an accompanying peak in the EEBO corpus of mentions of *nightwalker* in the 1630s but that a more marked spike occurs between 1650 and 1669.
- 16 There are 349 mentions of *meretrix* in the seventeenth-century EEBO corpus – the majority of them appear in Latin texts and the remainder tend to give definitions of the term or refer to it in a historical sense. The term is, therefore, not often used to describe prostitutes by early modern English writers.
- 17 For example, Anon. (1635). *Putour* was also mentioned by Chaucer in the Parson's Tale from *The Canterbury Tales*.
- 18 Nash (1994: xv) also states that *courtesan* simply meant prostitute and only possessed 'elegant upper class' implications by the eighteenth century. Although we have not examined *courtesan* in depth, we believe that it was sometimes used to describe prostitutes who were wealthier or carried a higher social status before the eighteenth century. For example, Elisha Cole's *English Dictionary*, which defines a courtesan as 'a Court Lady, also a Strumpet' was printed in 1676 (See Chapter 1).
- 19 London had several streets named Gropecunt Lane, including one in the parishes of St Pancras and St Mary Colechurch. By the fourteenth century, most streets that shared the name had been altered to cleaner alternatives, such as Grape or Grove Lane. In 1275 an area of brothels known as Bordhawe in the parish of St Mary Colechurch is referenced. In 1305 the same area is called 'bordehawelande' and by 1405 had become known as 'Burdellane' ('Brothel Lane'). The word 'bord' is derived from a word meaning house or tenement. See Burford (1973: 38, 69–70); Emerson (2002: 27, 33); and Holt and Baker (2001: 206, 213).
- 20 Quoted in Orme (1987: 37).

- 21 Quoted in Wunderli (1981: 98).
- 22 Karras (1989: 404, 406–7).
- 23 The origins of the term *stews* is uncertain. It most likely referred to public bathhouses which sometimes doubled as brothels but the term may have arisen from the close proximity of the brothels to the carp ponds which supplied London with fresh fish.
- 24 Karras (1989: 410).
- 25 There are twenty-four matches of *Winchester Goose* (singular and plural) in the EEBO corpus: the majority refer to venereal disease, usually passed to a man by a woman, or to a prostitute suffering from venereal disease, rather than simply being a straightforward nickname for a prostitute. The *Chambers Slang Dictionary* notes that *Winchester Goose* referred to venereal disease in the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and offers the phrase *Winchester Pigeon*, of which there is only one unique match in the EEBO corpus, as a synonym.
- 26 Karras (1989: 403).
- 27 Henry VIII was intent on curbing other instances of supposed sinfulness. In 1533 he promulgated the act for the Punishment of the Vice of Buggery which made sodomy punishable by death. In 1548 this was softened to a small degree by exempting the offender's property and rights of inheritance.
- 28 Wunderli (1981: 96).
- 29 See Post (1977: 411); Browner (1994: 55); and Wiesner-Hanks (2000: 86).
- 30 Archer (1991: 249–51).
- 31 Quoted in Browner (1994: 60).
- 32 Shugg (1977: 296).
- 33 Ashton (1983: 14) and Browner (1994: 56). Ungerer (2003: 141) has written that, after the closure of the licensed brothels in 1546, prostitution spread into the very centre of London and, accordingly, prostitutes themselves were no longer geographically separated from the rest of city life.
- 34 Griffiths (1993: 42) mentions *Bridewell baggage* as a nickname of prostitutes and this phrase does appear in Thomas Cranley's *Amanda: or, the Reformed Whore* of 1635, but not elsewhere in the EEBO corpus. We found that *Bridewell bird* was a more commonly used nickname as it appears four times in the EEBO corpus (in both its singular and plural form), including in Thomas Dekker's *The second part of The honest whore* of 1630.
- 35 Beier (1985: 164).
- 36 Shoemaker (1991: ch. 7).
- 37 Ward usually avoided any kind of didactic element in his writing. Perhaps as a consequence, his periodical was extremely popular. It was devoid of any current affairs but carried descriptions of real-life Londoners, such as whores and the places where they traded their wares. See Burford and Wotton (1995: 92).
- 38 Mowry (2008: 216).

- 39 Shoemaker (1991: 173).
- 40 Quaife (1979: 223) and Emerson (2002: 41).
- 41 Bond (1707: 186) quoted in Shoemaker (1991: 171). Also see Griffiths (1998: 212–38).
- 42 Shoemaker (1991: ch. 7).
- 43 Griffiths (1993: 41).
- 44 Beier (1985: 167).
- 45 Shoemaker (1991: 193) notes that these figures may be misleading as women accused of prostitution sometimes used the same aliases.
- 46 Shoemaker (1991: 195).
- 47 Quoted in Ashton (1983: 15).
- 48 Burford (1973: 169).
- 49 Griffiths (1993:54) and Archer (1991: 240).
- 50 Quoted in Nash (1994: 19). From the 1560s, the term Puritan was used as a derogatory term for those who were dissatisfied with the Elizabethan Religious Settlement of 1559. Stubbes was lambasted as a Puritan by his contemporaries and is often labelled a 'Puritan pamphleteer' by present-day writers even though there is no evidence he campaigned for ecclesiastical change. However, as Kidnie (1996: 8–10) has shown, the meaning of the term Puritan had extended by the 1570s to include someone who was judged to be excessively religious. Kidnie writes that Stubbes was a perfect example of a 'busy, interfering killjoy' who condemned the moral choices of his neighbours.
- 51 Griffiths (1993: 54).
- 52 Burford (1973: 208–9).
- 53 Mendelson and Crawford (1998: 69).
- 54 Sharpe (1984: 27); Henderson (1999: 84); and Quaife (1979: 39).
- 55 Hair (1972: 27) and Wunderli (1981: 94).
- 56 Carroll (1996: 43).
- 57 Linnane (2003: 16–17).
- 58 Drury Lane, running north from the Strand into High Holborn in St Giles, was particularly notorious for its connection with prostitutes. The final stages of Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* are set in Drury Lane. See Taylor (1642: 5).
- 59 Henderson (1999: 84–5).
- 60 Linnane (2003: 18).
- 61 Quoted in Thompson (1979: 58–9).
- 62 Thompson (1979: 59).
- 63 Henderson (1999: 85–6); Burford and Wotton (1995: 34–5); and Shoemaker (1991: 162).
- 64 Harman (1573).
- 65 Mowry (2008: 219–20, n.5) has argued that Charles II refined Elizabethan and Jacobean poor laws by characterizing the poor as 'lewd' as well as 'loose' and 'idle'.

