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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Feminist Views of the Fallen Woman:
From Hrotsvit of Gandersheim to Rebecca Prichard

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Drama

by

Lauren Gray McCue

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Bryan Reynolds, Chair
Professor Ketu H. Katrak
Professor Emily Roxworthy
Professor Mark Le Vine
Professor Anthony Kubiak

2015

DEDICATION

For my parents
who taught me the value of education
and encouraged my insatiable curiosity
and
Adam
whose brilliance and steadfast belief in my work
gave me the strength to bring my project to fruition

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From Hrosvit of Gandersheim to Rebecca Prichard

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Feminist Views of the Fallen Woman:
From Hrotsvit of Gandersheim to Rebecca Prichard

By

Lauren Gray McCue

Doctor of Philosophy in Drama

University of California, Irvine, 2015

Professor Bryan Reynolds, Chair

This dissertation recovers women playwrights' examples of prostitution and severe forms of sex trafficking with the aim of providing a more comprehensive and diverse selection of theatrical materials that focus on the sex industry. I assert that the first western woman playwright, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, authored three plays about prostitution (*Abraham*, *Paphnutius*, and *Callimachus*) that deserve inclusion in the western canon of drama because they influence popular portrayals of the figure of the fallen woman prostitute in Alexandre Dumas fils' *The Lady of the Camellias* (1852), Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1893), Eugene O'Neill's *Anna Christie* (1922), and Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947). Moreover, they are essential to our understanding of plays about gender based violence and the fallen woman genre within the larger arc of theatre history. Chapter 1 tracks the containment strategies that American and European societies employed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to control prostitution and abolish white slavery. Chapter 2 develops the virgin/whore dichotomy as a theoretical lens through which I examine how the theatrical figure of the fallen woman is categorized, made vulnerable to gender based violence, and punished for prostitution to uphold a sexual and moral double standard. Chapter 3 focuses on tracing the four characteristics of a new dramatic figure, what I term the "sex trafficked been-to," in Lucy Kirkwood's *it felt empty when the heart went at first but it is alright now*, Rebecca Prichard's *Dream Pill*, Cora Bissett and Stef Smith's *ROADKILL*, and Catherine Cunningham-Huston's *The Walk*. The "sex trafficked been-to" is (1) sex trafficked to either Italy or the UK; (2) originates in poor and rural areas of Nigeria; (3) is affected by liminal states and the blood oaths of juju ceremonies; and (4) is based on the backgrounds and testimonials of sex trafficking survivors. In contrast to the fallen woman who turns to God for redemption or the passive white slave awaiting heroic male rescue, the sex trafficked been-to has the self-determination to seek alternative futures, such as escaping from captivity and requesting political asylum.

INTRODUCTION

Representations of gender based violence and prostitution (forced and consensual) in western theatre

The figure of the prostitute has continued to fascinate European and American playwrights, librettists, and performance practitioners since the 5th century B.C., appearing in a multitude of plays, musicals, and performances. Documentation on prostitutes generally situates them as working on stage,¹ amongst audiences,² and/or comingling around and within European and American theatres.³ Note that Katie N. Johnson and Kristen Pullen,⁴ among others, dispute the idea that actresses are either promiscuous and/or prostitutes, and while the conflation of actress and prostitute tarnishes the morality of the acting reputation, evidence of sexual exchanges between actresses and spectators (fictional or otherwise) has contributed to popular associations between the theatre and brothel. A book-length examination of the prostitute in connection with the theatre is conspicuously absent from scholarship despite an abundant amount of literary material that speaks to the prominent presence of the prostitute front and center within the history of theatre. Extant scholarship is limited to periodization, such as early modern England (Cook, 1977; Haselkorn, 1983; Lenz, 1993; Dollimore, 1994; Burnett, 1998; Newman, 2007; Varholý, 2008; Salkeld, 2012), Restoration in England (Maus, 1979; Pearson, 1988; Hughes and Todd, 2004; Pullen, 2005), and the Progressive Era (1890s-1920s) in America (Johnson 2006; Minsky, 2013; Antoniazzi, 2014; Johnson, 2015), or a single setting such as the third tiers in nineteenth-century American theatres (Johnson 1975). Significantly, to the best of my knowledge, there are no comprehensive studies of prostitution and the theatre post-WWII. This study contributes to this absence.

Men author the majority of mid-twentieth-century western plays and musicals about or featuring prostitution (see Figure 1.1). Organizations subsequently awarded many of these plays

and musicals accolades and theatre scholars incorporated them into the dramatic canon, which explains the reason academic research on the prostitution genre in theatre tends to privilege male-authored accounts of historical prostitution or dramatic representations of prostitutes (typically represented as female) via the gaze of male playwrights. I provide a survey of full-length canonical plays featuring prostitution (published 1930-1965) included in popular drama anthologies (published 1981-2013).⁵ This review of western plays and musicals from the 1930s through mid-1960s represents a selection of a larger body of theatrical literature about prostitution from this period that necessitates future research, however in gathering these materials in one place I show that male-authored plays and musicals comprised the bulk of the prostitution genre until the 1970s.

I. *Where are the women playwrights?: western plays about prostitution pre-1970s*

Curiosity about women-authored representations of prostitution and their overall exclusion from the canon of western drama inspired me to trace women playwrights' contributions to the prostitution genre. This study argues that even though women in comparison to men author fewer plays about prostitution pre-1970s, these early women playwrights express a keen interest in the figure of the female prostitute. It is significant, for example, that the first accredited woman playwright Hrotsvit of Gandersheim (935-1002)⁶ is also the first female author of plays about prostitution. Her work, however, remained unknown throughout the late 15th century and remains obscure in the 21st century. While her work was unavailable in English translation until 1923, Gandersheim's plays only started to receive attention in the 1970s as feminists sought to recover the historically marginalized voices of women authors, which in turn provided important insights into the gender based violence of the medieval period. I argue in

chapter two that her inclusion in the western canon of drama is instrumental to our understanding of gender based violence and prostitution within the arc of theatre history. Remarkably, 700 years passed before Aphra Behn (1640-1689) authored her plays on prostitution, an astonishing historical gap at which Sue-Ellen Case marvels (Case 1988: 36). In chapter one, I provide a brief overview of Behn's plays about prostitution and claim that she contributes, like Hrotsvit, to the larger arc of western plays that locate prostitution and gender based violence on a continuum.

Rachel Crothers is another notable woman author of a key play about forced prostitution (white slavery) entitled *Ourselves* (1913). Katie N. Johnson in her book *Sisters in Sin* (2006) identifies *Ourselves* as one of three Progressive Era American white slave plays penned by a woman and argues that it is the only play out of the three to be produced. Scholarly interest in *Ourselves* is a recent phenomenon spearheaded by Johnson's research on brothel dramas.⁷ She provides an analysis of the play in both her aforementioned book and 2015 anthology *Sex for Sale: Six Progressive-Era Brothel Dramas*. Johnson's work, in general, contributes greatly to the limited body of scholarship on Progressive Era (1890s-1920s) American plays about prostitution. Particularly helpful are the "seven new archetypes," that she identifies in brothel dramas: "the performing woman, the shop girl, the madam, the white slave, the prostitute fatale, the legitimate courtesan, and the lesbian prostitute" (10). The expansion of the taxonomy of the dramatic prostitute during the Progressive Era contributes to a better understanding of prostitute having the capacity to have differing subjectivities.

II. *Where are the women playwrights?: western plays about prostitution and sex work post-1970s*

Betty Friedan's general reporting of female dissatisfaction with socially prescribed gender roles in her famous 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* helped to instigate the Second Wave of feminism, which was essential to the development of plays about invisible forms of gender based violence. For it was second-wave feminism that enabled feminist consciousness-raising groups,⁸ which offered environments where many women felt comfortable enough to disclose, often for the first time, their personal experiences of gender inequality and sexual violence. These consciousness-raising groups, in turn, inspired survivors of gender based violence and women playwrights (not necessarily mutually exclusive figures) to write about their experiences. In the late 1970s and early 80s, women dramatize for the first time incest (see Figure 1.2), domestic violence (see Figure 1.3), hardcore pornography (see Figure 1.4), and broaden their portrayals of prostitution to include all sex work (see Figure 1.5). A review of these Figures show that some of the plays about prostitution, pornography, and erotic dance (i.e. sex work) illustrate a continuum of gender based violence where, for instance, domestic violence causes the female protagonist to become a sex worker.

Concurrent with these dramatic representations of sex work is the emergence of the feminist sex wars or porn wars. On one side of the battle were pro-porn, sex-positive feminists (Leigh, Rubin, Willis, Allison, Queen, Sprinkle, etc.), and on the other side were anti-porn, anti-prostitution feminists (Dworkin, MacKinnon, Barry, Steinem, Brownmiller, Griffin, etc.). Sex positive feminists embrace different genders, sexualities, and desires with acceptance. They stress the importance of sex education and self-awareness about one's own body, and they are against sexual violence. There are many people involved in the sex industry who identify as sex

positive, and who are in favor of adopting new terminologies to describe the vast array of jobs within the sex industry.

In 1978, Carol Leigh's term of "sex worker" provides an alternative to the derogatory labels of "prostitute" and "prostituted woman."⁹ She unites several sectors of the sex industry (erotic dance, pornography models and actors, prostitution, phone sex operators, web cam sex, and live sex show performers) in sex-positive feminist camaraderie. She coined the term "sex worker" after listening to radical feminists reference her work as part of the "Sex Use Industry." Sex positive sex workers reject radical feminist labels such as "used object" and "victim" because they identify as autonomous individuals who choose to sell sexual services (not their bodies or selves). They also campaign for the legalization of all sex work and increased rights for sex workers (including medical and retirement benefits). Interestingly, according to former sex worker Tracy Quan, when Leigh is questioned as to why she titles her autobiographical book *Unrepentant Whore* (2004) instead of *Unrepentant Sex Worker*, she explains:

I never imagined it would become the only term we could use to refer to prostitutes. As a matter of fact, sex worker describes the entire range. It helps unify peep show dancer, strippers, and prostitutes. Prior to this, other workers in the sex industry would not identify with prostitutes. (342)

Progressive-Era treating and charity girls in America, for instance, resisted the label of prostitute since they exchanged sex acts for material goods as opposed to money (see chapter one).

In creating an umbrella term for all forms of sex work, Leigh encourages women in the sex industry to form a stronger female community, which reflects the six dramatizations of sex work from 1978 to 1987 that I trace in this section. The early 1980s economic recession in America under Ronald Regan and in the UK under Margaret Thatcher is another significant theme that figures prominently in these plays, especially Paula Vogel's *The Oldest Profession* and Kay Adshead's *Thatcher's Women*. The central protagonist in every play is seduced by

gainful employment and views sex work as a superior alternative to poverty, pink-collar jobs, marriage, domestic violence, and non-flexible employers who dismiss the childcare needs of single mothers. In these plays, the female characters are united in their demands for retirement and healthcare; the latter Caroline Kava presents in *The Early Girl* as a benefit, not without costs, of working in the regulated environment of a brothel. Significantly these women playwrights frame sex work performed to satisfy economic needs as moral and focus on the similarities between non-sex workers and sex workers.

In the plays under discussion in this section, theatrical representations of sex workers that counter old stereotypes of the young, coerced victim or the abject, immoral, corruptor of the heterosexual family unit become common. In 1978 Italian feminist Dacia Maraini, for instance, authors *Dialogue Between a Prostitute and Her Client*, in which the prostitute figure, Manila, is university educated and believes prostitution is a better job than being “a full time whore” (wife), “whore in an office” (typist), or a “shop whore” (store clerk) (301). The playwright Maraini employs the character Manila and the theatrical device of direct address to question men’s self-identification as experts on prostitutes, their objectification of women (their view of the female body as “chopped up and idolized in pieces” (297)), and their use of verbal abuse and physical intimidation to subjugate women. Manila’s client, for instance, purposefully underpays, as he wants to illustrate that every prostitute needs a male protector (e.g. pimp, client, boyfriend). She disproves his claim when she immediately calls on her female community of fellow prostitutes to retrieve her lost earnings.

Another feminist playwright, Paula Vogel, also adds to the body of plays and performances that provide alternative constructions of the sex worker. She dramatizes, for instance, the experiences of older sex workers aged 72-83 in her 1980 play *The Oldest*

Profession. Vogel's inspiration for her play came through listening to her grandmother's and four great-aunts' narratives about the legal red-light district of New Orleans (known as "Storyville" or "the District") that existed from January 1, 1898 through November 12, 1917.¹⁰ In a playful, sex-positive move, she named the sex workers in her play after her non-sex working, deceased female relatives and set the play in 1980s Manhattan at the beginning of Regan's presidency and an economic recession. In the play, Vogel contrasts the female characters' experiences of street prostitution in 1980s Manhattan with their positive memories of working in Storyville. Narratives about the latter reflect feelings of community and self-respect, which are absent from their observations of competitive and sometimes dangerous street prostitution in New York (139). Like Vogel's characters, the nonfictional and oldest-known sex workers (age 70) in Amsterdam, identical twin sisters Louise and Martine Fokkens, claim that there is no longer a "sense of community" among working women.¹¹ Vogel constructs the younger and faster sex workers as willing to work in isolation and dangerous conditions for anonymous johns, which, in turn, negatively affects older sex workers' working conditions. Vogel argues that sex work is driven by economics and maintains that there are no good economic alternatives or benefits for sex workers who need to retire. In the case of the recently retired Fokkens sisters, they do not have retirement benefits or savings (only state pensions). They hope to survive off the earnings of a book and movie about their lives as the oldest sex workers in Amsterdam.

Published in 1983 at the height of the feminist sex wars, Caroline Kava's play *The Early Girl* offers unbiased viewpoints on brothel prostitution in the Midwest. Kava expresses that she occupies a neutral position in the writing of her play, "Although the house of prostitution at work in the play is a documentary representation, the play itself is not intended as an exposé of that

profession, nor does it presume to make any judgment of the women and men who may be so engaged.” Following the tradition of the Progressive-Era brothel genre in America identified by Johnson, Kava employs a feminist research methodology to create her play. Specifically, she spends three days and nights observing and interacting with the working girls of a house of prostitution in the Midwest. Kava learns from her time cohabitating with sex workers that they have the same qualities as women with jobs outside the sex industry.

On the one hand, dramatizations of brothel prostitution in Kava’s play counter the following negative stereotypes: all working girls are drug-addicted, uneducated, without alternative job opportunities outside the sex industry, and controlled by a pimp or abusive significant other. On the other hand, Kava depicts the unpleasant realities of brothel prostitution that anti-prostitution activists categorize as exploitative practices. These practices enforce a sexual double standard as evidenced by the mandatory weekly genital exams and blood tests for working girls, but not for johns, and the brothel rules that forbid working girls from traveling more than a hundred mile radius outside of town. *The Early Girl* shows that some working girls are unhappy and want to exit prostitution, such as the “reluctant protagonist” Jean, a former English major at UCLA, while other working girls, such as the character Pat, enjoy life at the brothel. Kava depicts a range of acts that constitute gender based violence that can proceed or occur during brothel prostitution such as lack of affordable childcare and well-paying yet flexible jobs for single mothers, as well as physically and verbally abusive johns. The difficulty of exiting the sex industry becomes apparent in the play when the “new girl” and single mom Lily rethinks her steadfast plan to work only a month in prostitution. It is only with the help of fellow working girls that Lily leaves and returns to her daughter suggesting both the importance of a

supportive environment for working girls and the financially seductive component of prostitution for economically disadvantaged women.

In 1984, British playwright Jacqueline Rudet illustrates the “sexploitation” of black female sex workers in *Money To Live*. Gabriele Griffin employs the term “sexploitation,” meaning “women’s exploitation because of their sex and women’s exploitation through their sex, that is their genitalia,” to discuss representations of black sex workers in Rudet’s play (198). The author’s dramatization of the strippers, Judy and Charlene, suggests that some erotic dancers are in control of their sexual performance and use their bodies (“genitalia”) to trick men (their exploiters) out of money. She does, however, acknowledge the problem of gender based violence and questions the degree to which legally and socially sanctioned sex work encourages violence. As Griffin points out, Rudet does not condone sex work in her play, but she also does not “offer a solution to the deeply ingrained gendered relations and unequal economic conditions that foster sex-working” (202).

In 1986, Vogel reimagines Shakespeare’s character of Desdemona as a sex worker in *Desdemona: A Play About a Handkerchief*.¹² Vogel’s unconventional readings of sex work trouble stereotypical, fictional constructions of the innocent forced sex worker and challenge our narrow understanding of non-sex workers as the only possible victims of gender based violence. It is important that feminist playwrights, like Vogel, dramatize sex workers’ experiences of violence because international debates over which prostitution policies reduce violence against women prefer to focus on forced prostitutes’ instead of sex workers’ experiences of sexual violence.¹³

British playwright Kay Adshad adds to these unconventional readings of sex work through her dramatizations of ordinary working-class women who turn to part-time prostitution

to support their families when they lose their tinned-meat-pudding factory jobs. The female characters in her play *Thatcher's Women* (1987), Marje, Norah, and Lynda, are loosely based on real, destitute housewives and mothers from England and Scotland that came to London to engage in temporary prostitution, as a result of the UK's economic recession in the 1980s. Notably, this recession begins after Margaret Thatcher becomes Prime Minister of Britain in 1979. The regular sex workers of King's Cross, argues Adshead, called these part-time down-and-out sex workers "Thatcher's women" because they were the product of the poverty caused by Thatcherism (49). Adshead contests the notion that prostitution is immoral and instead illustrates the economic conditions that can drive any woman to engage in sex work. Economic conditions, especially unemployment, can also result in domestic violence. Adshead portrays the character of the unemployed husband (Del) beating his recently laid-off wife (Marje) after the electricity is cut off in their family home (19-20). Marje turns to part-time prostitution as a lucrative, safe, and temporary fix to poverty and domestic violence, but instead endures a john's brutal beating (Man on Common) and an attempted rape by a police constable (Police Constable). Significantly, Adshead's choice to have the actor who plays Marje's abusive husband "Del" double as the physically violent "Man on Common" locates domestic abuse and the physical mistreatment of prostitutes on a continuum of violence against women. Together these plays work against what sex workers term "pity porn" (i.e. depictions of sex workers without agency), however they also acknowledge that sex workers, like many other women, experience gender based violence.

III. *Marriage and pornography as prostitution*

Anti-porn and anti-prostitution feminists, also known as radical feminists, are opposed to

sex positivists. They argue that pornography and prostitution constitute grave forms of gender based violence. Kathleen Barry's term "female sexual slavery," also the title of her 1979 book, contributes to the debate by identifying women's enslavement as "the underpinning of the institution of prostitution and marriage" (xii). The following, argues Barry, are forms of sexual slavery: international sex trafficking, prostitution controlled by pimps, wives trapped in abusive heterosexual marriages, and girls subjected to paternal incest.¹⁴ Barry is not the first to argue that certain types of marriage and prostitution are forms of female sexual slavery. Gayle Rubin in her essay "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex" (1975) argues that marriage is the original form of trafficking in women. Her title is a nod to Emma Goldman's radical collection of essays in *The Traffic in Women* (1917), where she claims that women who marry for economic reasons are equivalent to women who sell sex for financial gain: "Yet a prostitute, if properly defined, means nothing else than "any person for whom sexual relationships are subordinated to gain" (Goldman 25). She calls for the decriminalization of prostitutes, while acknowledging that prostitution is a social problem. She blames prostitution on the "economic and social inferiority of woman"(20), specifically low-wage factory jobs that push women into sex work, and the rearing of young girls as sexual innocents and sexual commodities.

In 1979, Andrew Dworkin extends the continuum of violence against women and girls further than Barry or Goldman in her chapter "Whores" in *Pornography: Men Possessing Women* (1979). She claims that prostitution with or without pimps, trafficking, pornography, sexual exploitation, rape, incest, marriage, pregnancy, the economy, organized religion, among others, are forms of male domination where men position women as inferior whores. Dworkin's views are radical, but she speaks from her experiences as a survivor of domestic abuse and

forced prostitution caused by her husband's exposure to pornography; in addition, she experienced molestation as a child, was drugged and raped as an adult, and, in her own words, said: "I have been tortured and this drug-rape runs through it, a river of horror."¹⁵ Her belief that all forms of gender based violence are connected to forced prostitution and pornography spurs her to collaborate on an ordinance with legal scholar and fellow radical feminist Catherine MacKinnon.

In 1983 Dworkin and MacKinnon co-authored the Antipornography Civil Rights Ordinance to amend the Minneapolis Civil Rights Code. Briefly, this new ordinance, if accepted by The City Council of Minneapolis, would find that: "Pornography is central in creating and maintaining the civil inequalities of the sexes. Pornography is a systematic practice of exploitation and subordination based on sex which differentially harms women" (Title 7, Ch. 139). While the city council passes the ordinance in 1983, Donald Fraser, Mayor of Minneapolis (1980-1993), vetoes the ordinance in 1984 after finding it to be unconstitutional.¹⁶ Opponents of this ordinance, and other similar ones,¹⁷ claim that it violates first amendment rights to free speech. The fact that several publishers refused to publish Dworkin's work on pornography saying it "is bad for freedom of speech" is an example, argues MacKinnon, of the hypocritical employment of first amendment rights (2006: 90).

Another attempt to link sexual violence with pornography takes place on April 25, 1991, when Senator Mitch McConnell introduces the Pornography Victims' Compensation Act, also known as the Bundy Bill. It was called the Bundy Bill, explains Maureen Dezell, "after serial killer Ted Bundy, who claimed, the night before his execution, that his addiction to hard-core pornography made him torture, maim, and murder" (15). Notably, Bundy was a notorious liar. This Act works to incorporate some of Dworkin's and MacKinnon's previous ideas on

pornography as a violation of civil rights, and if passed, it would have allowed victims or alleged victims of crimes to sue the production staff if the crimes were suspected to be caused by pornography. Proponents of the bill, like anti-pornography feminists, applauded its efforts to give victims (usually women) the agency to prove causation between their experiences of sexual violence and pornography, but opponents found the bill dangerous due to the vague definitions of child pornography and obscenity, which could cause a slippery slope for censorship laws. There was a senate committee hearing on the bill, but the debates did not lead to a vote. In effect, there is not enough proof, although MacKinnon and Dworkin disagree, that obscene materials cause sexual violence.

A survey of representations of gender based violence in the second half of the twentieth century and the first half of the twenty-first century illustrates a significant rift in the feminist movement over the issue of pornography. This rift begins in the early 1970s with the increased world-wide availability of hardcore pornography films, rumors about the existence of pornography films depicting real murders of women (snuff¹⁸), and the release of both the films *Deep Throat* in 1972 and *Snuff* in 1976 (a reworked version of 1970 film *The Slaughter*). The latter film, produced by Allan Shackelton, features the fictional sexually charged mutilation and murder of a Latin American actress. Even though the gender based violence in *Snuff* is simulated, the film and its ad campaign attempts to create the illusion that real women die on screen. One advertisement reads: “SNUFF, The Rumor was that a woman was actually killed during the filming of this Picture! WAS SHE.” Anti-pornography feminists and moralists were convinced that, yes, the film portrays a real woman being mutilated and killed (snuffed out). As Eithne Johnson and Eric Schaefer argue in their 1993 article “Soft Core/Hard Gore: Snuff as a Crisis in Meaning,” middle-class feminists claimed that “it did not matter that *Snuff* was a hoax;

the film still suggested to (male) viewers that women's lives were cheap" (41). Determining the veracity of the woman's death was important for anti-pornography feminists, but their general political aim was the censorship of all pornography (including real and simulated "snuff" films). Alternatively, pro-sex feminists and theatre spectators of *Snuff*, for the most part, view the film as a harmless display of fictionalized violence against women and men and shun the idea of censoring any form of simulated "snuff" or pornography. While making an authentic "snuff" film is illegal, watching one is not. It is also legal to make and distribute a simulated "snuff" film, which raises ethical questions about freedom of speech and performance.

The examination of dramatizations of hardcore pornography (especially "snuff") and its relationship to gender based forms of violence is crucial to this question of whether to censor unethical art. Similarly, of course, dramatizations of artwork created through the subjugation and suffering of others is significant to this discourse. Interestingly, late twentieth-century and early twenty-first century feminist playwrights frequently discuss or feature "snuff" films in their plays in addition to other fictional depictions of the artistic commodification of sex trafficked victims' experiences of abuse. The focus on "snuff" in feminist plays from the 1980s to the present (see Figure 1.4) suggests it is a key component of the debates surrounding pornography and sex trafficking. And yet, in these feminist plays the veracity of "snuff" is rarely contested but instead presented as proof of the violence caused by pornography. Early twenty-first century plays about sex trafficking feature characters that make art from sex trafficked victims' traumas.¹⁹ These depictions question whether the ethical imperative of art is to raise awareness about the atrocities in the world or protect victims from harm, as viewing graphic photographs of their abuse, for instance, could further traumatize them.

IV. *Approaching the millennium: gender based violence in American and British plays of the 1990s*

During the mid-to late 1990s,²⁰ women playwrights addressed the taxonomies of heterosexual male-on-female rape.²¹ Zindika's plays *Paper and Stone* (1989) and *Leonora's Dance* (1993), for instance, focus on the rape of black women by white men in the colonial period,²² while Sue Glover's *Bondagers and Sacred Hearts* (1994) features a male-on-female rape that ends with the victim being shipped off to an asylum. Both Dael Orlandersmith's solo piece *Monster* (1996) and Rebecca Gilman's *The Glory of Living* (1998) center on the theme of date rape. Sarah Kane's *Blasted* (1995) is forward-thinking in its interpretation and staging of rape; she calls for a literal explosion to occur that breaks down the barrier between private (rape in a hotel room) and public (rape outside the hotel) acts of gender based violence in relationship to genocide and war. It is also forward-thinking in its depiction of male-on-male rape. She subtly connects the male-on-female rape of the character CATE to the male-on-male rape of the figure of THE SOLDIER through the repetition of a stage direction at the end of each rape scene: CATE is "crying her heart out" (1.2) and The SOLDIER is crying his heart out" (1.3). These stage directions significantly emphasize the emotional impact rape has on its victims, regardless of their gender.

In addition to rape, Aston argues that English theatre in the 1990s centers on the male backlash against feminism with male playwrights claiming victim status, an increase in "bad girl" dramas where young women result to aggression and violence to fulfill their desires, and the emergence of feminist transnational plays on oppression. Plays about sexual harassment in the workplace and stalking are also forms of gender based violence that women playwrights

explore in the 1990s.²³ These works gesture towards the “darker and more violent world” of the 1990s, observes Aston.²⁴

Take for example English and American playwrights’ interest in dramatizing the “first female serial killer” (a name given by the FBI²⁵) and serial killers of prostitutes that begins with the American, lesbian, and feminist performance group Split Britches (Lois Weaver, Peggy Shaw, and Deborah Margolin) and their devised play *Lesbians Who Kill* (1992). Their play is based on the high profile murder trial of American self-identified prostitute Aileen Carol Wuornos, who was sentenced to death for the murder of seven white middle-class johns despite claiming self-defense. Wuornos killed her first john, Richard Mallory, after death threats, as well as having her hands tied to a car steering wheel while being raped vaginally and anally, after which point Mallory poured rubbing alcohol over her gapping wounds and tried to rape her again.²⁶ She was forced to sell sex to survive after such horrific acts of torture. Her testimony, in addition to her childhood of sexual abuse, rape, and survival sex, paints Wuornos as the victim of internal sex trafficking. And yet, as Lynda Hart contends in her book *Fatal Women*, Mallory was presented as the victim even though he was “incarcerated for ten years in a Maryland institution after posing as a repairman and sexually assaulting a housewife” – somehow his violent past was “overlooked” at Wuornos’ trial (136). The fact that her inconsistent narratives and perceived deviant behavior erased, in the minds of the jury, her victimhood suggests that her experiences of sexual exploitation were not framed as part of a continuum of gender based violence.

Split Britches’s *Lesbians Who Kill* is the first creative response to the sexist underpinnings of Wuornos’ case. Their play is a critique of the inherent violence of sexism and socially prescribed gender norms in American society. In this parody of film noir, the two characters May and June, based off of non-fictional lesbian lovers Wuornos and Moore,

subjugate men and decide their desires,²⁷ restrict their movements through fear,²⁸ and use the medium of comedy to openly express their gender-driven anger. Their subversion of gender roles and depiction of May as a female “serial killer” of men represents a significant counter-narrative to the misogynistic male serial killer who murders female sex workers and female forced prostitutes.

British playwright Sarah Daniels is the next woman to express interest in serial killing. In 1995 she adapts for the stage Pat Barker’s 1984 novel *Blow Your House Down*, which is based on the Yorkshire Ripper.²⁹ Over the course of five years (1975-1980) the misogynistic Yorkshire Ripper, unmasked as Peter Sutcliffe, killed thirteen women and attacked many others in and around Yorkshire in Northern England. Contrary to both the popular media’s depiction of him as a “prostitute-killer” and his own defense that he “heard the voice of God directing him to kill prostitutes,” Hillary Kinnell argues that he attacked and murdered both female sex workers and non-sex workers (1-7). In the context of feminist discourse surrounding the Yorkshire Ripper murders, Daniels’s dramatization illustrates that sex workers who encountered violence had to depend on each other instead of the larger female community for validation, support, and justice. In brief, Daniels’s play features a female prostitute, Carol, who attempts to locate and murder the male-killer of her close female friend and fellow prostitute, Jean. The character Carol has the fighting spirit of past protagonists such as May from *Lesbians Who Kill* insofar as she responds to male violence against women with anger, aggression, and the determination to see justice served – all common qualities found in male avengers of gender based violence. The larger political significance of Daniels’s narrative is that non-sex workers and police officers express minimal interest in solving the murders of female sex workers. Kinnell argues that in England

the Yorkshire Ripper's murders elicited minimal anger from the non-sex worker section of the female community until he began regularly killing non-sex workers.

V. *2000 and beyond: gender based violence in performance*

The examples of 1990s performance works about gender based violence point to an even more violent postmillennial world where female playwrights are challenged to document more complex, although not necessarily new, gender based forms of violence. The early twenty-first century war in Iraq, for instance, continues to challenge conventional gender norms and narratives of violence. Female soldiers are documented as perpetrators of female-to-male sexual violence, as seen through the character Soldier, based on the non-fictional Lynndie England, in Judith Thompson's *Palace of the End* (2007). Morgan Lloyd Malcolm's *Belongings* (2011) depicts female soldiers as survivors of rapes perpetrated by male soldiers. Sexual tourism, female-to-female sexual violence, biomedical violence, violence against sex workers, and lastly sex trafficking are additional topics of interest among contemporary British and American women playwrights. Sex trafficking is a more complex type of gender based violence since it involves acts of institutional and interpersonal violence.

Barbara Ozieblo and Noelia Hernando-Real address American plays that feature sexual violence in Iraq, biomedical violence, and violence against sex workers, but they do not mention any American plays on sex trafficking. In fact sex trafficking, or any form of human trafficking, is surprisingly absent from their recent anthology *Performing Gender Violence: Plays By Contemporary American Women Dramatists* (2012). Sex trafficking is also absent from Aston's *Feminist Views on the English Stage: Women Playwrights, 1990-2000* (2003), however, her analysis of Winsome Pinnock's *Mules* does describe how women's postcolonial bodies are

employed as fungible receptacles to traffic illegal drugs. Chapter Three on performance works about sex trafficking emerges from this gap in an otherwise rich body of scholarship on western female-authored plays about gender based violence. Politically these performance works emerge in the wake of both the first international human trafficking law and September 11th.

VI. *Chapter Outline*

Chapter One, entitled ‘Containment strategies and outrageous myths: the prostitution problem and the emergence of the theatrical figure of the white slave’, focuses on prostitution as a persistent social problem – the reason for the rise in venereal diseases, immigration, vice, and economic migration – for American and European societies. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these problems increased and caused a social and moral panic known as white slavery. I trace the fallen prostitute and white slave in the following plays (Hrotsvit’s *Paphnutius*, Dumas fils’ *Camille*, and Crothers’s *Ourselves*), Dick Scanlan and Richard Morris’s musical (*Thoroughly Modern Millie*), popular culture (the case of Jack the Ripper), Luc Besson and Robert Mark Kamen’s film (*Taken*), and William Thomas Stead’s sensationalist exposé on white slavery (“The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon”). These theatrical, cinematic, and literary works, I argue, mirror societies’ fears and anxieties surrounding uncontained diseases, shifting sexual mores, citizens’ loss of jobs to economic migrants, women leaving the patriarchal family unit to work abroad, and an increase in immigration.

The figure of the octopus represents a dreadful creature that envelops entire towns and ensnares its female prey with its many long, clammy tentacles and powerful circular suckers. White slavery reformers in America employ the figure of the octopus from 1900 to 1910 as both a metaphor for white slavery and a syndicate of white slave procurers. Looking back on the first decade of the twentieth century, we can follow the octopus and map a shift between social

perceptions of white slavery as an uncontrollable, ubiquitous force hidden in the shadows of American cities to a containable figure segregated and regulated in American red-light districts. Segregation and regulation of American red-light districts is one of several containment strategies developed to address the problem of prostitution and white slavery. Segregation and regulation simplifies, for authorities, the surveillance and containment of other forms of vice besides prostitution. First, vice squads believed criminals frequented red-light districts to spend illegally obtained earnings and secondly, they employed prostitutes as stool pigeons because they excelled at catching criminals.

Other containment strategies that I examine in this chapter include 1.) the Contagious Diseases Acts; 2.) the Naturalization Act of 1870; 3.) the Page Act of 1875; 4.) the Immigration Act of 1907; 5.) the White Slave Traffic Act of 1909 (The Mann Act); and 6.) red-light-injunction laws. The Contagious Diseases Acts, first passed by British Parliament in 1864, were invested in containing venereal diseases, decreasing women's mobility, and controlling their sexuality. Violations of women's rights sanctioned under the Acts included forced medical inspections of any woman suspected of being a common prostitute and the mandatory containment of all infected women in lock hospitals until physically and spiritually cured by men. The CD Acts protected men from medical inspections, surveillance, and forced containment thereby upholding a sexual double standard. Hrotsvit and Dumas films mirror this theme of containment in their plays *Paphnutius* and *Camille*, respectively, insofar as the male protagonist acts as doctor to the diseased fallen prostitute.

Next, I examine in this chapter The Naturalization Act of 1870 and show that it contains American citizenship within a black/white dichotomy. On the one hand, the Naturalization Act of 1870 extends American citizenship to black people. On the other hand, the Act excludes Asian

immigrants from American citizenship. In the context of prostitution, this Act prevents Asian women from legally immigrating to the United States to work as prostitutes. The exclusion of Asians from naturalization in the United States is implicit in the previous Act of 1870 and becomes explicit with the Page Act of 1875. In my discussion of the Page Act, I focus on the ways it addresses women immigrating to the United States to work as prostitutes. First the Page Act denies all Asian immigrants the right to naturalize, but it focuses primarily on the threat Chinese immigrant laborers pose to non-Chinese, naturalized workers in America. The Page Act makes it illegal to knowingly import or hold a woman, regardless of her nationality or ethnicity, in the United States for prostitution. However, the Act focuses on the immigration of Chinese women to the United States for prostitution. In the context of American theater, this chapter shows how fear of Chinese immigration to America causes Chinese women to be depicted as prostitutes and white slave procurers in popular twenty-first-century plays and musicals such as Dick Scanlan and Richard Morris's *Thoroughly Modern Millie* (2000).

The Immigration Act of 1907 is another notable law passed to contain and limit prostitution in America. While the Page Act made it illegal to import any woman into the United States to work in prostitution, the Immigration Act changed the language to include "any other immoral purpose." In this chapter, I argue that this broadening of prostitution to all immoral activities meant that female immigrants could no longer work in spaces of commercial amusement (dance halls, music halls, and theatres) since they were associated with immorality during the height of white slavery. This Act was a blatant attempt to police social mores and decrease prostitution in America.

Another containment strategy that this chapter examines in detail is The White Slave Traffic Act or the Mann Act of 1909, which made it a felony to transport a woman or girl

between states or internationally for the purposes of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose. I argue that James R. Mann presents the Mann Act as the solution to finding and destroying white slavery syndicates; however, the police fail to uncover an organized white slave trade and arrest only a few actual white slave traffickers. Instead, the Mann Act is employed to surveil and contain prostitution, extramarital affairs, and interracial relationships, which is evidenced by the number of autonomous female prostitutes, adulterous couples, and black men convicted under the Act. The Mann Act had far-reaching implications on sexual morality and race relations since it was legal for commercial and noncommercial sex acts (the latter beginning in 1917) to be tried under it. It is also arguably the most significant method of containment used to control consensual acts of prostitution and noncommercial sex since it remained a statute even after the white slave panic passed. The Mann Act, for instance, was not amended until 1978 and then again in 1986. The red-light injunction laws passed between 1909 and 1916, which led to the eventual closure of all red-light districts in America by 1920, are the final containment strategies that I briefly discuss in this chapter. This chapter concludes with the acknowledgment of the significant replacement in 1921 of the title “White Slave Traffic Act” with the racially neutral title “Traffic in Women and Children Act.”

Chapter Two, entitled ‘From Hrotsvit to Williams: unraveling acts of gender based violence and the virgin/whore dichotomy in fallen woman plays’, develops the virgin/whore dichotomy as a theoretical lens through which I examine how the figure of the fallen woman is categorized, made vulnerable to gender based violence, and punished to uphold a sexual and moral double standard. The chapter provides an analysis of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim’s three plays about prostitution that have been excluded from the western canon of drama on the basis that they fail to inspire dramatic imitators. The significance of her plays is also overlooked

because their dramaturgy diverges from what Sue-Ellen Case and Jill Dolan theorize as the male values of good playwriting. I argue that Hrotsvit's *Abraham*, *Paphnutius*, and *Callimachus* influence popular portrayals of the figure of the fallen woman prostitute in Alexandre Dumas fils' *The Lady of the Camellias* (1852), Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1893), Eugene O'Neill's *Anna Christie* (1922), and Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947). In addition, Hrotsvit's plays occupy significant roles in the larger arc of plays about gender based violence, the fallen woman genre, and the overall history of western theatre. Hrotsvit explores the complex layers of gender inequality, commodization of the female body, and the stigmatization of prostitution in her plays, and she is the first to represent female protagonists' experiences of gender based violence on a continuum, where their early experiences of male perpetrated acts of incestual rape and sexual harassment, for instance, directly influence their entrances into prostitution. The female protagonists, in other words, sexually fall due to acts of violence and consequently turn to prostitution. The male characters in the plays deny the female characters victim status and cruelly punish them for prostitution or rejecting their sexual advances.

In my analysis of *Abraham*, I rely on the work of M.R. Sperberg-McQueen and Regula Meyer Evitt to argue that the male protagonist Abraham is the disguised monk who rapes his niece Mary and thereby initiates a sequence of events that lead her to prostitution. Abraham shifts the blame from himself to Mary for the incestual rape by using deceitful tactics that hide his sexual desires. He crafts the narrative of Mary's fall in such a way that makes her appear to have had a moment of sexual weakness. Hrotsvit's *Abraham* illustrates the importance of providing female characters with space to narrate their own experiences of sexual violence. Otherwise, spectators can only form biased opinions of the fallen woman's traumas since they

are filtered through the male protagonist. This filtering process is one way the male protagonist (Abraham) controls and contains the fallen woman (Mary). This chapter argues that Abraham shuffles Mary between spaces of containment (anchorite cell to brothel and back to cell) because he is both threatened by her unbridled female sexuality and the possibility that she could recall information about the identity of her rapist (i.e. Abraham). This chapter also claims that Abraham has sexual rather than charitable motives for adopting the disguise of a “lover” to “rescue” Mary from the brothel. The theme in *Abraham* and *Paphnutius* of clergy members rescuing penitent whores from brothels parallels the movement in medieval Germany to reform repentant prostitutes, and foreshadows William Thomas Stead and Charles Dickens’s participation in 19th century social movements to rehabilitate prostitutes.

In my analysis of Hrotsvit’s *Paphnutius*, I argue against Wailes’s claim that the figure of the fallen woman Thais enters prostitution because of avarice. Wailes employs the testimonials of Thais’s johns to argue that Thais is a stereotypical one-dimensional greedy whore. In contrast, I argue that Hrotsvit reveals that Thais is a devout Christian woman and disgruntled prostitute. Thais’s internalization of the stigma of prostitute (unworthy, corrupt, damaged) and belief that her sins preclude her salvation are the reasons she remains in prostitution despite her unhappiness. Once the male protagonist Paphnutius promises her that salvation is possible through repentance, she quickly sacrifices her earthly possessions and leaves the brothel. As a member of the clergy, Paphnutius has more authority and agency than the ex-prostitute Thais, which explains her acquiescence to immurement as punishment for her illicit past. This chapter argues that immurement is a severe and horrifying form of punishment that the clergy (Paphnutius) inflicts on the fallen woman (Thais) because of the former’s belief that female sexuality should be passive and contained. Using Kristeva’s theory of abjection, Helene Scheck

argues that Hrotsvit constructs Thais as abject insofar as her body is unintelligible within the virgin/whore dichotomy. I expand upon this reading by arguing Hrotsvit creates a graphic image of abjection that pushes her body toward death (what Kristeva calls “the utmost of abjection”). I argue that in being immured as a female anchorite, Thais enters what Victor Turner terms “the liminal period.” This chapter then combines Turner’s theory of liminality with Alexander Barratt’s theory of the anchorhold as a metaphor for the womb to argue that Thais’s cell is a liminal space of death and rebirth.

Hrotsvit’s *Callimachus* is exemplary with respect to a sophisticated treatment of the subject of severe forms of sex trafficking (forced prostitution). In chapter two I employ two translations of the play to provide a feminist reading of the tomb scene, which is reflective of Hrotsvit’s subtle assessment of the market forces that drive female forced prostitution (“sex trafficking”). My analysis further develops Case’s claim that *Callimachus* “centers on rape” and that it is Drusiana’s fear of becoming a victim of rape that causes her to ask for Christ’s help to die (1983: 537). My analysis also complicates Wailes’s reading of Drusiana’s blushes and sexual abstinence as evidence of her latent sexual desire for Callimachus, and that it is her fear of “succumbing” to these desires that causes her to pray for death (14). In addition, my analysis focuses on the dead body as an example of the complexity with which Hrotsvit interrogates the topic of prostitution and pseudonecrophilia via gender based forms of violence.

The intent of these feminist interventions into Hrotsvit’s plays is to highlight the larger contribution this chapter makes to recover women playwrights’ examples of prostitution and severe forms of sex trafficking with the aim of providing a more comprehensive and diverse selection of theatrical materials that focus on the sex industry. The section on Hrotsvit’s plays in

chapter two also makes it easier to show how her ideas and themes influence the 19th-20th century fallen woman plays discussed in the second half of this chapter.

The virgin/whore dichotomy, Judith Butler's concept of performativity, and Julia Kristeva's theory of abjection comprise the theoretical framework for the section on 19th-20th century fallen woman plays. Looking at the female protagonists and fallen women Camille, Paula Ray, Anna Christie, and Blanche DuBois, this chapter illustrates how these characters fail to perform the signs of virgin because they have internalized the stigmas associated with prostitutes such as dirty, impure, and diseased. Camille, Paula, Anna, and Blanche share the fear that "polite" (upper-class) society and blue-collar male love interests, respectively, can see these stigmas and therefore know about their pasts as prostitutes. The fallen woman tries to compensate for her fear by performing as virgin, but instead unintentionally engages in the performativity of prostitute. I contend in this chapter that the stigmas associated with prostitution constitute a grave form of gender based violence that needs to be eliminated. Male protagonists, and even minor female characters, employ these stigmas, which combined with additional forms of gender based violence such as rape, catalyze the fallen woman's abjection leading to (social or physical) death.

