

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Abstract approval:

  
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Red Light Ladies presents a perspective on prostitution in North America, within the context of the western mining frontier. A biographical profile of the frontier prostitute is presented, along with an archaeological model of settlement patterns and material culture. Settlement patterns and demographic changes in the prostitute population are hypothetically correlated with economic changes. A model of the dynamic interaction of prostitution and techno-economic setting is tested and refined with historical data derived from five frontier mining towns.

A model of the material culture associated with frontier prostitutes is developed deductively from historical data on prostitution. This model is not tested, but is integral to the proposed archaeological model of the settlement pattern and demography of the prostitute population.

The mobility and integration of prostitutes in a community were contingent on techno-economic phase and community history. The integration of prostitutes and the proprietary nature of prostitution services may have resulted in changes in the Victorian perspective on women as helpless, fragile, and inferior beings.

Prostitution services and prostitutes as a socio-economic group were found to reflect economic trends experienced by a frontier mining community, and to function archaeologically as an indicator of economic trends in a community.

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RED LIGHT LADIES:  
Settlement Patterns  
and Material Culture on the Frontier

by

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This thesis, by its very nature is dedicated to the Red Light Ladies, the heroines of an often heartless frontier, who left their mark in the archaeological record.

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# RED LIGHT LADIES, SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

AND

## MATERIAL CULTURE ON THE FRONTIER

### CHAPTER 1

#### INTRODUCTION

On the North American mining frontier, which extended over time from the southeast to the west coast, prostitutes comprise an identifiable socio-economic component of the 'frontier' mining community. Research documenting the lifeway of prostitutes on the frontier was proposed as a method of both describing frontier prostitution and understanding the interaction of the frontier community with prostitutes.

Prostitution as an institution has been termed coeval with society. A study of prostitution within a specifically defined context, such as a frontier mining town, could possibly yield a perspective on the society prostitutes operated within, their role in the community, and illustrate changes in that society over time. Historical data relating to the lifeway of the frontier prostitute was collected and analyzed from a historical-archaeological perspective. A

collective biographical sketch of the frontier prostitute was developed, along with a hypothesis on the material culture of frontier prostitutes. A model of prostitute settlement patterns was proposed and tested with specific mining town histories. The settlement pattern model was developed as a deductive model that related prostitute settlement patterns and population aggregation to economic trends. Economic trends were related to actual mining production figures and to economic history, and techno-political developments in mining communities.

Due to the social stigma, professional interactions, and historical circumstance frontier prostitutes operated within, the lifeway of prostitutes portrays both the mining community's perspective of itself and the view of outsiders, perspectives that anthropologists term emic and etic, respectively. The persona of frontier prostitution as it changed overtime was developed into an archaeological model. This researcher proposed that this model of frontier prostitute settlement patterns could be employed as an interpretive hypothesis for characterizing frontier mining communities and could be used to ultimately interpret changes therein.

In Red Light Ladies an archaeological hypothesis or model is proposed, tested against the historical record, and modified. For the purpose of model construction a theoretical perspective on prostitution is developed in

Chapter Two. Prostitution as an institution is reviewed through anthropological, sociological and psychological literature, and in the historical and economic context of the mid-1860's through early 1900's.

A composite biographical sketch of frontier prostitutes as a socio-economic group is developed in Chapter Three. The commonalities characterising the lifeway of prostitutes and the differences as based on ethnic and economic criteria are outlined. Social patterns that characterize their lifeway that should be identifiable in the archaeological record are specifically focused on.

Chapter Four presents a settlement pattern model and discusses the ~~basis~~ for hypotheses on settlement patterns and settlement pattern changes among prostitutes. The proposed model is largely based on the economic history and resulting political history associated with mining towns. In the model the economic, technological and political phases experienced by mining towns are defined and prostitution is characterized hypothetically.

The research methodology employed to develop and test the model is defined in Chapter Five and critiqued. The critique focuses on the historical record, the individual case studies employed to test the model and changes in the initial research methodology. Recommendations concerning additional sources of historical data that may add substantially to research on historical prostitution are



made.

A model of the material culture of frontier prostitution is developed in Chapter Six. The model of material culture is premised by the economic variability and status/class system inherent in Euro-american frontier prostitution. Sprague's (1980) artifact classification system is used as a typological construct for development of this archaeological hypothesis of material culture. The model of material culture is intrinsic to the settlement pattern model since it provides a hypothesis of the in situ archaeological data that identifies the settlement pattern of prostitutes. The material culture model was developed from the literature relating to prostitutes and frontier lifeway. Many of the examples used in Chapter Six were drawn from the case studies that were used to test the settlement pattern model.

Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine are historical mining town case studies. These case study chapters paired with two other case studies comprise a test of the settlement pattern and demographic model proposed in Chapter Four. The case studies include Jacksonville, Oregon; Silver City, Idaho; and Virginia City, Nevada. Figure 1 shows the location of the historic mining towns included in the case studies. The chronology of each town is developed and correlated with data on prostitution within the context of historical economic phases experienced. A test of the



FIGURE 1: Locational Map

## CHAPTER 2

### PROSTITUTION

Research on historic frontier prostitution, in the mining towns of the western United States, provides a perspective on prostitution in a definitive cultural context. The mining frontier is an excellent laboratory for examining the processes of cultural change and historic American cultural patterns. Prostitutes are an identifiable socio-economic group evident in the historical and archaeological records of frontier mining towns. The lifeway of prostitutes, as evident in historical and archaeological data reflects the vicissitude of the frontier community, both economically and socially.

The major criteria used to distinguish the commercial female prostitute from other women is the exchange of a fee for a specific sexual act. Prostitutes see the sex-money transaction as the business transaction that constitutes their job (Heyl 1979:20). Prostitution has been defined as:

"Any person who engages in sexual activity with another in exchange for a fee or other pecuniary reward commits an act of prostitution." (Decker 1979:511)

This definition encompasses ceremonial prostitution which is not addressed by this study. It should be noted though, that ceremonial prostitution was practiced among many different cultures overtime. Herodotus reported the practice among Mesopotamians in service to the goddess Mylitta.

The nature of commercial prostitution as an instituted component of many cultures has received limited research attention anthropologically. Yet prostitution is considered coeval with 'urban society'. Anthropological studies suggest the institution of commercial eroticism or prostitution has very limited range among primitive peoples. Prostitution has been reported for Melanesia (Santa Cruz Island, Rassel Island), Polynesia (Line Island, Caroline Island, Easter Island, Hawaii), Greenland, North America (Omaha), South America (Karaya, Uitoto, Boro), West Africa, East Africa (Banyoro) (Mallinowski 1962:10). Polyandry, polygamy, and promiscuous sexual interactions, that do not

involve the sex-for-money transaction, are not considered to be institutionalized commercial prostitution. Polyandry, polygamy, and the exchange of sexual favors for personal gain, other than direct income, is of course apparent in most modern urban societies and among many so called primitive cultures.

The historical-particularist focus of anthropological research on non-european cultural groups has primarily resulted in a body of cross-cultural descriptions of the persona of prostitution (Scott 1886; Henriques 1962 and 1963; Sanger 1939; Bullough 1964; Bullough and Bullough 1978; Flexner 1914; O'Kelly 1980; Calverton and Schmalhausen 1929; and Benjamin 1964).

Limited research relating cultural context with the cultural persona and existence of prostitution has occurred. Due to this deficit of research on, and analysis of prostitution by anthropologists, there is little understanding of prostitution as a cultural system.

The major themes presented in psychological literature isolate prostitution as a profession resulting from experiential and physiological antecedents. Deficiencies in character development and physical traits are emphasized (Winick and Kinsie 1971; and Greenwald 1970).

Sociological studies delineate and define prostitutes within the context of the larger social milieu. Sociologists have focused principally on demographic comparisons and profiling, group dynamics, social interfacing, professional entry and exit, and demand constructs (Heyl 1979; Finnegan 1979; Pearson 1972; Davis 1961; and Dreitzel 1972).

The data compiled in this study of frontier prostitution was approached from a sociological and historical perspective. Literature on frontier women and prostitution (West 1981; Stoeltje 1975; Mann 1972; Davis 1967; Brown 1958; Miller 1964; Mazzulla 1966; Gentry 1965; Riley 1977; Lucia 1962; and Gray 1971) was paired with historical data for specific mining towns to provide a perspective on the lifeway of frontier prostitutes, their material culture, and settlement pattern. The data derived was analyzed from a historical archaeological perspective and used to construct a hypothesis or historic-archaeological model of material culture and settlement patterns. The latter was tested and modified through the use of five frontier mining town case studies.

## THE DEMAND FOR PROSTITUTION

Prostitution is intrinsically linked to a demand for sexual services. Demand was born out of the institutional control of sex, the unequal scale of attractiveness, and the presence of economic and social inequality between classes and between males and females (Davis 1961:286). In the Victorian period, from the mid 1800's through the turn of the century, demand is born out of the institutional control of sex. The interplay of sexual control and demand on the frontier for sexuality posed a social incongruency. The historical record provides a vehicle for studying frontier prostitution from both the perspective of participants within the community (emic) and from observations outside the community (etic). Etic operations have as their hallmark the elevation of observers to the status of ultimate judges of the categories and concepts used in descriptions and analyses. Emic operations have as their hallmark the elevation of the native informant to the status of ultimate judge of the adequacy of the observer's descriptions and analyses (Harris 1980:32).

## PROSTITUTION AND VICTORIAN MORALITY

The Victorian cultural milieu provides a historical perspective on the institutional control of sex, and sex as an institution. Sexuality was bargained by Victorian women as an acquisition only via marriage. Ideal love became the basis for the Victorian woman's sexual philosophy. Ideal love was based on the Victorian definition of femininity. A myth of female attractiveness, fragility, and sexual naivete and inaccessibility was created. Sexuality was repressed but alluded to; it was to be reserved as a bargaining resource for the acquisition of male wealth and status through the marriage contract (Dreitel 1972). This sex-matrimony bargaining position was a result of the very limited employment and education options open to Victorian women. A woman's economic well-being and social status were secured through marriage. Few acceptable job options existed for women, since women were not allowed the option of training or employment in non-domestic jobs and many employment positions were not considered socially acceptable. Women were employed as teachers, seamstresses, milliners, nurses, clerks, and factory workers. Social condemnation of women employed in all but the position of teacher was common, because of the public nature and potential amoral contacts facilitated by the other

employment types listed. Women were also very often underpaid. This discriminatory difference in wage resulted in the involvement of many women in casual prostitution as an income supplement. Economic independence was also considered a threat to the Victorian myth of ideal love and the fragile composition of womankind which was an antecedent to the sex-matromony bargaining position. Wealthy women were excluded from this economic and 'moral' convention. Independent economic means facilitated social freedom from the rigid Victorian moral constraints on propriety.

The economic necessity of marriage dictated the repression of sex outside of marriage. The idealized view of the marriage bond as a tie of mutual fidelity and devotion call for absolute restriction of sexuality to marriage as a requirement, thereby reinforcing the sexual bargaining power of the wife, since she is the only available sex object (Dreitel 1972:68). Prostitution as an overt sex-money exchange is in diametric opposition to the concept of ideal love. In fact the societal condemnation of prostitution is colored by levels of acceptability that relate to sexual fidelity, with mistresses being the most accepted. The more overt the sex-for-money transaction, the greater the moral condemnation. Available sexual services were a threat because they under cut the use of sexuality as a bargaining element for marriage. The undervaluation of

women intellectually and the rules dictating their economic means resulted in the use of sexuality as a bargaining element.

Women who controlled their own economic resources were allotted greater behavioral latitude. Extra-marital relations were socially affordable if they could be carried out with style and caution, thus mitigating the disgrace of respectable women.

On the frontier societal rules and roles were relaxed for a period in the initial excitement of settling the new frontier. Prostitutes and respectable women both benefited from the social latitude they were allowed and their valuation as individuals settling the frontier.

#### SEXUAL PROPERTY AS A THEORETICAL CONCEPT

Levi-Strauss (1949) proposes that the concept of women as sexual property underlies the condemnation of prostitution. He postulates this cultural concept is manifest in the seclusion of women and restrictions such as the incest taboo. Bride-price, bride-wealth, and marriage for alliance all support Levi-Strauss's hypothesis of women as property. Prostitutes hold control over themselves as sexual property and thus violated the Victorian societal

property norm. They operated outside the sanctioned sexual market of marriage.

In some tribes where women are economically independent no social stigma is attached to prostitution and semi-prostitution (Boserup 1970). Economic structure thus appears to have a critical relationship to prostitution as an institution. Prostitutes as a socio-economic group in any culture must be understood within that culture's particular framework.

#### THE FRONTIER COMMUNITY

Prostitutes entered the frontier mining community as a part of the service economy. The mining town was an instant city brought to life by the promise of sudden wealth. The instant city developed, unlike its predecessors, fully exposed to the free interplay of social, economic, and political forces (Barth 1975).

In the frontier mining communities a particular form of political economy emerged as a function of the rapid economic changes intrinsic to the mining community. This type of rapid unprecedented political growth was conducive to innovation, conflict, compromise, and competition (Davis 1979). The very pursuit of precious metals by prospectors

in camps and boom towns prevented all but the most temporary commitment to community political and social structure.

Prostitutes established businesses in the camps along with lawyers, technicians, gamblers, and laborers. The service and supply entrepreneurs stabilized and tempered the municipal government of the mining towns.

Characteristic of the mining town socio-economic structure was the initial rapid flux of diverse groups of people, followed by a social leveling process. Diversity in the population included ethnic, cultural, class, and economic differences. Approximately forty-five percent of the frontier population was foreign born. The frontier population came from Europe, China, South America, Mexico, the mid-west and the eastern United States. Many of the people in this incoming population remained in a transient state, moving from boom town to boom town, following the economic tide of new mineral discoveries.

Many ethnic sub-groups in the frontier population were committed to political and ethnic conflict, e.g., as the Irish Fenian Brotherhood which was anti-English. Discrimination toward Hawaiians, Native Americans, South Americans, Mexicans, Blacks, and Chinese was evident on the frontier. Economic issues were generally at the impetus for discrimination. When economic times were bad, as has been evident contemporarily, identifiable ethnic and socio-economic groups were targeted as scapegoats.

In most mining camps Chinese were the most overtly discriminated against. Chinese miners and business men often were obliged to pay special mining taxes or pay for 'chinese' business license. National, state, and local legislation was directed at segregation and regulation of the chinese population.

The Chinese were a target of discrimination because they had a reputation for working for low wages (which posed a threat to Euro-americans), were readily identifiable as culturally different from the larger Euro-american society, and made a marginal living (by Euro-american standards) by holding menial jobs and reworked abandoned placer mines. Laws were passed to exclude the Chinese from employment in the mines, Chinese business licenses were often imposed, Euro-americans were discouraged from patronizing Chinese businesses, and the Chinese were often legally segregated in a Chinatown area. References were publicly made about the physical and cultural differences of the Chinese; their color, their different dress, their religion, their ignorance of Christian morals, their opium habit, their obedience to their own laws and lack of respect for the laws of the United States, their servitude to their companies and the enslavement of their women (BeDunnah 1973:82). Jeffery LeLande (1981) found little integration of the sojourner population in Southern Oregon with the larger Euro-american community. This lack of integration and definitive social

segregation resulted in the formation of Chinese ghettos or 'Chinatowns'. Chinese prostitutes were segregated within the limits of 'Chinatown' and had little or no contact with the Euro-american community, except through their customers.

Other ethnic groups merged with the larger frontier American culture while maintaining cultural identities through clubs, peer groups, and festivals. The fraternal orders of these ethnic groups and their festivals were viewed as different but not too different. They incorporated American culture and the participation of other euro-american ethnic groups. The Chinese remained outside the general cultural milieu.

The Chinese were discouraged from all but the reworking of shallow subsurface placer mines; ordinances were often sponsored by miners unions to preclude the Chinese from employment in subsurface quartz mines where wages were high. The Chinese were allowed the employment options of peddling garden produce, delivering water, keeping laundries, working as cooks or servants, and performing other types of menial labor. Economic status softened overt discrimination toward Chinese businessmen and merchants. Wealthy Chinese dominated 'Chinatown' and were allowed to move with deference through the euro-american community.

## The Vicissitude of the Frontier Community

The mining community, like all communities, was constantly evolving. The frontier mining community as a full blown town grew up overnight and fluctuated with economic cycles of boom and bust. The frontier community was linked to the main body of civilization through economic specialization, geographic mobility, and technological advances (Steffens 1979:115).

The frontiersman within the behavioral setting of the frontier has been profiled (Barker 1979) as being: 1) busier and working harder than their contemporaries, 2) having a variety of behaviors and taking vigorous acts, 3) while being versatile, acting to maintain the setting they inhabit, and 4) being more behavior-setting oriented and acting to both remove behavior deficiencies and yet maintain behavior setting residents, 5) expressing more overt appreciation of their associates contributions.

The frontier environment was new, unfinished and undermanned. The incongruity of the frontier has been typified as containing, "a striking ambivalence between gross barbarism on the one hand and an equally endemic yearning after refinement and respectability on the other" (Davis 1967:19). It provided an opportune environment for the entrepreneur. Many of the prostitutes who found

employment on the frontier came as entrepreneurs or adventurers. In most frontier mining towns prostitution was practiced openly, establishments of prostitution were abundant and evident to members of the community.

### Frontier Prostitution

Prostitution as a business on the western mining frontier was an outgrowth of demand. In the instant towns of the mining frontier a high male to low female ratio existed. There was an illusion of economic excess, and constant cultural convergence of people from differing backgrounds and nationalities.

In the frontier mining towns there was a demand for female companionship and sexuality and a deficit of 'ordinary or respectable women' who could provide companionship and sexuality through a marriage relationship. In many frontier mining camps this resulted in the minimal separation of prostitutes from their respectable sisters. The actual labeling of ladies of ill-fame usually came with the arrival of respectable women.

Prostitution posed a threat not only to Victorian sexual mores, but also to community respect that was gained by 'good' women through charity work and community social

organization. High class prostitutes often took on the few community roles involving charity work through which the Victorian woman could gain recognition. Prostitutes organized social events, nursed the ill, and did other types of charity work. Prostitutes were often the first women in a frontier mining town and thus took on a variety of traditional feminine social roles. Adding to the contradiction of respectable and disrespectable was the sale by many prostitutes of not only sexuality but companionship.

#### THE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION

Prostitution has been legally regulated or repressed for ten primary reasons in the United States of North America. The following list notes the legal basis for the regulation of prostitution in order of frequency of occurrence:

1. Protection of the conventional morality.
2. A humanistic concern for the prostitute.
3. A humanistic concern for the 'exploited' customer,
4. Prevention of incidental crime,
5. Control of the criminal culture which surrounds and nourishes off prostitution,
6. Protection of juveniles who may be attracted to this occupation,

7. Abatement of a "public nuisance,"

8. A humanistic concern for the prostitute's family, particularly the children,

9. Limiting evasion of income tax laws, and

10. Prevention of venereal disease.  
(Decker 1979:20)

The protection of morality has been the primary motive for the control of prostitution, followed by a humanistic concern for prostitutes. Ordinances have been developed to abolish prostitution or regulate the location or operation of establishments, and to control the community mobility of prostitutes. Often community consensus on the frontier was used to regulate the behavior and working conditions of prostitutes.

Attempts to abolish prostitution probably would have been futile because of the demand created by Victorian social rules on sexuality, paired with the demography of the mining towns; the limited constituency; and legitimacy of foes of prostitution, and the economic and political interest many community leaders had in prostitution.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE FRONTIER PROSTITUTE: LIFEWAY

#### INTRODUCTION

The lifeway of the frontier prostitute was like, and yet unlike that of the contemporary urban prostitute. The nature of the frontier as an environmental setting or context, influenced the lifeway of the frontier prostitute. This difference in lifeway of the frontier prostitute was evident, at times, in the community interaction with and social treatment of prostitutes, and in their mobility and ultimate settlement pattern.

Some variability in the lifeway of prostitutes was found. Variability in their lifeway was a result of class related status, ethnic background, and services provided. All frontier prostitutes shared the hazards and hardships of the profession; these ranged from disease to violence, depression, alcoholism and drug abuse. The personal and professional lives of prostitutes were intrinsically linked by the Victorian attitude that prevailed, even on the frontier, that condemned prostitution and prostitutes alike.

#### THE FRONTIER PROSTITUTOR

The frontier prostitute was set apart from the reputable community by Euro-American Victorian morality. Prostitutes and those associated with prostitution were a discernible socio-economic group in the fabric of the frontier community. Variability existed within the ranks of prostitution both in background and lifeway. Some were entrepreneurs, others divorcees with few employment options; many were single, and others had several dependents. Prostitutes shared occupational commonalities such as disease, discrimination, and differential community treatment.

The lifeway of Chinese prostitutes differed radically by the 1860's from that of their Euro-American sisters. Chinese prostitution was practiced under male control, usually within the economic sphere of the secret societies or Tongs. (Tongs were fraternal organizations which most, if not all, of the Chinese in a mining community were affiliated with. Tongs controlled the Chinese labor force to a large extent, controlled gambling and prostitution, provided protection and extorted money from Chinese, and were often involved in bitter feuds with other Tongs for regional control.) High status Chinese prostitutes were cloistered from contact with Euro-Americans. The cultural view of prostitution also differed within the Chinese community from that held by the larger Euro-American community.

The material culture of prostitutes was also variable as dictated by their economic status. Over time, the archaeological and historical record of classes of prostitution have been lost, exaggerated, or made obscure. Historical records have been lost or destroyed; many of the districts burned on more than one occasion, changing shape and status in their re-emergence. In Virginia City following the fire of 1875 it was noted that brothels and larger establishments replaced the small houses and cottages that had made up the former district (Goldman 1981),

## Ethnicity

The ethnic variability of prostitutes was a reflection of the ethnic and racial mix apparent in the larger frontier community. Virginia City, Nevada, for example, had a large population of Spanish prostitutes and Spanish speaking peoples in general. Black and Chinese prostitutes were segregated from Euro-American prostitutes, and did no work in the same brothels. However, octoroons (persons of one-eighth Negro ancestry), quadroons (persons of one-quarter Negro ancestry), and mulattoes (first generation offspring of a Negro and a white or a person of mixed Caucasian and Negro ancestry) were not segregated; often they were featured as exotic prostitutes in Euro-American brothels. The 'bluebook' directory to brothels in New Orleans, in particular, listed many octoroons and quadroons. Prostitutes with mixed African-Euro-American blood were believed to be possessors of greater sexual passion in the southeastern United States. A preference for female companionship followed ethnic lines in many cases, probably due to linguistic considerations. French and American prostitutes were reported to be the most desirable ethnically. Many Euro-American prostitutes took French names or claimed French blood to add to their commercial appeal.

High status Chinese prostitutes did not take non-Chinese customers, because of the Chinese male view which held that it was degrading for Chinese women to have sexual intercourse with a white. Chinese men did visit Euro-American prostitutes on occasion.

Most women arriving on the frontier as prostitutes or dance hall girls came out of economic necessity. Spanish prostitution was stimulated by famines in Chile, Peru, Brazil, Nicaragua, and Mexico. Among the first prostitutes to arrive in San Francisco during the gold rush of the 49'ers were Chilian women. They are described as:

'dark-complected, with fresh florid cheeks, bright black eyes, and glossy hair which hung down their backs in braids, . . . even the poorest managed to obtain a lively colored dress and silk stockings . . . half of those who came to California were said to be in their teens' (Gentry 1964:30).

Spanish prostitutes were often devalued as an identifiable ethnic group that wasn't English speaking. Spanish prostitutes mixed racially with Euro-American prostitutes, but generally worked in middle status of lower class establishments. However Spanish prostitutes and entertainers also capitalized on the possession of their 'Latin blood' and heritage.

Irish women arrived in waves as indentured servants and women seeking work. Their immigration was born out of economic necessity and the promise of jobs and marriage.

After arriving in the United States, as was the case with other immigrant women, they were easy victims for enticement into prostitution. Among those who were employed as servants some were sexually harassed or became involved with their employers. Many were unable to find employment once their indentured servitude was satisfied.

The involvement of Polynesian women or 'Kanakas' in prostitution is indeterminate. A broad reference to Kanaka women is made in the literature on Kanaka Flat outside Jacksonville, Oregon, but not confirmed by census data for the area, in which no single or young 'Kanaka' women were enumerated. All the 'Kanaka' women that were listed in the census were recorded as married and residing with their spouse. Polynesians were not found in the ethnic groups enumerated in Silver City, Idaho, and Virginia City, Nevada. One newspaper reference from Virginia City noted the mixing of Kanaka with several other languages during a fire.

The involvement of Native American women in prostitution is generally referenced in early Virginia City and Jacksonville. Based on demand and the economic stress southern Oregon tribes and the Piate of Virginia City were experiencing, prostitution by Native American women probably occurred. Many Native American women became mistresses and common law wives to Euro-American trappers and miners on the frontier. The census record for Jacksonville, Oregon attest to these relationships.

French prostitutes arrived in North America from France in a mass government sponsored immigration and from South America, which was experiencing an economic depression. Lima, Peru had a large French colony from whence came many of the western frontiers early prostitutes. French prostitutes also arrived from Valparaiso, the French Marquesas, and the Hawaiian Islands (Gentry 1967:29). Many of the women from South America were lured by the potential of marriage.

In the 1850's Louis Napoleon conducted national lotteries in France to pay the way of French prostitutes to the Pacific Coast. Napoleon was attempting to rid the country of criminal and potentially revolutionary elements (Goldman 1982). The association of these French women with the historically glamorous Second Empire Period in French history contributed to their appeal.

A few Black prostitutes resided and worked in the frontier mining towns, but no advertising or evidence of the presence of octoroon or quadroon was found. The exotic appeal of women of mixed ethnic blood may not have been as marketable on the frontier as it was in cosmopolitan cities like New Orleans.

Silver City had a small population of Black prostitutes in the early 1900's. These women were segregated in a brothel called 'The Pink House', located beyond the Chinese district on the outskirts of town. In Virginia City a

population of Black prostitutes was found as early as 1860. It should be noted that politically Virginia City was aligned with the North during the Civil War and furnished substantial economic backing for the Federal war effort through mineral production. The Black prostitutes in Virginia City were principally associated with the Hotel d'Afrique. Black prostitutes lived in the same Virginia City lodging houses as Euro-American prostitutes, but worked in Black brothels or cribs. The national origin of all other prostitutes can be lumped. American prostitutes were both first and second generation Americans. They came from the mid-west, north-east, south-east, and east. They merged ethnically with European women from countries including: England, Germany, Spain, Scotland, Ireland, France, and the Netherlands.

#### CHINESE PROSTITUTES

A Chinese prostitute, unlike a Euro-American prostitute, was not economically independent or in control of her services. Chinese prostitutes were usually indentured or enslaved women from southern China. They were 'big footed' peasant women, and most had Cantonese surnames.

Population pressures and natural disasters in China had resulted in extreme economic stress in the mid to late 1800's. Out of economic necessity many male Chinese came to the United States both as prospectors and laborers, to fill the demand for a cheap labor force to construct railroads and roads. In a similar manner Chinese peasant women were recruited and shipped to the Pacific Coast. Many of these women came with the promise that they would be married to Chinese men working in the U.S.. Some were sold as wives, but most were purchased as concubines or brothel prostitutes. For the economic benefit of their families, others entered into contracts that indentured them as prostitutes for four and a half years.

Chinese prostitution in the United States supported and facilitated the male Chinese sojourner population. Culturally 'decent' Chinese women were discouraged and in cases forbidden by their families from travelling abroad. The cost of transporting a wife was prohibitive for the sojourner; also, violence and anti-Chinese sentiments evident on the frontier discouraged many men, such as wealthy merchants, from bringing their wives. Chinese prostitution aided in the maintenance of the Chinese patriarchy and supported a migrant labor force with familial ties to China. Often these patriarchal affinal ties had been strengthened by the marriage of departing males. The relatives of the man were then charged with the duty of

keeping the women of the emigrants 'pure', and in return the sojourner was obliged to send their earnings to support the family (Hirata 1979). Chinese prostitutes also supported their families in China. Chinese women entered prostitution often as a result of their families wishes or economic obligations. The Chinese family was patrilocal in structure, thus a girl child would contribute to the economic well-being of the family only briefly as an adult. Bride price as a cultural system included the selling of daughters and their indenturement as dictated by the family. This cultural system resulted in less of a cultural stigma toward prostitution among the Chinese. Chinese prostitutes were often viewed as obedient daughters who were providing for their families, and not as 'immoral creatures'. They could marry out of the profession, or more accurately, be purchased out of the profession in economic satisfaction of their contract.

#### The Traffic in Women

The trade in Chinese women was stimulated by the demand of an overseas Chinese population in the U.S. that was over 90% male. There were so few Chinese women in the U.S. that near numerical equality between the sexes was not achieved

until the twentieth century (Lyman 1977). For a brief period of time during the early California Gold rush period (1849-54) Chinese prostitutes came to the Pacific Coast as free agents, among them San Francisco's Ah Toy. This period was followed by one of secret society or Tong monopoly of prostitution. The provision of sex and recreation to the community of womanless males proved lucrative and resulted in the holding of additional power by the societies (Lyman 1969).

The Hip Yee Tong dominated the prostitution trade in the mid-1870's. Between 1852 and 1873 the Hip Yee Tong imported 6,000 women or 87 percent of the total female Chinese population immigrating between those years. Agents of the societies procured the women, imported them to America, and sold or transferred them to brothel owners or buyers.

Women were procured through contract, kidnapping or conning. In the later case the naive women were often promised a marriage contract or legitimate employment. The testimony of Gon Sing, age 19, is indicative of the marriage contract deceit or con that served as a means to procure prostitutes.

"I was bought in China by a Chinaman, acting with a Chinese woman, for \$680, Mexican. Then I was sent over here to California by those people. I was told that when I came here I would be married to a respectable, wealthy Chinese merchant; soon after my arrival, however,

I found that was not the intention of those people. I was resold for \$1680 gold. I was first placed in a house of ill fame in San Francisco . . ." (Industrial Commission Report 1901:789).