She explains how some women were described in the Bridewell Courtbooks as being 'loose, idle, and disorderly' while others were recorded as being 'lewd, idle, and disorderly'.

- 66 Slack (1974: 364–5) and Kent (1981: 39–41).
- 67 Shoemaker (1991: 93, 110).
- 68 Burford and Wotton (1995: 95).
- 69 In *Strange Newes from Bartholomew-Fair, Or, the Wandering-Whore Discovered*, a satire of 1661, the prostitute Besse of Whore and Bacon Lane complains that custom is slow: 'There's nothing to be got but by impudence, which I am well furnisht with, but dare not be too publick, lest like our dear sister Tory Rory, I be forc'd to bear out my living at the Hemp-block, or be transported as some of my brethren were yesterday.' See Aretine (1661: 2).
- 70 Under the poor law legislation of 1597 and 1601, parents who were unable to support young children were sometimes granted a meagre pension. Removing these children from the country seemed a simple way of dealing with this financial burden. In 1620, some parents who refused to give permission for their children to be sent away had their relief payments stopped. See Beier (1985: 162–3).
- 71 After persuasion failed, the women were put in solitary confinement on a diet of bread and water for more than a month until they agreed to be transported. The last to be broken was Sarah Cowden who was only twenty-one years old. See Linnane (2003: 184).
- 72 McMullan (1984: 4).
- 73 See Shugg (1977: 305).
- 74 Archer (1991: 219–21) and Martin (2009: 8).
- 75 Martin (2009: 8).
- 76 Linnane (2003: 173, 174).
- 77 Rubenhold (2005: 71).
- 78 Archer (1991: 231–2).
- 79 Griffiths (1993: 54–5).
- 80 See McIntosh (1988: 220–4).
- 81 Pound (1986: 5–10), for instance, has argued that the effects of enclosure may have been overstated and that it should not be categorized as a wholly bad phenomenon.
- 82 For a discussion of engrossing and the legislation attempting to curb it, see Thirsk (1984: 72).
- 83 McIntosh (1988: 218) and Beier (1985: 22).
- 84 Pound (1986: 10, 13–14) and Beier (1985: 20).
- 85 See McIntosh (1988: 219).
- 86 Pound (1986: 12–13).
- 87 See Hughes (2012: 14).

- 88 Boulton (2000: 55–6).
- 89 Linnane (2003: 14–18).
- 90 See Hoskins (1968: 15–31).
- 91 Hughes (2012: 42) notes that up to 80,000 men may have lost their lives in the war and it is likely a large number received life-altering injuries.
- 92 See Shoemaker (1992: 100–1) and Fraser (1984: 193, 267–9). In the broadsheet, *The Character of a Town Misse* (1675: 4), the protagonist pretends she is from a ruined Cavalier family but is really the daughter of a ‘Bumkin, lickt into a Genteel form by Town Conversation’.
- 93 Mistresses constitute a rather grey area of commercial sex and it can be argued that such women were not true prostitutes because they often remained with one man for long stretches of time and, in some cases, probably regarded him with real affection. Chapter 4, Section 4.4 addresses this issue and shows that mistresses were strongly associated in early modern popular discourse with being financially maintained by their lovers.
- 94 Fraser (1984: 394–5). McSheffrey (2006: 182) writes that male marital infidelity became acceptable in the latter half of the fifteenth century but only for men belonging to the landed classes.
- 95 One of the commonest routes to independence was to be bequeathed a lump sum or a pension in a keeper’s will.
- 96 See also Linnane (2003: 125, 135).
- 97 Ibid. (1984: 395 – 6) and Rubenhold (2005: 95).
- 98 Burford (1973: 191–3).
- 99 It was not until 1875, as a result of fears that very young girls were being sold into prostitution, that the age of consent was raised to thirteen and, in 1876, was increased again to the current level of sixteen.
- 100 See Burford and Wotton (1995: 57) and Rubenhold (2005: 219–21).
- 101 See Chaytor (1995: 384). Rape was, for the vast majority of cases, a consequence-free crime in early modern England. Levin and Ward (2008: 4) have written that a man was more likely to be executed for having intercourse with a sheep than for raping a woman.
- 102 Mendelson and Crawford (1998: 4) have written of the public obsession with controlling female sexuality and how women were assessed according to their sexual reputations.
- 103 The inheritance of sexual reputation was not limited to mothers and daughters. Some women were excluded from respectable society because of sexual transgressions by a sister or other female relative. In Cheshire the word ‘tilling’ was used to imply ‘not only a whore but the grandmother of a whore’. See Gowing (1996: 99).
- 104 Rubenhold (2005: 50).
- 105 Sharpe (1984: 115).