Chapter Three, entitled 'The theatrical figure of the sex trafficked been-to in Kirkwood's *it felt empty*, Prichard's *Dream Pill*, Bissett and Smith's *ROADKILL*, and Cunningham-Huston's *The Walk*', focuses on tracing the characteristics of the figure of the "sex trafficked been-to" that appears in the four aforementioned plays. What I term the "sex trafficked been-to" draws on a preexisting Nigerian term "been-to" and combines it with the act of being sex trafficked. "Beentos" is a common term in Nigeria and refers to Nigerians who travel to Europe for work or study and return to Nigeria with increased wealth or education. The figure of the sex trafficked been-to

represents the women who travel abroad with the hope that they will return to Nigeria as been-tos, or stay in Europe and send money back home, but instead find themselves sex trafficked. These women remain in Europe, but because they are sexually and financially exploited, they do not make enough money to bring/send home to Nigeria.

The dramatic figure of the sex trafficked been-to represents a singular perspective of a Nigerian woman who is unaware that she is going abroad to work in the sex industry. The reality is that economic desperation drives many Nigerian women to migrate to Europe in search of employment, which includes jobs in the sex industry. Some Nigerian women work as autonomous sex workers in Europe, but the majority of them are victims of economic exploitation, forced prostitution, and gender based violence. The fact that over 500 Nigerian women sex trafficked to Europe have died since 2004 attests to this reality.³⁰ In this chapter I trace the following four characteristics of the dramatic figure of the sex trafficked been-to: 1.) she is sex trafficked to either Italy or the UK; 2.) she is from poor or rural areas of Nigeria (typically Edo State); 3.) she is affected by liminal states and juju rituals; 4.) she is based on research on Nigerian sex trafficking flows and testimonials of sex trafficking survivors. This chapter concludes by highlighting the sex trafficked been-to's unwavering optimism, determination to survive, and decision to rescue herself. These qualities are what separate her from the fallen woman and white slave, and allow for new theatrical endings that intimate more hopeful futures for victims of forced prostitution and gender based violence. The final moments of the chapter draw attention to the need for more nuanced theatrical constructions of the racial discrimination the sex trafficked been-to experiences within brothels and the criminal justice system.

NOTES

¹ In Ancient Greece, entertainers, dancers, acrobats, and especially flute players (auletrides) were said to supplement their income with prostitution (Evans 37), (Sorkin 138). Bullough and Bullough discuss a flute player as “a step above the streetwalker” (38), while Sean Corner counts her among the hetairai (73). Bullough and Bullough argue that “Unlike the Greek period when men had often enacted the female roles, the Byzantine theater used women to portray themselves, and pantomimes, farces, lewd singing, and dances in which troupes of chorus girls appeared with little or no clothes were the standard features; many of the Church Fathers, shocked at such antics, denounced theater as the center of iniquity. Actress and prostitute became synonymous terms, and all persons engaged in the theatrical profession were thought to be vile and disreputable” (113). In Bullough and Bullough’s *Women and Prostitution*, they state, “One of the new “professions” open to prostitutes in the seventeenth century was the stage, although the wandering entertainer had long been associated with prostitution...” (174). During the Restoration Era, Nell Gwyn was thought to have worked as an orange girl or orange wench (young woman who sold oranges in the pit, sent messages between actresses (backstage) and spectators (house), and also probably engaged in sex acts for money) before becoming an actress and mistress to King Charles II. Elin Diamond in “Guests and Signatures in Aphra Behn’s *The Rover*” describes how Pepys and other Restoration commentators struggle to separate the actress's sexuality from her work; the actress becomes, says Diamond, “a spectacle unto herself, a painted representation to lure the male spectator. In her professional duplicity, in her desirability, in her often public status of kept mistress, she is frequently equated with prostitutes or “vizard-masks” who worked the pit and galleries of Restoration theaters during and after performances” (523).

² Johnson (1975) argues that, “The third tier dictated the very design of the theater building, was at the foundation of theatrical economics, and was largely responsible for the reputation, and consequently the clientele, of the nineteenth-century theater. Theaters in most American cities were designed to house prostitutes in the third tier” (580). Thomas Platter observes prostitutes in his *Travels in England* (1599): “although close watch is kept on them, great swarms haunt the town in the taverns and playhouses” (175).

³ In Ancient Rome, according to Roberts, “The fornices (from which our word fornication is derived) were the arches underneath the theatres, circuses and private houses; many prostitutes entertained clients within their shadowy recesses...” (1992: 42). Ovid in *The Art of Love* states, “But hunt for them [prostitutes], especially, at the tiered theatre: that place is the most fruitful for your needs” (Book I Part IV: Or at the Theatre).

In Medieval Europe, according to Bullough and Bullough, actresses and prostitutes became synonymous terms, which is why “one of the streets near the theatres in Constantinople was called the street of harlots” (113).

Henry Mayhew describes a brothel connected to London’s Lyceum Theatre:

There is a coffee-house in Wellington Street, on the Covent Garden side of the Lyceum Theatre, in fact adjoining the playhouse, where women may take their men; but the police cannot interfere with it, because it is a coffee-house, and not a house of ill-fame, properly so called. The proprietor is not supposed to know who his customers are. A man comes with a woman and asks for a bedroom; they may be travellers, they may be a thousand things. A subterranean passage, I am told, running under the Lyceum connects this with

some supper-rooms on the other side of the theatre, which belongs to the same man who is proprietor of the coffee and chop house. (1862)

In “Slaves and Skittles” in Hilary Evans’ *The Oldest Profession* (1979), she writes of prostitution in the Victorian Era, “The Promenade of the Empire Theatre, Leicester Square, was one of the better haunts of high-class prostitutes in London—a shop window where they could display themselves to best advantage” (136).

⁴ During the Progressive Era in America, claims Johnson, one reason why the actress was mistakenly conflated with the prostitute is that the lead roles for actresses to play, the ones that advanced their careers, were fallen woman prostitutes (e.g. Camille) (8). During the Restoration era, argues Pullen, “Designating actresses as whores insured that focus remained on their sexuality, not on their professional status or possible influence on stagecraft. More importantly, modern historians have maintained the actress/whore connection to limit the possible agency of Restoration actresses” (25).

⁵ **Tennessee Williams’s *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947)**

Abbotson, Susan C.W., ed. *Masterpieces of 20th Century American Drama*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Gainor, Ellen J., Stanton B. Garner Jr., and Martin Puchner, ed. *The Norton Anthology of Drama: The Nineteenth Century to the Present*. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009.

Arthur Miller’s *Death of a Salesman* (1949)

Brockett, Oscar G., ed. *Plays For The Theatre: An Anthology of World Drama*. 4th ed. New York: CBS College Publishing, 1984.

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Roudane, Matthew. *Drama Essentials: An Anthology of Plays*. 1st ed. Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2007. Gwynn, R.S., ed. *Drama: A Pocket Anthology (Penguin Academic Series)*. 4th ed. Longman, 2008.

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Jacobs, Lee A. *The Compact Bedford Introduction to Drama*. 7th ed. New York: Bedford, 2013.

Bertolt Brecht’s *The Good Woman of Szechwan* (1953)

Brockett, Oscar G., and Robert J. Ball. Ed. *Plays for the Theatre: A Drama Anthology*. 7th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 2000.

Brockett, Oscar G., and Robert J. Ball. Ed. *Plays for the Theatre: A Drama Anthology*. 8th ed. New York: Thomson Learning Inc., 2004.

Greenwald, Michael, Roberto Dario Pomo, Roger Schultz, and Anne Marie Welsh. Ed. *The Longman Anthology of Modern and Contemporary Drama. A Global Perspective*. New York: Pearson Education Inc., 2004.

Gainor, Ellen J., Stanton B. Garner Jr., and Martin Puchner, ed. *The Norton Anthology of Drama: The Nineteenth Century to the Present*. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009.

Tennessee Williams' *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1954)

Brockett, Oscar G., and Robert J. Ball. Ed. *Plays for the Theatre: A Drama Anthology*. 7th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 2000.

Greenwald, Michael, Roberto Dario Pomo, Roger Schultz, and Anne Marie Welsh. Ed. *The Longman Anthology of Modern and Contemporary Drama. A Global Perspective*. New York: Pearson Education Inc., 2004.

Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *The Visit* (1962)

Nine Plays of the Modern Theatre. New York: Grove Press Inc., 1981.

Jean Genet's *The Balcony* (1962)

Worthen, W.B., ed. *The Wadsworth Anthology of Drama*. Revised Edition, 6th ed. Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2010.

Nine Plays of the Modern Theatre. New York: Grove Press Inc., 1981.

Harold Pinter's *The Homecoming* (1965)

Jacobs, Lee A. *The Compact Bedford Introduction to Drama*. 7th ed. New York: Bedford, 2013.

Worthen, W.B., ed. *Harcourt Brace Anthology of Drama*. 1st ed. New York: Harcourt Inc., 1993.

Worthen, W.B., ed. *Harcourt Brace Anthology of Drama*. 2nd ed. New York: Harcourt Inc., 1995.

Worthen, W.B., ed. *Harcourt Brace Anthology of Drama*. 3rd ed. New York: Harcourt Inc., 2000.

Worthen, W.B., ed. *The Wadsworth Anthology of Drama*. Revised Edition, 6th ed. Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2010.

⁶ Rosamond Gilder names Hrotsvitha as the first female playwright in *Enter the Actress: The First Woman in the Theatre* (1931).

⁷ Chapter four of Barbara Antoniazzi's recent book examines Crothers's *Ourselves*.

⁸ Radical feminist Hester Eisenstein argues that consciousness-raising was "modeled on a practice used by the revolutionary Chinese called "speaking bitterness" [and] was a means of sharing reliable information about female experience" (1983: 35).

⁹ Here is a derogatory definition of prostitute found in the OED: "Put (one's talents, skills, etc.) to an unworthy or corrupt use or purpose, sacrifice (self-respect, honour, etc.) for the sake of personal or financial gain."

¹⁰ Mary Louise Parker. "Paula Vogel." *BOMB—Artists in Conversation* Fall 1997. 12 Sept. 2012
<<http://bombmagazine.org/article/2108/paula-vogel>>.

¹¹ Steve Robson. "Finally hanging up their stockings: Twins who are Amsterdam's oldest prostitutes retire at 70 after having sex with 355,000 men." *DailyMail* 13 March 2013. 15 March 2013
<<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2292621/Louise-Martine-Fokkens-Twins-Amsterdams-oldest-prostitutes-retire-combined-100-years-sex-trade.html>>.

¹² This reworking is important because it highlights the deadly consequences of patriarchal constructions of female

value based on sexual purity.

¹³ In cases where women and girls identify as sex workers or prostitutes because they independently turn tricks, but then share experiences of sexual and physical abuse, incest, homelessness, low IQ, no alternative employment options, and a desire to not perform sex acts, it is important that they are reframed as victims of sex trafficking. Trafficked women and girls' experiences of violence are not more important than independent sex workers', and an independent sex worker can certainly become a victim of sex trafficking (e.g. a women who works as an independent erotic dancer in a club can become the target of a pimp who later prostitutes her), but correct identification acknowledges a victim of sex trafficking's complex trauma: being forced to *continually* engage in sex work against her will.

¹⁴ See Kathleen Barry, *Female Sexual Slavery* (New York and London: New York UP, 1984).

¹⁵ Julie Bindel, "Andrea Dworkin: Feminist writer and tireless campaigner against pornography and the violent oppression of women." *The Guardian* 12 April 2005

<<http://www.theguardian.com/news/2005/apr/12/guardianobituaries.gender>>; Andrea Dworkin, "Andrea Dworkin: the day I was drugged and raped." *The New Statesman* 2 March 2013

<<http://www.newstatesman.com/comment/2013/03/day-i-was-drugged-and-raped>>.

¹⁶ See Catherine A. MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, eds. *In Harm's Way: The Pornography Civil Rights Hearings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997).

¹⁷ See discussion of Indianapolis ordinance (1984) (Ibid).

¹⁸ Beginning in the late seventeenth century, according to the OED, the definition of the verb "snuff" referred to putting out a candle's flame. The term "snuff" shifted in the nineteenth century to mean terminating life; it then became slang for "to murder" in the early twentieth century. Therefore Charles Manson is not responsible, argues Johnson and Schaefer, for first associating "snuff" with "murder" (43). In the early-1970s, "snuff" was first used to refer to pornographic materials that depicted the actual killing of a woman. Johnson and Schaefer state that, "In 1973, Raymond Gauer, the president of the CDL, began suggesting that pornographic films existed in which the sexual acts "climaxed" with the actual murder of a woman (Friedman letter, 7 April 1992)" (41). During the 70s-90s academics provide several working definitions of "snuff," with the authors in agreement that "snuff" films involve an actual murder of a woman. The pornographic or sexual component of "snuff" is sometimes excluded from its definition. Catharine A. MacKinnon stresses that "snuff" films are sexual: "a woman is actually murdered to produce a film for sexual entertainment" (1984, 339). In other words, a person might kill a woman in a "snuff" film in a non-sexual context, but the film is then placed in a sexual context through being packaged, advertised, and sold to primarily male audiences as "snuff."

¹⁹ See, for example, Tena Štivičić's *FRAGILE!* (2007) and Caridad Svich's *Rift* (2009).

²⁰ Women author plays about rape before the 1990s. In *Effie's Burning* (1987), for instance, Valerie Windsor focuses on the female protagonist's process of uncovering memories of rapes she experiences as a young girl. Timberlake Wertenbaker's *The Love of the Nightingale* (1988) features the rape of Philomele by her brother-in-law Tereus.

²¹ Around the early 1970s, the anti-rape movement and the more inclusive sexual violence movement campaigned to protect women and children from gender based acts of violence. It was not until the 1980s that the legal system responded to many of their interventions. This delay in rape legislation explains why it took women playwrights until the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, with the exception of Adrienne Kennedy *Beast's story, A* (1965), to author plays about rape.

²² See Zindika (aka Zindika Macheol and Zindika Kamauesi), *Leonora's Dance. Six Plays by Black and Asian Women Writers*, Ed. Rukhsana Ahmad and Kadija George (London: Aurora Metro Press, 2005); Honnorine Ranivoharisoa, "Between Generations: The Construction of Mother-Daughter Relationships in the Work of Black Women Playwrights in Britain" (Diss. U of Hull, 2005).

²³ See Theresa Rebeck's, *Spike Heels* (New York: Samuel French, 1992).

²⁴ See Elaine Aston, *Feminist Views on the English Stage: Women Playwrights, 1990-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 10.

²⁵ The FBI and media, according to Lynda Hart, "called her the first female serial killer" even though she does not fit the psychological and legal profile of a serial killer (136).

²⁶ Aileen Carol Wuornos vs. State of Florida. September 22, 1994.

<<http://www.law.fsu.edu/library/flsupct/79484/op-79484.pdf>>.

²⁷ Instead of a man telling a woman that she wants to be raped and deserves to be beaten, we have the opposite: the woman says to the man, "I'm going to kill you, and you're asking for it" (206).

²⁸ May sings a song to the Boogie man, symbolic of all men, about her frustration and anger growing-up in an environment where women are told to be afraid of male violence. It's time for the Boogie man, according to May, to live with gender restrictions; her list for him includes:

Don't go out in the dark

Don't jog in the park

Don't fuck, don't kiss

Don't carry a gun

Unless you want it used against you. (Case 215)

²⁹ See Sarah Daniels, *Blow Your House Down, Critical Perspectives on Pat Barker* (2005). Ed. Sharon Monteith, Margaretta Jolly, Nahem Yousaf, and Ronald Paul (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2005) 40-84.

³⁰ Elena Perlino explains in her 2014 study on sex trafficking of Nigerian women in Italy: "Coming to Europe is a dream to escape the Nigerian nightmare, but the price to be paid can be high. Over five hundred Nigerian women killed over the last ten years bear witness to that."

FIGURE 1.1: western plays and musicals featuring prostitution, 1937-1966

Playwright	Title	Premiere Date
Marc Blitzstein	<i>The Cradle Will Rock</i>	(December 5, 1937)
Bertolt Brecht	<i>The Good Person of Szechwan</i>	(February 4, 1943)
Jean-Paul Sartre	<i>The Respectful Prostitute</i>	(November 8, 1946)
Tennessee Williams	<i>A Streetcar Named Desire</i>	(December 3, 1947)
Eugene O'Neill	<i>Moon for the Misbegotten</i>	(February 20, 1947)
Arthur Miller	<i>Death of a Salesman</i>	(February 10, 1949)
Richard Rogers and Oscar Hammerstein II	<i>South Pacific</i>	(April 7, 1949)
Tennessee Williams	<i>The Lady of Larkspur Lotion</i>	(1953)
Tennessee Williams	<i>Hello from Bertha</i>	(1953)
Tennessee Williams	<i>This Property is Condemned</i>	(1953)
Tennessee Williams	<i>Cat on a Hot Tin Roof</i>	(March 24, 1955)
Friedrich Dürrenmatt	<i>The Visit by the Old Woman</i> (adapted by Valency as <i>The Visit</i>)	(January 19, 1956)
Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe	<i>My Fair Lady</i>	(March 15, 1956)
George Abbott	<i>New Girl in Town</i>	(May 14, 1957)
Jean Genet	<i>The Balcony</i>	(April 22, 1957)
Eugene O'Neill	<i>Hughie</i>	(September 18, 1958)
Noël Coward	<i>Look After Lulu!</i>	(March 3, 1959)
Joseph Stein and Robert Russell	<i>Take me Along</i>	(October 22, 1959)
Lionel Bart	<i>Oliver!</i>	(June 30, 1960)
George Abbott and Jerome Weidman	<i>Tenderloin</i>	(October 17, 1960)
Lorraine Hansberry	<i>The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window</i>	(October 15, 1964)
Harold Pinter	<i>The Homecoming</i>	(June 3, 1965)

Dale Wasserman	<i>Man of La Mancha</i>	(June 24, 1965)
Christopher Isherwood	<i>Cabaret</i>	(November 20, 1966)

Figure 1.2: plays/musicals about incest and child sexual abuse

Playwright	Title	Date published
Geraldine Ann Snyder	<i>No More Secrets: The Musical</i>	(1984)
Anna Reading	<i>Kiss Punch Goodnight</i>	(1988)
Sarah Daniels	<i>Beside Herself</i>	(1990)
Sarah Daniels	<i>The Madness of Esme and Shaz</i>	(1994)
Sarah Daniels	<i>Head-Rot Holiday</i>	(1994)
Cheryl L. West	<i>Jar the Floor</i>	(1991)
Paula Vogel	<i>How I Learned to Drive</i>	(1997)
Marina Carr	<i>On Raftery's Hill</i>	(2002)
Debbie Tucker Green	<i>Born Bad</i>	(2003)
Jennifer Farmer	<i>Compact Failure</i>	(2004)
Lisa McGee	<i>Girls and Dolls</i>	(2006)
Amanda Stuart-Fisher	<i>From the Mouths of Mothers</i>	(2013)

Figure 1.3: plays about domestic violence

Playwright	Title	Date Published
Marsha Norman	<i>Getting Out</i>	(1977)
Beth Henley	<i>Crimes of the Heart</i>	(1979)
Maria Irene Fornes	<i>Mud</i>	(1983)
Pearl Cleage	<i>Flyin' West</i>	(1992)
Paula Vogel	<i>Hot 'N' Throbbing</i>	(1993)
Lynn Nottage	<i>POOF!</i>	(1993)
Linda McLean	<i>One Good Beating</i>	(1998)
Kerry Hood	<i>Meeting Myself Coming Back</i>	(2002)
Sarah Ruhl	<i>Late: A Cowboy Song</i>	(2003)
Debbie Tucker Green	<i>Dirty Butterfly</i>	(2003)

Figure 1.4: plays featuring hardcore pornography (including "snuff" films)

Playwright	Title	Date Published
Sarah Daniels	<i>Masterpieces</i>	(1984)
Marlane G. Meyer	<i>Etta Jenks</i>	(1986)
Paula Vogel	<i>Hot 'n' Throbbing</i>	(1993)
Ursula Rani Sarma	<i>The Magic Tree</i>	(2008)
Kathleen Ann Thompson	<i>See Me! Hear Me!</i>	(2009, unpublished)
Emma Haché	<i>SOLD</i>	(2012, unpublished)
Gianina Căbunariu	<i>KEBAB</i>	(2007)

Figure 1.5: plays about sex work

Playwright	Title	Type of sex work (according to author)	Setting for sex work	Date Published
Dacia Maraini	<i>Dialogue Between a Prostitute and Her Client</i>	Prostitution	Private flat (Italy)	(1978)
Carol Churchill	<i>Top Girls</i>	Courtesan	Feudal Japan	(1982)
Paula Vogel	<i>The Oldest Profession</i>	Sex Work	Storyville red-light district (New Orleans, U.S.)	(1980)
Caroline Kava	<i>The Early Girl</i>	Sex Work	Brothel (Midwest, U.S.)	(1983)
Carol Leigh	<i>The Adventures of Scarlot Harlot</i>	Sex Work	(California, U.S.)	(1983)
Jacqueline Rudet	<i>Money To Live</i>	Stripping, sex-working	Club (UK)	(1984)
Micheline Wandor	<i>Whores D'Oeuvres</i>	Prostitution	Streets (South-east England)	(1984)
Paula Vogel	<i>Desdemona: A Play About a Handkerchief</i>	Sex work	Cyprus	(1986)
Kay Adshead	<i>Thatcher's Women</i>	Part-time prostitution	Various locations from streets to penthouses (London, England)	(1987)
Janet M. Feindel	<i>A Particular Class of Women</i>	Striptease	Kitchen, dressing room, and dance area (Toronto, Canada)	(1988)
Split Britches (Lois Weaver, Peggy Shaw, and Deborah Margolin)	<i>Lesbians Who Kill</i>	Prostitution	Streets (Florida, U.S.)	(1992)
Carson Kreitzer	<i>Self Defense, or death of some salesman</i>	Prostitution	Streets (Florida, U.S.)	(2002)
Alecky Blythe	<i>The Girlfriend Experience</i>	GFE	A Basement Flat (Bournemouth, England)	(2009)
Jane Anderson	<i>The Escort</i>	Escorting	Hotel	(2011)
Alecky Blythe	<i>London Road</i>	Prostitution	Streets (Ipswich area of England)	(2012)

Chapter One: Containment strategies and outrageous myths: the prostitution problem and the emergence of the theatrical figure of the white slave

I. Introduction

Prostitution has remained a serious social problem for American and European societies over the past eleven decades. From morality to medicine, to name a few, a myriad of discourses circulate around the prostitute as societies grapple, desperately at times, with what is perceived to be the uncontrollable threat of prostitution. The social and political anxieties that intensify historically around the figure of the prostitute include immorality, disease, crime, violence, sexuality, and immigration to which correspond religious and secular developments aimed at solving the prostitution problem, such as moral codes and imperatives, medical institutions and regulations, in addition to a series of laws that restrict mobility.

I analyze in this chapter how playwrights from Hrotsvit of Gandersheim through Rachel Crothers engage the historically emergent social concerns surrounding the uncontrollable threat of prostitution. I trace how the prostitute develops into the theatrical figures of the fallen woman and white slave by beginning with an analysis of Hrotsvit's *Paphnutius* and concluding with Crothers's *Ourselves*. I employ these theatrical figures to theorize the containment strategies through which societies seek to eradicate the prostitution problem by forcing prostitutes into Magdalene homes, Lock hospitals, jails and asylums, often enacting institutionalized forms of gender based violence in the process. While my analysis of containment strategies traces an arch from the medieval church and modern asylum to the street, a space of utopian dreams, I also scrutinize along the way the manner by which discursive labels position the prostitute within delimiting binary structures, such as virgin/whore, actress/whore, and female-playwright/whore.

Female playwrights have consistently engaged the prominent social issues of their time with their plays that examine the connections between prostitution and gender based violence. Beginning in the medieval period, the first accredited female playwright¹ Hrotsvit of Gandersheim (932-1002)² constructs an archetype of the fallen woman in her plays *Abraham*, *Paphnutius* and *Callimachus*, which becomes seminal to the rise in popularity of plays in the 19th and 20th century that focus on the fallen woman as prostitute. I explore in the next chapter Hrotsvit's dramatic influence on plays ranging from Alexandre Dumas fils' *The Lady of the Camellias* (1852) to Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947). By analyzing Hrotsvit's figure of the fallen woman through the virgin/whore dichotomy, I show how Hrotsvit is principally concerned with the sexual exploitation of women during a period dominated by patriarchal viewpoints.

The fall from virgin to whore is a transgression of the religious and social mores of the medieval period, and by dramatizing the fallen woman, Hrotsvit illustrates how the female body is subject to intense scrutiny and punishment, typically, at the hands of the clergy. Hrotsvit's *Paphnutius* is exemplary in this respect. The immurement of Thais is a particularly cruel representation of corporeal violence where the monastic hermit Paphnutius imprisons Thais in a small cell amidst her feces for three years. As I theorize in detail in the next chapter, Hrotsvit dramatizes fallen women in her plays to show how the female body is a repeated nexus for gender based violence. I argue that while such violence not only reflects the patriarchal attitudes of the period, it is indicative of the tactics used by male perpetrators to deflect responsibility for the crimes that they commit. Hrotsvit emphasizes in her plays how male dominated narratives ultimately serve to both marginalize women's voices and erase the experience of trauma, often leading to states of abjection. Through the use of the virgin/whore label, members of patriarchal

society such as the clergy in Hrotsvit's plays increase their power to regulate the threat of prostitution.

II. *Woman-authored plays about prostitution, 1676-1850*

That prostitution and gender based violence were important for women during the Restoration period is evidenced by Aphra Behn's (1640-1689)³ decision to dramatize these social issues in her plays. While I acknowledge her significant influence within the larger arch of plays about prostitution in the western canon, I offer a limited treatment of specific plays by Behn due to the extensive scholarship already available in the field. For instance, Elin Diamond and Nancy Copeland explore the figure of the courtesan and the virgin/whore dichotomy in her plays. Dagny Boebel and Anita Pacheco focus on the subject of male-to-female rape in Behn's *The Rover* and its connection to prostitution, masks (vizards), and Mikhail Bakhtin's theorization of the carnivalesque.⁴ Derek Hughes demonstrates that Behn was the only female-author to have staged a play from 1671 to 1695,⁵ which uniquely positions her six plays on the topics of prostitution and gender based violence within the Restoration period. Her six plays on the above subjects are as follows: *The Town-Fop; or, Sir Timothy Tawdrey* (1676⁶), *The Rover* (1677⁷), *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679⁸), *The Revenge: or, A Match in Newgate* (1680⁹), *The Rover Part II* (1681¹⁰), and *The False Count; or, A New Way to Play an Old Game* (1681¹¹). Behn's engagement with the prominent social issues of the time in addition to the appearance in 1660 of the first professional actress on the English public stage shows how the Restoration period is exemplary with respect to women's active participation in both politics and theatre.¹² If Restoration theatre signals certain proto-feminist trends concerning the social and political treatment of women and their representations on stage, the period also marks the emergence of a

derogatory discourse, operating via the labels of actress/whore and female-playwright/whore, which works to devalue and delimit the burgeoning contributions of women within theatre.

I'm employing Joseph Lenz's seminal article "Base Trade: Theater as Prostitution" to frame my analysis of the scholarship that focuses on the emergence of the actress/whore label during the Restoration. Lenz analyzes what causes late sixteenth century Londoners to link both actor/whore and theater/prostitution, which include the close physical proximity of theatres and brothels, the presence of whores and bawds (real and fictional) in the theatres, and the co-existence of The Rose theatre and the Little Rose, a notorious brothel (stew), within the same physical location. Most importantly for Lenz, however, is the common early modern perception that associates "the theater and the act of acting as prostitution itself" (838). He turns to sensationalist Puritan tracts by Stephen Gosson, John Northbrooke, and John Rainolds for clues and uncovers an ideology—identical to the Romans'—that situates actors and prostitutes as similarly deceptive, manipulative, sexually provocative, and engaged in trading corporeal and pleasurable acts for profit. Second, argues Lenz:

The theater is seen through prostitution seeking eyes because the eyes quite naturally and reflexively seek prostitution. That is, they are attracted by, and submit to, and enjoy visual stimulation. And, as mere bodily organs, the eyes, like the sexual organs, cannot distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate pleasure. Thus, the theater is caught in a double bind. (841)

The theatre, then, by its very nature, involves the production of visual stimuli. Even if we do not represent prostitution on stage, according to Lenz, spectators will seek it out. In his theorization of the actor/whore, the label of whore is not determined by the sex of the actor since any body on stage can visually stimulate spectators.

By contrast, during the Restoration period the label of whore is influenced by the sex of the actress. In "Playhouse Flesh and Blood," Katharine Eisaman Maus traces the reasons English

women join the ranks of the stage in 1660 and their association with prostitution. She disproves the claims that actresses were introduced post-Interregnum to fulfill a demand for realistic portrayals of women on stage or as a solution to a shortage of well-trained, feminine looking boy actors. Instead she contends that Restoration spectators' interest in the sexuality of the actress (her on and off-stage sexual pursuits and victimization), the easy conflation of actress and whore, and an increase in eroticism around the concept of sexual difference ensured the actress's staying power in the theatre.

In addition to Maus's article, Rosamond Gilder's *Enter the Actress* (1931), Kristen Pullen's *Actresses and Whores* (2005), and Pippa Guard's *A Defence of the First English Actress* (2006) explore the conflation of the professional actress and whore. Desdemona's corporeal presence in high drama marks both the beginning of the regular conflation of professional actress and prostitute and the representation of this first actress as a victim of sexual violence. While the above mentioned authors identify that the first professional English actress plays Desdemona in *Othello, The Moor of Venice* (1660), only Elizabeth Howe in *The First English Actress* (1992) emphasizes that Othello calls Desdemona a "whore." In the context of Restoration theatre, the use of the term "whore" can be seen as metatheatrical as it was the custom of spectators to associate the actress with her role. The figure of Desdemona, then, represents one of two accused whores, the other whore being the actress who plays her. Pullen argues that the circulation of historical anecdotes about Restoration actresses offers a parochial understanding of professional actresses as frequently sexually assaulted, subjugated, and the mirror images of the passive characters they play, which, in turn, limits female agency, dismisses theatrical talents and successes, and "restricts current understandings of these women as historical subjects" (27-52). Taken altogether, the actress/whore trope illustrates that this label actively detracted from the

actress being viewed seriously as a professional, and on the other hand some actresses successfully employed the stigma of whore to achieve financial autonomy.¹³

In the second half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, the conflation of female playwright/whore and the male playwright's claim to bawdy dramatizations limited the female-author's theatrical engagement with prostitution (if she decided to write at all). During this period, Irish and English women author few plays about prostitution and gender based violence, but interestingly the English poet Mary Leapor authors an adaptation of *Othello* entitled *The Unhappy Father* (1745). The popularity of Shakespeare explains, to a degree, Leapor's choice of inspiration. Her appropriation of the plot of *Othello* was a means through which she could remain respectable (avoid the label of whore). The reason there are so few female-authored commercial plays after 1705, argues Jacqueline Pearson, is that it was impossible for female playwrights to "retain [their] respectability" (252-3). Beginning with Behn¹⁴ and more prevalent in the 1730s was the conflation of the female playwright and whore. In choosing the plot of *Othello* as the basis for her play, she avoided the label of whore, and safely explored the actress/whore trope and theme of wife-murder. In brief, *The Unhappy Father* centers on the antagonist Leonardo who convinces his cousin, the male protagonist Eustathius, that his wife Emilia has been unfaithful. Then channeling his inner-Iago, Leonardo plants Emilia's glove on Eustathius's servant (Plynus) and waits for his sneaky plan to unfold. Only moments later, Eustathius spots his wife's glove in his servant's trembling hand and views the trinket as concrete evidence of her sexual guilt. As a result of Leonardo's trickery, Eustathius believes that his wife Emilia is having an affair with Plynus. Leapor twists, however slightly, Shakespeare's ending insofar as Eustathius calls Emilia a "harlot" not a "whore" and then stabs instead of smothers her to death (Act III.IV). Taking into consideration that Leapor's play was

one of three woman-authored plays to be published between 1737 and 1750 and is essentially a reworking of the key themes found in Shakespeare's *Othello* suggests that the female playwright/whore label deterred women from authoring plays that deviated from previously male-approved dramatic materials.¹⁵

III. *Fallen, female, and contagious: Camille and the C.D. Acts*

Concurrent with the silencing of women's voices, the 1850s marks the emergence of the theatrical construct of the fallen woman, which entrenches sexuality and the woman's body within the contexts of both marriage and morality. Alexandre Dumas fils' *La Dame aux Camélias* (or *Camille* in America) (1852) is arguably the most successful and important play featuring a fallen woman as the protagonist. This male-authored play is not entirely an original creation insofar as it focuses on themes first introduced by Hrotsvit in her prototypical fallen woman plays. Dumas fils' *Camille* is considered the prototype of the "problem play," presenting a thesis or problem (often controversial) with the goal of generating discussion (Greenwald 12), however in chapter two I show how Hrotsvit introduces the problem of prostitution and gender based violence in *Abraham*, *Paphnutius*, and *Callimachus*.

The unique contribution that Dumas fils makes to the fallen woman genre is his dramatic construction of the first multidimensional fallen woman character, Camille. Dumas fils' brief romance with the highly desired courtesan Marie Duplessis (née Rose Alphonsine Plessis) gave him insight into the life of a prostitute in nineteenth-century France, which, in turn, inspired him to create the multidimensional fallen woman character known as Camille (Marguerite Gautier). Contrary to previous theatricalizations of prostitutes as conniving thieves (e.g. Lucetta in *The Rover*), one-dimensional vixens (e.g. Dolly Trull in *The Beggar's Opera*), and "complex

monstrous harlots”¹⁶ (e.g. Millwood in *The London Merchant*), Marguerite/Camille is self-reflexive, generous, and tragic. *La Dame aux Camélias*, argues Roger Clark, “signals the first honest attempt at an accurate representation on the stage of the prostitute’s way of life” (26). In brief, *Camille* centers on the figure of the courtesan/fallen woman, Camille, and her inability to escape the stigma of prostitute despite her pure heart. Even though she falls in love with Armand, and abandons her life as a courtesan to be with him, the likelihood of her past besmirching Armand and his sister’s opportunities in life,¹⁷ as Armand’s father Monsieur Duval suggests, prompts her to leave him without explanation. He assumes that she has left him for another man and upon seeing her again at a ball hosted by their mutual friend Olimpe, he publically shames her by throwing money on her prostrated body. By the time he realizes his mistake, she is on the verge of death. The fallen-woman narrative encourages spectators to forgive, as Armand does, Camille’s past as a prostitute, but it also demands that she dies as punishment for her sexual transgressions (Greenwald 13; Johnson 6). Clark also stresses that social forgiveness is only possible through Camille’s self-recognition of deserving punishment (45). Dumas fils is the first playwright to imbue the figure of the fallen prostitute with sentimentality. The play is significant because of its influence on opera¹⁸ and later theatre genres such as brothel drama in American theater,¹⁹ which models itself after *Camille* (Johnson 7). Dumas fils’ play also inspired modern cinematic and theatrical adaptations such as J.F. Lawton’s *Pretty Woman* (1990), originally called *\$3,000*, and Pam Gem’s *Camille* (1984).²⁰

In addition to inspiring a new theatre genre, an opera, films, ballets, and novels, Dumas fils’ play provides a different image of the male protagonist common to Hrotsvit’s fallen woman plays. The titular male protagonist in Hrotsvit’s play *Paphnutius*, for instance, views the figure of the fallen prostitute Thais as diseased and in need of a cure. He cruelly drags her to see the

Abbess, a minor female character who manages a monastery for holy virgins, and insists that she receive treatment for her illness. He tells the Abbess: “we must minister to this soul diseased by years of lust. It must be removed from the foul breath of the world. A narrow cell, solitude, silence—these must be her lot henceforth” (I.VII). Thais is in good physical health, but Paphnutius argues that she is spiritually ill. He claims that her former life as a prostitute is a sin that must be cured through penance and confinement.

In contrast to the lack of compassion Paphnutius shows Thais, the male protagonist Armand Duval in Dumas fils’ *Camille* demonstrates his concern for the ill and contagious fallen woman. He tells her, “Ah, Camille, let me be your nurse...” (Dumas fils I.16)). Following the style of Romanticism, Dumas fils portrays Armand’s love for Camille through his willingness to temporarily cast aside his class status and become her obsequious nurse. His motives, however, are not entirely selfless. The position of nurse would give him unfettered access to the courtesan who at that point in the play had several lovers. His words convey a subtle desire to transform the uncontrolled, contagious body of the courtesan into the contained, healthy body of exclusive mistress/future wife. His offer to nurse the diseased fallen woman back to health also undercuts the stigma of contagion that upper class society associates with prostitutes. Camille suffers from tuberculosis (consumption), which is an illness that people are unlikely to contract despite the fact that it is spread through the air from one person to another. The disease is also difficult to detect since the sufferer can appear healthy for a certain period of time. The possibility, however, that an ill fallen woman could pass as a healthy non-prostitute frightened members of nineteenth-century “polite” (upper-class) society who feared being unknowingly morally and physically polluted. The stigma of the diseased prostitute in need of containment, as seen first with the

fallen woman Thais, and next with the female protagonist Camille, was in its beginning stages of becoming a popular trope in the fallen woman genre in dramatic literature.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the figure of the diseased and contagious fallen woman (Camille) mirrored Europe and America's growing fear of the real ill and infectious prostitute. There was a growing concern in Europe and America that prostitutes were spreading communicable venereal diseases such as syphilis. Eugène Brieux's *Damaged Goods* (1910) is the first American play to address the problem of syphilis. In Katie N. Johnson's analysis of the play, she argues that Brieux locates the figure of the *prostitute fatale* as the source of contagion (syphilis). Brieux also dramatizes prostitution as part of a continuum of gender based violence. Specifically, Johnson explains how the character of the final patient in *Damaged Goods* is a prostitute "who, while working as a domestic at the age of seventeen, was raped by her boss and subsequently became pregnant. After losing her position, she turned to prostitution..." (2006: 178). Similar to the character of Anna Christie in O'Neill's titular play, the final patient experiences interpersonal and institutional violence that causes her to enter prostitution. In mid-nineteenth-century American and British societies, government officials and social reformers wanted to contain and punish diseased prostitutes but found it difficult or impossible to distinguish them from non-prostitutes. Their solution was to view all women as potential prostitutes, which led to women (prostitutes and non-prostitutes) experiencing violations of their civil rights. Take, for instance, the Contagious Diseases Acts (C.D. Acts) of 1864,²¹ which quietly passed through the British Parliament and permitted the state via special police units (out of uniform) to detain any woman alleged to be a common prostitute and force her to visit a male doctor for an invasive medical exam. Women who refused compulsory medical exams were sent to prison. The C.D. Acts aimed to protect both British troops from contracting diseases from

prostitutes and innocent women from contracting diseases from men. In so doing, however, the Bill's double standard reflects how on the one hand women (both prostitutes and non-prostitutes) are criminalized to uphold the predominant morality of society and on the other hand men are not implicated in the transmission of sexual diseases. Upon reading a report about the C.D. Acts in *The Times* in 1866, Josephine Butler (1828-1906) began what would become a National campaign to repeal the Bill. Parliament's repeal of the Acts in 1886 gave future suffragettes the confidence to campaign for women's right to vote.²² The repeal of the C.D. Acts is a victory for prostitutes' rights.

IV. Naturalization Act of 1870: The right of the few to become naturalized American citizens

Meanwhile in America, on July 14, 1870 President Ulysses S. Grant signs into law the Naturalization Act and then on March 3, 1875 the U.S. Congress passes the Page Act. Both Acts represent a methodology of containment implemented in response to white Americans' fears of increasing immigration, urbanization, and crime. The Naturalization Act significantly reflects American citizens' anxieties surrounding immigration to the United States in the late nineteenth century. It traces the rules of the naturalization process for people applying to be American citizens and aims to punish impersonation, forgery, aliases, the creation and use of counterfeit naturalization papers, among other deceptive practices. The last section of the Act specifies that black people, in addition to white people, have the legal right to naturalize: "And be it further enacted, That the naturalization laws hereby extended to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." This meant that black children, for the first time in history, would be granted citizenship at birth. These new laws, however, did not immediately translate into more political rights for black people and, significantly, they exclude every person who falls outside

the black/white dichotomy. The Act excludes, for example, Asian and Native American immigrants. The Naturalization Act was passed, in part, to limit illegal immigration and grant black people citizenship. However, in the context of prostitution, it prevented Asian and Native American women from immigrating to America to work as prostitutes.

V. *The Page Act of 1875: prostitution and Asian immigration to the United States*

The Page Act of 1875 follows this naturalization law and specifically denies Japanese, Chinese, and other Asian immigrants the right to naturalize. Section four of The Page Act forbids U.S. citizens from contracting or facilitating the illegal importation of any immigrant laborers, but especially Chinese laborers. Chinese laborers were more willing than other immigrant groups (out of necessity) to work for lower wages, which meant the loss of jobs for non-Chinese laborers. As a result of lost jobs, sinophobic sentiment increased. Non-Chinese laborers began to stereotype Chinese immigrants as opium-smoking gamblers, prostitutes, and white slavers. The Page Act of 1875 is important to the history of American prostitution for the following reasons:

- 1.) the Act emerges from the desire to determine whether “the immigration of any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country, to the United States, is free and voluntary” or if “such immigrant has entered into a contract or agreement for a term of service within the United States, for lewd and immoral purposes” (i.e. the Act connects Asian immigration to U.S. female prostitution).
- 2.) the Act makes it illegal to import a woman regardless of her nationality or ethnicity into the United States for prostitution.
- 3.) the Act makes it a felony (punishable by up to five years in prison and payment of a fine not to exceed \$5,000) for someone to “knowingly and willfully hold, or attempt to hold” any woman in prostitution.
- 4.) section five of the Act associates prostitutes with criminals.

Section five of the Act is significant in that some women “imported for the purposes of prostitution” are forced by pimps or destitution to prostitute and should not be grouped together

with criminals who have committed felonies. Congress passes additional immigration laws from 1882-1891, most notably the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 that made it illegal for Chinese laborers to immigrate to the United States, but significantly none of these laws mention prostitutes. In 1903 the U.S. Congress amends the Page Act of 1875, argues Frederick K. Grittner, “making it illegal to procure girls as well as women, while at the same time removing the “knowingly and willfully” language.” As a result, “the government did not have to prove the defendant knew what he was doing, only that he did it” (84). In the context of prostitution, these laws attempt to regulate female prostitutes who immigrate to the United States for work.²³

VI. *The rise of the white slave panic*

In Europe and America, at the end of the nineteenth century, there was a panic that crime syndicates comprised of foreigners were abducting young, innocent, white, heterosexual girls (usually English and American²⁴) and trafficking them into “white slavery” (forced prostitution). The term “white slavery” was first used in a non-sexual context and referred to exploited lower-class English workers. Catherine Gallagher argues that the anti-abolitionist William Cobbett popularized the term “white slave”; however, “the use of the metaphor of enslavement to characterize the situation of industrial workers was widely used in attacks on industrial capitalism and the condition of wage laborers in Britain in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s” (qtd. in Stange 153). By the 1850s, Johnson notes that the economic underpinnings of the term “white slavery” were known in America (114). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the term “white slave” became more closely associated with prostitution.

