

# ‘For Pretty Frocks’: Upper Class Female Consumerism and the Criminality of Abortions in Newspaper Reports of the Uzielli Case 1898

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## Abstract

In the spring of 1898, Emily Edith Uzielli, a married member of the London elite, underwent an abortion, which was illegal at the time. Mrs Uzielli died as a result of the procedure, and the abortionist, Dr Collins, was accused of murder. This article examines the interconnectivity between conceptions of femininity and ideas on consumerism and the criminality of abortions in late Victorian England. It demonstrates that contemporary discourses of gender and high-powered consumption infiltrated and shaped the popular discourse of the criminality of abortions, which was depicted as closely linked to transgressions of domesticity. Through the exploration of press representations of the Uzielli case, I show that women’s newly acquired liberty of promenading West End streets and shopping centres were paralleled with their alleged freedom to control family size, independently of their husbands, through the means of abortion. Abortion procuring was portrayed as yet another manifestation of such ‘feminine’ consumer practices.

In the spring of 1898, Mrs Emily Edith Uzielli entered Dr William Maunsell Collins’ office at Cadogan Place, London, for the first time. He met with her there at least twice, on 14 March and 15 March. A few days later, at her 7 Buckingham Gate, Westminster home, Mrs Uzielli complained to her maid, Henrietta, that she was feeling unwell. She had severe pain in her back, was shivering and felt cold. She sat down to write a letter, sealed it in an envelope and gave it to Henrietta to arrange to be personally delivered to Dr Collins. Collins visited Mrs Uzielli in her bedroom that afternoon and again, the next day. But Uzielli’s condition was deteriorating fast. Finally, on 25 March, and after much agony, she died. A post-mortem examination performed by Dr Bond, senior surgeon of Westminster Hospital, confirmed that Mrs Uzielli underwent an operation that induced a miscarriage, during which a septic wound at the inner mouth of the uterus was inflicted, which set up the peritonitis causing her death. Collins was soon placed in the dock at the Westminster Police Court and charged with an illegal operation. In June, he was indicted at the Central Criminal Court, the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of Mrs Uzielli. Ultimately, he was found guilty of manslaughter and sent for seven years of penal servitude.

In Victorian England, abortions were illegal. Deaths resulting from abortion procuring were considered homicide under the legal doctrine of felony murder, maintaining that when an individual causes the death of another while committing a felony, he or she would be guilty of murder. The years 1898–1899, in particular, saw a rise in public discussions on the criminality of abortions, in light of a cluster of similar cases that took place within a very short time. The Whitmarsh-Bayly case, which occurred a few months after the death of Uzielli, also involved a doctor who performed an abortion in his clinic in London. The woman who underwent it died as a result of the procedure, and Dr Whitmarsh was charged at the Central Criminal Court under the doctrine of felony murder. In the same year, in Liverpool, while the Whitmarsh proceedings were still going on, Lieutenant Wark, an army man, was charged with wilful murder for aiding his lover to procure an abortion, and during the winter of 1899, an elderly nurse from London, Jane White, was charged with wilful murder for procuring an abortion in a young woman.<sup>1</sup> Also, in 1898–1899, the newspapers dealt extensively with the ‘Chrimes Affair’, a medicine company in London that sold tonics that were falsely marketed as abortifacients and blackmailed the women who ordered the elixirs.<sup>2</sup> All events were intensively discussed in the press and received nationwide attention for a long while. The topic of abortions was, then, very much alive in the public discussion during these months, and must not be ignored.

Yet, most studies on abortions in England examine the period between the interwar years, namely the 1930s, when the Abortion Law Reform Association was founded, or the Abortion Act 1967, which reformed and relaxed the abortion law.<sup>3</sup> Many look at the body of medical literature on the subject, the history of abortion law reform or the reciprocal relationship between the two.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, very little has been written on abortions in the late Victorian era in the last twenty years. The Uzielli case provides an exceptional and fascinating opportunity for a much-needed cultural exploration of a subject that was broadly neglected – popular attitudes in the press towards the social reality of abortions at a time of considerable gender anxiety, both with the rise of the ‘New Woman’ and the trials of Oscar Wilde. But even more importantly, the Uzielli case provides us with an opportunity to explore the overlooked relationship between the representation of abortions and the representation of female consumption and public display, which both were significant foci of attention in the period. In this article, in a first-time, in-depth look at the Uzielli case and its press representations, I demonstrate that the discourses of abortion and upper-middle-class female consumerism, leisure and display overlapped. Popular perceptions of the criminality of abortions were inexorably linked to sexuality, domesticity, family or ideas of public and private.<sup>5</sup> Consistently, many and diverse newspapers presented Uzielli’s decision to abort as arising from her ‘desire not to spoil a London season’ and presented ‘society’ ladies, as a whole, as women who for the ‘sake of gay dresses and fashionable season functions’ opted for abortion.<sup>6</sup> This explanation was greatly influenced by the Collins trial’s summing up of Mr Justice Grantham, during which he stated that he ‘could not understand women of position prostituting themselves to [abortion] ... whether it was to hide their shame or because they belonged to a “smart” set and wanted for another year to wear pretty frocks’.<sup>7</sup>

The late Victorian rise in the public discussion about abortions as a transgression of expectations regarding women’s domestic duties coincided with women’s acquisition of new freedom to roam the public domain, which was tightly connected to their consumer power. And whereas studies point out an improvement in the representation of middle- and upper-class women shoppers at the turn of the century, the Uzielli case demonstrates that in the discussion of abortions, the context of consumerism was utilised to condemn women’s alleged transgressions of domesticity. Here, I demonstrate how Uzielli’s peregrinations around the city with her women friends were depicted as the movements of consumers, and the representation of her abortion was directly related to the subject of women’s presence in the public sphere and to their consumption of commodities. Many press representations of the case depicted women’s newly acquired liberty of promenading West End streets and shopping centres and paralleled it with their alleged freedom to control family size, independently of their husbands, through the means of abortion. While working-class women who opted for abortion were often presented as victims in the press, Mrs Uzielli was presented as a *flâneuse* who maintained her class privilege by procuring an abortion and victimising the male doctor.

The first and the second parts of the article reconstruct the Uzielli story, through cross-checking news reports, as well as the examination of yet-to-be-explored archival materials, such as divorce and matrimonial causes files, proceedings of the central criminal court, *censuses*, birth, marriage, death and parish records. Although the case attracted much public attention at the time, it was ultimately consigned to oblivion and did not receive, to my knowledge, any scholarly attention. Here, I aim to rectify this lacuna and shed some light on the press representation, as well as on the actual life and death of a late Victorian woman who chose not to continue her pregnancy. In the third part of the article, I analyse the rhetorical features of the Uzielli case, through a close reading of various and diverse newspapers that had a large circulation, presented a variety of political inclinations and catered to a relatively socially heterogeneous readership. Such reports speak from and to different class interests, although, as will be later shown, both the working class and the conservative press strongly condemned the female network of access to abortion. Abortion law, of course, was not just about reproduction but was employed to police gender, and as a new way to try to control women's behaviour.<sup>8</sup> Press representations of abortion trials reverberated, on the one hand, and shaped, on the other, contemporary perceptions of the boundaries of femininity. In the Uzielli case, what seemed to be predominantly emphasised was the strong social bonds between women that allowed them to operate outside their familial and marital ties and obligations, in a supposedly characteristically feminine cultural context of high-powered consumption, and upper-middle class leisure. Abortion procuring was portrayed as yet another manifestation of such 'feminine' consumer practices.