Prostitution contracts that indentured Chinese women for specified periods of time were usually entered into with their families. The indentured period was from four to five years with stipulations about pregnancy and sick days. Two examples of contracts follow:

"Ah Kam, being poor and not having anyone on whom to depend, make this agreement, by which to obtain \$460 with my person. The middle party in this transaction, Loui Fung, having introduced me to Lang Kui, and having the promise of the latter to pay this debt for me, besides passage money having actually changed hands, first into the hands of myself, Ah Kum, and I am this day handed over to Lung Kai, to be taken to California for immoral purposes. The time of service is agreed to be four and one-half years with no pay for the service on the one hand and no interest for the money on the other. Fourteen days of sickness will not be taken notice of, But fifteen days of sickness will have to be made up by serving an additional month. In case of pregnancy an additional year has to be served. As to any expected calamities happening that may happen to anyone, that will be left to the decree of heaven. Should I upon arrival at California attempt to escape, or should refuse to be a prostitute, I agree irrevocably that Lung Kai should sell me to another at pleasure. Lest word of mouth should not be proof, this instrument is drawn up to such. Kwong Sui 17th Year, 9th Month, 1st Day (October 1, 1894)" (Industrial Commission 1901:771-772).

"The contractee Xin Jin is indebted to her master/mistress for passage from

China to San Francisco and will voluntarily work as a prostitute at Tan Fu's place for four and one-half years for an advance of 1205 yuan (U.S. \$524) to pay this debt. There shall be no interest on the money, and Xin Jin shall receive no wages. At the expiration of the contract, Xin Jin shall be free to do as she pleases. Until then, she shall first secure the master/mistress's permission if a customer asks to take her out. If she has the four loathsome diseases, she shall be returned within 100 days: beyond that time the procurer has no responsibility. Menstruation disorder is limited to one month's rest only. If Xin Jin becomes sick at any time for more than fifteen days, she shall work one month extra. Should Xin Jin run away before her term is out, she shall pay whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her to the brothel. This is a contract to be retained by the master/mistress as evidence of the agreement. Receipt of 1,205 yuan (\$524) by Ah Yo. Thumb print of Xin Jin the contractee. Eight month of the 12th Year of Guang-zu (1886)" (Hiarita 1979:15-16).

Indentured prostitutes could be purchased, but the cost of Chinese prostitutes and women sold as concubines and wives was usually well beyond the economic means of the average sojourner. Often the indenture contract stipulated the cost and other requirements relating to the resale of indentured prostitute. Chun Ho's contract allowed that she might be purchased after two years of her four year contract were fulfilled, at a cost of \$2100 (U.S. Labor Commission 1891). The capital outlay for a prostitute was small in comparison to the earning potential of a prostitute under a four year contract. They were usually purchased for under

\$600, including passage costs. Hiarta (1979) estimated that the average Chinese prostitute earned approximately \$850 per year, and \$3400 in four years of servitude. This dollar amount is based on an estimated four to ten customers a day at a gross earning of thirty-eight cents per customer. This estimate may be low since many Chinese prostitutes were employed in piece work during slack work periods at the brothel. The Chinese prostitutes of San Francisco sewed clothing, slippers, button holes, and did a wide variety of other kinds of piece work. In the mining camps Chinese prostitutes appear to have also performed the duties of domestics and cooks.

### Transport

Chinese women, potential brides or indentured prostitutes, were transferred from the procurer to an importing agent. They were put on ships out of Hong Kong, Canton, and Macao, the same ports of departure and often on board the same boats as the larger male sojourner population.

The importers arranged passage, U.S. port entry, and transfer of the procurered women to an agent for sale, or to a waiting client. The importers task grew more complex with

the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Immigration of Chinese women was limited to U.S. born Chinese, women married to immigrant Chinese men, and daughters of domiciled merchants who were born outside the U.S. The Act resulted in increased bribery of customs agents, forged papers, and coaching. A set of coaching papers that contained eighty-one questions circulated in Canton and Hong Kong for use in coaching the imported prostitutes prior to questioning by U.S. port authorities. Prior to entry, the women might be held in cramped quarters that featured minimal provision for sanitation, for a month or longer. As the cost and legal complexity of the importing of Chinese prostitutes increased, the Hip Yee Tong lost domination of the trade.

#### Entry and Sale

Chinese prostitutes were landed primarily in San Francisco. Later Portland, Oregon, and Vancouver, Canada, became the major ports of entry (Hiarta 1979). The northwest coastal ports were used because of increased difficulty of importing Chinese women through the port of San Francisco, that resulted from the passage of California's 1875 immigration code, which barred "lewd or

debauched women" from immigrating to California. The 1875 immigration code was aimed not only at controlling Chinese prostitution, but also probably at controlling the number of Chinese women who entered in general. The exclusion of Chinese women aided in the maintenance of a transient Chinese population, a sojourner population and not an immigrating population. California's 1875 immigration code proved to be an unsuccessful mechanism for controlling the entry of Chinese prostitutes. The Federal Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 proved far more effective in inhibiting the entry of prostitutes. The Exclusion Act banned the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years and prohibited the naturalization of Chinese. Although many prostitutes gained entry under forged papers, were smuggled in, or were overlooked by bribed customs officials. An amendment was added to the Exclusion Act in 1888. This amendment prohibited the reentry of Chinese after temporary departure, thus precluding the commonly used ploy of reentry under falsified papers. The result was a rise in costs and risks associated with the import of women; kidnapping of Chinese women in the U.S. accelerated.

Once the Chinese women were landed they were transported to Chinatown and housed in temporary quarters. Owners received purchased women from their agents in a warehoused manner. Chinese prostitutes who were not procurered for clients were displayed to interested

customers or held at local brothels until they were sold or transferred to towns in the mining regions. Chinese women might be purchased as wives, concubines, or prostitutes. Prices were based on beauty and virtue. Virtue was associated with not only maidenhood but for prior prostitutes the deficit of sexual contact with non-Chinese. Many women from coastal villages had a reputation for prior involvement in prostitution that included contact with foreign sailors, and thus were sold for lower prices.

#### Lifeway

Chinese women might be sold as wives or concubines. A women might be owned by several men as a shared concubine. Women in this position probably provided not only sexual services, but also companionship, domestic services, and acted as social hostesses. Higher status prostitutes were cloistured from sexual contact with Euro-American men. They often occupied apartments in houses or upstairs rooms and provided entertainment, companionship, and sexual services for a few Chinese customers. They were usually well attired, acted as hostesses or entertainers at social gatherings, and received gifts from patrons through which they could obtain a measure of personal wealth. Higher

status Chinese prostitutes generally received better treatment than did lower class Chinese prostitutes. Few high status prostitutes could be identified in the mining camps researched. This may in part be due to the little Euro-American contact with high status Chinese prostitutes.

In contrast lower status Chinese prostitutes were considered to be on the bottom rung in the ranks of prostitution. They provided sexual service to an ethnic mix of customers. From twenty-five to fifty cents might be charged for a visit, which was brief. Customers could not be refused because of disease or other causes, resulting in a low valuation and social opinion of Chinese prostitutes.

Lower status Chinese prostitutes occupied small rooms or cubicles in gambling hall, opium dens, brothel, and cribs. The small 4' x 6' rooms of the prostitutes might be sparsely furnished with a washbasin, a hard bunk covered with matting, and perhaps a bamboo chair or two (U.S. Congress 1877:192).

The treatment of Chinese prostitutes was based on owner preference. The experience of Gon Sing was not unusual, she testified:

"I was punished and often struck by the owner of the house because I did not make myself agreeable and did not earn enough money for the owners . . . The instruments used were poles and rattans" (U.S. Industrial Commission 1901: ).

Chinese prostitutes often died in the profession from

physical abuse, suicide, or the hazards of the profession such as disease. For this reason four and a half years was considered to be the prime market period for Chinese prostitutes by brothel owners. Chinese prostitutes were between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five, but the majority were in their late teens or early twenties at the time of import.

### Children

The imported Chinese prostitutes were of prime child bearing age, and many had children during their service years. In 1860, in San Francisco a total of forty-three Chinese children were recorded as residing in brothels and nine outside brothels. In 1870 two hundred and fifty-four were listed in brothels and two hundred and forty-one were listed as living outside. In 1880 with the increase in the Chinese female population living outside brothels, the population of children living outside brothels increased to six hundred and four, and eighty-eight inside (Hirata 1979).

## Customers

Chinese prostitutes were segregated as were Chinese laborers, and did not work in the same houses as Euro-American prostitutes. Chinese prostitutes were restricted to Chinatown, but Euro-Americans were among their customers. (Interestingly, Japanese women did work in the same houses as Euro-American prostitutes, as 'exotics'.) Alf Doten, owner of the Gold Hill News, a Virginia City-Gold Hill newspaper, noted visits to Chinese brothel in his Journals. In October of 1865, Doten wrote:

"went to Mary's house--we were in her room with her--she gave us each a cake left from the holiday yesterday--filled with nuts and sweetmeat--we laid on a bed with her & smoked opium with her--a little boy some 2 years old sleeping there, belonging to one of her women--long and interesting chat with her" (Doten October 4, 1865).

## Kidnapping and Rescue

The rise in costs and risk, associated with the import of Chinese women resulted in an acceleration in the kidnapping of Chinese women in the United States. Several kidnapping cases made the pages of the Silver City, Idaho,

and Virginia City, Nevada newspapers. One case that received the most extensive coverage was the kidnapping of Cow Kum. Cow Kum was kidnapped from her husband Ah Hong by Ah Wong. Kum was discovered two years later in Ah Wong's house of prostitution in Virginia City. When Wong would not release her to her husband Hong the case was taken before the local judge. Cow Kum requested that she be returned to her husband, and the judge so ruled. Prostitutes were often kidnapped by rival Tongs or ran away with male friends. Rescue Missions were established in the larger cities to aid Chinese prostitutes in gaining their freedom. San Francisco was a major center for mission work on the Pacific Coast. Mission workers would go to establishments where Chinese prostitutes were reported to reside and attempt rescues. Mission rescue workers were both aided and deterred in their efforts by police.

On the frontier, church associations did not address the rescue of prostitutes, particularly not Chinese prostitutes. No public protests relating to the treatment of Chinese women were raised. Chinese prostitutes had little contact with the Euro-American community except through Euro-American customers.

## BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON EURO-AMERICAN PROSTITUTES

Euro-American frontier prostitution is characterized by the few entrepreneurs, notorious characters, and 'golden hearted' madams that made up the ranks of the 'red light ladies'. No typical prostitute exists in the historical or archaeological record. From the small sample of biographic data that exists on a few prostitutes 'a slice of life' perspective was developed and has implications in the understanding of the lifeway of the majority of the red light ladies about whom little documentation exists.

Frontier prostitutes were a transient group. Psuedonyms were an incorporated characteristic of the profession. Biographical data is available from journals and diaries, newspaper articles, oral histories, probate records, and correspondence. Most secondary sources that present characterizations of prostitutes are scantily rooted in primary data. Among the best historical biographic skethes are James H. Gray's Red Lights on the Prairie (1971) and Paula Petrik's article "Capitalists with Rooms; Prostitution in Helena, Montana, 1865-1900" (1981). Petrik utilized probate record, deeds, police records, records of mortgage, bank records, and manuscript census data to document the entreperneurial rise and fall of Helena's most prominent madams and bawdy saloon owners. Sociologist

Barbara Heyl (1979) has published an excellent life history of a contemporary madam. Marion Goldman also provides a sociological perspective on historic Comstock Lode prostitution for a twenty year period. Other sources such as Mabel Barbie Lee (1958) and Ned Williams provide primary historical data based on their memories and descriptions of prostitutes. As in most historical sketches the biographical data reflects the upper class of prostitution and not crib or vagrant prostitutes.

#### STATUS AND CLASS WITHIN THE DEMIMONDE.

Class was a social perception of the demi-monde, customers, and the community. Prostitutes as a socio-economic group gained their status, and resulting economic position, through the customers they were associated with and the type of service they provided. Status was generally equivalent to the percentage of companionship or entertaining involved in the actual prostitution service being purchased. The more 'lady like' a prostitute was the higher her status. The crib prostitute who provided only sexual services was on the low end of the class system. Usually the more flagrant a prostitute was,

the less status she held (Goldman 1978:110,111). On the Comstock Lode Marion Goldman (1981:73-74) found that rank was dependent upon whether a women was: (1) clandestine or flagrant in soliciting cutomers, (2) subtle or open about obtaining payment, (3) selling talents or attributes other than straight, impersonal sex, (4) involved with few or many men, (5) expensive or cheap, and finally (6) patronized by rich or poor men.

Status in the ranks was generally marked by the establishment occupied. Employment within the profession was contingent on race, ethnicity, social background, education, specific talents, appearance, and experience. Prostitutes could move up and down the stratified class system. The opportunity to move upward in the ranks was provided by the open market structure on the frontier, and potential for economic gain. Most prostitutes, unless they proved to be good entrepreneurs, moved downward in the ranks. The hazards of the profession, disease, violent customers, psychological and drug-alcohol problems, lead many women through the ranks to crib prostitution.

Class-status segregation within the professional ranks of the demi-monde reinforced the larger stratified community. In the frontier community prostitution services could be afforded by any man that could pay something. Affluent men could afford elite prostitution services, or sample the range of prostitute services. Middle class men

could afford mid-status prostitutes, visit low-status prostitutes, or purchase the services of the elite prostitute. Men generally tended to patronize prostitutes of their own 'class'. The class lines within prostitution maintained the community class lines. Men generally associated with men of their own economic class when they visited the establishments of prostitutes.

Stratification functioned to regulate prostitutes' work roles, mitigate competition among prostitutes and also entrepreneurs, and accommodate customers (Goldman 1981:98). Prostitutes learned the behaviors and expectations of their status related work roles. This defined work role aided the prostitute in utilizing the prostitution circuit when they moved from community to community and establishment to establishment. Prostitutes in the same working situation could also maintain bonds of solidarity by befriending one another and competing with women in other status groups (Goldman 1981:99).

Descriptive 'slice of life' sketches provide a historical perspective on the stratification and resulting lifeway of prostitutes. The majority of the successful prostitutes rose through the ranks in much the same manner that other business-professionals did by design and chance. Similarly prostitutes, like the majority of the frontier population, were transient and thus are difficult to profile or typify.

The use of a variety of names, nouns, and phrases in conjunction with prostitution or prostitutes also make identification and delineation of specific women difficult. In a life time a prostitute might use from two to six or more psuedonyms, or be referred to by nicknames. A few nicknames, such as 'suicide Frenchy' and the 'German Muscle-woman', provide information on the national origin and/or character of the women.

Phrases and nouns used to refer to prostitutes were evident in all the newspapers reviewed. Prostitutes were identified by the following nouns and phrases:

- member(s) of the demi-monde
- nymph
- nymph(s) de pave
- nymph of easy virtue
- soiled dove(s)
- lady(s) of easy virtue
- lady(s) of ill-repute
- lady(s) of ill fame
- hussie(s)
- whore(s)
- harlot(s)
- courtesan(s)
- red light lady(s)
- fair but frail
- women of the town
- cypian
- fancy lady
- prostitute of the lowest order
- proprietress of a Hotel de refresque
- practitioner of a personal service
- celestial (Chinese prostitute)
- almond eyed celestial or damsel  
(Chinese protitute)
- Spanish fair (Spanish prostitute)
- Dinah or Black Dinah (Black  
prostitute)

Probate Records and Other Historical Sources.

Less descriptive than the biographical sketches developed by historians of the lives of high status or popularized prostitutes are 'slice of life' perspectives of prostitutes derived from probate wills and records. Susan Ballard, a mid-status prostitute in Virginia City, Nevada, died leaving less than \$1000 to her infant daughter, Mary. In contrast Delores Jarra of Helena transferred her tenderloin district property to her daughters and made John Stanchfield their legal guardian through a legally arranged and certified death (Petrik 1981). Delores, who was only legally certified dead, then married Stanchfield, thus removing herself legally from an association with the demi-monde, but retaining the economic benefits of the prostitution trade.

Maria Clapper, an 1880's Silver City, Idaho, prostitute willed her estate to her grown daughter in New York and friend, saloon keeper William Williams. Maria left a house and lot, furniture, jewelry, clothes, money and investments made with Williams. She stipulated that five hundred dollars of her estate go to her burial in a mountain cemetery near San Francisco. Her wishes seem to have been followed. Maria was buried in the Silver City cemetery and exhumed two months later. Her reinterment location was listed as California.

The probate records of Jule Bulette, of Virginia City, Nevada, provide a detailed record of some of the possessions of a mid-status prostitute. Jule named prostitute Mary Jane Minirie as executor of her estate; prostitutes often named other prostitutes as executors of their estates. Jule Bulette left no heirs or information on family ties. Jule's estate as advertised in the March 17, 1866 Territorial Enterprise included:

"One blue plaid silk Dress; 1 red meire antique Dress and Body; 1 black silk Dress; 1 purple Dress; 1 silk Cape, trimmed with fur; 1 blue flannel shirt; 1 Silver Cup marked J.C.B.; 1 pair red silk stockings; 3 Chemises; 1 white silk Cord; 4 handkerchiefs; 1 pair of Gloves; 1 brown silk necktie; 1 fur Cape; 1 Fur cap; 1 fur collar; 1 fur Muff; 3 fur Muffs; 1 purple Hood; 1 Portmonnaie; 1 Gold Hunting Warch; gold Chain and Charms; 1 Watch Case; 1 jet-set Breastpin, Earrings, and Cross; 1 Silver Brick, marked Julia."

The sale brought in \$875.43 with \$791.00 owed in unpaid bills plus legal and estate fees of \$201.40. Other items Julia left, as reported in news articles and court records included: a diamond pin; a masonic emblem; coral earrings; twenty shirtwaists; fifteen jackets; eight dresses not described in the estate sale notice, among them a brown silk dress that sold at auction for \$37.50; a red wool cloak and four other cloaks; two riding habits, one with a black velvet coat; a cashmere shawl; a small diamond ring; a matched pair of gold bracelets; and a locket and chain.

Julia owned a large collection of good clothes and jewelry for a middle rank prostitute.

## STRATIFICATION

### The Madams

Each frontier town had its characters and entrepreneurs, often one and the same. Gray (1971) provides a good characterization of the successful prostitute turned madam in his account of Billie Norton. Billie Norton came to Edmonton, Canada, from Jasper in 1910. Billie took a room in the Place Rooming House on Namayo Street and started seeing customers. Several weeks later she moved to a better room in the Waverly House on Fraser Street. Within a few months time Billie moved to a rented cottage on fifth Street. From there she took up residence in a larger house at 450 Fraser Street and employed two girls. The next two moves were to houses on Ottawa Street and Kinistino Street, then to a larger house next to the Savory Hotel at which Billie employed four girls. Three years later at the end of

1913, Billie Norton had saved enough money to purchase a king-sized rooming house with furniture. Billie's business activities were not curtailed or interrupted by the police until she attempted to purchase the rooming house.

Mary Welsh, an Irish immigrant, was another entrepreneurial success. Mary arrived in New York harbor in 1858. She was fourteen years of age and illiterate. From New York she went to Chicago, and learned the ways of the irregular economy and prostitution. Mary changed her name to Josephine Airey prior to her arrival in Montana Territory in 1867. Josephine left Helena for White Pine Nevada in 1859. In 1871, Josephine returned to Helena with enough capital to begin purchasing property on Wood Street (Helena's main commercial street). Shortly thereafter the need to expand Joe's Wood Street property resulted in a mortgage agreement between Josephine and Harriet Truett, wife of the probate judge. Mrs Truett's interest rate is reported to have bordered on usury and her terms were unyielding (Petrik 1981). Josephine met the terms of her agreement in full and benefitted from her business expansion.

Joe arranged her next capital loan through Salig and Alex Labenberg. The Lavenbergs were dry good merchants, who extended loans to women of the demimonde. Joe mortgaged all her real property and personal property, including her underwear. Once again she was able to pay the note prior to

its due date, despite the fire of 1874. The fire had wiped out the businesses of several other prostitute-madams. In 1878 Joe married a local gambler, James T. Hensley ("Black Hawk" Hensley). Business continued to be on the economic upswing; Joe operated several establishments and continued to acquire property. In 1883 she was the largest Wood Street property owner in Helena.

In 1884 an ordinance was passed prohibiting prostitutes from soliciting, and in 1885 a locational ordinance restricted houses of ill-repute to a specific area of town. In the summer of 1886 Joe was charged with operating a hurdy gurdy house outside the designated district. She was found not guilty when her lawyer produced a definition of 'hurdy-gurdy'--a boxed string instrument which is played by cranking.

Helena grew more cosmopolitan in the mid to late 1880's. The demimonde in response to popular demands undertook expansion of their establishments and services. In the late 1880's Joe began to build the "Coliseum", which was a vaudevillian variety theatre. Joe also undertook the expansion of several other establishments. Josephine took out capital loans on her real property through the Thomas Cruse Savings Bank and liquor wholesaler Jacob Switzer. In the depression of the early 1890's Joe found herself over extended. In 1896, she was forced by financial demand to sell all her mortgaged properties for the amount of the

mortgages to Jacob Switzer. The cost of building the Coliseum alone was over \$30,000.

Three years later Josephine Hensely died at the age of fifty-six in her Wood Street home poor and alone. She had come full circle from the poor illiterate Irish immigrant girl, to the top of Helena's demimonde, to poverty.

Lillian Powers of Cripple Creek, Colorado, had a background that many have been typical of many of the women who came west. 'Two Bit Lil' told the following story of her entry into the profession when she was interviewed by Mabel Barbie Lee:

"Well my father had this farm, you see, and nobody to work it but him and us two girls. I was fourteen, two years older than my sister, and he forgot most of the time that we wasn't horses. Got so I couldn't take it anymore. It was drudgery, day after day, and I'm telling you they was long days from sunup to sundown. One morning, I decided that instead of going into the field to plow, I would run away to Alton, the next town, a few miles from St. Louis. I swore to God that I'd never return and I never did. Never wanted to see my father again or anyone else in my family." After reaching St. Louis--"I got a job in a laundry and if you think that was easy, my God! It was almost as bad as the farm and my pay was one dollar a week. A room cost fifty cents a week--there wasn't much left for all the fancy folderols I thought I could buy when I went to the big city. I took up with a girl who worked next to me. We got to talking one day and I asked her how she made out on such a piddling wage. "I don't," she said. "None of us girls do on what they pay us. Every last one of us has had to

get ourselves a pimp. The quicker you do this the better off you'll be."(Lee 1968 in 1981:24).

From St. Louis Lillian eventually traveled to Cripple Creek, Colorado, in the 1890's. Lil worked out of a crib in Cripple Creek's Red Light District, but offered her companionship and an ear to her regular customers for a price. By her own account, she developed a loyal clientele and made more profits in tips and beer than anyone else on the block made with sex as the only commodity (Reiter 1978:142). Later, after being run out of town by another prostitute --'Leo-the-Lion'- she managed a madams cribs for a percentage of the take in Salida, Colorado. Later she opened a brothel in the nearby town of Florence.

#### Actresses, Mistresses, and Prostitution.

There existed a line of social demarcation between entertainers and prostitutes. Entertainers might provide sexual services, but were not overt about this service. Many melodeon performers became prostitutes as economic need and the transient structure of their profession dictated. Ida Vernon, who is discussed later, was a performer turned prostitute, as was Belle Bateman of Virginia City. Belle

went from the Amelia Dean Melodeon Troupe to employment at Bow Windows. Actresses, singers, and hurdy-gurdy or dance hall girls were all primarily entertainers. Many did not derive income from or participate in sexual commerce. For others it was an income supplement.

Mistresses are the most difficult to identify in the historical record of a community. Their role throughout history has been clothed in a kind of white-collar acceptability, contingent on discretion and style. The death and life history of Nellie Davis as reported in the Territorial Enterprise provides a perspective on the frontier mistress that is tragic, but in basic chronology probably similar to the story of many frontier mistresses.

"A women of the town known as Nellie Davis, (sic) yesterday committed suicide by taking morphine. It appears that besides other troubles she was somewhat involved in pecunitary difficulties, and all things appearing to go against her she felt that she had nothing to live for. She was living at the house of Mrs. Gray, No. 3, South B street, where she occupied a room." ( Territorial Enterprise September 24, 1871 )

The article went on to detail her death and reported that Nellie Davis left several letters addressed to friends and Mrs. Gray. She was noted as being a native of Cornwall, England, and thirty-three years of age.

"She was formerly the wife of a man named Fitzgibbons, and at that time lived in San Francisco. We believe she was divorced from her husband, but at any

rate she went to Idaho with a man named McKibbin, to whom she was married, or at any rate with whom she lived as his wife. While there McKibbin shot at a man whom he found in a room with her under suspicious circumstances, and she afterwards became the mistress of the owner of one of the rich mines of the country. This man married, when she went East, and returning, finally came to this city last October, where she has resided since with the exception of a few weeks."

The article goes on to report that Nellie Davis was reportedly horrified by the life she had been compelled to lead, and said "she would prefer death to going back into a house again, which she feared she would be obliged to do."

The tale of Laura Fair, who murdered her lover Alexander P. Crittenden, exemplifies the popularized historic drama often associated with the mistress relationship, but was not found to be typical of the frontier mistress-lover relationship.

Alf Doten's Journals (Comstock years late 1864-1881,) provide a daily account of life on the Comstock and his relationship with his mistress, Mrs. M.. Doten was a reporter and editor for the Gold Hill News . His almost daily journal entries provide documentation of not only his life but the lives of friends and associates on the Comstock. Doten recorded much about his mistress Mrs. M. . He wrote about Mrs. M.'s husband, recorded details about their sexual interactions, described the social events and entertainments they attended, the spiritual meetings they went to, and noted the gifts exchanged.

Alf Doten and Mrs. Morton carried on an affair for several years virtually under the nose of her husband. In one Journal entry Alf reports he replaced Mr. Morton in bed and played the role of Mrs. M's husband. Their affair was consummated in March of 1867, peaked after several months, and continued as a friendship with sexual interactions through 1871. Doten recorded rather explicitly the nature of their sexual contacts, often in a simple code, and tallied the successful sexual interactions--ending with a total of 526. Some entries relating to the relationship were edited through erasure. Doten accompanied Mrs. M. openly to plays, lectures, meetings, and other entertainments.

During the period of their relationship Mrs. M. had a miscarriage. In an entry on September 29, 1867 Doten describes Mrs. M's pain from the miscarriage and complains that he will get no sex now. On September 30, 1867, Mrs. M. is recovered, Doten writes: "My love well enough to fuck a little so I fucked her a turn."

During their affair Doten purchased a few personal items for Mrs. M.; on October 10, 1868 he bought a canary for \$10.00 for Mrs. M.; On March 14, 1868 Doten took Mrs. M. "to Sutterley's & and got 2 pictures taken--Photographs--1 a card vignette--other big vignette. . ."

In 1870 when he learned Mrs. M. was unwell in San Francisco he sent her money and medicine. On March 31, 1872, after Mrs. M. has separated from her husband Doten wrote:

"At 4 PM Mrs. M. left for San F--took her bird and all her things--leaves me for good, I think--Will go into dress making business with Helena Goodchild in San Francisco . . . [line erased]-"

#### The Upper and Middle Status Prostitute

Many upper and most middle rank prostitutes had little property beyond a few personal possessions. Employment in a high status establishment provided opportunity for economic gain but not the actuality of it. Many prostitutes employed in Parlor Houses and Upper-class Brothels gained more comforts, better clothes, but little economic independence. Not only did approximately 20 to 70 percent of their service fee go to the 'House', but clothes and other services like laundry might carry a percentage mark-up.

Many prostitutes began the profession in top establishments as 'young women'. Some 'houses' built their businesses around the featuring of 'young women'. Bow Windows brothel in Virginia City often featured

inexperienced women, women who moved from marriages into prostitution. Other prostitutes worked their way into and out of the better establishments as they gained experience living the 'fast life'. The opportunities open to the upper status prostitute included mobility into a managerial position, marriage, or a mistress role. For other, encapsulated histories of their lives often appear as their suicide obituaries.

Belle Bateman ('Hattie Willis') and Mrs. Kate Thompson died in a double suicide. Belle it is noted, went from employment with the Amelia Dean Melodeon Troupe to employment at Rose Benjamins D Street and Sutton Avenue brothel. Belle Bateman was sixteen or seventeen years old and illiterate. She had attempted suicide several times before but had always been saved. She was survived by a brother in Utica, New York ( Territorial Enterprise August 17, 1972).

Of Mrs Kate Thompson, the Enterprise reported she was a tall fine good looking woman, about twenty-one years of age. She had been in a house of prostitution for only a few weeks. She had had trouble with her husband and either at that time or shortly after had attempted suicide at a lodging house. She was a literate woman and had composed the suicide note she and Belle left.

Ida Vernon's suicide is reported in the Comstock newspapers and recorded in Alf Doten's Journal. Alf wrote:

"Little Ida that I used to \_\_\_some two years ago was found dead in her bed a "Bow Windows" this morning--She has been rather dissipated for some time past and lately had taken to opium--Ida Vernon was her name--About 32 years old--a man sleeping with her & found her dead in the morning--rest in peace Ida--she was her worst enemy" (February 6, 1868).

Ida had been a Music Hall performer in 1865. An entry in Doten's Journal on February 5, 1865, notes she performed with the Fillmore Sisters and several other entertainers at the Marysville Appeal, a Virginia City music hall. The newspaper article about Ida adds the information that she was called 'English Ida' and that "Bow Windows" was on G Street. The Territorial Enterprise reported:

"It is supposed that her death was caused by an overdose of Chloroform. Her "man", who first discovered her death went to bed at a late hour, and supposing her to be asleep, did not speak to her. In the morning he spoke to her, and getting no answer, became alarmed, and looking more closely found her dead. She had been unwell for some time previous to her death--was afflicted with rheumatism, we beleive--and was in the habit of inhaling chloroform to induce sleep. It is supposed that she unintentionally took too large a dose" (February 7, 1868).