The false conflation of victims of white slavery and English white girls was, in part, an effect of English muckraker William Thomas Stead’s sensationalist exposé of the forced

prostitution of white English girls. Entitled “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon”, published in 1885 in three installments in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Stead uses an ethically dubious research methodology to obtain evidence to support the existence of white virgin children being trafficked into white slavery. Stead employs a procuress to purchase a white thirteen-year-old²⁵ from her parents, take her to a midwife who certifies her virginity, and then has the midwife deliver her to a brothel where she is drugged with chloroform. He then arrives, enters the young girl’s room, and allows her to think that he is going to violate her sexually. At that point, and only then, is he satisfied that he has sufficient proof to show British Parliament that it is easy to purchase a child for sex. He concludes his narrative, “A Child of Thirteen Bought for £5,” with the following emotive plea:

That was but one case among many, and by no means the worst. It only differs from the rest because I have been able to verify the facts. Many a similar cry will be raised this very night in the brothels of London, unheeded by man, but not unheard by the pitying ear of Heaven—
For the child's sob in the darkness curseth deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath. (*Modern Babylon I*)

While his actions are unethical and illegal, he spends three months in jail for procurement; his narrative is upsetting, verifiable, and thus effective. Significantly, his work incites moral outrage in the form of riots and demonstrations,²⁶ all of which help to pass the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885), which raises the legal age of consent in the UK from 13 to 16. As of 2015, the legal age of consent in the UK is still 16 with the exception of North Ireland where it is 17. The moral panic around prostitution and white slavery also causes the American government to raise the age of consent from 10 in 1887 to 14, 16, and 18 in 2015 depending on the state.²⁷ His exposé played a significant role in engendering panic and concern about white slavery in Europe and America.

Opponents of white slavery such as Stead were known as social purity reformers and their aim was to abolish prostitution and encourage a new sexual morality based on heteronormative, sexist values (Grittner 43; Doezema 27). White slavery is now, for the most part, considered a myth. Nickie Roberts terms white slavery a “Victorian fantasy” (253), Grittner terms it a “cultural myth” (5), David J. Langum calls it “hysteria” (26); the *Times* refers to it as “a figment of imaginative fly-gobblers”²⁸; Jo Doezema argues that it is nothing more than the general public’s fearful response to the increase in young women migrating for employment as opposed to remaining domicile with their families (2000: 27). In general, America wanted to express their “moral superiority” (Grittner 90) and deemphasize deteriorating labor conditions in their own country (Goldman²⁹). They blamed Europe for the problem of white slavery. These above examples and research on white slavery illustrate that although forced prostitution was and continues to be a problem,³⁰ the claim of an organized traffic in white slavery was an exaggerated response to a shift in sexual morals and increased immigration during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

It is important to also mention that many of the “white slaves” were not white. Popular newspapers such as the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Los Angeles Times* reported, for instance, on the trafficking in Chinese girls for use in the white slave trade.³¹ The label “white” used to describe forced prostitutes excludes and devalues the experiences of forced Chinese prostitutes. However, the most significant racist underpinning of the term “white slave” is its attempt to whitewash the violence done to the black slave. In America, Grittner argues that white reformers were constantly trying to “devalue the black slave experience” in their insistence that white slavery was worse than black slavery (70). Specifically, they created and perpetuated lies about “the black man as ‘beast-rapist’” raping white women and “the desexualization of black [female]

slavery” (Grittner 70). This myth facilitates false accusations of black men for the rape of white women, which is immortalized in the notorious 1931 Scottsboro case³² and 1989 Central Park jogger case.³³ In agreement with Grittner, Mara L. Keire argues that “the black man as sexual predator was a recurrent image in Progressive-era tracts, anti-vice authors portrayed African-American men as rapists,” but she also adds to his claim by pointing out that African-American men were not portrayed as traffickers of white women (8). Initially, they did evade the label of trafficker or white slaver; however, in 1910, they became the frequent subjects of prosecution for white slavery under the Mann Act. Langum argues that:

the Mann Act may have played a role in the tragic 1931 case of the Scottsboro boys. The young female “victims” in that case may have been riding the rails with two white men with whom they were having sexual relations. The girls may have claimed they were raped by the Negro defendants to evade prosecution for the Mann Act violation. (167)

In their hometown of Huntsville, Alabama, the white youths, Ruby Bates and Victoria Price, had reputations as part-time prostitutes prior to their coerced allegations of rape against the Scottsboro boys.³⁴ It is possible then that fear of being charged with prostitution under the Mann Act motivated them to lie about being raped. Female jurors might have detected the falsity of their rape stories, argues Susan Brownmiller, however female jurors were excluded from Alabama juries until 1966 (232). Taken altogether, social purity reformers employed the term “white slave” to criminalize the black man and immigrant populations, and eclipse both the sexual exploitation and subjugation of black females that took place during slavery and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The fear of growing immigrant populations and increased racism in America and Britain, as evidenced by the history of the term “white slavery” and the passing of the Mann Act and other Acts to hinder immigration (especially for the purposes of prostitution), were driving forces behind the white slave panic. It is important to understand the racist and ethnic stereotypes

and ideologies associated with white slavery because they are still perpetuated in popular media, film, and contemporary commercial theatre. These stereotypes and ideologies stem from social reformers and police members' desire to identify white slavers and their victims in order to contain and abolish the white slave traffic.

VII. *False accusations: blaming the Jews, French, and Chinese for the problem of white slavery*

In Britain and America, social reformers and police asserted that criminal syndicates comprised of foreigners controlled the white slave trade. In studies and newspaper articles on the white slave panic, Jews (Russian, Hungarian, and Austrian), the French, and Chinese are depicted as white slavers more than other immigrant communities. The first literary example of "white slavery" associated with prostitution, for instance, can be traced to the 1830s and is a clear indication of the rampant anti-Semitic sentiments of some British white slavery abolitionists.³⁵ In 1907 the American muckraking journalist George Kibbe Turner authors an infamous article in *McClure's Magazine* that blames the Jews for the white slave trade. Turner argues that Russian Jews supply the largest number of women for forced prostitution in American cities. He states:

The largest regular business in furnishing women, however, is done by a company of men, largely composed of Russian Jews, who supply women of that nationality to the trade. These men have a sort of loosely organized association extending through the large cities of the country, their chief centers being New York, Boston, Chicago, and New Orleans.³⁶

Multiple published articles attacked Turner's claim as sensationalist and anti-Semitic.³⁷ In his article in *McClure's*, Turner identifies the white slaves (victims) as Jewish, Irish and Italian. The Association for New York sent a sarcastic telegram to Turner in response to his assertions:

The association is unable to locate white slaves in New York City. Will you wire 111 Broadway the names and addresses of such white slaves as you know, so that we can

investigate? We do not believe the statements in your article, but hesitate to denounce you as the paid and deliberate defamer of innocent working women of the Jewish, Irish, and Italian races, without giving you an opportunity to make good what we believe are your libels upon those worthy nationalities.³⁸

Even John D. Rockefeller led a vice investigation into the organized white slave traffic in New York City and found that the only existing traffic in women was carried out by individuals.³⁹

In the context of American and European plays and musicals about prostitution and white slavery, modern dramatic representations of male serial killers of women (predominantly prostitutes) such as Jack the Ripper risk perpetuating the stereotype of the Jewish man as the perpetrator of white slavery and violence against prostitutes if not properly historicized. The following plays focus on the Ripper case: Frank Wedekind's *Lulu* (1894),⁴⁰ Joe Dickinson's *Jack the Ripper: Monster of Whitechapel* (1986), Albert Belz' *Yours Truly—A Tale of Jack the Ripper* (2006), Aoise Stratford's *The Unfortunates* (2012), and Richard Brent Reed's *The Trial of Jack the Ripper* (2014). There are also two musicals devoted to this grisly narrative: Ron Pember and Denis de Marne's *Jack the Ripper* (1974) and Christopher-Michael DiGrazia and Steven Bergman's *Jack the Ripper: The Whitechapel Musical* (2014). Anti-Semitism, as previously discussed, was rampant in Europe and America during the late nineteenth century when Jack the Ripper killed five prostitutes in the East End of London. Taking this information into consideration, Russell Edwards's recent claim in September of 2014 that he has DNA evidence that "definitely, categorically and absolutely" proves that the mentally ill barber Aaron Kosminski, a Polish born Jew, is Jack the Ripper⁴¹ suggests a perpetuation of the myth of the Jewish man as complicit in the white slave trade.

In brief, DNA evidence, in the form of blood, semen, and a possible kidney cell, was found on a shawl belonging to Catherine Eddowes—the fourth victim of the Ripper—and has since been compared with DNA samples that Edwards collected from the distant descendants of

Eddowes and Kosminski. After testing the DNA twice, DNA expert Jari Louhelainen achieved a 100% match. Kosminski was a suspect in the Jack the Ripper case during the late nineteenth century, however police investigators did not have substantial evidence to convict him or anyone else of the crimes. Edwards's claim that there is now enough evidence, 126 years later, to identify Kosminski as the Ripper has angered members of the medical and Jewish communities, in addition to some Ripperologists, who doubt both the authenticity of the shawl and accuracy of the DNA testing. For one, the shawl contains DNA from many people, as it has been passed around and handled without gloves for over a century, so it is not certain that the DNA profile belongs to only Kosminski. Edwards's motives for identifying the serial killer are also suspect, as he decides to announce his findings shortly before the release of his new book *Naming Jack the Ripper*.

It would not be too far of a stretch to say that anti-Semitism is behind the information used to identify Kosminski as the violent murderer of prostitutes. Significantly, one of the few pieces of evidence that came to a police officer's attention while investigating Eddowes's death was a piece of her bloody apron discarded in a stairwell near anti-Semitic graffiti that read: "The Juwes [sic] are not the men that will be blamed for nothing." This graffiti intimates that a non-Jew was trying to frame a Jew for Eddowes's murder. The metropolitan police commissioner and police superintendent made the controversial decision to erase the graffiti before a photograph could be taken, as they feared anti-Semitic riots from Londoners. 126 years since the murders and a British man (Russell Edwards) has come forward to blame the Jew.

The United States Senate's Immigration Commission in 1909 and international news sources also signaled out the French as operating a large criminal syndicate centered on trafficking white slaves (Langum 18; Cordasco 33). Authors of white slave narratives describe

how the French syndicates sex traffic French girls from Paris and rural towns to American brothels.⁴² Studies on the white slave panic claim white slave routes go from England and America to Paris, Brussels, and Antwerp (Terrot 19-20, 31-37). The 2008 blockbuster film *Taken* exemplifies this myth of the French syndicate sex trafficking in white American girls. Briefly, the narrative of *Taken* focuses on upper class American girls, the seventeen-year-old Kim and her nineteen-year-old friend Amanda, and their disastrous first international venture to Paris. They arrive in Paris to follow the rock band U2 around Europe, but immediately fall prey to an attractive Parisian named Peter who works as a spotter⁴³ for an Albania gang specializing in the sex trafficking of young women. The girls are “taken” and Kim’s father, Bryan, who happens to be a former “preventer” for the CIA, races off to Paris to rescue Kim (Amanda’s fate is of minimal importance). Although the Albanians are positioned as the foreign villains common in white slavery plays, Bryan discovers that corrupt French government officials and nationals comprise a criminal syndicate that finance, tolerate, and participate in the sex trafficking of women.

One reason *Taken* exemplifies the melodramatic white slave narrative is that the female protagonist and victim of white slavery, Kim, is both morally and sexually pure. Johnson argues that in a white slave narrative, “the protection of the heroine’s chastity is often the driving force of the drama: the hero must save her before she is sexually ruined” (112). In this film, Bryan rescues his daughter moments before her virginity is taken and returns her safely to American soil. During his mission to save Kim, Bryan finds the dead Amanda chained to a bed in a makeshift brothel. After this discovery scene, we never see or hear about Amanda again. Within the framework of the white slave narrative, the social and economic value of the female body is contingent on virginity and the presence of an active father figure. The life of the character

Amanda is of secondary importance to Kim's because she lacks a father figure, is no longer a virgin, and expresses her sexual desire prior to being trafficked. Amanda's dead body serves as a warning to female spectators of the dangers of sexual promiscuity and international travel. In general, the film conveys the message that a girl should obey the law of the father since Kim was "taken" because she did not follow her father's advice to stay in America or allow him to act as her chaperone in Paris.⁴⁴

White slave narratives and dramas also depict Chinese syndicates operating in America and China, in addition to the Jewish and French syndicates previously mentioned, as the suppliers of European and American girls to brothels. In his book *Traffic in Innocents*, Charles Terrot describes W.N. Willis's sensationalist account of the European white slave trade in Shanghai. The Australian politician and newspaper proprietor Willis claims that the worst place European white slaves could end up is "the Chinese quarter where no power on earth could save them" (51). At one point, Terrot describes Willis's rescue of a European girl from a Chinese run opium den:

The sight was too much for Willis; with considerable bravery he attacked and knocked-out the Chinaman who was guarding the girl, and then after wrapping a cloak round her carried her into the street. He managed to get her into a carriage and took her to the home of some acquaintances who promised to look after her. But they never heard whether they had been successful in reclaiming her. (52)

This passage is exemplary in both its stereotyping of the Chinese white slaver and depiction of the damaging consequences of renegade social purity reformers' white slave "rescue" missions. Terrot depicts Willis as the brave white knight fighting "the Chinaman" on behalf of the innocent European girl, yet the fact that Willis removes the white slave without her consent from the opium den and then fails to care for her illustrates the selfish intent of his "rescue" mission.

In the early twentieth century, American newspapers frequently described the Chinese as holding, drugging, and trafficking white slaves from their chop-suey cafes and laundries to brothels and opium dens in San Francisco and New York.⁴⁵ Twentieth and twenty-first century American theatre and films perpetuate these stereotypes. In Johnson's study of brothel dramas in America, 1900-1920, she identifies "opium den and harem white slaves" as one of three types of popular white slave plays produced during the Progressive era. Her analysis covers the following plays: Joseph Jarrow's *Queen of Chinatown* (1899), Walter Montague's *The Slave Girl: 20 Minutes in Frisco's Chinatown* (1913), John B. Hymer and Samuel Shipman's *East is West* (1918), and John Colton's *Shanghai Gesture* (1926). Arguably the most popular opium den white slave narrative of the late twentieth century is the 1967 film turned 2002 Broadway musical *Thoroughly Modern Millie*. In this film and musical, the figure of Mrs. Meers works as the house mother of a New York hotel for single women and sells the white, orphaned ingénue, Millie Dillmount, into a Chinese-operated white slavery ring.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the literary and mythical construction of Jews (Russian, Hungarian, and Austrian), French, and Chinese as white slave traffickers reappears in mainstream international news (the identification of Jack the Ripper), blockbuster films (*Taken*), and commercial theatre (*Thoroughly Modern Millie*). Identifying these racist and ethnic stereotypes and ideologies as effects of the white slave panic will move us in a more useful direction toward solving the real problems of sex trafficking and criminalization of sex workers. In addition to highlighting racist and ethnic stereotypes during the white slave panic, this chapter illustrates the marginalization and silencing of women's voices within the arch of plays about prostitution and gender based violence.

VIII. *Rachel Crothers's Ourselves: the only woman-authored white slave play to be produced*

Johnson, for instance, claims that women author only three white slave plays out of the dozens of white slave plays that appear after Congress passes the Mann Act in 1910. She identifies the following three white slave plays: Elizabeth Robins's *My Little Sister* (1913), Rachel Marshall and Oliver Bailey's *The Traffic* (1913), and Rachel Crothers's *Ourselves* (1913). Out of these plays, *Ourselves* is the only play to be produced and significantly it "escaped censorship" (127).⁴⁶ The prevalence of women in early twentieth-century political life, especially their active involvement in campaigns about prostitution, makes the omission of women-authored and produced plays about white slavery strange. Johnson argues that Crothers's *Ourselves* received a short Broadway run because of its women-centered approach and feminist dramaturgy. Johnson argues that Crothers's claim that white slavery is caused by the male demand for prostitution and women's tolerance of a sexual and moral double standard was too feminist for mainstream Progressive Era audiences.

Another possible explanation for Broadway spectators' disinterest in *Ourselves* is its feminist claim, however subtle, that gender based violence can contribute to a woman's entrance into prostitution. The theme of gender based violence as located on a continuum, first introduced in Hrotsvit's *Abraham*, plays a minor but important role in Crothers's play. The protagonist and victim of white slavery Molly confides to the character Beatrice: "My mother wasn't straight—she fooled me. The man she was livin' with wasn't my father at all. See here, I'm not goin' to talk about that" (304). This passage suggests that Molly experienced gender based violence prior to her boyfriend and pimp, Leever, forcing her into prostitution. There is a trend in fallen woman and white slave plays, as I discuss in chapter two, for playwrights to employ euphemisms such as "betrayed" or "started" and moments of silence in place of explicit testimonials of rape and

incest. Although playwrights' use of ambiguous language about the fallen woman's experiences of gender based violence prior to her entrance into prostitution downplays the severity of the abuse, these moments are progressive and feminist for early twentieth-century plays. This statement is especially true for Progressive-Era women playwrights such as Crothers, who had to consistently battle marginalization in theatre and politics. Molly's subtle confession that she experiences interpersonal violence can be read as a daring attempt, on the part of Crothers, to highlight how gender based violence can increase a girl's vulnerability to being sex trafficked. The playwright also boldly asserts that Molly's mother was complicit in her daughter's victimization. This idea was progressive in the 1913 because it undercut the gender stereotype of the nurturing, sensitive mother. In the twenty-first century, women who condone or facilitate the abuse of other women remains a disturbing and complex problem that women playwrights represent in plays about sex trafficking (see chapter three). In general, the short Broadway run of *Ourselves* can be attributed to the feminist focus on prostitution as a social problem that is located on a continuum of gender based violence.

IX. *Fighting the octopus: the war on white slavery*

In the early twentieth century, authors of white slavery narratives depicted the relationship between white slavery and American cities as analogous to a colossal octopus drowning or swallowing its prey. In his sensationalist book *The Shame of the Human Race: The White Slave Traffic* (1904), Rev. F. G. Tyrrell begins with the octopus as a metaphor for the uncontainable spread of white slavery:

Like a plague which descends upon a city in the night, without warning or a sign of disaster, white slavery, with all its horrible terrors and evils has come among the American people. Like a pall it has enveloped this country and laid waste to virtue and innocence. It has devastated homes, ruined thousands of men and women, and thrown

cities, towns and villages into moral havoc. To confine this dreadful octopus to one sphere, one city or one village is impossible. It is everywhere. (20)

In this passage, the “dreadful octopus” with its many tentacles quickly enveloping American “cities, towns and villages” is symbolic of the fear of white slavery (i.e. a fear of increased immigration, urbanization, vice, and mobile, autonomous women). This same fear of white slavery as “deadly octopus” concerned social reformers in Los Angeles as evidenced by Charles Edwards Locke’s *White Slavery in Los Angeles* (1913):

Close our eyes to it as we may there is a definite, and determined, and devilish White Slavery in our country. Like a deadly octopus it has laid its long tentacles over this land, and one of these long clammy clutches reaches to our city, beautiful, fair as a suburb of Paradise, and insinuates itself as did the serpent in the Garden of Eden. (34-35)

In this passage, Locke analogizes the threat the “deadly octopus” (white slavery) poses to Los Angeles to the danger of the “serpent [Satan] in the Garden of Eden.” The police and social reformers in both Chicago and Los Angeles viewed white slavery as a monstrous, clever, ubiquitous force that they could not contain or regulate.

The octopus is also symbolic of the crime syndicate that keeps its “white” victims in sexual bondage. Tyrrell states that the crime syndicate constrains the mobility of the victim of white slavery:

She never goes away from the house but she is accompanied by her owner, or by an agent who is in the employ of the master or mistress. And this agent never allows the girl out of his sight. She has little chance to escape. He watches her with the eye of a hawk...And even should he allow her to escape, there is always a way to apprehend her. The syndicate is an octopus with many arms. (26)

In this quotation, the white slave appears to be free when she leaves the “house” (i.e. house of assignment) but she is without agency, constantly surveilled by various figures that comprise the crime syndicate. Each of these male figures (owner, agent, etc.) functions like an octopus’s

tentacle, outstretched and ready to quickly attach its powerful suckers to its victim/prey. The strong grip of the syndicate (octopus) gives victims of white slavery “little chance to escape.”

The literary trope of the octopus appears six years later in a narrative about white slavery in Chicago entitled *The White Slave Hell* (1910). Figure 1.6 illustrates that in 1910 the octopus is still symbolic of white slavery and vice. However, from 1904 to 1910 the representation of the octopus’s location shifts from the ubiquitous shadows of the “cities, towns and villages” to the red light district by the lake. In examining Figure 1.6, the octopus on the lake has taken over “22nd street and Armour Ave,” the “dance hall,” multiple saloons, and “furnished rooms” and pulls an unaccompanied woman strolling on the boardwalk (the “fairest forms”) into its “dens of sin.” This octopus symbolizes the vices of the red light district (76) and more generally “tells the story of official tolerance [of prostitution] in Chicago” (19).

Unlike the image of the “dreadful octopus” that cannot be contained or abolished, as represented in *The Shame of the Human Race: The White Slave Traffic* (1904), the “Octopus on the Lake” in *The White Slave Hell* (1910) can be killed. Social reformers believe the mayor and police force have the power to kill segregated vice (i.e. the octopus), but their monetary investments in the octopus fuel their decision to keep it alive (75). In general, police favor segregation and regulation of red-light districts (as opposed to decriminalization or abolition) because it makes it easier for them to contain and monitor prostitution.



The Octopus on the Lake.

The monster's slimy tentacles drag in
The fairest forms to grace the dens of sin.

Figure 1.6 "The Octopus on the Lake" from Frederick Martin Lehman, *The White Slave Hell* (Chicago, 1910) 101.

Similarly, doctors such as William W. Sanger, known for his history of prostitution in the western world, also calls for the segregation and regulation of prostitution in America. In his study of the prostitution problem in New York, Sanger argues against the incarceration of prostitutes and instead proposes the following solutions:

- 1.) A suitable hospital for the treatment of venereal disease;
- 2.) A legally authorized medical visitation of all known houses of prostitution, with full power to order the immediate removal of any woman found to be infected to the designated hospital;
- 3.) The power to detain infected persons under treatment until they are cured, a term of time which none but medical men can decide. (643-44)

Proponents of regulation such as Sanger, doctors, police, and vice commissions viewed containment as the best method for reducing white slavery (or taming the invincible octopus). The octopus (problem of white slavery) embodies Americans' shifting anxieties and fears from immigration to women's rights and, as previously noted, was initially uncontainable and then contained, to a degree, within the red-light districts. The fact that red-light districts in New York and Chicago were in close proximity to popular spaces of commercial amusements meant that the octopus could attack Raines law hotels, theatres, dance halls, music halls, cabarets, five cent theatres, and other places used for entertainment. White slave narratives constructed these spaces of commercial amusements as the cause of "innocent" women's corruption and entrance into white slavery.

X. *Prostitution in New York 1896-1910: the Raines law hotel and impure commercial amusements*

In 1896 the New York State Legislature passed the Raines law, which unintentionally increased prostitution and encouraged the Committee of Fifteen to label low-dance halls, theatres, and free public entertainments as sources of moral corruption.⁴⁷ The Committee of Fifteen was one of many citizens' groups that formed to address prostitution (the "Social Evil") and its effects in Progressive Era America. In brief, the Raines law was designed to discourage the trafficking in liquor and sex by making it illegal for establishments other than hotels to sell liquor on Sundays. A building had to have ten rooms above its basement and sell meals to guests to qualify as a hotel. As a result, numerous saloons transformed their premises into Raines law hotels and since the demand for rooms for "respectable purposes" was limited, "the tenant of a 'hotel' of this class had the choice between paying rent for vacant space or permitting the use of his rooms for dishonorable purposes."⁴⁸ Under the Raines law, prostitution flourished and prostitutes' mobility increased since they could solicit in any part of the city. Elizabeth Alice Clement frames the experiences of prostitutes working out of Raines law hotels as primarily positive because they received some protection from violence and were able to keep all of their earnings (91-2). By contrast, the Committee of Fifteen saw Raines law hotels as spaces where prostitution and popular entertainment met and facilitated the victimization of young men: "Persons who would hesitate to enter a brothel or notorious rendezvous are easily "victimized" in the Raines Law hotel with summer garden or roof garden or other facilities for public entertainment" (162). The idea of the prostitute as a moral corrupter of "good" men and source of venereal disease was common. In Progressive Era reports on prostitution in American cities,⁴⁹ the prostitute is represented as a moral corrupter. Recall that the figure of the prostitute as moral

corrupter was a popular literary trope in the fallen woman plays of Hrotsvit and Pinero as evidenced in chapter two. The character of Paphnutius in Hrotsvit's titular play, for instance, blames the brothel prostitute Thais for corrupting innocent men.⁵⁰ In Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, the figure of the fallen woman Paula is an ex-prostitute. Nevertheless, "polite"(upper-class) society views her as a moral corrupter of both men and women. The male protagonist Aubrey Tanqueray, for example, believes that she will corrupt his virginal daughter Ellean.⁵¹

XI. *The immigration act of 1907: commercial amusements and sex*

The next law to address prostitution in the United States is the Immigration Act of 1907, and in the context of Progressive Era amusements this Act worked to further the association between commercial spaces of entertainment and brothels. This immigration law made it illegal to import into the United States "any alien woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution, or for any other immoral purpose."⁵² The ambiguous phrase "any other immoral purpose" exemplifies the policing of sexual mores that occurs during the white slave panic. It also references a line from the Page Act of 1875 that associates immigrants from "China, Japan, or any Oriental country" with "lewd and immoral purposes." This section of the Immigration Act makes it illegal for immigrants to engage in prostitution or work in music halls, dance halls, theatres, and movie theatres.⁵³ It also makes it illegal for any person to employ, protect, or financially assist prostitutes. The Immigration Act of 1907 illustrates that commercial entertainment spaces were common haunts of prostitutes and additionally suggests that prostitutes had part-time day jobs in dance and music halls, theatres, and cabarets.

XII. *Falling into white slavery: the dangerous, erotic stage*

In early twentieth-century America, religious-inspired white slave narratives frequently mention theatres and other entertainment spaces as both erotic and dangerous. In his sensationalist book *The Shame of the Human Race: The White Slave Traffic* (1904), F. G. Tyrrell discusses his anxieties about women's bodies on the stage:

Why should women expose their persons upon the ballroom floor and upon the stage? With the libidinous blood of generations throbbing in their veins, men are sure to find their passions aroused by the slightest encouragement. And this encouragement they can find in any high-toned gathering, in any theatre. (303)

Tyrrell blames female performers in dance halls and theatres for arousing male spectators' sexual desires. His argument that women performers should exercise modesty on stage because men cannot control their erections, "the libidinous blood of generations *throbbing* in their veins" [*italics mine*], illustrates his desire to evade self-responsibility for his sexuality. His words also convey a Puritan and Victorian androcentric ideology that minimizes the existence of female sexuality and desire. It is not surprising, then, that he does not venture to consider that female performers might "expose their persons" for themselves or each other. The last line suggests that in addition to female performers, female spectators arouse male spectators' "passions." Tyrrell quotes a male sociology student to further his argument that female performers and the space of the stage are responsible for the moral corruption of men:

The stage, the concert hall and the ball bear a large responsibility. From the spectacular play and from the ball, with the under-dressed women at the one and the under-dressed women and the wine at the other, men hurry to the brothel. It by no means follows that the cure lies in the abolition of the theatre or the dance, though some think so, yet the part in this matter played by the present stage and fashionable society cannot be denied. (303)

In this passage, the "under-dressed women" on stage and in the audience of theatres cause men to "hurry to the brothel." In the context of white slavery, immoral plays and immodest fashions were thought to increase the likelihood of a woman being trafficked into white slavery.⁵⁴

Sensationalist books on white slavery in Chicago such as Ernest A. Bell's *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls: War on the White Slave Trade* (1910), F.M. Lehman's *The White Slave Hell* (1910) and Jean Turner-Zimmermann's *Chicago's Black Traffic in White Girls* (1911) also associate theatres and commercial spaces of entertainment with a network of vice that includes forced prostitution/white slavery.



Figure 1.7. “Dangerous Amusements—The Brilliant Entrance to Hell Itself” from Ernest A. Bell, *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls, or War on the White Slave Trade* (G.S. Ball, 1910) 50.

Bell argues that five cent theatres, vaudeville shows, amusement parks, theatres, and dance halls are dangerous spaces for young girls. He claims that the dance hall is “the ante-room to hell itself. Here indeed, is the beginning of the white slave traffic in many instances” (see Figure 1.7). Lehman claims that the system of segregated vice in Chicago is made up of “hundreds of dance halls, cheap theatres, free and easy shows, gambling dens, pool rooms, bowling alleys, penny arcades, brothels, [and] houses of prostitution” (407). Turner-Zimmermann argues that white slave procurers “recruit women for immoral purposes” from spaces where they can establish “intimacy” such as “picture shows, dance-halls, sometimes waiting rooms in large department stores, railroad stations, manicuring and hair dressing establishments” (15). Convicted of white slavery in 1911, Harry Balding claimed that penny arcades and nickles theatres were ideal spaces to lure women and girls into white slavery.⁵⁵

The height of the white slave panic occurs in America and Europe during the 1910s alongside a rise in the availability of commercial amusements to all strata of Progressive Era society. As a result of the close proximity between red-light districts and commercial theatre districts in American cities such as Chicago and New York,⁵⁶ white slave narratives and dramas illustrate both districts as spaces where innocent women are coerced and tricked into white slavery. Six months before the passing of the Mann Act (1910), a group of reverends and professors met at a Chicago YMCA to discuss the problem of prostitution in their city. As a result of this meeting and a letter they penned to the mayor of Chicago about their desire to suppress prostitution, the mayor decides to appoint Dean Walter T. Summer as temporary Chairman of the Vice-commission.⁵⁷ Months later an ordinance is passed that creates a commission of the city government called the Vice Commission with the aim to investigate prostitution in Chicago and report their findings back to the mayor. The Commission outlines

their findings in a four hundred page report, *The Social Evil in Chicago: A Study of Existing Conditions with Recommendations by The Vice Commission of Chicago* (1911), in which they argue against the segregation and regulation of prostitution in Chicago and instead recommend a system of repression with the ultimate goal of eradicating the sex trade. The small section of this study that focuses on the white slave traffic is significant insofar as commission members debunk the myth that a woman unaccompanied by a man is a white slave if she enters an immoral establishment. The report also undercuts the popular myths that all victims of white slavery are white and organized crime syndicates control the white slave traffic.⁵⁸

The stage as a space through which young girls are sex trafficked into white slavery is the focus of *Part Two: Tragedies of the White Slave, From Dance Hall to White Slavery: The World's Greatest Tragedy*. In chapter five, H.M. Lytle and John Dillon trace the methods white slave traffickers employ to lure innocent girls into forced prostitution. The first way a “good girl” is tricked into prostitution is through her relationship with “old stagers,” or girls who are experienced in the theatre profession. Lytle and Dillon explain that the old stager proposes to the new girl that they go out on the town with some men she knows and “dash through the city in a ten thousand dollar automobile” (60; see bottom left hand corner of Figure 1.8). The new girl continues to go out on the town with these men until she sexually falls. A man seduces her, for example, and then traps her in brothel prostitution. Another way a girl is lured into white slavery is through employment in a road company (member of a theatre company that travels). Lytle and Dillon argue that the sleeping accommodations are cramped on these tours and the girl is often forced to “double up” with a male member of the company (63). The dressing rooms of small theatres that stage burlesque shows are also a threat to chorus girls in the show (see middle of Figure 1.8).



Figure 1.8 “The Tragedy of The Stage” from H.M. Lytle and John Dillon, *Part Two: Tragedies of the White Slave, From Dance Hall to White Slavery: The World’s Greatest Tragedy* (Chales C. Thompson CO, 1912) 17, 229.

Often girls are tricked into prostitution when they respond to false theatrical agencies' advertisements for young and pretty girls. Once in contact with the fake manager of the agency, they are asked to sign a contract as a member of a theatrical road company. A few days after they consent to signing the document, Lytle and Dillon claim they are introduced to a "stylishly dressed man" who pretends to escort the girls to their theatre troupe, but instead sells them to divekeepers (brothel owners) for "a sum ranging from \$50 to \$1,000 each" (72; see top left hand corner of Figure 1.8). Once consigned to the brothel, Lytle and Dillon's narrative states that the victim is "swallowed up by the giant octopus, white slavery" (74). Men and women traffic neophyte actresses, in other words, from the public stages and streets into the subterranean brothels, the latter of which symbolize the underbelly of the white slave trade (or the giant octopus).

XIII. *The Mann Act and America's red-light districts*

In 1909, Representative James R. Mann introduces "The White Slave Traffic Act" also known as the Mann Act with the explicit purpose of catching "white slavers." Punishable by up to five years in prison and a fine of 5,000 dollars, the Mann Act made it a felony to knowingly transport or assist in the interstate or international transportation of "any woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose" (36 Stats., Vol. I, 825). The inclusion of the vague phrase "any other immoral purpose" meant that opponents of prostitution, interracial relationships, and sex outside marriage could argue that these acts and relationships are immoral and employ the Mann Act to police them. The passing of the Mann Act into law, in general, was a significant move by the U.S. government to contain and punish these perceived immoral behaviors. The law was also used to prosecute strip club dancers, celebrities, club owners, and black men (Grittner 85, Doezema 30, Ditmore 83).

Bearing in mind that Mann thought that white slave traffic was worse than black slavery,⁵⁹ it is unsurprising that he employed the law to prosecute black men. Heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson, for example, is a well-known black man convicted in 1913 for violating the Mann Act. Federal authorities arrested Johnson twice in 1912 for transporting female, white prostitutes, Lucille Cameron followed by Belle Schreiber, across state lines for his own sexual use. Cameron refused to testify against Johnson and the couple wed in December of 1912. In regard to the Schreiber case, Langum argues that the appellate court “reversed the ‘purpose of prostitution’ charges” and “affirmed the conviction for ‘other immoral purposes’ on the basis that the Mann Act was violated” because Johnson transported Schreiber between states for the purpose of having sex (185). The appellate court found no evidence of Johnson’s engagement in commercial sex acts and therefore might have nullified his original prison sentence. However, he illegally fled America for Mexico in 1914 before his case could be resentenced.

It was only in 1917, as a result of the *Caminetti v. United States* case, that it became legal for noncommercial sexual encounters to be tried under the Mann Act. The *Caminetti* case was decided in 1917 and “held that the Mann Act did indeed apply to consensual, noncommercial, sexual encounters in which a male transported or encouraged the transportation of a woman in interstate commerce” (Langum 97-8). This broad application of the Mann Act meant that couples caught having a consensual sexual relationship after traveling across state lines could be prosecuted under the Mann Act. If the goal of the Mann Act was to arrest white slavers, the extension of the law to noncommercial encounters was ineffective. Police arrested prostitutes at work and couples on dates when they should have been focusing their energy on the actual white slaves and white slavers. The predominant problem for police and reformers was their inability

to locate the criminal syndicates trading in white slaves. In fact they struggled to find white slaves to rescue and instead found professional foreign-born prostitutes who wanted to be left alone, which further confirms that the problem of white slavery was exaggerated because of American and European fears about increased immigration, interracial relationships, and autonomous female sex workers, charity, and treating girls.⁶⁰

In the United States, around the same time the Mann Act was passed, government officials questioned whether segregated red-light districts effectively suppressed prostitution. They observed that the Police employed these districts to control other forms of vice such as stealing. Howard Brown Woolston, a historian of prostitution in the United States, argues that the districts were useful spaces for catching criminals since “it is well known that thieves and other law-breakers frequently seek the company of prostitutes to spend their ill-gotten gains in the dissipation of the brothel” (109). The police commonly employed prostitutes as stool pigeons (police informers) in the early twentieth century to help catch criminals. Prostitutes also fell victim to stool pigeons and police officers posing as johns. The use of stool pigeons, argues Clement, “vastly increased both the number of arrests and the corruption of the police department” (130). The chiefs of police in New Orleans, Detroit, St. Louis, New Haven, Colorado, Cleveland, Birmingham, and Kansas City favor regulation and segregation as solutions to the problem of prostitution.⁶¹ Tolerance and enforcement of these policies in their respective states enables police to keep prostitutes under surveillance and prevent the moral corruption of non-prostitutes. George H. Bodeker, chief of police in Birmingham, argues that very seldom will reformers or anyone else “extend a hand to those poor, fallen women; but, on the contrary, seem to delight in driving them to a lower depth of demoralization” (86). He suggests that reformers’ anti-prostitution policies are both selfish and hypocritical since they

only benefit American and “respectable” reformers. Reformers do not take into consideration that women forced to leave prostitution without viable economic alternatives are further exploited in workhouses or return to prostitution. In contrast, George Cosson (1876-1963), a Republican in the 33rd General Assembly of the state senate of Iowa, argues against the toleration of red-light districts because they encourage forced prostitution: “When you do away with the districts you cannot voluntarily sell a girl into white slavery, although she may voluntarily go into prostitution.”⁶² The toleration of red-light districts leads to an increase in brothels and other commercial sexual establishments in these districts, which in turn heightens the demand for working prostitutes. If there are not enough autonomous prostitutes to meet the demand for sexual services, argues Cosson, women will be sold into white slavery.

While serving on the state senate of Iowa, Cosson introduces the Iowa Red-Light Injunction and Abatement Bill in support of the abolishment of red-light districts, which both houses passed into law in 1909. In drafting the bill, explains Cosson, “we simply took the old liquor statutes of Iowa, which had been in successful operation, as I say, for 20 years or over, and made them applicable to houses of prostitution”(43).⁶³ The bill aims to reduce commercialized and organized prostitution by holding the property owner of the illegal house of ill-fame, whether trafficker, madam, or another grafter, and its occupants financially⁶⁴ and morally⁶⁵ accountable for violating the law. Following Iowa’s lead to pass a law that abates red-light districts, other states passed red-light injunction laws in 1911 (Nebraska, North Dakota), 1913 (North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Arizona), 1914 (Massachusetts, New York, California), 1915 (Texas, Michigan, Illinois, Idaho, Indiana, Colorado), 1916 (New Jersey, Virginia).⁶⁶ In general, police chiefs supported a policy of segregated and tolerated red-light districts. By contrast,

prostitution reformers and abolitionists across the United States goaded their municipal governments to close red-light districts. Between the 1910s and 1920, state officials complied with reformers' requests and closed all red-light districts in the United States and, as a result, they pushed many commercial establishments for prostitution into the shadows.

A significant move was made in 1921 to account for all women forced into prostitution when members of the League of Nations gathered in Geneva for The International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children. There the League of Nations made amendments to the Mann Act ("White Slave Traffic Act") including the replacement of "White Slave Traffic" with "Traffic in Women and Children."⁶⁷ Nevertheless, this change in title did not erase the history of the term "traffic" and its association with a social and racial purity movement (white slavery).

XIV. *Conclusion*

This chapter established that medieval and modern societies have struggled to solve the prostitution problem, which as I argue mirrors the theatrical trends expressed in theatre from Hrotsvit to Crothers in the development of the figures of the fallen woman and white slave. The societal threats posed by these figures range from a fear of disease to anxieties over female sexuality. In reaction to these fears and anxieties, British and Americans implement a variety of containment strategies such as the Contagious Diseases Acts and Mann Act ("White Slave Traffic Act"). Containment strategies extend to red-light and entertainment districts that are identified by the clergy, social reformers, and the police as spaces conducive to both forced and consensual prostitution, and therefore require surveillance and regulation.

NOTES

¹ Rosamond Gilder names Hrotsvit as the first female playwright in *Enter the Actress: The First Woman in the Theatre* (1931). Butler concurs with Gilder: "Hrotsvitha is rightly called the first woman dramatist, the only recorded playwright between the Romans and the writers of the medieval church drama of the twelfth century" (69).

² Sister Mary Marguerite Butler, R.S.M. states in *Hrotsvitha: The Theatricality of Her Plays* (1960) that "Neither her birth year nor the year of her death is historically documented; since the earliest year of her birth which could possibly be recognized is 932, and the earliest year of her death, 1003, therefore, she lived to be approximately seventy years old" (63).

³ Aphra Behn is the first woman playwright to financially support herself with her pen. Specifically, Virginia Woolf states, "For now that Aphra Behn had done it, girls could go to their parents and say, You need not give me an allowance; I can make money by my pen. Of course the answer for many years to come was, Yes, by living the life of Aphra Behn!" (1929, 77). Nevertheless, Frances Boothby deserves credit as the first female English playwright to have her work appear on the English stage. Her only known play *Marcelia: or, the Treacherous Friend* premiered in 1669 at the Theatre Royal in London. The theatrical narrative excludes any discussion of prostitution.

⁴ See Dagny Boebel, "In the Carnival World of Adam's Garden: Roving and Rape in Behn's Rover." *Broken boundaries: women and feminism in Restoration drama*. Ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996) 54-70; Anita Pacheco, "Rape and the Female Subject in Aphra Behn's 'The Rover'." *ELH* 65.2 (Summer, 1998): 323-345. *JSTOR*. 4 Jan. 2012 < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30030182>>.

⁵ See Derek Hughes, "Aphra Behn and the Restoration theatre," *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*. Ed. Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2004) 29.

⁶ *The Town-Fopp* was first produced at the Duke's Theatre in London on September 20, 1676. It was published the following year.

⁷ *The Rover* was first produced at the Duke's Theatre in London on March 24, 1677.

⁸ *The Feign'd Curtizans* was first produced in 1679.

⁹ *The Revenge* was first produced in 1680. The play is an adaptation of John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*. See Douglas Robert Butler's dissertation *A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of Aphra Behn's "The Revenge: or, A Match in Newgate"* for a discussion of Behn's sympathetic treatment of the whore character Corina.

¹⁰ *The Rover Part II* was produced in 1681.

¹¹ *The False Count* was produced in 1681.

¹² Taking into consideration that Sir William Davenant's opera *The Siege of Rhodes* is more along the lines of a court masque or opera and not a stage play, Rosamond Gilder, Elizabeth Howe, and Allardyce Nicoll claim that the first English actress (probably Ann Marshall) makes her debut as Desdemona on December 8, 1660 in a production of *Othello, The Moor of Venice*. Speculation that Margaret Hughes and not Ann Marshall was the first female Desdemona is based on theatre prompter John Downes' cast list in *Roscius Anglicanus, or an Historical Review of the Stage* (1708):

XI.

	The Moor of Venice.	Shakespeare
Brabantio,	Mr. Cartwright,	
Moor,	Mr. Burt,	
Cassio,	Mr. Hart*,	
Iago,	Major Mobum,	
Rodorigo,	Mr. Beeflon,	
Desdemona,	Mrs. Hugbs,	
Emilia,	Mrs. Rutter.	

¹³ Pullen’s study provides a valuable contribution to the existing historical narratives of Restoration actresses, specifically insofar as it documents the financial success and independence of some professional Restoration actresses such as Betty Boutell; her decision to occupy the position of whore, for instance, allowed her to sustain and further her theatrical career.