But ideas about gender also informed the representation of Dr Collins himself and shaped how his accountability was presented. In the nineteenth century, male physicians increasingly took over women's established medical care and knowledge sources.<sup>9</sup> Many women who wanted to abort had to turn to these male professionals for help. The fourth and final part of the article examines the reversal of traditional Victorian gender roles in press depictions of Dr Collins and suggests that rather than Uzielli, who died as a result of the procedure, it was Collins who was represented as victimised by the woman who sought his assistance in the operation.

## A LONDON SOCIETY LADY IN PREDICAMENT

Emily Edith Uzielli arrived in London with her husband, Douglas, a wealthy stockbroker, in early February 1898. The couple, who were living in Alban Hall, Newmarket, and had two children, Valentine and Audrey, aged nine and eight, moved to their 7 Buckingham Gate home in Westminster in the spring. Mrs Uzielli had many social arrangements planned, but for some time she had been feeling unwell. In the early part of the year, while in Newmarket, she had a severe bout of Influenza that weakened her a great deal. But this time there was something else. She feared she might be pregnant. Emily was a thirty-two-year-old married woman with means, she already had two children and for reasons of her own, she did not want to have another baby. She approached Mr Lucas, the physician who attended the family since 1896, and implored him to help her. But Mr Lucas declined. Abortions, apparently, were very perilous in the late nineteenth century not only to the women who underwent them but also to the abortionists themselves. It first became a statutory felony in 1803, under the Lord Ellenborough's Act. The Lord Ellenborough's Act distinguished between early and late-term abortion, as only the latter was considered to be 'murder'.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, unless the woman died as a result of the abortion, there were no documented executions for it.<sup>11</sup> The Offences Against the Person Act 1861 further regulated the law, as abortionists became liable to harsher sentences, although most prosecutions occurred when the woman died or became gravely ill as a result of the attempted abortion.<sup>12</sup> During the 1890s, the press often told of such cases.

In March 1896, John Hindson, a commercial traveller, was sentenced to death for murder after assisting his pregnant girlfriend to abort. The young woman died as a result of the procedure and Hindson's death penalty was later commuted. Throughout the trial, he was described in the press in an extremely negative way. In 1895, a midwife from Aston was indicted for the death of two women

whom she allegedly assisted in aborting. During the 1890s, the medical press continually asserted that abortion procuring was on the rise, and since the 1860's, it was often mentioned in newspapers concerning the debate on the 'flight from maternity'.<sup>13</sup> At a time when *coitus interruptus* was the most common method of contraception, alongside the 'safe' period, infanticide and abortion were a means for controlling family size.<sup>14</sup> And in the late nineteenth century, when infanticide received significantly less public attention, abortion replaced it as a subject of concern.<sup>15</sup>

Mr Lucas, then, was reluctant to help Emily. She confided in her close friend, Mrs Mildred Hope, and told her about her predicament. Hope, who was at least twice in the past attended by a Dr Collins, suggested that she would write to him and arrange for an appointment. A meeting was scheduled for Monday, 14 March and Mrs Hope assured her friend that she would accompany her to the doctor's office.

### **'There is always Dr. Collins'**

Dr William Maunsell Collins was born in 1844 in Cork, studied medicine at the Royal University of Ireland, and ultimately moved to London, where he became an assistant surgeon in 1866. He worked at St. Andrew's hospital and then opened a private medical practice in his 10 Cadogan Place house in Chelsea, where he was residing with his wife and five children. Around that time, Collins' life took a turn for the worst. His medical registry was struck off in 1892 after being convicted at the Central Criminal Court for forging the name of Captain Charles W. Selwyn to a promissory note for £1,500. At court, Dr Collins pleaded guilty, and although several reputable witnesses came forward to attest to his good character, and the Queen's Counsel, Sir W. T. Charley, stated that at the time the offense was committed, he was, due to overwork, in a state of mind that bordered on temporary insanity, he was nonetheless convicted of a felony. Still, he continued to practice medicine and it was, most likely, thereupon that he gained a reputation in certain circles of being a professional abortionist of society ladies. The *British Medical Journal* claimed that the phrase: 'there is always Dr. Collins' became an adage amongst women of the London upper-middle class in the years before Uzielli's demise.<sup>16</sup> In June 1895, persistent rumours suggested that a forty-two-year-old widow from Grosvenor Square, who allegedly died of heart disease, was treated by Dr Collins before her demise. Mrs Campbell Scott's body was exhumed, and a *post-mortem* was conducted to determine the cause of death.<sup>17</sup> The verdict of the jury was that the deceased suffered from severe peritonitis brought on by an 'illegal operation'. It was impossible, however, according to the jury, to determine who performed the surgical procedure.<sup>18</sup> Dr Collins was off the hook, although following the Campbell Scott case his house had been frequently watched by policemen. And then, three years later, on 14 March 1898, Mrs Uzielli entered his office at Cadogan Place.

Earlier that day she met with her sister-in-law, Douglas' sister, Mrs Mable Bush, and told her over lunch that she was pregnant. She asked her if she had ever heard of Dr Collins, whom she admitted she was going to see that afternoon. Mrs Uzielli hoped, so she had told Mable, that he was not 'risky'. After all, she said, so it was aptly reported in conservative newspapers such as the *Globe* and *London St. James Gazette*, she should not like a scandal.<sup>19</sup>

## **THE SCANDAL: THE ABORTION/SOCIAL RANK DISCOURSE**

The story of the Uzielli case was in many ways a story, as told by the press, which tethered together ideas about abortion and new patterns of female consumption and public display. Looking at the press' description of Emily's last days, it is obvious that what characterises reports in diverse newspapers such as the conservative *Morning Post* and *London St. James Gazette*, the radical *Reynolds's Newspaper* and the liberal *Pall Mall Gazette* is their emphasis on her leisure activities, such as shopping, going to the theatre and going out for lunch.<sup>20</sup> Both in newspapers that chiefly catered for working-class and lower-middle-class readerships, and in newspapers that catered for a wealthier audi-