Ida, Kate Thompson, and Belle Bateman were all prostitutes at the better establishments of prostitution in Virginia City, Nevada. The establishments they were

employed in had decorees and services that emphasised luxury. Entertainment and companionship were provided as well as sexual services. The houses they occupied were owned and managed by Madams who received, if only tacitly, respect in the community. Patrons included mine owners, bankers, merchants, and other men in the upper to upper middle class of the community. Fine food, liquor, conversation, and entertainment were sought by their customers along with sexual services.

Among the middle status prostitutes in that City were courtesans Jule Bulette and Gertrude Holmes, the employees of Madam Reyes, Martha Camp for a brief period of time, and others who rose or fell or left the ranks altogether. The mid-status prostitutes often worked alone in cottages, several women sharing a small house, or in small three to four women brothels. The elite levels of prostitution were emulated by women of this class. Jule Bulette with her 'excellent' wardrobe and 'entertainment' of customers, as evident through her liquor bill, overspent her resources by emulating the elegance of contemporary Cad Thompson's 'Brick House'.

## Low Status Prostitutes

Of the lowest class of prostitutes, the vagrant and crib type, very little is recorded. Mary Ramshart of Virginia City may be representative of some of the low status prostitutes. Mary came to the Comstock in the early 1860's and was reputed to have been an industrious hard working mother; two years later Mary was reportedly caught in the ruin of alcoholism and vulgarity. She had experienced the ravage of "local, domestic, and psychological causes" ( Territorial Enterprise December 9, 1866). Mary had several illegitimate children and survived for a time with the aid of several local women. Their aid was only secondary or at best tertiary, and in Mary's case had little overall effect in aiding her exit from the lifeway of a vagrant prostitute. In 1866 Mary Ramshart was found wandering in a deranged state and visibly pregnant. She was committed to the California State Asylum and died a month later.

The vagrant prostitute was the lowest of the low status women of ill-repute. Vagrant prostitutes were not the street walkers of today or even historic times, rather, they were generally broken women, transients struggling to survive in a harsh physical and social environment.

Crib prostitutes in contrast could be ending or beginning careers in prostitution. Crib level prostitutes rented small shanties or apartments that were situated in a line. The small one or two room structures rented for \$1-\$5 a day. The cribs of the line might feature the prostitute's name on the door. The cribs were inhabited by young girls, beauties, wretched hags, Indian squaws, mulattoes, Japanese, and Chinese (Marion 1974:137). Sporting Row, Maiden Lane, Stingaree Gulch, the Stockade, Floozie Barns were all names used for crib lines in western towns. The ladies of the line solicited at the doorways or windows of the cribs. Often they were only attired in a loose shift or kimono. Service was brief and cost below a dollar. Sexual services and not companionship were sold. The client generally remained clothed, and often an oil cloth strip was laid across the foot of the bed to protect the spread from boot marks.

#### THE LIFEWAY OF THE FRONTIER PROSTITUTE.

The lifeway of the frontier prostitute was not unlike that of respectable women in the frontier community. Most had come from the respectable class of citizenry and

prostitution was not a profession that a specific class of women was born into. Josephine Airey was a illiterate Irish immigrant; in contrast Jennifer Lavender of Silver City, Idaho was reputed to be a graduate of the University of Virginia.

Many of the problems prostitutes faced and overcame were the problems of women on the frontier. Their companions were other women and entrepreneurs in the profession. Few had pimps. Many, such as Ida Vernon, probably had regular customers or 'men'. In the boom towns and mining camps they were first and at times the only women.

#### Marriage and Employment

Prostitutes both married out of and entered prostitution from marriage. Approximately 50 percent of the Comstock prostitutes identified in 1880 had been married, in cases more than once (Goldman 1981). Prostitutes might marry out of active prostitution, but not the profession. Rose Benjamin of Virginia City and Josephine Airey of Helena both continued to manage their establishments after marriage. Rose married her lover George E. Perkins and moved to the respectable part of town. Rose managed her

brothel during working hours, but over time left an increasing amount of the management to her houseman Phil Escobar. Rose finally sold her brothel and moved from Virginia City in the late 1870's. Casey, the "Irish Queen" of Silver City, returned to her favorite brothel for visits and occasional employment after her marriage.

Many women entered the profession from marriages due to economic necessity and the deficit of 'respectable' employment options for women. Divorce announcements can be found in all frontier newspapers. Divorce became a regular occurrence, often due to desertion, abuse, or infidelity. 'Laura Steele' (Hattie Knapp) or 'Scotch Laura" was a married middle rank prostitute. She was described at the time of her death as a twenty-two year old, black haired beauty, with very fair skin and regular features. Hattie had immigrated to California from Aberdeen, Scotland, with her mother and sister. There she had married. Six months prior to her death she had accompanied her husband a saloon keeper, to Gold Hill. She had left him shortly after their arrival on the Comstock and moved into Rose Benjamin's brothel. ( Territorial Enterprise May 6 and 7, 1875).

The employment options for women who needed to support themselves and often their children included: housekeeping, school teaching, running a lodging house, sewing, or other low paying clerical type work. If a women had some economic means she could open a lodging house or restaurant. This

hypothesis relating low wages for women and entry into prostitution is supported by the studies on vice in the early 1900's in many metropolitan centers. In the Portland Vice Commission Report (1913:200) it was noted: "low wages paid to working girls are closely associated with conditions of vice." The commission recommended that a minimum wage for women workers be established in the city and state. The commission had found that many women had to supplement their income through prostitution in order to survive and that employers were aware of this 'extra income' activity.

#### Husbands and Companions

The marital choices of many madams, as reported in the literature, are unfortunate. This may be largely a reflection of the writers reporting of incidents with reader appeal and less a reflection of reality. Women of the demi-monde associated directly with gamblers, fancy men, and entrepreneurs in like or companion businesses. Maria Clapper of Silver City notes in her probate will that she has made investments with William Williams, a saloon keeper. Women, in the profession, particularly madams, had often had too much experience at being independent to fit and function within the Victorian behavioral norm. Prostitutes who were

not entrepreneurially minded may have had better luck in marriage. Mary Mathews (1880) stated in her book about life on the Comstock that she knew of several cases in which good, respectable, and wealthy men married women from corrupt houses. Mary noted, these women become quite respectable and respected. This was not always the case as is evident from incidents described in Doten's Journal. Doten reported in 1872 that prostitute, Mercedes Navarro, returned from Eureka to her Virginia City home with husband Edward Reyes. The marriage was short lived. Within a few months time Mr. Reyes was complaining to Alf Doten: "She would not stay at home . . . but kept him jealously slopping around after her" (Doten Journal Jan 8, 1872). In the course of that evening Mr. Reyes rushed into Doten's house four times and searched it for Mercedes. On January 9, 1872 Mercedes alleviated the problem of her husbands jealousy by having him arrested for robbing her. Mercedes was a lady of independent means. In the 1870 census she was reported as having \$5000 in real and personal property. She owned the house Doten rented.

The friends of prostitutes were other women of their profession, customers and men operating in the illegal market place were less consistent in the friendship they provided. Cad Thompson corresponded with a prostitute named Jenny for many years (Goldman 1981). Contacts and relationships with other women in the profession were also

maintained for business purposes. Lillie McGraw maintained her professional connections with the Portland tenderloin during thirty years of residence in Helena, Montana. Similarly "Chicago Joe" (Josephine Airey) imported women from Chicago for employment in her Helena brothels. Interestingly, several sets of sisters worked as prostitutes in Virginia City, Nevada's brothels and parlor houses.

Prostitutes often traveled from town to town together following what was considered to be the parlor house circuit, and generally consisted of seasonal employment at several brothels in a region or travel seasonally to areas where prostitutes were in demand for brief periods of time, such as cattle shipping points. Many of the women developed close friendships. Julia Bulette often shared meals with her neighbor and friend Gertrude Holmes. Gertrude's house featured a kitchen; Julia's did not. They exchanged gifts, and according to Gertrude's testimony were like sisters.

Friends outside the demi-monde often remained anonymous to the community. Pearl DeVere's benefactor sent an anonymous letter from Denver with a thousand dollars enclosed for payment of her burial costs. He stipulated only that she be buried in the gown she had worn Christmas Eve, the night of her death. The customer-companions of prostitutes were casual participants in their lives. Alf Doten and Dan DeQuille frequented brothels throughout Virginia City. Doten was on friendly terms with many

prostitutes in the community. He left his dog Kizer with Blanche DeMaude of Bow Windows Brothel and rented a house from Mercedes Navarro. He was non-committal when eulogizing about Ida Vernon's death (page 63). The majority of Doten's visits to the fancy women were casual entertainment visits.

"-went to Jenny Tylers . . . Had jolly time--lots of music, songs, wine, etc, & bed at 4--" (Doten November 5, 1865).

". . . Cruised with Brier short time--went to Dutch Ball, at Athletic Hall--Then went to Bell Neil's ball on B st. just back of Athletic Hall--then to one or two other little Spanish shindigs--Bed at 4 1/2--" (Doten December 24, 1866).

### Children

Little data exists on children of frontier prostitutes. Their presence is primarily recorded in census years, or acknowledged in Probate Wills. Prostitute's children were boarded in other cities, resided with them, or were abandoned to the care of orphanages. Infanticide was practiced, but is difficult to document. One Virginia City prostitute, English Gussie, confessed during a drunk to killing her baby by throwing him in a privy. After she sobered up she denied the tale and no evidence could be found to prove the killing ( Territorial Enterprise February 7, 1868).

The lifeway of the children of prostitutes would have varied as much as that of their mothers. Obviously the life style of Madam Caroline 'Cad' Thompson's son Harry was quite different than that of a crib prostitute or a Chinese prostitute. Harry was raised in one of Virginia City's upper status parlor houses. Though Harry was exposed to prostitution, his mother was a madam and a business woman and not a crib prostitute.

#### PROFESSIONAL HAZARDS.

##### Birth Control and Abortion.

Contraceptives were less available than abortive drugs during the nineteenth century. The principal contraceptives were preventive douche's and suppositories or tampons. Douches made from warm or cold water, solutions of bicarbonate of soda, borax, bichloride of mercury, potassium biartate, alum, diluted vinegar, lysol or ceolin, were used (Haller and Haller 1974). Contraceptive suppositories of cocoa butter or glycerin and boric acid or tannic acid and bichloride of mercury were used as germicides. The

diaphragm or 'womb veil' was available by 1880, but was not in wide spread use.

Abortifacients and abortion were in more common use among Victorian Women than contraception. Ergot, prussic acid, iodine, strychnine, cotton rust, savin, or oil of tansy were used to induce an abortion (Haller and Haller 1974). Patent and proprietary medicines were also available. James Clark's pills were advertised as an abortifacient. Clark's pills contained aloes, holleboore, powdered savin, ergot, iron, slid extracts of tansy and rue (Haller and Haller 1974). The ingredients contained in abortifacients varied, and the health of some users was damaged. The use of some of the abortifacients resulted in the death of users.

Uterine probes and catheters containing spring stylets were also employed to produce abortions. Often the abortionist was a community woman, nurse, doctor, or a servant employed at the house of prostitution. Several prostitutes on the Comstock died from abortions or the resulting complications they often produced. Gabriella Campo (Spanish Lize) died from peritonitis produced by a failed abortion ( Territorial Enterprise October 12, 1880).

The occupational hazards of prostitution have changed little from historic times to the contemporary period. Medical knowledge has increased the ability to control venereal disease and treat alcoholism, drug abuse, and

depression. Physical abuse is still a major occupational hazard of the profession.

### Venereal Disease

The curse of the nineteenth century prostitute was venereal disease. It was estimated in 1874 that one out of every 18.5 persons in New York City was suffering from syphilis (Haller and Haller 1974). In 1893 under a system of licensing, regular physical examinations were performed on Cincinnati City prostitutes; half were found to be infected with venereal disease at least once during the year.

The list of cures for venereal disease included patent medicines such as: Naples soap, The Boss, Armenian Pills, Big G, Bumsted's Gleet Cure, Hot Springs Prescription, Lafayette Mixture, Red Drops, Unfortunate's Friend, and Pineknot Bitters (Haller and Haller 1974). The latter were readily available in nineteenth century drug stores. Remedies could also be purchased through the mail.

Mercury provided the most effective treatment for Syphilis. No actual cure for gonorrhoea was available. The side effects of mercury treatment often proved fatal or caused major secondary problems. Gangrene and lock jaw often resulted from mercury treatment.

The Chinese used a mixture of mercury with tobacco to treat syphilis and a host of herbal remedies to treat venereal disease in general. Chinese prostitutes were often credited with being the source of venereal disease in a community.

The customers of prostitutes were seldom perceived as having a role in the transmittal of venereal diseases, but many wives contracted venereal disease from their sexually active husbands. Venereal disease is not usually referenced in data on frontier towns. Medical records, and drug store purchase ledgers, might shed light on the under-representation of 'social diseases' as a significant problem on the frontier.

Prostitutes that could afford to see doctors on a regular basis did so. Others had to rely on commercial or home remedies for venereal disease treatment and other feminine problems. Dr. C.C. Green of Virginia City had many patients who were prostitutes, including Julia Bulette. Dr. Green died of syphilis in an asylum in the late 1870's probably as a result of his practice. Lillie Fillmore, a Helena prostitute, died of syphilis at the age of thirty.

Vaginal infections and congestion, and venereal disease all played a role in lowering the fertility of prostitutes and undermining their health. Women involved in higher-status prostitution were not only afforded better medical care and treatment, but the option of turning away

diseased clients.

### Alcoholism and Drug Abuse

The serving of alcohol and alcohol consumption was a standard part of the customer entertainment service provided by prostitutes. Substantial revenue was derived from the sale of alcohol at parlor houses and brothels. In the dance halls and saloons, where Hurdy-Gurdy girls sold dances for fifty cents to one dollar, pretty waiter-girls were employed as an incentive to increase liquor sales. Patrons often purchased expensive drinks for the 'ladies' that contained little or no alcohol.

Pretty-waiter girls and Hurdy-gurdy girls were employed to increase business and profits for liquor sales; sexuality was generally not a part of the business offering at saloons featuring Pretty-waiter girls and Hurdy-gurdy girls. The women employees could arrange liaisons at their own discretion. Some saloons did feature prostitution services or private cubicles or rooms for more personal service.

In parlor houses, higher class brothels, and establishments that provided companionship, alcohol was served as a customer service or part of entertainment. The unpaid liquor bill of Julia Bulette provides a perspective

on entertainment in the middle-ranks of the profession. The invoice was for sales from October 16, 1866 to January 11, 1867. Over this four month period Thomas Taylor & Co. of No.64 C Street provided: 2-Doz. pints of ale, 2 bottles of Port Wine, several Champaign baskets, a bottle of Bourbon, a gallon of Whiskey, a bottle and later a gallon of Suzerac Brandy, a bottle of Jamaican Rum, and two bottles of Claret (copy of original invoice in McDonald 1980:15). The constant association of liquor and sexual services caused many women to imbibe heavily or consistently. Prostitute deaths were often attributed to alcoholism, but the reality of this diagnosis is indeterminate. Several prostitutes and madams died of alcohol related diseases, e.g., Lillie McGraw of Helena died at the age of sixty-two of cirrhosis of the liver. The deaths of 'Lizzie Hayes' (Maggie Glynn) and Julia White of Virginia City were both blamed on alcoholism.

Many 'respectable Victorian Ladies' abused opiates, alcohol, and codeine through the daily consumption of patent medicines. Many popular patent and proprietary medicines contained substantial amounts of alcohol, from 17 to 44 percent. Doctors who frowned on the temperance crusades of women triumphantly reported cases of agitators who daily dosed themselves with tonics that contained a larger percentage of alcohol than the beverages they denounced so ardently (Haller and Haller 1974:287).

Wyeth's New Enteritis pills, Feeley's Rheumatic Mixture, Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup and Godfrey's Cordial all contained morphia. The overuse of such feminine aids was supported by the feminine frailty myth, and reinforced by the euphoric effect experienced. Victorians applied laudanum to sprains and bruises, morphine dissolved in glycerin for irritations of the throat in phthisis, a combination of morphine and cocaine for nasal catarrh and hay fever, opium or its alkaloids for insomnia and neuralgias, and a mixture of opium and tartar emetic for delirium (Haller and Haller 1974:276).

Many prostitutes took a daily dose of morphine, laudanum or other euphoria producing medicinals. Capriana Avila took morphine daily, and eventually died from an overdose. Chloral and opium were used to aid in sleep. Ida Vernon's death appears to be a result of too much sleeping aid. Medicinals of all kinds were readily available in frontier pharmacies and stores. Laudanum, opiates, and other substances taken in excess or in combination were the choice of most prostitutes and other women committing suicide. Men on the frontier committed suicide through violent physical means such as shooting or hanging themselves, and not poisoning. On the Comstock in a twenty year period eleven prostitutes used laudanum to commit suicide, six prostitutes used opium, five morphine, two chloral, two arsenic, and twelve women used unspecified

poisons (Goldman 1981). Many prostitutes combined these drugs to produce the desired effect.

Kate Thompson and Belle Bateman used a combination of Laudanum, chloroform, morphine and perhaps some other drugs ( Territorial Enterprise August 17, 1872) in their dual suicide. Other women such as Mrs. Columbo resorted to less euphoric drugs like strychnine in seeking their deaths. Chinese prostitutes are recorded as suiciding through the swallowing of large quantities of opium.

#### Other Hazards of the Profession

Among the other hazards of the profession were customers with a bent for violence or abuse. Lower status prostitutes were the most vulnerable to the violence of customers. They generally worked out of small cottages or cribs, often at a distance from patrolled areas or other prostitutes. They were devalued as women because they generally only provided sexual services. The respectable community viewed them as the lowest of the low. The belief in prostitutes' venality allowed men to rationalize stealing from them (Goldman 1981:114) and abusing them.

Prostitutes by the structure of their service, which generally involves being alone with a customer, were vulnerable to violence. The brothel and parlor house prostitute was protected by her fellow employees and madam. Madams screened clients and monitored customer interactions. Lone and lower status prostitutes often lacked the latitude to refuse an unruly customer. Customer abuse of prostitutes was probably largely unreported. Both the fear of reprisal and the lack of response to complaints would have fostered little reporting of abuse. Several prostitutes and madams on the Comstock were shot. Jessie Lester went to her grave without identifying the man that fatally wounded her.

Arson and vandalism were a similar threat associated with the profession. Arson was a major concern of Red Light Ladies, because prostitutes were often the victims of fire. Most fire insurance companies would not insure known prostitutes. Arson related fires occurred concurrent with attempts at suppressing prostitution on the Comstock. The Virginia City fire of 1871, which destroyed the Red Light District, was set, the Territorial Enterprise noted evidence that: "liberal use was made of coal oil" ( Territorial Enterprise August 22, 1871). The fire was set under the side walk outside Madame Strus' house. Destruction of property also took the form of pranks and concerted efforts by customers. In August of 1871 a pantaloon clad man used a bottle to smash mirrors, spittoons, pitchers, etc. in the

cottage of the 'Irish Blonde'. ( Territorial Enterprise August 21, 1871).

Caroline 'Cad' Thompson, a well liked madam in Virginia City, suffered an expensive prank. Local men stole a fire pump engine and set fire to some barrels of straw on the street near Cad's D Street parlor house. They then proceeded to put out the fire by breaking the front parlor windows of Cad's parlor house and flooding the house with water. Damages were reported as totalling \$2000.

#### COMMUNITY ROLE AND INTEGRATION.

Differential community treatment varied from town to town. The variables of demography, economics, and social history played major roles in community perceptions of prostitutes. Most towns had their 'good prostitute'. She was the woman with the golden heart that provided a new coat for the poor child, nursed sick miners, gave money to charity, and knew her place. That 'place' varied from community to community and over time. Mary Mathews in Ten Years in Nevada , or Life on the Pacific Coast (1880:193-194) wrote of the 'good prostitute'--

"This class of women is always very kind-hearted, and gives liberally to any charitable purpose, and is always ready to assist the poor and suffering. It

seems as if they wish to atone for their many sins by doing all they can by way of charity, for "charity covereth a multitude of sins."

Confusion existed in the community role of many of the upper ranks of the demi-monde. The lifestyle they lived emulated the lifeway of the upper class of the community. The confusion this produced in social mobility and roles is reflected by Mabel Barbie Lee's observation on the prostitutes of Cripple Creek.

"I tried to figure out just what line of distinction separated the doings of the ladies on Eaton Avenue from those at the Old Homestead. Not money, certainly not being attractive and stylishly dressed. It was all very confusing" (Lee 1880:77).

Other prostitutes like Liz Hayes were outcasts even among the demi-monde. Doten wrote in his Journal (June 21, 1869): ". . . Liz Hayes buried the PM--no one at funeral, not even fancy women . . . 28 yrs. old & her real name was Maggie Glynn--Born in Boston--leaves a 12 yr. old boy at San Francisco--" In contrast the funerals of Madams Lea Perry, Jessie Lester, Pearl DeVere, and prostitute Jule Bulette were attended not only by fancy ladies but other members of the community.

## Business Contacts

The regular business community and the irregular market place were not segregated commercially. Shop keepers, liquor wholesalers, seamstresses, and milliners, did daily business with prostitutes. Fancy ladies invested money with other entrepreneurs. Capital loans were arranged between business men and women of the irregular market place. The wife of a Helena probate Judge loaned money to Josephine Airey for capital improvements on her establishment. Several of Virginia City's Aldermen rented houses to prostitutes. Prostitutes often paid a higher rent than other renters were willing to pay.

The relationship between the demi-monde and the regular business community changed in concert with the community as a whole. Overt and more covert interaction between the female entrepreneurs and the regular business community are linked to the overall community segregation of prostitutes.

## Community Mobility

In Virginia City prostitutes could attend the theater with other patrons, though they were at times seated in a separate area. Celebrations, particularly masquerade balls

were usually open to both respectable people and prostitutes. On July 7, 1868 Doten noted: ". . . Picnic wound up tonight with grand masquerade ball. . . Whores allowed there--". In other instances prostitutes were not admitted. It was reported that a disgruntled Virginia City prostitute shot at a man she believed had turned her away from a ball the night before.

In Silver City during the early 1900's prostitutes were not allowed out of the Red Light District except when they arrived or departed on the stage. Their shopping and other errands outside the district and adjacent tenderloin were carried out through a delivery system.

Alf Doten maintained a friendship with and rented from prostitute Mercedes Navarro.

- "At 10 1/2 was on my way home when at the alley way (sic) I was called to by Mercedes, & I went up & had quite a long chat relative to her being arrested the PM for keeping a house of prostitution--She made me present of \$10. . ." (Doten November 9, 1869).

The mobility of prostitutes was linked to the structure of the community. Their integration and segregation were dynamic, changing over time in response to community dictate and choice. When the city of Denver decided to pass an ordinance that prostitutes were required to wear yellow ribbons as community identification of their profession, members of the demi-monde responded by dressing their girls

in yellow satin. The advertising effect of said resulted in the laws rapid demize.

### Prostitutes and Police

Prostitution, unless obviously involved in disorderly behavior were not a major police problem. The relationship between lawmen and prostitutes on the frontier was generally cooperative. Most frontier police forces were under manned. Unless the community demanded policing and enforcement of laws against prostitution, or women or customers were disorderly, little police intervention was apparent. Prostitutes did not pose a major law and order threat. Prostitutes instead provided a civilizing effect. They provided companionship and sexual service for single and married miners that was apart from the regular daily experience of the men. Hard Rock miners lived from work shift to work shift, epicurean attitudes were an outgrowth of the daily life risk they experienced.

Newspaper references were found concerning prostitutes who were arrested and fined for being drunk, disorderly, using profane language, and committing assault and battery. They were generally fined and set free. Arrests for prostitution were few; usually a fine was levied and the

prostitute or madam freed. In most frontier mining towns not only was there no desire to close down the establishments of ill-repute, but there was not enough jail space to house prostitutes. Prostitutes might be routinely fined or harrassed. Nellie Sayer, a notorious Virginia City prostitute, was arrested on many occasions in a two year time span. The community was pressuring Nellie to close her Bawdy Saloon on the Barbary Coast as part of a major clean up of the Coast.

A few policemen maintained social and intimate ties with prostitutes. The Lothbridge Chief of Police frequently dropped in on the proprietors of the town brothels for a drink and conversation (Gray 1971). Policemen were not above supplementing their salaries with bribes and favors.

Police also provided protection for prostitutes from unruly customers. A few prostitutes wore whistles so they could signal police and others for help.

### Burial

The funerals and burial places of prostitutes in the historical context of a towns development provide a perspective on the town. Prostitutes were both segregated and integrated after death. Prostitutes were buried in

'boot hill cemeteries', outside the cemetery fence, and in consecrated ground. Their funerals were often officiated by ministers, unless otherwise requested.

Jessie Lester, who left her estate to the Sisters of Charity, was buried in consecrated ground in a Virginia City cemetery. Prior to her death Jessie had settled her debts, sold and given away personal property, and planned her funeral. Jessie had a Catholic funeral service which was held in the local Catholic church and officiated by Father Monogue. She was buried in a mahogany coffin enshrouded in silk, including gloves and stockings.

Julia Bulette was buried in the Flowery Hill cemetery after a service at Engine House No.1. The Rev. William M Martin officiated. A procession made up of the engine company, Metropolitan Brass Band, and 16 carriages of mourners--friends and 'sisterhood' of the deceased accompanied her to the grave site (MacDonald 1980). The funeral of Minnie Sommers, a Pioche prostitute, was noted in the Territorial Enterprise (November 2, 1873):

"Her funeral was attended by a large number of women of her own class in carriages. At the grave some appropriate and very affecting remarks were made by Rev. Henry L. Badger, who conducted the funeral services."

Lea Perry, a well thought of Silver City madam, was buried as close to the Ruby City cemetery gate as she could be place. Her palmbearers were all married men. Still,

because she lived outside the law she had to be buried outside the cemetery (Williams 1981, Adams 1981).

Mabel Barbie Lee provides one of the most descriptive perspectives of a prostitute's death and burial. Pearl DeVere committed suicide the night of Christmas Eve during an extravagant party, at which she wore an eight hundred dollar gown. The gown was imported from Europe for the occasion. Of DeVere's funeral Lee wrote (1958:82):

"A throng turned out the day of the funeral, mostly children and miners. I watched from the top of a barrel in front of Robert's Grocery. Somebody claimed he saw ladies from up on the hill sitting in the shadows of upstairs office windows. The Elks Band headed by Joe Moore led the procession, playing the "Death March". Then came the heavily draped hearse with the lavender casket almost hidden by a blanket of red and white roses. Just behind, a man walked solemnly beside the empty rig with the shiny red wheels, driving the span of restive black horses. A large dress of shell-pink carnations lay on the seat. . . Now four mounted police were coming down the avenue, pushing back the crowd to make way for all the lodge members in brilliant regalia trying to keep in step. . . Bringing up the rear were buggies filled with thickly veiled women who, a man said, were Pearl's friends from the row."

## CONCLUSION

The lifeway of prostitutes on the frontier has major implications in understanding and predicting their material culture and settlement pattern. The vagrant prostitute and the madam lived very different, but contemporary lifestyles in the same community as members of the same socio-economic group. The lifeway of prostitutes changed overtime in towns due to the dynamic nature of the frontier communities. The Frontier community was instant and transient in structure, the community and it's residents rode the tide of a single resource based economy. The settlement pattern of the various classes of prostitutes in a town reflected the structure of the mining community and its variable economic, demographic, and social patterns as they changed overtime.

## CHAPTER 4

## MODEL

## INTRODUCTION

Prostitution goes beyond being an employment type on the mining frontier. Association with prostitution as a profession resulted in the identification of an individual as part of a specific socio-economic group made up of prostitutes and their associates. Prostitutes as a socio-economic group and prostitution as part of the business community can be used to interpret the nature of the business community and mining town they interacted within. Prostitution as a micro-economic system reflected

the vicissitude of the regular business community. Prostitution as an entrepreneurial venture is implicitly related to demographic, economic, political and social factors. These factors are intrinsic to the aggregation pattern of a community of people. When these factors combine with the total landscape distribution of people, the site or community, and the individual house they produce the spatial configuration of a social group (Trigger 1968). The study of the lifeway and settlement pattern of prostitutes and prostitution provides a largely accurate representation of the community it plays a part in. Prostitution can be studied from both an emic and etic perspective. The emic aspects of the community are found in what informants report concerning prostitution; this includes such information sources as oral histories, diaries, and newspaper articles. The etic, or that which is observed by the researcher, is found in statistical data, such as census data, ordinances, police records, and the archaeological record.

## MODEL CONSTRUCTION

The frontier community for study purposes was defined as a fluid composition of economic, demographic, social, and political elements. It was proposed that the interaction of these factors should affect the settlement pattern, material culture and lifeway of prostitutes, and that any given effect should be documentable historically and archaeologically within a mining community. Prostitution, it was then proposed, should have an archaeological and historical pattern that can be characterized and defined through a model or hypothesis.

It was felt that a valid model of frontier prostitution, as an interpretation of frontier cultural patterns, could only be developed by constructing and testing a model or hypothesis, and modifying that model in accordance with the results of the test. A model is defined as a hypothesis or a set of hypotheses specifying the operations of phenomena; a model simplifies complex observations while offering a predictive testable framework for the structuring of these observations (Clark 1978).

The model developed from the hypothesis presented in "Red Light Ladies: Settlement Patterns and Material Culture" (Simmons March 1981). The primary premise of that initial hypothesis was that prostitutes compose an identifiable

socio-economic group in the archaeological and historical record of a mining community. Chang (1958) has defined an urban settlement pattern as the manner in which the community's inhabitants arrange their structures within the community and communities within the aggregate. The household as the smallest basic social unit in the aggregation provides a means for identifying the individual. The aggregation pattern of individuals that are of the same class or occupation provides a perspective on the community they live in. It was proposed that over time the lifeway of prostitutes, size of the prostitute population, and their settlement patterns, would change in response to the mining community. As research on the topic was continued, for the purpose of refining the model, several models or hypotheses that related to prostitution and political-economic trends in a community were identified. Among them were Beckers (1981) hypothesis on the relationship of the female population of a mining community to economic phases, and an hypothesis on the relationship of mining technology and political systems (Barnes 1982). It was felt that Barnes (1982) model of technology and political systems, in combination with economic phases, provided the most applicable framework for structuring the hypotheses about prostitution and changes in prostitution historically and archaeologically overtime.