¹⁴ Prior to the 1730s, there are a few examples of the female dramatist being labeled whore or accused of purposefully occupying the position (Robert Gould compares Behn the “poetess” to a “whore” and then centuries later Catherine Gallagher argues that Behn introduces “to the world of English letters the professional woman writer as a newfangled whore”). See Catherine Gallagher, “Who Was that Masked Woman? The Prostitute and the Playwright in the Comedies of Aphra Behn.” *Nobody’s Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

¹⁵ Pearson argues that between 1737 and 1750 women author a total of nine plays and only three of them are published: Elizabeth Boyd’s *Don Sancho: or, The Student’s Whim* (1739), Mary Leapor’s *The Unhappy Father* (1745), and a single act from Laetitia Pilkington’s *The Roman Father* (252).

¹⁶ See Jacqueline Pearson, *The Prostituted Muse: Images of Women and Women Dramatists 1642-1737* (Harvester: Hertfordshire, 1988) 94.

¹⁷ Curiously, in the film *Camille* (1936), starring Greta Garbo, Duval does not mention Armand’s sister.

¹⁸ See Giuseppe Verdi’s *La Traviata* (1853).

¹⁹ The brothel drama, explains Johnson, originally meant a play that included the figure of the prostitute. It is used in her project “to describe not only white slave dramas—surely the bulk of prostitute theatre—but also those plays that featured no brothel at all, but which included a prostitute or fallen woman character perceived to be a prostitute” (4).

²⁰ The cultural currency of the fallen woman is attested to by the success of the Hollywood blockbuster film *Pretty Woman*, which grossed approximately 463 million dollars world-wide. In his screenplay *\$3,000*, J.F. Lawton revamps the character of Marguerite Gautier (Camille) for a 1990s audience. She becomes Vivian Ward and Armand Duval becomes Edward Lewis, but the basic premise remains unchanged: a fallen woman performs as exclusive girlfriend and finds that men still disrespect her. Public perception of Vivian becomes explicit in a hotel scene where she is alone with Edward’s lawyer Philip Stuckey: “you are not...the little woman. You’re a hooker. How much is it?...Fifty? You’re a fucking whore.” Vivian understands that performing outside her role as streetwalker without the support of the law leaves her vulnerable to male violence, which is why she refuses Edward’s offer to make her his permanent mistress.

²¹ Parliament modified the bill in 1866 and 1869.

²² In Butler's essay "The Constitution Violated," she restates her reasons for opposing the C.D. Acts and then speaks of the inequality that underpins this controversy: "It cannot be expected that due attention will ever be paid to the interests of any class which is not duly represented in the government of the country. If women had possessed the franchise, the Contagious Diseases Acts could not have passed" (qtd. in Bell 1962: 83). Butler was one of the first British feminists to highlight the role of women's unequal representation in the government as a cause of gender inequality.

²³ See United States Cong. *Naturalization Act of 1870*. 41st Cong., 2nd sess. 16 Stat. 254-256, HR 2201. Washington: GPO, July 14, 1870.

²⁴ "During the last quarter of the century, America developed a taste for English white slaves" (Terrot 54); "English-speaking girls were recruited by professional pimps among the low paid employees of the department stores and factories" (Cordasco 18); "Within a few years there arose an insatiable demand for English girls in all the markets of ill-fame throughout Europe" (Terrot 13).

²⁵ Her fictional name was Lily, but her actual name was Eliza Armstrong.

²⁶ There were riots outside the *Pall Mall Gazette* because people wanted copies of *Modern Babylon*, and a 250,000-person demonstration to raise the age of consent was held in Hyde Park. See Nickie Roberts, *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society* (London: HarpersCollinsPublishers, 1992) 257.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 265.

²⁸ See "The Blackmail Act," *New York Times* 20 Sept 1916. Pg.8.

²⁹ In a 1909 *Chicago Daily Tribune* article "Fight Upon White Slavery Denounced by Emma Goldman," Goldman argues that the fight to stop the white slave traffic is a means for reformers to avoid more pressing social issues such as abysmal labor conditions in America. She believes that prostitution has always existed in New York and that the reason many prostitutes are foreign is because "New York is a foreign city." She stresses that she does not know "what would become of America if she didn't have Europe to lay all evils to."

³⁰ Langum argues that, "There was indeed some coerced prostitution at the time of the white slave hysteria, but very little. Nor was there any syndicate or organization" (Langum 35). In agreement with Walter C. Reckless's 1933 study of white slave prosecutions in Chicago from 1910-1913, Langum argues that "less than five percent" of white slave prosecutions involved women being held as prostitutes against their will" (35). Katie N. Johnson claims that "Virtually all studies from the period itself concluded that while there was evidence of individual cases of white slavery, no grand organized scheme existed, at least not as depicted by white slave hunters" (116).

³¹ "Chinese Slave Girls Testify at Angel Island: Tell Story of Strange Voyage Across Pacific" *San Francisco Chronicle* (1869-Current File). 8 Dec 1910. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: San Francisco Chronicle* pg.1; "Chinese Slave Trade Exposed: Dramatic Rebellion of a Victim of the Traffic" *San Francisco Chronicle* (1869-Current File). 16 Jan 1898. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: San Francisco Chronicle* pg.32; "Smuggle Chinese Girls for White Slave Trade" *Los Angeles Times* (1886-1922), 21 Sept. 1917. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times* pg. 12.

³² On March 25, 1931 nine black youths were falsely charged and convicted of the rape of two young white women on a freight train heading for Chattanooga. An all white jury sentenced eight of the boys to death and the twelve-

year-old boy, Leroy Wright, to life in prison. In 1933 Ruby Bates testified that the Scottsboro boys were innocent and that she had been coerced to lie about being raped. The other white girl, Victoria Price, would continue to lie about being raped until her death in 1982. In his book *Remembering Scottsboro*, James A. Miller argues that sexual evidence never existed that tied Bates and Price to the accused black youths (22). Post-1931 the Scottsboro case was retried several times with the results being that five of the black youths received lengthy prison sentences instead of the death penalty, while the charges were dropped for the other four victims. Even though all of the Scottsboro boys were eventually set free, they were denied full, happy lives and forever haunted by the egregious injustices they endured: unfair legal trials, wrongful imprisonment, and the extreme racist climate of the deep South. In 2013 the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles posthumously pardoned three Scottsboro boys.

³³ In 1989 four black and one Latino youth were wrongfully convicted of assaulting and raping Trisha Meili, a white woman jogging in Central Park in New York City. The young men spent 6-13 years in prison for a crime they did not commit. The wrongful convictions of the central park five were overturned when the already convicted serial rapist and murderer, Matias Reyes, confessed to the crime. The traumatic brain injuries sustained by the central park jogger left her unable to remember the event.

³⁴ See, for example, pg. 13, 15, 27 of James A. Miller's *Remembering Scottsboro*.

³⁵ "Bristow writes that, "white slavery was first used in the context of prostitution in the 1830s by Dr. Michael Ryan, a London reformer," who identified Jews as the "white-slave dealers [who] trepan young girls into their dens of iniquity, [to] sell them to vile debaucheries" (qtd. in Stange 153).

³⁶ George Kibbe Turner, "The City of Chicago: A Study of the Great Immoralities." *McClure's Magazine* (1893-1926); Apr 1907; VOL. XXVII, No. 6; *American Periodicals* pg. 575, 7-8.

³⁷ See "Mulry Says Turner Slandered The City: Banker Brands the White Slave..." *New York Times* (1857-1922); Oct 29, 1909; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times*; and "White Slave Story False, Says Guide: Man Who Showed Turner Through..." *New York Times* (1857-1922); Oct 28, 1909; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* pg.3.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 2.

³⁹ See "White Slave Trade is Not Organized: So Says the Rockefeller Grand..." *New York Times* (1857-1922); Jun 29, 1910; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* pg. 16.

⁴⁰ Together *Earth Spirit* (Erdgeist) and *Pandora's Box* (*Die Büchse der Pandora*) comprise Wedekind's *Lulu*. Stephanie Libbon quoting John L. Hibbard's research notes that *Pandora's Box* "was not presented on stage until the abolition of censorship in Germany in 1918" (56). She argues that Wedekind's *Lulu* is misogynistic: "While *Lulu's* death can be seen as the elimination of the sexually active woman who acts independently of male wishes, the murder of Geschwitz can be seen only as the removal of the intelligent, potentially emancipated woman who gains her pleasure outside the heterosexual economy" (57).

⁴¹ *Whitechapel Jack: The Legend of Jack the Ripper*. Website by iArtisan 2015 <<http://whitechapeljack.com/jack-the-ripper-identity-revealed/>>; Richard Jones and Sean East, *Jack the Ripper Leaves A Clue*. 18 Oct 2014 <<http://www.jack-the-ripper-walk.com/jack-the-ripper-clue.htm>>; Russell Edwards, "World Exclusive: Jack the

Ripper unmasked: How amateur sleuth used DNA breakthrough to identify Britain's most notorious criminal 126 years after string of terrible murders" *DailyMail* 6 Sept 2014. 10 Sept 2014

< <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2746321/Jack-Ripper-unmasked-How-amateur-sleuth-used-DNA-breakthrough-identify-Britains-notorious-criminal-126-years-string-terrible-murders.html>>.

⁴² In *The Shame of the Human Race: The White Slave Traffic and the Effort of the U.S. Government to Suppress It*, Rev. F.G. Tyrrell states that "Probably the largest and most powerful of all the white slave syndicates is that operated by the Frenchman and known as the "Underground System." This syndicate has brought thousands of young girls to America and reaped thousands of dollars in profits" (22).

Frederick K. Grittner argues that the French were the second largest group (second to only the Jews) blamed for white slavery (90).

⁴³ The spotter is the person who scopes out potential sex trafficking victims.

⁴⁴ Prior to the girls' departure for France, Bryan refused to sign the necessary paperwork for his minor daughter to travel abroad without adults. He insisted that it was dangerous for the girls to travel alone to Europe, but reluctantly signed the documents to appease his ex-wife (mother of Kim) and build a stronger relationship with his daughter.

⁴⁵ "Chinese Arrested on White Slave Charge" (1869-Current File); Oct 29, 1913; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *San Francisco Chronicle* pg. 8; "Slave of the Chinese: Fate of a white Girl in New York Kept for Two Weeks..." *San Francisco Chronicle* (1869-Current File); Nov 13, 1892; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *San Francisco Chronicle*. Pg. 15.

⁴⁶ One reason *Ourselves* escaped censorship is because it features no depiction of a brothel.

⁴⁷ See The Committee of Fifteen. *The Social Evil: With Special Reference to Conditions Existing in the City of New York* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1902).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 164; The Vice Commission of Chicago. *The Social Evil in Chicago: A Study of Existing Conditions* (Chicago: Gunthorp-Warren Printing Company, 1911) 73, 289, 290.

⁵⁰ He tells her, "How, knowing what you know, can you destroy men in this manner and ruin so many souls, all precious and immortal" (Trans. St. John 108).

⁵¹ Aubrey tells his friend Drummle, "Ellean is so different from—most women; I don't know if a purer creature exists out of heaven. (*With difficulty.*) And I—I ask myself, am I doing right in exposing her to the influence of poor Paula's light, careless nature?" (Pinero II.91).

⁵² "That the importation into the United States of any alien woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution, or for any other immoral purpose, is hereby forbidden; and whoever shall, directly or indirectly, import, or attempt to import, into the United States, any alien woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution, or for any other immoral purpose, or whoever shall hold or attempt to hold any alien woman or girl for any such purpose in pursuance of such illegal importation, or whoever shall keep, maintain, control, support, or harbor in any house or other place, for the purpose of prostitution, or for any other immoral purpose, any alien woman or girl, within three years after she shall have entered the United States, shall, in every such case, be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof be imprisoned not more than five years and pay a fine of not more than five thousand dollars..." (6 and 7).

⁵³ “Any alien who shall be found an inmate of or connected with the management of a house of prostitution or practicing prostitution after such alien shall have entered the United States, or who shall receive, share in, or derive benefit from any part of the earnings of any prostitute; or who is employed by, in, or in connection with any house of prostitution or music or dance hall or other place of amusement or resort habitually frequented by prostitutes or where prostitutes gather, or who in any way assists, protects, or promises to protect from arrest any prostitute, shall be deemed unlawfully within the United States and shall be deported” (83).

⁵⁴ See Mrs. James Gow, “Dress and White Slavery: Women Workers Think There Is Intimate Connection.” Special Cable to The New York Times *New York Times* (1857-1922); Oct 12, 1913; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* pg. C3.

⁵⁵ See Jean Turner-Zimmermann, *Chicago’s Black Traffic in White Girls* (1911) (The Project Gutenberg EBook, 2010) 57. <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/31615/31615-h/31615-h.htm>>.

⁵⁶ The proximity between theatres and brothels is common in nineteenth-century America and continues into the twentieth century. Rosemarie K. Bank, for instance, notes that Timothy J. Gilfoyle “locates 93 of New York’s brothels (34%) within 2.5 blocks of a theatre between 1830 and 1839, 87 (42%) at that proximity between 1840 and 1849, and 181 brothels (53%) within 2.5 blocks of a theatre between 1850-1859” (136). In the nineteenth century, argues Johnson, “The third tier dictated the very design of the theater building, was at the foundation of theatrical economics, and was largely responsible for the reputation, and consequently the clientele, of the nineteenth-century theater. Theaters in most American cities were designed to house prostitutes in the third tier” (1975: 580). Similarly, Elizabeth Alice Clement argues that Timothy Gilfoyle’s work on nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century prostitution in New York City claims that “brothels thrived in the entertainment districts scattered across the city and maintained a symbiotic relationship with theaters and other establishments that either tolerated or openly encouraged prostitution” (86). His research also documents the history of the third tier as a space reserved for prostitutes in nineteenth-century American theaters.

⁵⁷ See preface to The Vice Commission of Chicago. *The Social Evil in Chicago: A Study of Existing Conditions* (Chicago: Gunthorp-Warren Printing Company, 1911).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵⁹ Mann stated, “the white-slave traffic, while not so extensive, is much more horrible than any black-slave traffic ever was in the history of the world” (qtd. in Langum 43).

⁶⁰ In her book *Cheap Amusements*, Kathy Peiss is the first to document a sexual practice called “treating” that emerges among working class women in the 1890s in New York City. Instead of engaging in prostitution (the exchange of sex acts for money), working-class girls began to exchange sex acts for nights of entertainment, theatre tickets, and other material goods. These working-class women could not afford commercial amusements so men “treated” them to the theatre, for example, or they performed “charity” in exchange for entertainment or commodities. They self-identify as treating and charity girls because they never exchange sex acts for money. This sexual practice, argues Clement, develops “from the tension between girls’ desire to participate in commercial amusements and the working class community’s condemnation of prostitution” (45).

⁶¹ Subcommittee of the District of Columbia United States Senate. *Hearings on the Abatement of Houses of Ill Fame*. 62nd Cong., 3rd Sess. S. 5861. Dec. 1912 and Jan. 1913: 32.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1-90.

⁶⁴ The bill stipulates that “a tax of \$400 shall be assessed against the property” (43).

⁶⁵ Cosson argues that the property owner does not want the “permanent disgrace” and “social humiliation” of being found guilty of owning illegal houses of prostitution (43).

⁶⁶ See Annie Gertrude Porritt, *Laws Affecting Women and Children in the Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States* (New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 1917).

⁶⁷ International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children. 30 Sept. 1921

<https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/1921_international_convention_en_1.pdf>.

Chapter Two: From Hrotsvit to Williams: unraveling acts of gender based violence and the virgin/whore dichotomy in fallen woman plays

I. Introduction

To our best knowledge, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim (932-1002)¹ is the first accredited female playwright to write about prostitution.² While Hrotsvit's collected works remained largely unknown until 1501 when Conrad Celtis published them, they would still not reach a broader audience until 1923 when Christopher St. John translated them into English. Feminist critics turned to Hrotsvit's plays during the 1970s as part of their project to recover the marginalized voices of women authors and, in turn, to assemble a collection of historical documents by which to ameliorate our understanding of the social and cultural trajectory of gender based violence. Hrotsvit's six plays are important in this respect since they challenge Terence's androcentric theatrical representations of women and sexual violence.³

Dulcitius is her only play, however, to achieve consistent representation in the western canon of dramatic literature.⁴ E.K. Chambers and Karl Young account for her marginalization within the canon by arguing that even though Hrotsvit's "dramaturgy" departs significantly from Terence's it ultimately fails to inspire imitators (1903: 207). Elizabeth Ann Witt argues similarly that while her plays resist the evolutionary model that forms the basis of drama anthologies, scholars have yet to prove that her plays influence later dramatic periods (2001: 88). Contrary to the claim that Hrotsvit fails to inspire future generations of playwrights, I argue that Hrotsvit's plays are instrumental to an understanding of gender based violence within the arc of theatre history. While her influence on the prostitution genre and constructions of the fallen woman archetype remains overlooked by theatre scholars, her work, I argue, sets the stage for the 19th century popularization of the fallen woman prostitute in Alexandre Dumas fils' *The Lady of the*

Camellias (1852)⁵ and Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1893).⁶ Hrotsvit's cross-generational influence continues prominently into the 20th century as evidenced by Eugene O'Neill's *Anna Christie* (1922)⁷ and Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947).⁸ In part, my line of argument is inspired by Sue-Ellen Case and Jill Dolan who both correctly identify that women-authored plays struggle to accumulate commercial and literary value in a male canon that adheres strictly to male values of good playwriting. Case claims that "linear development" is a value of good male playwriting in as much as "the phallogentric form is both clear (exhibited, as in linear, logical development) and closed (self-possessed – as in beginning, middle and end)" (1998: 35-6; 1983: 538). In other words, women authors need to create plays with linear narratives that follow Aristotelian principles if they hope to have their plays included in the dramatic canon. Dolan argues similarly that the first women-authored plays to earn Pulitzer prizes and find inclusion in the canon of American dramatic literature adhere to male values of good playwriting. These values of good playwriting for Dolan are:

- universal appeal
- play written for "generic spectator" (i.e. white, middle-class male)
- reflects "dramatic or ideological values" in the canon of dramatic literature
- focuses on generic concerns (not "women's concerns")
- active dramatic characters in plays are men
- adheres to Aristotle's three unities (time, place, and action) (20-21)

Contrary to the above quoted male values of playwriting, Case and Dolan identify the following female values of good playwriting: contiguity, abstraction, silences, ethnographic research, and active female protagonists. Case urges "feminist critics and historians to develop Hrotsvit's role as the founder of a tradition of women writing for the theatre" (36). In other words, including Hrotsvit in the dramatic canon would provide a model for female values of good playwriting. Specifically, I argue that it is important to politically highlight Hrotsvit's seminal influence on 19th and 20th century plays since both sex trafficking and prostitution are becoming subjects of

intensified focus for contemporary women authors. Hrotsvit's dramatic significance as I will show in this chapter covers a variety of topics and themes, including victim blaming, revictimization, stigmatization of prostitution, forced commodization of the female body, and the lack of male accountability for gender based violence. Situating contemporary plays about sex trafficking and prostitution within the arc of theatre is crucial to making the dramatic canon historically accurate as well as relevant to the current and pressing need to acknowledge the continuum of gender based violence.

Hrotsvit develops the theatrical figure of the fallen woman in her plays *Abraham*, *Paphnutius*, and *Callimachus* to explore the themes of prostitution and gender based violence. I argue that this marks her central contribution to the western canon in terms of outlining a direct correlation between diminished social agency and intensified violence as experienced by her female protagonists. The virgin/whore dichotomy as a theoretical lens is particularly useful for analyzing how Hrotsvit reflects 10th century social attitudes towards women via the delimited agential scope of her protagonists. Whereas the virgin (Madonna) represents youth, innocence, sexual purity, health, wellness, cleanliness, goodness, honesty, angels, and passivity, the whore (prostitute) is aging, damaged, promiscuous, wretched, diseased, polluted, bad, deceitful, demonic, and aggressive. The fall from virgin to whore concurrent with the failure to repent constitutes a transgression of sexual and social mores. In many cases, the fallen woman endures male perpetrated acts of gender based violence that precede her entrance into prostitution; nevertheless, she is blamed for her own fall and receives the stigma of prostitute, which makes her more vulnerable to gender based violence. Hrotsvit illustrates that medieval society, typically represented by the clergy in her plays, lives according to a moral and sexual double standard, which seemingly justifies the clergy's right to punish fallen women despite their own dubious

sexual behaviors. Similarly, some 19th century purity crusaders and 21st century abolitionists uphold a moral and sexual double standard. The stigma surrounding prostitution exacerbates the tragedy of the fallen woman since self-punishment often accompanies a range of interpersonal and institutional forms of gender based violence. In general, the layering of both internal and external forms of punishment constitutes a key trope of the fallen woman genre, outlining how a woman's only viable escape from corporeal violence is attained through abjection – the spiritual salvation in suffering and repentance that leads to death.

Over the course of this chapter, I build upon my theorization of the virgin/whore dichotomy in Hrotsvit's plays by including Judith Butler's concept of "gender performativity" to make sense of the figure of the fallen woman in 19th and 20th century plays, historical periods that lack the religious overtones proper to the medieval period and the work of Hrotsvit. Butler's "gender performativity" clarifies how the bodies of fallen women become intelligible socially as fallen virgins and/or whores:

Gender performativity is not a matter of choosing which gender one will be today. Performativity is a matter of reiterating or repeating the norms by which one is constituted: it is not a radical fabrication of a gendered self. It is a compulsory repetition of prior and subjectivating norms, ones which cannot be thrown off at will, but which work, animate, and constrain the gendered subject, and which are the resources from which resistance, subversion, displacement are to be forged. (1993: 22)

The female body is constructed in and through the compulsory repetition of gender and class norms. Butler adapts her reading of gender performativity from Kafka's "Before the Law" where the person who "sits before the door of law, attributes a certain force to the law for which one waits" (1990: xv). In the case of gender, as theorizes Butler, a body anticipates an "interior" or "gendered" essence that it can reveal, "an expectation that ends up producing the very phenomenon that it anticipates" (1990: xv). Building on these ideas, the figure of the fallen woman in 19th-20th century plays fails to convincingly perform virgin because of her belief that

an “interior” essence discloses to “polite” society her past as a prostitute (a series of stigmas: bad, impure, dirty, diseased). The fear of being perceived as a prostitute creates a circular loop whereby the repetition and reiteration of gender and class norms reinforce the socially constructed signs of prostitute. In other words, she unintentionally engages in the performativity of prostitute despite her desire to the contrary, that is, her desire to be perceived as a virgin.

Focusing on fallen woman plays, this chapter highlights how prostitutes sacrifice earthly pleasures in *Abraham* and *Paphnutius* due to the stigma attached to prostitution in medieval society as represented by the clergy. The female protagonists (Mary, Thais) in *Abraham* and *Paphnutius*, for instance, renounce their worldly possessions acquired through prostitution and consent to horrific punishment regimes because they believe in the stigmas assigned to the unrepentant whore (e.g. evil, devil, impure, etc.). The whore’s perceived excesses threaten the clergy’s ideology that maintains how female sexuality ought to be both passive and contained. In effect, the clergy justifies the abjection of the prostitute because she fails to approximate gender norms (i.e. proper femininity). Hrotsvit’s female protagonists (Mary, Thais, and Drusiana), however, are unafraid of abjection and employ their faith to triumph spiritually over their male abusers. They are confident that suffering and repentance in life guarantees them physical and spiritual purification in death. Hrotsvit employs symbols such as the angel, paradise, and figurative light⁹ to demonstrate the fallen woman’s purification in death or, in the case of her character Drusiana, her resurrection.

In contrast to Hrotsvit’s female protagonists, prostitutes seek to hide their professional past in *Camille*, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, *Anna Christie*, and *A Streetcar Named Desire*, fearing the attitudes of, respectively, a Victorian upper class and a Modern American lower class. In *Camille* the eponymous female protagonist seeks inclusion within “polite” society, but

in the process fails to hide her past as a prostitute. Similarly, the character of Paula Tanqueray in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* conceals her professional past as a “kept” woman through performing the role of respectable lady. In *Anna Christie*, the female protagonist Anna Christopherson performs virgin for her father (Chris Christopherson) and lover (Mat Burke) out of a desire to gain emotional and financial support. Blanche DuBois performs the role of virgin throughout *Streetcar* in order to escape the stigma associated with prostitution. There are two key junctions in the play, however, where Blanche slips into the role of Dumas fils’ infamous courtesan Camille. I argue that Williams’ choice to have Blanche act out the part of the fallen woman (Camille) draws attention to the performativity of the virgin/whore dichotomy. Whereas in Hrotsvit’s plays the clergy immediately stigmatizes the fallen woman as prostitute because of her physical appearance¹⁰ and presence in a brothel, in 19th-20th century fallen woman plays, male protagonists stigmatize the fallen woman as prostitute after she inevitably fails to perform the role of “polite” lady or virgin.

In 19th and 20th century plays, male protagonists typically associate the fallen woman with impurity and the corruption of the heterosexual family unit, which causes them to punish the prostitute with shame, humiliation, torture, rape, all of which push her towards abjection. Their callous and cruel behaviors, for instance, catalyze the fallen woman’s death from consumption (Camille), suicide (Paula), entrance into an abusive marriage (Anna), and confinement to a mental asylum (Blanche). These fallen women characters, with the exception of Anna, become abject because their bodies are no longer intelligible within the virgin/whore dichotomy. With the exception of Pinero’s character Paula, 19th-20th century fallen women characters retain hope that purification can occur in a death preceded by suffering and

repentance. Playwrights of 19th-20th century fallen woman plays create open-ended closing scenes where purification in death (social or physical) is a dream or delusion.

II. *Definitions*

A woman who engages in sexual activity in return for payment, esp. as a means of livelihood (“Prostitute,” OED).

In this chapter, I employ the above definition of prostitute. The drawback of using “prostitute” is that readers might jump to the conclusion that the following alternative OED definition of prostitute is being used: “A person who acts in a debased or corrupt way for profit or advantage.” This chapter is concerned with the ethical treatment of sex workers and rejects that particular definition of “prostitute.” My preference would be to use the stigma-free, gender-neutral term “sex worker,” but it is anachronistic for a study focusing on medieval and 19th-early 20th century fallen woman dramas. The term “sex worker,” coined by Carol Leigh in 1978, is also too encompassing for a chapter that centers on the figure of the female “prostitute.” A sex worker could refer to a female, male, or transsexual working in porn acting, erotic dancing, web cam sex, or other forms of sex work. Regardless of my efforts to specify my use of the more politically correct definition of “prostitute,” as quoted at the top of this section, I understand that the stigma associated with the term remains visible. In the context of the fallen woman plays examined in this chapter, the male protagonists and “polite” society perpetuate the stigma of the “debased” prostitute. This is the type of stigma that this chapter shows as a negative effect of the virgin/whore dichotomy, so perhaps there is some value in employing the term “prostitute” in order to destabilize it. In general, this chapter will hopefully help illustrate the need for a term that is more specific than “sex worker” but less perjorative than “prostitute.”

An analysis of Hrotsvit's play *Callimachus*, however, necessitates the use of the term "severe forms of sex trafficking" since the female protagonist, Drusiana, is dead when the character Fortunatus pimps her still warm corpse to Callimachus in exchange for money. Death is the absence of the ability to consent (she is "forced"); therefore the sexual exchange of corpses exemplifies "severe forms of sex trafficking." Hrotsvit does not provide Drusiana's age, but I assume that she is an adult since the author specifies elsewhere when a character is a minor (or child).¹¹ A minor who engages in a commercial sex act is automatically a victim of "severe forms of sex trafficking" and therefore proof of "force, fraud, or coercion" is not needed. In this chapter, I employ section a of the following definition of "severe forms of trafficking in persons" found in the "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act" (2000):

- a. a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
- b. the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. (8)

Significantly, not all forms of "sex trafficking" receive the classification of "severe." The general definition of the term "sex trafficking" found in the "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act" (2000) is "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act."¹² A "commercial sex act," according to section 1591 of title 18 of the United States Code, "means any sex act, on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person."¹³

In this chapter, gender based violence refers to violence directed at a person or group because of their gender. Specifically, I work with the definition of gender based violence outlined by the Council of Europe:

that which constitutes a breach of the fundamental right to life, liberty, security, dignity, equality between men and women, non-discrimination and physical and mental integrity.¹⁴

In an effort to accurately discuss the various forms of gender based violence that occur in the fallen woman plays that comprise this chapter, I work with two categories of gender based violence: interpersonal and institutional. Interpersonal violence has two subcategories, which Linda L. Dahlberg and Etienne G. Krug outline in their study of global violence and health:

family and intimate partner violence—that is, violence largely between family members and intimate partners, usually, though not exclusively taking place in the home. (280)

This type of violence might be sexual (rape, incest, harassment) and/or non-sexual (restriction of mobility, emotional abuse, economic). Institutional or structural violence is the second type of gender based violence examined in this chapter:

any form of structural inequality or institutional discrimination that maintains a person in a subordinate position, whether physical or ideological, to other people within her family, household or community. (8)¹⁵

Interpersonal and institutional violence are not mutually exclusive. The character Paphnutius (a hermit by profession) in Hrotsvit's titular play disciplines and immures the fallen prostitute, Thais, because he believes it is his right to control her sexuality. Thais experiences both interpersonal and institutional violence.

Gender based violence (interpersonal and institutional) occurs both as cause and effect of a woman's status as "fallen" and prostitute. A fallen woman, according to the OED, has lost chastity, honor, purity, innocence, or standing. Historically, we can trace the patriarchal concept of a woman's fallen nature back to popular, and in some cases erroneous, interpretations of the biblical figures Eve and Mary Magdalene,¹⁶ who lose their innocence and thereby fall from God's favor by sinning. Katie N. Johnson quoting Sos Eltis states that, "The epithet 'fallen' can apply to any woman who indulges in sex outside the legal and moral bonds of marriage, whether

as a seduced virgin, adulterous wife or professional prostitute” (5). As such, the fallen woman is any woman who does not adhere to sexual morality or prescribed gender mores. This chapter focuses only on the fallen woman as prostitute, beginning in the 10th century with the marginalized woman-authored dramatization of a prototypical fallen woman (Mary in Hrotsvit’s *Abraham*) and ending in the mid-20th century with the well-known and Pulitzer Prize-winning male-authored dramatization of a fallen woman (Blanche in Williams’s *A Streetcar Named Desire*). One aim of this chapter is to illustrate the important roles Hrotsvit’s dramatizations of both fallen women and gender based violence play within the canon of western dramatic literature. Specifically, I unravel the acts of gender based violence, themes (revictimization, male rescue, desire, and abjection), and theatrical devices (disguise) in Hrotsvit’s plays and illustrate their reappearance in well-known and commercially successful 19th-20th century fallen woman dramas.

III. *Gender based violence and falling into prostitution: Mary in Hrotsvit’s Abraham*

In her article “Whose Body is it?: Chaste Strategies and the Reinforcement of Patriarchy in Three Plays by Hrotswitha von Gandersheim” (1993), M.R. Sperberg-McQueen proposes that Abraham commits incest with his niece, which consequently catalyzes her fall into prostitution. Regula Meyer Evitt restates this idea with new historical findings in her article “Incest Disguised: Ottonian Influence at Gandersheim and Hrotsvit’s *Abraham*” (2007). Briefly, Evitt traces in her article how the term “incest” includes both “literal incest” and “spiritual or theopolitical incest” during the Middle Ages (349). Her research suggests that Hrotsvit would have been aware of the multiple meanings of incest and, thus, expressed explicitly the relationship between Abraham and Mary as both incestual and illicit. I expand on Sperberg-McQueen’s and

Evitt's arguments to highlight several important facts about rape: 1) that rape is typically committed by someone known to the victim; 2) that rape can happen anywhere (even in an anchorite's cell); and 3) that rape is a crime of power not passion.¹⁷

Looking at Mary's fall from a historical point of view, she might have felt pressured to enter brothel prostitution because of the stigma attributed to rape victims in the medieval period, during which time rape victims were considered close equivalents of prostitutes. Jacques Rossiaud argues in his book *Medieval Prostitution* that "the status of a raped woman was brought singularly close to that of a common prostitute. Rendered vulnerable, psychologically and physically, she had little hope of regaining her honor as long as she remained in the city" (29). In his hagiography "The Life of St. Mary the Harlot," which Hrotsvit draws on to create her play *Abraham*, St. Ephraem of Edessa (trans. unknown) describes how Mary "rose" after her "fall" and "made her way to another city, and changing the garb of her youth, took refuge in a certain brothel" (292). Similarly, in the play, Hrotsvit states that Mary relocates after her "fall" to "a city, close by" (Wilson 73). The shared theme of relocation in "The Life of St. Mary the Harlot" and *Abraham* suggests that as a rape victim Mary received the stigma of prostitute. Abraham reinforced the stigma by teaching Mary that sex outside of marriage is an unforgivable sin.

Stephen L. Wailes's and Katharina Wilson's readings of *Abraham* fail to acknowledge the subversive potential of how Hrotsvit emphasizes Abraham as a perpetrator of gender based violence. They claim that the protagonist is "saintly" and "good intention[ed]" (Wilson 1998: xv and xvii; Wailes 2001: 20) when, in actuality, he is a sinful man with questionable desires. First, Abraham has a cunning and untrustworthy nature that Hrotsvit illustrates in the scene where he narrates Mary's fall:

A certain deceiver/ who, disguised as a monk, often came to see her/ under the pretense of instructive visits, until he ignited the undisciplined instincts of her youthful heart to burn in love for him, so much so that she jumped from her window to perform that awful deed. (Wilson 75)

The idea that an unidentified man, “disguised as a monk,” interacts with Mary long enough to make her “burn in love with him” and surrender her virginity is irrational, especially if we consider how Abraham controls Mary’s body through physical and social isolation. He allows his confidant and co-hermit Effrem to converse with her at age seven, immediately before she withdraws into her cell, but that is the last contact he has with her. If Abraham denies his best friend—for twenty years—a relationship with Mary, he would not allow a strange man (even if he is disguised as a monk) to repeatedly visit her. The only source of human contact she receives, I argue, is in the form of her daily visits from Abraham. Therefore, it is likely that he is the sole cause of and witness to her fall. Even Effrem audaciously questions Abraham’s knowledge of her escape as he knows Abraham constantly monitors her cell to control her virginal body: “I wonder how it could have happened that, unnoticed by you, she got away” (Wilson 70). His psychological preoccupation with prophetic visions, he argues, causes him to fear for the church’s safety instead of Mary’s, and as a result he forgets to check on her for several days. His defense, although accepted by Effrem, is questionable insofar as his melodramatic visions and dream contain subtle symbolism that implicates him in Mary’s sexual fall. Abraham explains to Effrem:

I thought I stood before the entrance of my cell,/ when, behold, there came a dragon of miraculous size and of foul smell/ that rushed with great speed towards a little white dove near me. He snatched up the dove, devoured it and then suddenly vanished. (Wilson 71)

He goes on to say, “Then on the third night,/ when I gave my exhausted body to sleep,/ I thought I saw the very same dragon crushed under my feet,/ wallowing deep,/ and I saw the same white

dove, unhurt, dart away” (Wilson 71). The first narrative describes a “vision” that haunts him for “some days,” while his second narrative recounts a dream (takes place while asleep at night) that occurs after he asks God to “unveil” for him the meaning of his initial vision.

The dragon symbolizes Mary’s deceiver and abuser, who has a distinct “smell” and is larger and stronger than his prey. Smell is significant here because Hrotsvit only employs it twice in this play. The second time is when Abraham wears a disguise to visit Mary in the brothel. She tells Abraham, “What is this rare and wonderful odor I smell?/ Oh, the smell of this fragrance reminds me of the fragrance of chastity I once practiced!” (Wilson 75). From a practical standpoint, the odor she smells is “the odour of sanctity,” argues Phyllis R. Brown, Katharina M. Wilson, and Linda A. McMillin, a common smell during the Middle Ages that “characteristically enveloped the holy” (249). When she smells Abraham, she remembers her virginal days in the anchorhold. From a feminist standpoint, I argue that Hrotsvit uses olfaction to show that Abraham is the metaphorical “dragon” and disguised monk who rapes “the dove.” The dragon and Abraham both emit a smell whereas the other characters are not associated with smell. The dove symbolizes Mary who is “white,” small, and weak. Notably, Hrotsvit is the first western woman playwright to employ and perpetuate the myths of blackness as criminality and evil and whiteness as sexual purity and innocence.¹⁸ These tropes later become staples of 19th and 20th century fallen woman and white slave plays.

There is reason to believe, suggests Sperberg-McQueen, that Abraham reveals through his vision his identity as Mary’s abuser. He self-sooths and cures his insomnia when he dreams of his victim as both chaste and unharmed. Furthermore, his dream, argues Sperberg-McQueen, allows him to suppress the real consequences of incest:

He is assured that a pure white dove devoured by a foul-smelling dragon will be restored to its former brilliant whiteness would have provided a psychological defense against

awareness of the enormity of the crime of incest: it promises that the irreversible damage done can be undone. (59)

During Hrotsvit's lifetime incest was a widespread crime that affected the lowest and highest strata of society including the clergy and nobility (Evitt 353). As a 10th century author, Hrotsvit was certainly familiar with narratives of incest. She was writing, argues Evitt, "for a religious and courtly audience familiar with contemporary scandals involving illicit sexual relations among clerics and even between clerics and members of the court" (356). Bearing in mind Evitt's historical research that confirms incest during the medieval period was a serious crime, I agree with Sperberg-McQueen's claim that Abraham's dream is an attempt to suppress the "enormity of the crime of incest." The imagery of a dove surviving unharmed a dragon's violent assault illustrates Abraham's desire to protect his reputation and return Mary to a state of captivity.

In the context of theories of incest, Abraham's dream might reflect his longing to commit an act of incest or the actual act of incest itself. Claude Lévi-Strauss views incest, according to Butler, as a "pervasive cultural fantasy" and "not a social fact" and therefore he "misses an opportunity to analyze incest as both fantasy and social practice, the two being in no way mutually exclusive" (1990: 217). In agreement with Butler, I argue that incest in Hrotsvit's *Abraham* operates as both a fantasy, what Lévi-Strauss calls the symbolic expression of "an ancient and lasting dream," and as a social practice "precisely in virtue of that eroticization of that taboo" (Butler 1990: 57). The fact that Abraham is both Mary's blood relative and spiritual father heightens the eroticism of the taboo.

IV. *A dramaturgical impossibility: Mary jumps from her small window to have sex with a monk*

Hrotsvit illustrates the tactics perpetrators of violence employ to silence their victims by having Abraham frame Mary's sexual fall as the consequence of her promiscuity. First, Abraham states that she "jumped from her window to perform that awful deed," but his narrative is suspect since a human body is too large to pass through the window of a cell belonging to a male or female anchorite.¹⁹ The cell in Hrotsvit's *Paphnutius*, her only other play about a prostitute's fall and repentance, has "only a tiny window through which she may receive some modest food on certain days at set hours and in small quantity" (Wilson 113). Moreover, in "The Life of St. Mary the Harlot," St. Ephraem of Edessa describes Mary and Abraham's living arrangements as follows: "The old man saw her, and had her housed in the outer room of his cell. There was a small window between the two rooms, and through this he taught her the psalter and other passages of Holy Writ..." (Waddell 289). These examples illustrate how an anchorite's cell is typically equipped with a single, tiny window. The design of Mary's cell and her constant confinement within its walls would make her dependent on Abraham for physical and spiritual sustenance. It is unlikely that Mary flees through the small window undetected by Abraham. It is possible, I suggest, that Abraham enters her cell, rapes her, and then watches her escape through the "narrow entrance" to her cell (not the "window") (St. John 74; Wilson 69).

Abraham's detailed narration of Mary's physical, emotional, and psychological response to being raped suggests that he witnessed the event, despite his claims that "people" who "knew for sure" (Wilson 72) about Mary's sexual fall told him about her defilement. His knowledge of her sexual fall also contradicts his previously given alibi that he was in his cell for days preoccupied with visions of dragons and doves. It is also peculiar, as previously mentioned, that Abraham, the man who has kept Mary's sexuality under close surveillance for twenty years,

would suddenly leave her unsupervised for days. Furthermore, Hrotsvit provides no witnesses who can testify to Abraham's aforementioned whereabouts at the time of Mary's rape.

V. *The art of disguise: performing the rapist (monk), rescuer (soldier), and john (lover)*

The way in which Hrotsvit employs the theatrical device of disguise encourages spectators to associate the character Abraham with the anonymous monk (rapist). Strategically, she uses the convention of disguise twice in *Abraham*. The first time she mentions disguise is when Abraham gives Effrem an account of Mary's rape: "Through the forbidden passion of a certain deceiver/ who, disguised as a monk, often came to see her..." (Wilson 75). Abraham claims that he witnessed a man in monk's attire frequently visit Mary. This man disguised himself as a monk, according to Abraham, as a means to sexually groom and rape Mary. His narrative is dubious insofar as he is the only character to see the monk. Additionally, he is the only character to mention the device of disguise. He certainly could have acquired the costume of a monk and adopted it, claims Sperberg-McQueen, "without having to worry about, for example, covering his tonsure" (59). Both his access to the costume of a monk and Mary's cell suggests that he had the opportunity to rape her.

Mary leaves her cell post-rape and Abraham makes no effort to describe or locate her rapist, which suggests he wishes to prevent being identified as the monk. His fear of being associated with the monk increases his desire to play the role of hero and "rescue" Mary, who he discovers from the character "Friend" is working as a brothel prostitute. Specifically, he tells Effrem, "I will chance my habit and will go to her disguised as a lover. Perchance, admonished by me,/ she may return after her awful shipwreck to the safe port of earlier tranquility (Wilson 72). The speed and enthusiasm with which Abraham thinks up the idea of adopting a disguise to

“rescue” Mary intimates a prior pleasurable and successful experience with impersonation (i.e. performing monk).

It is interesting that he chooses to adorn the costume of a soldier/lover in order to save Mary from brothel prostitution, since a well-intentioned (i.e. non-sexual) “rescue” mission should not require such a disguise. Specifically, he instructs Friend:

ABRAHAM. Bring me a soldier’s garb and a good horse so that, after I lay aside my religious habit, I may go to her, disguised as a lover, with all speed. /

FRIEND. Here is all you need. /

ABRAHAM. Give me a hat to hide my tonsure.

FRIEND. This, too, is very necessary so as not to reveal your identity. (Wilson 81)

ABRAHAM. If you are my friend, get me a saddle horse somewhere and a soldier’s dress. I am going to get into that place as a lover.

FRIEND. Father, mine are at your service.

ABRAHAM. And I must borrow your felt hat to cover my tonsure.

FRIEND. That is most necessary, if you do not want to be recognized. (St. John 81)

In his hagiography “The Life of St. Mary the Harlot,” St. Ephraem of Edessa describes the costume as “military garb.” He explains the reason for the disguise as follows: “Even as one desirous of spying out a country or a city will put on the garb of its inhabitants lest he be recognized: so did the blessed Abraham make use of the garb of the enemy to put him to rout” (Waddell 293-94). St. Ephraem of Edessa argues that Abraham will be more welcomed in the brothel if he wears the typical dress of the townspeople. Notably, it is Hrotsvit, according to Wilson’s and St. John’s translations, who uses the term “lover,” which contextualizes his disguise as having a sexual purpose.