- 106 Perhaps the most famous case is that of Elizabeth Canning, a maidservant who disappeared for a month in January 1753 before returning to her mother, wounded, and in a state of extreme emaciation and frailty.
- 107 Levin (1999) has conducted research into the practice of women pleading pregnancy to avoid execution. The 1559–1625 statistics for the home circuit reveal that one third of the women found guilty of a felony claimed to be pregnant. However, as Levin goes on to show, a minority of women were executed after they had given birth and others were detained in gaol for up to seven years awaiting judgement.
- 108 See <http://www.londonlives.org/static/KnightMary.jsp>. [Consulted September 2015].
- 109 For a more detailed investigation of the geography of prostitution in early modern Britain, see McEnery et al. (forthcoming).
- 110 Thompson (1979: 59).
- 111 See Sharpe (1984: 109).
- 112 Ibid. (1984: 114–17) and Archer (1991: 213).
- 113 See McMullan (1987: 121) and Anon. (1675a).
- 114 McMullan (1987: 120–2) and Burford and Wotton (1995: 84).
- 115 Taylor (1635: 17–19, 23, 25, 29, 34).
- 116 Mowry (2004: 409, 410, 412–14).
- 117 Griffiths (1993: 47–8).
- 118 Ibid. (1993: 46).
- 119 See Ibid. (1993: 44–8); McMullan (1987: 128–9, 140); and Archer (1991: 231).
- 120 See Burford (1973: 192) and Burford and Wotton (1995: 60–1).
- 121 See Burford and Wotton (1995: 62, 135) and Rubenhold (2005: 56, 69).
- 122 See Rubenhold (2005: 55, 67–8).
- 123 Ibid. (2005: 44–5).
- 124 Ibid. (2005: 214); Clark (1983a: 236); and Burford (1973: 193, 194–6).
- 125 Burford and Wotton (1995: 71–4).
- 126 Turnbull Street contained many alleys and was densely packed with tenements reaching as high as four stories. By the end of the seventeenth century, the street had seen its wealthier residents flee as lower-class prostitutes and their clients replaced them. Griffiths (2008: 78) has observed that an insult which referenced Turnbull Street was cutting because of its well-known association with brothels. Although there are no direct references to *Turnbull whores* in the EEBO corpus, there are six unambiguous mentions of the street that are directly linked with bawds, whores or bawdy houses. For instance, the insult ‘thou tripe of Turnebull’ is used by Jonson (1641b) in a passage which also references whores, jades and bawds.
- 127 St Antholin’s Church stood on Budge Row which no longer exists but was located between Cheapside and Cannon Street, east of St Paul’s Cathedral. The church was rebuilt after the Great Fire by Sir Christopher Wren but was demolished in 1875 as a result of the Union of Benefices Act.
- 128 See also Shugg (1977: 298).

- 129 Anon (1642: 2).
- 130 Burford and Wotton (1995: 39) have identified it as present-day Kingsway.
- 131 Luthner Lane probably refers to Lewknors Lane, a street running off Drury Lane that is now called Macklin Street. The Cherry Garden in St Martin's-in-the-Fields by Trafalgar Square was an upmarket establishment run by one of several bawds who had opted for the unsubtle pseudonym of Mother Cunny. This particular Mother Cunny was well known for her aggressive manner that ensured the compliance of both her whores and their clients. See Burford and Wotton (1995: 37–41) and Rogers (1972: 78–80).
- 132 Kubek (2010: 457–8) refers to John Dunton's assumption that a 'fine Woman exposed in a Shop' must herself be a commodity.
- 133 Cupid's Garden probably refers to Cuper's Gardens, pleasure gardens opened in the 1680s around what is now the north end of Waterloo Road. The gardens were notorious for the licentious behaviour of their visitors.
- 134 Some mothers acted as bawds to their daughters and sisters sometimes procured clients for one another. See Griffiths (2008: 167).
- 135 McMullan (1984: 123); Linebaugh (1991: 147) and Rubenhold (2005: 293–4).
- 136 McMullan (1984: 125, 130) and Burford (1973: 77–8).
- 137 See Ashton (1983: 14) and Mowry (2004: 107). Griffiths (1993: 46–7), in research on Elizabethan London, found that prostitutes received relatively high fees in bawdy houses but those operating outdoors probably achieved a smaller sum.
- 138 See also McMullan (1984: 8) and Denlinger (2002: 361).
- 139 Burford (1973: 182).
- 140 See Styan (1996: 92–3); Burford (1973: 181–2); and Romack (2009: 5).
- 141 Though Cook (1981: ch. 6) has argued there were economic deterrents in place which discouraged many working men and women from attending the playhouses. Plays were usually staged at 2.00 pm in the afternoon which would have interfered with normal working hours while some Londoners would have struggled to pay the penny admission fee for basic seats.
- 142 Browner (1994: 66).
- 143 Quoted in Thompson (1979: 9).
- 144 See Ashton (1983: 14) and Cook (1981: 203).
- 145 See McMullan (1984: 137–8).
- 146 Burford (1973: 179).
- 147 Ashton (1983: 5).
- 148 Neville's ladies also demanded that 'no round head should dare to come into any of their quarters'; 'no malignant Lady presume to walk in Spring Garden after twelve a clock at night, upon any pretence whatsoever' and that 'every man coupled in the bond of Matrimony and wedlock, he is engaged to content his Mate and fellowfeeler, as often as the strength of his body will permit'. Neville (1647: 3, 5, 11–12) and Eales (1998: 55–6).