Prostitution was related to town types or contextual settings and economic phases. Town types were defined by technological and political factors. The technology and resulting political system of a town was proposed to be largely dependent on the geologic composition of the mineral deposit that was being exploited. The technology, in turn was considered to, dictate community demography and political system. The economic phases a town experienced were influenced not only by production, but by investors and the national economy.

#### Mining Technology and Political Systems

The Placer mining phase in the mining camps involved little political government. Placer mining was usually the first method of mineral exploitation that occurred in any gold or silver mining region. Later mining methods were dictated by the geology of the region. River mining, hydraulic mining or hard rock mining methods might be employed later.

During the placer mining phase laws were basic and derived from direct consensus. Hydraulic mining involved some outside investment and larger companies of miners; local government grew into a representative democracy with

hydraulic mining. In contrast, corporate control was associated with 'hard rock' mining; town politics were controlled by a governing body, usually a council of Aldermen who were made up of or influenced by, the mining corporations, banks, and local business interests. In company towns where the individual miner had no control over the resource, little or no representation was granted the miner. The company dictated community structure, ran company stores, furnished company housing, doctors, etc. Company towns were associated with copper, silver, and gold mining.

#### Becker's Model

Roberta Becker (1981), in "Mining Communities: How to Interpret a Blue Goose", has proposed a model of the 'female members' of the mining community. Becker's model follows logically, but fails to address the variability of the frontier economy and the actual structure of frontier prostitution evident in literature on frontier towns and prostitution (Gray 1977, Davis 1967, and Mann 1972). Becker's Hypothesis on 'female members' of the mining community and community phases is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Becker's Hypothesis

Female Mining Community Members	Prospector Phase	Corporate Phase	Exhaustion Phase
Respectable Women:			
Upper-and Middle Class	-	px	?
Working Class	p	px	?
Wives	p	px	p
Entertainers(singer, actress)	p	p	-
Parlor House employees	-	px	-
Brothel Members	p	px	?
Crib Members	p	px	?
Street Walkers	-	p	-
Saloon Girls	px	-	-
Dance Hall Girls	px	?	-

p - present

px - present to a greater degree

? - possibly present

- - absent

(from Becker 1981:36)

Becker's model does not reflect the dynamic structure of frontier mining towns. Becker does suggest though that types of prostitution can be characterized as being associated with town phases. Becker has overlooked the variability of town types that existed on the frontier and the influence the economic history of a town had on prostitution.

Becker's Model also fails to represent the actual community of frontier prostitutes apparent in the historical literature. The model does not completely represent the stratification that existed among prostitutes. For example at least three classes of Brothel prostitution services might operate in a community. Brothels varied in class from high to low, based on the services provided. The larger the

percentage of companionship and the lower the percentage of sexual services provided as the regular business operation of the brothel, the greater the brothels status or higher the class. Thus the material culture of a better brothel and a low status Chinese brothel should be differentially apparent in the archaeological record. Similarly the existence of different types of brothels in a community should be indicative of the community.

Other prostitutes not represented in Becker's Hypothesis are mid-status prostitutes or courtesans who occupy small houses or cottages, mistresses, prostitutes occupying lodging houses, and bawdy saloon prostitutes. The presence of prostitutes of these employment types indicate specific customer demands and the overall composition demographically, politically, and socially of the mining community.

Though in general the model proposed by Becker is applicable to a few mining communities it does not address the range of economic phases experienced by communities, the variety of community types, or the actual stratified variability of the prostitute population. Becker's model does provide a frame work that can be modified to reflect the actual economic phases experienced and variability of the prostitute population in a specific town type or context overtime.

The model that follows provides a hypothesis of community structure and economic phase as correlated with prostitution. The model is tested by historical data gleaned for the histories of five towns. Primary historical research was used to test the model in three of the cases examined. Secondary sources that were well documented were utilized to test it against two additional mining community histories. Descriptions of the external and internal architecture of establishments occupied by prostitutes are included in Chapter Six: Material Culture.

#### MODEL OF PROSTITUTION IN THE FRONTIER MINING TOWN

Mining regions were founded on the initial explorations of a few placer miners. Based on the geological depth and composition of the mineral resource, placer mining might be followed by river mining, hydraulic mining, hard rock mining or an exhaustion phase. The latter occurred if the mineral deposit was exhausted through placer mining or not considered economically of enough worth to continue mineral extraction efforts. In regions where hydraulic mining (particularly hard rock mining) occurred, urban centers grew up. In the regions where hydraulic mining predominated the

few urban centers usually became regional supply centers that served the small hydraulic mining settlements or districts. In contrast corporate towns grew up in hard rock mining areas, virtually above the ground being exploited.

### Placer Mining and River Mining

The economic phases experienced by frontier mining towns began with the initial find or boom period. The boomtown was an instant town, growing up where a few miners pitched their tents. Town platting and planning were of little concern, natural contours were followed and allowances for streets or paths were happen stance.

The initial boom and ore find in most gold mining regions grew out of placer mining. The earliest claims were mined by "panning" and required few tools and little expertise (Barnes 1982:5). Cradles or rockers were added to make the extraction process faster and more efficient. As placer deposits were depleted, river mining often followed. In River mining, dams were employed to rechannel the river, and pumps and water wheels were used to keep the work dry (Young 1970). Long toms and suice boxes were added to increase the quantity of gold recovered. Larger partnerships were formed to meet the manpower demands. The

lone miner might also add partners over time to increase efficiency in extraction.

The laws of the mining camps were common laws agreed to by the miners as primary representatives. Laws made in the 'boom towns' addressed mining claim disputes and basic community problems.

### Hydraulic Mining and Hard Rock Mining

Hydraulic and hard rock mining brought change to the boom town, which was an instant city that had grown up full blown from the expanding mining camp. The technology and overall economic investment associated with the hydraulic mining period and hard rock mining resulted in political and demographic changes in the mining community. Whereas the 'boom town' usually marked the initial commercial settlement of a mining region with tent cities of merchants mushrooming over night, the regional center or corporate town was a mature town of longer establishment and plan. The business emphasis in these instant cities was centered around the mining population with businesses catering to food, shelter, and the entertainment needs of the miner. In contrast, the regional center had a non-miner population, and the corporate town had a stratified population of managers,

miners, and investors. An artificial economy was often stimulated by outside investments in hard rock mining regions and, resulted in economic instability due to manipulation.

## PROSTITUTION AND TOWN TYPE

### Boom Towns

In the boom towns that grew up in the placer mining regions, settlement patterns changed little as wooden structures replaced tents. Saloons and brothels stood beside more respectable commercial businesses. Prostitutes were an integrated part of the community both physically and socially.

The miners, who were as hungry for female companionship as they were for sex, during this period--"accorded the bawdy women measures of attention and deference usually reserved for respectable ladies" (Goldman 1972:35). The population associated with placer mining allowed 'dance hall girls' and prostitutes personal freedom and mobility out of their professions, along with community mobility.

Most dance hall girls or Hurdy-Gurdy girls were only tinged with disrespectability by virtue of their contact with male customers and drink. Many were indentured immigrants, working off their passage to the United States. Some supplemented their wages through prostitution. Client selection was up to their discretion and outside their regular saloon/dance hall employment. Many may have turned to prostitution due to labeling or to economic interest, but data does not at present support this.

In the instant boom towns, prostitutes were of the mid and low status type. They operated out of cribs, saloon rooms, small houses of one or two women, and small brothels. Chinese prostitutes followed a similar residential pattern, but were confined to 'Chinatown'. They occupied gambling halls and opium dens instead of saloons.

Prostitutes who made wise investments during the boom town years were able to rise in the ranks if the town grew to become a regional center or corporate town. They often became madams if positive economic periods were experienced and lasted for a period of more than a few years.

The establishments occupied by prostitutes in the 'boom town' were far from elegant. Meager furnishings, were a standard for domiciles of this phase. The cribs, saloons rooms, lodging houses, small houses and brothels reflected their negligent external architecture in their internal furnishings. The brothels might contain a small receiving

room furnished for a minimal of entertaining. Bedrooms in the brothel of the boom phase might be shared or divided by a screen or cloth walls. Cribs and small houses and lodging house rooms usually rude and lacked any pretense of elegance during the early settlement of the boom town.

### The Growth of Urban Centers

The growth of mining towns into urban centers was a cumulative effect of technology, investment, and the overall geologic nature of the mineral resource. Urban centers were of two basic types, the corporate town and the regional supply center. Both served the basic economic purpose of providing merchandise and services for the miner. Intrinsic in the development of the urban center was an effort by investors and merchants to disassociate themselves from the earlier mining camp period. Emulation of the cosmopolitan facades of eastern urban centers was evident.

Corporate towns and regional centers had different demographic, political, and social elements interacting within the community. In corporate towns, where mines were owned and controlled by companies, a stable labor force was required and housed. Entrepreneurs catered to the resident labor force, which also included management personnel, mine owners, and wives.

Mining districts grew up outside the regional center. In the districts, placer mining, river mining, and hydraulic mining occurred. The labor force employed in mining work was not a resident population of the regional center. The regional center instead served as a supply point that the districts drew from. Regional centers had a variable economic base that might also include involvement in agricultural transport and marketing.

Prostitution differed greatly in the two types of towns. In the regional center the demand for prostitution by the miners was occasional, unlike the corporate town where a resident population of miners created a constant demand.

#### Corporate Town

The corporate town is defined by the dominance of its economic base by corporate investment. Hard rock mining or lode mining was the principal type of mineral exploitation occurring. The mining of quartz veins or lode deposits required capital, complex technology, and a stable labor force.

Ore extraction required the use of drills, explosives, hoisting equipment and often pumps to remove accumulated water or flows from underground streams. Milling equipment was necessary for extraction and amalgamation. Investors that were non-local or syndicated were often involved in providing capital. Stock market options often were held on mining stocks by holding companies and small investors. The latter created a false economic indicator of actual production at times and thus affected the overall economy of the community.

A stratified labor force of owners, managers, and laborers is associated with hard rock mining. This stratified labor pool is reflected in the community structure of the town, as the demography of the town evolves from the initial bonanza period to consolidation. More wives and families are found in the corporate town than the boom town, due to the stability of the labor force. A high male to female ratio still existed, however. The cost of bringing a family to the mining region and keeping a family there was inflated. Many men preferred not to expose their wives and children to the hardships and violence of frontier life, while others chose to maintain the freedom that life apart from their families granted them. Unlike the agrarian economy of the mid-west the mining economy did not require "a female partner who would manufacture domestic goods, process food stuffs, and produce a labor supply in the form

of many children" (Riley 1977:195) while providing an extra hand around the farm. In the mining community the domestic, personal, and companionship needs of men were met by a variety of entrepreneurs, from lodging house keepers, restaurateurs, and dry goods merchants to prostitutes and seamstresses.

The make up of the incoming population of wives was 'victorian' in moral ideology. These women functioned principally as housekeepers. As part of their duties they moved through the market place that constituted the commercial district. The business district in the early bonanza period of the corporate town remained a reflection of the earlier boom town. Interspersed with the regular businesses of the district were saloons, dance halls, brothels, and other establishments providing sexual services. The discord created by this association of respectable and disrespectable businesses resulted in campaigns against prostitution. Businessmen presented petitions to city Aldermen that noted they were "adversely affected by the presence of nearby brothels and bawdy saloons" (Goldman 1982:149).

In some mining towns the problem of shared location was resolved by the movement of the business community. Relocation of businesses the short distance of a block or two segregated them from association with the irregular market place.

Though some regulation might ultimately be born out of public complaints, the profit derived from organized sexual commerce and the necessity of commercial sex in the high male demography of the frontier community precluded attempts to outlaw the activity.

Ordinances restricting prostitution to specific areas or affecting soliciting were sparatically and differentially enforced. Enforcement might consist of yearly arrests and fines. Occasionally police raids, loss of saloon licenses, or closing of brothels occurred. Bribes and other favors to policemen also resulted in discretion in the enforcement of ordinances regulating prostitution. Segregating ordinances that created specific districts for prostitution were often enforced through natural disasters like fires. Many of the fires were attributed to arson. Such a high percentage of fires were associated with red light districts and prostitution that insurance companies often refused to sell policies to prostitutes or establishments offering prostitution. Due to the occurence of arson related fires at time of conflict between local citizenry and prostitutes, fire many have served as a means for citizen enforcement of segregating ordinances or violently acting against prostitutes.

The corporate town type stimulated the disreputable business community. The economic means of the managerial level employees resulted in changes in the demi-monde.

Mistresses, more female entertainers, high class prostitutes and their associated establishments, and more prostitutes of all classes were an outgrowth of demand.

All classes of prostitutes were represented in the Bonanza period of the corporate town. Among them were performers of various status --mistresses, parlor house girls, mid and low status prostitutes occupying brothels, cottages, houses, and cribs. Theater performers of high status and bawdy actresses and melodeon stars were found, along with dance hall girls, pretty-waiter girls, and saloon prostitutes. The latter served drinks, conversed with customers, and might provide sexual services in small bedrooms in the saloon.

The mistresses existed in the veil of discretion that facilitated their existence. Mistresses might be married women like Alf Dotens' Mrs. M., or they might have been prostitutes, or possibly like Nellie Davis they were women separated from husbands or divorced. They resided with their lovers or at separate lodgings. Their identification in the historical record is generally from census data, newspapers, probate wills, or other legal records. Also residing in boarding houses and hotels were entertainers and prostitutes.

If a substantial population of Chinese businessmen were residing in the community, Chinese mistresses, concubines, and high status Chinese prostitutes that saw only Chinese

men should be present. As with all Chinese they would be segregated in the local 'Chinatown'. These women would be evident to the Euro-american community only when they acted as hostesses for festivals and other entertainments.

High status prostitutes resided in parlor houses, high class brothels, and houses. Larger brothels and parlor houses, as defined by the number of employees, are evident during the peak of a bonanza--following the initial excitement and prior to or in the wake of the consolidation period. The establishments they occupied were furnished with an emphasis on elegance, often hard sought quality on the frontier. Establishments might be located in Tenderloin districts, residential areas, or informally established Red Light Districts. Kitchen facilities and other employee services were featured. Prostitutes provided entertainment along with sexual services. Facilities and material culture reflect this emphasis on entertainment. Prostitutes generally only saw one customer a night and had regular clients. The clientel paid for more than sexual services and often presented their 'favorite' with presents or mementos.

The mid-status and low status prostitutes occupied brothels, houses and small cottages. The establishments of women of these ranks were generally grouped in a tenderloin area or line. Low status prostitutes often occupied cribs and shanties on the edge of town or in alleys. Chinese

prostitutes would be housed in brothels, cribs, and several-women residences.

The lowest of the low, the vagrant prostitute, would also be apparent. Women of this class were an outgrowth of the stratified system of prostitution and the corporate community. Most were destitute and alcoholic.

### Regional Centers

Towns of the regional center type were associated with placer mining, river mining, and hydraulic mining. The nature of the mineral deposits and technology employed resulted in exhaustion of the resource and settlement patterns that facilitate exploration of potential new regional mining areas. The settlement pattern regionally involves the establishment of districts adjacent to the resource. These districts in turn are tied to the regional center for supplies and affiliation. The regional center was usually a remnant of the early boom town mining camp. Major changes in their resident population rapidly extinguished evidence of the center's rough hewn past.

The regional center was dependent on the miners for economic survival, but removed from constant miner contact. Often a secondary economic base that dominated the social

and political sphere existed. The town population included merchants, area ranchers, farmers, businessmen, and managerial level employees of the mining companies. The community had a more equal male-female ratio than did corporate towns and boom towns.

The atmosphere and demography of the regional center was not congenial toward prostitution. With the growth of a regional center, segregation and regulation that affect the location of red light ladies is felt. Prostitution, unless very discrete, was pushed to the edge of the settlement, often outside the city limits. Mistresses, entertainers, and pretty waiter girls, were allowed to operate within the city. Tolerance was based on the lack of any overt sexual commerce. Chinese prostitution flourished in the Chinatowns of the regional centers, in part facilitated by the demand of Euro-americans. Regional centers also served as key cultural links between Chinese sojourners and the Chinese community, the result being a monopoly by Chinese merchants on certain goods and services such as entertainment.

Women openly involved in prostitution were segregated in red light districts. Often the districts were separated from town by topographic features such as ravines, creek, hills, etc. In Abilene, Kansas, a red light district was designated just inside the city limits, southeast of the downtown (Davis 1967:20). A stockade was built around Abilene's district and Madams were instructed to keep their

girls inside the village except for occasional shopping trips.

The demand for commercial sex and companionship was lower in the Regional Center than the corporate town, because of the larger number of 'respectable women'--wives, daughters and other family members. These respectable women competed with the higher status prostitutes and effectively limited the number of high class prostitutes working in the regional center. One or a few parlor houses, better brothels, and prostitutes occupying small houses might be evident, contingent on community size. One or two high status courtesans or possibly a better brothel or parlor house might exist.

Mid-status prostitutes, entertainers, and pretty waiter girls would make up the bulk of the female prostitutes evident. These mid-status women occupied rooms at rooming houses, brothels, small houses, and cottages. The settlement pattern of overt prostitutes would be segregated. Low status prostitutes would occupy cribs, shanties, and small brothels. Establishment locations would be at the edge of town or in designated districts.

Regional center prostitution might be seasonal, contingent on mining practices in the area, which were largely dictated by available water. Prostitutes would increase business revenues through visits to the outlying districts. In this way many mid-status women could

establish a clientel, and rise in the ranks.

### ECONOMIC PHASES

The defined town types experienced a variety of economic phases in their history from initial development to abandonment. The boom town is principally associated with an initial boom phase and exhaustion. If the boom town survived beyond the initial boom period it evolved into a corporate town or regional center. In association with the regional center and corporate town types were phases of economic bonanza, consolidation, recession, depression, and exhaustion.

#### Bonanza Phase

The bonanza phase was an economic period of substantial economic increase that is associated with the regional center or corporate town type. The components and population of the mining community were both established residents of the community and an incoming labor force. Legal structures and community features such as newspapers, and churches operated in the towns experiencing bonanza

phases.

A radical population flux existed in the early Bonanza periods as immigrants swarmed to the mining region to seek their fortune. Often the regions were already saturated with fortune seekers. The Bonanza phase was like the boom period of the boom towns but full blown in its persona within the context of the settled urban centers.

#### Consolidation Phase

A consolidation period occurred in towns where the mining profits remained consistently lucrative for a long enough period that community stability could occur. The consolidation period follows the boom or bonanza period in a town. It is marked by technological advancement, solidification of mining investments and other businesses, and a measure of population stability. Town planning, increased local government, and the definition of social roles are indicative of this period historically. Churches and schools are built, public utilities are upgraded, and prostitution is regulated.

During the consolidation period, and the beginning of recessions, political interplay results in Ordinances that regulate prostitution. The ordinances were generally aimed

at prohibiting soliciting and at segregating establishments that provide sexual services from the regular community. If the period continued for a long enough period of time, segregation ordinances could be effective, with the enforcement of police and natural events. Prostitutes outside the designated district, but in low visibility locations like the edge of town, would be only slightly affected by segregation ordinances. The mobility of prostitutes should become more restricted as the consolidation period continues. If consolidation is followed immediately by a depression little effect is evident. No substantial change in the overall stratified community of prostitutes should occur during consolidation. Business consolidation in the demi-monde should be evident during this period.

#### Recession/Depression Phase

Recessions often came rapidly in the wake of economic prosperity. Recession periods might rapidly lead into depressions or continue for years. During recessions campaigns against prostitution and against Chinese will be found--discrimination against identifiable minorities has been a companion of economic recessions and depressions.

Major changes in the demi-monde should be evident during the recession/depression period. Usually there was little enforcement of ordinances relating to prostitution during this economic phase in the mining community. The police force was often not large enough to contend with the major community law and order problems, of theft and violence, that arose during recessions.

As a depression phase was entered, a decrease should be evident in the community of prostitutes and entertainers. Mid-status prostitutes, dance hall girls, parlor house girls, and others of the mid to high status group, by economic necessity would have drifted to other towns where business is more lucrative. A decrease of the total community of prostitutes by 50 to 70 percent probably occurred. Low status prostitutes, who had less mobility than mid and high status prostitutes, often remained and filled the demand for commercial sex during the recession/depression. Chinese prostitutes might be moved in mass to another community, along with male laborers.

High status prostitutes and madams could remain to weather the depression. Recession/depression economic phases appear to have been used by some entrepreneurial madams to expand their businesses. If the economy entered a more lucrative period these women prospered. If not, they often lost everything. Grand establishments of prostitution were an outcome of some wise depression/recession

investments.

In the settlement pattern of a town following a depression, a separation of the respectable and irregular businesses may occur. Separation of the two commercial districts was generally only by a block or two of streets, and in some towns was stipulated by local ordinances but not complied with.

#### Exhaustion Phase

In the exhaustion phase community disintegration was rapid. Morality was not enforced due to the smaller police force and the rapid decrease in the general population. In the corporate town and regional centers experiencing exhaustion, a population shift follows the initial panic and population migration. The population outflux in the less developed Boom town was radical, often leaving a ghost town.

The mobility of prostitutes in response to exhaustion was mixed. Madams and high status prostitutes had economic resources and contacts to aid their rapid departure. The mobility of mid-status prostitutes was dictated by their madams, associations, and economic means. Low status prostitutes, with the exception of indentured Chinese prostitutes, have less mobility out of the community.

Liasions with males served as a means for acquiring mobility out of the exhausted community. Entertainers and dance hall girls could readily establish mobility through liasions with miners. Female entertainers and prostitutes often became mistresses or traveled with gamblers to facilitate departure from the exhaustion phase community.

#### SUMMARY

Changes in the economic base of the frontier mining community affected the demography, political, and social make-up of the community. The complexity of techno-economic developments in mining regions is paralleled by complexity in socio-political organization (Barnes 1982). Techno-economic developments thus have major implications in the settlement patterns, stratification, and size of the prostitute population.

During the boom town phase prostitutes should be found throughout the settlement pattern of the community. Mid and low status prostitutes, and entertainers and hurdy-gurdy girls, will be evident. Consolidation was marked by political and social regulation. Segregation of the red light ladies or laws aimed at segregation are indicative of consolidation. Recession/depression periods were indicated

by a substantial reduction in the population of prostitutes, particularly those of the mid or high rank. The population of indentured Chinese prostitutes also decreased, often radically.

In corporate towns commercial sexual services will be dispersed throughout tenderloin districts, centered in red light districts, and dispersed throughout the town. In the regional center overt prostitution will be regulated and segregated, often to areas outside of town.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODOLOGY

The research methodology was constructed with an emphasis on testing the model through use of a historical sample that could be qualified and replicated. The initial research strategy addressed an ideal data base; as research proceeded the sample was modified by the available historical data. The emphasis was shifted from the maintenance of a consistent sample to maximizing the data collected on each town. For example, the initially proposed strategy for newspaper sampling was adhered to for Silver City and Jacksonville, but not for Virginia City, for which indexes of the newspapers exist.

A description of the historical data base is included in this Chapter since the data base varied from city to city, thus resulting in a historical sample that is partially inconsistent between cities. Along with a description of the data base, a critique of the data base is provided to aid other researchers in assessing the hypotheses developed.

#### RESEARCH RATIONALE AND STRATEGY

It was felt that for the purpose of understanding prostitution in the frontier mining towns of the United States of North America a research methodology must be proposed that addressed the model being tested; that is, a strategy providing data on the demography, economy, technology, political, and social structure of the individual mining communities under study. The research methodology proposed, by qualitative necessity, was viewed as primary to the hypothesis or hypotheses it tested. Qualification and critique of methodological problems and the data base was proposed as a part of the research strategy, and felt to be essential to the model testing process, as it is to social science research in general. The result of a defined and researcher critiqued study will

be the acquisition of new data, refinement of research methodology's, and professional collaboration.

It was felt that a good research framework should incorporate an underlying hypothesis of the type of data thought to exist, while proposing an ideal sample, and including data which was applicable to the testing of the model proposed. Flexibility was built into the research strategy, based on the acknowledgement that historical research embodies a margin of discovery and potential sampling problems such as the destruction or deficit of records. In addition handicaps to research on historic prostitution were considered and thought to include: the transient nature of the frontier population, the quantitative and qualitative deficits of the historical record, and the inaccuracies embodied in the historical record.

The research strategy also had a focus on a bias toward data that could be utilized to construct an archaeological model of prostitution. Primary and secondary sources were both used as a means of sampling the emic (or what informants from the community reported) and etic (or what was reported by observers from outside the community).

The chronological period of study was proposed as 1860 through 1890. This study period was modified to correlate with the economic phases or histories of the towns under study as research was conducted. Economic history was found to be of more importance for model testing than

chronological consistency between the towns under study. Modification of the chronological scope resulted in inclusion of data from the 1850's to the 1910's.

### Community Context

To define the context that constitutes the social and cultural behavior setting of the frontier mining town, each town was to be generally researched. A research approach that focused on economic, technological, demographic and socio-political information was proposed. Newspapers, census records, and mining records were considered to be major sources of information on community context. A sample base structured by five year time increments was proposed for the review of newspapers, census data, and mining production figures. This strategy was only partially adhered to, modification of the sampling scope was necessary to maximize the data base and adequately test the model.

## Prostitution

Prostitutes and prostitution were researched with an emphasis on residential location, economic levels or class, ethnic background, community associations, length of residency, and other lifeway data. Community and social perceptions of prostitution and prostitutes were estimated through images presented in the newspapers, ordinances, burial segregation, community mobility, and differential treatment.

## Research Sources

Primary sources proposed for examination for the three communities included: newspapers-reviewed on a five year interval (1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1885, and 1890), probate records, court records, census data, mine bureau reports on production and the state of the mines, merchants ledgers, photographs, oral histories, Sanborne fire maps, burial and medical records. Secondary data was to be employed as a supplement to primary data and fill out the historical record. Secondary sources include literature on: prostitution, mining communities, the frontier situation, anthropological theory, human sexuality, urban anthropology,

Nevada history, Oregon history, Idaho history, and women on the frontier.

Prostitutes were identified in census records by occupation and household structure. On the frontier the majority of households were patrilineal. The head of households, hired hands, servants, cooks and relatives were listed by household as family groups. Prostitutes are identifiable in the manuscript census by household structure, and often their profession is also listed.

The criteria used to identify prostitutes in the census involved the identification of prostitutes through the following criteria:

- 1). listed as employed as a prostitute or other euphenism for prostitute.

- 2). women listed as head of household in which no adult males were living, and several or no other adult females were living, (few women were listed as heads of household, unless recently widowed or managing a business-boarding house, restaurant, or brothel).

- 3). the age of women in the household (15-40 years of age, women older than 40 were usually madams or not involved in the profession).

- 4). the location of the household (near the households of identified or known prostitutes).

5). number of children in the household (up to three children might be associated with a prostitute and reside with her). The criteria used to identify a mistress of common-law wife was:

1). surname difference between and adult male and female in a household.

2). age differences between the individuals of not more than fifteen years older for the male and not more than five years old for the female.

3). the lack of data suggesting the woman was a nurse of caretaker for the man. In the case of mistresses identification of these women was not possible if they were not residing with the man they were involved with.

On Sanborn maps brothels and cribs are generally listed as female boarding houses. The floor plans of saloons indicate their potential use as bawdy houses. Burial records provided identification of a prostitute's burial location, death date, and cause of death. Probate records furnished documentation of a prostitute's property or material culture, and listed friends and relatives. Court Records provided a perspective on the status and lifeway of prostitutes as did merchants ledgers, medical records, and other legal documents. Oral histories offer the most substantial descriptive record of prostitution, individual prostitutes, and community attitudes toward prostitution. Ordinances and legislation also provide a perspective on the

community's formal stance toward prostitution.

#### CHANGES IN THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Through the process of research on Jacksonville, Virginia City, and Silver City changes in the research strategy resulted in response to the actual historical data bases available for each town. A great deal of variability existed in the historical documentation of the three case studies. A deficit of historical documents were found for Silver City, Idaho. In Jacksonville, Oregon, where a volume of primary historical records were available, a deficit of data on prostitution was found and appears to be incongruent with census data for the community. Virginia City, Nevada, proved to be well documented through secondary sources, and thus the latter were relied on to a greater degree than originally proposed.

In general the three very differentially documented case studies display a good example of the variability of the historical record, which for specific research purposes is biased by community idiocracy and the survival of records.

## Silver City

Historical research on Silver City was inhibited by a deficit of surviving historical records. Research sites included the Owyhee County Courthouse, Owyhee County Historical Society, the Owyhee County Sheriffs Department, Idaho State Historical Society, Silver City, Idaho, and numerous libraries for secondary sources of information. The county historical records had been destroyed in a Silver City Courthouse fire and later in a fire at the Owyhee County Courthouse in Murphy. Some data that dated into the 1900's on prostitution in Silver City was collected. It was felt that this data could be used to test the model since the economic period being experienced was addressed by the model.

Very little information relating to prostitutes and prostitution in Silver City was found at the Owyhee County Historical Society. The Owyhee County Sheriff's department had a register of prisoners for 1890 into the 1900's. It contained several entries relating to prostitutes, but was outside the proposed study period of 1860-1890. Records found at the Courthouse were limited; many of those that hadn't burned in the last courthouse fire in the 1930's had deteriorated because of improper curation. One probate will for a prostitute who resided in Silver City in the 1880's was located.

A visit to Silver City provided an excellent oral historical interview with Ned Williams. Ned Williams, a long time resident of Silver City, provided excellent descriptive data on the Silver City prostitutes from 1900 through the 1920's. Ned's family had arrived in Silver City prior to the turn of the century. Like many other boys in Silver City, Ned ran errands for the red light ladies. Mildrette Adams, curator of the Silver City School House Museum and local amateure historian was quite helpful. Mildrette had collected some information from Silver City 'old time' residents on Hurdy-gurdy girls and prostitutes. Mrs. Adams also had a ledger for Andy Capp's Cigar Factory, circa 1914, that listed a record of purchases by Lea Perry and one of her girls Lola.