Hrotsvit learns from Terence the value of the dramatic device of disguise. She employs it in her plays to critique gender based violence. Her aim, argues Evitt, is to “imitate Terence’s style in order to revise the substance of his representations of “turpia lasciviarum incest feminarum” (the defiling incest of lascivious women)” (363). She achieves her goal, claims

Evitt, insofar as she shows “how male incestuous desire can present itself in disguise” (Evitt 363). The device of disguise also functions in Hrotsvit’s *Abraham* to situate incestuous rape on a continuum of gender based violence that includes Abraham’s revictimization of Mary. Here, she deviates from Terence who depicts rape achieved through disguise as ending in the style of a comedy (i.e. with marriage).²⁰ The question of whether the specific disguise of lover is relevant to the primary argument that Abraham is Mary’s rapist will be explored in the following pages.

It is a possibility that in the medieval period innkeepers of brothels refused to admit monks, but it is more likely that Abraham adopts a disguise so that he can safely act out his fantasies of being Mary’s hero and “lover.” He asks for a “hat” to “hide” or “cover” his “tonsure” in St. Ephraem of Edessa’s hagiography and Hrotsvit’s play but he also wants the “hat” according to the hagiography to “cover his face” (Waddell 293), which suggests a desire to conceal his identity. On the one hand, he might want to hide his identity from Mary because he is afraid that she will refuse to speak with him. In a metatheatrical moment, that arguably should be read as a theatrical aside, Abraham states: “Now, now I must pretend, now I must persist, now I must be lustful in the manner of lewd young men and play the game/ so that I am not recognized by my seriousness or else she might leave and hide for shame/” (Wilson 75). Abraham argues that he is playing the role of a “lewd young man” to “rescue” Mary. On the other hand, he might want to conceal his identity from Mary so that he can fulfill his secret desires to become Mary’s hero (soldier) and John (lover). In both cases, his decision leads to Mary kissing and embracing him. The following interaction occurs prior to both the above metatheatrical confession and his unveiling of himself as Abraham (Mary’s uncle and spiritual father):

MARY. I will not only give you a taste of sweet kisses/ but will caress your ancient neck
with close embraces./

ABRAHAM. That is what I am after. (Wilson 74)

ABRAHAM. Come nearer, Mary, and give me a kiss.

MARY. I will give you more than a kiss. I will take your head in my arms and stoke your neck.

ABRAHAM. Yes, like that! (St. John 83)

Allowing Mary to kiss and embrace him instead of revealing his identity is indicative of his titillation: “Yes, like that!” he orgasmically cries out to Mary. Evitt argues that Abraham’s “active pursuit of kisses (*Accede Maria et da mihi osculum* (Come Mary and give me a kiss))” is evidence of his incestuous relationship with Mary. These actions are extraneous to his successful performance of soldier/lover, which is further proof of Abraham’s culpability. By contrast, Wailes assigns “great spiritual significance to his charade with a proud horse, soldiers dress, a hat to cover his tonsure, gold coin, and his consumption of meat and wine at the inn” (176). He contends that Abraham temporarily sacrifices his life as a hermit to rescue Mary from brothel prostitution. In contrast with Wailes’ reading, the previous analysis of the character Abraham and his “rescue” mission highlight both his deceptive persona and incestuous intentions.

VI. *Historicizing the moral crusade to shelter virgins and rescue Magdalenes*

From a historical perspective, Hrotsvit’s dramatization of clergy members’ missions into brothels to save penitent whores reflects a burgeoning religiously driven movement to reclaim and reform prostitutes during the medieval period. During the 10th-13th centuries in Germany incest and prostitution were problematic norms that culminated in religious crusades to shelter virgins and reform remorseful prostitutes. The worship of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene—paradigmatic examples of the immaculate virgin and repentant whore found in the virgin/whore dichotomy—increased in popularity during the early medieval period.²¹ The Saxon imperial abbey of Gandersheim where Hrotsvit wrote her 10th century plays, argues Evitt, was one of many “female religious communities” that “provided a haven for learning for girls and

young women who might be at risk for literal extramarital incestuous abuse” (350, 353). It is during the early 12th century that the Catholic clergy opens the first shelters and Magdalene convents in Europe, named after Mary Magdalene, for the reform of penitent fallen women (called Magdalenes²²), which illustrates that the Catholic church spearheaded a popular social and religious movement to spiritually “save” prostitutes.²³ Notably, it was Theodora (500?A.D.-548A.D.), the female performer and prostitute turned wife of Emperor Justinian I, whose insistence that prostitutes could benefit from economic assistance and a safe shelter led to the opening of the first convent turned refuge for prostitutes (called “Repentance”). She founded the convent, argues Vern Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, after:

She became concerned when she realized that procurers visited villages and country towns, persuading hard-pressed parents to sell their daughters, promising that if they did so the girls would be given shoes, clothes, and other necessities. Most girls sold by their parents to such salesman ended up in Constantinople, where they were confined to miserable dens of prostitution, slaving for the benefit of their masters. (1987: 111)

Even though Theodora’s sympathy for prostitutes motivated her to open “Repentance,” as suggested by the preceding quote, her social work with prostitutes was a dismal failure. Her mistake was that she attempted to force prostitutes to repent and reform. Specifically, Procopius (490?A.D.-560?A.D) argues in his book *Anecdota* (or *Secret History*) that Theodora:

picked up more than five hundred harlots in the Forum, who earned a miserable living by selling themselves there for three obols, and sent them to the opposite mainland, where they were locked up in a monastery called Repentance to force them to reform their way of life. Some of them, however, threw themselves from the parapets at night and thus freed themselves from an undesired salvation. (XVII.168)

According to the above quotation that Richard Atwater translates from the Greek original, the forced reform and rehabilitation of prostitutes is a socially ineffective and dangerous solution to the problem of forced prostitution. In the medieval period, the clergy made a similar mistake to Theodora’s insofar as they insisted on the reform and repentance of prostitutes. Christians

tolerated prostitution as a necessary evil and looked to Mary Magdalene's relationship with Jesus as a model for how to treat fallen women. In his discussion of prostitution in the middle ages,

Henry Mayhew argues:

No sin was more severely denounced by the Christian law than licentiousness; yet it inculcated no savage persecution of the fallen. Good men could never forget, that a courtesan had washed the feet of Christ, and accordingly a humanizing spirit presided over the social code of the early fathers. They received into their communion any woman who renounced her evil life, married, and was faithful to her husband, or remained single without prostituting herself again. (182)

Gazing forward to the 18th-20th centuries in Europe and North America,²⁴ authors of historical accounts and commentary on Magdalen homes, convents, institutions, hospitals, asylums, and laundries—spaces for the reformation of fallen women—similarly reveal that they were largely unproductive in reforming prostitutes and curbing prostitution. Like the harlots locked up in Theodora's monastery, confinement in Magdalene homes and laundries led to depression and suicide.²⁵ Equally disturbing are the studies that document the horrific abuses that occurred within the very walls of the institutions designed to protect and help fallen women. The appearance of Magdalene homes reaches its zenith in the mid to late 19th century with the emergence of the fallen woman (1850s) and white slave (1880s) genres in dramatic literature.²⁶ As Neil Philip points out, "By the mid-nineteenth century, social work among prostitutes was almost fashionable" (97). Prominent middle to upper class members of 19th century Victorian society, epitomized by popular author Charles Dickens²⁷ and sensationalist newspaper editor William Thomas Stead,²⁸ were active in various social movements to "rescue" and rehabilitate fallen women. Several historical anecdotes about the two writers suggest that they had erotic interactions with prostitutes that were not merely for research purposes.²⁹ Gazing forward to the 21st century, Aaron Cohen has been active in the modern-day abolitionist movement to rescue

victims of sex trafficking (free “sex slaves”) and employs a hands-on research methodology that crosses ethical boundaries (i.e. he has intimate interactions with victims³⁰).

VII. *Fallen and stuck in prostitution: Thais in Hrotsvit’s Paphnutius*

Hrotsvit introduces Thais as an already fallen prostitute at the start of *Paphnutius*, which leaves unclear whether gender based violence affected her entrance into prostitution. Hrotsvit bases her depiction of Thais on the figure of the seasoned prostitute, also named Thais, in Terence’s play *The Eunuch* and the anonymous-authored “The Life of St Thais the Harlot” in *Vitae Patrum*. A description of Thais’s backstory prior to her entrance into prostitution is absent from both works. Terence’s *The Eunuch* is an adaptation of the Greek plays *Eunouchos* (*The Eunuch*) and *Kolax* (*The Flatterer*) by Menander (343/42 B.C.-292/91 B.C.).³¹ These plays, in addition to the majority of Menander’s dramatic corpus, exist in minor fragments that provide minimal insight into the character Thais.³² Significantly, argues David Wiles, Terence revises or even copies for *The Eunuch* the following stock characters found in the fragments of Menander’s plays: “the Running slave, a virtuous Matron, a wicked *meretrix*, a greedy Parasite, and a braggart *miles*” (146). It is possible Hrotsvit revised Menander and Terence’s stock characters for her plays. Her choice of disguise (i.e. soldier) for the character Abraham, for example, might be a reworking of the braggart soldier. Despite the abundance of known narratives about Thais, we are still missing critical information about her entrance into prostitution.

Even though Hrotsvit provides no information about Thais’s life prior to prostitution, readers should resist automatically typecasting her as the happy hooker or greedy whore since such depictions elide the fallen woman’s construction of her own subjectivity. Wiles argues that Thais “became a prostitute because of money. The root of her immorality is avarice, which, in

combination with her great beauty, resulted in her choice of prostitution as a career” (2006: 186).

His claim is problematic because he employs the biased testimonies of Thais’s male “Lovers”

(i.e. johns) as textual evidence. The Lovers exclaim,

Who would have ever believed that our beloved Thais would do this!
She, who always loved to have money;
She, who never thought of anything but love-making,
And gave herself over to pleasure completely!
And now, look at what she’s done!
How much gold and how many jewels and precious stones she has
destroyed,
Past all hope of saving them from the flames. (2006: 185)³³

Hrotsvit illustrates in this passage that Thais’s change of career and destruction of her material possessions provokes the ire of her lovers. They deflect responsibility for her feelings of disgust and unhappiness by stressing her esurient character. Yet, at no point in the author’s play does the female protagonist speak of her desire for wealth or explain why she began working as a prostitute. And in Wailes’s attempt to pinpoint the exact cause of Thais’s fall, he categorizes her as greedy, a source of corruption, and “the ruin of many men” (2006: 184-85). Such an analysis discourages personal identification with Hrotsvit’s fallen woman and trivializes the violence of her punishment of immurement in a tomb-like cell.

In opposition to Wailes’s construction of Thais as consumed with thoughts of riches and “love-making,” Hrotsvit illustrates that Thais yearns to exit prostitution precisely because she is dissatisfied with the exchange of sexual services for money. The stigma of “prostitute,” one definition of the term means “unworthy or corrupt,” has negated Thais’s feelings of self-value and worth. Therefore, her accumulation of objects of value (“precious” jewels and stones) is a method for filling her emotional void, and does not reflect a desire for riches and “love-making.” In order to emphasize this point, the author has Thais renounce prostitution and burn her material belongings as soon as Paphnutius presents her with an alternative life (Wilson 109). She does not

suddenly change, as Paphnutius claims, “from [her] prior condition/ when [she] burned with illicit passions/ and [was] inflamed with greed for possessions!”; instead, Hrotsvit shows that she has consistently been a devout Christian woman. Thais expresses her belief in God at the beginning of the brothel scene: “I know that nothing is hidden from His view...I believe that He weighs the merits of each person justly in His scale and that each according to his desserts receives reward or punishment from Him” (Wilson 107). In contrast to Wailes’s dramatization of a one-dimensional greedy whore, Hrotsvit’s Thais has faith and only accepts her fallen condition because she believes her sins preclude God’s salvation. The loss of virginity as opposed to feelings of avarice and lust influence, suggests Hrotsvit, her decision to enter prostitution.

VIII. *Corruption and discipline*

Abraham teaches Mary that sex outside of marriage is dirty and wrong so that she turns to prostitution immediately following the loss of her virginity. She tells him, “After I first sinned, and sank into perfidy, /I did not dare, polluted as I was, to even approach your sanctity” (Wilson 86). Hrotsvit illustrates in this passage how Abraham’s teaching methodology—he is Mary’s sole instructor—in binary oppositions (good/bad and corrupt/pure) distorts her views about sex, and contributes to her decision to work as a prostitute. Once she becomes a prostitute, he authoritatively tells her that she needs to “serve the Divine Will as eagerly as [she] served worldly vanities” if she wishes to atone for her grave sexual sins (Wilson 89). Mary should determine God’s Divine Will for herself, but instead Abraham takes it upon himself to decide and demand the following penance in the name of God: placement in a small, dark room, vigils, fastings, and the wearing of a cilice (a hairshirt) (Wilson 91). Eventually, she comes to believe that Abraham’s punishment regime is fair and consents to it despite the fact that “there is no

hope for her to return to her former self again” (Wilson 92). We see illustrated in this theatrical example that the most tragic fallen woman is the prostitute who believes that she is irredeemable, which in turn, driven by immense shame and contrition, leads to masochistic self torture in choosing self-abjection over self-forgiveness.

Regarding Thais, it is unclear whether lessons on the morality of sex influence her fall into prostitution, but it is clear that Paphnutius, the father who rescues her from the brothel, views her body and soul as sick and in need of his cure. Acting as Thais’s analyst and doctor, he diagnoses her body as diseased and prescribes the inhumane practice of immurement, similar to our modern practice of prolonged solitary confinement.³⁴ He explains to Hrotsvit’s minor character (Abbess³⁵):

The sickness of both body and soul must be cured by the medicine of contraries, it follows that she must be sequestered from the tumult of the world,/ immured in a small cell, so that she may contemplate her sins undisturbed. (Wilson 113)

But since the maladies of the soul, like those of the body, need physic for their cure, we must minister to this soul diseased by years of lust. It must be removed from the foul breath of the world. A narrow cell, solitude, silence—these must be her lot henceforth. She must know herself and her sins. (St. John 116-17)

In his book *Aphorisms*, Hippocrates popularized the idea that the diseased body should be treated with the “medicine of contraries.” He states: “Diseases which arise from repletion are cured by depletion; and those that arise from depletion are cured by repletion; and in general, diseases are cured by their contraries” (52). Following this idea, Paphnutius suggests that the “sickness” of the prostitute’s body and soul corresponds to her mobility and social access and therefore it is through immurement, living with constant restraints, that she can be cured. The Abbess, notably the only other female character, questions Paphnutius’s plan to immure Thais and suggests that his punishment is too severe for a young woman: “Forgive me, dear father in God, but I fear she will not be able to endure such a rigorous life,” to which he replies: “grave sin demands a grave

remedy” (St. John 117). Through the inclusion of the Abbess’s rational voice, Hrotsvit argues that Paphnutius’s deployment of authority is unreasonable.

Hrotsvit’s Thais also objects to immurement for three reasons: the cell is dark, narrow, and it has no chamber pot/sanitary place to use the bathroom. She tells Paphnutius that the latter problem is difficult to bear: “What could be more unsuitable,/ what could be more uncomfortable,/ than that I would have to perform all necessary functions of the body in the very same room? I am sure that it will soon be uninhabitable because of the stench” (Wilson 114-15). Hrotsvit’s graphic depiction of Thais trapped in a tomb-sized room filled with excrement, so foul it stains her skin,³⁶ enthralls several historians of prostitution. The Bulloughs in *Prostitution: An Illustrated Social History*, for instance, contextualize Thais’s confinement in excrement as spiritually cleansing (1978: 65). Nickie Roberts, on the other hand, points out the irony of their analysis, as they suggest Thais is “being ‘cleansed’ [of her sins] by being walled up in a shit-filled cubicle” (62). The Bulloughs mention scene VII again in *Women and Prostitution: A Social History*:

Though Thais grieved that she had to attend to all the needs of her body in the cell and there was not one “clean sweet spot” in which she could call on God, she lived there for three years before she died and the angels led her to paradise. (1987: 122)

When the Bulloughs and Roberts discuss Hrotsvit and her dramatizations of prostitution in medieval Europe, they focus on scene VII from *Paphnutius* because it is shocking and confrontational, much like the images from in-yer-face theatre in 1990s Britain. Hrotsvit is a pioneer, to borrow Case’s title,³⁷ insofar as she is the first female playwright to audaciously illustrate the subjugation and abjection of the female prostitute. Hrotsvit constructs Thais as abject, argues Helene Scheck, as her body is unintelligible within the virgin/whore dichotomy (153). She further argues that, “In Kristevian terms, her isolation forced her to confront the

borders of her own body and the fundamental nature of its own existence through the inescapable reality of its various excretions” (154). To expand on Scheck’s brief theorization of Hrotsvit’s scene, I argue that the image of the female body contained in a small space with what it expels is both provocative and frightening. Recall that a medieval anchorite once immured, according to Liz Herbert McAvoy and Mari Hughes-Edwards, “becomes legally solitary in an existence from which there is no retreat until death” (8). The knowledge that Thais will reside in her cell for life means that over time her body will be buried alive in excrement. This dramatization is a terrifying reminder that bodily wastes³⁸ that allow the human body to survive also have the potential to destroy it. Kristeva states:

Such wastes drop so that I might live, until, from loss to loss, nothing remains in me and my entire body falls beyond the limit—cadere, cadaver. If dung signifies the other side of the border, the place where I am not and which permits me to be, the corpse, the most sickening of wastes, is a border that has encroached upon everything. It is no longer I who expel, “I” is expelled. The border has become an object. (3-4)

Hrotsvit shows the process of Kristevian abjection in *Thais*. While hauled up for years in her tomb, Thais’s body expels shit, or as Scheck above states: “confronts the borders of her body,” and teeters on the edge of falling “beyond the limit” (becoming a cadaver). The corpse, as Kristeva puts it, “is the utmost of abjection. It is death infecting life. Abject” (4). The image of shit seeping into Thais’s orifices, simultaneously infecting and encasing her womb and breasts—potential sites of nourishment and life—conveys a scene of abjection that transports the female body dangerously close to the limits of the abject (i.e. death). Hrotsvit’s theatrical setting of the anchorite’s cell also brings her closer to death, as the cell, argues Alexandra Barratt, is a symbolic and literal tomb. She states:

And the anchorhold was indeed a tomb: ‘Anchorites inhabited a liminal plane between the living and the dead: to be immured in a cell represented a kind of symbolic death.’³⁹ Nor was this always merely symbolic: excavations in several reclusories have uncovered the remains of those who were presumably its former occupants. (33)

In other words, a female prostitute such as Thais enters the liminal period when she becomes an immured anchorite. Victor Turner theorizes the liminal period as the phase when “the initiand is neither what he has been nor is what he will be” (113). Once removed from the brothel and walled off from society, Thais is no longer a female prostitute but she is not yet a Saint. Liminal initiands such as Thais “are associated with such general oppositions as life and death, male and female, food and excrement, simultaneously, since they are at once dying from or dead to their former status and life, and being born and growing into new ones” (Turner 26). Applying Turner’s theory to Hrotsvit’s character Thais, the objects that maintain the borders of the live body and its subjectivity (“food and excrement”) encroach on the liminal initiands, in this case a female anchorite (Thais), and she experiences a liminal rebirth whereupon she transitions from anchorhold to heaven.

Following Turner’s theorization of the liminal period, it is useful to envision Thais’s cell as a space of death and spiritual rebirth. Here, I draw on Alexandra Barratt’s theorization of the anchorhold as a metaphor for the womb. Both the anchorhold and the womb, argues Barratt, are “narrow” and “cramped” and provide the physical needs of the occupant “with minimal effort” (30-31). Similarly, Hrotsvit illustrates the theatrical space of Thais’s cell as narrow and dark, and a source of subsistence for Thais. Notably, in the play, the cell (womb) is kept under Father Paphnutius’ control and cannot function without him. He acts as a type of umbilical cord funneling food and water into her womb (cell), just enough to sustain life. In the final scene of the play, Thais feels “Death is near,” as Father Paphnutius begins to remove her from the anchorhold (Wilson 122). Birth and death are simultaneously occurring for Thais in her womb/tomb, as she expels the Kristevian “I” and is spiritually resurrected as “a human being” in the image of Christ (a recluse born from Mary’s womb/tomb⁴⁰).

IX. *Psychological and emotional vulnerabilities*

The fact that the characters Mary and Thais consent to corporeal punishment, not without hesitation, reflects their psychological and emotional dependence on Abraham and Paphnutius. They give their spiritual guides authoritative power to measure their sins and determine whether penance will be enough to earn them God's mercy. Mary questions if she can earn forgiveness: "it is not the magnificence of Heavenly Grace which I doubt, but when I consider the enormity of my own sin, then I fear that the performance of even a worthy penance will not suffice" (Wilson 88). Looking to Paphnutius for hope, Thais says, "If only you believed or had the slightest hope that I who am so stained,/ with thousands and thousands of sins enchained,/ could expiate my sins or could perform due penance in order to gain forgiveness!" (Wilson 108). Hrotsvit illustrates the power imbalance between patriarchal authority figures, Abraham and Paphnutius, and fallen prostitutes, Mary and Thais. The former figures determine the latter's self-worth, in addition to exercising control over their mobility, bodily functions, and human contact. Abraham's decision to twice confine Mary to a cell, argues Wailes, "represent[s] a far more severe form of the solitary life than Abraham and Effrem have chosen for themselves: the two socialize freely with each other and talk with visitors from the outside" (2001:19). Similarly, Father Paphnutius socializes with his disciples,⁴¹ but chooses to immure Thais. The movements of the female figures are restrained because they are female anchorites⁴² and not hermits. Beginning in the Middle Ages, explains Ann K. Warren:

The anchorite was *inclusus/inclusa* or *reclusus/reclusa*, enclosed and stable with limited access to the outside world. In fact, the recluse became liturgically and psychologically dead to the world. He or she inhabited only a limited space within what was broadly considered to be an eremitic life; the hermit remained free to encounter his destiny in the remainder of that space. (8)

The choice to make Mary and Thais anchoresses instead of hermits is evidence of the male protagonists' desire to contain and punish the fallen female prostitute. In these hypocritical moments, Hrotsvit turns the question of moral conduct and discipline back on the men.

X. *Sex trafficked after death: Drusiana in Hrotsvit's Callimachus*

In contrast to the characters Mary and Thais, Hrotsvit's dramatic development of Drusiana as fallen is more complex. Though remaining a virgin in life and death, it is Callimachus's pursuit of Drusiana (i.e. sexual harassment) that results in her death after which her corpse is violated sexually through forced prostitution.⁴³ Briefly, the play centers on Callimachus's unbridled incestuous sexual desire⁴⁴ for Drusiana, and her vocal resistance to his advances. When he expresses his love for her, she demands to know what "compels" him to love her, to which he replies "your beauty" (Wilson 54). She then asks what Case describes as a "deep, provocative question" (537) and Scheck calls a "key question [that] pervades Hrotsvit's works and characterizes her revisionist definition of the female body" (158): "What is my beauty to you?," to which he responds: "Alas, very little so far, but I hope to gain much more in the future" (Wilson 54). Scheck argues that Callimachus thinks it is Drusiana's "debt of honor to gratify his sexual desires" since her "beauty" is to blame for his uncontrollable lust (158). Case aptly situates Callimachus' behavior in the "terms of patriarchal economy," but she does not situate Drusiana's response as a reaction to her commodization. He expresses his "hope to gain" (possess and profit) from her "beauty" (body), so she reacts by positioning him as a "vile seducer" (Wilson 54). Wailes claims that her reaction sexualizes an otherwise non-sexual conversation centered on love and beauty (13),⁴⁵ suggesting that Wailes overlooks how a sexualized woman's body is a transactional commodity. Drusiana's voice is muffled by

Callimachus's singular interest in her body, "So far I have no reason to get angry or mad,/ because the reaction which my love elicited in you could very well make you turn red (Wilson 55). Unsurprisingly, Wailes repeats a similar myopic line of argumentation, "One wonders, because Hrotsvit's heroines do not elsewhere blush when confronted with desire" (13). In contrast with Wailes' misreading of blushes as sexual desire, the Bulloughs propose an alternative in terms of connecting a blush with modesty:

Modesty was woman's glory, and by implication a woman who was sexually desirous and ardent, who did not blush at sex, was at heart a whore, though she need not legally be classified as a prostitute as long as she remained faithful to her husband. (1987: 119)

In addition to the Bulloughs, Hrotsvit associates blushes with modesty in the prefaces to her plays: "One thing has all the same embarrassed me and often brought a blush to my cheek" (St. John xxvi-xxvii). In this line Hrotsvit recalls how she blushed out of modesty while writing about sex.

From a feminist perspective, a woman's blush can connote emotional anxiety. When rational discourse fails to thwart Callimachus's unwanted sexual advances, Drusiana is helplessly anxious in an escalating encounter that results in threatened rape:

By God I swear: if you don't yield to me, I will not rest/ I will not desist from pursuing my quest/ until I entrap you with clever guiles. (Wilson 55)

I call heaven and earth to witness that if you do not yield I will never rest from the fight for you I will be as cunning as a serpent. I will use all my skill and strength to trap you.
(St. John 54-55)

Callimachus's menacing tone instills panic in Drusiana. Her only recourse during the time is to seemingly pray to God for both guidance and a swift death:

I don't know what to do; if I denounce him, there will be a public scandal on my account, I'm afraid;/ if I keep it secret, I cannot avoid falling into these devilish snares without Thy aid./ Help me, O Christ, therefore, with my plan/ and permit me to die so that I won't become the ruin of that charming young man. (Wilson 55)

I know not what to do. If I tell anyone what has happened, there will be disorder in the city on my account; if I keep silence, only Thy grace can protect me from falling into the net spread for me. O Christ, take me to Thyself. Let me die swiftly. Save me from being a ruin of a soul! (St. John 55)

Wailes conflates Drusiana's despair with a fear of succumbing to adultery, an act that would bring about their mutual ruin (13-14). Such an interpretation that omits the possibility of rape, even if only imagined by Drusiana or subtly suggested by the playwright, is clearly symptomatic of a patriarchal discourse that privileges the morality of adultery over both the psychological and physical violence committed against women's bodies. Drusiana believes that religious devotion overcomes sexual violence, which God obliges through an act of divine intervention by murdering Drusiana in answer to her prayers. While death serves to protect her from becoming a rape victim (fallen woman), it does not safeguard her body from sexual exploitation once she is contained within a tomb. The pander Fortunatus turns the crypt into a brothel where he traffics Drusiana's corpse for sex. Scheck and Newman correctly observe that Drusiana does not lose desirability (beauty) in death.⁴⁶

This is the first scene by a female playwright that dramatizes the male pander (in modern terms, a "pimp" or "procurer") and his sexual exploitation of the female dead body. The term "pander" as it appears in the Oxford English Dictionary was first evidenced as Pandarus (ancient Greek Πάνδαρος), the name of a Trojan archer in Homer's *Iliad*. The first of several meanings of pander is: "A go-between in clandestine love affairs; a person who provides another with the means of sexual gratification; a pimp, a procurer, *esp.* a male one." Hrotsvit's Fortunatus, who guards the tomb containing Drusiana's body, is both pander and sex trafficker, since he verbally advertises and sells (traffics) Drusiana's dead body to Callimachus for sex. Hrotsvit is the first woman playwright to suggest that female objectification through advertising precedes the monetary transaction for sex that occurs between pander (pimp) and client (john). Aphra Behn

later advertises the female body as a commodity in her play *The Rover* (1677); she hangs a “great picture” of the courtesan character Angellica and the rate of her sexual services (“a thousand crowns a month”) outside the courtesan’s residence (2.1.100-120). Fortunatus describes Drusiana’s attributes in terms of her corpse being “unharm’d” (Wilson 57), “sound and whole” (St. John 56). Significantly, his commodification of her passive body⁴⁷ triggers Callimachus’s pseudonecrophilic impulses:

FORT. If you pay me well, you shall have her body to use as you wish. (Wilson 57)

FORT. If you are willing to pay me well, you can do what you like. (St. John 57)⁴⁸

In both versions, Callimachus conveys his eagerness to possess Drusiana when he quickly empties his pockets of money in response to Fortunatus’s offer. “Here, take all I have,” he insists before hurrying off with the pander to the tomb (St. John 57). Once at the tomb, Fortunatus ensures that Callimachus is a satisfied customer. In a performative exchange of dialogue, Fortunatus says, “Here is the body. The face is not disintegrated,/ and her limbs are not yet wasted./ Use it as you please” (Wilson 57). Later in the play, Callimachus states that he fully “removed the shroud” covering Drusiana’s corpse, which suggests Fortunatus first pulls the veil down to reveal her face in the beginning of the tomb scene (Wilson 61). The veil becomes a costume piece that creates a morbid and erotic striptease for Callimachus’ titillation.

The dead body is another example of the complexity with which Hrotsvit interrogates the topic of prostitution and pseudonecrophilia via gender based forms of violence. In the above example, Hrotsvit illustrates that the demand for the female corpse originates in a desire for sexual control. Callimachus can be classified as a pseudonecrophiliac, since the term applies to those who “are quite content having intercourse with the living and would not think of engaging in sexual intercourse with the dead. However if an opportunity arose, they would” (Aggrawal

2009: 318; Rosman et al. 1989: 154-55). Fortunatus understands that a financial exchange functions to dehumanize Drusiana's corpse. There are many examples of men who purchase the services of prostitutes (female and male) only to murder them and engage in acts of necrophilia with their corpses.⁴⁹ Their choice of prostitutes and sex trafficked women and youth as murder and necrophilia victims suggests that they view these bodies as subhuman. It is also possible that they select prostitutes and sex trafficked women because they are more easily available and less likely to be reported as missing.

In conclusion, Hrotsvit is a progressive proto-feminist in terms of framing sex trafficking as a crime of power, the sexual desire to subjugate and/or profit from another person, which is emphasized by Callimachus' moment of triumph: "Now it is within my power to inflict any injury I wish upon you, my dear" (Wilson 57).⁵⁰ Her dramatization of the financial exchange between Fortunatus and Callimachus critiques a culture that encourages men to employ force to abuse women's bodies. In all three plays, Hrotsvit illustrates the male protagonists (Abraham, Paphnutius, and Callimachus) in a manner that affirms their involvement in the sexual downfalls of the female protagonists (Mary, Thais, and Drusiana). Lurking in the shadows of many prostitutes' and sex workers' background narratives (both real and fictional) is a man, whether lover, husband, relative, or spiritual advisor, whose actions and advice cause them to turn tricks for fast cash. Although these men claim to protect, help, and even rescue these women, it is important to question their desire to play the role of hero.

XI. *Gender based violence, twice fallen into prostitution:
Camille in Alexandre Dumas fils' The Lady of the Camellias*

Both Alexandre Dumas fils' autobiographical novel *Camille* (1848) and its theatrical adaptation *The Lady of the Camellias* (known as *Camille* in America) (1852) are well known for

their representations of 19th century French prostitution and fallen women. Dumas fils' courtesan Marguerite Gautier, also known as Camille, was inspired by his eleven-month romance with the highly desired courtesan Marie Duplessis (née Alphonsine).⁵¹ Although his relationship with Marie gave him insight into the life of a courtesan, his melodramatic focus on her life as an established courtesan marginalizes her experiences of gender based violence. Understanding the events that led to Marie's life as a prostitute provides readers with a better understanding of the character Camille and the empowering and disempowering aspects of a courtesan's life in 19th century France. In this chapter, the term courtesan means less than a mistress and more than a prostitute.⁵²

In this section, I work with Julie Kavanagh's groundbreaking biography *The Girl Who Loved Camellias* (2013) that explores the life of the original courtesan Alphonsine Rose Plessis (who later renames herself Marie Duplessis) and her romantic relationship with Dumas fils. Kavanagh's book offers a useful dramaturgical framework through which to examine the character Camille in Dumas fils' play *The Lady of the Camellias*. With the help of Kavanagh's research, I argue that Camille, like Hrotsvit's characters (Mary, Drusiana and Thais), is a victim of gender based violence prior to her fall into prostitution. In her biography, Kavanagh argues that Alphonsine suffers from a long history of gender based violence including physical abuse, poverty, and sexual exploitation. Her mother died in 1830 and her alcoholic father temporarily abandoned her. A kind family provided shelter but in order to ensure her survival she had to beg for food. On more than one occasion in 1836, the harvesters working in Alphonsine's village abused her. She had been pleading for "bread or soup" and was sexually molested in return (Kavanagh 36). She was only twelve years old. "What is the significant thing about this story?," Foucault might ask.⁵³ The gender based violence of it all; the fact that young girls learned that

tolerating sexual abuse meant food in their bellies. Alphonsine was already familiar with how sexual exchange functioned within local economies. Her father (Marin Plessis), according to substantiated rumors, groomed and sexually exploited her as a child (at one point he even attempted to sex traffic the then eleven-year-old to gypsies⁵⁴). Certainly, she had an active sexuality as an adolescent, but steady food, shelter, and care were her most pressing concerns.

These moments of gender based violence precede Alphonsine's entrance into prostitution and reveal that a young woman's voluntary choice to become a courtesan is influenced by a history of sexual exploitation and engagement in other forms of prostitution. Alphonsine/Marie's history of child sexual abuse, poverty, and exploitation, argues Kavanagh, does not negatively define her life as a courtesan:

From the moment of her arrival in Paris Marie took charge of her destiny: she was a survivor—she knew what she wanted and how to get it. The money she earned from selling her body did not make her a victim; it bought her independence, a privilege generally only available to women who were aristocrats. (15)

My intention is not to cast Alphonsine/Marie as a victim as she clearly states that she sold herself because she “wanted to know the refinements and pleasures of artistic taste.”⁵⁵ Still, her father's sexual grooming, her family's poverty, and the emotional abuse she experiences are forms of gender based violence that did influence her decision to become a courtesan. Sexual grooming is a gradual process whereby an adult creates an emotional bond and gains trust with a child to prepare her for sexual abuse. We know from Marie's diary that she was looking for someone to love her: “I've really loved, but no one had ever responded to my love. That is the real horror of my life!”⁵⁶ We also know that when Romain Vienne, the first biographer of Alphonsine's life, inquired as to whether her father groomed her for sexual exploitation, she became so upset that she burst into tears.⁵⁷ These examples suggest that the real Alphonsine/Marie, even as a courtesan, had unmet emotional needs and experienced gender based violence. By situating her

within a theatrical context, as Dumas fils does, we can observe the complex psychology and varied motivations of the courtesan figure.

In agreement with Kavanagh's biography, Dumas fils suggests in his play *The Lady of the Camellias* (*Camille*) that gender based violence (both sexual and economic) precipitates the protagonist Camille's entrance into street prostitution, which precedes her time working as a courtesan. In the novel, the fallen woman Camille reveals her poverty and lack of education prior to becoming a courtesan, which indicates that her time working as a street prostitute was a means of survival rather than choice. She tells her lover Armand Duvall, "I am a poor country girl, and six years ago I could not write my own name" (246). The fact that she develops consumption and does not exit prostitution also suggests her lack of agency as a street prostitute. In the play, she finally leaves street prostitution when an older, affluent gentleman, Monsieur de Meuriac, becomes her benefactor and attempts to transform her from fallen woman into a member of "polite" society.

With the care of Monsieur de Meuriac and through the repetition and reiteration of gender norms (proper femininity), the character Camille temporarily projected to polite society the signs of innocence. According to Camille's maid Nanine, she appeared "so gentle, so child-like... as if the spirit of the dead girl had left its innocence with her, and blotted out all record of the past. All who knew her grew to love her" (I.8). The "dead girl" is Monsieur de Meuriac's daughter, who both physically resembled Camille and passed away from consumption. In the play, Monsieur de Meuriac treats and cares for Camille as a daughter. Initially, society's reception of Camille is positive; however her past in prostitution soon reveals itself because she is unable to maintain her performance of the role of virgin. Gender performativity, argues Butler, "is always a reiteration of a norm or set of norms, and to the extent that it acquires an act-like

status in the present, it conceals and dissimulates the conventions of which it is a repetition” (1993: 12). Eventually polite society (the French bourgeoisie) pulls back the curtain to reveal the conventions of Camille’s performance of respectability and subsequently turns against her. Nanine claims, “From that moment it [respectable society] was closed against her. She was shunned as an adder; and in their cruel sneers they told her to go back to Paris and wear Camellias” (I.8). Not only does “polite” society ostracize her for being a snake (“adder”), they also instruct her to return to prostitution (“wear Camellias”). Notably, the snake (serpent) is symbolic of the devil and is a frequent trope in Hrotsvit’s fallen woman plays.⁵⁸ Respectable society disregards the fallen woman’s spiritual purity, especially her desire to forget her sexual transgressions and begin again. Camille’s third person narration for Armand about her last attempt to transition from a life of prostitution to a respectable member of the upper class provides proof of the gender based violence that follows the stigmatization of prostitution:

A poor, friendless, sickly girl, disgusted with that world where she had sold her smile for gold, had dared to enter the abode of peace—the charmed circle of society. Whatever her history had been, long-suffering had purified her thoughts—her heart was pure—*she sinned no more*. But society was outraged. With iron hand it flung her from its shores, and left her, beaconless, upon the sea where she is wrecked. (II.31)

The “charmed circle of society” rejects Camille (“flung her” and “left her” on “the sea”) and, as a result, she returns to prostitution (“she is wrecked”). Hrotsvit first employs in *Abraham* the trope of a woman falling into prostitution as being “wrecked” at sea. The protagonist Abraham says that he hopes Mary “will heed what I say, and even after this shipwreck turn again the harbor of her innocence and peace” (St. John 79).

XII. *Curing and stigmatizing the sickly courtesan*

This theme of purification through suffering can be traced to Hrotsvit's plays *Abraham* and *Paphnutius*, in which the eponymous protagonists discipline Mary and Thais in order to purify their corrupt and diseased bodies. Dumas fils positions the figure of the fallen prostitute in *Camille* as diseased, despite her pure heart or soul, and suggests that polite society hinders the redemption of fallen women. One of the ways that Dumas fils illustrates the fallen prostitute as diseased is through highlighting her promiscuity and tuberculosis. In 19th century France, argues Kavanagh, "Sexual appetite in a woman was seen as a symptom of disease or insanity, and tuberculosis was believed to set into motion a biochemical process that heightened a patient's libido" (165). In the play, Dumas fils emphasizes Camille's symptoms of tuberculosis (e.g. coughing fits) as the effect of too much movement and sexual excitement such as the moment when she dances the polka until she grows "pale," "ill," and begins coughing up blood (I.15). As with the fallen women of Hrotsvit's plays (Mary, Thais), Camille is signaled out as diseased and corrupt in order for the male protagonist (Armand) to have someone to cure. In the following monologue, for example, Armand pleads: "Ah, Camille, let me be your nurse—your doctor. I will guard you like a brother—shield you from this feverish existence, which is bringing you to your grave—surround you with a thousand little cares that will make you in love with life...(I.16). These dramatic lines illustrate the male protagonist's desire to rescue Camille from her "feverish existence" as a diseased and promiscuous courtesan (his diagnosis). I suggest that Dumas fils uses "feverish" to refer to Camille's actual fever and her state of overexcitement. The above passage illustrates that this rescue mission requires a complex performance of multiple roles: doctor (healer), brother (protector), and lover.

Through the figure of Armand and his attempt to perform the above roles, Dumas fils shows the harsh realities and shortcomings of the male rescue fantasy. Armand is unable to cure Camille from tuberculosis. Recall that Dumas fils' real-life lover Marie Duplessis, who he bases the character of Camille on, died from tuberculosis at the age of twenty-three. Armand also fails to protect Camille from his father, Duval, who disapproves of their romantic relationship. In Act III Duval convinces Camille to sacrifice her love for Armand and dreams of purity to guarantee the honor and purity of Armand and his sister (III.40). Even though Armand is initially unaware of his father's conversation with Camille, he is the reason she re-experiences the stigma of prostitute (diseased and corrupt). In these examples, Dumas fils illustrates that the stigma of prostitute persists even after the fallen woman has denounced prostitution.

The play aligns loss of innocence with intimate partner violence, with a focus on the stigma of prostitute as a form of verbal abuse and humiliation that contributes to a prostitute's downfall and death. At the end of IV in Dumas fils' *The Lady of the Camellias*, for instance, Armand publicly shames Camille when he says to their fellow-party guests: "You all bear witness that I have paid that woman, and that I owe her nothing! [*He throws a shower of notes and gold upon Camille, who has thrown herself at his feet.*] (55). In this moment, Armand reduces Camille's pure love for him to a financial transaction. Dumas fils' final presentation of the courtesan as guilt-stricken and bedridden in Act V confirms that Armand's behavior at the end of Act IV aggravates her illness. On her deathbed, she tells him that her impending death is "wise" and "just" because she is guilty, and "Living, the memory of that guilt would haunt me like a spectre!" (63). Armand's emotional outburst in Act IV reinforces Camille's sense of worthlessness and shame, which pushes her towards abjection and death.

XIII. *Feeling “wretched”: the failure to perform “respectability” and polite society’s stigmatization of prostitution in The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*

In previous sections I argue that Hrotsvit’s *Abraham* and *Callimachus* and Dumas fils’ *Camille* portray institutional and interpersonal violence as the cause of the fallen woman’s entrance into prostitution. The reason the female protagonist Paula Ray in Pinero’s *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* enters prostitution is unknown. Although Pinero excludes from his play an explanation of Paula’s fall, he does provide a few references to her experiences as a prostitute (“kept woman”⁵⁹) that involve gender based violence. Significantly, Paula’s fiancé, the upper class, respectable Aubrey Tanqueray, tells his friend, Cayley Drummle, that Paula “has never met a man who has treated her well—I intend to treat her well” (75). Pinero suggests with this tidbit of information that Paula was ill treated by johns (men who “kept” her). Pinero also intimates with Aubrey’s line that Paula’s father was abusive. At the end of the opening Act, Paula reveals how she rather commit suicide than re-experience the feelings connected to her life as a fallen woman: “I know I couldn’t swallow a second big dose of misery. I know that if ever I felt wretched again—truly wretched—I should take a leaf out of Connie Tirlemont’s book. You remember? They found her—(*With a look of horror*)” (80). In this moment, Paula recalls with “horror” the suicide of a former fellow prostitute, while also foreshadowing her own depression (“horrors”) and suicide. In Act III she confesses to Drummle, “I believe I’ve got the horrors,” which Pinero defines in a footnote as “depression” (107). The negative emotions Paula associates with men and prostitution combined with her deteriorating mental health are indicators of prior experiences of gender based violence. The social problem Pinero conveys is that interpersonal or institutional (whether childhood abuse or forced prostitution) can cause the fallen woman psychological and emotional distress that can escalate to suicide.

Throughout the play, Pinero illustrates that the fallen woman (Paula) cannot escape the stigma of prostitute through marriage to a member of “polite” society (Aubrey). Although Paula participates in upper class leisure activities and attempts to perform the signs of a respectable lady (e.g. Victorian standards of femininity such as purity, decorum, and what Nancy F. Cott theorizes as “passionlessness”⁶⁰), her performance inevitably fails as Butler argues that one cannot become what one performs. In other words, Paula’s identity is constructed in and through the performativity of gender and class, producing the signs of female and prostitute, but ultimately revealing how there is no Paula who can simply choose to become an upper class woman.