- 149 See Ashton (1983: 6).
- 150 See Denlinger (2002: 368) and Burford (1973: 118–19).
- 151 Ashton (1983: 51).
- 152 Fumerton (2002: 493–518) has examined the connection between the increase in alehouses and the upsurge of vagrancy in the early seventeenth century. She concludes the alehouse offered a liberating space to young men, away from domestic spaces that were dominated by the presence of women.
- 153 See Pelzer and Pelzer (1982: 1–3, 8) and Linnane (2003: 95).
- 154 Anon. (1691: 2).
- 155 Anon. (1692: 1).
- 156 See <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1664/09>. [Consulted April 2016]. The phrase *slip a calf* is an expression used when a cow miscarries; hence Pepys is saying that the physicians induced a miscarriage on occasion. While the expression is not common, it is attested in dialect dictionaries; for example, see the first sense of *slip* as a verb in Upton et al. (1994).
- 157 Quoted in Thompson (1979: 160–1).
- 158 Anon. (1675: 4).
- 159 Beier (1985: 54). Paul Griffiths (1998: 220) has shown how concerns about increasing numbers of women abandoning their offspring outside doors or on the streets during the night led to a drive against female nightwalking in the first half of the seventeenth century.
- 160 Sharpe (1984: 61).
- 161 Wrightson (1975: 12, 15–16).
- 162 Linnane (2003: 27).
- 163 Hardening official attitudes towards prostitution in contemporary Europe have been attributed to a rapid spread of venereal disease but scholars are increasingly convinced that a renewed drive, accompanying the Reformation, against sexual activity outside of marriage was more to blame than any sanitary motivations. Official documentation of the time rarely cites the disease as a factor. See Orme (1987: 39–40) and Wiesner-Hanks (2000: 86).
- 164 Burford (1973: 31, 74).
- 165 Linnane (2003: 35). It was not a simple task to gain admittance to the Lock Hospital. Potential patients were required to present a letter of recommendation, signed by a governor of the hospital, and once discharged, a patient could not be readmitted. Although treatment was free of charge, patients were asked to give the sum of £1 11s. 6d. to the hospital. See Henderson (1999: 40).
- 166 See Griffiths (2008: 261–5). Griffiths (2004: 84) has explained how female paupers in sixteenth-century Norwich were often sent to one of the city's lazar houses (which primarily treated leprosy sufferers) when diagnosed with venereal disease.
- 167 Quoted in Burford (1973: 204).
- 168 See Latham (1985: 893–4).

- 169 Quaife (1979: 186) has written that, contrary to the popular assumption that men passed venereal disease to their wives, the most common source of the pox was the wandering married woman on the verge of destitution who turned to prostitution from time to time. However, charges against such a woman may have arisen as an attempt to humiliate her or to embarrass her husband.
- 170 Fraser (1984: 411).
- 171 Ames (1691a: 3, 8, 14).
- 172 Anon (1691: 2).
- 173 Mandell (1992: 116).
- 174 Browner (1994: 58).
- 175 Anon. (1668: 1).
- 176 Henderson (1999: 39).
- 177 Linnane (2003: 27–8). No study has ever established that mercury was an effective treatment. It may have helped syphilitic sores to heal faster, but its impact on the long-term progression of the disease is uncertain. See Grimes et al. (2014: 428) for a brief overview of the use of mercury to treat syphilis.
- 178 Burford (1973: 205).
- 179 Henderson (1999: 39).
- 180 See Burford (1973: 198–9) and Linnane (2003: 30–1).
- 181 Karras (1996: 9).

Chapter 3

- 1 See Nash (1994: ix).
- 2 Clark (1983b: 17–30).
- 3 Woodbridge (2001) roundly rejects rogue literature as a trustworthy source for social history but stresses that its comic depiction of people on the edge of society helped foster harsher attitudes towards the destitute and, therefore, must be taken very seriously. Griffiths (1993: 39, 54), investigating the relationship between early modern archival and literary sources, has argued that many academics have allowed themselves to become overly fixated on the mischief of flamboyant protagonists at the cost of a more measured approach. He concludes that unless literary sources are considered in the light of archival information, they will offer nothing but a corrupt and purely fictional narrative of everyday life.
- 4 Clark (1983b: 25–31).
- 5 Thompson (1979: 8–10).
- 6 See also Freist (1995: 465).
- 7 Thompson (1979: 11–13, 41, 53–4) and Rosenthal (2008: 22).
- 8 See Mowry (2004) for an in-depth discussion of seventeenth-century political pornography. Mowry argues that, despite not taking part in any political action or

revealing mass allegiance to one side or the other, prostitutes were portrayed by Royalists as civil war radicals and used as a symbol of the supposed degradation that would result if the political enfranchisement was expanded.