Records available from the Idaho Historical Society were reviewed; these included census records for 1870, 1880, and 1900, and microfilm copies of the Owyhee Avalanche: 1865, 1870, 1875 and the Idaho Avalanche: 1880, 1885, 1890. Jackie Day ( 1982:personal communication) provided data on Chinese women in the Silver City census' of 1870 and 1880.

Secondary sources that were used included but were not limited to: "Gold Camps and Silver Cities (Wells 1964), "The Gold and Silver Veins of Silver City, DeLamar and Mining Districts in Idaho" (Lindgren 1900), "When Big Money Came to Owyhee" (Barrett 1969), "The Chinese of Silver City" (Derig 1958), The Owyhee Trail (Hanley 1973), and Owyhee County

Gleanings (Statham 1964), etc.

### Jacksonville

Many historical documents relating to Jacksonville were found at the Jacksonville Historical Society. The Jackson County Courthouse also had a substantial number of documents relating to early Jacksonville. At the county courthouse an early census of Jacksonville from late 1853 or early 1854 was found. County court records from 1865 and 1870 were examined and a probate will index was reviewed. At the Jacksonville Museum the following records were reviewed: Sachs Brothers Daybook 1861-62 (legibility of this document was limited), Martin Alexander's Daybook 1874-1875 (this store stocked cloth, pins, needles etc.), Lizzie Browns Millinery Cash Book 1878 (only two accounts were recorded), Kahler & Brothers Prescription Record Book 1871, Drug & Stationary Store Ledger 1875-77, F. Linn Diary, Jackson County Cemetery Records, Memories of Chris J. Kenny 1966, Interview with Regine "Gene" Lytle 1979, "Clowns is People 1978" (Pinto Colvig 1978), Kanaka Flats File, Ordinances for the City of Jacksonville, and "Minorities of Early Jackson County, Oregon" (Atwood 1976).

Research at the University of Oregon library included reading microfilm copies of the Oregon Sentinel 1861, 1865; Jacksonville Reville 1868, 1869, 1873; Jacksonville Sentinel 1870; The Democratic News 1870, 1885, 1890; Democratic Times 1875, 1880; and The Oregon Sentinel 1875.

In the Oregon Collection at the library were found two theses that provided information on women in historic Jackson County and on Religion; "Women in Jackson County Oregon 1875-1885" (Haines 1981) and "Religion as an Influence in life and thought: Jackson County Oregon" (Farnham 1955).

At Oregon State University, Kerr Library, two Sanborne Maps dating from 1884 and 1886 were located. No female boarding houses were shown, but the Chinese District was. Microfilm copies of the 1860, 1870, and 1880 census were reviewed with respect to the town of Jacksonville and adjacent mining and farming district.

The Jackson County Library was also a research site. An index to Jacksonville newspapers was found, but it provided no data on prostitutes or potential prostitutes. Other sources that data was gathered from include but were not limited to: "Sojourners in the Oregon Siskiyou" (Leland 1981), "Mineral Resources of the Grants Pass Quadrangle and Bordering Districts, Oregon" (Diller and Kay 1909), Jacksonville (Haines 1976), "Social History of Jackson County" (Tucker 1932), etc.

## Virginia City

As research on Virginia City continued it became apparent that a wealth of information existed on the city for 1860-1880. Many historical accounts of the city were written in the 1880's. Historians interviewed local figures and visited the towns. On February 13, 1880, Alf Doten noted:

"Elliot Lord, a young man who formerly lived in Plymouth is now attending the News office daily searching the files for historical information on Nevada."

Due to the wealth of data existing on Virginia City from 1860-1880, the research strategy was shifted to focus on this time. The research strategy for sampling of Virginia City newspapers was also shifted, because of an available index to 1878 from the Nevada Historical Society and excellent referencing in Marion Goldman's (1981) publication. Goldman identified many references not listed in the Index.

Goldman's articles and book were utilized extensively along with other sources. Among them were the Journals of Alfred Doten (Vol.3 provides an excellent daily perspective on the Comstock and several prostitutes in Virginia City), "Prostitutes & Gamblers of Virginia City" (Blackburn and Ricards 1979), "The History of the Comstock Lode 1850-1920"

(Smith 1943), History of Nevada, 1881 (Thompson and West, reprint 19 ), Restless Strangers Nevadas Immigrants and Their Interpreters (Shepperson 1970), An Editor on the Comstock Lode (Drury 1936), The History of the Chinese in Nevada 1855-1904 (Dunnah 1966), and other sources.

Historical records reviewed included: manuscript census for 1870, 1875, and 1880; a town directory for 1872; probate wills and vital statistics records.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The initially proposed research strategy was modified during the process of research, so that the historical record for each town could be more adequately addressed and maximized. In part the proposed research strategy was adhered to because of prior commitment to that strategy and time constraints that limited modification of the strategy. For example the five year sampling interval for newspapers was followed for Silver City and Jacksonville. Some modification of the strategy was possible for the Jacksonville sample because of the proximity of the microfilmed newspaper files (at the University of Oregon Library). The excellent indexing and references to

newspaper articles for Virginia City provided by the Nevada Historical Society and Marion Goldman (1981) resulted in modification of the five year interval in the Virginia City research.

A critical analysis of the five year sampling interval for newspapers as based on the Virginia City sample would suggest that the validity of the five year sample strategy is qualitatively of worth, but does not adequately address the potential quantity of data on prostitution contained in the newspapers. Based on the newspaper index data obtained from the Comstock sample, for future research of a similar type, a more appropriate sampling strategy, if all the newspapers from the period under study couldn't be read, might involve a sample based chronologically on economic trends. A sample of economic periods, such as bonanza phases, consolidation, recession/depression, etc. would provide a more adequate sampling strategy.

Census records provided excellent data on prostitution and prostitutes. Census records were of course limited to ten year periods on a National level, though in the mining regions censuses might be compiled more often. Virginia City and Jacksonville both had manuscript census taken in years that were not federal census years. The deficit of 1890 manuscript census's precluded the tracking of prostitutes over a thirty year (and in cases a ten year) period.

The Sanborn Fire Maps and other locational data, such as that found in newspaper articles, provided substantiation of the settlement patterns found in the enumeration sequence of the census. Other data such as the relationship of establishments of prostitution with other businesses was also provided by locational data, and was used to test community integration and segregation hypotheses.

A deficit of data was found that could be used to qualify the status of prostitutes identified in economic phases and test material culture hypotheses proposed. A test of these hypotheses may be provided through the archaeological excavation of establishments of prostitution and through the review of additional records, such as mortgages, deeds, titles, and tax assessment records. The latter, in the form of published late tax records, were found to provide data on the personal property and real estate holdings of several prostitutes. Petrik's (1982) work in Helena, Montana suggests the value of mortgage records in the understanding of the lifeway of the frontier prostitute. Petrik was able to study the relationship of the regular community and the irregular market place over time through mortgage transactions and deeds.

Secondary sources, including data specifically relating to settlement patterns and economic phases, such as the work of Petrik (1982), were also found to provide a viable means of testing the proposed model. Two case studies of this

type are developed in Chapter Ten and used as a model test.

## CHAPTER 6

## MATERIAL CULTURE

## INTRODUCTION

The historical record paired with the archaeological record of prostitutes in the mining towns of the western United States provides data for both an etic and emic perspective of their lifeway. The historical record discloses the community view of prostitution or emic view; the etic nature of prostitution as interpreted from the perspective of an outside observer is provided by the archaeological record. The archaeological record consists

of the material cultural remains belonging to prostitutes and associated with prostitution. The historical record includes all recorded data relating to women employed in prostitution. Data contained in the historical record has an informant bias.

Unfortunately, the archaeological data on the material culture of prostitutes is sparse at present. Few establishments of prostitution or red light districts have been evaluated archaeologically. The historical record thus provides the major source of information on the potential archaeological record of prostitution and prostitutes.

Historical sources which provide data on the material culture of prostitutes include: probate wills and records, biographical descriptions, newspapers, oral histories, photographs, and fire records. The varied lifeway of prostitutes of differing status and ethnic background, and differences in the type of establishments they occupied, also provides an indication of the material culture that will be associated with them. Deficits in all these sources will exist since the historical record does not totally record or address the individual or the daily lifeway of individuals.

## PROSTITUTION AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

The archaeological record of prostitution includes artifacts and architecture. The extant remains of prostitution and prostitutes will be found in the archaeological record of a frontier mining town. The possessions of prostitutes were the usual possessions of frontier women, household items, and the material culture of their profession. The frequency of the latter, the profession related artifact, is valuable for the identification of prostitutes.

Toys and material culture relating to children may be found at houses of prostitution, but should be found in a low ratio to the artifacts of adult males and females. Similarly artifacts relating to men should be below the frequency of that for a nuclear family household. Males will be represented in an incomplete record in houses or facilities of prostitution. The artifacts of men should relate to brief visits, with the exception of a few maintenance related artifacts such as hammers, paint, etc. Most repairs in the more lucrative establishments were carried out by tradesmen, in poorer establishments women probably did their own repairs and maintenance. Grooming items and clothing or decorum artifacts that would have been used by men will predominate. High class brothels and

parlor houses often kept male grooming items, such as razors, to accomodate customers who remained over night. Smoking paraphenalia used by males will also identify the customers of prostitutes.

Though substantially different, Chinese and non-Chinese prostitutes shared many of the same problems and are both characterized in the archeological record by the personal possessions of women and the artifacts of their profession. The deficit of Chinese women on the frontier in marriage relationships makes the artifacts of Chinese females indicative of prostitution, particularly if artifacts relating to several women are found. The residence type that the women are associated with is also an indicator. Obviously, a few Chinese women were married. These respectable Chinese women would be associated with nuclear households, whereas Chinese prostitutes were often housed at gambling halls and opium dens. Evidence of several Chinese women occupying the same residence will also be indicative of the cultural pattern of Chinese prostitution.

## STATUS, HOUSING, AND THE ARCHEOLOGICAL RECORD

A hypothesis of the kinds of artifacts that will identify prostitutes and prostitution in the archeological record must be based on status and structural differences of establishment and prostitutes. Anticipated artifact classes are described through application of Roderick Sprague's (1981) functional classification system.

### Better Brothels and Parlor Houses

Brothels and parlor houses of the high status type will be associated archeologically with an abundance of female personal items including a high percentage of body ritual and grooming items (perfumes and cosmetics), medical and health aids (female tonics), birth control devices (douche kits), foot wear (Shoebuckles), clothing, adornments (jewelry), indulgences (opium tins, expensive alcohol), luggage (trunk hardware), rituals (amulets, rosary, cross), a few pocket tools and accessories (purse, pen knives), past-times and recreation, and infant care devices (rattle, nursing bottle). In association with these personal items will be domestic items, furnishings that include decorative items, housewares and appliances, cleaning and maintenance

items. A high frequency of artifacts associated with commercial sexuality and entertainment will exist. Artifacts of this type will include but not be limited to 'brass checks', alcohol glasses, alcohol bottles, board and card games, musical instruments, and items already noted in association with prostitutes.

Household artifacts varied. Better class brothels, parlor houses, and courtesans often had kitchen facilities and cooks. (Many of the cooks employed by single courtesans were Chinese males.) Association of artifacts that relate to both the prostitute and the male Chinese cook provide a means for identifying the upper class courtesan. It should be pointed out that the Chinese cooks are not a primary indicator of courtesans or other prostitutes, since many families and hotels employed Chinese cooks. They are another secondary indicator often associated with prostitution. No single characteristic is indicative of prostitution, instead, prostitutes are identifiable through the pattern of cultural material elements as an assemblage or collection of characteristic data.

High class brothels and parlor houses were generally one-and-a-half story or two story. A daylight basement might serve as bedrooms for the 'girls' in the one-and-a-half story structure. One or more parlors were often a feature of the better brothel or 'parlor house'. For example, Cad Thompson's Virginia City parlor house was a

two story structure on D Street and Sutton Avenue in 1866. Cad's employees were lodged in the basement. The upstairs parlor contained a piano with an India rubber cover. In 1877 Cad moved her business to the former establishment of Rose Benjamin. The new parlor house was two stories high and had a kitchen. No other details relating to Cad's second house have been recorded.

Jessie Lester's D Street brothel in Virginia City, 1865 in contrast had no dining facilities or cooking facilities but was considered a quality establishment. The history of a town must be taken into account in the identification of the status of brothels through the archaeological record. Jessie Lester's establishment is a good example; her house was considered a high class parlor house in 1865, yet was furnished simply in comparison to parlor houses of the 1890's.

Jessie's establishment was entered from D street. The full description found in the probate records indicate the place had a hall light with coal oil lamps on the side board. The house contained two parlors; a main parlor and a smaller parlor. Both were hung with chandeliers and lace curtains. Brussel (sic) carpets covered the floor, and antimacassars filled out the decorative scheme. Two sofas and ten chairs were contained in the two rooms. The furniture was unmatched, with the exception of two ornate carved arm chairs.

The five bedrooms upstairs each contained a spittoon, basin, and pitcher. The windows were covered with linen window shades. Each bedroom had a thin carpet and bed with spring mattress. A horse hair and wool or wool mattress topped the spring mattress.

One bedroom featured a collection of dishes and water pitchers, another had four plaster busts, and a third contained a carved mahogany bedstead, clock and assorted fancy bottles and vases. Jessie's room was hung with lace and featured a magnificent matched mahogany bedroom set. The set consisted of a bedstead, marble-topped bed stand, lamp tables, and bureau. Jessie had a horsehair and wool mattress over a spring mattress, and used a bolster rather than a pillow (from Probate Records for the estate of Jessie Lester as reported in Goldman 1981).

Chronological indicators in the establishments of prostitutes include personal items, furnishings, and architectural styles. The 'Homestead', a parlor house in Cripple Creek, Colorado, circa 1895, for example contained two bathrooms along with crystal chandeliers, a baby grand piano, and banquet hall wall paper from Europe that had handpainted traceries of laurel (Lee 1958). The bathrooms were a 'modern feature' in the 1890's, a convenience few residential structures featured. The wall paper is identifiable and can be dated technologically and stylistically.

Establishments of prostitution varied in size from small, three women, residences to fifteen bedroom hotel-like structures. Structure size was contingent on city size and services provided.

In large western cities, substantially larger establishments were evident. Jennie Rogers, who owned and managed several establishments in Denver, in the mid-1880's built "a three-story house with three parlors, a ballroom, and a dining room to entertain gentlemen down stairs, and 15 bedrooms to entertain them upstairs."(Reiter 1978:142-143). The biggest and best of her houses opened in 1889, the new house was promptly dubbed the Hall of Mirrors, for a reflective parlor off the foyer. In the mining towns less fancy buildings were possible but the emphasis of the high class brothel or parlor house remained on elegance.

High class brothels and parlor houses were not generally located in alleys or on the outskirts of town unless local ordinances restricted the locational patterns of prostitutes. Restrictive ordinances often affected lower status establishments more than they did higher status establishments.

### Mid-Status Establishments

The mid-status brothel or cottage prostitute may be distinguished archaeologically by apparent deficits such as the lack of kitchens, fewer decorative items, and lower quality furnishings.

The mid-status courtesan would probably have material goods similar to those of Julia 'Jule' Bulette. Jule's cottage was located near the corner of D and Union street in Virginia City. The cottage was a small structure that contained two rooms, a parlor and a bedroom, Jule didn't have a kitchen. The cottage parlor was furnished with a carved black walnut set including a sofa, two rocking chairs, four matching chairs, and several unmatched cane-seated chairs arranged around a stove. The room was set off with lace curtains, hanging gas lamps, a brussels carpet, and a spittoon. Jule's bedroom contained a small box stove, a huge mahogany bedstead, two wash basins, and two spittoons. The bedroom windows were covered with damask curtains and window shades. In the winter the bed was covered by a fancy worked wool spread and in the summer by a plain white bedspread. (Goldman, 1981). A listing of Jule's probated possessions is found in Chapter 3. The artifacts associated with her are indicative of a well-off mid-status prostitute, probably more well-off than most, though her assets at death did not cover her outstanding bills.

In a brothel of the mid-status type, a parlor or receiving room and bedrooms will be discernible architecturally, along with a low frequency of personal items of lesser quality. An extremely low frequency of personal items suggests the lower economic status of the establishment and the possibility that the employees reside at lodging houses, and not at the brothel. Body ritual and grooming items should be apparent, along with birth control devices and adornments. Qualitative differences should separate the material culture of the mid-status establishment from that of a high status establishment. Artifacts relating to male patrons should occur with the same frequency as for establishments where prostitutes lodged, unless overnight customers were not taken.

#### Low Status Establishments

Low status establishments included rooms over saloons, brothels, cribs, cottages and shacks. A lower frequency of personal items that belonged to both females and males will occur along with a reduction in the quality of items. In low status establishments that were not occupied as residences, body ritual artifacts and grooming items will be prevalent along with alcohol bottles. Since customer visits

were brief, artifacts identifying men should consist of fasteners, pocket tools, cigar fragments, hip flasks, and other indulgences that might be lost in a brief sexual encounter. At saloons, gaming pieces should be evident along with inexpensive glassware and alcohol bottles.

Nellie Sayer's Bawdy Saloon and the Corcoran Union Saloon of Virginia City were described as "low one storey doggeries" with bar rooms (about 12' x 14' in size) in the front and bedrooms in the back.

A 'D' street brothel where a prostitute committed suicide is described as containing a waiting room with a badly worn horse hair sofa, three chairs, and a stained Brussels carpet ( Gold Hill News September 5, 1975).

Several descriptions of cribs exist and give a graphic impression of these establishments.

"A bed in one corner, in another a stove, a coal bin had a bundle of kindling. A small dresser with a wash basin was against the wall. Permeating everything, a mixed odor of disinfectant, hair oil, and cheap perfume. On the walls, a few art pictures, oddly enough...never...of a pornographic nature" (Marion 1974:139).

Denver's Market Street cribs are described as being divided into two rooms.

"Through the door of a crib a man entered a small reception room furnished with a chair and perhaps a small couch. Awaiting him was a woman clad only in a nightshirt or kimono. Once money had changed hands, she would lead him through another door or heavy curtain to the

other of the crib's two rooms, the boudoir or 'workshop'. In it the customer would see a washstand holding a pitcher, basin, and bottle of carbolic acid, a clothes trunk, and a decrepit iron bed with a bright but dirty spread" (West 1981:26).

Most cribs were less spacious than the Market Street cribs. Cribs structurally tended to consist of one room that shared a common wall or walls with other cribs in a line, like motel rooms. Often an oil cloth was kept at the foot of the bed to protect the spread from customers' boots.

#### Lodging Houses and Dance Halls

Ladies of ill repute from all status groups occupied lodging houses and hotels. Hotel owners rented second story accommodations and back rooms to prostitutes. Mistresses, actresses, hurdy-gurdy girls and respectable female customers also rented hotel rooms along with male customers. Identification of prostitutes at hotels would be difficult or impossible in the archaeological record. Similarly the identification of prostitutes at lodging houses where male lodgers and families also dwelled would be difficult.

The involvement of hurdy-gurdy girls, pretty waiter girls, and dance hall girls in prostitution is problematic. That is, it is difficult to identify their involvement but

it is not impossible in some instances. If prostitution was a part of regular services at the establishment they were employed at then personal grooming items and artifacts relating to hygiene should be evident. The description noted for the interior of bawdy saloon will apply. Women's artifacts such as hairpins, beads, buttons, and jewelry should be associated with the regular employment of women at these establishments.

#### TEMPORAL DATA

Temporal interpretations of prostitution in a community can be associated with artifacts, architecture, and community mercantile history. Technological and stylistic changes are shown in both the architecture and artifacts associated with prostitutes.

Many prostitutes avidly followed fashion fads and styles. Few factors limited the acquisition of material goods that were considered fashionable. Dress patterns were styled after those in the latest fashion magazines and the mail order business provided the frontier woman with the ability to purchase that which could not be manufactured by a local seamstress or tradesman. Prostitutes also traveled

to metropolitan centers and maintained commercial connections through other prostitutes.

Mid-status and high status prostitutes were in the business of selling female appeal and fashionability. The cultural material of lower status prostitutes reflected less of this emphasis on fashionability. They had fewer means of purchasing material goods such as decorative items and fashion was not required by their patrons.

Since fashions changed rapidly, they serve as excellent time markers. For instance, initialled garters, or hats with low crowns and netting, might be temporarily popular. Cosmetics and personal hygiene aids were changed rapidly by technological developments and popular appeal. Cosmetics such as rouge and henna hair rinses had variable periods of popularity. Fashion magazines provide a means of deriving chronological and analytical information relating to attire, decorum, and accessories.

The associated personal attire of specific prostitutes, like 'Diamond Dolly' with her large plummed hats, may provide a means of identifying the individual in the archaeological record. Similarly, many high and mid-status prostitutes possessed items that were monogrammed or inscribed. Jule Bulette had a gold brick inscribed -- 'Jule'. The identification of the individual in the archaeological record also provides an excellent time marker.

The commercial availability of specific 'fashionable' items in the frontier community can be researched through newspapers and merchants' records. Newspapers also often contained articles on the 'new spring fashions', critics of fashion, and comments on the attire of community members.

#### SUMMARY

The potential exists for the identification of prostitution in the archaeological record. A deductive hypothesis of the material culture of prostitutes is proposed in this chapter based on historical data. A test of this data will not be conducted. At present, few establishments of prostitution have been excavated. As excavations occur in more historic towns, data on the material culture of prostitutes will be accumulated and a test of the proposed material culture can be undertaken.

## CHAPTER 7

## JACKSONVILLE, OREGON

## REGIONAL SETTING

Jacksonville, Oregon is located in southwestern Oregon adjacent to the Klamath Mountains. The Klamath Mountains lie at the intersection of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, the Cascade Range, and the Coast Range. The geology of the Jacksonville region includes both sedimentary and igneous rocks. The sedimentary rocks are mainly Paleozoic, though some appear to be of Tertiary age and some of Cretaceous age. Gold, copper, stibnite, cinnabar, and marble were mined in southern Oregon.

The Goldbearing quartz of the region had a wide distribution. Gold deposits occurred in veins, veinlets, and brecciated zones in several kinds of rock (Hayes and Lindgren 1909). Gold was extracted by placer mining, river mining, and hydraulic mining. Historically the main body of ore was taken from a depth of less than 25 feet from the surface.

Gold was first discovered on Jackson Creek in 1851. By 1867 the mining period had peaked and Jacksonville ceased to be a mining town. Jacksonville provides a good example of the short lived mining town turned agricultural center.

#### MINING CAMP TO BOOM TOWN

By spring of 1852, the miners were at work exploiting the surface deposits of gold in the Jacksonville town site area. Their surface scraping rapidly depleted the deposit and cleared an area for the town, after which claims were taken up in the adjacent gulches. In February of 1852 Appler and Kenny opened the first store, and by mid-summer of 1852 several hundred miners were working the Jacksonville area. A substantial number of regional strikes probably resulted in a relatively low mining population.

At the same time settlers began to move into the valley and take up Donation Land Claims. The miners provided a ready market for agricultural goods.

The settlement of Jacksonville was described in June of 1852 as composed of tents, sheds, shanties, and frail houses of split lumber (Haines 1967:17). The population of Jacksonville was approximately 150, but 1500 to 2000 miners were estimated to be working claims within a five mile radius of the town (Haines 1967).

Historical records indicate that very few prostitutes had arrived by 1853, but there were three married women in Jacksonville. Many Native American women camped near town and throughout the region. The miners were quick to avail themselves of native women (Haines 1967); sex was purchased or taken forcefully.

In 1854, as mining activities were moved farther from Jacksonville, the town grew into a supply center. Brick buildings like the Brunner building were erected. The Methodists dedicated Jacksonville's first church. A lucrative strike on adjacent Sterling Creek encouraged town growth.

Census data from this period is limited to one list of households, dating to 1853 or early 1854. Six women are listed in this census as living in households with no male head. A listing by household is found in Table 1-A, Appendix A.

The Erne household probably is that of a widow, and the latter five households may be those of women employed as dancehall girls, prostitutes, domestics, or seamstresses. The other women who were dispersed throughout Jacksonville were probably prostitutes since they fit the criteria used to identify prostitute (explained in Chapter 5). None of these women were evident in the later 1860 census. No other data relating to potential prostitution in this period was found.

#### BOOM TOWN 1856-1859

Mining production peaked in 1856. In that year a total of \$1,500,000 in gold was taken out of local mines (Farnham 1956). Thereafter the 'boom' waned as the supply of loose surface ore dwindled and capital investment became necessary.

By 1859 agricultural activities in the adjacent valley had increased. A society was formed to promote agriculture and sponsor an agricultural fair.

## RECESSION OF 1860

In 1860 Jacksonville was incorporated. By the early 1860's Jacksonville ceased to be a gold rush town. The production of gold continued in area placer mines in the district, but at a distance from Jacksonville. Jacksonville evolved into a regional supply center for the mining districts and area agriculturalists. Agricultural pursuits in the valley grew as disillusioned gold seekers from the mid-west returned to farming. Without the agricultural promise of the Rogue River valley many of the area miners would have moved on to more promising gold mining or agricultural areas. Many would probably have returned to homes in the Mississippi Valley, leaving southern Oregon in the desolate company of Bannack and Virginia City, mining towns that died following the exhaustion of mineral deposits (Farnham 1956). New strikes in Montana and Idaho attracted the attention of men still bent on a big strike.

"The restless departed, the wary bought plows, and a few lingered on the creek banks. Jacksonville, ever fearful that its apprehensions might prove accurate, sought desperately to preserve its life line to the mines, while casting an envious eye toward the security and respectability of its farm neighbors. It had entered a critical period. The uneasy adjustment to an agrarian economy had begun." (Farnham 1956:35).

In 1860 the county contained 164 farms and the population of farming districts exceeded those of the mines by 1502 to 1,304 (Farnham 1956). Of the 360 adult women in the county the majority lived on the valley farms.

The town population in 1860 was under a thousand, 879. The majority of the Euro-American women in Jacksonville were wives, listed with husbands and families. Only one Euro-American woman, sixteen year old H.F. Johnson, was identified as a possible mistress in the Perkinsville Precinct. Johnson resided with a farm laborer-Mr. Ger (sic) W. Robinson, age 54, and F. Mohs, age 27, a butcher (Jackson County Census 1860). A substantial population of Chinese were working in the area as laborers or miners. Five Chinese women, ages 19 to 23, were listed as living in Jacksonville. Two shared a house and three others resided in a boarding house also occupied by four male Chinese miners. The two households are widely separated in the census, which is listed in Table 2-A, Appendix A.

No Chinese women or single Euro-American were listed in the mining precincts of Applegate, Thomesville, Dardanelle, or Sterlingville near Jacksonville. The Chinese women in Jacksonville were probably all prostitutes. Very few of the Chinese males were able to marry in the U.S. Five prostitutes would have been easily supported by the male Chinese population of southern Oregon.

### Theatrical Performers

A steady stream of theatrical performers traveled to Jacksonville to perform in the 1860's and later. Lotta Crabtree, the darling of the mining towns, was among the early performers venturing to Jacksonville. Performances were held in Viet Schultz's brewery. The brewery had a bar, a large dance hall, stage and rooms to accommodate visiting artists. Viets ran a respectable house, under the watchful domination of Mrs. Schultz. Some actresses may have been free with their attention toward customers, but if such was the case no record exists of these interactions.

### Newspaper Reports

Prostitutes appear to have been a part of the town population during the 1860's as based on newspaper quotes from Haines (1967). Haines reported that as a reaction to a temperance meeting the men of the community took "a feminine undergarment" (obtained, so tradition says, from a female business woman) and ran it up a flag pole in front of the express office" (Haines 1967:51). Also in reaction to a temperance meeting an effigy was constructed:

"The female effigy was dressed in a lovely silk dress that was identified as having been contributed by a local practitioner of a popular personal service industry" (Haines 1967:51).

Who these women were who were employed in 'a popular personal service industry' and where they resided, could not be determined from historical records. The Jacksonville census taker appears to have deleted prostitutes from the 1860 census, or they may have appeared on a missing page of the manuscript census (on microfilm at Kerr Library).

#### Local Ordinances

In 1862 Jacksonville passed its first 'decency' ordinance. The ordinance was aimed both at vagrants and soliciting. In one section of the Ordinance "To prevent Public Indecency" it was stipulated--

"That if any person shall be guilty of any; public lewdness or indecency, either by word or action, or shall expose himself or herself, either by word or action, or manner within the Town of Jacksonville . . . person so offending shall upon conviction before the Recorder be punished by fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars and costs, or by imprisonment not exceeding ten days, at the discretion of the Recorder." (Board of Trustees 1886:1).

## RECESSION TO DEPRESSION; MID 1860

Local Jacksonville boosters attempted to maintain the illusion of hope in the area diggings as the recession deepened. In 1866 a rumor of rich silver ore near Jacksonville resulted in 256 claims overnight (Farnham 1956). It was soon apparent that no bonanza existed. The economic prosperity of the valley agricultural community subsidized Jacksonville and resulted in its development into "a metropolis in miniature, complete with feminine finery, foreign-born artisans, and Chinese slums" (Farnham 1956:39).

The sale of mining claims to Chinese miners who reworked exhausted mining claims was indicative of the post mining environment. By 1864 the upper Jackson Creek area, southwest of Jacksonville, was almost exclusively worked by the Chinese (Lelande 1981). Prejudice against the sojourners was prevalent. In a local newspaper it was noted:

"Another warning- On Wednesday last a blaze was seen rising over the top of one of the frame buildings occupied by Chinese, south side of California, between first and Oregon streets. By timely help it was put out. The carelessness of these yellow devils is proverbial and we look for the entire block in question to be burnt out unless they are removed." (Jacksonville Reveille September 12, 1868).

Adding to the burden of the depressed town was the small pox epidemic of 1868-1869. Small pox swept through many of the west coast mining camps and towns.

The first case of small pox in Jacksonville was reported in December, 1868. The Jacksonville board of Health set up a 'pest house' outside the city limits. The location chosen was Kanaka Flats, "that area of disreputable saloons and shanties which had long been the center of the wilder aspects of Jacksonville life" (Haines 1967:79). Location of the 'pest house' at Kanaka Flats may have provided a means for extinguishing, at least temporarily, the social center Kanaka Flats was becoming. Secondary sources alone note that Kanaka Flats was a tenderloin district; archaeological investigations in the 'Flats' area would yield a test of this historical rumor.