Pinero constructs Aubrey’s daughter Ellean as a dramatic foil to Aubrey’s second wife Paula, which highlights both Aubrey’s respect for virginity and awareness of the stigmas of prostitution. In his stage directions, Pinero describes Ellean as having a face “somewhat resembling a Madonna” (85) and later he refers to her as a “Saint” (87). By contrast, Pinero illustrates Paula as “tainted” and bad (132). Aubrey tells Drummle that “Ellean is so different from—most women; I don’t believe a purer creature exists out of heaven. (*With difficulty.*) And I—I ask myself, am I doing right in exposing her to the influence of poor Paula’s light, careless nature?” (91). In this dramatic exchange, Pinero positions the fallen woman (Paula) as a source of corruption that threatens the innocent virgin (Ellean). Aubrey stigmatizes Paula as a prostitute when he explains to her that there are “two Paulas”(110): the pure virgin of her youth (prior to prostitution) and the woman she is now. While he does not call her impure or a whore, he criticizes her for displaying indecorous behavior around Ellean: “Why, how often, sitting between you and Ellean, have I seen her cheeks turn scarlet as you’ve rattled off some tale that belongs by right to the club or the smoking room!” (110). These lines associate Paula with

masculine behaviors (i.e. telling crude tales), which, argues Aubrey, belong to all-male spaces like “the club” and “the smoking room.” Paula is verbally punished for threatening the ideology of heterosexuality through performing outside of her socially prescribed gender role. In the following section on O’Neill’s *Anna Christie*, the fallen woman is similarly judged for exhibiting masculine behaviors (i.e. drinking and crude language).

Aubrey further illustrates his belief in the myth that fallen women are corrupt and impure when he encourages Ellean to travel with Mrs. Cortelyon instead of Paula. Paula fears that her past as a prostitute motivates Aubrey to send Ellean away: “I believe you’ve sent Ellean away, not for the reasons you give, but because you don’t consider me a decent companion for her, because you’re afraid that she might get a little of her innocence rubbed off in my company” (109). Aubrey confirms her suspicions, which causes her great emotional and psychological pain. Paula feels “wretched” again because up until this moment she thought Aubrey was the one man who would never stigmatize her for prostitution (80). Pinero uses the closing scene to articulate how the stigma of prostitute causes Paula to feel hopeless with respect to regaining innocence (virginity), becoming respectable (part of “polite” society), or returning to her life as a “kept” woman. Her previous discussion of Tirlemont’s suicide shows that she considers death a better alternative to prostitution. After Ellean discovers Paula’s past as a fallen woman—specifically her previous sexual involvement with the character Captain Ardale (the man Ellean hoped to marry)—she declares, “I have always known what you were!”(131). Ellean labels Paula a prostitute and denies her subjecthood through her use of “what” instead of “who.” Paula’s moment of Aristotelian recognition (anagnorsis) that she cannot hide or change her illicit past occurs with Ellean’s following diatribe:

From the moment I saw you I knew you were altogether unlike the good women I'd left; directly I saw you I knew what my father had done. You've wondered why I've turned from you. There—that's the reason! (131)

Up until this moment Paula believes she can conceal her former identity as prostitute through her performance of “respectable” lady. The stigma of prostitute, argues Ellean, is inscribed on her body. She reads Paula's body as bad (“unlike the good women”) and then proceeds to tell her, “It's in your face! (131). Aubrey and Ellean, in addition to the rest of “polite” society, stigmatize Paula's performative body as impure and corrupt.

Following previous theatrical examples of fallen women (i.e. Mary, Thais, and Camille), Paula internalizes these myths and believes she deserves to be punished for her past as a prostitute. After Paula tells Aubrey that she “kept house” with Captain Ardale, she screams: “Hit me in the face—I'd rather you did! Hurt me! Hurt me!” (126). Later she tells Aubrey, “I'm tainted through and through; anybody can see it, anybody can find it out” (132). These emotional outbursts illustrate her core belief that she is bad despite her defensive declaration: “I'm a good woman!” (131). The stigma Aubrey and Ellean attach to Paula for prostitution, in addition to her internalization of the stigma, leads her to self-abjection culminating in suicide.

XIV. *“I didn't go wrong all at one jump”*: the fallen woman's testimony of gender based violence in *Anna Christie*

In Act I of *Anna Christie*, set in 1910 New York City, O'Neill situates the female protagonist as a whore within the virgin/whore dichotomy. He describes Anna Christie as wearing “a layer of make-up” and dressed in “the tawdry finery of peasant stock turned prostitute” when she rings the “family entrance bell” at Johnny-the-Priest's saloon (I.111-12). The character of Larry, the bartender, answers the door and stares with “a puzzled expression” at

Anna, who enters the saloon and “sinks wearily into a chair by the table.” His suspicion that she resembles a prostitute more than a “respectable” family woman or lady is confirmed when she turns to him and delivers the line that made Greta Garbo (and her husky voice) famous in the 1930 film: Gimme a whiskey—ginger ale on the side. And don’t be stingy, baby” (I.121). He sarcastically replies, “Shall I serve it in a pail?” (I.121). O’Neill conveys in these opening moments that Anna is familiar with saloons (traditionally male spaces in 1910), drinking copious amounts of hard alcohol, and joking with men, which are all signs of prostitution that Larry reads from her performative body. Anna’s behavior is less a conscious performance of prostitute as it is an involuntary “performativity” of the signs of whore. In this opening scene, O’Neill illustrates Anna as an honest whore who is too tired and ill to maintain pretenses. This depiction encourages spectators to view Anna as trustworthy, which becomes important later in the scene when she narrates her experiences of unrelenting interpersonal and institutional violence.

Gender based violence (institutional and interpersonal) is an underlying cause of the female protagonist’s fall from virgin to whore. This theme is found in Hrotsvit’s *Abraham* and *Callimachus* and Dumas fils’ *Camille*, but O’Neill adds a layer of emotional and psychological realism and narrative detail to Anna’s experiences of gender based violence. Anna begins with a description of her experiences of institutional violence, which occur after her fall. She spent “thirty days” in the “cooler” (jail) for brothel prostitution and became so “sick” that they sent her to a “hospital” (I.115). Notably, in 1910 prostitutes residing in houses of assignation (brothels/bordellos) or hospitals (asylums/homes) were referred to as “inmates,” a term that draws a parallel between brothel and medical prison.⁶¹ The fact that Anna is “fresh from medical prison to visit her long-lost father” (2004: 90) is not lost on Katie N. Johnson, but J. Chris Westgate, Zander Brietzke, and Philippe Codde exclude institutional violence from their

analyses of *Anna Christie*. Instead, they focus on the interpersonal violence that occurred between Anna and her cousins.⁶² Anna reveals that at age sixteen the youngest of her three male cousins, Paul, raped her. Significantly, Brietzke and Johnson situate her rape at the beginning of a long continuum of gender based violence that includes prostitution. Anna's cousin Paul, argues Brietzke, is the "incestuous cousin who enslaved her to a life of prostitution" (58), and Anna's "rape by her Minnesota cousins," claims Johnson, correlates with her "prostitution" and "illness" (2004: 90). In addition to criminalization, rape, incest, abuse, forced prostitution and illness, Anna also experiences sexual harassment while working as a nurse girl. Westgate, Brietzke, Codde, and Johnson do not acknowledge this final trauma that precipitates Anna's fall into prostitution. Specifically, Anna tells Marthy:

It was all men's fault—the whole business. It was men on the farm ordering me and beating me—and giving me the wrong start. Then when I was a nurse, it was men again hanging around, bothering me, trying to see what they could get. [*She gives a hard laugh.*] And now it's men all the time. Gawd, I hate 'em all, every mother's son of 'em! Don't you? (I.118)

The dialogue demonstrates that Anna was already forced to have sex with her cousin(s) and employer(s) prior to her entrance into prostitution. The phrase "wrong start" is a euphemism for rape and Anna's "hard laugh" is indicative of the sexual abuse she endured as a nurse girl. Brietzke discredits Anna with his claim that "She did not make a living as a nurse in St. Paul, but as a prostitute..." (49). His factual error might be the result of misreading the following monologue as proof that she immediately entered prostitution following her relocation to St.

Paul:

You keeping me safe inland—I wasn't no nurse girl the last two years—I lied when I wrote you—I was in a house, that's what!—yes, that kind of house—the kind sailors like you and Mat goes to in port—and your nice inland men, too—and all men, God damn 'em! I hate 'em! Hate 'em! (III.180)

In the above rage-filled confession to her father, Anna explains that she was a brothel prostitute for the past two years, which does not preclude her claim that she worked for two years as a nurse girl. O'Neill specifies that Anna ran away to St. Paul when she was "sixteen" and then spent "two years" working as a nurse girl until she "got the chance to get into that house" (i.e. the brothel) (I.118). Chris confirms this timeline when he tells Larry that Anna "must be twenty year ole [*sic*]" (105). The fact that Anna suffers abuse for two years as a nurse girl is proof, I argue, that her "choice" to enter prostitution was made under dire circumstances. Codde fails to acknowledge Anna's experiences of gender based violence including prostitution as located on a continuum and insists that she has a "problem" insofar as she refuses to accept the fact that she made a free moral choice when she decided to quit her job as a nurse and become a prostitute" (27). In early 20th century America, a "nurse girl" was the equivalent of a nursemaid or domestic servant. Even though Anna decides to leave her nursing job and enter prostitution, Codde misunderstands that her choice is based on seeking out work conditions superior to the unbearable ones she experienced during domestic servitude. Catherine MacKinnon argues that there are two dominant perspectives from which to understand prostitution/sex work: the sex work model and the sexual exploitation approach. The sex work model situates sex workers as "agentic actors" engaging in consensual labor for compensation whereas the sexual exploitation approach positions prostitution as "a product of lack of choice, the resort of those with the fewest choices, or none at all when all else fails" (MacKinnon 273-74). MacKinnon's theories illustrate how Anna's entrance into prostitution is the product of a lack of non-exploitative job options. By contrast, Codde's analysis of Anna's work as a prostitute being an expression of agency undermines, I believe, gender inequalities in the workplace and male responsibility for sexual violence.

XV. *A historical look at prostitution and domestic work in late 19th-early 20th century*

Minnesota

From a historical and socialist feminist standpoint, the gendered division of labor in turn of the century Minnesota—the time someone like Anna lived—meant that the available jobs for women consisted of low-paying factory, retail, servant (domestic, nurse girl), sewing, and sex work. In her unprecedented history of prostitution in Minnesota, Penny A. Peterson argues that a servant was “the occupation that was most commonly held by those who later became prostitutes, although it is not clear whether something in the nature of housework led women into the sex trade...” (21). Also, it should not be overlooked that housework brought with it sexual violence. Peterson employs Eva Gay’s articles (dated 1888) for the *St. Paul Daily Globe* to reveal women’s aversion to domestic work because of the long hours, low-wages, and mistreatment (21). It is difficult to know, however, how frequently domestic servants experienced gender based violence because journalists and authors employed euphemisms such as “deceived,” “seduced,” “betrayed,” “lost,” and “started” in place of more explicit terms like rape and incest. Susan Brownmiller recovers the testimonials of rape victims during the late 19th century, which show they used euphemisms for rape such as “I had a connection with” and “outraged me” (149). It is possible, then, that O’Neill’s dramatization of Anna’s experience of gender based violence as a nurse girl reflects a common problem female servants faced in 20th century Minnesota. Significantly, 21st century victims of domestic trafficking (usually female) frequently report being sexually abused and raped.⁶³

XVI. *Empathizing with the fallen woman: the importance of female camaraderie*

Dramaturgically, Marthy is a significant character since she creates the space for Anna to narrate her traumas by being both a fellow fallen woman and a nonjudgmental, empathetic, and supportive listener. Westgate finds Anna's willingness to tell Marthy her story "remarkable" since "Anna's experiences have obviously made her distrustful and suspicious of others. Apparently, though, she recognizes something trustworthy in Marthy..." (70). It would be "remarkable" if Anna decided to tell her past to a man or non-prostitute because she empathically hates men⁶⁴ and has a fear of harsh judgment. Anna's decision to reveal her past to Marthy, on the other hand, is not "remarkable" if their shared self-identification as female prostitute is taken into consideration. Similarly, Codde claims that "Anna has no problems telling about how she got "started" when she was sixteen; she feels comfortable in the company of her own kind" (27, 79). His argument is valid insofar as Anna feels comfortable confiding in Marthy, since they share an understanding of lingo, rules and criminality,⁶⁵ as well as the psychological and emotional effects of working in the field of prostitution. The "something trustworthy" that Anna sees in Marthy is an older version of herself: "You're me forty years from now" (I.114). What Codde fails to see, however, is that Anna struggles to speak about her rape. The fact that she waits until the end of their conversation to mention her rape and experiences "a moment's hesitation" before she "somberly" delivers the following lines: "It was one of the sons—the youngest—started me—when I was sixteen" (I.118) illustrates that unprocessed traumas are never easy to tell. Moreover, O'Neill's dramatic pauses intimate that Anna is flashing back in her mind to the precise moment of her rape, which is further emphasized in the following line: "After that, I hated 'em so I'd killed 'em all if I'd stayed. So I run away—to St. Paul" (I.118). This is the only time Anna mentions how her hatred for her abusers caused her to experience

murderous revenge fantasies. These types of fantasies and feelings of rage, explains Herman, “are a normal response to abusive treatment” (104). The process of vocalizing her traumas causes her to flashback to her emotional state post-rape when she first experienced misandry. It is unsurprising, then, that the only times she mentions her “hatred” for men is to Marthy, Chris (her father), and Mat Burke (her lover) when she is sharing with them traumatic memories.⁶⁶ The sharing of traumatic memories ends and her performance of virginity begins with Chris’s entrance into the room followed by Marthy’s exit.

XVII. *Performing virginity within the “love triangle”*⁶⁷

The first act of *Anna Christie* captured the feeling of anxiety that affects two people reuniting after a long separation. Father and daughter, Chris and Anna, meet for the first time in fifteen years and quickly adopt performative social roles to alleviate anxieties and please each other.⁶⁸ Chris performs the role of protective father and proposes to his daughter that they leave the bar since it “ain’t no good place for young gel [*sic*]” (I.110). He hopes Anna will stay with him on the coal barge that he captains. Instead of revealing that she is a street-wise woman, Anna assumes the identity of chaste daughter posing the following query: “Do you think that’s a good place for a young girl like me—a coal barge?” (I.124). She continues her performance of innocence when asked by her father: “What you tank [*sic*] you like to drink, eh?” (125), and she replies, “I’ll take a— [*Then suddenly reminded—confusedly.*] I don’t know. What’a [*sic*] got here?” (I.125). Anna hinders her perfunctory response so as to conceal her familiarity with hard alcohol, which in early 20th century America was associated with men and prostitutes. In his analysis of *Anna Christie*, Codde highlights the role-playing that occurs in this scene. He claims that the scene illustrates how “neither wants to divulge his or her true nature and desires, and so

they cramp each other's styles. Chris finally ends up with a small beer and Anna gets a glass of port" (27). Even though their drink choices conceal some of their "desires," they also reveal their mutual desire to both make a good impression and build a father-daughter relationship.

XVIII. *The "she-devil" and "dat ole devil sea"*

In *Anna Christie*, O'Neill illustrates with his daemonic imagery of she-devils, wickedness and hell the stigmas attached to prostitutes in turn of the 20th century America. Specifically, O'Neill weaves throughout his play the theme of the sea as a female "devil [*sic*]" who plays "dirty tricks" on men,⁶⁹ which I argue is a metaphor for the female prostitute who plays tricks on her johns. The term "she-devil" was a common euphemism for prostitute in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, appearing in Georg Büchner's *Woyzeck*⁷⁰ and Timothy J. Gilfoyle's study of prostitution in New York.⁷¹ In the context of *Anna Christie*, Burke calls Anna a "she-devil [*sic*]" after she both reveals she is a prostitute and threatens to return to prostitution (IV.201). During their first meeting in Act II, Burke associates prostitutes with emotional tricksters. He says, "devil [*sic*] a woman in all the ports of the world has iver [*sic*] made a great fool of me that way before!" (144). He resents prostitutes for their emotional chicanery more than their sexual promiscuity because it turns him into a fool. He even confesses to Anna that they feigned feelings for him in order to turn a trick (U.S. slang in OED for "to commit a successful theft" and perform "a sexual act with a casual partner, usu. for money"): "They're looking to steal the money from you only" (II.148). The subtext of his confession is that his feelings for some of the prostitutes were sincere and heartfelt, and he has since grown resentful for being made into a fool. In Act III Anna's disclosure of her past as a brothel prostitute enrages him "You slut, I'll be killing you now! (181), he screams while he simultaneously hurls a chair towards her head.

Whores are wicked nonhumans who deserve to be punished for faking emotions, according to Burke's social mores and experiences, while Anna is a "slut" who needs to die for making him assume the role of the fool dreaming up a fake future:

Was there iver [*sic*] a woman in the world had the rottenness in her than you have, and was there iver a man the like of me was made the fool of the world, and me thinking thoughts about you, and having great love for you, and dreaming dreams of the fine life we'd have when we'd be wedded! (182)

In the above passage, O'Neill illustrates that Burke mistook the common-whore Anna for a Madonna and only the latter figure, according to Burke, is worthy of love and matrimony. Like Armand who dismisses Camille's pure love for him, Burke questions the sincerity of Anna's love. O'Neill adds a layer of purity and innocence to Anna's love for Burke with his specification that he is her first love. She confides in him, "I ain't never loved a man in my life before, you can always believe that—no matter what happens" (III.170). The question of whether her love is pure drives him mad because he lacks proof. She has become, in his eyes, full of "rottenness" (III.182), "hardened in badness" (IV.203): the haunting face of the "grinning" prostitute "you'd meet in any hooker-shanty in port" (III.182-183; IV.198). These stigmas attached to prostitutes appear throughout the play and directly correlate to Anna's low mood and desire for redemption in the first half of the closing Act.

Similar stigmas are associated with fallen prostitutes in Hrotsvit's plays. Mary in *Abraham*, for example, is wretched, miserable, devilish, wicked, lost and condemned to hell unless she renounces prostitution and repents.⁷² The fallen woman Thais in *Paphnutius* will also be punished with "hell-fire" if she remains in sin (St. John 109). Hrotsvit labels Thais as impure, wretched, wicked, evil, ruined, and polluted.⁷³ The fact that the stigmas associated with the prostitute have not changed in the past ten centuries suggests the need for alternative

dramatizations of fallen women that work against the category of whore within the virgin/whore dichotomy.

Anna approaches the stigmas attached to prostitute in a similar fashion to fallen women who came before her (e.g. Mary, Thais, Camille, and Paula): she believes them. The internalization of these biased negative emotions makes her vulnerable to additional acts of gender based violence. After Burke discovers Anna's illicit past and temporarily abandons her, she confesses: "If he did come back it'd only be 'cause he wanted to beat me up or kill me, I suppose. But even if he did, I'd rather have him come than not show up at all. I wouldn't care what he did" (IV.191). In this line, O'Neill suggests that Burke uses the stigma of prostitute to psychologically control Anna; she feels worthless and helpless without his love. Ironically, Burke returns to Anna and expresses that he is the fool who desperately needs her love to survive. Here, O'Neill's narrative parallels Dumas fils' insofar as the male protagonist reveals his love and emotional vulnerability to the fallen woman in the final Act. Burke declares, "I was loving you in spite of it all and wanting to be with you, God forgive me, no matter what you are. I'd go mad if I'd not have you!" (IV.207), and Armand in *Camille* similarly says: "Camille, you were my world! With you I had all things—without you nothing!" (63).

XIX. *The contamination of Blanche's belle reve and her fall into prostitution*

In his Pulitzer Prize winning post-WWII American drama *A Streetcar Named Desire*, Williams creates in the character Blanche DuBois a psychologically complex and three-dimensional figure of the fallen prostitute. While Blanche experiences interpersonal violence before entering into prostitution, unlike Mary, Drusiana, Camille and Anna, she falls from a high to low social position. Blanche disdains commonness and vulgarity in others and as a result

struggles to accept her fall from southern belle to common prostitute. I argue that a series of traumas influence Blanche's decision to enter prostitution and turn away from death and "true theater" (Belle Reve) towards desire and a theater of illusions (life at the Kowalski's flat in New Orleans). In the process, she experiences revictimization, rape and institutionalization, which aggravate her post-traumatic stress disorder.

The destruction of the Mississippi mansion Belle Reve that was home to Blanche and Stella's youth is a metaphor for the gender based violence experienced by Blanche:

There are thousands of papers, stretching back over hundreds of years, affecting Belle Reve as, piece by piece, our improvident grandfathers and father and uncles and brothers exchanged the land for their epic fornications—to put it plainly! (I.II)

The patrilineal exchange of land is designed to maximize male sexual gratification ("fornications") and is analogous to the trade of women, materializing in the play through Blanche's desire to fulfill men's sexual appetites. Land was lost, claims Blanche, as grandfathers and fathers interchanged it with uncles and brothers until the plantation home and "about twenty acres of ground, including a graveyard..." was all that remained (I.II). Williams constructs Blanche's role as a passive observer to the loss of Belle Reve, ultimately without property and unmarried her diminished agency translates into an inability to exercise control over the loss of land that simultaneously spurs her trajectory towards death ("graveyard").

The decay of the family home corresponds to family death wherein the abject corpses of Blanche's mother and father contaminate Belle Reve, pollute beauty, and extinguish desire. Kristeva argues that the corpse "is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object" (4). Encountering the corpses of her parents causes the breakdown of Blanche's identity whereby the expulsion of the Kristevian "I" relates to complete disorientation. Blanche experiences "true theater" within the walls of the white

columned mansion. In “true theater,” argues Kristeva, there are no “makeup or masks”; “refuse and corpses *show me* what I permanently thrust aside in order to live” (3). At Belle Reve, Blanche witnesses her loved ones’ last breaths, cries, and blood as they passed from the realm of the living to the dead: “I saw! Saw! Saw!,” she cried to her sister Stella (I.I). Notably, she experiences these deaths as physical assaults: “I, I, I took the blows in my face and my body! All of those deaths!” (I.I). Faintly reminiscing Hamlet’s murmurs on the processes of decay and death, the violence of witnessing bodies deteriorate from life to death parallels Blanches spiral towards complete disorientation.

The ugliness and violence of death that she encounters at Belle Reve exacerbates her traumatic memories of her first experience of loss. Briefly, her husband Allan Grey commits suicide after she reacts with cruelty to the discovery that he is gay, “I saw! I know! You disgust me” (I.VI). The deaths she witnesses at Belle Reve, the “true theater” that she watches, is a painful reminder of the unsightliness and brutality of Allan’s death and its aftermath that she chooses not to view. One of the reasons Allan’s suicide happens is because Blanche fails to see his inner pain; she “saw” him in bed with another man, but she lacked insight into how to discuss the situation. Williams suggests throughout *Streetcar* that Blanche struggles to empathize with people who do not adhere to her ideology of propriety. Her insensitivity manifests in her treatment of Allan for being gay (“You disgust me” (I.VI)) and Stanley for exhibiting crude behaviors (“He acts like an animal, has an animal’s habits!” (I.IV)). Blanche’s denial of her own capacity for ugliness and savagery, as the above comments illustrate, is one reason Allan’s death continues to haunt her.

She also remains traumatized because she refuses to confront his mutilated corpse. Each time she has a flashback to the night of his suicide, she does not allow herself to remember past

the point of the gunshot: “There now, the shot! It always stops after that” (I.IX). Williams situates this moment of death and its aftermath within a series of borders that work to frame it as abjection. Allan’s corpse is found, for example, “at the edge of the lake” (I.VI).⁷⁴ In death he straddles the border between water and land or the earth and the afterlife (in the play, water symbolizes spiritual purification after death and land is associated with the living⁷⁵). He has become an abject corpse without a border described by Williams as a “thing” (I.VI). She runs toward the edge, the abject, and the corpse upon hearing the gunshot, but as Blanche explains “somebody caught my arm” and told me:

“Don’t go any closer! Come back! You don’t want to see!” See? See what! Then I heard voices say—Allan! Allan! The Grey boy! He’d stuck the revolver into his mouth, and fired—so that the back of his head had been—blown away! (I.VI)

Blanche prefers the ghastly and violent narration of Allan’s suicide to directly confronting the corpse. She continues to relive the moments before his death trying to process her complicity in and refusal to “see” her husband as mutilated corpse. Closing her eyes to the frightful reality of his suicide, she retreats into Belle Reve. Ironically, it is there that she is forced to face the death of her parents.

XX. *Blanche performs the role of virgin*

Not unlike O’Neill’s Anna in *Anna Christie*, Blanche is ill and living in destitution when she turns to her sole surviving immediate family member for shelter and care. A common trope in fallen woman plays is the failure of prostitution to provide economic stability (even Camille (both real and fictional) died in debt). Briefly, Blanche has lost Belle Reve, her husband, parents, job, and reputation when she arrives in New Orleans to stay with her sister (Stella) and brother-in-law (Stanley Kowalski). She performs the role of virgin because it gives her greater respect

and value in the sexual marketplace of marriage. She attempts to play the role of virgin to evade the stigma of prostitute and its pursuing violence, but like the fallen woman before her from Camille to Anna, Blanche fails in her performance due to how her performative body conveys the signs associated with prostitution.

Her performance of virginity, whiteness, and class status begins the moment when she exits a streetcar named desire and enters the visceral and colorful world of New Orleans. Williams's choice of costume (all white and conservative⁷⁶) and name (Blanche DuBois) illustrates the fallen woman's performance of virginity, whiteness, and socioeconomic status. The meaning of Blanche's name is the subject of several analyses of the play. Her name is significant because it traces the character's failure to perform virgin, which corresponds to her loss of desirability and abjection. Blanche explains to her love interest Mitch that DuBois "means woods and Blanche means white, so the two together mean white woods. Like an orchard in spring!" (I.III). Blanche strategically shares the meaning of her name to appear virginal, innocent, pure, fertile, youthful, and beautiful. While Henry I. Schvey argues that the character's name emphasizes her "essential purity, even innocence" (106), these qualities should be read as performative social constructs rather than "essential" biological traits. Blanche is aware that her beauty is fading and employs seductive language to escalate desire in her burgeoning relationship with Mitch. She recreates a short scene from Dumas fil's *Camille*, for instance, where she uses flirtatious language to alleviate their solemnness and sexually energize Mitch:

BLANCHE. We are going to be very Bohemian. We are going to pretend that we are sitting in a little artists' café on the Left Bank in Paris! [*She lights a candle stub and puts it in a bottle.*] *Je suis la Dame aux Camellias! Vous êtes—Armand!* Understand French?

MITCH [*heavily*]:
Naw. Naw, I—

BLANCHE. *Voulez-vous coucher avec moi ce soir? Vous ne comprenez pas? Ah, quelle dommage!* I mean it's a damned good thing....(I.VI)

Blanche fashions magic from worn-down candles, dramatic imagery of lovers, and simplistic French discourse because she believes it will intrigue and attract Mitch. Williams's decision to have Blanche act out the role of fallen woman (Camille) draws attention to the performativity of the virgin/whore dichotomy and conveys her desperate need for Mitch's sexual attention and care. Like the fallen woman Anna from O'Neill's play, Blanche hopes that securing a marriage proposal will conclude the exhaustive performances of virgin and whore: "I want to rest!" (I.V).⁷⁷

Blanche's performative use of language is also a safety behavior that she employs to avoid revictimization. She reminds Stanley about her upcoming birthday through which she associates her birth with the virgin:

BLANCHE. Oh, my birthday's next month, the fifteenth of September; that's under Virgo.

STANLEY. What's Virgo?

BLANCHE. Virgo is the Virgin.

STANLEY. [*contemptuously*]: Hah! (I.V)

In contrast to Mitch, Stanley sees Blanche's virginity as a masquerade. He indulges sadistically in discrediting Blanche's reputation, drawing connections between Blanche and prostitution through her past associations with "Shaw" – a man claiming to have met Blanche at a second-class hotel, "The Hotel Flamingo," infamous for prostitution. While Blanche denies his accusations, Stanley threatens persistently to sabotage Blanche's performance. Such pressurized exchanges lead to Blanche's attempts to reassert her expensive taste (class) and innocence (virginity), which merely serve for Stanley to reinforce her appearance as a prostitute. In one such exchange, Stanley asks whether Blanche is familiar with the Flamingo:

STANLEY. You know of it?
BLANCHE. Yes, I've seen and smelled it.
STANLEY. You must've got pretty close if you could smell it.
BLANCHE. The odor of cheap perfume is penetrating.
STANLEY. The stuff you use is expensive?
BLANCH. Twenty-five dollars an ounce! (I.V)

Blanche is so close to the Flamingo that she can “smell it.” Instead of projecting an image of virginal innocence, her description of the “smell” as an “odor” that is both “cheap” and “penetrating” implies her intimate, visceral experience of the hotel as a locale for cheap, penetrative sex. She erroneously claims to wear perfume that costs “twenty-five dollars an ounce” to distance herself from the lower-class women of the Flamingo who wear “cheap perfume.” Nevertheless, Stanley undermines Blanche’s mendacity and increases her anxiety with further questions. Williams notes in the stage directions that Blanche “speaks lightly but her voice has a hint of fear” and “Her hand trembles as she lifts the handkerchief again to her forehead” (78). Her fear, trembling, and sweat are symptoms of anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder that develop after her husband’s suicide. Williams illustrates that Stanley is aware of Blanche’s prior loss, but refuses to acknowledge or empathize with her. Instead, he expresses his desire to unmask the affluent and cultured Southern belle and publically parade her as a hysterical, alcoholic streetwalker.

XXI. *Dreams of spiritual purification through suffering*

The final scene of *Streetcar* centers on purification and suffering that originates with Hrotsvit’s prototypical fallen woman plays. In *Abraham* and *Paphnutius*, Hrotsvit employs symbolic imagery of the afterlife and descriptions of the fallen woman’s ascent to heaven as proof of purification through suffering. Specifically, she employs symbols such as the angel,

paradise, and figurative light to illustrate the fallen woman's spiritual transcendence. From Dumas fils to Williams, 19th-20th century playwrights show how fallen women suffer from the stigmas of prostitution and concurrently dream about purification in death. In Dumas fils' *Camille*, for instance, the courtesan Camille sacrifices pure love only to die slowly from consumption without being reassured as to any possibility of spiritual purification. Camille's desire to be remembered not as a courtesan but as a woman capable of pure love is represented symbolically by her hope that Armand will plant heart's ease instead of camellias on her grave. While it remains unresolved in the play whether Camille's love for Armand serves to successfully purify her, Nichette's closing lines gesture optimistically: "Thou hast loved much, —much shall be forgiven thee" (V. 64). Pinero represents the theme of purification through suffering in the following exchange between the fallen woman Paula and her fiancé Aubrey:

PAULA. But I haven't told you the best part of my dream.

AUBREY. Tell me.

PAULA. Well, although we had been married only such a few years, I seemed to know by the look on their faces that none of our guests had ever heard anything—anything—anything peculiar about the fascinating hostess. (78)

Feeling "wretched," Paula commits suicide after arriving at the realization that her hope to erase a history of prostitution and thus the attached stigmas can only materialize in a dream state. In O'Neill's play, the fallen woman Anna feels purified and clean being out at sea in the fog with her father and Burke. In fact, Brietzke notes how the water offers Anna "freedom and redemption and an opportunity to start life over" (44). The problem is that even though she feels purified and transformed, the performativity of her body still conveys the signs of prostitute. The question of whether Burke can overlook Anna's past as a prostitute hinges on the sincerity of her spiritual transformation and pure love for him: "Will you believe it if I tell you that loving you has made me—clean? It's the straight goods, honest!," she tells him (III.181).

Dumas fils, Pinero, and O'Neill each substitute a male protagonist in place of Hrotsvit's figure of God through whom the fallen woman seeks the purification of her past through pure love and/or marriage. The male characters of Hrotsvit's play explain to the fallen women that in exchange for punishment and repentance, Christ will wed and purify them in the bridal chamber. In *Abraham*, for instance, Effrem and Abraham betroth Mary to "the Heavenly Bridegroom" (i.e. Christ) who will take her "in His arms in His mother's dazzling bridal room!" (St. John 74). Another example is in *Paphnutius* where Paphnutius weds Thais to Christ: "Since you have renounced your earthly lovers, you can now be joined to your Heavenly Lover" (St. John 114). In the mid-19th century with the emergence of the fallen woman genre, the prostitute turns away from God as a source of purification and looks towards her male lover. In *Camille*, for example, Camille asks Armand to plant "Heart's-ease" on her grave (5.1), which she hopes will purify her image after death since they are symbolic of the pure love they once shared.⁷⁸ Paula in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* dreams that confessing her sins to Aubrey prior to their marriage will result in her purification. She gives him a letter detailing her "adventures" as a fallen woman, which he promptly burns (79). His promise to forget her past gives her hope that she will achieve purification through love. Anna in *Anna Christie* insists her pure love for Burke has made her clean, but he demands proof in the form of a religious oath: [*Takes a small, cheap old crucifix from his pocket and holds it up for her to see.*] Will you swear on this?" (205). His attempt to employ religion to prove the purity of the fallen woman fails when he discovers she is not Catholic. Burke then proposes marriage to Anna as an alternative to religious purification. The fallen woman in the modern theatrical space of *Streetcar* cannot depend on God, a male lover, or even her family for purification. Williams ushers in the modern image of the fallen woman as disposable commodity dependent on charity for survival: "Whoever you are—I have always

depended on the kindness of strangers,” Blanche tells the faceless doctor as he takes her away to the mental asylum (I.XI).

XXII. *Conclusion*

Hrotsvit is a trailblazer in dramatic literature in her fearless portrayal of gender based acts of violence as located on a continuum. She is the first western woman-author to dramatize prostitution and the first playwright to explore gender based violence as both a cause and effect of woman’s status as fallen. Hrotsvit’s play *Abraham* examines the problems of incestual rape and prostitution and therefore precedes Dumas fils’ *Camille* as the first “problem” or “discussion” play. Yet, Hrotsvit’s plays about prostitution including her graphic depictions of gender based violence are excluded from the western canon of dramatic literature. It is clear that they should be included in the canon because they influence the construction of the prostitution genre in theatre and the 19th century fallen woman archetype. In particular, highlighting Hrotsvit’s contributions to the western canon of drama helps to situate contemporary women-authors of plays about prostitution and sex trafficking within the larger arc of theatre history.

NOTES

¹ Sister Mary Marguerite Butler, R.S.M. states in *Hrotsvitha: The Theatricality of Her Plays* (1960) that “Neither her birth year nor the year of her death is historically documented; since the earliest year of her birth which could possibly be recognized is 932, and the earliest year of her death, 1003, therefore, she lived to be approximately seventy years old” (63).

² Rosamond Gilder names Hrotsvitha as the first female playwright in *Enter the Actress: The First Woman in the Theatre* (1931). Sister Mary Marguerite Butler concurs with Gilder: “Hrotsvitha is rightly called the first woman dramatist, the only recorded playwright between the Romans and the writers of the medieval church drama of the twelfth century” (69).

³ See, for example, Terence, *The Eunuch. The Comedies of Terence*. Trans. Frederick W. Clayton. (UK: University of Exeter Press, 2006) 103-152, in which the character Chaerea (disguised as an Eunuch) rapes a free-born woman, Pamphila, and evades punishment for his crime. Later he announces his engagement to Pamphila (5.2 1036-1038). Notably Terence includes several scenes where the character of Pythias informs Parmeno that Pamphila’s brother, Chremes, trusses Chaerea (5.2 955-958), ties him up, and imprisons him (5.2 976-996) for committing rape. These scenes are designed to provide comic relief, since Parmeno (the cunning slave) is tricked into believing Pythias’s narratives of Chaerea’s punishment (5.2. 997-1019)). In this play, Terence depicts marriage as an honorable solution to rape. For another example of the author’s androcentric dramatizations of sexual violence, see Terence, *The Mother-in-Law, The Comedies of Terence*. Trans. Frederick W. Clayton (UK: University of Exeter Press, 2006) 205-237. In this play, an initially unknown assailant rapes and impregnates the female character, Philumena, who shortly thereafter becomes wife to Pamphilus. News of her assault and her visibly growing belly cause Pamphilus to abandon his wife. He later returns because, as it turns out, he is Philumena’s unidentified rapist and therefore father of her newborn son. In her plays, Hrotsvit excludes misogynistic representations that minimize the grave effects of gender based violence. She also troubles Terence’s construction of women’s bodies as sexual gifts exchanged between men and his representations of men as strong, victorious, and innocent (see Hrotsvit’s preface to her dramas, St. John xxvii).

⁴ Her play *Dulcitius* is included in *The Norton Anthology of Drama: Antiquity through the Eighteenth Century* (2009; 2013) and Jacobs, Lee A. *The Compact Bedford Introduction to Drama* (2013), making it one of three exemplary pre-18th century plays by women that find some representation in drama anthologies.

⁵ This play was first performed at the Théâtre du Vaudeville in Paris on February 2, 1852.

⁶ This play was first performed at the St. James’s Theatre in London on May 27, 1893.

⁷ This play was first performed at the Vanderbilt Theatre in New York on November 2, 1921.

⁸ This play was first performed at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre in New York on December 3, 1947.

⁹ *PAPHNUTIUS, or The Conversion of the Harlot Thais. 965-975? The Plays of Roswitha*. 1501. Trans. Christopher St. John (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1923) 128-129; Hrotsvit’s *ABRAHAM, or The Fall and Repentance of Mary. 965-975? The Plays of Roswitha*. 1501. Trans. Christopher St. John. (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1923) 90-91.

¹⁰ Henry Mayhew argues that prostitutes in the Middle Ages were forced to wear “uniform apparel, that their shame might not be concealed, and that other women might be safe from the address of brutal libertines” (182).

¹¹ See, for example, Hrotsvit’s *ABRAHAM, or The Fall and Repentance of Mary. 965-975? The Plays of Roswitha*. 1501. Trans. Christopher St. John. (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1923).

¹² United States. Dept. of State. *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000* (H.R. 3244) 106th Cong., 2nd sess. Washington: GPO, 2000.

¹³ See Section 1591 of title 18, United States Code, <<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCODE-2011-title18/pdf/USCODE-2011-title18-partI-chap77-sec1591.pdf>>.

¹⁴ Council of Europe, Combating violence against women: Stocktaking study on the measures and actions taken in Council of Europe member states, 2006 <<http://eige.europa.eu/content/what-is-gender-based-violence>>.

¹⁵ Manjoo, Rashida. “Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its Causes and Consequences.” Human Rights Council. United Nations General Assembly 2 May 2011.

<http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/UN/wps__reportofthespecialrapporteuronviolenceagainstwomenscausesandconsequences_un_may2011.pdf>.

¹⁶ The fallen woman trope, argues Melissa Hope Ditmore, stretches back to “popular interpretations of Mary Magdalene as prostitute” (149). Nickie Roberts argues that Mary Magdalene “provided the Christian with the prototype for one of their favorite role models: the Repentant Whore (a stereotype which remains popular in Western society to this day; ironically it is the latter-day feminist movement that has taken over its promotion where the Church left off)” (57). The influential former pope named Gregory the Great, argues James Carroll, perpetuated the belief that Mary Magdalene is the unnamed “sinful” woman (i.e. prostitute) from the Gospel Luke. Carroll explains how male clergy wanted to deny Mary Magdalene status as an “important disciple,” which would have given women status in the church, so they recast her as repentant whore. Timothy J. Gilfoyle argues that nineteenth-century authors of sensationalist exposés such as George Foster view prostitutes as “nineteenth-century Eves, temptresses on a mission to lure innocent youths down paths of perdition” (150).

¹⁷ Susan Brownmiller explicates her argument that rape is about power not lust in her second-wave feminist book *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. Brownmiller defines rape in myopic and heterosexual terms; however, in all fairness, she works with the first definition of rape as a “property crime of man against man” (18) and then uses the legal definition of rape that was in place from 1927 until the Obama administration expanded it in 2012.

Brownmiller examines cultural ideologies and histories of rape from the prehistoric to the mid-1970s and claims men use rape to intimidate women and keep them consciously or subconsciously in a state of fear. She provides the following examples to prove her point that rape is about power and not lust:

- it is common for female victims to be raped in front of their husbands and fathers (40, 90, 134).
- in the context of war, “rape is considered by the people of a defeated nation to be part of the enemy’s conscious effort to destroy them” (38) or “create a new race” (84). For example, in WWII the Germans used rape “as a weapon of terror” (49-53); in WWII the Japanese used mass rape to destroy the Chinese (57-69); and in the 1971 Bangladesh war for independence, Pakistani soldiers raped 200,000 Bengali women causing 25,000 of them to become pregnant (84).

- brothel prostitutes were made available in numerous wars such as Vietnam, but the number of sexually available women did not hinder male-on-female gang raping and rape-murders (92-96).
- the number of rape-murders during times of war as well as peace illustrate rape is an exercise in power (199-202).
- male rapists choose their victims “with a striking disregard for conventional sex appeal” (338).
- in situations of date rape, men depend on women adopting forms of expected, gendered behaviors (e.g. politeness) instead of “direct confrontation” (257). In America police officers and juries typically view date rape as a less legitimate form of rape, so women are less likely to report date rape.

Notably, the FBI expands the definition of rape in 2012 to include male-on-male, female-on-male, and female-on-female rapes: “The penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim.”

¹⁸ In Hrotsvit’s *Paphnutius*, the eponymous character tells the fallen woman Thais that “no sin is so great, *no crime so black*, that it cannot be expiated by tears and penitence, provided they are followed up by deeds” [*my emphasis*] (St. John 109). In Hrotsvit’s *Dulcinius*, the eponymous male protagonist attempts to rape the three virgins (Chionia, Agape, and Irena) but instead embraces “pots and pans and fire-irons.” In the process his face, hands, and clothes become covered in soot and the virgins call him “an Ethiope.” Agape declares: “His body should turn black—to match his soul, which is possessed of a devil” (St. John 39).

¹⁹ See enclosure of female anchorite in Ann K. Warren, *anchorites and their patrons in medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) 115.

²⁰ Such an example of rape leading to marriage is found in Terence’s *The Eunuch*. *The Comedies of Terence*. Trans. Frederick W. Clayton (UK: University of Exeter Press, 2006). Notably, Hrotsvit’s *Abraham* is not a clear revision of a specific play by Terence, but it is possible that she draws inspiration for the use of disguise in *Abraham* from Terence’s *The Eunuch*. Specifically, in both plays the male protagonist employs disguise in order to rape (e.g. in *The Eunuch*, the character of Chaerea disguises himself as Thais’s eunuch so he can rape Pamphilia). Significantly, her play *Paphnutius* or *The Conversion of the Harlot Thais* is based on Terence’s *The Eunuch*.

²¹ See, for example, footnote 27 in *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Academic Pub, 2012). In the footnote Amy M. Morris claims that, “Dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, the oldest hymns and sequences in Mary Magdalene’s honor originated in southern German monasteries...” (85). See, for example, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Ed. Margaret Schaus) (New York: Routledge, 2006) 567.

²² Jacques Rossiaud. *Medieval Prostitution*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988) 84.

²³ In his book *Medieval Prostitution*, Jaques Rossiaud, for instance, argues that Pope Innocent III (1161-1216) advises his followers that “one of the greatest works of charity was to remove prostitutes from public brothels and that marrying a prostitute was a work of piety” (84). Similarly, Nickie Roberts (a self-described former “whore”) argues that Pope Gregory IX (1145-1241) encouraged the burgeoning medieval movement to “rescue” fallen prostitutes across Europe (73).

²⁴ Dr. William Dodd, for instance, founded in 1758 the first home in England devoted to the rehabilitation of fallen prostitutes called “The Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes,” originally known as “Magdalen House”

(Henriques 184; Philip 97; Finnegan 8). See, for example, Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes* (New York: Routledge, 190) for the history of Magdalene homes in Scotland. See James M. Smith, *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the Nation's Architecture of Containment* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2007) for a history of Magdalen laundries in Ireland.

