

A “noble battle against darkness, sin, and depravity”: The role of translation in nineteenth-century transnational transfer of philanthropic ideas¹

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Abstract

Nineteenth-century British philanthropic ideas were implemented in Sweden through the agency of translation. The present investigation of translation as a form of nineteenth-century social-reform activism takes the form of a case study of the Swedish translation of two texts by British social purity campaigner Ellice Hopkins (1836–1904). The purpose of the investigation is to explore how particular ideas and intentions, which had originally been presented within a British context, were adapted in translation in order to provide templates on which to model action in Sweden.

Key words: translation, translation as activism, Ellice Hopkins, Elsa Borg, Fanny Vicars, prostitution, rescue work

1 Introduction

In 1876, a Swedish philanthropic association published a book titled *Qvinnans kraft i det goda eller Lady Vicars arbete bland de fallna* [Woman’s power for good or Lady Vicars’ work among the fallen]. The title page stated that the text had been translated from English. A few years later, a review article about penitentiary work in Sweden described this book as an inspiring account that “especially urges our country’s women to go out into ‘the noble battle against darkness, sin, and depravity’” (“Fångvård och förbättringsanstalter” 1879:3).² This review illustrates how translations can be appropriated by target-culture interests in a way that obscures the fact that the text is a translation. The reviewer uses a quotation from a preface added by the Swedish translator; the English source text was not in any way directed to Swedish women.

In 1878, Swedish newspaper advertisements announced the publication of another translation from English, *Qvinnans mission bland kvinnor eller verksamhet i Brighton* [Woman’s mission among women or work in Brighton]. Presented as a “pamphlet about a deserving cause”, this text was published for the benefit of a Stockholm rescue home for so-called fallen women (“Litteratur” 1878:2). Both books were translations of tracts written by British social purity campaigner Ellice Hopkins (1836–1904), and they discuss the philanthropic work among prostitute women carried out by Fanny Vicars (1817–1885) in Brighton. The two books were

¹ This article is based on research carried out within the project *Translations with an agenda: The Swedish introduction and translation of 19th-century British social-reform literature*, funded by the Swedish Research Council.

² Here and below, translations are my own.

in no way unique in having been singled out for translation into Swedish – they belong to a corpus of several hundred British social-reform texts which were translated during the nineteenth century in order to provide support for reform work in Sweden.

Nineteenth-century Britain was a forerunner within fields like education, female emancipation, and philanthropic work, and it is therefore not surprising that a wide range of texts on such topics were soon translated into other languages. British influence in nineteenth-century Sweden is a thoroughly investigated field from historical, theological, as well as literary perspectives, but such research has paid little attention to the fact that most Swedish readers encountered British social-reform ideas via translations. The circumstance that Swedish readers would hear the voices of foreign reform writers in translation should not be dismissed, nor that such translations were often carried out by individuals who were themselves involved in social reform work in Sweden.

As pointed out by Tymoczko, translators can be "crucial agents for social change" (2010:3), and although this article does not discuss movements of political resistance per se, a focus on the activist stance of nineteenth-century translators of reform literature is warranted as it reveals how translation was a strategy to promote change and to call readers to action. As translations contain a multitude of voices – apart from those embedded within the original text also voices added in the translation process – ideologically propelled translations deserve particular attention within the study of transnational currents of ideas. I here borrow Belaskie's definition of transnationalism as "the individual and organizational mobilization, including ideas, networks and activities, for social change that worked across and beyond the nation states" (2012:47n6).

Drawing on the concept of transnational activism, the present article demonstrates how nineteenth-century Swedish social reform activists selected texts for translation to provide templates on which to model action in Sweden. In what follows, I will present a case study of the Swedish translation of the two books by Ellice Hopkins already mentioned, the titles of which in original read *Work among the Lost* (1870) and *Work in Brighton; or, Woman's Mission to Women* (1877). With particular focus on the function and execution of translations regarding the situation of so-called fallen women in the 1870s, I will show how ideas and intentions which originated from a British context were adapted and supplemented by the objectives of translators and other agents.

Sherry Simon has argued that "translation of key texts is an important aspect of any movement of ideas [like] first-wave feminism and for the causes to which it was allied" (1996:38). Hopkins' books were manifestations of such a cause, and it is no coincidence that they were translated within the frameworks of two projects specifically targeting the problems associated with prostitution in Sweden. I have selected Hopkins' two books for close inspection as represent a type of reform literature which was frequently translated into Swedish during the nineteenth century. When first published, these texts presented pioneering reform work, and they proposed methods which the instigators of the translations perceived as

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beneficial for Swedish society. Importantly enough, these texts were also translated by men and women who themselves were active in the Swedish reform movement.

With a focus on philanthropic work concerning women prostitutes in the 1870s, I will show how translations carried out by Swedish activists with first-hand knowledge of the field in question used translation as a strategy to provide a roadmap for philanthropic work within their own context. In what follows, I will present a brief historical background in order to situate Hopkins' texts within the rescue movements in Britain and Sweden, respectively. I will then proceed to discuss the translation strategies employed with a focus on the ways in which translators aimed to raise Swedish readers' awareness of how measures, which had been taken in Britain to combat the evils perceived to be associated with prostitution, could be equally beneficial within a Swedish context.

2 Nineteenth-century rescue work and philanthropy in Britain and in Sweden

Mid-nineteenth-century Britain saw an increase in organised philanthropy and innovative philanthropic methods. An eminent example is Ellen Ranyard's Bible and Domestic Female Mission (1857; from 1868, The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission), which established a "women's mission to women" (Denny 1997:1175) by the recruitment and training of local women from within the lower classes. Ranyard herself argued that her aim was to improve the "temporal condition [of the poor] by teaching them to help themselves rather than look to others" (1860:297). Such a strategy of helping by advocating individual responsibility no doubt resonates with the middle-class self-improvement gospel at that time. Another influential association was the Midnight Meeting Movement (1849), the campaigners of which approached women moving about the streets late at night, serving them tea and handing out free religious tracts (Rogers 2011:450).