- 9 If one conducted a poll to find the name of the most celebrated seventeenth-century female intellectual, it would probably be that of Aphra Behn, the talented Restoration playwright. Less well known is Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a prolific author and polymath who published poetry and fiction alongside extensive works in natural philosophy and science. Her utopian novel of 1666, *The Blazing World*, is considered an early example of feminist science fiction. Other women wrote quietly, for instance, producing closet dramas that were never intended to be performed on a public stage but were either presented before a private audience or read aloud among small groups of like-minded women. Lady Jane Lumley authored *The Tragedie of Euripedes called Iphigenia*, one of only a handful of closet dramas which have survived. Written around 1553, it is not only the first known translation of *Iphigenia* into English but the earliest extant dramatic text by an English woman. Lumley was probably a teenager when she produced this work. See Straznicky (2004: ch. 2).
- 10 Thompson (1979: 61–2).
- 11 A second pamphlet also appearing in 1660, *Strange & true Nevves from Jack-a-Newberries Six Windmills: Or the Crafty, impudent, Common-Whore (turned Bawd) Anatomised* includes a further five orders of the chuck office.
- 12 Taylor also wrote another verse portrait entitled *A Bawd: A vertuous Bawd, a modest Bawd: As Shee Deserves, reprove, or else applaud* which has survived by means of a publication of 1635 but was probably written around the same time as *A Common Whore*. See Thompson (1975: 84).
- 13 Reproduced in Amster (2007).
- 14 Thompson (1975: 289–91) and Thompson (1979: 77–8).
- 15 *The Whores Rhetorick* has attracted attention from numerous scholars. Gallagher (1995: 28–9) highlights its emphasis on the prostitute's ability to simulate affection for her clients as the essence of prostitution rather than any exchange of cash. Rosenthal (2006: 30–3) suggests the text's image of a professional and sexually dispassionate prostitute heralded the nascent commercialization of English society in the eighteenth century.
- 16 See Thompson (1979: 34–7).
- 17 Ames (1691a: 2–3, 5, 6, 12).
- 18 Emerson (2002: 48).
- 19 Harris (1986: 537–56).
- 20 Seidel (1972: 437).
- 21 Also see Fouassier-Tate (2014: 84). Stone (1979: 391) has suggested that the apprentices targeted brothels on Shrove Tuesday in order to remove temptation before the beginning of Lent.

- 22 See Latham (1985: 893–4).
- 23 Quoted in Burford and Wotton (1995: 75).
- 24 Turner (2002: 61).
- 25 Harris (1986: 541) and Thompson (1979: 92).
- 26 See Burford and Wotton (1995: 83).
- 27 The 1664 Conventicle Act, which resulted in substantial fines, prison terms and even transportation for religious dissenters, relapsed in 1667 and those it targeted hoped it would be replaced by a bill of toleration. However, cowed by hostility from Anglican squires and clergymen led by Sheldon, Charles II reasserted his Act of Uniformity on 10 March, a few weeks before the Easter week riots.
- 28 Harris (1986: 540, 543–8). Also see Burford and Wooton (1995: 75).
- 29 Mowry (1999: 83).
- 30 Quoted in Archer (1991: 207).
- 31 Shoemaker (1992: 108–10).
- 32 In reality, as we have seen in Chapter 2, some prostitutes were married and had children of their own.
- 33 Griffiths (1993: 40–1) and Fouassier-Tate (2014: 81, 87).
- 34 Genevan prostitutes were ordered to wear red cuffs on their right sleeves and in Switzerland they were distinguished by caps of the same colour. In Toulouse, whores were made to wear armbands and in Avignon they were expected to wear a red rosette. In 1473, the mayor of London, William Hampton, ordered that prostitutes must wear striped hoods and be paraded in public on market days. See Orme (1987: 37–8); Burford (1973: 93–4); and McSheffrey (2006: 179).
- 35 Dunton (1696: vol. 1, no. 4).
- 36 For a discussion of the popular association between cosmetics, prostitution and trickery in the seventeenth century, see Drew-Bear (1975: 31–7).
- 37 Cranley (1635).
- 38 Dunton (1696: October issue). Gowing (1993: 10) has written that whores were believed to be physically recognizable as a result of inappropriate and luxurious clothing, the shape of their noses and their general demeanour. Although we found no collocate that specifically relates to noses, the transient collocates *filthy* and *painted*, discussed in Section 5.4.6, do give a strong indication that the appearances of prostitutes were generally viewed with disdain.
- 39 Also see Burford and Wotton (1995: 80).
- 40 Also see Shoemaker (1991: 292–6); Shoemaker (1992: 108–9, 302–6); and Thompson (1979: 90).
- 41 Henderson (1999: 43–4, 46–7, 101).
- 42 See McEnery (2006: 76–9); Shoemaker (1992: 100); and Bahlman (1957: ch. 2).
- 43 McEnery (2006: 76–9, 89); Shoemaker (1991: 248); and Shoemaker (1992: 101–2, 105–6).

- 44 There was a distinction between a bawd who ran a closed household brothel and those who kept a disorderly house. The latter rented rooms to 'pennyrent whores' living in lodging houses, discussed in Chapter 2, that sometimes housed dozens of similar women. This living and working space varied in quality, sometimes being smartly decorated and furnished but, more commonly, consisting of a single room in a slum tenement. A disorderly house was loosely defined as a house in which indecent or corrupting behaviour took place so might also refer to an unlicensed alehouse or a gambling den.
- 45 Linebaugh (1991: 58); Linnane (2003: 175); and Shoemaker (1991: 134). Also see Anon. (1698).
- 46 Woodward (1700: vi).
- 47 McEnery (2006: 89); Bahlman (1957: 47–50); Shoemaker (1991: 252–60); and Shoemaker (1992: 114–15).
- 48 Quoted in Norton, *The Gay Subculture in Georgian England*. Updated 23 May 2013 <http://rictornorton.co.uk/subcult.htm>. [Consulted December 2015].
- 49 Shoemaker (1991: 261–2).
- 50 McEnery (2006: 93–5); Bahlman (1957: 83–92); and Henderson (1999: 89).
- 51 Linebaugh (1991: 147).
- 52 Ibid. (1991: 341).
- 53 The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913 <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17200907-18&div=t17200907-18&terms=whore#highlight>. [Consulted September 2015].
- 54 The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913 <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t16950403-9&div=t16950403-9&terms=whore#highlight>. [Consulted September 2015].
- 55 The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913 <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17270830-40&div=t17270830-40&terms=whore#highlight>. [Consulted September 2015].
- 56 *London Lives 1690-1800 – Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* is an excellent starting place for historians of crime in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London. Co-directed by Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, the website is a searchable database of 240,000 manuscripts from eight archives and fifteen datasets created by other projects. *London Lives* provides a relatively effortless opportunity to search for over 3.35 million individuals and, in many cases, link together records of the same person in order to compile their criminal biographies. <http://www.londonlives.org/>.
- 57 *London Lives 1690-1800* <http://www.londonlives.org/static/WalkerCharlotte1806.jsp>. [Consulted September 2015].
- 58 Linebaugh (1991: 47).
- 59 It is unlikely most prostitutes were able to take advantage of their pregnancies. Bearing a child was usually regarded as a disaster for whores and, as we saw in