ence, she was portrayed as promenading, by herself and with women friends, West End streets that were centres of high-powered consumption, affluent living and high-class retail commerce services.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the West End of London, that is, the area between the city and the royal palaces of Westminster that had already come to symbolise the crest of residential prestige and an elite urban space, became a site of commercial culture and a 'pleasure capital'.<sup>21</sup> It was increasingly perceived as not merely a site of leisure and prosperity but also as a site of mass consumption. From the latter part of the nineteenth century onward, consumption became increasingly vital to Britain's industrial capitalist economy, as dramatic transformations in consumer practices occurred. As Thomas Richards put it, commodity became the 'one subject of mass culture, the centerpiece of everyday life, the focal point of all representations, the dead center of the modern world'.<sup>22</sup> The initiation and expansion of window displays, lit by gaslight, and the rise of the department store contributed to a new understanding of consumption, as the fulfilment of individual desire, rather than as the fulfilment of individual need. Shopping became to be conceived as a leisure activity.<sup>23</sup> Whereas throughout the nineteenth century consumer activity was associated with femininity and gender ideology, during the end of the nineteenth century and following the shifts in consuming practices and perceptions of consumerism described above, notions of women as consumers were reshaped. In the 1850s and 1860s, middle-class women shoppers were often condemned for violating the 'separate spheres' ideology, an assertion that each gender has its appropriate sphere of duties, authority and activities, according to its 'natural', 'intrinsic' qualities. Women were assigned to the private, domestic realm whereas men were assigned to the public. From the latter part of the nineteenth century onward, middle-class women shoppers were increasingly strolling city streets for the sake of engaging in commerce activity, and thus were visibly and actively participating in the public sphere. This was often perceived as a transgression of 'one of the central tenets of domestic ideology, the belief that female moral virtue sprang from her detachment from the marketplace'.<sup>24</sup> Some contemporary commentators even associated, as Erika Rappaport notes, between women consumers and prostitutes.<sup>25</sup> Both promenaded urban areas, such as London's West End, which thrived with shopping districts as well as with prostitution. In a society where women's public appearance was coded as sexual, and anxieties about the disintegration of boundaries between public and private, respectable and immoral loomed large, the 'desire' to consume was sometimes perceived as leading women into prostitution.<sup>26</sup> Arguably, by the 1880s women's identification with consumption was increasingly celebrated as a manifestation of a healthy urban economy rather than condemned.<sup>27</sup> The department stores, which industrialised consumption, were perceived as urban spaces in which middle and upper-class women could stroll safely, pleurably, and respectably.<sup>28</sup> But at the same time, female consumption was often depicted as hysteria, and women, as prototypical consumers, were perceived as more prone to advertisement manipulation and quacks because of their alleged tendency to 'functional nervous disorders', as a certain expert in the *British Medical Journal* argued.<sup>29</sup>

The 1890s saw a profusion of representations in the periodical literature denouncing the allegedly highly sexualised, emancipated, modern woman, who was more than often perceived as a specific product of the middle and upper classes.<sup>30</sup> One of the defining features of the discourse on the new woman was the view that they pose a threat to the institution of marriage, and toward the end of the nineteenth century, evidently, upper-middle-class married women resorted to abortion more than previously.<sup>31</sup> The contemporary medico-scientific discourse on the new woman focused chiefly on reproductive issues. In 1895, during the Mrs Campbell Scott affair, where rumours suggested that she died as a result of an abortion, Dr Collins claimed at the inquest that she died as a result of excessive bicycle riding, another liberating exercise that became one of the tags of the new woman, which many conservative medical experts saw as a practice endangering women's health and the reproductive organs.<sup>32</sup> In a *Norfolk Chronicle* piece, however, the severity of the case was minimised, perhaps even ridiculed, when it was presented in the weekly column 'Ladies Chit Chat' as yet another piece of frivolous gossip, specially designated for women, alongside updates about the latest hat trend.<sup>33</sup> But the medico-scientific discourse also focused on the new woman's alleged refusal of maternity.<sup>34</sup> In the late nineteenth century, Britain faced a decline in fertility, and the average family size shrunk, which built up anxieties about racial and national degeneracy and depopulation. The quality and quantity of

the future population became a central concern to doctors and scientific (as well as pseudo-scientific) experts. One of the proposed solutions for this alleged decline in national stock came from eugenics – a term coined by Francis Galton to describe a social, political and pseudo-scientific enterprise designed to manipulate heredity and breeding for the purpose of producing allegedly ‘better’ people through the increasing of the fertility of those considered to be socially valuable while eliminating those who were considered to be biologically inferior. Wealthy, healthy, beautiful women like Mrs Uzielli were expected by some contemporaries not to limit the size of their families, for the sake of the nation and the empire.<sup>35</sup> When middle and upper-class women did limit the size of their families, explanations and rationalisations were often suggested in the press. A popular narrative was that women with means were increasingly seeking comfort and prosperity, ‘the life of social dissipation’ as was argued in a *Times* article, and thus, were pursuing to reduce family size.<sup>36</sup> Thus, Uzielli’s decision to abort was often described as a desire to ‘escape the honorable duties of maternity’, which existed in many ‘wives and mothers who pursue a “butterfly” existence to the neglect of the most important duties of womanhood’.<sup>37</sup>

Late Victorian concerns about upper-middle-class femininity were a particular focus of attention in the period and press representations of the Uzielli case constantly highlighted her considerable wealth. Some papers, specifically liberal papers, such as the *Speaker* and *The London Daily News*, stressed that Uzielli’s wealth and status came to her through her marriage to her husband, Douglas, whom the latter described as a ‘gentleman of considerable means’.<sup>38</sup> The Uziellis, however, had an especially complex social background, which perhaps made them even more prone to harsh criticism. Douglas was born in Highbury, London, but his family came from Modena, Italy, and was Jewish in origin, as well as wealthy. His great-great-grandfather, Judah Uzielli, was a notary who converted to Anglicanism and became the Foreign Secretary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews. One of his sons, Mathew Uzielli, became an influential railway financier during the railway boom, his estate being £200,000.<sup>39</sup> Douglas’ grandfather, Clement Uzielli, also Judah’s son, was a stockbroker, and his son, Edward, Douglas’ father, became involved, perhaps unwittingly, in an 1864 fraud and trademark suit.<sup>40</sup> Douglas, a stockbroker as well, invested in South Africa and made a fortune during the Kaffir boom in the mid-1890s. Kaffir was the term used on the London Stock Exchange for Rand gold mining shares, which expanded dramatically during these years, and the number of business transactions became unprecedented. Contemporary newspapers often described the situation and stockbrokers in particular as ‘mad’, ‘frantic’ or ‘feverish’.<sup>41</sup> The Uziellis, then, became almost overnight nouveau riche, and ‘entered society’, as one journal put it, while securing a ‘striking social success’.<sup>42</sup> Newspapers started to announce when the couple would arrive in London for the season, and many reports highlighted Mrs Uzielli’s charm as a hostess.<sup>43</sup>

Following her death, many local newspapers dubbed the case as a ‘fashionable scandal’ or a ‘West-End Sensation’, highlighting the alleged allure of high society.<sup>44</sup> Even the trial itself was sometimes described as a high society event, noting that the audience in the courtroom included many ‘fashionably dressed ladies’. In fact, in many ways, the trial was presented as a commodity consumed by upper-middle-class women. Perhaps tellingly, a letter to the editor in *Reynold’s Newspaper* compared the Uzielli ‘scandal’ to that of the Hooley scandal, and claimed that it caused an even greater, more ‘rude’ shock to the ‘fashionable world’.<sup>45</sup> Ernest Terah Hooley was a stockbroker and company promoter, but also a financial fraudster who gained a lot of influence (and money) in the late nineteenth century until he was exposed and bankrupted. He, too, rose to extraordinary wealth (much more than the Uziellis) and although a son of a lacemaker, socialised with the aristocracy.<sup>46</sup> Was this text suggesting that Mrs Uzielli, as an example of ‘criminality in smart society’ was exposed as a fraud?<sup>47</sup> The Uziellis earned a degree of acceptance to high society through lavish hospitality but they were located at the fringes of it. Years after his wife’s death, however, Douglas Uzielli continued to appear regularly on various ‘court and society’ newspaper columns, although he never remarried and attended all events by himself.