One particular branch of social reform concerned the situation of fallen women. I will here use the terms 'prostitutes' and 'fallen women' interchangeably, understanding them within a nineteenth-century context to denote women who were regarded by the rescue movement to be in a perilous position from which they ought to be saved. Nead describes the term 'prostitute' as an "accommodating category" in that it could be used to "define any woman who deviated from the feminine ideal and lived outside the middle-class codes of morality" (1984:30). Metaphorical descriptions such as 'fallen' and 'lost' were thus employed by nineteenth-century writers not only to denote prostitutes or women whose position in life made them at risk of entering prostitution; unmarried mothers, for instance, as well as friendless young servant girls who had been seduced, would also be included.³

³ For a further discussion on terminology, see e.g. Mahood, who writes 'prostitute' within quotation marks to emphasise that "it is a label and not an objective form of human behaviour" (1990:13). Another term, 'public woman', was based on the notion of separate spheres, in which the ideal woman inhabited the private sphere of domestic life, whereas a public woman transgressed the borders of appropriateness by being sexually active outside of the private sphere (cf. Bland 1992:408; Svanström 2000:15).

Social work aiming to help women at risk was referred to as rescue work. Prochaska defines this branch of philanthropy as "a systematic attempt to remove prostitutes from their habitual haunts" (1980:188). The rescue movement attracted activists ranging from visiting ladies to social purity campaigners who endeavoured not only to improve the situation of fallen women but also to change male social and sexual behaviour. Notwithstanding their approach, the religious rationale for rescue workers was closely connected with conversion in the sense that the rehabilitation of fallen women depended on their religious awakening. Women targeted by the rescue movement were poor and destitute, and the campaigners sought to convert them into virtuous womanhood. The rescue movement consequently aimed at creating a "spiritual change from sinner to penitent [as well as a] social shift from dissolute and deviant female to respectable woman" (Mumm, 1996:527; see also Bartley 2000:33). In rescue homes, which offered "a family home system rather than a penitentiary one" (Bartley 2000:26), prostitutes and women in danger of entering prostitution were provided with a safe place to stay and vocational training. The overarching aim of such rescue homes was to rehabilitate the inmates into respectable society.

Like in Britain, Swedish nineteenth-century philanthropy was closely linked to Christian groups and associations. Already in 1852, a Magdalene home was set up in Stockholm by Emilia Elmblad, co-founder of the Swedish deaconess movement (Jansdotter 2004:45); and a decade later, rescue schemes similar to those in place in Britain were increasingly being discussed within the Swedish women's movement. It is therefore not surprising that when Sweden's first feminist periodical *Tidskrift för hemmet* described the work of a Stockholm Magdalene home in 1865, the same article also outlined the British Midnight Meeting Movement and provided information on rescue homes in London (Leijonhufvud 1865:207–208). Furthermore, by drawing on Swedish annual statistics and on a section about the state of morality in Sweden in Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, the article concludes that in spite of having long enjoyed peace and the blessings of civilization, Sweden was in no way free from vice (Leijonhufvud 1865:202).⁴ What was perceived as a precarious situation in Sweden was discussed in the light of initiatives taken abroad; and it is within this context that Swedish translations of texts outlining British experiences should be understood. *Tidskrift för hemmet* placed Swedish rescue work in a transnational context by emphasising similarities between philanthropic work in Swedish and that carried out in other countries, such as Britain and Germany. Readers were told that projects implemented abroad were "interesting as they indicate new ways of reaching the same goal" (Leijonhufvud 1865:207).

⁴ Although Mayhew's and his collaborator Hemyng's statement on the situation in Sweden was published in 1862, it was based on statistics and figures from the first decades of the nineteenth century, such as Samuel Laing's travel writings from the 1830s. Nonetheless, their opinion was clear: "Sweden is immoral, and Stockholm is the most immoral place in Sweden" (Mayhew & Hemung 1862:176).

One way to achieve such goals in Sweden involved the translation of works such as Ellice Hopkins' books. Hopkins described Vicars' rescue mission in Brighton as a "bright-looking home in truth, with no work-house air about it, though indeed a house of hard, cheerful work giving a Christian home to some fifty-two inmates, and in a great measure enabling them to support themselves" (1870/ 1874:7). What attracted Swedish translators and activists to these particular books was no doubt the way in which Hopkins described Vicars as highly successful in overcoming what modern research has described as a paradox within the social purity movement, between "policing and punishment on the one hand, and rescue and support on the other" (Hall, 2004:36).⁵

3 Writing and translation within the rescue movement

Fanny Vicars (1817–1885), whose work is presented in the two books, had moved to Brighton in the 1850s following the death of her missionary husband.⁶ There, she was recruited by a clergyman to set up a rescue home for fallen women (Simpkinson 1858:245–248; Hopkins 1870/ 1874:9–10). Although she is little known today, Vicars was highly respected in her day. For instance, the Queen's daughter Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, agreed to become Patroness of Vicars' rescue home, the Albion Hill Home for Female Penitents (Alice 1885:370–371), and Florence Nightingale wrote a preface to one of the editions of Hopkins' *Work in Brighton* which bears testimony to her public support for Vicars' work.