- Chapter 2, the mortality rate for the babies of such women was markedly high. See Linebaugh (1991: 147).
- 60 Fraser (1984: 197).
 - 61 McMullan (1984: 1–3, 15). A cony-catcher was a conman who, often looking the part of the respectable gentleman, sought out a naïve pedestrian or ‘cony’ to trick. The word ‘cony’ (sometimes spelt ‘conny’ or ‘coney’) means a tame rabbit that is raised to be eaten. The cony-catcher employed the methods of a confidence trickster and often made his cash by means of gaming or cheating at dice.
 - 62 Griffiths (2008: 8) believes that magistrates may have deliberately embellished London’s reputation for lawlessness in order to encourage inhabitants to contribute greater amounts to the public purse.
 - 63 Authors of rogue pamphlets of the mid-sixteenth century also promoted their work as being morally beneficial: Bayman (2007: 2–3) has described how these pamphlets maintained a solemn tone and insisted that their ultimate priority was to educate their readers of the practices of tricksters in order to enable them to protect themselves.
 - 64 *Antimoixeia: or, the Honest and Joynt-Design of the Tower-Hamblets for the General Suppression of Bawdy-Houses, as Incouraged by the Publick Magistrates* (1691), quoted in Shoemaker (1991: 249).
 - 65 See also Archer (1991: 215) and Sharpe (1984: 117).
 - 66 Robert Greene has described the trick of crossbiting: a whore persuades a potential client to buy her a drink at a tavern and the couple are then accosted by the former’s ‘husband’ who is full of indignation to see them together. The hapless client willingly pays forty shillings just to escape the situation. See *A Notable Discouery of Coosnage* (1591), quoted in Shugg (1977: 301).
 - 67 Archer (1991: 208) and McMullan (1984: 131–4).
 - 68 Quoted in Griffiths (1993: 51).
 - 69 Henderson (1999: 187) has described how, by the middle of the latter half of the eighteenth century, a standard story had emerged concerning fallen women. Such a woman was born into a respectable but poor household: her father was usually a half-pay army officer or a clergyman. After succumbing to the attentions of a wealthy seducer, she is disowned by her family and accompanies her lover to London. Growing bored after a few months, he abandons her in lodgings she later realizes are operating as a brothel. She owes the bawd money for her lodgings and food so has no option but to take her first customer. The bawd continues to force as many clients on her as she can find and the girl’s health and beauty rapidly deteriorate. Becoming reliant upon alcohol, she is thrown out of the bawdy house and becomes a destitute streetwalker but is not beyond redemption.
 - 70 Nevala & Hintikka (2009), comparing the language of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts about prostitution, found that the latter tended to present commercial sex as a social evil and presented prostitutes themselves as victims of the trade.
 - 71 McEnery (2006: 99).

Chapter 4

- 1 Throughout note that our focus will be on nouns. While these nouns can be turned into adjectives – for example, *whore* to *whorish* – we will not look at these adjectival forms. Our focus in this book is on social actors – hence our interest lies in nouns used to refer to these actors as we want to look at their representation as directly as possible. Note, however, that even when focusing on nouns, similes and insults, we do not always see the social actors we are interested in referred to directly, as will be shown in Section 5.4.9. We also need, at times, to set aside verbs, as will be discussed shortly.
- 2 Another means of accessing the *OED* is via its thesaurus function. This is not used here for reasons that will be explored briefly in Chapter 7 of this book.
- 3 After this book was submitted, Jonathan Green very generously made an electronic version of the dictionary available to us. While we received it too late to be used in this book, we have no doubt that this exceptionally useful resource will be of great value to scholars engaged in work similar to ours in the future.
- 4 See <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/projects/newsbooks/dict.htm> for early work using this publication to discover slang terms of the period.
- 5 Nevala & Hintikka (2009) have taken a similar approach in a paper investigating changes in prostitute terminology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their research concentrates on thirteen pamphlets published between 1630 and 1760 that are available in EEBO and the Eighteenth Century Collection Online (ECCO).
- 6 When lifting text from the Early English Books Online corpus, we have reproduced all quotations verbatim; this includes the retention of original spellings and punctuation.
- 7 Taylor (1642). While ambiguous we feel this may be a reference to prostitution.
- 8 Crown (1675a). While ambiguous we feel this may be a reference to prostitution.
- 9 Motteux (1696). While ambiguous we feel this may be a reference to prostitution.
- 10 Refers to female sexual transgressors in general, including bawds. See, for example, Heywood (1637). The word can broadly be applied to any collection of women – for example, in ‘the sisterhood at Billingsgate’, the women being referred to appear to be scolds. See Edwards (1697).
- 11 We used the Log Ratio statistic, with a window of ± 5 and a minimum co-occurrence of ten and collocate node frequency of ten to determine collocates in this case.
- 12 The reader may be wondering at this stage whether the word *hydra* is an exception here. It is not. None of the examples of *monster* collocating with *hydra* refer to prostitution simply because no examples of *hydra* refer to prostitution.
- 13 Niccols (1607).