In January of 1869 citizen hysteria over small pox set in. Pitch pine and sulfur were burned in the streets. All houses where cases of the disease had occurred were disinfected, usually with carbolic acid. The residents of Jacksonville who weren't inflicted were removed. In mid-February normalcy returned. The town merchants reopened their stores, though customers were few. The effect the epidemic had on prostitution is not documented in the historical record; however the epidemic probably resulted in the final dissolution of the demi-monde, and their resettlement in other communities.

By May of 1869 the epidemic was over, and the resident population of Jacksonville stabilized. The community was left a bit stuffy in the wake of the small pox epidemic (Haines 1967:83). The 1870's were a time of complacency. The mining population was isolated in the districts; agricultural activity was commercially apparent in Jacksonville and the surrounding larger communities.

#### THE 1870'S A PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION

The Euro-American community courted respectability as it consolidated around a new agricultural economic base in the 1870's. Outside this growing respectability was the substantial population of Chinese. For the Chinese Jacksonville had become a regional cultural center. Establishments and professionals catering to the sojourner population in Jacksonville included prostitutes and gamblers.

Census records and an Ordinance passed in the early 1870's indicate that prostitution was a social service to be had in the community and was considered to be a problem. The majority of the women identifiable as prostitutes from the manuscript census of 1870 were Chinese and a few Native

American women. The latter may have been involved in prostitution, as indicated by the references of Haines (1967) and census records.

In the 1870 census the only Euro-American women keeping house alone, and of an age to have been involved in prostitution, were Rebecca Haud and Narcissa Farmer. (See Table 3-A, Appendix A for census extract).

Both of these women may have been widows or employed as domestics. Five Native American women, who are listed by household in Table 4-A, Appendix A, may have been involved in prostitution.

The Native American women listed were all clustered, possibly in the Kanaka Flats area or on the edge of town. Similarly 18 Chinese women who meet the census criteria for prostitutes were located in consecutive households (see Table 5-A, Appendix A). The Chinese women listed dwelled in households with one other Chinese woman or alone in Chinatown. Figure 2 illustrates the location of Chinatown in relationship to other areas of Jacksonville.

Fifty percent of the Chinese women resided alone and fifty percent resided with one other woman. Their average age was 22.5, and ranged from 18 to 29. These women made up less than three percent of the total Chinese population in Jackson County, which is recorded as 634.

No references or information relating to Chinese prostitution were found in the 1870 newspapers. In 1873 an Ordinance against prostitution was passed. The Ordinance is interpreted by local historians as discriminatory toward the Chinese. The only evidence found to indicate that this might have been the case was the general atmosphere of discrimination against Chinese and attempts at confining the Chinese to the Outskirts of town. Ordinance No.56, which addressed the suppression of bawdy-houses was written as follows.

"An Ordinance Providing for the Suppression of Bawdy Houses and Houses of Ill-fame. The People of the Town of Jacksonville do Ordain as follows: Section 1. No person shall open, keep, use or inhabit any bawdy house, or house of ill-fame, within the corporate limits of the Town of Jacksonville, under the penalties herinafter prescribed; nor shall any person let, lease, rent or hire or permit to be used, any house belonging to him or her within the corporate limits as a house of ill-fame, or bawdy house, under the penalties prescribed in this Ordinance.

Sect. 2 All houses inhabited by known public prostitutes, and used by them for the purpose of prostitution or illicit sexual intercourse, for gain, or used as houses of assignation, shall be held and deemed to be houses of ill-fame and bawdy houses within the meaning of this Ordinance. Common repute among persons residing in the vicinity, and among the public generally, shall be sufficient to establish the character of the house within the meaning of this Ordinance.

Sect.3 Any person or persons who shall open, keep, use or inhabit any bawdy house or house of ill-fame within

the corporate limits, or shall board, lodge or live in any bawdy house or house of ill-fame for the purpose of prostitution, or submitting her person to illicit sexual intercourse, shall upon conviction before the Recorder, be punished by a fine of twenty-five dollars, or imprisonment in the Town prison for not more than five nor less than two days for the first offense; upon conviction for the second offense, by double such penalty; and for the third and each succeeding offense a fine of one hundred dollars and twenty days' imprisonment: Provide, Where a fine is imposed which the offender neglects or refuses to pay he or she shall be imprisoned until such fine be paid, not more than ten days.

Section.4 Any person or persons who shall knowingly let, lease, hire, rent or loan, or shall knowingly permit or allow any house or houses, sheds or outhouses belonging to him or her or them, to be used as a bawdy house or house of ill-fame, within the meaning of this Ordinance, or shall neglect or refuse to cause such houses to be closed as bawdy houses or houses of ill-fame, within twenty days after notification by the Marshal, in writing, of the character of such house or houses, shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine not less than twenty-five nor more than fifty dollars.

Sec.5 Every day such houses are kept open and used as houses of prostitution, bawdy houses or houses of ill-fame, shall be deemed a new offense within the meaning of this Ordinance.

Sec.6 The Recorder shall have power to issue execution against the personal property of persons convicted under the provisions of this Ordinance, and to collect fines and forfeitures under the same.

Sec.7 This Ordinance shall take effect and be in force twenty days after its passage.

Passed May 29, 1873." (The Board of Trustees 1986:37-38).

Ordinance No.56 penalized both prostitutes and the landlords of prostitutes. The potential for compounding fines (Sec.5) added substantial potency to the Ordinance. Jacksonville newspapers from 1873 to June of 1874 were reviewed as a documentation of impetus for the Ordinance, and implementation. Only one case relating to Ordinance No.56 was found. Appearing in the August 25,1873; Democratic Times:

"Arrested.--A Celestial was last Thursday arrested and brought before Recorder Hayed on a charge of inhabiting a bawdy house. He was found guilty and fined \$25, in default of which he was sent to jail for five days."

No shift in the Chinese female population can be correlated with the Ordinance. The fires of 1874 and 1875 also appear to have had little effect on Chinese females in Jacksonville. In October of 1875 the Democratic Times reports that there are 364 'Chinamen' and 24 'Chinawomen' in the Jacksonville area. The large number of Chinese women recorded (large because a ratio of one Chinese woman to one hundred Chinese men was the usual ratio), indicates that Chinese prostitution was little affected by the ordinance or natural disasters.

## THE DEPRESSION YEARS

Jacksonville had slid into a full scale depression by 1873. The local recession augmented by the National depression proved too much for the community economy. With the depression, anti-Chinese sentiments were fueled throughout the western United States. The Chinese population of Jacksonville decreased under discriminatory legislation, both locally and Federally, that affected Chinese laborers. This decrease in population was also apparent in the female population. In the 1880 manuscript census for Jacksonville, Sterlingville, and Uniontown, only a total of nine Chinese women are recorded. Of this number five appear to be wives, among them Chin Lin the wife of the wealthy Chinese miner Gin Lin, Table 5-A, Appendix A. All the Chinese households containing adult female Chinese are listed in Table 6-A, Appendix A.

By 1880 the total Jackson County population was reduced by 50 percent of that recorded in 1870. (In 1870 634 Chinese were county residents; in 1880 only 337.) The only Chinese women identifiable as prostitutes in the 1880 census are those in Household 83 and possibly Deva Goose in Household 74. All the Chinese women in Jacksonville appear to have resided in Chinatown as based on the enumeration sequence.

The only Euro-American women listed in the census as maintaining households without adult males, and of an age to be involved in prostitution, were Narcissa Farmer, Florence Shipley, and Elizabeth Bitton. (See Table 7-A, Appendix A).

Whether any of these women were involved in prostitution is questionable. Florence Shipley is the only one who had no occupation. Narcissa Farmer was evident as head of household in the 1870 census, but all could have been involved in casual prostitution as an income supplement.

In the Jacksonville precinct, but not in Jacksonville, five common law Indian wives were identified. They ranged from 30 to 50 years of age and live with miners. All these women are listed as housekeepers. All were probably local Native American women, since the states of origin for all were California or Oregon. The only Native American women residing in a household without an enumerated adult male are: Annie, age forty whose occupation was housekeeping and Big Annie, age thirty-eight, who had no occupation.

Prostitution was an available service in 1880. In a secondary source (Haines 1969:110) it is noted that in the early 1880's --"three young men of the town were fined \$5 each for creating a disturbance in a bawdy house." Also in the early 1880's, Haines (1967:110) notes: "a young women of the town sucessfully subdued three boisterous young men with dexterous weilding of a bottle."

Where this bawdy house was could not be determined from historical records, nor could the identity of young women who protected with a bottle. It is assumed she was a prostitute, since respectable women would not have been about town or had opportunity to be in situations which would necessitate the use of a bottle for protection.

Sanborne fire maps for Jacksonville from 1884 and 1888 do not show buildings listed as brothels or 'female boarding house'. No mapping of the outskirts of the city was found. In compliance with Ordinance No.56 bawdy houses could have existed outside the city limits of Jacksonville with out penalty. The Chinese district is well defined on the Sanborne Maps. Structures in that section of town (see figure 2) are listed as 'Chinese Shanties', 'Chinese Quarters', or simply 'Chin'e' or 'chinese'.

#### EXHAUSTION

In 1890 Jacksonville's population decreased by approximately one hundred residents (from 839 in 1880 to 743 in 1890). The overall county population increased to 11455 (U.S. Census 1892). Jacksonville never recovered its role as a major regional center during the agricultural economy

that followed. Locationally Medford and Ashland were in closer proximity to new transportation routes and the valley farms.

By 1890 the capital from silver and gold was only \$31,433 (U.S. Census 1892). Fruit shipments alone from Jacksonville in 1887 were more than \$25,000. The total Farm production of the valley far outweighed that obtained from the mines.

An article from 1909 suggests that Jacksonville probably lingered on as the regional supply center for miners in the area. Furnishing entertainment for the mining population, outside Jacksonville's city limits were the entrepreneurs of Kanaka Flats. Kanaka Flats is described as a notorious area abounding in a variety of female ethnic types.

"So there was frequently' a sound of revelry by night," when Kanaka Flat" had gathered there her beauty and her chivalry." Her chivalry it must be confessed was somewhat frayed at the elbows, but beauty was there, albeit it was of the "bronze ideal" type. From the surrounding country came visitors to see darker Kanaka Flats at its worst."

One photo exists of a group of female entertainers from Kanaka Flats. The women were all Euro-Americans, attired in sailor style blouses. The hairstyles of these female entertainers suggest that were photographed, circa 1900. They were probably a musical or dance group.

## SUMMARY

The historical records for Jacksonville were excellent, yet little explicit information on prostitution was found in the historical record. Historical bias may be in play in Jacksonville. This factor paired with limited number of years that Jacksonville was a mining center resulted in both a deficit of data on prostitutes and probably a low prostitute population. The only readily identifiable prostitutes in the census records were eighteen Chinese prostitutes who are listed in 1870. References to the bases for the Ordinance passed against prostitution in 1873, as being discriminatory toward Chinese, were not supported by this study. As presented in secondary sources, the indication is that the Ordinance was directed at Chinese prostitution, yet this was not substantiated in primary sources. Census data does suggest that the only prostitutes residing in Jacksonville were Chinese. The only references to prostitution, Euro-american and Native American respectively, were found in secondary sources such as Haines (1967). Margret Haines (1980), in her research on women in Jackson County, did not identify any additional primary sources of information on prostitutes. Conservative historical bias against references to prostitution in Jacksonville newspapers, census records, and other records

is suggested by this deficit of information on Euro-american prostitutes when such a large number of Chinese prostitutes were found.

The Chinese prostitution population found in Jacksonville during 1870 fits the model, which proposes that there will be an increased prostitute population in response to increased demand. In this case the demand was from the sizable population of Chinese in Jackson County. Also answering this entertainment demand of the late 1860's early 1870's were a number of Chinese gamblers. It can be hypothesized that the Chinese community will be economically correlated with the larger Euro-American community, but operates outside it and at times experiences economic trends that are not contemporary with those of the Euro-American community.

Jacksonville does not provide an adequate test of the proposed model as a total, because of its rapid evolution into an agricultural center and the seeming bias of the historical record, but it does provide a case study that may exemplify the lack of historical data on mining in short lived mining communities and the bias of the historical record. Jacksonville also provides an interesting perspective on Chinese prostitution.

In approximately ten years' time Jacksonville went from a gold mining camp to a boom town and regional center for the mines and agricultural ventures, to a

recession/depression. By 1860 Jacksonville was well on its way toward respectability and removal from the mining population. If agriculture had not become a major economic component of the valley Jacksonville would have probably ceded more rapidly to the lowered production of the mines. Similarly, without the temperance movements and religious community associated with the agriculturalist population, a less biased perspective of Jacksonville's red light ladies would probably exist.



## CHAPTER 8

## SILVER CITY, IDAHO

## REGIONAL SETTING

Silver City is located in the southwestern corner of Idaho in Owyhee County, which encompasses the Owyhee Mountain range and adjacent range land, Figure 1 shows the regional location of Silver City. The Owyhee Mountains are a northwest trending range that extends for forty miles north-south and fifteen miles east-west. The range is deeply dissected by canyons and ravines.

Silver City is located at the base of the War Eagle Mountains, at an elevation of 8000 feet. Three miles west of the War Eagles are the Florida Mountains. The Floridas

culminate in hills near the head of Cow Creek where DeLamar is situated.

The climate is severe, heavy snows drift due to the strong winter winds. Keeping the roads open in the winter months and early spring was historically difficult and resulted in isolation and community autonomy. In contrast summers tend to be warm and dry. The regional water supply of Jordan Creek often proved to be scant in the summer to meet needs of the town and the mines. The result was the use of steam power in the mines.

Geologically the Owyhee Range has a granitic core that predates the Miocene period. During the Miocene period the granitic core was flooded by masses of rhyolitic and basaltic lavas. Mineral deposits of gold and silver were concentrated in the vicinity of Silver City and DeLamar in quartz deposits. These interbedded deposits of minerals and quartz were of a substantial depth; hard rock mining thus proved the most effective mining method for the extraction of a large volume of mineral bearing rock. Placer mining also occurred in Silver City, initially as the only method of mining, and slightly later as the major method employed by the Silver City Chinese who were effectively barred from work in the mines.

## THE INITIAL BOOM PERIOD; 1863-1873

Mineral exploitation in the area began with the discovery of placer gold deposits in 1863. The gold was discovered below DeLamar near Wagon town by a party of prospectors, and a rush of miners to the area followed. The placer gravels were traced up Jordan Creek and its tributaries to War Eagle Mountain in the first year of prospecting.

The town of Ruby City was established in 1863 at the site of the major area mining camp. By the spring of 1864 the town of Silver City was laid out at the head of Jordan Creek and the base of the War Eagle Mountain. The town was promoted by Col. Wm Dewey, Amos Springer and Pete Donnely. Three major streets were platted on a parallel line with Jordan Creek: Washington Street, Jordan Street, and Morningstar Street. In the spring of 1864 Dewey constructed a wagon road from Silver City to Ruby City. On July 4, 1864 an auction of town lots was held. By 1865 most of Ruby City's buildings had been moved up the creek to the Silver City town site. The Silver City town site proved to be far less wind swept than the Ruby City town site. Silver City was well promoted by its founders and was a short distance from Ruby City. Silver City's promoters also constructed a road to the new city which added to its appeal and

commercial growth.

### Investments And The Mines

The Oregon Steam and Navigation Company and a group of Portland businessmen placed a substantial amount of capital in the Owyhee mines in the early 1860's. By 1864 placer gold mining was over. Hard rock mining technology was necessary to extract the buried veins of rich ore. By the fall of 1864 several stamp mills were built, but silver and gold processing was slow and ineffecient. Production improved by December, 1864, with three stamp mills functioning. A hard winter hit Ruby City that year. A local correspondent noted that the houses seemed to have been built for summer occupancy. During the rugged winter vigorous promotion of the Owyhee and Boise Basin mines took place in New York, so that by the summer of 1865 the New York investment market was saturated, and swindles were becoming apparent.

In 1865 Silver City boomed as more mills were constructed along Jordan Creek (Wells 1964). Thirty or forty men were employed in each mill. The population surge and the regional promotion of Silver City resulted in a probable surge in the prostitution population, along with

other service personnel.

In 1866 Silver City became the Owyhee County seat, a position it held until 1931 when the seat was changed to Murphy.

The adjacent town of Ruby City still continued to prosper in the wake of the boom. Ruby City was described as a well behaved mining camp--

"Ruby City is without exception the best behaved mining town in existence. Unlike other mining camps, business is closed early, and one billiard table, one hurdyhouse and two or three saloons, make all the sounds to be heard after nine o'clock P.M." (J.S. Reynolds in Wells 1964:37).

#### Prostitution in the Boom Phase

Little data on prostitution during this initial boom period was found in local newspapers. A Ruby City correspondent reported on August 28, 1864

"...and women, who, in the glaring impotence of dress advertised the avocation they pursue--are not to be seen here" (Wells 1964:30).

Ruby City had a hurdy-gurdy house, which many have answered some of the needs for sexual companionship. It could be hypothesized that prostitutes were probably a part of both Silver City's and Ruby City's founding population.

Archaeological investigations are the only means for testing such a hypothesis because of the lack of records surviving from the early years of the Owyhee mining towns.

#### HARD ROCK MINING, THE BONANZA YEARS

From 1863 to 1865, 250 mines were recorded in the Owyhee region (Hanley 1980). By 1865 the Chinese were the only group doing a substantial amount of placer mining. In 1865 with the discovery of a rich body of ore at the Poorman and Orofino mines the region entered its first period of major economic growth. During the economically productive years of 1865-1874 Silver City had a reported population of 3000 to 4000 inhabitants. The nineteenth census of the U.S. does not concur with this figure though, as a total of 599 Silver City inhabitants are recorded and a total of 1713 Owyhee County residents. Of these 368 were Chinese. Production was recorded as being \$852,835 in 1870, with five gold placer mines and nine silver mines being in operation. San Francisco investors were extensively involved in Owyhee mining stock, which was traded on the bay area stock market.

Stimulated by the economic atmosphere of a bonanza economy the 'Queen City' of the Owyhees thrived. There were more saloons than dry good stores, two major hotels, and possibly eighteen houses of prostitution. Little clear documentation exists on the later, except census records. Theatrical troupes and entertainers regularly visited Silver City. During the milder months saloons featured hurdy-gurdy girls. The hurdy-gurdy girls had been a part of Silver City at least since 1865 when it was noted in a local paper:

"Mr Hanson, who was so brutally beaten in a hurdy-house, a couple of weeks since, is recovering slowly, but may lose the sight in an eye. What a terrible penalty to pay for a drunken spree" (Owyhee Avalanche October 21, 1865).

A number of Silver City saloons advertised music and discourse.

"Scandinavian Saloon.-liquor, cigars, billard table-. excellent music and dicoursed every evening" (Owyhee Avalanche May 7, 1870).

Many of Silver Citys Hurdy-gurdy girls came from Eastern Europe.

"In the sixties a couple of saloon owners from Silver City made a trip to Germany and brought back a number of girls to dance in the saloons at 50 cents a dance. They were the Silver City Hurdy Gurdy girls. They learned to speak English and as soon as they could pay their passage money back to the promoters, they were free to marry. Mrs. Gabriel whose maiden name was Katerine Spese, was a hurdy gurdy girl. She and William L

Gabriel were married in 1869." (Chadwick 1960:50).

The historical records from the late 1860's record the marriage of Catherine Spese and William Gabriel on August 3, 1869 (Statham 1962). The Gabriels are enumerated in the 1870 census. Catherine is listed as twenty years of age and William is age twenty-six. Catherine Gabriel's neighbor, Elizabeth Picket, may also have been a hurdy-gurdy girl. She is noted as being from Prussia and 21 years of age. Elizabeth was married to David Picket, a thirty-eight year old saddle maker from Illinois. Anna Millard, age twenty-two from Frankfort, may also have been one of Silver City's early hurdy-gurdy girls. Anna was married to H.W. Millard, a thirty-two year old printer. Anna has a child, age four months who was born in Idaho. Mary Dewey, who was the wife of Colonel Dewey, was reported to have come to Silver City as a hurdy-gurdy girl. Mary bore a child in October of 1869, and died on December 25, 1873 (Statham 1962). She was buried in the Silver City Cemetery. Several other women from Eastern European who appear to have been married just prior to the 1870 census may have also been early Silver City hurdy-gurdy girls. No single women from eastern Europe were identified in the 1870 census. Hurdy-gurdy girls were still a part of the entertainment offering in Silver City Saloons during this period. The Owyhee Alvalanch noted in November 5, 1870; "It is reported

that there will be a deck of hurdies in town in a few days." The Silver City hurdy-gurdies after the 1860's appear to have been made up of a variety of ethnic and national backgrounds. Transient groups of hurdies or melodeon troupes had began to tour the mining region by the 1870's. The lack of evidence for hurdy-gurdy girls in the 1870 census may be a result of an enumeration error or reflect the deficit of hurdy-gurdies in Silver City during the period the census was taken.

Seven Euro-American women who appear to have been prostitutes are listed in the 1870 census (see Appendix B; Table 1-B).

Euro-American women who may have been mistresses or common-law wives are listed by household in Appendix B; Table 2-B, but the possibility exists that the women are relatives or are housekeeper employees of the men enumerated.

The settlement pattern of all these women as represented in the enumeration sequence suggests they were scattered throughout the city. Annie Willman and her housemate A.J. Thompson lived next to Leslie Hiram, a photographer, and his wife. Residing in the other adjacent household were two saloon keepers, Thomas Jones and Jackson Way. Annie Willman was the only potential prostitute listed with any personal property. She was reported to have had property valued at five hundred dollars. Fannie Taylor and

her son lived near a barber and four unemployed men. The Cloud household was located next to the residences of a Lawyer and two Quartz miners. Several Chinese households appear to have been located near the Cloud household. This indicates that these women may have been occupying the red light district of the late 1890's.

The direct relationship of these women to the newspaper articles on prostitutes of the 1870's is indeterminate. Annie Willman may be the notorious 'Morman Ann'. News articles relating to 'Morman Ann' are as follows:

"One night this week a party of roughs made an attack on the house of a Cyprian named "Morman Ann". They broke in the windows, threw Greek fire, China stink-pots and all sorts of ugly projectiles in her room." (Owyhee Avalanche May 28, 1870). "A Misunderstanding.--Morman Ann and another gay and festive blonde, took it into their heads to rusticate last Friday. So they hired a pair of horses from "old man Springer", promising to be back the same night. Night came and morning dawned without bringing back the jolly horse women. Another day wore away and still they did not return. At this juncture of affairs Springer began to think that perhaps the gay damsels intended to commit a breach of trust and not return at all. So he and Jack Stoddard got themselves sworn in as deputy constables and struck out to the white sage country on the new Elko road. And, to cut a long story short, the constables found the equines soft and well cared for about thirty miles from here. All hands returned to town where the little Miss-understanding was satisfactorily arranged, and now, everything is lovely and the goose hangs high." (Owyhee Avalanche June 4, 1870).

More Chinese prostitutes are evident in the 1870 census than Euro-American prostitutes. A total of seventeen Chinese women who are probably prostitutes are enumerated. The list found in Appendix B; Table 3a-B provides a profile of these women.

Several other Chinese women are enumerated but appear to be either wives or concubines. The women in household 160 may be wives or concubines and not prostitutes as based on the household structure. In the other households where women appear to be connected with specific males they are listed in sequence after the individual men. Table 3b-B found in Appendix B gives an example of the enumerated sequence for non-prostitute households.

Many of the enumerated Chinese women gave no occupation or gave housekeeper as an occupation. Housekeeper along with seamstress, entertainer, and several other female professions were usually listed as occupation by prostitutes. Chinese men and not women were employed by neighboring Euro-Americans as laborers, servants, cooks, and housekeepers.

The identified Chinese prostitutes resided in an area principally populated by Chinese. The area was probably the same area occupied by Chinese into the 1900's along Jordan Street toward the outskirts of town. Figure 3 shows the location of Chinatown and Silver City's business and residential areas. Next door to Charley Owe's household

resided a Chinese laundry man and his wife or concubine, four unemployed Chinese men, and the prostitute Chen Chow. Sue Yen as the senior women in Owe's household may have been his wife or concubine, and probably functioned as a madam. Charle Owe's brothel comprised the largest grouping of Chinese women evident in the community. The other Chinese prostitutes lived in two women households or alone. Young Ah (household 198) is the only Chinese prostitute residing a few households from the major Chinese district. Ah's neighbors include a household of one white miner, and three Chinese miners and three white quartz mill workers.

The average age of the Chinese prostitutes (excluding sixty year old Ah Fan) was twenty-five years. The average age of the Euro-American prostitutes identified was 29. The size of the Chinese prostitute population is not exorbitant since a total of 368 Chinese are recorded as residing in the Owyhee county. The percentage of Chinese prostitutes is larger than the proportion of one Chinese prostitute to 100 Chinese males, which is proposed based on the overall percentage of Chinese women that are recorded as entering the the U.S. to Chinese men. If as few Euro-American prostitutes resided in Silver City as the census indicates during this period, the Chinese prostitutes would have made up the deficit in available sexual services. This may have resulted in a higher valuation of Euro-American prostitutes economically.

The number of women who appear to be wives or concubines may reflect the economic well being of the Chinese miners of Silver City. Several newspaper articles relating to the purchase prices of Chinese women appeared in the 1870 newspapers. In one it is noted:

"A Bad Speculation.--Some time ago a Silver City Chinaman bought a wife for \$1400. This week the almond eyed spouse "kicked the bucket" and was buried. The widower is disconsolate and says that he would not invest so much money in female flesh anymore." ( Owyhee Avalanche November 5, 1870).

A second article noted the running away of a Chinese woman.

"Trouble in Chinatown.--The Celestials of Silver City have a deal of trouble among themselves just now. Night before last a gay and festive Chinaman named "Louis" who used to work for R.H. Leonard eloped on the Winnemucca stage in company with an almond eyed damsel belonging to another Knight of the cue. The injured owner of the runaway woman was at Fairview and did not become aware of his loss until the next morning. He had recently bought her for \$500 and is now in a very disconsolate mood." ( Owyhee Avalanche July 8, 1874).

During the boom period of the late 1860's and early 1870's little control was exerted on prostitution. The town and town attitudes appear from the newspapers to have been open. News articles from this period note such things as:

"....there never were such legs as those grown under the girls of Idaho, and really, the finest legs we ever saw

were--well its none of your business--we don't propose telling everybody what we know of such things." ( Owyhee Avalanche June 4, 1870).

Another article grants a perspective on the patrons of prostitutes.

"There is some talk of organizing a Young Men's Christian Association in town. A good idea. Young men who stay out late o'nights, attend "Lanigans", jump out of bedroom windows and slide down sign posts, need something to check them in their downward career to perdition." ( Owyhee Avalanche October 15, 1870).

Later in the same month an article concerning the taxing of prostitution appears:

"Brothel Licenses.--The revenue law of Idaho provides that keepers of brothels, or bawdy houses shall pay a certain license. It appears that no such license is now collected in Owyhee County, because of the belief that the late Congressional enactment has annulled the law authorizing it, Congress merely prohibited any discrimination between Chinese and any other race; consequently, if license can be collected from white brothel keepers, it can be collected from Chinese, if other races are not compelled to pay such license Chinese cannot be compelled to pay it." ( Owyhee Avalanche October 22, 1870).

Whether any licences were issued and revenue gained is indeterminate. The Owyhee County Court House were destroyed by repeated court house fires, leaving few records from the early years in the County.

## ECONOMIC DECLINE, RECESSION TURNS DEPRESSION

In 1874 the boom economy of Silver City began to experience a decline that would continue for the next fifteen years. Production had previously risen from \$842,935 in 1870 to a high of \$1,002,207 in 1873. Production dropped to \$900,000 in 1874. This was still a substantial capital gain but marked the beginning of the downward trend. In 1875 production dropped to \$225,000 and \$187,926 in 1880. Silver City remained in economic doldrums until the bottom of the recession turned depression was hit in 1887. In 1887 production totaled \$96,531. During the recesssion a drop in the city population would have occurred, although this isn't evident in the census of 1880.

The community as reflected in the local newspaper grew moral and less amused by the activities of prostitutes and their patrons. One article suggests that the 'daughters' of Silver City may have been a bit less than Victorian in their companionship with men.

"Several young gentlemen in different parts of town lost their quota of sleep last night, some from one cause and some from another. Silver City cannot afford to lose many young ladies just now, except where they go into another state, and then of course it's all right."  
(Owyhee Avalanche April 10, 1875).

The women referenced may have been hurdy-gurdy girls or servants. In the November 6, 1875 Idaho Weekly Avalanche it is noted:

"Upon almost any fair night you can see the boys walking along our streets holding the girls up with strong arms and whispering words of encouragement in their ears."

These men may have been seeing dance hall or hurdy-gurdy girls home. The escort described would have been untypical for a courting senario.

More direct references to prostitutes and prostitution also appeared in the 1875 newspapers reviewed. On April 17, 1875 the Owyhee Avalanche noted: "A 'nymph of the pave' arrived here last evening from South Mountain by stage, and was so well disguised in man's aparrel that her sex was not noticed." In an other article it is noted that the news reporter was solicited:

"While out this afternoon we were approached by a young lady and asked if we were in search of items. Replying in the affirmative she suggested that we might take her. We didn't see it."  
(Owyhee Avalanche June 5, 1875).

In an article captioned "On the Rampage" disorderly behavior was noted and condemned.

"There was quite a commotion among the "free-and-easy" element of our population during the small hours of this morning. One of them better known as the "music teacher", in the exhuberance of her rowdyism, discharged a revolver and appeared on the street en dishabille.

She came near going to the lock-up, and this ought to be a warning to herself and others to be less boisterous and not disturb the community unnecessarily." (Owyhee Avalanche July 17, 1875).