²⁵ See, for example, Ed. Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: Magdalen Asylums in Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) 136. See, for example, Michael B. Katz, *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History* for a brief history of Magdalene Houses in the United States (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 360-61.

²⁶ In the context of western dramatic literature, the protagonist Camille (Marguerite) of Alexandre Dumas fils' *The Lady of the Camellias* is a prototype of the 19th century fallen woman as professional prostitute. The phrase "white slave," argues Katie N. Johnson, was first "used to describe racially mixed slaves before emancipation, as portrayed in the play *The White Slave* (1882) by Bartley Theo Campbell." Additionally, Johnson argues that "white slave" dramas about prostitution began in the 1910s and "in the scores of white slave dramas to appear in New York City, none of the heroines is an immigrant or woman of color... conveying the message that those who are worthy to be saved are white women" (113-4).

²⁷ Dickens, author of several narratives about prostitution such as *Oliver Twist*, also became active in the prostitution rescue and reform movement helping to open Urania Cottage, a home for the rehabilitation of fallen women in Shepherd's Bush, London in 1847.

²⁸ In 1885 Stead purchased a thirteen-year-old girl (Eliza Armstrong) for sex to prove the existence of an international white slave trade. He then took the girl to a doctor to have her virginitly authenticated before confining her to a brothel. Consequently, he spent three months in prison for his unethical and illegal behavior.

²⁹ Neil Philip, for instance, notes that, "Charles Dickens allowed himself to be excited, and perhaps more, by the lorettes he saw in Paris with his louche friend Wilkie Collins, with whom he indulged in what he called "Haroun Alraschid expeditions." For most Englishmen a visit to Paris was the frank excuse for a debauch" (65). Gilfoyle argues that Dickens visited the home of Julia Brown who was "the best-known prostitute in antebellum America" (71).

³⁰ In 2004 the American Bar Association asks Aaron Cohen to research human trafficking in Ecuador where he develops a working relationship with Naomi, a Columbian woman with knowledge about the inner workings of the sex trade including the locations of brothels that sell underage girls and "shadow children" (grammar-school-aged girls and boys). Naomi was trafficked from Columbia at fourteen and eventually became manager of a brothel. Aaron crosses physical and ethical boundaries with Naomi when they share the same bed and repeatedly kiss. He states, "She leans in to kiss me again, and I immediately feel myself getting carried away...my body is fighting my mind—tortured by this exquisite woman I can't have" (193).

³¹ See Matthew Leigh, Introduction. *The Comedies of Terence*. Trans. Frederick W. Clayton (UK: University of Exeter Press, 2006) xvi. Leigh argues that Terence states that his source materials include Menander's *The Eunuch* and *The Flatterer* (xiv).

³² Meander of Athens, *Meander: The Principal Fragments*. Trans. Francis G. Allinson (London: William Heinemann, 1891) 353.

³³ Katharina Wilson's translation of the Lovers monologue reads:

What incredible plight/...that Thais, our only delight, /the same Thais who was always eager to accumulate wealth, who always had lascivious things on her mind, / and who abandoned herself entirely to voluptuousness of every kind, / has now destroyed her jewels and her gold and all of a sudden scorns us/ and wants to desert us" (110-111).

³⁴ Wailes claims "Penitential immurement is appropriate here, as it was for Maria after her prostitution" (2001: 24).

³⁵ In the play, the Abbess runs a monastery for holy virgins (St. John 114). Interestingly, Rossiaud argues that in the Middle Ages "the term *abbesse* referred to the manager of a bawdy house" (25).

³⁶ Paphnutius tells Thais, "Give me your hand so I can lead you out." Since she has been living in her bodily wastes for three years, she replies: "Venerable Father, do not take me, stained and foul wretch, from this filth..." (Wilson 121).

³⁷ See Sue-Ellen Case, "Women and Pioneers," *Feminism and Theatre* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

³⁸ Here Kristeva is referring to refuse (signifies death), in contrast to sweat, pus, or a bloody wound (3).

³⁹ Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London and New York, 1995) 190.

⁴⁰ See Alexandra Barrett's reading of *Ancrene Wisse* (30).

⁴¹ See, for example, the music scene at the beginning of Hrotsvit's *The Conversion of the Harlot Thais*.

⁴² A recent trend in medieval studies is to abandon gender-specific words like anchoress in favor of simple terms like female and male anchorites. For a discussion of this trend see Liz Herbert McAvoy and Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005) 13.

⁴³ Mary is married to Lord Andronicus, but according to friends, she "has devoted herself entirely to God, so much so that she doesn't even visit the bed of Andronicus who is a Christian" (Wilson 53). In addition John mentions Drusiana's "love of chastity" (Wilson 59).

⁴⁴ In her article "Incest Disguised: Ottonian Influence at Gandersheim and Hrotsvit's Abraham," Evitt argues that during the Middle Ages the definition of incest expanded and covered adultery and "spiritual membership compromised by carnal desire" (357).

⁴⁵ Through Drusiana's use of the word "seducer," she does not sexualize the conversation but rather indicates to Callimachus that she's aware of his plan. Previously, when the character named Friends urges Callimachus to distance himself from Drusiana, he retorts: "I'll go to her myself and try to *seduce* her with flattery" (53) [*my emphasis*].

⁴⁶ See Helene Scheck, *Reform and Resistance: Formations of Female Subjectivity in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Culture* (Albany: University of New York Press, 2008) 159.

See Florence Newman, "Violence and Virginity in Hrotsvit's Dramas." Phyllis R. Brown, Linda A. McMillin, and Katharina M. Wilson, eds. *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) 65.

⁴⁷ There are several possible motives for necrophilia, but the most common, reports Rosman and Resnick, "was possession of an unresisting and unrejecting partner" (160).

⁴⁸ Richard Stanton Lambert and Agnes Lambert's translation is almost identical:

FORT. Well, if you will it worth my while, I will give you the body to do with as you like.

CALL. Here, take all I have about me to go on with, and trust my word for it, you shall have far more later on (15).

⁴⁹ Examples of such men and the year of their crimes include: Timothy Slawson (2013), surname Li (2013), Gary Ridgway (1980s and 1990s), Ali Salim (2013), and John Wayne Gacy (1972-1978).

⁵⁰ In *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, author Susan Brownmiller argues that rape is a crime of power not lust.

⁵¹ Alphonsine Plessis is her birth name and the name that appears on her tombstone in Montmartre cemetery. Alexandre Dumas fils is also buried there. Interestingly, according to Roger J.B. Clark, their love affair began at the Théâtre des Variétés (Ibid., 11).

⁵² Joanna Richardson, *The Courtesans: The demi-monde in nineteenth-century France* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1967) 1.

⁵³ In *The History of Sexuality An Introduction Volume I*, Michel Foucault offers an account of a farm hand who “obtained a few caresses from a little girl” and enjoyed playing “curdled milk” with her (31). The farm hand’s presumed deviant sexuality, argues Foucault, caused him to become “the object not only of a collective intolerance but of a judicial action, a medical intervention, a careful clinical examination, and an entire theoretical elaboration” (31). He claims the significant thing about this story is “the pettiness of it all” since the sexual exchange was an “everyday occurrence in the life of village sexuality” (31). While I agree with Foucault that such sexual exchanges were commonplace that does not automatically label them as petty. Foucault fails to address the economic conditions in late 19th century village life that caused some women and girls to engage in sexual activity for survival (food, shelter, etc.). He does not consider the little girl’s diminished agency and knowledge about sex in comparison to the adult farm hand (why was the game called “curdled milk” if she knew about sperm?). In addition, he provides no analysis of the power imbalance at work in their sexual exchange. He views the little girl as “alert” and the “halfwit” farmhand as justified in his actions since the “older” girls refused to perform sexual acts with him for “a few pennies” (31). Foucault’s narrative contains no trace of concern for the “little girl” or her future.

⁵⁴ See Julie Kavanagh, *The Girl Who Loved Camellias* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2013) 38-41 for information about the probable child sexual abuse and exploitation of Alphonsine/Marie.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Paul Gsell, ed., *Mémoires de Madame Judith: de la Comédie Française. Et souvenirs sur ses contemporains* (Paris: Tallandier, 1911) 221. Judith Bernat was an actress of the Théâtre des Variétés and close friend of Marie Duplessis.

⁵⁷ Julie Kavanagh, *The Girl Who Loved Camellias* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2013) 40.

⁵⁸ In St. John’s translation of Hrotsvit’s *Callimachus*, the male characters (Callimachus and Fortunatus) are associated with the serpent (devil); see, for example, pg.55-57,59-61. In both Hrotsvit’s *Abraham* and *Paphnutius*, the eponymous male protagonists pray that they will not be “caught in the snares” (80) or “overcome by the wiles” (103) of the serpent (devil).

⁵⁹ The OED defines “kept woman” as “a woman with whom a person has a romantic or sexual relationship; a female lover, girlfriend; (also) a mistress; a woman who is supported financially in return for sexual intercourse.” Paula was

the kept woman of several men and, from Pinero's descriptions of her leisure-time activities (e.g. yaughting), she was able to enjoy a higher standard of living than, for instance, a streetwalker. In his introduction to Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, J.P. Wearing argues that the difference between kept women such as Paula and Victorian wives kept by their husbands is that the latter group is "bound by social strictures, while the courtesan was a freer spirit who presented a threat to Victorian mores and responsibility" (29).

⁶⁰ See Nancy F. Cott. "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850." *Signs* 4.2 (1978): 219-236. Between the 16th and 19th centuries, argues Cott, representations of women as lustful, sexually deviant beings are replaced with images of women as passionless and without sexual desire. The ideology of "passionlessness" allowed men to use women as scapegoats for their own licentious behaviors. The responsibility for the maintenance of monogamous marriages rested on women because Victorian society viewed men's sexual needs as uncontrollable and natural.

⁶¹ For an example of brothel prostitutes called "inmates" see Penny A. Peterson, *Minneapolis Madams* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013) 132.

⁶² For Anna, life on the farm with her incestuous and violent cousins was "jail" (O'Neill III.159).

⁶³ See, for example, chapter two "House Slaves" in Kevin Bales and Ron Soodalter, *The Slave Next Door: Human Trafficking and Slavery in America Today* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

⁶⁴ In the following lines, for example, Anna avows her hatred for men: "Men, I hate 'em—all of 'em!" (I.115); "Gawd, I hate 'em all, every mother's son of 'em" (I.118).

⁶⁵ O'Neill sets his play in "about 1910," which was the same year Congress passes the Mann Act or White Slave Traffic Act. It was during the early 20th century that red-light districts were being shut down across the United States. Penny A. Peterson argues that "two wide-open red-light districts" in Minneapolis were closed by 1910, but St. Paul (where the fictional Anna worked as a brothel prostitute) "did not shut down its red-light district until 1913 (11). However, even though some brothels stayed open for business, police brothel raids were a commonplace occurrence in most American cities during the early 20th century. This information hopefully explains why Anna spends time in the "cooler" (jail).

⁶⁶ Ibid. In addition, she tells Chris, "...all men, God damn 'em! I hate 'em! Hate 'em!" (III.180). When speaking about Paul, she declares to Chris and Burke: "I hated him worse'n [*sic*] hell and he knew it. But he was big and strong—[*Pointing to Burke*]—like you!" (III.178). She also tells Burke that she hated having sex with johns, "Love 'em? [*Savagely.*] I hated 'em, I tell you! Hated 'em, hated 'em, hated 'em!" (IV.203-204).

⁶⁷ The relationship between Anna, Chris, and Burke is referred to as a "love triangle" (Johnson 95) or "triangle" (Brietzke 45).

⁶⁸ See Eugene O'Neill, *Anna Christie, The Hairy Ape, Anna Christie, The First Man* (New York: Boni and Liveright Inc., 1922) 105.

⁶⁹ Ibid. See the following examples: "Dat ole davil sea make dem crazy fools with her dirty tricks" (I.122); "Fog's vorst one of her dirty tricks, py yingo!" (II.132); and "It's dat ole davil, sea, do this to me!...It's her dirty tricks!" (III.184).

⁷⁰ In 1.13 the character Woyzeck hears voices that tell him to “stab the she wolf dead.” The “she wolf” is his live-in companion Marie and a slang term for prostitute. Woyzeck views Marie as both a prostitute and whore because she accepts earrings from the Drum Major in exchange for sex. He calls her “Whore!” as soon as he learns of their relationship (1.8). He then later refers to her “hot whore’s breath” before he stabs her to death (1.22). He is surprised not to find “blisters” on her mouth, which is a mark of Herpes one, which is falsely associated with prostitutes. She also refers to herself as a whore when speaking to her son: “Come on, my own boy, let people talk. You’re only the poor son of a whore but you’re still my pride and joy with your shameless face” (1.2).

⁷¹ Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992). Gilfoyle quotes George G. Foster’s account in *Celio* of a New York City prostitute who identifies as a she-devil: “I am a demon—a she-devil,” explains Virginia, “as are all women who have lost their virtue; and I mean to make the most of it” (149). Later he quotes Foster’s descriptions of Broadway prostitutes in his book *New York by Gas-Light and New York in Slices*, “as fishers of men, painted demons, beldames and she-devils” (150).

⁷² See St. John’s translation of Hrotsvit’s *Abraham* for the following passages about the fallen woman (Mary): “*Wretched, miserable creature* that I am” (86); “It is human to sin, but it is *devilish* to remain in sin” (86); “It matters not how *wickedness* has flourished” (87); “Oh God! She is *lost!*” (75); and “You have hurled yourself from heavenly heights into the depths of *hell*” (85) [*italics mine*].

⁷³ See St. John’s translation of Hrotsvit’s *Paphnutius* for the following passages about the fallen woman (Thais): “Her beauty is wonderful: her *impurity* is—horrible” (102); “What is her *wretched* name?” (102); “Everyone has heard of her and her *wickedness*” (102); “She chose this *evil* life. She was *ruined* by her own will” (116); “Should *polluted* lips utter so easily the name of the unpolluted Godhead?” (119) [*italics mine*].

⁷⁴ There is an interesting connection here to the character Thais insofar as she lives at the “edge of the desert” (St. John 123).

⁷⁵ See, for example, Blanche’s monologue about purification and burial at sea (I.XI).

⁷⁶ Williams describes Blanche as “daintily dressed in a white suit with a fluffy bodice, necklace and earrings of pearl, white gloves and hat, looking as if she were arriving at a summer tea or cocktail party in the garden district. She is about five years older than Stella. Her delicate beauty must avoid a strong light. There is something about her uncertain manner, as well as her white clothes, that suggests a moth” (I.I).

⁷⁷ Anna says, “Gee, I sure need that rest!” and mentions her desire for a “rest cure” (O’Neill I.115-16).

⁷⁸ Camille associates the purity of her relationship with Armand with “the little flowers” he hand picks for her during their stay in the countryside. By contrast, the the camélias symbolize a permanent badge of sin like Hester Prynne’s scarlet letter. In the play, Camille writes, “Armand, in a few hours from this, the little flowers you gave me this morning shall be withered on my breast, and in their place, camelias, the badge of that life in which alone I can find happiness...” (3.4).

Chapter Three:
The theatrical figure of the sex trafficked been-to in
Kirkwood's *it felt empty*, Prichard's *Dream Pill*,
Bissett and Smith's *ROADKILL*, and
Cunningham-Huston's *The Walk*

I. *Introduction*

I focus in this chapter on dramatic constructions of sex trafficked Nigerian women in four woman-authored plays published and/or staged between 2009 and 2011. Lucy Kirkwood's *it felt empty when the heart went at first but it is alright now* (2009), Rebecca Prichard's *Dream Pill* (2010), Cora Bissett and Stef Smith's *ROADKILL* (2011), and Catherine Cunningham-Huston's *The Walk* (2011) all focus on the figure of the "sex trafficked been-to." By creating the term "sex trafficked been-to," my intention is to emphasize the gender based violence that occurs during sex trafficking for Nigerian women. In its broadest usage, "been-tos" is a label in Nigeria attributed to Nigerians who travel abroad, usually for work or study, and who return to Nigeria with increased social status in the form of education and/or wealth. The plays that I examine in this chapter, however, narrate the stories of the women and girls that in spite of aspiring to become successful "been-tos" nevertheless find themselves sex trafficked, traumatized, and forgotten.

Like the figures of the prostitute, fallen woman, and white slave that I discuss in previous chapters, sex trafficked been-tos share a past of financial destitution that severely limits their potential for both social mobility and economic affluence. Since all of these figures are notably women, they struggle within the socioeconomic structures of a patriarchal system that exploits gender differences for profit as well as sexual pleasure. That wealthier foreign men exploit and abuse sex trafficked been-tos should not surprise anyone. This is to say that entrapment within forms of forced labor, namely prostitution, for sex trafficked been-tos is symptomatic of the

global reach with which western imperial structures exploit, in this case, African nations and their peoples. While the four contemporary plays that I discuss should be applauded generally for drawing attention to the problems of sex-trafficking to and from Nigeria, the plays also call for careful critical attention with respect to how Nigerian women are represented as the stereotypical passive victim of prostitution, both uneducated and naïve. This passive and gendered stereotype of victimhood is one of the unfortunate commonalities that links together the dramatic histories of the figures of the prostitute, fallen woman, white slave, and sex trafficked been-to.

An important distinction between sex trafficked been-tos and many sex trafficked Nigerian women is their level of knowledge and consent regarding their future employment abroad. In the plays, the female protagonists genuinely trust their sponsors and are unaware that forced prostitution is a veritable outcome of migrating to Europe. This singular dramatic point of view typifies Nigerian economic migrants as sex trafficking victims. The theatrical construction of the sex trafficked been-to accounts for some Nigerian women's experiences working in the European sex trade. It is not an exaggeration to claim that sex traffickers use subterfuge to lure many Nigerian women to Italy and the UK. They disguise their plans to force victims into prostitution in Europe, for instance, with benevolent gestures of financial sponsorship and employment opportunities. Research on Nigerian women forced into prostitution in Europe demonstrates that their traffickers promise non-sex industry employment, such as domestic workers, restaurant servers, hairdressers, fashion designers, nannies, and store clerks.¹ Multiple reports on Nigerian women sex trafficked to Italy or the UK confirm that recruiters and/or sponsors deceive their victims about the difficulty of the journey to Europe, the nature of their work, and the violence they will be forced to endure.² These women are clearly victims of sex

trafficking and consequently should have access to legal and medical resources in Italy and the UK.

The singular perspective presented by the plays, however, risks simplifying what Cristiana Giordano discusses as the dangerous dichotomy of “the innocent victim and the willful illegal migrant” (177). In general, Nigerian women living in Edo State, especially Benin City, are aware of sex trafficking and are driven by economic desperation to seek the sponsorship that would enable them to work as migrant prostitutes in Europe. These women understand they will work in the sex industry and view prostitution as an opportunity to alleviate the financial duress of their families. Their dreams of financial affluence fade, however, when exploitative madams and traffickers retain the majority, if not entirety, of their earnings while keeping the women imprisoned or under rigid structures of surveillance.

The lack of agential scope for female protagonists is a characteristic that haunts in general the western canon of dramatic literature and in specific plays about fallen women. Hrotsvit of Gandersheim is perhaps the most progressive playwright in this context to outline how the religious mores of medieval society delimit the potential actions of women. In creating the prototypical fallen woman, as I discuss earlier, Hrotsvit’s plays reveal not unsympathetically how repentance, solitude, and social death are the only paths of redemption available to her female protagonists when stigmatized by sexual impurity. While 19th and 20th century plays, such as the works of Arthur Wing Pinero and Eugene O’Neill, tend to retain the religious stigmas that medieval society attached to sexual impurity, the fallen women in these modern adaptations find potential salvation in a husband and the institution of marriage. Indeed this insidious dramatic turn substitutes metaphorically the prostration of a religious covenant for the indentured slavery of the patriarchal household. Contrary to the requisite fall in dramatic constructions of

the fallen woman, the figure of the white slave must above all else maintain moral and sexual purity despite being frequently beaten and drugged. This develops the essential “driving force of the drama,” in Katie N. Johnson’s words, creating the dramatic tension through which the white male hero rescues from captivity the figure of the white slave (112).

Plays about sex trafficked Nigerian women shift the focus away from the traditional dramatic structure of moral purity, whether in terms of the requisite fall in the fallen women genre or the retention of moral purity in the white slave genre. The plays by Kirkwood, Prichard, Bissett and Smith, and Cunningham-Huston resist a patriarchal discourse that re-inscribes gendered inequalities, since moral stigmas concerning sexuality, from the loss of virginity to the rise in promiscuity, serve to repress female protagonists and valorize their male counterparts. Resisting this delimiting plot structure enables the playwrights to present a broader thematic scope in their plays when engaging issues pertinent to both women and Nigerians. A significant contributing factor in this shift in focus is that all four of the plays are woman-authored, inspiring, in turn, a feminist dramaturgy that privileges the lives and testimonials of survivors of sex trafficking. This leads the playwrights to engage the pressing political issues of post-colonial Nigeria, issues that include migrant labor, refugee status, political asylum, as well as the decriminalization of sex workers and victims of trafficking.

As I mention earlier, “been-tos” is a common label given to Nigerians who have been to America, Canada, or Europe and who return to Nigeria wealthier and/or educated. Esohe Aghatise argues that some Nigerian families view been-tos as status symbols and heroes because they return from western countries with money (1132). However, becoming sex trafficked is a common consequence of economic migration that results in returning to Nigeria traumatized, penniless, and a disgrace to one’s family. Elena Perlino documents the testimony of a Nigerian

survivor of sex trafficking named Osas, which shows how Nigerians praise women and girls who thrive financially in Europe and send money back to Benin City, the capital of Edo State:

In Benin no one ever asks you: but how did you make all this money. The important thing is that you keep the family, buy the car, give them the money for a house. That's all fine. [...] But if that same girl who was everybody's little shining star comes home forcibly repatriated, then the family says: what have you done. You've brought shame on us. What are we going to do with you? And they immediately start looking for another journey to send her back to Europe.³

Unfortunately, as this quotation suggests, the physical and emotional welfare of the sex trafficked been-to is eclipsed by the desire to remedy the financial hardship people face on a daily basis in Benin City. Another survivor of sex trafficking, Sarah Egbon, testifies to how successful female been-tos receive positive feedback from their families and neighbors, which encourages other Nigerian women and girls to travel abroad. She claims, "They [Nigerians] know neighbors with children in Europe live better. When you return with money, you are treated like a hero and many girls like that."⁴ The women who return with debts owed to their traffickers are often quickly re-trafficked to Europe. Bruno Moens claims that failure to repay debts and earn money in Europe is a serious problem for sex trafficked been-tos: "you are supposed to come back with money and if you don't have that, well, you are some sort of outcast and they will put a lot of pressure on you to go back to get the money somehow."⁵ The western economic exploitation of Nigeria directly affects the way in which some segments of Nigerian culture glamorize the west, whether idealistically or from financial destitution, which in turn makes Nigerian women and girls more vulnerable to sex traffickers.

In the following pages, I trace the four characteristics of my term the "sex trafficked been-to," who:

- 1) is sex trafficked to either Italy or the UK;
- 2) originates in poor and rural areas of Nigeria;

- 3) is affected by liminal states and the blood oaths of juju ceremonies;
- 4) is based on the backgrounds and testimonials of sex trafficking survivors.

The sex trafficked been-to first emerges dramatically in the following plays: Kirkwood's *it felt empty when the heart went at first but it is alright now* (2009), Prichard's *Dream Pill* (2010), Bissett and Smith's *ROADKILL* (2011), and Cunningham-Huston's unpublished play *The Walk* (2011). In all four of these plays, the sex trafficked been-to is a young Nigerian woman between the ages of 9 and 22, originating from impoverished and rural states in Nigeria and sex trafficked to Italy or the United Kingdom. Unbeknownst to prospective girls that forced prostitution tends to be the employment outcome in Europe, the girls accept the sponsorship of a Nigerian auntie, madam, or maman. Playwrights of sex trafficking dramas interpret this economic process by representing female protagonists as desperate, uneducated, trusting, and naïve. The juju ritual further exacerbates this process, as depicted by the playwrights, intensifying the subjective state of entrapment experienced by sex-trafficked been-tos until they have repaid their debt, that is, until the sex-trafficked been-to fulfills the conditions of the juju ritual's blood oath. The playwrights illustrate that positive relationships with family and friends helps the sex trafficked been-to maintain a sense of purpose. In contrast to the dramatic figure of the fallen woman or white slave, she is able to endure forced prostitution or escape using methods other than suicide, consumption, or marriage.

II. *Nigeria to Italy or the United Kingdom: the common flow of sex trafficked been-tos*

While Cunningham-Huston's and Bissett and Smith's plays focus on the sex trafficking route from Nigeria to Italy, Kirkwood and Prichard focus on the route from Nigeria to the United Kingdom. In *The Walk*, Cunningham-Huston employs a series of vignettes interwoven with

metatheatrical narratives to portray the complexity of the sex trafficking industry. The character of Sister Catherine Anne McNulty, a passionate social activist and former-drama teacher, assembles a production team comprised of characters Stephanie Trudel (a writer) and Peter Mayfield (an unemployed film director). Their goal to produce a play about sex trafficking serves a didactic function in *The Walk* as the characters present facts concerning the international sex trade routes that operate, among others, in Russia, Italy, Moldova, and Nigeria, as well as the domestic sex trade routes that operate in Nepal and Thailand. Cunningham-Huston also chronicles the movements of the character Celestine who escapes to Canada after being sex trafficked from Nigeria to Italy: “She was trafficked for eight years in Italy. Now she’s seeking refugee status” (1.4.10). While in the play Celestine’s refugee status in Canada is approved, it should be noted more generally that Celestine represents a minority of sex trafficked victims who not only successfully escape captivity but who also find the economic and political conditions through which to start their lives anew. Nevertheless, the optimism implicit in Celestine’s narrative demonstrates how *The Walk*, unlike both fallen women and white slave genres, provides veritable solutions to the problems faced by sex trafficking victims.

In *ROADKILL*, Smith introduces Martha as a brothel madam who recruits and sponsors young women from Poland, Italy, and Nigeria to work as forced prostitutes despite having been sex trafficked from Nigeria to Italy herself. In the course of the play, Smith reveals that trafficking boss Djall promoted Martha from forced prostitute in Italy to madam of his brothel in Scotland. In spite of her status as madam, Martha remains a victim of sex trafficking as Djall abuses her physically and psychologically, forcing her to have sexual intercourse with punters:

You want to go back to Italy? Is that what you want? All of these girls can be chucked out with the garbage, and so can you. You are no different Martha...I give you something but you are still nothing. You are useless anywhere else. Don’t forget that... We lost a lot of money tonight so I want double back. I want five grand by Tuesday. (1.16.54)

As Smith and Bissett emphasize through Djall's dialogue, Martha is a victim-madam who retains minimal authority within the sex trafficking syndicate. The girls working under Martha have failed to meet their quotas for Djall, which means she has to make up the difference or risk being trafficked to Italy. The victim-madam, argues Marina Mancuso, is a woman who after being sex trafficked accepts the role of madam for reasons that include age and a lack of employment opportunities, acclimation to a comfortable lifestyle that can result from Stockholm syndrome, a desire to avoid forced prostitution, and an earnest fear of the juju ritual.⁶ Before becoming a madam, Martha was forced into prostitution in Italy, tried unsuccessfully to run away from her traffickers, and watched her sister die from the traumas of sex trafficking.⁷ The multi-layered character of the victim-madam is a way by which Smith and Bissett problematize a straightforward guilty vs. innocent dichotomy, since Martha is both a victim of ongoing violence and a perpetrator of gender based violence. This repeated cycle of violence illustrates the difficulty that women face when attempting to leave the sex trade, even after having successfully repaid their debts. As such, the character of Martha is a stark contrast to that of Celestine in showing the typical process through which Nigerian women cycle through the complex female hierarchy constructed by sex trafficking rings, either continuing to prostitute or assuming roles such as the madam.⁸

Although *The Walk* and *ROADKILL* illustrate differing outcomes that can be faced by Nigerian women subsumed in the sex trade, both function as didactic plays that inform audiences about the sex trafficking trade routes operating from Edo State to Italy. Current research on human trafficking designates Italy as the top European destination country for trafficked Nigerians, predominantly women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation (Cherti, Pennington, and Grant 25; Carling 7 and 26; Aghatise 1127; Elabor-Idemudia 106; Clayton 1). In the late

1980s, thousands of Nigerians migrated to Italy and other countries in Europe.⁹ In Part I of the short documentary *The Nigerian Connection* (dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), Juliana Ruhfus reports how Nigerian migrants in Italy labored in mafia-controlled tomato farms in Campania. In other regions of Italy, according to Dave Odigie and Chinenye Patience, Nigerians found employment in the gold and textile industries. In the 1990s, Nigerian migrants lost their low-skill jobs in the agricultural and textile industries to European migrant workers, which pushed many Nigerian women and girls into prostitution. The preexisting business relationships and trade routes developed in the 1980s between Southern Nigeria and Italy facilitated the sex trafficking of Nigerian women and girls to Italy (Carling 25; Cherti, Pennington, and Grant 25; Odigie and Patience 68; Elabor-Idemudia 108; Aghatise 1134). While the majority of sex trafficked Nigerian girls are from Benin City, Carrisi argues that “the other cities most affected by the phenomenon are Lagos, Akure and Ondo” (8). However, Benin City is far more dependent economically on incomes generated by Nigerian sex workers in Europe.

Besides the preexisting business relationship and established trade routes between Nigeria and Italy, the emergence in the late 1980s and early 1990s of a prominent and successful sex industry in Italy is, in part, due to the increase in demand for exotic women. Italian men were less interested in purchasing sexual services from domestic sex workers because of their association with drugs and HIV (Okojie et al.13; Olaniyi 49). As a result, autonomous Nigerian sex workers and sex trafficked Nigerian girls filled the growing demands in the Italian sex industry. The global HIV/AIDS crisis led to the preferential treatment shown by Italian men for young sex trafficked Nigerian women, which, in turn, was fueled by the public perception that minors are sexually pure and disease-free. In this context, the resurgence in Italy of a moralist

discourse surrounding sexuality is a contemporary extension of the medieval and modern mores that I discuss in earlier chapters that informed the fallen woman and white slave dramatic genres.

The UK as a top destination country for sex trafficked been-tos is also the focus of contemporary playwrights. Kirkwood dramatizes the sex trafficked been-to Gloria in *it felt empty*, a character who is imprisoned in England for not having a passport. Kirkwood stages Gloria's imprisonment to illustrate how the common trafficking flow of Nigerians to the UK often results in wrongful incarcerations and deportation. Similarly, Prichard's *Dream Pill* centers on two sex trafficked been-tos, Tunde (short for Yetunde¹⁰) and Bola. The geographical focus of both plays reflects the common trends in sex trafficking statistics as Nigerians in 2012, for instance, comprised the highest percentage of nationalities trafficked to the UK (Cherti, Pennington, and Grant 28; Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group (IDMG) 2013). The Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) published in 2012 the National Referral Mechanism (NRM), which collects data on victims of human trafficking in the UK. The data ranked Nigeria as the top country of origin for total number of referrals of adults and minors,¹¹ while Vietnam ranked as the top country of origin exclusively for the referrals of minors.¹² By 2014, the NRM marked a slight shift in the demographic breakdown of victims' nationalities as Albania ranked first and Nigeria second.¹³

Referrals for human trafficking victims vary in the individual countries that comprise the UK. Nigeria and Poland are the top source countries for human trafficking in England¹⁴ and Wales, respectively, but China is the top source country for people trafficked to Scotland and Northern Ireland (IDMG 2013:11). These differences are noteworthy, as they help pinpoint for NGOs, law enforcement, and governments the countries within the UK with large populations of referred potential Nigerian victims of sex trafficking and domestic servitude (the two dominate

forms of human trafficking experienced by females). On the one hand, these compiled reports could lead to more referrals of potential victims in these locals. On the other hand, reports on human trafficking that include statistics on Nigerian victims of sex and domestic trafficking such as the 2012 IDMG contradict the 2012 TIP report, which suggests accurate statistics on trafficking flows are difficult to obtain.¹⁵ The statistical data while imprecise, and contradictory at times, nevertheless demonstrates the extent of the sexual exploitation and domestic servitude of trafficked Nigerian women in the UK. Cherti, Pennington, and Grant's fieldwork for the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)¹⁶ in combination with general¹⁷ and specific¹⁸ reports on the sexual exploitation of women reveals that the UK, especially England, is a lucrative destination and transit country for sex trafficked Nigerian women. The reasons why trafficking syndicates find the UK attractive include its geographical location,¹⁹ wealth, high Nigerian population,²⁰ large-scale immigration system, and its reputation for approving thousands of yearly asylum claims.²¹

The high rate of Nigerian women sex trafficked to the UK is also the result of the unwanted publicity Italy receives as the top destination country for sex trafficked women. Italian law enforcement, immigration agencies, and the public are aware of the increasing presence of Nigerian women in Italy, many of whom are victims of sex trafficking, which is why traffickers utilize varied trafficking routes to avoid detection. For instance, traffickers bypass direct routes from Nigeria to Italy by opting to fly women to the UK before sending them via train or plane to Italy. In 2001 Ian Pannell reports for the *BBC*:

Because the Italian authorities have become increasingly alert to direct flights from West Africa, the traffickers now use other European countries such as England and France as staging posts. Travelers arriving from other European Union States are subject to far less scrutiny and false documents have a greater chance of fooling immigration officers.²²

Liz Kelly and Linda Regan report similar findings in their 2000 study of trafficking in women for sexual exploitation in the UK:

The traffic of West African girls, and especially Nigerians, into the Italian sex industry has been known for some years, and immigration controls in Italy have become stronger for direct flights as a consequence. Far fewer controls exist, however, on flights from the UK, since significant numbers of Black British young people travel to Italy for holidays and school trips. (19)

Immigration authorities, in other words, closely monitor Nigerian women who fly direct from Nigeria to Italy as opposed to Nigerian women who fly from Nigeria to the UK and then journey to Italy. Giuseppe Carrisi argues in *La fabbrica delle prostitute* (2011) that traffickers employ two routes to transport Nigerian women:

the luckier women, those in possession of genuine passports and visas, set off from Lagos to travel to France and Belgium, and from there to Italy, going through Accra in Ghana. However, most do the journey overland, following the same route: from Lagos or Benin City in Nigeria, through Ghana and Niger to Libya, Algeria, or Morocco (or even Sudan or Mali), and then on to Spain, France and Italy, their final destination. (9)

Recent research demonstrates that traffickers use multiple transit countries, especially in Africa, to traffic Nigerian women to western Europe, which also indicates trends that France and Belgium are becoming primary transit hubs for sex trafficked Nigerian women.

III. *Humble and rustic beginnings in Nigeria*

In the previous section, I show that a Nigerian woman sex trafficked to Italy or the UK comprises the first characteristic of the dramatic figure of the sex trafficked been-to. The second characteristic of the sex trafficked been-to is that she originates from a poor, rural area of Nigeria. In contrast to urban centers, argues Heather Murdock, the lack of awareness campaigns and aid organizations in rural areas provides heightened opportunities for recruiters and sponsors. In *The Walk*, for instance, Celestine originates from a rustic area of Nigeria, born into

abject poverty and unaware of the dangers of sex trafficking. In a moment of direct address, she confides to spectators:

You ever go to Nigeria? It bad place to live. Specially you are poor. My mother, she sell yams or tomatoes. Sometimes she don't pay farmer, and he come after her for debt. My father, he helper at construction sites, carry cement and water here, there, hard work all day. For little bit of money. We live in one room, five people. Share toilet outside with twenty families. Cook on ground. (1.1.3)

Her mother and father are hard-working manual laborers who pick, carry, and haul cement and water. Despite their drudgery, they lack privacy, a stove, and running water. Cunningham-Huston employs Celestine's direct address to emphasize how human traffickers exploit the vulnerability of the abject poor who live in rural areas of Nigeria.

Smith and Bissett also illustrate in *ROADKILL* how human traffickers perceive the poor as more susceptible victims. The victim-madam Martha identifies Mary as a target for the sex trafficking ring based on the "rags" that Mary wears in combination with her family's struggles to acquire necessities like food and kerosene (1.6.34). Furthermore, Cunningham-Huston and Smith and Bissett suggest in their plays that human traffickers prey on the ambitions of women who desire higher forms of education. As Celestine explains, "I go to school for six year only, then no money, and I go to work like my parents. But when I in school, I love study biology. Always in my mind is to save woman's lives" (1.1.3). Likewise, Mary states proudly, "When I finish school I will get a very fine job. I will be rich too, like the people of Edinburgh. (*Makes excited noises.*)" (1.0.23). Although both women envision education as a means to improve their lives and those around them, the mendacity and greed of sex traffickers ensures that their future is limited to forced prostitution.

Similar to Celestine in the *The Walk* and Mary in *ROADKILL*, impoverished and rural backgrounds distinctly identify the protagonists Bola and Tunde in *Dream Pill* as sex-trafficked been-tos. The following dialogue sheds light on Bola and Tunde's backgrounds:

BOLA. De first time she saw screen was when she fly. She thot it was a dream coming from de back of a person's head, because de TV was in the seat. Ca she a bush person

TUNDE. No you are. (20)

The moment of lighthearted humor sparked by Bola and Tunde's playful banter provides a stark contrast to the otherwise bleak basement of the UK brothel that is the setting of their captivity. Prichard's emphasis on technological mediation, both the TV and airplane, intensifies further the juxtaposition of the scene. Bola and Tunde's recollection of mistaking a TV for a dream is a powerful metaphor for their blurred perceptions of reality and heightened alienation already implied in the title of the play, *Dream Pill*. Moreover, their recollection of the flight to the UK serves as a reminder of the geographical distance that separates the two women from their homes – the open and free space of the rural “bush” that is diametrically opposed to their current urban captivity.²³

IV. *Spiritual bondage through juju ritual*

The third characteristic of the figure of the sex trafficked been-to is past or present participation in a juju ritual. In general, Juju is a traditional West African religion, sometimes described as “black magic” (Tim S. Braimah 25), “voodoo” (Sarah Bell; Carrisi 8), or “native medicine” (J.D. Ojo 333). Jenny Kleeman argues that, “Believers say invisible spirits govern the earth and control every aspect of human existence, and nothing can be hidden from their scrutiny. The spirits can be called on to protect people, but they can also destroy them.”²⁴ Andy Desmond compares two types of juju spirits: “the living-dead and the dead-dead.” The former

comprise positive guardian spirits “of those human beings who once lived and have died in recent times,” whereas the latter comprise the deceased and forgotten “that will punish breaches of any contract or oath that has been made or sworn to a demi-god/goddess.”²⁵ Nigerian victims of sex trafficking believe that because dead-dead spirits are omnipresent and omnipotent they will cause harm when juju oaths are broken. The playwrights that I discuss in this chapter employ varying means to both stage and represent the significance of the Juju ritual, which I will elaborate on throughout this section. For instance, the protagonists in *it felt empty* and *The Walk* narrate their memories of juju to demonstrate how the ritual has instilled in them a lingering fear of spiritual retribution. Alternatively, Tunde and Bola’s self-conscious reenactment of the juju ritual in *Dream Pill* while initially intended to educate the audience through direct address transforms into a mode of self-discovery, playful and hesitant, through which they question how the ritual affects their lives. Lastly, the victim-madam Martha in *ROADKILL* performs the juju ritual on stage, which leaves Mary terrified and in silence.

In Kirkwood’s *it felt empty*, Gloria describes how English authorities dismiss the spiritual relevance of the juju ritual. Gloria tells her Croatian cellmate Dijana:

They [police officers] don’t believe anything I say here. They think I lie. Ask me why I did not run away.
But it is only on maps Africa is a big country. People find you. My auntie could find me.
Like that, she could find me. And then...
They smile when I say the word.
JuJu. Little smile at each other. Like I do not see.
They think it is hocus-pocus. But it is real...
So it is not funny. JuJu. They should not smile.
I like my tongue to stay in my mouth, thank you. (31)

The practice of oath taking is a significant component of juju rituals including the prominent promise of not escaping. For the police officers, however, the mere mention of the juju ritual elicits the patronizing “little smile,” revealing how the officers view juju as simply superstition.

Gloria's grave tone, "But it is real," expresses her belief in the severe consequences of reneging on juju oaths, which Gloria emphasizes via morbid humor in her allusion to severed tongues, later reciting for Dijana the monetary value of human tongues in organ trafficking circles.

Gloria's encounter with police officers, however, also shows how the juju ritual exacerbates the criminalization process faced by victims of sex trafficking. The officers perceive Gloria as a con artist who uses her belief in Juju as a convenient excuse for being unable to escape her captors.

Cunningham-Huston dramatizes the importance of the juju ceremony through the Madam's commentary on the use value of juju within the sex trafficking business. The Madam explains how juju packets and oaths, primary components of juju rituals, instill fear in Nigerian victims of sex trafficking and trap them in spiritual and debt bondage. The term "juju" derives from the French "joujou," denoting "toy, plaything," and means:

An object of any kind superstitiously venerated by West African native peoples, and used as a charm, amulet, or means of protection; a fetish. Also, the supernatural or magical power attributed to such objects, or the system of observances connected therewith; also, a ban or interdiction effected by means of such an object (OED).

In other words, the juju ritual utilizes fetish-objects to which participants attribute supernatural powers. In a sex trafficking context, juju priests typically conduct juju rituals in Nigeria before a woman is trafficked to Europe, but in some cases, the madam or trafficker conducts juju rituals after her arrival in Europe. In a typical juju ritual, a priest creates a "packet" that consists of such items as finger or toe nail clippings, hair, menstrual blood, metal, soap, powder, and a piece of clothing. In *The Walk* Stephanie describes this ritual to Catherine Anne while Madam, a European manager of twenty female victims of sex trafficking, interjects with comments on how she uses the juju packet to subjugate Nigerian victims of sex trafficking:

STEPHANIE. The girls who are trafficked from Nigeria are in a ... unique situation. Once these scumbag traffickers convince the families to let the girls go with them, they have to undergo this crazy ritual called *juju*, where they collect the girls' nail clippings

and pubic hair and menstrual blood. And they have to swear some kind of oath of loyalty....

MADAM. (*dangling a small leather pouch with one hand*)

... The Nigerians come with an “insurance policy” (*laughs*)

STEPHANIE. ... Then when they’re sent to some other country, like Italy, and auctioned off to some madam, the madam gets the sack with the nails and hair and blood, and so she has a kind of supernatural control over the girl ... Are you there?

CATHERINE ANNE. Uh-huh.

MADAM. ... My investment is protected...

STEPHANIE. ... What this means is that the girls from Nigeria almost never run away because they’re terrified...

MADAM. ... They believe Evil will fall on their head or their family will come to harm.... (1.17.49-50)

Cunningham-Huston employs the dialogue to show the Madam’s disbelief in juju, and specifically, how her possession of the packet, “a small leather pouch,” enables her to control and financially benefit from sex trafficked been-tos. While trafficked Nigerian girls live in poverty and fear of the supernatural powers associated with the juju ritual, the Madam’s employment of the ritual symbolizes generally the power of western capitalism to exploit and profit from Nigerian culture.