As Jill Rappoport argues, upper-middle-class women’s growing consumption of commodities in the late Victorian era sparked anxieties about ‘gluttonous women with insatiable appetites’. Women were increasingly depicted as extravagant economic consumers. The framing of economic desires,

argues Rappoport, was oftentimes represented in physical terms in popular culture, through attention to women's reproductive output.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, in press representations of the Uzielli case, gender ideology, ideas on consumption, and femininity were inexorably connected and influenced one another. Upper-middle-class Women's mutual pastime in shopping was depicted in press representations of the Uzielli case as connected to Emily's abortion and seemed to utilise the identification of women with consumerism as a means for condemnation. Whether the representation of the incorporation of the meeting with Dr Collins into an alleged schedule of upper-middle class 'female' leisure activities was suggestive of an intention to keep the meeting with him discrete, or whether it was suggestive of what might have been perceived by the two women as an integral part of their pastime together, such descriptions tied together consumer culture, femininity and abortion and presented them as different manifestations of 'dangerous' transgressions of domesticity. 'Shopping' was presented in these instances as a practice that allowed women to assert control over their bodies, and the 'feminine' vice of fashion and consumerism became synonymous with the sin of abortion.

The discussion of the extent of a husband's control of his wife's body was particularly intense and alive at the time of the Uzielli case. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1878 allowed women who were beaten by their husbands to get a separation order from a local magistrate, and in 1891, in the Regina V. Jackson case, the court decided that a husband had no right to imprison his wife against her will, since a 'wife's right to bodily autonomy had to include the right to leave a husband'.<sup>49</sup> Apparently, and this was not discussed at all in the press, Emily attempted to divorce her husband in 1894. In her divorce petition, she unveiled a long and hard record of physical abuse as well as repetitive incidents of infidelities from her husband's side. The first incident was dated to the year they were married, 1888. On many occasions, he struck her, was violent towards her, or locked her in a room. The most brutal violent incident had occurred in August 1893, at Half Moon Street in London, where he hit her and threatened to cut her throat with a knife he was holding in his hand. Ultimately, the case was struck out since, for some reason, Emily failed to appear in court.<sup>50</sup> The abusive treatment Emily received from her husband may perhaps explain why she did not want to bear him any more children.<sup>51</sup> Although she did disclose to him the fact that she might be pregnant, it seems that she did not let him in on her intentions to terminate the pregnancy. She did, however, consult with many of her women friends.

### **'The Notorious Mrs. Uzielli': shopping, and female agency**

Shopping, suggests Rachel Bowlby, was the 'new bourgeois leisure activity'.<sup>52</sup> And Krista Lysack demonstrates how late nineteenth-century shopping provided women with agency as well as opportunities to engage in 'subversive' behaviours.<sup>53</sup> Newspaper reports on the Uzielli case constantly emphasised the network of collaboration and cooperation between women, within a gender hierarchy in a society where abortions were illegal and women were not expected to formally control their fertility and decide upon family size.<sup>54</sup> They presented shopping and the newly acquired opportunity for respectable women to roam west-end streets as what facilitated these networks to form and prosper. Also, both scholars and contemporaries perceived abortion as a predominantly working-class phenomenon and often emphasised the important role that other women, namely sisters, and sisters-in-law, played in recommending abortionists to their friends in need.<sup>55</sup> The Uzielli case demonstrates that, at least in the way the press represented it, such networking between women prevailed outside the working classes and sometimes existed among the urban upper classes. Since both Collins and his patients dreaded the possibility of being exposed in their illicit engagement, a former patient would personally contact him to introduce an acquaintance who needed his services, thus creating an ever-expanding referral web of confidants that was not merely gendered but also class restricted. It was customary for the women to arrive to their first appointments with Collins in pairs, as the newly introduced patient would be accompanied by a 'veteran', and the press very often presented this process as a cover-up.<sup>56</sup>

Mrs Uzielli was introduced to Dr Collins by her friend, Mildred Henrietta Hope. Hope admitted, so it was noted in the *Times*, that she was treated twice in the past by Dr Collins, allegedly for typhoid fever.<sup>57</sup> She was the one to accompany Mrs Uzielli to the 10 Cadogan clinic on 14 March. At the time,

so it was mentioned in numerous reports, Mrs Hope and her husband were staying with the Uziellis at their Buckingham Gate house. *Reynolds's Newspaper* informed its readers, in a column entitled *Our Aristocracy* that they went by carriage, after lunch, and dismissed it at Woolland's Department Store at Knightsbridge, presumably for keeping discrete.<sup>58</sup> Woolland's, specialising in drapery, household linens, soft furnishings, outfitting, haberdashery and accessories, enjoyed great success since its establishment in 1869. By 1892, the store had taken over the entire eastern half of Lowndes Terrace. During the nineteenth century, Knightsbridge became one of the most fashionable areas of the West End, facilitated by the removal of a large portion of a wall that formerly separated it from Hyde Park, as well as the erection of Rutland Gate in the 1870s, which greatly improved the area. By the turn of the century, Knightsbridge and its clientele had become high-class, even aristocratic.<sup>59</sup> No doubt, this piece accentuated Uzielli's high social rank and wealth. A 0.3-mile distance from their destination, they continued by foot, a ten minutes' walk. The *Reynolds's Newspaper* piece went on to describe how the two women sat together in the waiting room until Dr Collins came in and exchanged pleasantries with Mrs Hope. A few days earlier, while at Chesterfield Gardens, she wrote to him and asked if he would be willing to see her friend. He then invited Mrs Uzielli into his office, where she stayed for a few minutes. The *London Daily News* noted that for the first meeting, Dr Collins charged two Guineas.<sup>60</sup> The next day, she returned to see him and was again accompanied by Mrs Hope. Before arriving at the practice, so *The Times* informed its readers, they went shopping together as well as to the theatre.<sup>61</sup> This time the meeting took longer (for all subsequent meetings, it was reported in various newspapers, Collins charged an additional Guinea) and the women drove back home together in a hansom. In many newspaper reports, abortion was branded as a 'social evil' that was dangerously expanding amongst upper-class women. In these instances, it was not merely Mrs Uzielli who was presented as corrupt, but 'society' ladies, as a whole, who were condemned. Local Newspapers such as the *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, and the *Shipley Times Express* presented the case as 'another society evil' and as a 'new social malady', respectively.<sup>62</sup> The *Newcastle Courant* stated that 'one dark feature about the Uzielli case is that it has litted a corner of the curtain which bides a social malady that few dreamed of'.<sup>63</sup> London-based *Reynolds's Newspaper* readers were told that the Uzielli case was by no means an isolated example of 'criminality in smart society', and that:

... those who know what goes on behind the scenes amongst women of high rank and wealth have been proclaiming on the house-tops that practices of the Collins type are quite common-place occurrences ... the West-end is full of private hospitals and nursing homes established mainly for these practices'.<sup>64</sup>

While in the 1820s and 1830s medical authorities may have believed that abortions were a relatively rare occurrence, and pregnant women were believed to be more likely to attempt the act themselves, or with the aid of a friend or lover, it is obvious from many of the Uzielli story reports that this was not the case in the 1890s.<sup>65</sup> Abortion and the existence of professional abortionists were believed to be widespread, and an integral part of 'smart' society. As one paper put it: '[it was] known to all men and women about town'.<sup>66</sup>

The trope of such 'knowledge' on abortion and abortionists was used in many newspaper reports that emphasised the fact that Mrs Uzielli also confided in her maid, Henrietta Muller, and told her she was pregnant.<sup>67</sup> Thirty-year-old Henrietta was born in Alsace and before she came to work for the Uziellis she had worked for a family in Somerset.<sup>68</sup> The two spoke between them about the matter discretely, in French, and some newspapers suggested that Henrietta had taken a major part in helping Uzielli with her attempts to procure abortion, before and following her becoming a patient of Dr Collins.<sup>69</sup> *The London Daily News* described in detail how Henrietta was given elaborate instructions as to the number of times a day and quantity of miscarriage-inducing pills that her mistress must take, and how she was also helping Uzielli with an elixir she was apparently drinking, in the hope of miscarrying. After seeing Dr Collins for the first time, it was mentioned in the *Daily News*, Uzielli gave Henrietta certain instructions as to how to prepare her bedroom. When she came back home the maid helped her undress and saw some evidence of the medical procedure her mistress had undergone.



Uzielli revealed to her that she had had an operation. Although a maid, then, Henrietta was presented in this case as part of the group of women who banded together to create a network of access to abortion. In some papers, however, it was subtly suggested that Uzielli thought of her servants as her property. The radical and wide circulating *Reynolds's Newspaper*, which had a police section that regularly highlighted crimes that were perpetrated by aristocrats, noted that on one occasion, Uzielli screamed with pain while Collins was attending her at her house.<sup>70</sup> Collins bid her to keep quiet so that the servants would not hear her, and Uzielli allegedly lashed at him, saying that she did not care if they knew. In any case, they understand very well what was going on. After all, she cried, 'I have a French chef downstairs and a French maid'.<sup>71</sup> This description, which utilised the verb 'have' pertaining to the relationship between Uzielli and her domestic service, and was repeated in many newspapers outside London, may be read as a society lady's boasting about the 'quality' of her French 'commodity', knowledgeable about the ways of the world. Abortion itself was sometimes understood as commodity that could be shopped for and purchased by elite women, as Uzielli's transaction with the abortionist, Dr Collins, was accentuated, and the fees for the procedure were often reported and outlined. The *London Daily News* particularly emphasised the thirty Guineas fee Collins charged for the operation, thus underlining Uzielli's role as a consumer in her relationship with Collins, and the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* noted that 'the amount of his fee would indicate that he must have had a pretty lucrative practice'. The *Yorkshire Evening Press* noted that a bank clerk cashed a cheque for £31, which Mrs Uzielli paid to Dr Collins, and that during the three months period prior to her death, she drew £3,000 from her banking account, a large portion of which was for 'household expenses'.<sup>72</sup>

Another friend with whom the press suggested Mrs Uzielli seemed to confide with was Mrs Hall, to whom she wrote while the latter was at Pau. Mrs Uzielli told her she was going to see Dr Collins, but Hall advised her against it, maintaining that 'such a procedure was dangerous'.<sup>73</sup> Apparently, according to a testimony given by one of the nurses who attended Emily, it was Mrs Hall whom Emily, when realising how grave her condition was, wished to see. She did not, however, according to *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, with its lower class, extensive readership, ask to see her children or a clergyman.<sup>74</sup> Clearly, the circle of women friends was represented as not merely instrumental in coping with the undesired pregnancy, and as helping and advising each other independently of the official opinions of the legal and medical establishments, but also as supporting Emily through her illness and until her death. Moreover, as the report in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* suggested, in noting that on her deathbed, Uzielli preferred to see her friend rather than her husband, children, or a clergyman – such bonds functioned as an alternative to family and were represented as transgressions of the traditional, 'divine' Victorian role of women as mothers.

Many of the Uzielli case press representations proposed a strong female agency practiced through an exclusively female association, designed for mutual support and, possibly, as an alternative to marital support and association. At a time of crises of gender and sexuality, images of elite femininity were not perceived as merely undermining the institution of marriage, and perhaps even heterosexual relations, but also of patriarchal authority and male power.<sup>75</sup> In fact, the view of Collins as being used and abused by Uzielli was prevalent in many reports.

## A REVERSAL OF ROLES: THE KILLER AS VICTIM

Rather than Uzielli, who died as a result of the procedure, it was Dr Collins who was represented in many newspaper reports as a suffering victim. Apparently, during the Old Bailey proceedings, he exhibited exceptionally nervous behaviour. This was appealing to the press, which readily seized the opportunity to present a courtroom drama and devoted large portions of the articles concerning the story to describe in detail his conduct and appearance, thus constructing Collins not merely as pathetic and pitiful but also, to a great extent, as the story's tormented hero. Ultimately, Collins' anxious demeanour culminated in what was, presumably, a severe nervous breakdown during the verdict and sentencing. Some reports stressed his somewhat eccentric behaviour and presented

him as an obsessive neurotic, which fostered, either deliberately or not, a disagreeable image of Collins.<sup>76</sup>

This, however, was not the case in most accounts, which utilised his court performance to promote the sympathy of the readers. *London's Daily News*, in particular, emphasised Collins' feeble physical appearance. On 2 July, it was noted that 'the prisoner presented an appearance indicative of the greatest physical weakness, and it required all the fortitude he could summon to stand up'.<sup>77</sup>

And on 4 July:

The prisoner still presented a shockingly haggard appearance ... he leant back on his chair and closed his eyes, his face being half hidden by the handkerchief which he continually held before him ... the prisoner was led, more like a man in a dream, to the front of the dock ... his pallid face and sunken eyes, his firmly closed lips and clenched hands all betokened the terrible mental anguish that he was undergoing?<sup>78</sup>

This last account feminises Collins as part of the tactic to arouse empathy and, to an extent, present him as a victim of the situation. The description of him holding a handkerchief to his face, thus partially concealing himself from sight relies heavily on the iconography of femininity. It even suggests a hint of female sexuality, thus marking Collins not merely as unthreatening but also as alluring. The description of him being passively led to the dock, 'like a man in a dream' further reinforces his eroticisation as it illustrates to the readers who as it were became spectators by proxy of the theatre of court, Collins' yielding motion and gentle physicality.