Vicars' achievements were narrated by Ellice Hopkins (1836–1904), a long-time activist and Evangelical orator within the social purity movement, who took up work with Vicars in the 1860s (Barrett 1907:39). It should be pointed out that the two books about Vicars' work constitute but a fraction of Hopkins' total output, and that she is mainly known for her extensive writing and lecturing on preventive work among men, for instance within the White Cross Army. Most research on Hopkins consequently deals with activities of a slightly later date than the publications discussed here. Hopkins' increasing focus on preventive and controlling measures met with disapproval among her contemporaries, and modern research has criticised her lack of concern with class issues and her alleged stress on women's victimisation (M Hunt 1990:31–33). As Lovesay puts it, "Hopkins shifted from active rescue work with women to preventive work with men" (2011:22), which set her apart from the influential British social reformer Josephine Butler, whose work was more clearly aligned towards emancipation and social reform.⁷

⁵ For discussions on this twofold aim of rescue homes, see e.g. Mahood, who argues that the Glasgow penitentiary system should be seen "as both repressive and reformatory in its aims" (1990:152).

⁶ Not much is known about Vicars' life, and extant records are conflicting. She married Rev. Murray Vicars in 1844 and followed him to Baghdad where he served as a missionary. An obituary records that Fanny Vicars died in April 1885 ("The Late Mrs. Murray Vicars" 1885:120), although her friend Wilhelmina, Countess of Munster, referred to a meeting with Vicars "on the fortieth anniversary of her having inaugurated the Home" which suggests that she had lived into the 1890s (Fitzclarence 1904:241–242).

⁷ Although I am not here concerned with the overall significance of Hopkins' work, it should be pointed out that whereas her role in late-nineteenth-century Christian social purity work is

The extent of the collaboration between Hopkins and Vicars remains unclear. Vicars' friend Wilhelmina Fitzclarence, Countess of Munster, claimed that *Work among the Lost* was based on Vicars' notes (Fitzclarence 1904:227). She enigmatically states that *Work among the Lost* was "published by a lady, once a great friend [of Vicars']", and that the book was "afterwards withdrawn" (1904:227). Whether this indicates that the collaboration between Vicars and Hopkins ended in dissent is unclear. Nevertheless, the fact that Hopkins was a controversial person in Britain is relevant for the way in which her texts were introduced to Swedish readers. Whereas Vicars' name was mentioned within the Swedish rescue movement in the late 1870s, and indeed features in the title of one of the Swedish translations, Hopkins herself appears to have been unknown in Sweden at the time her books about Vicars' rescue work were translated. I will return below to the means by which Vicars was thus highlighted at Hopkins' expense.

The earliest reference to Hopkins I have found in Sweden is from 1885, when the novelist Anne Charlotte Leffler Edgren described her as a brave woman who had initially been mocked and derided as she took up the battle against prostitution. In a newspaper article about public speakers in London, Leffler Edgren tells Swedish readers that Hopkins in public meetings for men was known to plead to her listeners to live a life free from sin, not for their own sake but to help the group of women who lived in degradation because of male vice (1885:4).

One of Hopkins' Swedish translators was Elsa Borg (1826–1909), who had worked as a teacher and school manager for many years when she was recruited to Stockholm in 1876 to set up a Biblewomen's home in the poverty-stricken district of Södermalm. This project was instigated by a reading group in Stockholm, who had read about Ranyard's work among the poor in London and wished to establish something similar in Sweden (Wadström 1900:45; Ekman 1900:1655). Borg soon expanded the mission to include a rescue home as a way to target the situation of fallen women among the poor. Some years later, Borg branched out further by establishing several homes for orphaned and neglected children.

There are certain similarities between the lives of Vicars, Hopkins, and Borg. One of them is that they all went through religious conversions. The daughter of a rabbi, Vicars on her own accord converted to Christianity at the age of 13 (Fitzclarence 1904:213–217); and Hopkins and Borg experienced religious awakenings as young women, which instigated their wish to help. Whereas Hopkins belonged to the Anglo-Catholic sphere (Morgan 2000:17), Borg, a clergyman's daughter, joined the revivalist movement and became a central figure within

indisputable (Morgan 1999, 2007; Mumm 2000), her links to the women's movement have been debated amidst significant controversy. Walkowitz concludes that Hopkins "did not connect prostitution to larger feminist issues" (1982:238), but Jeffreys claims that Hopkins "saw herself as part of the women's movement" in the sense of "uprising by women against men's sexual abuse" (1985:15). For an overview of the critical debate concerning the feminist qualities of the social purity movement, see Mort 2000:92–93; for a survey of criticism on Hopkins' life and work, see Lovesay 2011:22–26.

Swedish faith-healing circles, in close contact with revivalist leaders such as Lord Radstock and W. E. Boardman, for instance hosting the latter's visit to Stockholm in 1880 (Gunner 2003:69–72).

Another correspondence between the lives of Vicars, Hopkins, and Borg is that they themselves faced life-changing difficulties at the time they decided to devote their lives to helping women in need. Vicars took up rescue work after having returned to Britain alone after the death of her missionary husband (Fitzclarence 1904:218–223; Bernstein 1909:510); Hopkins joined the rescue movement after having suffered a mental breakdown at the time of her father's death (Morgan 1999:99); and Borg was recruited to Stockholm while a convalescent after having been forced to give up a long teaching career because of exhaustion-induced headaches (Stävare 2009:9). Such crises were in fact, not unusual among female reform campaigners. Mort links health issues of nineteenth-century women reform activists with "the strain experienced by middle-class women who moved into the public sphere" (2000:95), Ellice Hopkins actually being one of his examples, together with Josephine Butler and Florence Nightingale. It should be noted, though, that contemporary portrayals of Vicars and Hopkins, as well as of Borg, nonetheless stress how these women's background and commitment to their work rather served to strengthen them, much as they hoped to fortify the women they sought to help.