In September of 1875 a note concerning Dr Mary Walker who is first referenced in the 1870 newspaper appears. In 1870 it was written of Dr Mary: "Deprived of her tr-s-rs in New Orleans, Mrs. Dr. Walker has sought concealment in the wilds of Texas" ( Owyhee Avalanche April 30, 1870) In 1875 of Dr Mary it was reported: "Dr Mary Walker is spreading her pantaloons in San Francisco." ( Owyhee Avalanche September 11, 1875).

In the 1880 Territorial Census schedules for Silver City and Enumeration District 29, three Euro-American women and seventeen Chinese women were listed as prostitutes. Two other Euro-American women not listed as prostitutes may have also been involved in prostitution; they were located near the Chinese district and in roughly adjacent households. Appendix B; Table 4-B contains a selected list of the Euro-American women and Chinese women assumed to be prostitutes or listed as prostitutes.

The average age of Chinese prostitutes in 1880 is thirty-two, approximately eight years older than the average age in 1870. Based on age and some similarity in names it can be proposed that many of Silver City's Chinese prostitutes remained in the community from 1870 to 1880. A

profile of Chinese prostitution by household appears in Table 2. Table 2 illustrates the shift that occurred in the size and structure of households associated with Chinese prostitutes. A shift was evident from households with two or more prostitutes in 1870 to single resident households in 1880. This single household structure may be indicative of a change in aggregation from brothels to cribs. It may also be indicative of a change in control over Chinese prostitution in 1880. If Chinese prostitutes remained in Silver City from 1870 to 1880 they would have had ample time to work off four and five year indenture contracts. Many of the Chinese prostitutes in Silver City in 1880, it can be proposed, maintained control over their sexual services in contrast to 1870 when their prostitution was controlled by contractual agreement.

If the recession affecting Silver City occurred after many of the 1870 Chinese prostitutes had worked off their contracts, then these women may have had no economic recourse but to remain in Silver City through the depression. It could also be hypothesized that the effect of the recession on the Chinese community was limited or occurred later.

Table 2: Profile of Chinese Prostitute Households,  
1870 and 1880  
Household Structure:

	Prostitutes living:			
	Alone	with other Prostitutes	with 1 male	2 males or more
1870	4	5	7	1
1880	10	1	6	1

The Chinese prostitutes were all located in close proximity to each other in Chinatown (except Moy who resided with a Euro-American man). The proximity of residences sequentially (Table 4-B) lends support to the hypothesis that many of the Chinese prostitutes were residing in crib type housing. In households 128-132 five Chinese prostitutes occupied adjacent residences. The proximity of Euro-American prostitutes and potential Euro-American prostitutes to the Chinese prostitutes suggests that the area was becoming Silver City's Red Light District. (By 1895 a Red Light District was well established in this location.) A census taker error may be the result of the substantially larger number of Chinese prostitutes to Euro-American prostitutes that was evident in both 1870 and 1880. The ratio of Chinese prostitutes to Euro-American prostitutes, is particularly inordinant in 1870.

Nora Lineham and Bertha Lewis may both have been involved in prostitution either casually or as a vocation. Nora Linham had two children both of whom were born in Idaho

of Irish parents. This data would suggest that Nora may have been widowed in the previous year and a half or deserted; no record of her husband's death was found in the manuscript census notes. Bertha Lewis may have been the dubious 'music teacher' of 1875 newspaper fame, though substantiation is not possible.

The Euro-American women listed as actual prostitutes were more dispersed in the settlement pattern than were their Chinese sisters. Maria Clapper resided near Chinatown and had neighbors who were married couples and single. Adjacent to her house resided a Lawyer and the Sheriff and his wife. Other neighbors included a Saloon Keeper and Under-sheriff, milk seller, and a Merchant. Mary McIntosh lived near a household of single quartz miners, unemployed men, and a stock herder and his wife. Mattie Lewis resided adjacent to a household of miners and a toll-housekeeper. Mattie had enough income from prostitution to support a servant/cook. She was of mixed ethnic background, Cuban and Dutch. Moy, the only Chinese prostitute not located in the Chinatown area, resided with an Irish laborer. Moy may have been a mistress and not a prostitute. In adjacent households resided: quartz miners, laborers, and a farmer.

The only prostitute from this period about whom additional historical data was found was Maria Clapper. The other Chinese and Euro-American prostitutes remain anonymous outside their enumeration in the census record of 1880. It

could be proposed, based on the census record, that Mattie Lewis was a mid-status to high status courtesan, since she employed a servant. Maria Clapper's location, adjacent to two sheriffs, indicates that prostitution was not illegal. Maria Clapper, according to other historical sources, was a mid-status to high status courtesan. The status of the other women presumed to be prostitutes or listed as such is indeterminate. The Chinese prostitutes were probably considered the lower ranks of the profession and sold services at price compensatory with their status.

#### Maria Clapper

Maria Clapper died on July 21, 1883, leaving a probate will that had been sealed on the eleventh of July 1883. Witnessing the will were B.F. Hastings, a quartz miner in 1880 and a Saloon owner in 1885; and Dr. D.H. Belknap. Dr. Belknap may have been attending Maria during a period of ill-health, prior to her death ten days later. The chronological conjunction of the two events suggests that Maria knew she was dying, but the cause of her death was not indicated. Her age in the probate will is recorded as "thirty-seven or thereabouts". This is six years older than the age listed for her in the 1880 census.

In her will Maria directed that her body be buried in a mountain cemetery near San Francisco, California. Compliance with this request appears to have occurred. In July of 1883 Maria was buried in the Silver City Cemetery, but in October of 1883 her body was exhumed and reinterred in California (Statham 1962:40). Maria had designated that five hundred dollars from her estate should be set aside for the purpose of her burial. Maria's bequests were for her daughter, Saddle Payne, and William Williams, a Saloon Keeper and executor of her estate. Maria stipulated that her daughter, Saddle A. Payne (or Paine) was to receive five hundred dollars and all her mother's clothing. Saddle's residence was listed only as New York state. No inventory of Maria's clothing or other property was found. To Williams she bequested

"all the rest, residue and remainder of my property, whether real, personal or mixed and all means, interest and monies I have invested in business with him, or others, including my house and lot in said town of Silver City and all my furniture, jewelry and money except the sums herein directed to be paid for funeral expenses, and bequested to my daughter as a foresaid" (Probate Court Owyhee County Idaho 1883).

On August 13, 1883, Williams filed a summary of Maria's assets. Her real estate was valued at approximately \$250 and personal property at \$525. Her daughter Saddle was listed as the next of kin and being about twenty-two years

of age. No references to the valuation of investments referenced in Maria's probate will were made in the asset report. Whether Maria's daughter ever received her bequest is not indicated. Based on her estate Maria was a mid or high status prostitute in the context of economically depressed Silver City.

### Hurdy-gurdy Girls

Hurdy-gurdy girls continued to be employed in Silver City's saloons into the mid-1880's. The Owyhee Avalanche in 1886 noted:

"We have it on good authority that one Hurdy Shebang shipped \$8000 as the net proceeds of its July business. As the bar gets one-half, it makes in all over \$16,000 in one month. Thus it will be seen that these leeches control more cash than most quartz mills." (in Adams 1969:28).

Few other references to hurdy-gurdies were apparent for the 1880, 1885, and 1890 sample years. One dubious hurdy-gurdy that is evident in the literature is Sally Snyder or Schneider. Sally first appears in the newspaper in 1880 when she is fined for abusive language.--

"Sallie Snyder was fined \$50 and costs in Judge Wickersham's court for using abusive language to Sheriff Jones who was at the time escorting a party of ladies

in a carriage to War Eagle Mountain."  
(Owyhee Avalanche October 2, 1880).

In 1881 Sally Schneider married Richard Thomas on the War Eagle Mountain. In 1896 Sally and her husband disappeared, leaving behind saddle horses, livestock, clothes, and a half eaten meal. Sally and her husband were both considered to be dubious characters. They had a record of a tumultuous relationship. At the time of the disappearance the DeLamar Nugget (April 26, 1896) presented a description of the disappearance and noted: "Sally started as a Hurdy-Gurdy girl in Silver City and later moved to Fairview."

#### Other Economic Pursuits

Economically, in the midst of its depression, Silver City seems to have received some cushion from ranching in Jordan Valley. On July 11, 1885 the Avalanche reported: "The town was enlivened on Sunday by about 40 cowboys, who came in from the rodeo to attend the ball and have a good time." Prostitutes would have probably traveled to Silver City during the summer to serve the seasonal demand of the cowboys.

A depression economy is not indicated by the newspapers of 1880. Many merchants are listed and the sale of businesses is not disproportionate. Notes on fashionable

attire for women in the summer of 1880 provide a time marker for archeological work in Silver City's red light district. The Owyhee Avalanche noted that fashionable summer apparel included:

"Leghorn hats, lace mits, lisle-thread gloves, corsage boquets (sic), net train, flower epaulets-for dresses, large gold headed pins with tiny gold chains attached--worn in hair, beaded bags, parasols--celluloid knobs." ( Owyhee Avalanche January 10, 1880).

The purchase records from Morris Oberdorfer's store, which featured-- "fancy Goods, ladies dress goods, clothing" ( Owyhee Avalanche January 10, 1880), might provide a detailed perspective on the expenditures of red light ladies and the number of red light ladies apparent during the summer months.

### The 1890's in Silver City

By 1890 the Chinese population in Owyhee County was declining along with the Euro-American population. In 1890 only 245 Chinese were living in the county. Records for the city population do not exist. The total population of Silver City had declined by 150 from 1880 to 1890. The destruction of the manuscript census for 1890 in Washington D.C. precludes identification and comparison of trends

evident in the prostitute population. A marked decline of at least twenty percent, which was evident in the total population, should be apparent in the prostitute population in 1890.

#### SUMMARY OF THE EARLY YEARS

Few early historical records for Silver City were found, for many did not survive the courthouse fires of 1884 and the 1930's. Other records, such as merchant ledgers, are in the possession of individuals and not available for research.

Based on the data available, Silver City was found to have had a much larger Chinese prostitute population in 1870 and 1880 than was anticipated by the proposed model. The inordinately high ratio of Chinese prostitutes to Euro-American prostitutes is unexpected, as was the large population of Chinese prostitutes identified in 1880, a depression phase. Approximately 17 Chinese prostitutes were documented in 1870 and 20 in 1880. The proportion of Chinese prostitutes to Chinese men is one to twenty in 1870 and less than one to fifteen in 1880. This ratio is high when compared with the fact that the total sojourner

population recorded as entering the U.S. was 93-96% male. A ratio of one Chinese female to 100 Chinese males in the mining region has been previously proposed by Kung (1962). This proportional anomaly in Silver City may be indicative of the Tong control exerted on the prostitution trade and Silver City's use as a regional cultural center by the Chinese. Jackie Day (1982:personal communication) found that Silver City had a higher Chinese prostitution population than did other mining towns and regions in Idaho. Also attesting to the possibility that Silver City served as a major clearing house and cultural center for the Chinese sojourner population was the existence of two Chinese temples in the city and a history of Tong conflicts.

The proportionately small recorded size of the Euro-American prostitute community in 1870 and 1880 and analysis of later census records, during a period when oral historical data was available, suggests that many of Silver City Euro-American prostitutes were not enumerated. Euro-American patronage of Chinese prostitutes was evident from the inferences drawn in an 1875 news article. In the article a 'crossing of the races' is noted by a reporter during a visit to Chinatown.--

"Adjoining the last named hut we encountered quarters occupied by a smart and sprightly looking Chinawoman. She had in her arms a bright eyed child about 6 months old, and judging from its appearance, a suspicion entered the mind of the modest reporter, that there had

been a successful attempt round her to "cross the breed." ( Owyhee Avalanche March 31, 1875).

The implications of extensive Euro-American patronage of Chinese prostitutes are the elevation of Euro-American prostitutes and greater economic gain for Euro-American prostitutes. Surprisingly only one brothel was identified in 1870, a period of economic growth in the community, a period when several brothel could have been supported. In 1880, during the recession-depression, all the Euro-American prostitutes were operating alone, as were the majority of the Chinese prostitutes. This aggregation pattern was anticipated in the model as being indicative of a recession-depression phase, since a brothel sized facility would have not been as economically viable as a smaller one or two women operation.

#### SILVER CITY, THE SECOND BONANZA; 1890

In the late 1880's an upswing in gold and silver production was experienced. Almost simultaneously in 1889 the ore bodies of the Black Jack mine on Florida Mountain

and of the De Lamar mine at Wagon town were discovered and developed (Piper and Lancy 1926). Production rose from the low of \$96,531 in 1887 to \$571,224 in 1889 and \$1,148,010 in 1890. The value of silver had risen seven cents a fine ounce and the ratio of gold to silver in the ore by weight had increased over forty percent, both factors contributing markedly to the prosperity of the new bonanza period. Production totals continued to be over a million dollars for the next eleven years despite the fact that both the value of silver dropped by over forty percent and the percentage of gold to silver decreased by ten percent on an average.

A slow decline in production began in 1902, by 1914 mining conditions in Silver City had duplicated those of the years 1876-1889 (Piper and Lancy 1926). In 1910 several of the major mines had been stripped of workable ore and were shut down by the operating companies. Other companies followed suit.

In the initial bonanza years of 1890 a population increase was again experienced. The institutions and businesses for managing and providing for this incoming population already existed in the depressed town. Consolidation occurred rapidly as community patterns stabilized in the wake of the initial bonanza. By the mid-1890's to late 1800's the settlement patterns of prostitutes and Chinese were well established.

## Prostitution

The destruction of the 1890 manuscript census precludes the potential for identification of prostitutes during the beginning of the bonanza period. Examination of the manuscript census for Owyhee County, Silver City Precinct in 1900 resulted in the identification of nine Euro-American prostitutes and two possible Japanese prostitutes. All the identified prostitutes resided in or near Chinatown. The women located in Chinatown were both Japanese; Kate Tarna and Ki Ah. Both women were twenty-five years old, lived alone, and had no occupation listed. The Euro-American prostitutes identified were located adjacent to China town and a large male boarding house. These women are listed in Appendix B; Table 5-B. Their average age was twenty-three. All were born in the United States except Bonnie Earl who was born in Spain of parents from Arabia. Bonnie may have been of Moorish ethnicity. If so, her employment would be in keeping with the trend toward featuring exotics or women of mixed ethnic background in the 1900's. No occupations were listed for any of the Euro-American prostitutes except for Harrington and Edna Campbell, both of whom were listed as servants. Harrington and Campbells employment as servants is questionable based on their settlement pattern location and household structure; most servants resided with

the families they served. The ages of Harrington and Campbell were within those found for Silver City prostitutes; paired with other factors such as their household structure and residency near prostitutes, it can be strongly suggested that they were prostitutes and probably resided in the Jordan Street Red Light District.

Oral histories indicate that more prostitutes than were listed in the 1900 census resided in Silver City. One Chinese prostitute named Fanny was recalled. The only Chinese women listed in the census, who were not married and residing with their husbands, were a seventy year old woman and a fifty-three year old woman. These two women were well pasted the averages age for prostitutes, and thus their involvement in prostitution as a lively-hood in 1900 seems improbable.

May Black and Bernice Davenport are both listed in the Register of Prisoners Confined to the County Jail, Owyhee County, Volume One. Both women were arrested on August 3, 1900 for "opium", and were released after paying \$30.00 in fines and court costs. Other women that appear in the Register of Prisoners prior to and following the census year of 1900 are: Maybell Raymond, Lola Browner, and Lola Ross. Maybell Raymond was arrested between May 11, 1894 and July 1, 1894. No charge was listed but Maybell was described as being twenty-six years of age, 5' 5" tall, having blue eyes, a light complexion and Red hair. (The latter may have been

dyed, in the 1890's henna rises and reddish hair were very popular among prostitutes.) Lola Browner was arrested on November 1, 1905 for "disturbing the peace". Lola was fined \$20.00 and \$8.95 in court costs; she was arrested for the same crime on May 9, 1906. Lola Ross was charged \$20.00 in punitive fines and \$9.70 in court costs. Whether the two Lola's were the same woman is indeterminate. A Lola Evans was identified by Ned Williams (1981:personal communication) as employed as a prostitute at a better brothel run by Lea Perry around 1912,

An Oral Historical Perspective on Silver City Prostitution, 1901-1915; Interview with Ned Williams in 1981.

(Ned was born January 8, 1895, and his family arrived in Silver City in the late 1890's. Ned, like many other Silver City youth became involved in the task of running errands for the Red Light Ladies.)

In about 1901, at the age of six, Ned joined other Silver City youth on the porch of the Idaho Hotel (see figure 3) from whence errand boys were called on by the 'ladies' in the Jordan Street Red Light District. Ned noted he had seen the other kids on the hotel porch with pocket change and was interested in what was going on--"I was hard pressed to scrounge up a nickle, let alone two-bits". The

prostitutes couldn't leave the Red Light District south of the Idaho Hotel on Jordan Street--"all those gals were confined, couldn't go out. Saw the town coming in or going out. Would get on or off the stage, didn't set foot in the rest of town" . . . so they called on the kids on the porch to run errands to the stores for them. The items ordered were charged to their accounts and usually delivered later by the store clerks. The messengers were reimbursed well for their errands by the women of the district. The women of the district began to call on Ned,"the little fellow." Ned once overheard Josephine Lavender to say . . ."heard she said about me one day . . . I love that little guy. You know not in the fraternal way." Ned decided to increase his revenues:

"I stated a paper route, got the Chicago Tribune and Saturday Blade, two cent papers. I peddled them down the street, those gals would give me fifty-cents, two-bits a paper . . . Well my mother found out and put an end to my paper route."

When asked about ethnic prostitutes and Chinese prostitutes Ned recalled there was one Chinese prostitute named Fanny when he was a boy.

"She was too old . . . had kids prices . . . 10 cents looky, 15 cents feelies, 25 cents all the way (but she said something else)".

There were several Negro prostitutes south along Jordan Creek outside of town, "up the little gulch where the camp ground is." The place was "called the pink house." Later

in 1908 or 1909 there was a Japanese prostitute in Silver City. She was in a house with White women near the north end of the district. At the time Ned was working in a camp where they had a Japanese cook. The cook heard about the Japanese woman and set out for town--snowshoeing. When he hadn't returned to cook breakfast the next day a party of men from the camp set out after him . . . "we trailed him to Remisigen Flat and then he went out toward Flint. He missed DeLamar and circled around. We found him under a bush, his feet and hands freezing. Lucky we found him or he'd of been dead."

#### Prostitutes, Status and Brothels

Ned noted: "there's a difference between whores and chippies--the chippies were dance hall girls." He recalled that several of the dance hall girls were married to area residents. "Thompson the stage driver married one and 'Shorty' Hawes married a girl named Margaret, a dance hall girl."

The better establishments of prostitution were located near the commercial center of town at the north end of the Jordan Street district. Cries and lower status prostitutes were located on the south end of the district near

Chinatown--"There were cribs, lots of one room shanties down Jordan Street."

Ned noted, several better brothels were located on the north end of the district next to the Post Office--"used to listen through the Post Office walls to the goings on in the house next door." The best prostitute-madam in Silver City during the 1900's was Lea Perry . . . "lived next to the post office-right in the corner two story house where the Masonic Hall is."

"Lea was a good manager, she split revenues, if a girl wasn't producing to what she thought they should, they went out." Josephine Lavender started at Lea Perry's and later worked in a crib near Long Gulch Creek on Jordan Street. 'Old Joe' had a southern drawl, was a graduate from the University of Virginia. A class mate of hers came into town during a geographic survey of the area he was employed on. He recognized her . . . "there was a ruckus, the carrying on she went through, making him promise not to tell what she was doing."

Other women at Lea's house around 1910 were Lola Evans, Casey the Irish Queen, Dotty Reynold "Miss Dot" (Adams 1981:personal communication, Williams 1981:personal communication).

Mrs. Adams had an account ledger from Andy Capp's Cigar factory on Jordan Street. Capp's factory was located at the north end of the district. The ledger contained a

record of purchases by Lea Perry ending in March 1912. For a span of approximately six months, cigars were purchased by Lola Evans, and then Lea resumed purchasing cigars. Lola Evans was Lea's management assistant, she took over management of the brothel after Lea's death in 1912 or 1913.

Lea Perry was the stereotypical good madam--if anyone was injured or in need Lea would help to provide for them. She was the source of a new coat for a poor child or a grub stake for a miner. It was reported by both Williams and Adams that when Lea died all her pall-bearers were married men; still they buried her outside, as close as they could get her to the gate of the Ruby City cemetery.

Lola Evans eventually married out of the profession, around 1915, and moved with her husband to Boise. Casey the Irish Queen also married. She married a sheep rancher, probably in the Jordan Valley area. "Good lookin gal"; she would return after she was married and visit and work. She worked for Lea Perry, and later Lola Evans during her visits to Silver City . . ."last time I knew her to be here was 1914 or 1915, before the First World War."

Other prostitutes in Silver City around 1910 were: Zeda Meyers or "Toots"; Long-toed Liz; Mother Max; and Big Dicks. Establishments included Stella's and Georgie's. (Adams 1981:personal communication). Long-toed Liz worked in DeLamar for Jennie Mitchell and later by herself in Silver City. Her place backed on the War Eagle Hotel. As a boy

Ned recalled:

"A store owner here didn't want to be seen going down to Long-toed Liz's. So had an agreement with her. She would jerk a string that was tied to his toe. He would know it was time to come down to see her. It was 25 or 30 steps to where she was. Well we kids jerked that string and old Charlie came down in his night shirt and sandals."

His appearance was a bit of a surprise to Liz, (and, the inference is, to her customer).

At times, Ned reported, young men sought entertainment by visiting all the prostitutes along the street, in simulation of bar hopping. The men had the option of seeking sexual services or simply having a drink at the establishment, and then continued on to the next one.

#### Mobility of Prostitutes

The mobility of prostitutes in the districts was probably eased by their access to many backdoors of saloons and some businesses that backed on Jordan Street. (See the 1903 Sanborne Map of Silver City figure 3.) Some buildings occupied by prostitutes and Chinese are indicated, as are the saloons that backed onto Jordan Street and the cigar factory. Prostitutes would have also had access to livery stable rentals and mobility in and about Chinatown.

## SUMMARY OF THE LATER YEARS

During the consolidation period and repression that followed the initial boom of the 1890's prostitutes were restricted to Silver City's Jordan Street Red Light District. This restriction appears to have been a concensus restriction and not a legal restriction, since no historical documentation of such an ordinance was located.

The red light district in the Consolidation phase was a mix of two story establishments, cabins and cribs located on either side of the Jordan Street, between Avalanche Street and Chinatown. High class establishments were located at the north end of the District, closer to the Idaho Hotel and the commercial district (the commercial district was located along Washington Street and Avalanche Street). As illustrated on the 1903 Sanborne Map (figure 2), on the east the same structures appear to share a common wall with several saloons. On the west establishments of the Red Light District back onto Jordan Creek. A road or path crossed Jordan Creek behind them. This probably provided a margin of privacy for entrance and exist from establishments in the Red Light District. Most larger houses of prostitution had back doors that facilitated the rapid exit of customers and employees, and at times served as an entrance for customers bent on an unobserved entry. Between

the "female boarding" Houses and Chinatown were several cabins that were at some times occupied by Chinese and probably in other times housed prostitutes, according to interview data. Evident also along Jordan Street from north to south was a lodging house, wagon shed, several livery stables, storage sheds, the stage stop, and a hand printing business (Figure 3) (Sanborn 1903). The settlement pattern of Red Light Ladies and their role in the community is set by the consolidation period in Silver City. Whether this settlement pattern was apparent prior to the consolidation phase, in the depression phase of the mid-1880's, can only be suggested. The enumeration sequence found in the 1880 manuscript census indicates, that in part, this settlement pattern may have been established by the recession/depression period.

It can be hypothesized that the settlement pattern of prostitutes in the Jordan Street District was probably set in the recession/depression of the 1880's, and was then disrupted by the population influx evident in the late 1888's and early 1890's; which would have resulted in an expanded Red Light District. By the consolidation phase of the late 1890's and early 1900's the settlement pattern of Silver City prostitutes and their sphere of community interaction was well defined.

By the consolidation phase not only was the community mobility of prostitutes well defined, but burial segregation was evident. Lea Perry was buried outside the Ruby City cemetery in 1912 or 1913, even though she was considered to be a 'good prostitute'. By virtue of her profession she was considered to have lived outside the law--"those that lived outside the law were buried outside the cemetery" (Williams 1981, and Adams 1981:personal communication). In contrast Maria Clapper, who was noted as being a prostitute in the 1880 census, was reportedly buried in the Silver City Cemetery in 1883 until her disinterment and removal to a cemetery in California.

Ned Williams recalled that several prostitutes and hurdy-gurdy girls married. In the latter case these women were tinged with disrespectability only by virtue of their employment type. They were not considered to be prostitutes or involved in prostitution--they were 'chippies' and not 'whores'. Several Silver City prostitutes also married. Casey the Irish Queen continued to visit Silver City occasionally and practice her former profession. Lola Evans moved to Boise with her husband. Her employment there, other than as a housewife, is unknown.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

During the initial boom phase of mining in the Silver City area, prostitutes were scattered throughout the settlement pattern of Silver City. Chinese prostitutes were segregated during this early phase as were the Chinese in general. The disproportionately large ratio of Chinese prostitutes to Euro-American prostitutes suggests a possible enumeration error, but could also mean that Silver City was a major cultural center for the Chinese sojourner population in southern Idaho and eastern Oregon. The mobility of Chinese prostitutes once they worked off their indenturement contracts appears limited as based on the Silver City population of Chinese prostitutes. Many of the Chinese prostitutes evident in 1870 records appear to have remained into the depression years of 1880. The Chinese Exclusion Act was not in effect until 1882; thus, supply problems connected with Chinese prostitution do not explain the Chinese prostitute population profile evident in 1880. The deficit of younger Chinese prostitutes in 1880 is indicative of the depression economy and the surplus of Chinese prostitutes.

The settlement pattern of prostitutes in 1880 was generally segregated. As in 1870, Chinese prostitutes were located in Chinatown and Euro-American prostitutes dwelled

in residences roughly adjacent to the Chinatown. The household structure of prostitutes is reflective of the depression economy. Households were primarily one women/prostitutor in composition.

Census data for 1890, the beginning of the bonanza phase in Silver City, was not available. It is hypothesized that during the bonanza phase, prior to consolidation, prostitutes would have been scattered throughout the community, but primarily centered in the Jordan Street Districts. During this phase prostitutes would have occupied multiple prostitute establishments in the district, cribs, and single or two women households and rooming houses through out the city. For business purposes, the residences adjacent to the saloons on Washington Street would have been of primary interest to prostitutes.

By the late 1890's and early 1900's through 1910, evidence exists for a Red Light District along Jordan Street. Access to Washington Street saloons that back onto Jordan Street prostitution establishments, is evidenced by backdoors and common walls. The only Chinese prostitute known of in this phase is old Fanny. Two Japanese prostitutes were identified in Chinatown, and Black prostitutes were segregated in a brothel on the outskirts of town. Later, in 1909, a Japanese prostitute was noted as working in one of the better Jordan Street brothels. A women of possible Moorish or Spanish descent was identified

as working in an Euro-American brothel, in 1900.

The community mobility patterns of prostitutes were well established in the 1900's. Prostitutes were not allowed by community consensus to shop in the commercial district. Children ran errands for them and store clerks delivered goods. Shops that were located in the Jordan Street District were not off limits to prostitutes; for example, Lea Perry regularly purchased cigars from Andy Capp's Cigar Factory. Burial segregation was also practised in the 1900's, prostitutes were buried outside the Ruby City Cemetery. Prostitutes were arrested for opium use and disrupting the peace during the consolidation/recession phase. One, Maybell Raymond, may have sported fashionably dyed red-hair.

Interestingly, prostitutes had mobility out of the profession through marriage. After marriage Casey the Irish Queen continued to be involved in prostitution on a casual basis during visits to Silver City. Many of Silver Citys prostitutes worked a variety of the area establishments, traveling from Jennie Mitchell's house in near by De Lamar to Lea Perry's in Silver City, and probably to other establishments in southern Idaho.