The supernatural powers of juju packets connect spiritually with the series of oaths that participants of the ritual swear in the presence of gods, shrines, and sponsors. As quoted above, both Gloria’s and Madam’s dramatic dialogues express the fear of victims and their inability to escape from captors, which for Kirkwood and Cunningham-Huston represents how sex trafficking victims typically remain loyal to their captors until repaying their debt. Gloria’s joke about severed tongues also relates to the oath of secrecy, which if broken can spawn mental illness, infertility, death, and/or harm to one’s family. All four plays that I discuss include characters that vocalize their fears about betraying the oaths of juju rituals. In *The Walk*, Celestine breaks her oaths and as a result believes that Mister Paul has harmed her family and will kill her if she returns to Africa (1.20.58). In *it felt empty*, Gloria fears that her trafficker will

remove her tongue and sell it in an organ trafficked market (31). In *Dream Pill*, Tunde and Bola believe that juju spirits steal thoughts, enter dreams, can punish and even murder oath breakers (15). In *ROADKILL*, Mary swears a blood oath and promises to obey Martha or harm will befall her family, albeit both women have a greater fear of the trafficking boss Djall (1.4.32, 1.20.64). Testimonies of Nigerian survivors of sex trafficking closely coincide with the ways that the above protagonists express their fears concerning oath breaking:

She brought some men to force me to give them those body items which she said would be used for oath taking to prevent me from going to the police. Now I cannot reveal her name for fear that I might die or go mad²⁶

She said it was an “oath” and if she ran away the charm would find her. She was told that if she ran away or didn’t pay that she would die. She believed it.²⁷

I swore that if I refused to pay, the oath would kill me.²⁸

My body’s going to blow up and I’m going to die now.²⁹

The juju priest took my womb from me. If I say anything, I can never get my womb back.³⁰

As evidenced by the above testimonials, Nigerian victims of sex trafficking experience intense fear of retribution from juju spirits for breaking oaths, which can prevent them from testifying against their traffickers.

Cunningham-Huston depicts blood as a common component of juju rituals, which works to prevent victims from breaking their oaths. In *The Walk*, Madam possesses a juju packet with Celestine’s menstrual blood. In juju ceremonies, the priest collects “menstrual blood” to create juju packets (van Dijk 570; Braimah 25; Kara 2; Carrisi 8). A Nigerian survivor of sex trafficking named Anna testifies: “they [juju priests] have to wait till the time you have your menstruation then they would took [sic] it.”³¹ Priests and traffickers also collect blood by making cuts on a woman’s body with a razor blade. Celestine narrates her experience of being cut and

receiving care from her friend: “Hajara help me when Mr. Paul cut me (*touches her face*) put cold cloth on, hold my head on her lap. “You be okay,” she tell me...I never say goodbye to Hajara” (1.18.53). Celestine’s narrative of being cut by her trafficker corresponds to the testimonies of Nigerian victims that undergo the blood oath portion of juju rituals:

The madam cuts a lock of hair from both the front and back of my head, takes a part of my fingernails and toenails and with a razor blade makes some cuts on my wrists, chest and ankles.³²

I had to give my underwear to his assistant and the juju man cut the backs of my legs with a machete and marked me with a razor blade. It made me bleed and I had pain in my legs. I did everything they asked me because I really wanted to go to London.³³

He cut me with a razor blade on my back and on my breasts and took my blood.³⁴

Juju priests and traffickers understand the efficacy of subjugating victims of sex trafficking through oath taking that binds the collection of blood with spiritual vengeance. It is also common for the juju priest to rub soot or chalk into the victim’s cuts, which allows juju spirits to enter a person’s body.³⁵ While the spirits thus become governors of a woman’s body, the scars serve as a constant reminder of the obligations made during the juju ceremony.

Cunningham-Huston also depicts in her play how juju priests and traffickers force participants in juju rituals to ingest blood. Celestine explains, “Mister Paul make me drink his blood to scare me from run away (*shivers*)” (1.18.53). In this passage, Cunningham-Huston illustrates how the drinking of the trafficker’s blood creates a spiritual and corporeal bond between the trafficker and his victim, which allows Mister Paul to locate Celestine in the event that she attempts to escape. Nigerian victims of sex trafficking are also coerced into drinking blood:

We went into the woods near the house of the ‘native doctor’: they made me eat the heart of a chicken. I had to pick it up with my lips from a cup full of blood and other mixtures. Then I had to drink a glass of whisky.³⁶

The drinking of blood and brews comprised of whiskey or gin, and raw organs of a chicken are meant to frighten the ritual subject:

The witch doctor took some of my nails, and hair. He cut the heart of a chicken into small pieces and mixed it all into a potion with a local gin brew. I had to drink it ... I was so frightened. I knew death would come if I betrayed the oath.³⁷

One of the other thing I have to do in that ... would ... is the live chicken. Drink the blood of the live chicken, and the liver and the kidney I have to eat it raw.³⁸

The above sex trafficking survivor refers to how priests add sacrificed animal parts into the juju ritual. Rijk van Dijk converses with a victim of sex trafficking named Monday and reports that “animals (goats, white chickens) were slaughtered for the purpose [of travel protection] and the girls were sprinkled with their blood” (571). The sacrifice of a goat to the gods illustrates how the juju ritual mirrors the origins of Greek tragedy. Originating from “tragoedia” translated as “goat-song,” the term “tragedy” refers to the sacrifice of a goat that marks the beginnings of ancient Greek religious festivals, which suggests a parallel between ancient Greek tragedy and West African juju rituals.

In contrast to *it felt empty* and *The Walk* where the protagonists narrate their experience with the juju ritual, *Dream Pill* and *ROADKILL* include protagonists that to varying degrees (re)perform it. Helene Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins underline how staged representations necessarily mediate the content of rituals. In making their claim, they quote in part the work of Rawle Gibbons, “When ritual is to be presented on stage, ‘it must needs be re-presented, that is, re-interpreted in the dramatic context. Its justification becomes theatrical, not religious, and as “theatre” it is given a different form, another god” (59). In other words, performances of juju rituals in *Dream Pill* and *ROADKILL* mediate the spiritual content of juju through a theatrical context, which thus enables the productions to employ the juju ritual didactically. In the

following pages, I trace the three steps of Victor Turner's theory of ritual – preliminal, liminal, and postliminal – through which I analyze Prichard's and Smith's reenactments of juju rituals. In so doing, I illustrate that these examples support Turner's belief in the didactic value of performing ethnographies. Moreover, reenactments of juju rituals have affective value insofar as the actors performing rituals express for the audience the fear and anxiety experienced during and after the juju ritual.

Turner argues that the preliminal stage of rituals “clearly demarcates sacred space and time from profane or secular space and time ... It includes symbolic behavior ... which represents the detachment of the ritual subjects (novices, candidates, neophytes or “initiands”) from their previous social statuses” (24). For Tunde and Bola in *Dream Pill*, the preliminal stage occurs when the madam takes them to a juju priest who, in turn, situates them in the juju house, a special, sacred structure used for the ceremony. Tunde and Bola depart the familiar space and time that constituted their past identities as they transition into becoming sex trafficked been-tos. The second stage of rituals, the liminal for Turner, is marked when “the ritual subjects pass through a period and area of ambiguity, a sort of social limbo which has few (though sometimes these are most crucial) of the attributes of either the preceding or subsequent profane social statuses or cultural states” (24). Turner states that common acts during the liminal period include the initiand(s) being stripped of names and clothing, associated with life and death, dead to social world, no rights over others, eating or not eating certain foods, and the breaking of rules (26, 43). Tunde and Bola reenact what Turner defines as the liminal period through adopting the roles of the juju priest and the subject of the juju ritual. Bola acts as the subject and Tunde mimes the juju priest:

BOLA. If you fit fe journey den de madam go take you to priest
TUNDE. Dis how priest protect you from demon

BOLA. She tek you—dem put you
in darken room
TUNDE. You mus' wash
You have fe drink whisky
TUNDE *pretends to take a clipping of BOLA's hair.*
Dem take clipping of your hair
BOLA. Dey draw circle round you
She mimes drawing a circle.
Dey take your cloth
TUNDE. No no no—you must undress. Dey take your panties
BOLA. Dey put it for jar. Dey cut you here and here
TUNDE. Dey go put am for shrine
BOLA. No dey float jar for water, because your journey you go fly ova water. (14-15)

In the preliminal space of the juju house or “darken room,” Tunde mimes the way that a juju priest collects fetish-objects in a jar: “clipping of your hair,” “your panties,” and blood from when “Dey cut you here and here.” The juju packet represents, as Turner argues, the few yet crucial social characteristics that the juju priests strip away from Tunde and Bola; hair, clothing, skin and blood are defining features of physical appearance. Tunde and Bola also describe how the juju priest forces them to bathe, strip, and drink whiskey, all of which in conjunction with the juju packet symbolize an erasure of their former identities. Through a combination of mime and narrations of juju, Tunde and Bola show for spectators the physically invasive aspects of the liminal phase of the juju ritual.

Tunde and Bola's identity transformation begins in the preliminal stage of the juju house and continues through the liminal stage in which the priests collect their physical appearance in juju packets. The basement of an anonymous brothel demarcates the dramatic space and time of Tunde and Bola's captivity, an underground grave-like structure symbolic of their socially dead status to the outside world. Their re-performance of the juju ritual fails to proceed beyond the liminal phase of the ritual that, as Turner claims, constitutes the postliminal, which “includes symbolic phenomena and actions which represent the return of the subjects to their new,

relatively stable, well-defined position in the total society” (24). In the postliminal phase, ritual subjects obtain a new social identity, which would have represented becoming sex-trafficked been-tos for Tunde and Bola. That Tunde and Bola, however, cannot re-perform the ritual past the liminal stage strongly suggests that the power of the ritual persists in affecting their identities, both their self-awareness and self-consciousness. As such, the two protagonists function within the liminal ambiguity of ritual, dream, and theatre space, which Prichard intensifies through Tunde and Bola’s consumption of drugs, the “dream pills” dispensed by the trafficking boss Dedeh that instills physical and psychological trances. Like date rape drugs, the dream pills in the play incapacitate Tunde and Bola:

TUNDE. Dem touch you, pick you as you sleep, move you
BOLA. You nor know
TUNDE. Dey leave mark on you body
BOLA. You nor wan sleep. You ketch fear
 Dis why you get special pill
TUNDE. Dream pills
BOLA. Is a special pill for protection – Dedeh give it
TUNDE. Is a pill which catch demon inside
 It make you faint
 It go like this
 Demon move
 They look like dis (18).

Tunde and Bola believe that dream pills provide protection from demons, represented in the play as both evil spirits and punters. Tunde and Bola’s prolonged captivity and consumption of dream pills has created a belief that their male abusers (punter) are evil juju spirits, “demons” and “zombies.”

Discovering strange objects such as a “man’s shoe” and “a cigarette butt” after regaining consciousness only strengthens their belief in the power of the juju ritual (12). Tunde and Bola also use their belief in the power of juju spirits to make sense of the physical scars that the punters leave on their bodies, “Dey leave mark on you body.”³⁹ Thoughts of demons and

zombies create the ambiguous reality of Tunde and Bola's underground captivity, which as Turner argues, "liminal demonic and monstrous figures" represent for initiands "ambiguities and inconsistencies" (113). Tunde and Bola frequently seek clarity from the audience, "Are we still real?" (19). Prichard structures the conclusion of the play to maintain the ambiguity of theatre space:

BOLA. (*To audience.*) Are we a dream pill?
Did we dream this room?
TUNDE. Will you dream me?
BOLA. Can you?
TUNDE. Can I be in your dream?
Are you real?
BOLA. Are we? (28)

The expression of bodily disconnection explicit in Tunde and Bola's dialogue can be understood as a symptom of depersonalization-derealization, which Judith Herman classifies as a potential consequence of severe child abuse.⁴⁰

Tunde and Bola's direct address to the audience is a plea for help that Prichard strategically employs as a consciousness-raising technique by which to comment on the problem of social apathy, especially the apathy of bystanders as concerns child sex trafficking. Prichard suggests that spectators of her play are witnesses to Tunde and Bola's sexual exploitation and therefore have the choice to dismiss the experience as inauthentic. In this way, Prichard carefully balances a theatre project that persistently interrogates theatrical representation as pretense despite knowing the risks that the efficacy of didactic theatre is commensurate with introspection and social change. Prichard's employment of self-deconstructing dramatic techniques closely mirrors how Jean Genet subverts the principles of realism and decorum in *The Balcony*. The unrelenting Irma, a madam, insists that spectators will only encounter simulacra upon exiting the metatheatrical space of her brothel.⁴¹ Similarly, Prichard suggests that only fantasy and ideology

exists beyond the theatre if the encounter with Bola and Tunde comprises for spectators their only experience with child sexual exploitation. In other words, without ethical imperatives the world beyond theatre becomes as fantastical as a dialogue between two fictitious characters, who symbolize the thousands of otherwise invisible victims of sex trafficking.

In contrast to the liminal ambiguity that I analyze in *Dream Pill*, the following section focuses on the sex trafficked been-to Mary in *ROADKILL* and how her ritualized transformation from innocence to sexualized commodity occurs through seasoning. *ROADKILL* is a site-specific production that begins with a bus shuttling spectators to a flat/brothel that doubles as the performance space. For the audience, the performance space mirrors the protagonist's loss of social status and identity as Martha, the madam, collects her passport and identity documents (1.1.28). Since Mary is separated from both family and home in Nigeria, her identity functions in the extra-temporality of ritual space, a "rite which changes the quality of *time* ... or constructs a cultural realm which is defined as "out of time," i.e. beyond or outside the time which measures secular processes and routines" (Turner 24). Along with the audience, Mary travels in the ambiguity characteristic of the liminal phase. She is no longer an innocent girl, but simultaneously her identity lacks reincorporation into post-ritual society.

Sharedhope international defines the term "seasoning" as the "combination of psychological manipulation, intimidation, gang rape, sodomy, beatings, deprivation of food or sleep, isolation from friends or family and other sources of support, and threatening or holding hostage of a victim's children."⁴² In the play, Djall, the trafficking boss, along with three unidentified men season Mary through rape, a process designed to subdue victims and prevent their escape. A pre-recorded video depicts the rape scene wherein Mary transforms into the

ragdoll that a wolf pack tears apart.⁴³ The violent gang rape experienced by Mary parallels the testimonies of Nigerian victims of sex trafficking:

One time when I was on the street ... then ... this one man who came and then I ask him if he want me to go with him ... and then he said yes ... and then I go with him to his place [*voice breaking*]. When I get there, it was eight of them. It was eight of them ... eight of them ... and they all go around and sleep with me. I can call that rape, but I could not do anything ... I think this is too much. They took advantage of all the poor people and then you live in this pain for all your life. It's so painful.⁴⁴

As for the gang rapes. They happen. Often. [...] I can tell you this: the first rape is the hardest to get over. But you console yourself by saying: I thought I was going to die, but I'm still alive.

The second time you're raped you say: it happens.

The third time you say: it's normal.

After the fourth time you stop counting.⁴⁵

The testimonials underscore the brutality of seasoning and working alone on the streets as a forced prostitute. In turn, such testimonials provide a critical context that ameliorates our understanding of the demoralizing and dehumanizing affects of seasoning, which is emphasized in *ROADKILL* through Mary's transformation into a ragdoll.

In the 2013 U.S. premiere of *ROADKILL* at St. Ann's Warehouse in Brooklyn, Martha replaces the blood stained white sundress worn by Mary with a brown, silk slip.⁴⁶ The walls and bed skirt glow bright red as Martha makes incisions to Mary's hands, which symbolizes their mutual promise to uphold the conditions of the blood oath (see Figure 3.1). The blood bond between Martha and Mary conveys both a corporeal and spiritual merging in which Mary exchanges obedience for Martha's promise to support financially Mary's family in Nigeria.

In the immediate aftermath of the juju oath, Martha explains to Mary, "I think I will call you Mary" (1.4.32). Renaming victims, for Herman, serves the purpose of erasing identity.⁴⁷ The anglicized catholic name "Mary" thus has the dual function of erasing Adeola's identity and severing her cultural and religious connections to Nigeria, which altogether continues the

dehumanizing affects of the seasoning process. Symbolic of the final rite of ritual passage, Mary is thus reincorporated into society as a sex trafficked been-to. The use of multimedia during the performance underscores Mary's status as sexual commodity. Her body becomes a blank slate onto which are projected the personal sexual reviews from the site *PunterNet UK*. The reviews are read aloud by pre-recorded voiceovers, effectively, demonstrating both the erasure of identity and the silencing of Mary's voice.



Figure 3.1 Adura Onashile as Martha, on left, and Mercy Ojelade as Mary, on right, in St. Anne's Warehouse 2013 production of *ROADKILL*. Photograph by Robert Stolarik for *The New York Times*.

V. *Survivors of Sex Trafficking as Theatrical Inspiration*

The fourth characteristic of the sex trafficked been-to is that she represents the personal struggles of Nigerian survivors of sex trafficking. Bissett met a survivor of sex trafficking whose narrative inspired *ROADKILL*, which she explains in the following interview:

There was a young girl whom I met in Scotland through various charity work that I am involved with who had been trafficked here at the age of 13 and had been forced into prostitution for four years before she managed to escape her captors. And so the whole concept for *ROADKILL* came about by wanting to try and recreate that experience for an audience, the profound impact that experience had on me, and so I thought okay it can't be in a theatre. I don't want people to be able to sit back and watch this very comfortably.⁴⁸

In addition to representing how the survivor's narrative had a profound influence on her, Bissett created *ROADKILL* with the aim of inducing in spectators discomfort and compassion. Bissett reports on the affective success of her strategy when a female spectator "got so carried away with the story she forgot it was theater and at one point untied Mary from the bondage straps holding her to the bed, threw her over her shoulder and tried to run out of the flat to save her."⁴⁹

Employing affect and abstraction to immerse spectators in the environment of the play thus characterizes how Bissett's incorporates first-hand testimonials in *ROADKILL*.

In developing *Dream Pill*, Prichard similarly draws inspiration from her personal research on human trafficking. In the following interview, Prichard explains her reasons for dramatizing a narrative about sex trafficking:

I was researching the theme of trafficking and I found that one of the major source countries for trafficked women and children was Nigeria, in Africa, in one particular State. It is not a Nigerian-wide problem necessarily, all over Nigeria, but it's Edo State in Nigeria. And I read, I don't know if this is ... it is very difficult to verify the figures, but I read that it is so common that, in fact, it is quite likely that everybody knows someone or even has someone in their family who has been trafficked.⁵⁰

Her knowledge of the specific trafficking flow of women and girls from Edo State to the UK makes her play about sex trafficking both geographically accurate and politically relevant.

Prichard also consulted with experienced authorities in the field of sex trafficking, which included a veteran detective, Steve Wilkinson, and police officer, Andy Desmond.⁵¹

Kirkwood was inspired to write *it felt empty* after attending Emma Thompson's *Journey*, a 2007 exhibition on sex trafficking.⁵² As part of conducting research for her play, Kirkwood visited incarcerated women at Yarl's Wood, a detention center holding approximately 400 asylum seekers with rejected applications. She also visited survivors of sex trafficking at the Poppy Project, a government funded charity that provides shelter, counseling, and healthcare for sex trafficked women.⁵³ Having observed in the course of these visitations that the women "are still here" despite unhappiness and trauma (Author's Note, 2009), Kirkwood desired to highlight the general resilience of the human spirit in *it felt empty*. In the play, Dijana's self-soothing techniques that include conversing with her dead child and subtracting her sex work income from her sex trafficking debt enables Dijana to survive despite suffering from a miscarriage, personal betrayal, sexual captivity, and debt-bondage. The complex coping mechanisms that enable Dijana to survive her captivity marks in general a striking contrast between the sex trafficked been-to and the dramatic figures of the fallen woman and white slave.

The Walk is based on Cunningham-Huston's conversations with Sister Connie Goulet, a nun and teacher, who was asked in 2008 if she was able to help teach and support Sarah, a Nigerian sex trafficking survivor seeking refugee status in Canada. Sarah (a functional pseudonym) confided in Sister Goulet regarding her sexual exploitation, "People need to know about this suffering."⁵⁴ Sister Goulet, in turn, contacted Cunningham-Huston and they began to develop a production on sex trafficking with a focus on Nigerian women. The four playwrights that I discuss in this chapter use similar research strategies and sources: survivor testimonies, interviews with authorities in the field, and academic scholarship. As a result, the figure of the

sex trafficked been-to while depicted anonymously to protect the identities of victims nevertheless resembles closely the testimonials of sex trafficked victims.

VI. *Towards a Conclusion*

Chapter three delineates what I believe are the key characteristics of the dramatic figure of the sex trafficked been-to in Kirkwood's *it felt empty when the heart went at first but it is alright now*, Prichard's *Dream Pill*, Bissett and Smith's *ROADKILL*, and Cunningham-Huston's *The Walk*. "Been-tos" is a common label given to Nigerians who have been to America, Canada, or Europe and who return to Nigeria wealthier and/or educated. This chapter, however, highlights the forgotten and stigmatized been-tos who are afraid to return to Nigeria for reasons that include broken juju oaths, disease, and poverty. The sex trafficked been-to originates from a poor, rural area of Nigeria, typically in Edo State, and is sex trafficked to either Italy or the United Kingdom. Recruiters prey on young Nigerian women that desire a better education and improved employment as means to escape poverty. I also analyze via Turner's theory of ritual the role of the juju ritual in the sexual exploitation and debt-bondage of Nigerian women. I supplement my theoretical analysis with testimonials that detail survivors' knowledge and experience of juju ceremonies.

Smith and Bissett, Kirkwood, Prichard, and Cunningham-Huston all suggest through the sex trafficked been-to an unfaltering sense of optimism. Her determination to survive the hardships of sexual captivity and steadfast belief in family and friends imbues this contemporary dramatic figure with the strength to seek alternative futures, such as escaping from captivity, and requesting political asylum. In contrast to the fallen woman who succumbs to death or the passive white slave awaiting heroic rescue, the sex trafficked been-to has a fighting spirit. She

role-plays escapes from brothels and employs modes of performative humor to alleviate otherwise insufferable living conditions. The sex trafficked been-to is not merely a fictional theatrical figure. Her characteristics and experiences are drawn from the narratives of sex trafficked Nigerian women and, for that reason alone, these playwrights insist that it is our ethical imperative to aid in the abolishment of forced commercial sexual exploitation.

Despite the positive qualities with which the sex-trafficked been-to challenges the patriarchal stereotypes implicit in the western dramatic canon, more attention, I believe, needs to be placed on the racial inequalities faced by sex trafficking victims in both Nigeria and Europe. The discrimination of black women within brothels and the criminal justice system indicates a systemic bias towards recognizing white but not black women's victimhood within the discourse and industry of sex trafficking. Improved access to legal, medical, and social services would enable sex trafficking victims, especially black women, an opportunity to rebuild their lives outside of the sex industry. While the four plays that I discuss emphasize gender inequalities, more can and should be written about how racial inequalities encourage a cycle of sexual exploitation and abuse.

NOTES

¹ I compiled this list of jobs from the following research: Patience Elabor-Idemudia, "Migration, Trafficking and the African Woman." *Agenda* 58 (2003): 106; Simona Taliani, "Coercion, Fetishes and Suffering in the Daily Lives of Young Nigerian Women in Italy" *Africa* 82.4 (2012): 584; Heather Murdock, "Nigerian shamans and traffickers use juju magic to force women into prostitution," *Global Post* 12 Feb. 2013; Christiana E.E. Okojie et al, "Chapter V: Involvement of criminal rings and response of Law Enforcement Agencies." *Trafficking of Nigerian Girls to Italy: Report of Field Survey in Edo State, Nigeria*. July 2003, pg. 68

< http://www.unicri.it/topics/trafficking_exploitation/archive/women/nigeria_1/research/rr_okojie_eng.pdf>

² Christiana E.E. Okojie, Obehi Okojie, Kokunre Eghafona, Gloria Vincent-Osaghae, and Victoria Kalu report that the "Majority of the Law enforcement agents (93.3%) [in Italy] agreed that recruiters lie to victims and their relations about what victims would experience during the trip and after their arrival in the destination country" (64); Cherti, Pennington, and Grant's interviews with Nigerian women who were sex trafficked to the UK reveal that they were also oblivious to what jobs in the sex industry would entail, with the majority of women believing that they would be working in other fields (40).

³ Laura Maragnani and Isoke Aikpitanyi, "The Girls from Benin City." Melampo Editore, Milano, 2012. Elena Perlino. *Pipeline: Human Trafficking in Italy*. Amsterdam: Schilt Publishing, 2014. 91.

⁴ Clayton, Jonathan. "The lost children of Nigeria's sex trade." *The Times* (London) 5 April 2004. 8 Jan. 2013. <<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/article1969392.ece>>.

⁵ See *Trapped*. Consultant and Narrator. Michelle Mildwater. Director and Photographer. Anja Dalhoff. Journeyman Pictures with the support of the Danish Film Institute, 2007.

⁶ See Mancuso's article, "Not all madams have a central role: analysis of a Nigerian sex trafficking network."

⁷ Martha smothers her sister with a pillow once she sees that she is incontinent and in great pain. She quickens her death because she wants her to die with dignity (I.20).

⁸ This is evidenced by the United Nations 2014 *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons*. It outlines the following:

[some women feel] that they have few alternatives to continuing prostitution or to become *madams* themselves. While being exploited, some victims may decide to cooperate with the *madams* in order to have their debt reduced. In that case, they may move up the hierarchy to become *controllers*. Some victims can also become trafficker so to emancipate from their exploiters by exploiting other girls. (56)

⁹ The varied and complex reasons behind the mass migration of Nigerians to Europe include government corruption and poor management of natural resources (like Petroleum) leading to limited employment and poverty. In addition, problems arose from the International Monetary Fund (IMF)'s structural adjustment programs (Achebe 181; Aghatise 1129).

¹⁰ Her full name is significant, I argue, because it suggests that she is an orphan. Yetunde is a Yoruba name that means "mother has come back" or "mother returns." Bunmi Sowande also explains that "usually, when a female child is born shortly after an elderly woman dies, the girl is named Yetunde" (<www.boso.me.uk>). When Bola and Tunde speak about the powers of juju, the latter character says, "Dey can kill your mama" (Prichard 15). This line

suggests that Tunde's mother died in childbirth, but Tunde attributes the loss to the spiritual world. It is possible that her name Yetunde marks her mother's death.

¹¹ Out of a total of 324 referrals of potential victims of human trafficking in the UK, an overwhelming 66 of these referrals were for Nigerians (only 37 of the 66 referrals have received a reasonable grounds decision); the second closest country of origin was Albania with 37 referrals, and the third Vietnam with 30 referrals. See the NRM 2012 for more information.

¹² 24 Vietnamese were referred as potential victims of human trafficking in comparison to 20 Nigerians (NRM 2012 report).

¹³ The 2014 NRM reports that 653 out of 2,340 referrals of victims of human trafficking were for adult women sex trafficked to the UK, especially England. Non-UK nationals represented 80 of 2,340 and UK nationals 61 of 2,340 of the female minors referred to the NRM as potential victims of sexual exploitation. Nigerian female children are also trafficked into domestic servitude, which may also involve sexual exploitation. The rate of sexual exploitation that occurs in situations of involuntary domestic servitude is unknown and in need of further study. For examples of Nigerian girls forced into domestic servitude in the UK see "I was a victim of child traffickers" *BBC News* 17 May 2004. 6 March 2013 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3720699.stm>; Debbie Ariyo, "Child Domestic Slavery: A Growing Phenomenon in the UK." *ECPAT International*. 12 Dec. 2007. 10 Mar. 2013; Daniel Foster, "Nigerian Teen Trafficked to UK aged 5, kept as a slave for a decade and beaten every day: Teen breaks silence over harrowing upbringing among family she believed was her own" *Dailymail.co.uk* 1 July 2011. 6 March 2013 <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2010243/Human-trafficking-Girl-brought-UK-aged-5-kept-slave-decade-beaten.html>>; Kurt Barling, "Pastor jailed for trafficking African child 'slaves'" *BBC News London* 18 Mar. 2012. 6 Mar. 2013 <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-12789690>>.

¹⁴ The Poppy Project report concurs with this IDMG statistic. The former's report claims that from 2003-2007 more Lithuanian women were referred to their NGO than any other nationality (Dickson 2004; 1). After 2007 the all female staff of The Poppy Project notes a shift in the nationality of referred victims; the majority of women are now Nigerian (Cherti, Pennington, and Grant 27). Abigail Stepnitz reports that, "at the end of January 2009, 28.8 per cent of referrals to POPPY were women trafficked from Africa, predominantly from Nigeria, Uganda, Cameroon, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Ghana" (23).

¹⁵ The 2012 IDMG states that Nigerian women and girls are more likely to be trafficked for sex or domestic servitude in England and Wales than Scotland and Northern Ireland, but Scotland and Ireland, and not England and Wales, are named as destination countries for Nigerian sex trafficking in the following quotation taken from the U.S. Department of State's Tier Report:

Nigerian women and girls, primarily from Benin City in Edo State, are subjected to forced prostitution in Italy, while Nigerian women and girls from other states are subjected to forced prostitution in Spain, Scotland, the Netherlands, Germany, Turkey, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Ireland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Greece, and Russia" (<<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192597.pdf>>)

¹⁶ Myriam Cherti, Jenny Pennington, and Peter Grant. *Beyond Borders: Human Trafficking from Nigeria to the UK*. *IPPR.org*, Jan. 2013. Web. 22 Feb. 2013.

¹⁷ Korin Lebov, "Human Trafficking in Scotland." *European Journal of Criminology* 7.1 (2010): 77-93. *Sage*. Web. 2 Mar. 2013; United Kingdom. Dept. of Justice. *Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group on Human Trafficking*. London: HMSO, Oct. 2012. Web. 1 Mar. 2013; United Kingdom. Home Office. "An evidence assessment of the routes of human trafficking into the UK." Mar. 2012. Web. 6 Mar. 2013; Lorinda Norris, "Child Trafficking in the UK: An Examination of Contemporary Approaches." *Internet Journal of Criminology* (2008): 1-41. Web. 6 Mar. 2013; Abigail Stepnitz, "Of Human Bondage: Trafficking in women and contemporary slavery in the UK." *Eavesforwomen.org.uk*, 2009. Web. 2 Mar. 2013.

¹⁸ Liz Kelly and Linda Regan, "Stopping Traffic: Exploring the extent of, and responses to, trafficking in women for sexual exploitation in the UK." *Stopping Traffic—The Andrea Network*, 2000. Web. 6 Mar. 2013; Dickson, Sandra. "When Women are Trafficked: Quantifying the Gendered Experience of Trafficking in the UK." *La Strada International*, April 2004. Web. 6 Mar. 2013; Sandra Dickson, "Sex in the City: Mapping Commercial Sex Across London." *Eavesforwomen.org.uk*, 2004. Web. 5 Mar. 2013; Alice Sachrajda, "Poppy Project Outreach Service—A review of work to date: January – September 2007." *Eavesforwomen.org.uk*, 2008. 2 Mar. 2013; Helen Atkins and Julie Bindel, "Big Brothel: A Survey of the Off-Street Sex Industry in London." *Eavesforwomen.org.uk*, 2008. Web. 2 Mar. 2013.

¹⁹ Jennifer W. Mandel argues that, "The United Kingdom's geographic location at the edge of the European continent makes it a particularly appealing trade destination" (215 and 216). More specifically, the country is easily accessible by boat and its airports offer a wide array of international flights.

²⁰ Tens of thousands of Nigerians comprise the UK's large migrant population. The immigration of Nigerians to the UK began after Nigeria became autonomous from Britain in 1960. Although no longer under Britain's colonial rule, Nigeria decided to voluntarily remain part of the commonwealth. This participation in the commonwealth, according to Carling, made it easy for Nigerians to immigrate post-1960 to Europe, especially the UK (41). Cherti, Pennington, and Grant argue that the 2001 census figures state that "88,000 people with Nigerian nationality [live] in the UK," mainly in London, Manchester, and Leeds, which is proof of the continued growth of the Nigerian diaspora in the twenty-first century (28). There is a significant population of Nigerian nationals who legally reside in the UK and members of this group are crucial to the success of Nigerian trafficking networks. These crime syndicates, argue Cherti, Pennington, and Grant, "are built through both parochial social networks of blood or community and international connections between people resident in Nigeria and diaspora populations" (25). This is not to say that other nationalities are uninvolved in sex trafficking Nigerian women to the UK, but that this trafficking flow utilizes Nigerian recruiters (male and female), Madams, trolleys (young men who escort Nigerian women on their trip to Europe), and trafficking connections stationed in both Nigeria and the UK.

²¹ Nigerian traffickers misuse the UK's immigration and asylum system. Due to civil war, political corruption, and economic instability, many Nigerians have fled from their home since 1960 and are seeking refuge around the world. The 2013 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) ranks Nigeria as the eleventh top source country for asylum seekers in industrialized countries (20), and the most recent immigration statistics (year

ending June 2014) published by the United Kingdom Home Office ranks the country ninth among asylum seekers in the UK. Sex traffickers instruct Nigerian minors to claim political asylum upon their arrival in the UK because they know they will be placed in children's homes or hotels for asylum seekers. The traffickers then travel to these locals and collect their victims, or instruct them to run away from their new homes and contact their pimps. Jorgen Carling confirms this process by stating that "Nigerian girls have [also] been taken into the United Kingdom as unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, only to disappear from the asylum centers and starting to work as prostitutes (Somerset: 2001 and 2004)" (39). Jonathan Clayton from Benin City reports the disappearance of a dozen Nigerian girls from safe houses in the South of England. In an award-winning exposé on sex trafficking, Mark Townsend reports that a Nigerian girl named Joy Vincent was sex trafficked to the UK when she was fourteen and recused at age seventeen from a prison-like brothel. Following her rescue, children's services housed Joy alongside 491 other asylum-seeking children at the seedy Gilroy Court Hotel, where her pimp quickly found and re-trafficked her to a brothel. Finally, she was rescued and sent back to the Gilroy Hotel for a second time only to disappear days later. In yet another example, a Nigerian gang spearheaded by Anthony Harris sex trafficked a 16 year-old girl, referred to as Victim A, from Edo State to the UK. The criminal network instructed Victim A to claim asylum upon arrival at Heathrow airport, flee from the children's home appointed to her by social services, and then call Harris. In contrast to Joy who remains missing, Victim A was able to escape from her horrible ordeal. These examples prove that criminal networks are successful in sex trafficking Nigerian women and girls from their homes in Southern Nigeria to the UK. The disturbing factor is that members of law enforcement, border control, social services, and the general public overlook or perhaps they are complicit in this conspicuous transport of women and girls.

²² Ian Pannell, "Trafficking nightmare for Nigerian children," *BBC News* 10 Jan. 2001. 15 May 2010 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/841928.stm>>.

²³ According to the OED, the word "bush" means "an area of woodland, forest, uncultivated land, the remote rural areas, esp. in Australia, New Zealand, or Africa." Living in rural Nigeria, Tunde and Bola likely lived without electricity and running water. For a closer look at a typical village in Edo State, which lacks electricity and water, see *The Nigerian Connection Part II* (dir. Orlando von Einsiedel).

²⁴ Jenny Kleeman, "The curse of 'juju' that drives sex slaves to Europe" *The Independent* 7 April 2011. 8 June 2011. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/the-curse-of-juju-that-drives-sex-slaves-to-europe-2264337.html>>.

²⁵ Desmond is the director of anti-trafficking consultants and an expert in Nigerian sex trafficking cases involving juju. For more information on Desmond's explanation of juju beliefs, see Anti-Trafficking Consultants (ATC), 2015 <<http://www.antitraffickingconsultants.co.uk/tactics/>>.

²⁶ Testimony is given in 2002 by Ms. Jemila and can be found in Patience Elabor-Idemudia, "Trafficking and the African Woman" *Agenda* 58 (2003): 110. *JSTOR*. 14 Oct 2012 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4548103>>.

²⁷ Larisa Brown, "Nigerian recycling worker 'smuggled children into Britain before brainwashing them with African witchcraft to turn them into prostitutes'" *The Daily Mail* 17 Sept. 2012. 25 Nov. 2012 <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2204556/Nigerian-recycling-worker-smuggled-children-Britain-brainwashing-African-witchcraft-turn-prostitutes.html>>.

²⁸ Testimony given by a survivor of sex trafficking name Naomi Benjamin, which Heather Murdock documents in: “Nigerian shamans and traffickers use juju magic to force women into prostitution” *GlobalPost* 12 Feb 2013. 15 March 2013. <<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/africa/130205/juju-women-sex-slaves-prostitution-Nigeria>>.

²⁹ See the *BBC News* “Child asylum seekers sold for sex” for this Nigerian teenager’s testimony of being a participant in a juju ritual prior to being sex trafficked to the UK.

³⁰ Testimony given by a young Nigerian victim of sex trafficking named Promise who Siddharth Kara interviewed in Copenhagen. See Kara, “‘Juju oaths’ ensnare trafficking victims mind, body and soul” CNN 1 April 2011.

³¹ Testimony given by a young Nigerian woman named Anna. She was sex trafficked from Benin City to Copenhagen, Denmark. See the following film to hear her testimony: *Trapped*. Michelle Mildwater (Consultant and Narrator); Anja Dalhoff (Director and Photographer). *Journeyman Pictures* and the Danish Film Institute, 2007.

³² Simona Taliani, “Coercion, Fetishes and Suffering in the Daily Lives of Young Nigerian Women in Italy.” *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 82.4 (November 2012): 593.

³³ Emma Glanfield, “Alleged black magic sex trafficking victim was ‘cut with a machete during juju ceremony designed to scare her into secrecy’” *MailOnline*. 26 September 2014 <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2771290/Alleged-black-magic-sex-trafficking-victim-cut-machete-juju-ceremony-designed-scare-secrecy.html>>.

³⁴ Courtney Farrell, *Human Trafficking* (North Mankato, Minnesota: ABDO Publishing Company, 2011) 83.

³⁵ See, for example, Andy Desmond, “Beauty—A Human Trafficking Victim.” *Anti Trafficking Consultants*, 2015 <<http://www.antitraffickingconsultants.co.uk/beautys-story/>>.

³⁶ Simona Taliani, “Coercion, Fetishes and Suffering in the Daily Lives of Young Nigerian Women in Italy.” *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 82.4 (November 2012): 591.

³⁷ Jonathan Clayton, “The lost children of Nigeria’s sex trade.” *The Times* (London) 5 April 2004. 8 Jan. 2013. <<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/article1969392.ece>>.

³⁸ Testimony given by a young Nigerian woman named Anna. See the following film to hear her testimony: *Trapped*. Michelle Mildwater (Consultant and Narrator); Anja Dalhoff (Director and Photographer). *Journeyman Pictures* and the Danish Film Institute, 2007.

³⁹ Prichard emphasizes the brutality of the punters during this discussed scene:

*They show the audience other marks they have
found on their bodies – on their hands, backs or
legs. These could be friction burns, bite marks,
bruises or other strange marks* (19).

⁴⁰ Herman explains, “They may learn to ignore severe pain, to hide their memories in complex amnesias, to alter their sense of time, place, or person, and to induce hallucinations or possession states. Sometimes these alterations of consciousness are deliberate, but often they become automatic and feel alien and involuntary” (102).

⁴¹ The play ends with Irma telling the audience “You must now go home, where everything—you can be quite sure—will be falsier than here ... You must go now” (Genet 1.9.96).

⁴² sharedhope international. Vancouver, WA, 2015 <<http://sharedhope.org/learn/traffickingterms/>>.

⁴³ Smith's stage directions depict the rape scene: "The TV which was playing Beyoncé fades to an animation; it is MARY, recognizable, the little girl in the white dress; she is breathing heavily, figures loom towards her; men's faces morph into wolves ripping a ragdoll that is MARY apart" (29).

⁴⁴ Testimony given by a young Nigerian woman named Anna. She was sex trafficked from Benin City to Copenhagen, Denmark. See the following film to hear her testimony: *Trapped*. Michelle Mildwater (Consultant and Narrator); Anja Dalhoff (Director and Photographer). *Journeyman Pictures* and the Danish Film Institute, 2007.

⁴⁵ Testimony given by a young Nigerian woman named Osas who was trafficked from Benin City to Italy. See Laura Maragnani and Isoke Aikpitanyi, "The Girls from Benin City." Elena Perlino. *Pipeline: Human trafficking in Italy* (Amsterdam: Schilt Publishing, 2014).

⁴⁶ Audra Onashile plays the role of Martha, Mercy Ojelade the role of Mary, and Jessica Brettle designs the costumes.

⁴⁷ According to Herman, "in organized sexual exploitation, the victim is often given a new name to signify the total obliteration of her previous identity and her submission to the new order ... Linda Boreman was renamed Linda Lovelace, the whore" (93).

⁴⁸ Cora Bissett. dir. *ROADKILL*. 2011. "Pachamama Prod. & Richard Jordan Prod. Ltd in assoc. with Traverse Theatre - Roadkill" *British Council* 23 June 2011 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kuSwlBQ44Wg>>.

⁴⁹ Julia Borcherts, "5 reasons to see "Roadkill" *ReyEye* 6 May 2013. 12 June 2013 <http://articles.redeyechicago.com/2013-05-06/news/39070985_1_young-girl-roadkill-13-year-old-girl>.

⁵⁰ See "Charged Interview—Rebecca Prichard." *Clean Break*. 25 Oct. 2010 <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zXtg8LfQ1IU>>.

⁵¹ Andy Desmond successfully prosecuted Anthony Harrison in 2011 of sex trafficking two teenage girls from Nigeria to the UK and then selling them to traffickers in Greece and Spain. Desmond states, "One of these females I actually had intercepted and rescued as she was about to board the plane to Greece. A great, if not the greatest moment in my 31 year career." The case is significant because it led to a 20-year prison sentence for Harrison and it highlighted how Nigerian traffickers employ juju to control their Nigerian victims.

⁵² Emma Thompson, chair of the Helen Bamber Foundation, was inspired to create an exhibition about sex trafficking when she met a woman who was sex trafficked nearby her own home. She was also inspired by Elena's narrative that she heard from Bamber of Helen Bamber Foundation. Elena is a 19-year old young woman who was sex trafficked from her home of Moldova to Britain. Thompson's exhibition *Journey* consists of seven linked shipping containers, each depicting a different stage of a woman's forced trek into sexual captivity. Different from other art exhibits that ask the spectator to simply observe, *Journey* requires the spectator to immerse himself in the visceral environment of the sex trafficked woman; his senses are confronted by blood stained sheets, the smell of piss, and a transitory encounter with "Stigma", an all-consuming, dark void (Marcia, Stepanek, "Emma Thompson's 'Journey' into Sex Slavery" *NBC News*. 13 Nov. 2009. 12 Mar. 2013 <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/33913920/ns/us_news-giving/>; Tam Vo, "Emma Thompson's 'Journey' Exhibit Spotlights Sex Trafficking." *Huffington Post*. 18 Mar. 2010. 12 Mar. 2013 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/11/09/emma-thompsons-journey-ex_n_351624.html?>.

⁵³ The Poppy Project closed in 2011 after government funding was redirected to the Salvation Army. For more information, see Amelia Hill, “Poppy Project funding redirected to Salvation Army.” *The Guardian* 9 May 2011. 10 July 2012 <<http://www.theguardian.com/law/2011/may/09/poppy-project-funding-salvation-army>>.

⁵⁴ PACT-Ottawa Persons Against the Crime of Trafficking in Humans, “The Walk: a play about trafficked girls” 13 May 2014 <<http://www.pact-ottawa.org/the-walk.html>>.

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