4 The relocation of Ellice Hopkins' works

Hopkins' early biographer Rosa Mary Barrett refers to Hopkins' *Work among the Lost* as "a thrilling account" of Fanny Vicars' pioneering work among Brighton prostitutes (1907:37). Having initially appeared in *The People's Magazine* in 1869, it was published in book form by William Macintosh in the following year. The Swedish translation of *Work among the Lost* was based on an enlarged edition published by Hatchards in 1874. Hopkins' second book on Vicar's rescue home, *Work in Brighton; or, Woman's Mission to Women*, was first published in early 1877 by Hatchards and soon enlarged. Some printings of this second extended edition (also first published in 1877) contained a preface by Florence Nightingale, and the Swedish translation was in all probability based on this enlarged edition although presumably one without Nightingale's preface, since there are no references to it in the Swedish translation. As Nightingale was well known in Sweden at the time, the inclusion of such a preface would most likely have been viewed as an asset for the translation.

The Swedish translations of both books were instigated by recently launched philanthropic bodies. Although the translations were published quite separately, they both served to provide campaigners with ammunition in their battle against "darkness, sin, and depravity". The translation of *Work among the Lost* was published in 1876 by *Föreningen till minne af Konung Oscar I och Drottning Josefina till stöd för värnlösa och fallna* [The association for the support of the

neglected and the fallen, in memory of King Oscar I and Queen Josefina];⁸ and two years later, Elsa Borg's translation of *Work in Brighton* was published under the patronage of her own rescue home *Skyddshemmet i Stockholm* [The rescue home in Stockholm]. Contemporary advertisements demonstrate that both translations clearly targeting Swedish women readers who could be persuaded to join ranks with the publishers and their associates to improve the situation of destitute women.

There is no evidence of any communication between the Swedish translators and Hopkins or Vicars, although it is not unlikely that Elsa Borg encountered their work during a study trip to she undertook in the summer of 1876. Before starting her Stockholm Biblewomen's home, she travelled to Britain to learn from the experience of British sisters in faith (Borg 1891:4; 1910:37).

Whereas Borg's translation of *Work in Brighton* was carried out alongside and in direct connection with her own rescue work in Stockholm, the translation of Hopkins' other book, *Work among the Lost*, emanated from the Oscar-Josefina Association, the main objective of which was to support the education and rehabilitation of young offenders and neglected children. Based on the ideas of, among others, British social and educational reformer Mary Carpenter, and modelled on French and British reformatory institutions, the Oscar-Josefina Association had set up an innovative juvenile detention centre outside Stockholm, where boys received schooling as well as vocational training. Much in line with British and European ideas on industrial schools, this philanthropic institution sought to train boys who were considered to be in need of correction instead of imprisoning them among adult criminals.⁹

The Oscar-Josefina Association's decision to commission and publish a translation of Ellice Hopkins' *Work among the Lost* met with strong disapproval in the external auditors' yearly report (Styrelsen 1877:28), in spite of the fact that the topic of the book seems to have lain clearly within the Association's scope to "transform, with the help of piety, order, and work, vicious or neglected young people into useful members of society" (Styrelsen 1876:3). In their yearly report of 1877, the board of the Oscar-Josefina Association eloquently defended the printing costs of the translation, arguing that the Association had been founded to provide help for *both* girls and boys, although limited resources had resulted in one institution only, for boys. The benefit of a correctional institute for girls as a way of saving them from the risk of sexual abuse much in line with Mary Carpenter's view on reformatory education as a "hand [...] stretched out to save the children [without which] they will sink into still lower depths of society" (1851:68). Furthermore, as the Association's original plan had been to try out the proposed

⁸ Henceforth referred to as the Oscar-Josefina Association.

⁹ While Crown Prince of Sweden, King Oscar I had himself been engaged in prison reform. He published his liberal ideas anonymously in *Om Straff och straffanstalter* (1840), soon translated into English as *On Punishments and Prisons* (1844), in which he argued against the practice of imprisoning children and vagrants among criminals. This book offers an example of social reform being exported from Sweden; the book was translated not only into English but also into German, French, and Norwegian within a few years (C. S. 1846:477).

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ideas in two schools, one for boys and one for girls (Almquist 1874:86), the board argued that the public's attention now had to be directed to the work, which remained to be done for the care of delinquent young girls (Styrelsen 1877:22).¹⁰

It was clear to the Oscar-Josefina Association that proactive reformatory work was called for to provide a safe environment for young girls at risk. In the preface of the Swedish translation, the Association acknowledged a large degree of "spiritual and moral misery" in Sweden (Hopkins 1876:v). By publicising the work carried out in Brighton by Fanny Vicars to Swedish readers, the publishers thus presented what they saw as a viable model on which to develop Swedish rescue work to save young women at risk. That they selected Hopkins' book for translation is not only indicative of its alignment with the Oscar-Josefina Association's own programme for social reform but also that Vicars' work was known in Sweden by 1876. Although the translator of *Work among the Lost* has not been identified, the translation was carried out within or commissioned by the circle of prominent Swedes with transnational engagements that were active in the association. Board members at this time included Lord Justice Knut Olivecrona, who had visited reformatory schools on the Continent and in Britain together with his wife Rosalie – co-editor of *Tidskrift för hemmet* as well as an accomplished translator and the writer of a book and articles about the British social reformer Mary Carpenter – and Gustaf Fridolf Almquist, Director General of the Swedish prison system, who had represented Sweden at a congress on prison systems in London in 1872 (Wines 1873:171).