This, indeed, is an intriguing reversal of traditional Victorian gender roles, since Collins was accused of murder by performing an illegal gynaecological surgical procedure on a woman, thus allegedly personifying the epitome of male violent penetration. Other reports, such as in the 2 July *London Standard*, accentuated his heightened vulnerability and emotionalism as a marker of femininity:

Dr. Collins was visibly affected by Mr. Gill's touching [speech] ... and wept bitterly ... As Mr. Gill was leaving the court, Dr. Collins leant over the dock, and grasping his hand, shook it warmly, and with tears in his eyes thanked him for his able and earnest efforts in his behalf.<sup>79</sup>

The accounts of Collins' breakdown in court during the verdict were especially elaborate and many assumed a sensational tone. Such was the case in a *Pall Mall Gazette*, from 29 June:

Dr. Collins ... attempted to rise and then sank heavily into his chair, groaning piteously. One of the warders hurried to his assistance, but the prisoner continued to moan, and his face assumed a ghastly hue. The judge at once called the prisoner doctor, but Dr. Stivens and Mr. Bond ... reached the prisoner just in time to save him from falling to the ground. They laid him on the floor and brandy was sent for. This was forced down his throat.<sup>80</sup>

As well as in the *Morning Post*, from 30 June:

the sudden collapse of the prisoner, who ... was overcome with an epileptic seizure ... his countenance was ashen hued, and his general health seemed much more impaired ... When the collapse came it was extremely painful to the onlookers ... He gave utterance to gurgling, suffocating sounds and struggled violently.<sup>81</sup>

The tone of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and that of the *Morning Post* are similarly sensational, although the latter is more restrained, as it attempted to maintain an appropriate tenor. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, founded in 1865, was printed on good paper and became a leading liberal paper. Its contributors were

often some of the most esteemed writers and critics of the era. In the 1880s when W. T. Stead took over as editor, he cultivated components of 'new journalism'. During his editorship, the paper's circulation rose to 12,000.<sup>82</sup> In the 1880s, under Algernon Borthwick's editorship, *The Morning Post's* conservative, imperialist tone was fortified. During that time its cost was reduced to 1d.<sup>83</sup> Both supplied their readers with a most detailed account of what Collins' collapse looked like and how it sounded. *The Pall Mall Gazette* further deepened the reversal of gender roles and 'professional' roles, as it emphasised that Collins was attended by two physicians, thus transforming his position, even if momentarily, from that of a doctor to that of a passive patient.<sup>84</sup> Two pieces in the *British Medical Journal* highlighted the fact that Collins was at that point an unregistered doctor and described him as unprofessional. One explained Uzielli's death as a result, amongst other things, of Collins' 'oversight', resulting from the fact that he had to work alone, in secrecy, and used 'imperfect precautions'.<sup>85</sup> The other protested about the 'laxity of the law' regarding unregistered doctors:

If a solicitor is struck off the rolls he is ipso facto prohibited from acting as a solicitor, and severe penalties exist and are enforced against any man who ventures to evade the prohibition. If the certificate of the master of a merchant ship is withdrawn or suspended he cannot follow his calling. But if a medical man is struck off the Register he can and does go on practicing.<sup>86</sup>

The late nineteenth century was the time when the modern medical profession emerged, with its uniform standards of education and ethics. Medical practitioners had to have legally-defined qualifications to be registered by the General Medical Council.<sup>87</sup> Just before the Uzielli case broke out, a friend of Collins' was accused by the General Council of Medical Education and Registration of 'covering' him, inter alia by providing death certificates.<sup>88</sup> The representation of Collins as physically meek, emotional, and, to an extent, neurotic and hysterical constructed him as not merely unprofessional but also as feminine and passive. This image helped create a clear demarcation between 'real' physicians, as were the doctors who were attending him at court, and unprofessional men. But this image also helped present him as a victim rather than as a perpetrator of murder. Such was the case in a 3 July *Reynolds's Newspaper* piece:

When [Collins] came up those dreadful steps which led from the cells below he cast an anxious look around the court ... He paled visibly when the Attorney General rose to open the case ... on being called upon to plead 'guilty' or 'not guilty', the prisoner, clutching nervously at the dock, shook his head, but the words 'not guilty' could only be imagined, not heard, in court.<sup>89</sup>

This last segment of the text is indicative of how Collins was presented in the press throughout the last stages of his trial. Indeed, as Angus McLaren argues, referring to Granville-Barker's 1906 play *Waste*: 'what appears to have been the feelings of many physicians who saw themselves as being somehow "victimized" by women demanding their assistance in an operation that the profession refused to countenance'.<sup>90</sup> The interpretations of two male professional commentators on the case, the Judge, Mr Justice Grantham and an anonymous writer in *The Lancet*, however, went as far as to blatantly point a guilty finger towards Mrs Uzielli herself. As mentioned earlier in this article, in his summing, Mr Justice Grantham stated that he

could not understand women of position prostituting themselves to such an operation. Whether it was to hide their shame or because they belonged to a 'smart' set and wanted for another year to wear pretty frocks ... no matter whether they paid £30 or £300 they were equally guilty with the poor working girl who paid her 10s.<sup>91</sup>

It is worthwhile, I believe, to delve into this quote once more and to pay special attention to it, since it is particularly revealing. It is worth noticing Mr Justice Grantham's choice of words, in which,

when describing the decision to abort, used the verb ‘prostituting’. Women belonging to a ‘smart’ set, such that is engaged in consumerism in the marketplace, such that desires certain commodities, ‘pretty frocks’, for instance, if attempting to control family size using abortion, are depicted as prostitutes. But prostitutes were often seen as commodity, and here, the identification of women with consumerism was emphasised. The judge presented Uzielli’s motivation for undergoing an abortion as vain and highlighted the price she paid for that commodity. In this text, the ‘feminine’ vice of consumerism becomes sexualised, and the desire to consume is presented as synonymous with promiscuity. Similar attitudes were expressed in *The Lancet* and the *British Medical Journal*. In the *Lancet*, however, Collins was described as a vile murderer who had betrayed his profession. The writer expressed his bewilderment at the jury’s recommendation for mercy and concluded that when a physician procures an abortion, ‘constructive murder it undoubtedly is and legally it is murder’.<sup>92</sup> Finally, the writer praised Mr Justice Grantham’s words on Uzielli and reverberated them:

Though there is little to be said in the extenuation of the guilt in the case of single women whose character and livelihood might be jeopardized by the fact of maternity, there is absolutely nothing to lessen the offense of those who, whilst indulging in marital privileges, are so lost to all sense of shame that merely for the sake of fashionable engagements they will sacrifice their honour and their lives. They bring disgrace on the hallowed names of wife and mother.<sup>93</sup>

A *Musselburgh News* piece went as far as to express a desire that ‘not only the doctor, but the fashionable ladies who employ him, may find their way for a few years to service in Wormwood Scrubs’.<sup>94</sup> Interestingly, both in the Whitmarsh case and in the Lieutenant Wark case, which followed the Uzielli case in a mere few months, gender relations were represented quite differently. The women who died as a result of the abortions were lower middle class, and in both cases, the press presented them as victims who were seduced by middle-class men and were passively led to their doom. Whereas in the Lieutenant Wark case he was accused of aiding his lover with procuring abortion and was portrayed as morally dubious, in the Whitmarsh case it was not the physician but rather the pregnant woman’s lover, Edward Nobrega who was portrayed as accountable for the victim’s death. Many of the press accounts of the Whitmarsh case presented Alice Bayley, the woman who died after undergoing an abortion, as a virtuous, simple, lower-middle-class girl who was exploited by a villainous man. Nobrega, who was often depicted as a slick city swindler who led Alice astray, took advantage of her, and persuaded her to have an abortion, was presented as responsible for her terrible fate. As one newspaper summed it up: ‘the practical man of affairs will never find it in himself to condemn Bayley as severely as Mrs Uzielli, or even to compare the guilt of the unhappy young woman’. What is especially interesting here is that in both cases class, or rather, the social background of the woman who underwent the abortion, seems to become an acid test for her accountability. If the woman seeking abortion is a woman of means, she is automatically labelled as morally condemned for wishing to control family size. Moreover, for a woman of means, there can only be one motivation for abortion, which is ‘for the sake of fashionable engagements’.<sup>95</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

‘Of all woman’s rights surely the first and most obvious is the right to say how many times she shall be subjected to the glorious but perilous ordeal of childbirth’, it was stated in Stead’s *Review of Reviews* in 1904, six years following Uzielli’s death.<sup>96</sup> And in Granville Barker’s 1907 play ‘*Waste*’, in which Amy O’Connell, a married, upper-middle-class woman opts for backstreet abortion and dies as a result of the procedure, her character utters the poignant lines: ‘There’s no child because I haven’t chosen there shall be and there shan’t be because I don’t choose’. Those were already the days of the early stages of the militant suffragette struggle, and Edwardian drama often took up progressive attitudes to sexual and social issues, which were seen as inexorably linked. No doubt, in the late long nineteenth

century, the subject of women's control over their reproductive capacities was closely connected to wider contemporary debates about women's place in society and the family, at a critical transitional point in their history. Against this backdrop, just as late Victorian middle- and upper-class women consumers were often depicted as having insatiable appetites for consumption, the idea of women having sexual appetites that have nothing to do with reproduction appeared in some contemporary texts. Abortions amongst women of the privileged classes, who were supposedly driven to terminate their pregnancy because of their desire for 'pretty frocks' and 'fashionable engagements', were perceived in the newspapers as 'waste'.<sup>97</sup> As this article has shown, in press representations of the Uzielli case, the cultural and social discourses of abortion and female consumerism overlapped. Abortion was sometimes understood as a vehicle, or indeed, a currency, for consuming desires. Radical, liberal, and conservative newspapers condemned the banding together of upper-middle-class women to create a network of access to abortion.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Unit of Gender Equality at Beit Berl College for supporting this research.

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## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Angus McLaren, 'Abortion in England 1890–1914', *Victorian Studies* 20 (1977), pp. 379–400.
- <sup>3</sup> Barbara Brooks, *Abortion in England 1900–1967* (London: Croom Helm, 1988); Stephen Brooke, 'A New World for Women?' Abortion Law Reform in Britain During the 1930s', *The American Historical Review* 106 (2001), pp. 431–59.
- <sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Rosemary Elliot, 'Miscarriage, Abortion or Criminal Feticide: Understandings of Early Pregnancy Loss in Britain, 1900–1950', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 47 (2014), pp. 248–56; Brooks, *Abortion in England*; John Keown, *Abortion, Doctors and the Law: Some Aspects of the Legal Regulation of Abortion in England from 1803 to 1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- <sup>5</sup> Brooke, 'A New World for Women?', p. 433.
- <sup>6</sup> *The Speaker* Vol. 18, 1898, p. 37; *Wellington Journal*, 9 July 1898, p. 3.
- <sup>7</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 July 1899, p. 8.
- <sup>8</sup> Angus McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870–1930* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), p. 72.
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- <sup>10</sup> Warren C. Robinson, 'Population Policy in Early Victorian England', *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de Démographie* 18 (2002), p. 165.
- <sup>11</sup> R. Sauer, 'Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Population Studies* 32 (1978), p. 85.
- <sup>12</sup> McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity*.
- <sup>13</sup> Patricia Knight, 'Women and Abortion in Victorian and Edwardian England', *History Workshop Journal* 4 (1977), p. 57.
- <sup>14</sup> McLaren, 'Abortion in England 1890–1914', p. 379; Knight, 'Women and Abortion', p. 58.
- <sup>15</sup> Sauer, 'Infanticide and Abortion', p. 91.
- <sup>16</sup> 'The Collins Case'. *The British Medical Journal* 2 (1898), p. 103.
- <sup>17</sup> *The Newsletter of the British Jewry Mailing List*, 14 August 2007/30 Av 5767.
- <sup>18</sup> See, for instance, *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXV, Issue 10848, 3 September 1898, p. 2.
- <sup>19</sup> *The Globe*, 23 April 1898, p. 5; *London St. James Gazette*, 25 April 1898, p. 7.
- <sup>20</sup> See, for instance, *The Morning Post*, 4 April 1898, p. 7; See, for instance, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 April 1898, p. 5; See, for instance, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 April 1898, p. 7.
- <sup>21</sup> See, for instance, Judith R. Walkowitz, 'Going Public: Shopping, Street Harassment, and Streetwalking in Late Victorian London', *Representations* 62 (1998), pp. 1–30; Judith R. Walkowitz, *Nights Out: Life in Cosmopolitan London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).
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- <sup>23</sup> Anne Longmuir, 'Consuming Subjects: Women and the Market in Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South*', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 34 (2012), pp. 237–40.