- 14 Aylett (1623).
- 15 The corpus contains 22,855 examples of this word as a noun in 4,289 texts.
- 16 The corpus contains 1,536 examples of this word as a noun in 1,003 texts.
- 17 The word *cracks* as a noun was also investigated. The corpus contains 994 examples in 709 texts of this word as a noun. No collocates of this word indicates a use of the word to refer to a prostitute.
- 18 The word *commodity* as a noun was also investigated. The corpus contains 12,094 examples of the word in 3,604 texts. No collocates of this word indicates a use of the word to refer to a prostitute.
- 19 The word *misses* as a noun was also investigated. The corpus contains 459 examples of the word in 334 texts. This word is productive and is discussed in the main text.
- 20 The corpus contains 10,573 examples of *traffic* as a noun in 3,221 different texts.
- 21 While *intercourse* may look like a collocate which might indicate sexual activity, the meaning of *intercourse* relating to *traffic* in EEBO relates to trade, not sex, as in the following example from Galvão (1601): 'The renewing again, after many years disturbance, of the traffic and intercourse of The East Indie.'
- 22 Bouhours (1688).
- 23 A ninth example, *Miss of London Town* is clearly linked to this pattern also. See Anon. (1682a). Note that this *miss of* pattern is well attested in the dictionaries used.
- 24 Note that neither the *OED* nor the *Chambers Dictionary of Slang* covers this meaning of *miss of the town* that is, as a woman who buys sex.
- 25 Anon. (1690).
- 26 Chamberlayne (1678).
- 27 Anon. (1675).
- 28 *Keeping* collocates with *misses* 17 times in 7 texts; *keep* collocates with *misses* 11 times in 7 texts.
- 29 Bohun (1693).
- 30 Brown (1690).
- 31 Shannon (1689).
- 32 Sallust (1692).
- 33 Shannon (1689).
- 34 Tryon (1684).
- 35 Shannon (1689).
- 36 Sedley (1668).
- 37 Brome (1659).
- 38 Cavendish (1664).
- 39 Author of *Teaqueland Jests* (1689).
- 40 In searching for the plural of *person*, both *people* and *persons* were searched for.

- 41 W. P. (1677) is especially interesting in suggesting a distinction between a *kind woman* and a *whore*.
- 42 Flecknoe (1665).
- 43 De Blégnny (1676).
- 44 Diogenes Laertius (1688).
- 45 Anon. (1697).
- 46 The pattern is also attested in both dictionary sources.
- 47 J. W. (1698).
- 48 Leti (1685).
- 49 Rich (1618).
- 50 R. B. (1695).
- 51 See Considine (2008) for an excellent overview of the history of dictionary making in general. Considine (2008: 299–306) also covers Wilkins' work in the broader context of European dictionary development in the seventeenth century.
- 52 Considine (2008: 301).
- 53 If we look at earlier dictionaries, we find *strumpet* defined simply as *whore* in Timothy Bright's 1588 work *Charactery: An Art of Short, Swift, and Secret Writing by Character*.
- 54 Note that the word *nag* is another word which may have extended its meaning metaphorically from woman to prostitute.
- 55 Jevon (1686).
- 56 Anon. (1681).
- 57 Anon. (1690).
- 58 Anon. (1681).
- 59 See Williams (1994: 208).
- 60 In this argument we are following lines similar to those explored by Geeraerts (2006).
- 61 This is a point to be kept in mind for when we explore the collocates of *WHORE* later in the book as this may also make some sense of the collocation of *WHORE* with other words denoting prostitute.
- 62 Heywood (1636).
- 63 Lover of ha, ha, he (1674) and Duffett (1675).
- 64 Anon. (1692).
- 65 Anon. [between 1680 and 1689].
- 66 Horace (1565); Ridley (1548); and Norris (1683).
- 67 It would seem in this case that the Drab is not giving what is being paid for as she appears to be chaste.
- 68 Parrot (1606) and Heywood and Rowley (1655).
- 69 In each case, any variants of the word are counted together; for example, *night walker* and *nightwalker* both contribute to the frequency of the word *nightwalker*.

Also, for words such as *whore* and *prostitute* we are looking at the nominal, not verbal, form of the word.

- 70 We would like to thank Dr Vaclav Brezina for his help in preparing the candlestick plots and correlation tests in this chapter.

Chapter 5

- 1 We discuss the rationale for the decade-based approach in Section 1.2.
- 2 Note that in principle this procedure can work with phrases such as ‘she friend’. However, as shown in Chapter 4, no phrases of this sort were frequent enough to support the detailed analysis pursued in this chapter.
- 3 There are 7.5 uses of *STRUMPET* per million words in the 1630s versus a mention of 3.7 per million words in the 1640s.
- 4 The procedure used in this chapter to explore collocation is outlined in Section 5.3.
- 5 Another possible explanation for the difference – there is less data in the 1640s than the 1630s hence there are fewer collocates – is not true. As will be shown later in the chapter, there is, in fact, more data in the 1640s than the 1630s. See Section 6.1 for a fuller discussion of this point.
- 6 Taavitsainen and Jucker (2003: 12) have discussed the difference between *ye* and *thou* in early modern texts. *Thou* is presented as a term usually used to address social equals or inferiors and in more informal situations.
- 7 Salmon (1647).
- 8 Archer (1991: 251–3) and Fouassier-Tate (2014: 78) have shown how prostitution was used as a weapon with which to attack the Catholic Church in the early modern period.
- 9 Sutcliffe (1602).
- 10 The EEBO v3 corpus is not marked up for genre. However, from initial work done by the authors we estimate that there is a preponderance of religious material in the data – texts concerning religion appear to make up at least half of the corpus. This is unsurprising given the salience of religion in seventeenth-century life. Readers should be aware that this focus on religion pervades not only the corpus, but findings based on it also.
- 11 It has been reported that an evaluation of the system showed it to work with 83 per cent accuracy on Early Modern English; Paul Rayson, personal communication.
- 12 Note that while we also use one label for religion in this chapter, as discussed our label applies only to religious allegories surrounding whoredom – not to the whole of religion itself.
- 13 Note that we will not repeat the discussion of near synonyms here from Chapter 4, Section 4.4, though that analysis should be kept in mind throughout this chapter.