5 The transnational circulation of texts within the rescue movement

Elsa Borg relied on translation in her reform work for many years. A woman with many strings to her bow, she from the mid-1880s published a monthly newsletter in which reports from her social work in Stockholm and subsequent travels to British revivalist meetings were interspersed with her own translations from revivalist periodicals from Britain and the United States.¹¹ The case of Borg shows us experience gained through travels as well as the access to foreign texts acted as prompting factors for the translation of social-reform literature. The way in which Borg fused translations with domestic, even autobiographical, writing positioned her Swedish experience in a transnational context, thereby lending authority both to her own missionary work and to the foreign examples on which it was modelled.

It can be concluded that because they were able to relate to the ethos behind the foreign texts they selected for translation, activist translators like Borg were in a

¹⁰ Gender inequality was not unique in reform education; incidentally, such lack of balance between resources allocated to help young men and women was brought up by Hopkins, too, who argued that "We spend millions a-year in making good soldiers out of rough lads; why not spend a few thousands a-year in making good servants out of rough girls?" (Hopkins 1878a:13n).

¹¹ For instance, *The Triumphs of Faith*, edited by Carrie Judd Montgomery in Oakland, California, and *The Life of Faith* issued by the Keswick Movement in Britain, the meetings of which Borg attended several times. Borg's newsletter was called *Trons Hvila – Fridshälsning från Hvita Bergen* [The repose of faith: Peace greetings from Hvita Bergen], Hvita Bergen being part of the Stockholm neighbourhood of Södermalm, where Borg conducted her missionary work.

position to endorse similar notions within their own cultural context. The various strands of their activities overlap in a way that sometimes makes it difficult to infer to what extent foreign texts influenced their own social-reform activities, and, *vice-versa*, to what extent their own work influenced their translations. As stated initially, translations express not only the source-text author's aims, but also intentions pertaining to the translator and other agents involved in making the text available to new groups of readers. My discussion relies on the assumption that translations go through a certain re-direction (or "refraction") as they are being rewritten for a new audience through the act of translation (Lefevere 1982:4). The translator – together with other agents involved in the translational process – serves as a lens through which the original text passes in the process of being translated. This means that translators' interpretation of the texts they translate, and the changes which are implemented as texts are rewritten to conform to the expectations and needs of the target culture, need to be taken into account for a full assessment of the function of translations in the transnational transmission and reinterpretation of ideas.

The Swedish translations of Hopkins' books were no isolated manifestations but should be seen against the background not only of rescue work carried out in Sweden but also of the establishment across Europe of an organisation called the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution. This Federation had been founded in 1875 by Josephine Butler, the leader of the British repeal movement. At a time when many European countries imposed state regulations on women prostitutes, various kinds of protests were voiced against what was perceived as a manifestation of the subjugation of women. Inspired by the work of Josephine Butler, activists on the Continent as well as in Scandinavia from the mid-1870s joined ranks with the Federation, although the outcome of the transnational movement differed between countries owing to cultural differences (Summers 2008:150).

Butler's ideas reached Sweden early; her seminal speech *Une voix dans le désert* (1875)¹² was translated within a year as *Fallna qvinnor: En röst i öknen* ([Fallen women: A voice in the desert] 1876) and then again the following year as *En ropandes röst i öknen* [A caller's voice in the desert] 1877). This second translation formed part of a collection of Butler's speeches allegedly having been translated into Swedish at her own request (M 1878:28). In 1878, the programme for a Swedish branch of the Federation was presented in the official mouthpiece *Sedlighets-Vänner* [The Friend of Purity]. The programme expressed support for rescue homes and vowed to battle "the unjust indulgence shown against male moral misconduct" ("Program" 1878:1). The links to The British, Continental and General Federation were made clear in the journal's masthead, and the Swedish programme was followed by an expository article about the origin and early work of the

¹² Butler's tract was first published in French and soon translated into several languages (M., 31; see also "Den brittiska och allmänna federationens ursprung" 1878:3), although the first English translation appeared only in 1913.

Federation in Britain and on the Continent ("Den brittiska och allmänna federationens ursprung" 1878).

Among the signatories of this manifesto was Elsa Borg, whose rescue work in Stockholm had already received considerable attention. Borg soon withdrew from the Federation, however, stating "scruples of conscience" ("Meddelande" 1878:21). In Britain, Fanny Vicars had similarly felt a need to make a distinction between her different commitments. In an open letter, she declared that the public disapproval that she had voiced against the Contagious Diseases Acts was unrelated to her rescue work, as the latter "[lay] in an unsubjected district, and [was] *in no way* connected with questions of legislation" (1876:ii). The experiences of Vicars and Borg illustrate the difficulty of publicly combining a political engagement with religious principles and practical rescue work.

The Swedish translations of Hopkins' books formed part of a transnational circulation of texts within the rescue movement. *Sedlighets-Vänner* repeatedly linked Fanny Vicars to Josephine Butler by advertising the two Swedish translations of Hopkins' works alongside one of the Swedish translations of Butler's *Une voix dans le desert*. Furthermore, all three translations could be obtained via the journal's editorial offices. *Sedlighets-Vänner* very clearly positioned Swedish rescue work within a transnational context by alternating reports of domestic activities with translations and reports from conferences and Federation activities abroad. For instance, extracts from Borg's translation of Hopkins' *Work in Brighton* were published in the journal together with an introductory remark to the effect that the experience of British forerunners, such as Nightingale, Butler, and Vicars, contributed to the success of Swedish rescue work: "May their voice be heard by many Swedish women, may their example be adhered to with insight [...] Their experience can be our strength" ("Bibliografi" 1878:67).

Rapid text transfers confirm that Swedish activists had access to foreign publications. Borg appears to have translated *Work in Brighton* within months after the edition that she used was published; and in July 1878, *Sedlighets-Vänner* published an article by Fanny Vicars ("Betraktelser" 1878), which appears to be a translation of an article from the French journal *Le Bulletin Continental* ("De l'oeuvre" 1877). That text in turn was based on a presentation of Vicars' work at a Federation congress in Geneva earlier that year.