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- <sup>25</sup> Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women and the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 2000), p. 31.
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- <sup>28</sup> Matthew Beaumont, 'Shopping in Utopia: Looking Backward, the Department Store, and the Dreamscape of Consumption', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 28 (2006), p. 195.
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- <sup>31</sup> Sauer, 'Infanticide and Abortion', p. 91.
- <sup>32</sup> For a fuller discussion on women and bicycling in England, see Phillip Gordon Mackintosh and Glen Norcliffe, 'Flaneurie on Bicycles: Acquiescence to Women in Public in the 1890s', *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien* 50 (2006), pp. 17–37; Kathleen McCrone, 'Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women', *RLE Sports Studies: 1870–1914* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 177–85.
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- <sup>34</sup> Ledger, *The New Woman*, p. 10.
- <sup>35</sup> Mel Davies, 'Corsets and Conception: Fashion and Demographic Trends in the Nineteenth Century', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982), p. 615.
- <sup>36</sup> Sauer, 'Infanticide and Abortion', p. 92; *The Times*, 9 November 1904, p. 4.
- <sup>37</sup> *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 4 July 1898, p. 2.
- <sup>38</sup> *The London Daily News*, 30 March 1898, p. 9.
- <sup>39</sup> William Rubinstein and Michael A. Jolles (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (New-York: Springer, 2011), p. 996.
- <sup>40</sup> E. B. Ince, *The Law Journal Reports: New Series* (London, 1864), Vol. 33, pp. 371–2.
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- <sup>42</sup> *The Bridgenorth Journal*, 2 April 1898, p. 8.
- <sup>43</sup> *The Morning Post*, 15 March 1897, p. 5.
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- <sup>45</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 10 July 1898, p. 2. Oxford.
- <sup>46</sup> P. M. Oppenheimer, 'Ernest Terah Hooley (1859–1947)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- <sup>47</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 10 July 1898, p. 2.
- <sup>48</sup> Rappoport, *Giving Women*, pp. 139–40.
- <sup>49</sup> Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 158, 177–83.
- <sup>50</sup> The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, later Supreme Court of Judicature: Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Files; Reference: J 77/536/16367.
- <sup>51</sup> The tense relationship between husband and wife was probably never mentioned in court during the proceedings. On the contrary, it seems that many a times the prosecution had attempted to describe their marriage as ideal. Attorney-general Sir Richard Webster, who gave the opening address during the verdict, for instance, insisted on the 'terms of affection which subsided between the husband and wife'. See *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 July 1898, p. 8.
- <sup>52</sup> Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1985), p. 4.
- <sup>53</sup> Krista Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy: Shopping and the Culture of Consumption in Victorian Women's Writing* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008).
- <sup>54</sup> McLaren, 'Abortion in England 1890–1914', p. 380.
- <sup>55</sup> Knight, 'Women and Abortion', p. 67; Knight, 'Women and Abortion', p. 58.
- <sup>56</sup> See *New Zealand Herald*, Vol. XXXV, Issue 10777, 11 June 1898, Supplement.
- <sup>57</sup> *The Times*, 4 April 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>58</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, founded in 1850 as *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper*, maintained throughout its publication a political inclination to the left. Initially it cost 3d but the price was reduced to 1d by 1870. It held 16 pages and the front page carried an opinion article on the most pertinent issues of the day from a republican perspective. It was the most popular radical post-Chartist newspaper until at least the twentieth century; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 April 1898, p. 5.
- <sup>59</sup> 'Knightsbridge South Side: East of Sloane Street, William Street to Sloane Street', Survey of London: Volume 45, Knightsbridge, ed. John Greenacombe, London County Council, 2000, pp. 29–36.
- <sup>60</sup> *London Daily News*, 25 April 1898, p. 6.
- <sup>61</sup> *The Times*, 4 April 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>62</sup> *The Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 4 July 1898, p. 2; *The Shipley Times Express*, 9 July 1898, p. 3.
- <sup>63</sup> *The Newcastle Courant*, 9 July 1898, p. 4.

- <sup>64</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 10 July 1898, p. 2.
- <sup>65</sup> William Hutchinson, 'On Foeticide', *The London Medical and Physical Journal* 43 (1820), p. 3; A. T. Thomson, 'Lectures in Medical Jurisprudence, Lecture XVII', *The Lancet* 2 (1837), p. 625. Although Bulwer-Lytton wrote that he believed that abortions were quite frequent in urban areas. See Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *England and the English* (London: Richard Bentley, New York, 1833), p. 126; Sauer, 'Infanticide and Abortion', p. 83.
- <sup>66</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 10 July 1898, p. 2.
- <sup>67</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 10 July 1898, p. 2.
- <sup>68</sup> Class: RG12; Piece: 1898; Folio: 85; p. 1; GSU Roll: 6097008.
- <sup>69</sup> See, for instance, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 April 1898, p. 5; *London Daily News*, 25 April 1898, p. 6.
- <sup>70</sup> Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Ghent: Academia Press), p. 541.
- <sup>71</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 8 May 1898, p. 6.
- <sup>72</sup> *The Yorkshire Evening Press*, 28 June 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>73</sup> *London Daily News*, 25 April 1898, p. 6.
- <sup>74</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* 3 April 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>75</sup> Strong attachments between women were featured in 1880s and 1890s fiction including George Gissing's *The Odd Woman*, Henry James's *The Bostonians* and Geroge Moore's *A Drama in Muslin*. See Ledger, *The New Woman*, p. 20.
- <sup>76</sup> See, for instance, *The Morning Post*, 20 June 1898, p. 8.
- <sup>77</sup> *London's Daily News*, 2 July 1898, p. 2.
- <sup>78</sup> *London's Daily News*, 4 July 1898, p. 3.
- <sup>79</sup> *London Standard*, 2 July 1898, p. 3.
- <sup>80</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 June 1898, p. 7.
- <sup>81</sup> *Morning Post*, 30 June 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>82</sup> Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, pp. 477–78.
- <sup>83</sup> Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, p. 472.
- <sup>84</sup> *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1. July 9, 1898, pp. 103–105.
- <sup>85</sup> *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1. July 9, 1898, pp. 103–105.
- <sup>86</sup> *The British Medical Journal* 2 (1898), p. 103.
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- <sup>88</sup> *The British Medical Journal* 1 (1897), pp. 1419–26.
- <sup>89</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 July 1898, p. 8.
- <sup>90</sup> McLaren, *Abortion in England*, pp. 393–94. Reports describing Collins' deteriorating physical and mental condition in prison continued to be published in the press after the trial was over. See, for instance, *The Monmouthshire Beacon*, 13 January 1899, p. 6; *The Suffolk and Essex Free Press*, 19 April 1899.
- <sup>91</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 July 1899, p. 8.
- <sup>92</sup> *The Lancet*, 9 July 1898, p. 92.
- <sup>93</sup> *The Lancet*, 9 July 1898, p. 92.
- <sup>94</sup> *Musselburgh News*, 8 July 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>95</sup> *The Lancet*, 9 July 1898, p. 92.
- <sup>96</sup> A cited in: Kirsten E. Shepherd-Barr, *Theatre and Evolution from Ibsen to Beckett* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), p. 169.
- <sup>97</sup> *The Lancet*, 9 July 1898, p. 92.

**How to cite this article:** Michael-Berger, Lee. 2023. "“For Pretty Frocks’: Upper Class Female Consumerism and the Criminality of Abortions in Newspaper Reports of the Uzielli Case 1898.” *Gender & History* 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12738>

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