- 14 Crashaw (1609).
- 15 Ness (1683).
- 16 Taylor (1630).
- 17 Mill (1640).
- 18 Ford (1629); Penn (1673); and Peyton et al. (1696). Note none of these examples refer to the Whore of Babylon.
- 19 There is a strong argument to say that 'play the whore' is almost a fixed expression – 67.6 per cent of the time when *PLAY* collocates with *WHORE* it occurs in this pattern in the data.
- 20 Durham et al. (1676); Anon. (1683a); and Shaw (1683).
- 21 Crown (1675b) and Brome (1659).
- 22 The one concession we must make here is to reduce the threshold at which we declare something to be a collocate as there is less data available for this pattern. As a result, the collocation calculation is the same as used elsewhere in this chapter with the exception that collocates must only appear with the phrase five times, not ten, to be considered a candidate collocate.
- 23 Lenton (1640).
- 24 Taylor (1630); Dekker (1604); and Dekker (1630).
- 25 Note in this context that the phrase 'play the whore' takes on an ambiguity – it is not necessarily clear whether the phrase refers to the wife acting like a whore because she is engaged in extramarital sex or whether it indicates that the wife is 'playing the whore' as a true whore would, for example, there is a payment involved. In many cases, either reading could be plausible, but it seems likely that infidelity is a more likely answer than prostitution.
- 26 Anon. (1697); Jonson (1641a); and Lover of ha, ha, he (1674).
- 27 Note that the consistent collocate *you*, which is not considered here as we are only looking at content words, is clearly linked to the insult category and could reasonably have been put in it. In the L1, L2 and L3 positions, *you* typically only collocates with *whore* as it is being used to form an insult, such as 'you whore', 'you damned whore' or 'you are a whore'.
- 28 Jackson (1625); Maton (1652); and Dekker (1609).
- 29 BNC texts A0R 1771, HJC and KC2.
- 30 Gouge (1632).
- 31 West (1607).

Chapter 6

- 1 For readers familiar with the Log Ratio statistic, it is worth noting that this effect may be expected as Log Ratio uses log-likelihood as a collocation filter, and

Log Ratio relies directly on the amount of evidence we have in the data, that is, as described the more evidence, the more collocates.

- 2 One word in the Disease category, *pox*, is ambiguous – collocating to the right of *WHORE* it relates to disease. This covers the majority of cases of the word collocating with *WHORE*. However, collocating to the left, *pox* is generally, though not exclusively, an insult.
- 3 Porter (1664) and Cavendish (1662).
- 4 Dixon (1683); Phillips (1685); and Leyburn (1662).
- 5 To give a little context, the phrases *harlots house*, *whores house*, *bawdy house* and *brothel* occur 65, 7, 204 and 380 times respectively in the seventeenth century in the EEBO corpus.
- 6 Seller (1611) and Hutcheson (1691).

Note that the inclusion of lovers as a word referring to intercourse is heavily influenced by Jeremiah (3.1) in the Bible where the phrase quoted occurs. See the later discussion of *house of harlots* and the Money collocates for a further discussion of such phrases being taken from the Bible.
- 7 In the following the claims are based on verses in the King James Bible.
- 8 There are forty-eight uses of *harlot* and eight of *harlots* in the King James Bible. Joshua (2.1), Joshua (6.22) and Jeremiah (5.7) discuss harlots and their houses in one form or another. By way of comparison, there are sixty-five mentions of *whore* and two of *whores*.
- 9 Cressy (1668). As a general note, we concede that there may be another interpretation of substance that would be possible. If that were to be the case, a new semantic field would be spawned. We decided, on balance, not to generate a new field in a case that we thought to be ambiguous, but which could be plausibly dealt with by the scheme we had developed.
- 10 Griffiths (2008: 205, 207, 209) has shown that only one-quarter of Bridewell residents who were described as *lewd* were female in the 1570s. By the turn of the century, this had increased to over 57.4 per cent and, by 1635, had risen to 94.69 per cent. Similarly, there was a fourfold increase in the ratios of women who were labelled *disorderly*. Griffiths advises against the assumption that *lewd* had a sexual meaning, instead arguing that it was used to describe any kind of transgressive lifestyle, including brawling, heavy drinking and theft. He notes that its inclusion in the language of the Infanticide Act of 1624 influenced labelling practices. Our analysis suggests that *lewd*, being a collocate of *whore* and *prostitute*, was often intended to highlight perceived sexual immorality during the seventeenth century.
- 11 Ames (1691a).
- 12 Menton (1698).
- 13 There are six occurrences of *town jilt* in EEBO.
- 14 Ames (1691b).

Chapter 7

- 1 Specifically Koselleck (2002, 2004).
- 2 Withington (2010: 75).
- 3 See Withington (2010: 75). Note also that Williams' concept of the keyword is quite distinct from that presented in this book. Williams' selection of keywords appears to be highly subjective, as opposed to the process of objectively identifying keywords used in this book.
- 4 Note that the *OED* also notes that prostitute could occur as a noun in the century.
- 5 See Karras (1996: 8–9) for a discussion of this.
- 6 See <http://www.oed.com/thesaurus>.