6 The redirection of texts in translation

Research on nineteenth-century prostitution has called attention to the ambiguous nature of the implied solidarity between middle-class rescue workers and working-class prostitutes, arguing that the philanthropists' authority came from their middle-class position (A Hunt 1999:148). In her investigation of the Swedish rescue movement, Jansdotter points out that both rescuers and the women they aimed at rescuing were referred to as "sisters" by Borg and her contemporaries (2004:136–137). Although writers within the rescue movement no doubt belonged to a different socio-economic class than the women they sought to rescue, their texts display a notable rhetoric of female inclusion. The argument that middle-class women could

– and should – assume social responsibility and support their fallen sisters was accentuated; in Sweden, *Sedlighets-Vännern* asserted that each "woman *can* save her sisters" ("Bibliografi" 1878:67). Such rhetoric may appear incongruous from a class perspective, but activists within the rescue movement did not primarily strive for the dismantling of class boundaries but rather opposed gender inequality.¹³ As Josephine Butler claimed, "we cannot escape the fact that we are one womanhood, *solidaire*, and that so long as they [prostitute women] are bound, we cannot be wholly and truly free" (qtd in Kent 1987:74). The salvation of sisters in distress concerned liberation from prostitution, and referring to prostitutes as "sisters" was therefore an act of solidarity.

Nonetheless, for many middle-class rescue workers, direct encounters with the harsh reality of prostitution was problematic, and communication with the women they intended to help easily backfired. In *Work in Brighton*, Ellice Hopkins narrates how her own first visit to a brothel had ended in humiliation: "shrieks of horrid laughter [...] and fragments of indecent jests" had followed her as she unsuccessfully had attempted to persuade the girls to give up their "horrible life" (1877/ 1878:17–18). Borg, who at the time of translating this book was setting up her own rescue home in Stockholm, similarly describes early meetings with prostitutes as "highly repulsive" (1891:20). By writing about their own difficulties – in Borg's case by also by translating texts about issues close to her own personal experience – middle-class social-reform activists sought to draw attention to the cause as well as to show their readers that being able to overcome obstacles in the encounter with their fallen sisters was essential if change was to be achieved.

To some extent, the implied sisterhood between rescue workers and fallen women in the nineteenth-century was a rhetorical construction. In an examination of Dutch abolitionism, de Vries points out that first-hand accounts of prostitutes' experience of their meetings with rescue workers are scarce (2008:267). However, both within the British and the Swedish rescue movements, writers tried to give fallen women a voice by sharing examples that were put forth as originating in real life. Such narrative passages are, in fact, common in nineteenth-century social-reform tracts, serving as illustrations of the issues put forth, and to present viable methods for reform. The aim of narrating factual examples thus seems to have been to win support for the cause but, as Jansdotter points out, by presenting prostitutes as victims, the philanthropists' work also gained legitimacy (2000:212).

As I have shown so far, texts by social-reform writers like Ellice Hopkins were targeted for translation by agents within the Swedish rescue movement. Such translations were thus not carried out by professional translators on behalf of commercial publishers but by individuals or associations who were themselves active within the cause. This is crucial, as translation thereby served not only to facilitate the dissemination of foreign ideas but also to provide a forum for ideas which originated within the target culture. Depending on their intentions, translators

¹³ Butler and the repeal movement against the Contagious Diseases Acts nonetheless gained much working-class support in Britain, especially among men (M W Carpenter 2010:86).

used different approaches, such as annotated comments and recontextualised reflections of the source texts, and some translators even appropriated the narrative voice of the text. The most notable strategy employed in the translations of Hopkins' texts is the redirection of the text in a way that emphasises certain aspects which were deemed useful within the Swedish rescue movement.

At one point in *Work in Brighton*, the reader encounters a "poor outcast" girl's reaction to visiting activities within the rescue movement. In what is presented as the words of a young prostitute, the reproduction of colloquial speech sets this passage apart from Hopkins' own narrative voice:

In them midnight meetings there is so much preaching and excitement, and of course the men are all paid for it. But now with you ladies it is different. If anything can be done with us, it'll be you ladies visiting us like this. (1877/ 1878:41).

In Borg's translation of this passage, the colloquial tone is less noticeable and, furthermore, it removes the gender distinction in the source text as "the men" becomes the more gender-neutral "predikanterna" [the preachers] (Hopkins, 1878:22). Through such an alteration, Hopkins' stress on the visiting ladies' female influence is redirected in translation to an emphasis on visiting work itself. Years after translating this passage, Elsa Borg published autobiographical case studies in which she depicted in graphic detail her own first, disheartening, meetings with prostitutes. She gave these reflections the title "Några juveler hemtade ur dyn och af den store Mästarens hand beredda till prydnader i hans konungliga diadem" [Some jewels picked up from the gutter and by the great Master's hand turned into jewels in his royal crown] (1891:33–50). Inferring that redemption awaited reformed prostitutes, she accentuated the Christian foundation of rescue work, but also her belief in the power of real-life examples, whether drawn from her own experience or imported and conveyed to her target audience through translation.

As the translations of Hopkins' texts were published by Swedish reform bodies wishing to extend their own activities, modifications and redirections on the part of the translators should be read in the light of their purposes. One aspect concerned ways of describing and referring to the perceived sinful life of fallen women. A case in point here is Borg's experimenting with different Swedish words as she translates the word "den," which Hopkins frequently uses for brothel. Apart from the neutral "boningar" ["dwellings"] (Hopkins 1878b:7–8) and "nästen" (Hopkins 1878b:7), which shares the animal connotation of the English word "den," Borg also chooses more explicit words such as "skökohus" ["warehouse"], "skökonästen" ["dens of whores"], and "syndanästen" ["dens of sin"] (Hopkins 1878b:17, 24, 30n). Borg's strategy of supplementing in order to clarify – or over-translating to use von Flotow's term (1991:75) – goes hand in hand with her personal concerns that avoiding the unpleasant could be counterproductive. In an article she wrote for *Sedlighets-Vännen* at this time, Borg commented on the "horrid degradation" of prostitutes, pondering that "perhaps our ears should be capable of hearing what so many of our sisters have to *suffer*, because if we are saved, what but God's grace has saved *us*?" (1878:8). The fact that Borg some years later in her own case studies

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did not shy away from describing the often appalling background of her protégées should be seen in the light of such reflections on the power of writing within the philanthropic movement.

As indicated above, it is common in the translation of nineteenth-century reform texts that translators redirect the intentions expressed in the source text to suit their own purposes. In *Work in Brighton*, Hopkins at one point asks for

a donation, if possible a subscription, to Mrs. Vicars, now she is ill and worn with the burden of supporting her seventy-seven outcast girls, safely housed and being carefully trained; send cast-off clothing to the Cottage Home, Albion Hill. (1877/ 1878:97).

In Borg's translation, this passage is redirected into a plea for the support of rescue homes, such as the one Borg herself set up during the time she carried out her translation:

[S]end money, gifts, and cast-off clothes to some rescue home or Magdalene home and support with the help of your prayers and by actively helping those who risk sinking under the burden! (Hopkins 1878b:45).

Borg's rewriting of this passage takes the request for social responsibility one step further than Hopkins' original. Furthermore, the whole passage is presented to the reader in the imperative mood and situated in a way which left Swedish readers unaware of the translator's rewriting. Readers of the translation are left uninformed about any adaptations carried out, a result of which is that the implied author in the translated text is not identical with the implied author. Another type of rewriting used in both translations is a consistent strategy of accentuating biblical references in Hopkins' texts, at some point even adding specific Biblical references for emphasis.

One more type of refraction in the translations consists of leaving out what intended readers of the translations presumably would not understand, or what might even go against the Swedish translators' intentions. In a discussion of translation of nineteenth-century anti-slavery literature, Taivalkoski-Shilov has shown how passages may thus be altogether omitted in translation to avoid what may appear contradictory to target-text readers (2009:309). Although both of Ellice Hopkins' Swedish translators clearly wished to draw on British experience, certain passages from the source texts were cut out because they did not serve the translator's own intentions and convictions. For instance, in the translation of *Work among the Lost*, a passage from the source-text preface declaring that "the whole profits of the sale of this little book will go to the Home" (Hopkins 1876:1) was left out, as it clearly did not serve the Oscar-Josefina Association's aim to raise support for a Swedish rescue movement. Similarly, an entire appendix, with plan-drawings of a proposed rescue home, was excluded, probably as it exceeded the scope of the Swedish publishers. Elsa Borg in a similar manner left out passages from *Work in Brighton* in which Hopkins outlines a programme for the Ladies' Association for the Care of Friendless Girls, presumably because no equivalent organisation at the

time existed in Sweden. Lengthy passages illustrating details of Vicars' method were also omitted, as were Hopkins' comments on the necessity of influencing young men and a footnote commenting on Josephine Butler's criticism on the British penitentiary system (Hopkins 1877/ 1878:56, 85), most likely since these passages were inconsistent or even incompatible with Borg's own views and intentions.

7 The framing of translations as expressions of translational activism

Peritextual materials, such as prefaces and title pages, enable translators and other agents to redirect foreign texts to a new readership. The titles of the translations indicate that Hopkins' books were redirected to promote the evolving Swedish rescue movement. *Work among the Lost* was translated as *Qvinnans kraft i det goda eller Lady Vicars arbete bland de fallna* [Woman's power for good or Lady Vicars' work among the fallen], thereby identifying Vicars as a focus as well as providing an assessment of her character and of her work, which cannot be discerned from the original title. The Swedish publisher's choice to bestow Vicars with the epithet 'Lady' should probably be read as an indication of her presumed gentlewomanly character rather than as a sign of social rank. When *Work in Brighton, or, Woman's Mission to Women* was translated, Borg reversed the title in a way that highlights the aspect of sisterhood, whereas the specific project in Brighton is downplayed: *Qvinnans mission bland kvinnor eller verksamhet i Brighton* [Woman's mission among women or work in Brighton].

Ellice Hopkins is identified as the author on the source title pages through the convention of listing previous works by the author. No reference is made to her in either of the translations, however, nor in advertisements or references to the books in contemporary Swedish press. In fact, the only source information presented to Swedish readers is that the texts are translations, "from English" (*Work among the Lost*) and in the form of a "free translation" (*Work in Brighton*), respectively. We cannot know if the Swedish translators were unable to identify Hopkins or if her identity for some reason was suppressed in order to emphasise Vicars' work, but the result was nonetheless that Hopkins was silenced in translation. As seen above, the translation of *Work among the Lost* indeed promoted Vicars' role. The circumstance that the translation establishes her identity already in the title is conspicuous, as the source-text preface refers to her anonymously as "The lady whose remarkable work [...] is recorded in the following pages" (Hopkins 1870/1874:1).

Both translations feature added prefaces informing Swedish readers about the purpose of the translation. From the way in which the translators' prefaces position the translations, a tension can be discerned between, on the one hand, a wish to use Hopkins' texts to help establish new ideas in Sweden and, on the other, the Swedish publishers' desire to position themselves as the originators of such ideas. In *Work among the Lost*, a brief preface clarifies that the lady whose work is described has approved of the publication and that she is willing to respond to any inquiries from "those who are engaged, or who are desirous of engaging, in work among the lost,

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as well as invite them to examine for themselves, into the working of the Albion Hill Home" (1870/ 1874:1). In the translation of that book, a preface spanning over three pages was added, in which Swedish women were admonished to seriously consider the book's message, since the kind of misery which was discussed in the book existed in Stockholm too. Mixing Christian rhetoric with a personal address aimed to incite Swedish readers to assume social responsibility, the Swedish preface asks the intended middle- and upper-class woman reader to consider to what extent she, as an individual, could support women who have fallen or are on the verge of falling.

By addressing the reader in Swedish second-person singular pronoun forms, the preface in the translation strikes a personal note and urges the reader to step out of her comfort zone, to show compassion to less fortunate women and to take action:

Start with the one closest to you, the one who lives in your house [...] and never forget that the fallen one, from whom you shrink away, is a *human being* like you [...] but perhaps not sheltered from downfall like you; she *can* be saved, and she *deserves* to be saved. (Hopkins, 1876:vii).

Having thus enthused the reader into action, the preface goes on to summon Swedish women to collaborate along the lines of the transnational rescue movement, which was beginning to form at this time:

So go out into this noble battle against darkness, sin, and depravity. Form a chain, gentlewomen of Sweden, and form an alliance for rescue work, which will bring blessings upon you. (Hopkins 1876:vii–viii).

Whereas the source-text preface says nothing about the contents of the book, the added preface in the translation openly declares that the purpose of the translation is to share information that aims to raise support for the Swedish rescue movement.

The other book, *Work in Brighton, or, Woman's Mission to Women*, contains a preface penned by Fanny Vicars herself. Vicars declares that she "gladly give[s] to this little book whatever weight may attach to my name" (1877/ 1878:vii). In translation, this preface was redirected to a Swedish audience. Whereas Vicars' original preface advocates an increased awareness among "educated women, and especially the mothers of England" (1877/ 1878:vii), the geographical reference was lost in translation in order to make the request equally applicable within the Swedish context. Discussing a need for change in women's attitude to rescue work, Vicars twice uses the verb phrase "I have been led to feel" (1877/ 1878:vii). Elsa Borg translated this into more decisive verbs: "öfvertygat mig" ["has convinced me"] and "blifvit viss om" ["have become certain that"] (Hopkins 1878b:4). This modulation of tone leads to a strengthening of Vicars' presence in the book in translation, as does another alteration, which is linked to the way in which both translations, in fact, erased Hopkins as author. In the source-text preface, Vicars refers to her collaboration with Hopkins by describing the book as "my friend's little book" (Hopkins 1877/ 1878:vii) and as "the work of more than one mind"

(Hopkins 1877/ 1878:viii). Those references to Hopkins were altogether omitted in translation; and as her name had also been removed from the title pages, this explains why Vicars, instead of Hopkins, was named as author of the books in Swedish booksellers' advertisements of the translations as well as in Swedish library catalogues.

Hopkins' identity as source-text author is obscured in the translations in other ways as well. In her translation of *Work in Brighton*, Elsa Borg added a Swedish preface, facing the one written by Vicars. Borg here cleverly capitalised on her position as translator by positioning her own preface, which outlines her own newly opened rescue home – thus promoting her own context – in direct parallel to the preface of the source text, which describes a long-standing British establishment. Whereas Vicars looks back on "a quarter of a century's work" (Hopkins 1877/ 1878:vii), Borg's preface presents the situation of her newly opened Stockholm rescue home to demonstrate the urgent need for funding. In line with this, the title page of the translation clarifies that the book was "sold for the benefit of the Stockholm rescue home" (Hopkins 1878), something that was also emphasised in booksellers' advertisements (see e.g. "Nytt i bokhandeln" 1878:2; "Litteratur" 1878:2). Advertisements for both translations indicate that they were sold nationwide, and the fact that they were used to promote other Swedish rescue missions than the ones they had been published by also indicates an acknowledged practical value of the texts.

8 Conclusion

In a modern appraisal of Hopkins' work, Morgan describes *Work in Brighton* as "a highly successful manual for rescue workers" (1999:75), and this was indeed how it was presented in Sweden at the time of translation too. In 1878, for instance, the annual report of a rescue home in the city of Norrköping complained that the general public was ignorant of the extent of prostitution and of its consequences. Owing to its excellent advice to women willing to engage in rescue work, the reading of the translation of *Work in Brighton* is recommended in order to raise awareness about this "canker wound" in society ("Skyddshemmet Magdala" 1878:2).

Notwithstanding expressions of approval and numerous advertisements, the direct influence of the translations appears to have been short-lived. The reason for this is most likely their highly contextualised character. The Swedish translations propelled readers into support and action at a crucial time of development, but like much reform literature, the lifespan of individual texts was brief. In 1883, a reference to *Work in Brighton* in a Swedish translation of another Hopkins text (*Occupation for the Sick; or, Practical Suggestions to Invalids and Those Who Have the Care of Them*, 1879) was supplemented by a comment in which the anonymous translator of this latter book recommends that *Work in Brighton* should be translated into Swedish (Hopkins 1883:16), thus demonstrating ignorance of Borg's translation, which had been published only five years previously.

This is, in fact, not surprising as the translations, just like the texts that they were based on, were produced within a certain context for a specific purpose. Although

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thus of momentary rather than lasting influence, translations of reform literature nonetheless help us distinguish reformist voices and direct our attention to a broader set of sources of information about transcultural contacts as well as about socio-political undercurrents in society.

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