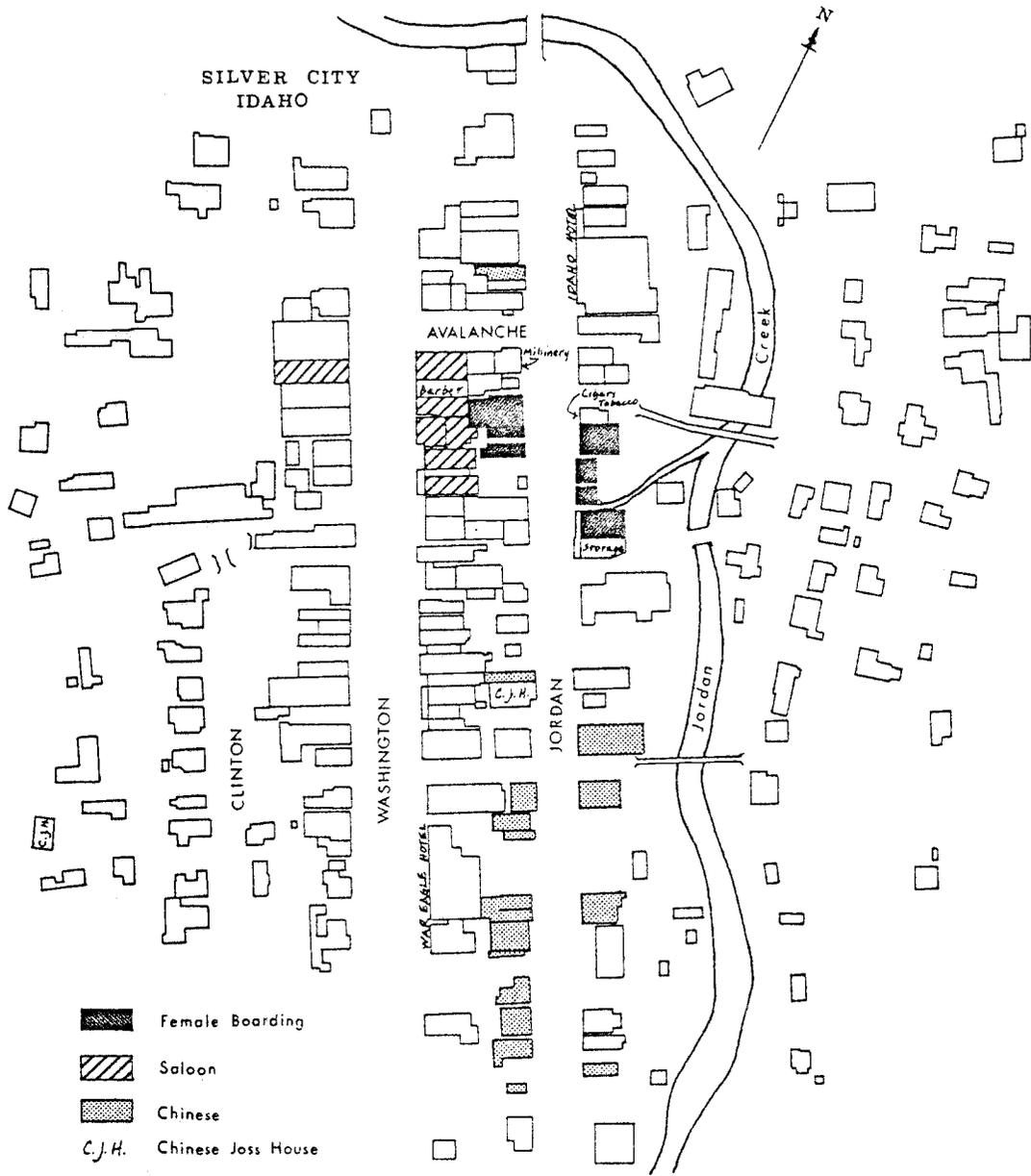
The lifeway and settlement patterns of prostitutes in Silver City followed the model proposed and provided additional data with which to understand the processes of community growth and prostitution. During the initial boom

phase, both prostitutes and dancehall girls were known. They appeared to be scattered throughout the town and to be of mid or low status. In the 1880's, with the depression establishments providing sexual services were one-women in structure and were situated in the Chinatown area, probably in the later Jordan Street Red Light District of the late 1890's. The ranks of prostitutes appeared to include a substantially large number of low ranking Chinese prostitutes, and a few mid-status and possibly high-status Euro-American prostitutes.

It is hypothesized that in the bonanza phase of 1890 prostitutes were scattered throughout the city and also were situated in the Jordan Street District. Mobility during this phase would have been greater than in the consolidation period that followed. Prostitutes probably could shop and visit the commercial district at will. By the late 1890's and early 1900's, however, prostitutes were segregated into a Red Light District along Jordan Street, north of Chinatown. Their mobility in the community was limited and burial segregation was occurring. Their mobility regionally centered around a parlor house circuit that included establishments in Silver City and De Lamar.

Chinese prostitution in the 1880's would not reflect the depression economy if simply viewed from the archeological record. The household composition of Chinese prostitutes was congruent with the model proposed, but the

substantial number of Chinese prostitutes was incongruent. The historical record provided an insight and hypothesis for explaining the size of the Chinese prostitute population during the depression phase. Based on age data drawn from the census of 1870 and 1880, it appears that Silver City's Chinese prostitutes remained in Silver City after they had satisfied the terms of their indenture contracts, and continued to work as prostitutes. The potential bias of the archaeological record as a means of interpreting the lifeway and history of a people is illustrated by this anomaly. The additive value of the historical record is apparent as a supplement to the archaeological record and a means of validating the archaeological record.



(Sanborn Map Co. 1903.)

FIGURE 3: Red Light District, Saloons, and Chinatown

## CHAPTER 9

## VIRGINIA CITY

## REGIONAL SETTING

Virginia City is located in Storey County, Nevada. The city is situated in the Virginia Range at the base of Mount Davison, at the 1775 foot elevation point. Below the city is the Carson River. The city was built on the alignment of the lode that produced Virginia City's prosperity.

The Comstock lode was formed in a complexed fault fissure that extended along the base of the Virginia Range from approximately four miles (Smith 1943). The east slope

of the Virginia Range forms the foot wall of the lode, which follows the general contour of the Range. In the Virginia City area the lode is composed of hard granitoid diorites. In the area of Gold Hill the foot wall is composed of metamorphosed slates.

#### DISCOVERY AND INITIAL DEVELOPMENT

The history of Storey County and Virginia City is considered by many to be the early history of the State of Nevada. The comstock lode was discovered in 1859 by two groups of placer miners working approximately a mile apart (Smith 1943). On July 1, 1859 the Nevada Journal reported the discovery. In late October of 1859 the San Francisco Bulletin reported that about one hundred miners were at work in the Virginia City area. The early town consisted of a single street laid out along the "line" of the Comstock Ledge (Lord 1883).

The incoming population of miners were principally California's '49er's. The discovery of gold and silver in the Virginia City area rejuvenated the California economy and resulted in renewed mining exploration through out the western Territories.

The placer mining period was brief. Hard Rock mining was essential for exploration of the deep veins of silver. Few Euro-american miners were familiar with silver mining; Mexican miners were, though, and they rushed to the region. Mexican miners were well aware of the production stability of silver mines, which in contrast to gold mines, might remain profitable for fifteen years or more. Initially the Mexican miners dominated the extraction and processing efforts in the silver mines. The result was a large population of Spanish speaking peoples throughout Virginia City's history.

Other technological problems were posed by the unstable composition of the deposits, the depth of the deposits, heat, and underground streams. The silver and gold deposits were located in crushed water-soaked quartz that was interbedded with clay and altered andesite. The depth of deposits made excavations extremely dangerous and often inadvisable. As excavations were carried to greater depth high temperatures and underground streams that were often super heated resulted in other risks.

In late 1860 the problem of shaft stability was solved by Philippe Deidersheimers. Deidersheimers designed the square set system of timbering. The square set was based on a cube structural concept. The square frames or cubes of the set could be constructed, horizontally or vertically, in units like blocks. The square set addressed the problem of

variable sized veins and variable depths.

The water problems were overcome through use of Cornish pumps. Ventilation aided in dispelling heat, but temperatures were still considered to be extreme. The majority of the miners that worked the deposits at the lower depths were young men, in their twenties. Mining the Comstock deposits required extreme stamina and was considered to be a high risk occupation.

Virginia City's history can be divided into economic phases. The economic phases reflect both the actual production and speculation. The Comstock Lode stimulated the organization of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board in 1862. The Bank of California was also deeply involved in the economic history of the lode. The stock market and Bank both stimulated and resulted in the manipulation of Virginia City's economy.

#### INITIAL BOOM TO DEPRESSION

The initial mining boom and resulting "rush to Washoe" occurred in 1860. From 1860 to 1862 production increased steadily from \$1,000,000 to \$6,000,000. A population of 2204 individuals, 139 of whom were females, was recorded in

August of 1860. The town contained 42 saloons, 42 general stores, 9 doctors, 1 dentist, 2 school teachers, and 1 milliner (Smith 1943). No lawyers or preachers were in residence.

Eliot Lord (1882:44) observed: "On October 13, 1860 there were nearly one hundred buildings of different kinds in the course of erection, and besides an uncounted number of cabins, nearly 200 business quarters had already been built and occupied; including 38 stores, general merchandise, 25 saloons, 1 hotel (The International), 1 dressmaker shop, 10 livery stables, 10 laundries, and 9 quartz mills."

In 1861 the population of Virginia City grew slightly, reaching a population of 2704. The only major increases in population were evident in the adjacent cities of Silver City and Gold Hill where housing was more plentiful. The Comstock population was two-thirds American, with the other third of the population being Mexican, German, Italian, and French.

Entertainment consisted of gambling, drinking and the companionship or hurdy-qurdy girls and prostitutes. Prostitution flourished, and courtesans promenaded the streets slowly, decked out in gay dresses and showy jewelry (Lord 1883:42). Saloons of all descriptions profited. Some were furnished with walnut counters, massive mirrors, and glittering rows of decanters; others had cheap pine bars with a few black bottles (Lord 1883). Saloon patronage was

cliquish. Men of different nationalities frequented the same bars as their country men. The Germans frequented beer cellars and the French the "Cafe de Paris". Economic status also dictated to some extent the saloon frequented.

On September 11, 1862, interest in the Comstock mines by San Francisco area investors resulted in the formation of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board. The opening of the exchange stimulated the Virginia City economy and resulted in a new rush to the Comstock in the fall of 1862 and spring, 1863. By mid-summer of 1863 approximately 15,000 were reported to be in Virginia City and the mines produced \$12,400,000 that year. The stock of over 400 mining companies was being traded. Stock was sold by the foot; for example, the Ophir mine had 1,400 feet of claim and equalled 16,800 shares or 12 shares to the foot; Gould & Curry was sold at 4 shares to the foot and Savage at 1 share to the foot. After 1865 this footage-share system was changed to a share system.

#### Crime and Prostitution in the Boom to Depression Phase

The rapid expansion of Virginia City resulted in extreme community stress by mid-1863. The summer newspapers began to erupt with accounts of robberies, brawls, petty

theft, gun fights, and drunken and disorderly behavior. During this period two policemen were killed and one seriously wounded. Two men were killed by women of the red light district (Smith 1943). One murderess is identified as the 'Spanish Mistress' of Jack Butler 'Sailor Jack' (Thompson and West 1881). Virginia City was wide open, raw, and violent.

Prostitutes residing in the boom town included: Jule Bulette, Si Yowh, Eliza Oliver, Trinidad Ortes, Cad Thompson, several Black prostitutes associated with the Hotel d'Afrique, and other unidentified women. Cad, Jule, and Trinidad remained in the Comstock red light community for many years after the boom phase.

Eliza Oliver and Cad Thompson were madams. Eliza had a house on C Street. I found little information on Eliza; in August 1863 she was assaulted in her house by a man named Fagarty "who got his just deserts" in Police court on August 3, 1863. ( Virginia City Evening Bulletin August 3, 1863). (What his just deserts were, was not defined by the newspaper).

Cad Thompson became one of the Comstocks most reputable and respected madams. She was referred to as the 'Brick' or 'Good Sport'. Cad ran an orderly business throughout her years in Virginia City. She had a son that grew up in the Comstock region and committed suicide in the late 1870's.

Jule Bulette and Trinidad Ortes were middle rank prostitutes. Trinidad lived on Taylor Street in 1863. Trinidad came to trial in 1863 due to a customer complaint that she had taken his watch. Trinidad was acquitted and allowed to keep the watch that had been bestowed on her in exchange for "a private transaction".

Jule Bulette is the Comstocks most publicized prostitute. In 1863 Jule probably occupied a small cottage like the one she resided in at her death in 1867. She was a courtesan of the mid-status, seeing a few customers and entertaining by appointment.

The Black prostitutes only referenced as "fair Dinah's" and Chinese prostitutes such as Si Yowh, were of the lower ranks. Black prostitutes were attributed with inciting many of their country men to fight. Chinese prostitutes were segregated in the Chinese district and many were indentured. Si Yowh died on the Comstock; at the age of twenty years she was found dead under her owners house. Her body had been badly beaten, but coroner's jury turned in a verdict of death by unknown causes, thus acquitting her owner Ah Pan of any wrong doing ( Virginia Evening Bulletin November 23, 1863).

Other prostitutes referred to at this time in the newspapers included the unnamed proprietress of the Sportsman Hall on north C Street. She was involved in threatening with a gun a man who, she alleged, had prevented her

admittance to a Ball held by Engine Company No.1, at Maquire's Opera House.

The location of prostitutes in the settlement pattern of the town was dispersed, and yet central to the business district. In August of 1863 an ordinance was proposed and passed that restricted the location of establishments of prostitution. Under the ordinance, which follows, prostitutes were restricted from working out of residences in the central commercial district. The first ordinance defining the Virginia City Red Light District stated:

"Houses of Ill-fame.--The Board of Aldermen, at their meeting on the 13th, took action upon the many nuisances at present existing in our midst in the shape of houses of ill-fame, and passed a very stringent ordinance against their existence in so central a part of town. We are glad to see the Board have some regard for the morality of the City, and their recent action has met the hearty approval of our citizens. The first section of the ordinance says that it shall be unlawful to open or maintain any house of ill-repute or brothel in the district of this city west of D street, or south of Sutton Avenue or north of Mill Street; and the second section sets forth that any owner of a house or property included in the district in this city who shall let, hire or rent his or her property for the occupancy of women of bad or immoral character, shall give and pay to the city five hundred dollars. Some may consider this rather stringent, but we do not, and we hope to see the provisions of the ordinance carried into effect." ( The Virginia Evening Bulletin August 20, 1863). (See Figure 4 the map of Virginia City).

Laws that related to the licensing of dance halls and melodeons were also passed in this period. The later ordinances were oriented toward the acquisition of additional city revenues and not regulation. Ordinances that regulated the conduct of saloon, dance hall and melodeon employees were passed ten years later, during Virginia City's consolidation phase.

The success of the segregation ordinance is indeterminate. Eight days after the ordinance was passed, on August 28, 1863, a fire destroyed structures from Taylor Street to Sutton Avenue north and south from A to B Streets, and parts of C Street east and west. Addresses referenced in newspaper articles indicate that many prostitutes occupied residences in the area impacted by the fire. By January of 1864 some prostitutes had relocated their businesses to residences both inside and outside the defined district. Several advertise their new business locations with blue lights. Others probably left the community before the arrival of the winter of 1863, as a recession was beginning to tickle the economy of the city.

## RECESSION/DEPRESSION 1864-1866

By November of 1864 the leading mining stocks had lost two thirds of their 1863 value. The depression culminated in a panic in December of 1865. By 1865 Gould & Curry stock had fallen from a July, 1863, value of \$6,300 to \$1,650 in July, 1864, and \$800 on December 15, 1865 (Smith 1943). Other mining stock experienced similar reductions in value. By 1865, the Comstock Lode population had been reduced by 50 percent. Most left the Lode in 1865. The city was under stress, and child abuse and wife abuse were reported in the newspapers. Along with brawls were cases of assault and battery, disorderly conduct, and the use of profane language. Increases in alcohol and drug abuse, and discrimination against identifiable minorities such as the Chinese were evident. Virginia City's citizens were following a standard social behavior pattern that has been observed in recession/depression economic periods.

During the depression years several prostitutes were killed and victimized, many were arrested, and some committed suicide. Descriptions of these incidents as recorded in the Comstock area newspapers provided a perspective on the lifeway of these women and often furnished good descriptive data on the establishments they occupied. This biographical data is particularly of

importance as a supplement to sources, such as census records.

Among the women arrested for drunkenness, theft, profanity, or assault and battery were: Miss Florence, Miss Mary Anne Casse, Mrs. Welsh, Eliza Morgan, Annie Davis, Mary Dolan, Jane Shore, Amanda Payne, Alice Ames, Fanny, Jane White, Mrs. Piker, Mary Allen and Miss Jenny Taylor. The latter two women are noted Virginia City madams. Sarah Black was also arrested; the Gold Hill News (February 27, 1865) notes Sarah is of "Anglo-African descent". Later in the year Sarah Clark committed suicide with strychnine; Sarah was working in the "Bow Windows" Brothel at the time. "Bow Windows" was managed by Jenny Taylor (Tyler) by the fall of 1865

(a visit to Jenny's establishment is noted in Doten's Journal on September 17, 1865). "Bow Windows" featured primarily Euro-american prostitutes, but evidently was not opposed to employing women with racially mixed backgrounds. By 1875, Mary Allen, was a madam, and in 1880 she was considered to be one of Virginia City's four high status parlor house managers.

Jessie Lester, a well liked and respected madam was fatally wounded on December 26, 1864. Jessie died a month later after undergoing the amputation of her arm at the shoulder. Jessie never named her killer. The probate will of her estate stipulated that the bulk of her wealth go to

the Sisters of Charity. Jessie left \$5,294 to the sisters. Prior to her death in late January of 1865, Jessie settled her debts, gave away her personal property and arranged her funeral. Jessie was buried in consecrated ground following burial rites conducted by Father Monoque in the Catholic Church (Goldman 1982). Descriptive data relating to her parlor house was reported in Chapter 6: Material Culture.

Jessie is a clear example of the contradiction apparent in the community view and treatment of prostitutes on the frontier. She was considered to be a 'good madam' and person, yet a prostitute. She left a substantial estate to the Catholic Church and was buried in consecrated ground. Traditionally the Catholic Church has been less concerned about prostitution and alcohol use than other Christian sects (Gray 1964), which may explain the moral behavioral latitude displayed in their handling of Jessie's burial. Two years later when Jule Bulette was buried the same latitude was not practiced by Protestants, yet the economy of the city was less depressed economically, thus greater moral latitude would have been expected.

Other women of the demi-monde appearing in the newspaper were Mrs. Julia White, a 'lady of easy virtue', who was robbed. (Gold Hill Daily News February 27, 1865). A fire was set at Jule Clements E Street Parlor House (Gold Hill Daily News March 10, 1865), the fire resulted in \$4000.00 in damage. An expensive prank was played on Cad

Thompson; reports of the incident provided good descriptive data on Cad's House. The incident is described in the Territorial Enterprise November 20, 1866, as follows:

"A number of "rowdies" at 4 o'clock in the morning took Virginia Engine Number 1 from the engine company's house to the corner of D Street and Sutton Avenue. There "they" took position at the cistern in front of the house of prostitution kept by Cad Thompson, got the hose all ready, set fire to a couple of barrels of straw on E Street which they had prepared for the occasion, and then causing the fire alarm bell to tap a few times, they at once smashed in the front windows of the house in question and commenced playing away with the engine as if for dear life, completely flooding the interior of the house with water.

. . . We took a personal examination of the premises and estimated the amount of damage by the water to be between one and two thousand dollars. The furniture in the parlor where the windows were smashed in and the water introduced was somewhat damaged, but the rooms on that floor were visited mostly by the water which flooded the floor, therefore the furniture was not much wet. In the parlor was a fine piano belonging to Dale and Co., but being protected by an India rubber cover it sustained but little damage. In the basement beneath, however, where the rooms of the girls were, the principal amount of damage was done. There the plastering was all wet and will probably fall off. The bedding and furniture were also badly saturated with water pouring through the cracks of the floor."

The pranksters were chastised by the writer--

. . . "no reason they give can for a moment have any weight in the minds of honest men. Nothing can justify the

outrage . . . well the deed is done, and now it is a pretty clear case that the tax-payers of this city will have to foot the bill."

Whether Cad Thompson ever received restitution is unknown. The impetus of the pranksters' action is not reported. Cad was considered to be a good madam, who ran a high class orderly house. The description given of Cad's house is indicative of the parlor houses of this period in Virginia City. They were houses with parlors and some luxury in their furnishings--such as a piano. The location of the women in rooms below the main floor is unexpected, although much of Virginia City's housing was set into the steep topography of the City and thus featured daylight basements and second stories that were entered from street level.

#### Prostitution

Chinese prostitutes are apparent in the depression years of the 1860's, but the number of Chinese prostitutes is unknown. Complaints were noted in the newspaper about the location of Celestial prostitutes outside the defined district ( Gold Hill Daily News September 6, 1865), which was centered in the Chinatown area for Chinese prostitutes. One

article also related the story of a Chinese husband's discovery of his wife in a Virginia City Brothel. His wife, Cow Kum had been in the brothel for two years, following her kidnapping by the brothel owner. The Virginia City court returned custody to Ah Hong, her husband.

The settlement pattern of prostitutes during the recession/depression years was both outside and inside the Red Light District defined by the 1863 ordinance. For example, Cad Thompson's C Street and Sutton Avenue establishment was outside the district which had as its western boundary D Street. Several Chinese establishments of prostitution also were outside the district. No records of prostitute arrests for maintaining establishments outside the defined district were found.

#### ECONOMIC INCREASE AND DECREASE: 1867-1871

In 1867-1868 Comstock production experienced an upward trend, reaching a total of \$13,853,343 in 1867 (Smith 1943). The production upswing stimulated the faltering economy temporarily. In 1869 production dropped to \$6,684,062. With the drop in production the Bank of California gained

control of all the leading mines and seventeen mills over the next two years. A large percentage of the Bank's assets were tied up in Comstock interests, in late 1870 the Bank was saved from financial ruin by the Crown Point Bonanza. The Crown Point bonanza resulted in a production up turn to \$10,095,360 by the end of 1871 (Smith 1943).

In 1870 Virginia City's population was 7,064 of this number 537 were Chinese and 138 of the women enumerated were prostitutes. Seventy-one of the prostitutes were Chinese, four were Blacks, and 63 were Euro-american.

The Black prostitutes included a mother and daughter, a nineteen year old from Nova Scotia, and a 29 year old woman from Virginia. (See Appendix C for a list of prostitutes identified in Virginia City in 1870). The Euro-american prostitutes had a median age of 27; six were younger than 20 and 15 were older than 30, but younger than 45. Several of the women were of Spanish-American descent, being from Mexico and Chile. Twenty-four of the Euro-american prostitutes had real and personal property that ranged from \$100 to \$5000. The largest ethnic group of prostitutes represented, the Chinese, had no personal property recorded. The median age of the Chinese prostitutes was 23 years, four years younger than the Euro-american median age.

The census enumeration sequence illustrates a segregated residential pattern for the Chinese prostitutes. Nearly 90 percent of the Chinese prostitutes lived apart

from Euro-american, that is with no Euro-americans next door (Blackburn and Ricards 1979). The Chinese prostitutes all resided adjacent to other Chinese residences, and thus appear to have been living in the Chinatown area below H Street which was in compliance with the segregating ordinance of 1863. (see Figure 4). All the Chinese prostitutes lived with one or more males, and often in households with other prostitutes. None of the Chinese prostitutes lived alone. Fifteen of the Chinese prostitutes or 'harlots' were married, this suggests that some census-taker prejudice may have been at work in their being labelled prostitutes. Five of these 15 were married to Chinese gamblers and thus may have been involved in prostitution (Blackburn and Ricards 1979). Two of the Chinese prostitutes were recorded as having children.

In contrast to the segregated pattern of Chinese prostitutes only twenty-five of the Euro-american prostitutes appear to have occupied a district. The largest house in the district was that headed by Kate Healy who had \$5000 in personal assets and employed six women. Several of the women in Kate's house were from Iceland, ages for all Kate's employees ranged from 18 to 27. A rooming house with three prostitutes and several employed men was located next door to Kate's. Other residences adjacent to Kate's house included eight households made up of one or two prostitutes (these were probably small houses, cottages or

cribs), and a rooming house where two prostitutes, Maggie Hinckey and Lena Greeninger lived with a married couple and two male laborers. One prostitute, Delia Wheeler, shared a residence with Aunu Roderiques, a miner from Chile, Delia probably was a mistress. Residing in close proximity to this district were five other prostitutes. Refugia Berlio and Annie Yong resided in the same household as Annie's daughter Margaret and a miner named B. Danenburg. One residence was shared by saloon keeper Elizabeth Alder and Mernah King. Whether Elizabeth owned a saloon at this location is indeterminate, but she did have \$500 in assets. All the women in the district were of Euro-american or mixed national origin.

In an area interspersed with people employed as saloon keepers were found the bulk of the Euro-american prostitutes. This area is probably the "Barbary Coast", a tenderloin area made up of saloons, bawdy saloons, rooming houses, and shops adjacent to and encompassing portions of the commercial district. Prostitutes lived in single and two-women households, several such as Annie Fox and Belle O'Neil, had children. The ethnic backgrounds and national origins of the women varied, but more Mexican and South American women were evident in this area.

Sharing George Offen's saloon with Mr. Offen and his wife were five prostitutes, including Martha Camp and Mercedes Nevarra. Both of these women had some notoriety in

Virginia City and other western cities. Several interspersed residences of prostitutes were found in general proximity to Offen's saloon, among them a crib or cottage area with five adjacent households containing six prostitutes. Two households containing two women each were located several households away in the enumeration sequence and adjacent to a boarding house. The next few pages of the census (pages 146, 147, 148) list six households with prostitutes. Two households, that of Jennie Cash and Pampou Cassaroby, appeared to be those of mistresses since both resided with a man. Next in the enumeration sequence were found all the Black prostitutes. They resided in an area occupied by 40 other Black people. Following in the enumeration sequence were 24 Spanish speaking women from Mexico, Ecuador, Panama, Chile, and Peru respectively. Most of the Spanish women lived alone or with their children and were situated in residences adjacent to other Spanish prostitutes. All were listed as employed in the occupation of keeping house, but their age and residential patterns suggest they were prostitutes. The Spanish prostitutes resided in an area that was populated by Spanish speaking people. Many of the Spanish women had considerable personal and real property noted. The largest household of Spanish prostitutes, four in size, was headed by Rosa Curvahul. This residential aggregation by race suggests that segregation by choice or community concensus may have

been occurring among Virginia Citys Blacks and Spanish. (Virginia City, it should be noted, was a supporter of the Union during the Civil War and contributed financially to the Federal Government.)

The data provided by the 1870 census suggests that prostitutes were segregated ethnically and that such segregation included not only the Chinese, but also Black women and a large percentage of the Spanish prostitute's. The mix of residential patterns where prostitutes dwelled with blue collar workers in the community and in households adjacent to families suggests that prostitution was, if not openly sanctioned, certainly integrated openly into the social structure of the community.

On August 20, 1871 the residential pattern of prostitutes enumerated the previous year changed radically. A fire broke out at 3:30 a.m. on the east side of North D Street and destroyed the residences between D and E Street, from Union Street north to a third of the way from Sutton Avenue. The Territorial Enterprise (August 22, 1871) reported of the damage:

"With but few exceptions, the buildings burned were residences, and most of these were occupied by women of the town. All the houses destroyed were frame structures, but most of them were of the best class, architecturally considered, and were very tastefully fitted up, both within and without. All the houses, without exception, in the long row on the east side of D street were new, having been erected since the last great fire in

that portion of town, some months since." The fire's origin was attributed to arson: "The fire was undoubtedly incendiary. When first discovered it was under the side walk in front of Madame Straus' house, but the house itself had not yet caught fire. At the late hour when the fire was kindled few persons in town were astir. Then the place selected being under the sidewalk, the incendiary could sneak to a distance from the spot unseen. From the rapid spread of the flames it appears quite certain that liberal use was made of coal oil." Fire insurance for the destroyed property was listed as follows: "Marioni, insured for \$12,000 . . . .Ada Greer, \$5000, \$2000 having been canceled (sic) a fortnight since; Mercedes Berge, \$750; Clementina Domequez, one house \$2,000; Marioni and Clementine Deminquez, two houses, \$1,600. Charles Lawrence, three houses \$2,000; J and M Rapp, two houses, \$1,000; D. Foley, two houses south of the Oriental Hotel, \$800; Charley Baker \$1,000; Mrs. Moro, \$1,500; Maggie Hickey, furniture \$1,500."

Several of the insured property owners, Ada Greer and Maggie Hickey, were listed as prostitutes in 1870. Other property owners probably rented to prostitutes, since several owned more than one house in the burned area. Changes in the settlement pattern of prostitutes following the August fire are indeterminate. Chinatown was not affected, and the Barbary Coast on C and D Street between Flowery and Union Streets was not destroyed. Prostitutes probably responded to the fire both by moving to the Barbary Coast area and residential areas and by moving to other towns.

On September 19, 1871 a second fire destroyed "an uncountable number of buildings between Smith & Taylor streets and from E up to A--Damage estimated as \$500,000 to \$800,000." (Doten September 19, 1871). Doten noted that the fire almost took his house. The later fire may have destroyed a small portion of the Barbary Coast area. By 1875 a substantial number of prostitutes were residing in the Barbary Coast area, but whether this was due to the fire and resulting settlement pattern change in 1871 is indeterminate. The population of prostitutes did double by 1875 and would thus have resulted in housing demands that could not have been met by the established district.

#### THE EARLY BONANZA YEARS 1872 - 1874

In 1871 new hope arose on the Comstock with the discovery of gold at the 1,100 foot level in the Crown Point mine. The deposit though neither large nor rich gave the promise of potential undiscovered deposits in the lode. No new rush to the Comstock occurred with the new discovery but production increased to \$10,095,360.

The Crown Point Bonanza provided the stimulus for stock market manipulation, Alvinza Hayward launched a speculative boom in the spring of 1872 by boosting Savage Company stock from \$62 a share to \$725 a share. The speculative streak was squelched by May of 1872; market prices for Comstock stock dropped that summer and through out the rest of the year. Toward the end of 1872 low grade ore was discovered in the Consolidated Virginia mine. This unpretentious find marked the beginning of the Comstock's Big Bonanza phase. The fissure was located 1,200 feet vertically below the surface in the heart of Virginia City and proved to contain varying grades of ore. Production doubled in 1873, totaling \$22,389,575. Stock prices surged, but the speculative fever of the early Comstock years was not evident. The newspapers lauded the discovery, but not until December of 1874 did investors respond. A buying frenzy ensued, and a recess on stock trading was declared between December 24, 1874 and January 2, 1875. The market settled little during the recess and opened to very active trading.

## Prostitution

I found little data on prostitutes and prostitution during 1872-1874. Alf Doten wrote of visits to prostitutes, but named none; the newspapers recorded four suicide attempts by prostitutes and the death of Julia White. The perspective given by the limited data on prostitution indicates that the town was wide open and prostitutes were apparent. Several of the women who committed suicide were young prostitutes, women who came to the profession from bad marriages or poor employment situations.

In writing of the death of Julia White, who is noted as a prostitute in the 1870 census, the Territorial Enterprise (May 18, 1872) noted: "Deceased is said to have been a woman of excellent education and of many accomplishments, speaking several languages fluently." Julia's address was recorded as being the corner of D Street and Sutton Avenue. Julia had been ill for a short time, but alcoholism was the presumed cause since "she had taken to drinking lately." During her illness she was waited on by an old colored man. Julia White was English and in 1870 her age was recorded as being 31 years of age, making her 33 at her death. No record of where she was buried was found. The newspaper article concerning her death suggests that she was either a high class or mid-status prostitute, who was respected and liked.

The other newspaper articles and Doten's Journal entries suggest that many red light ladies were located in the D Street area. On May 21, 1872 an unnamed prostitute residing on D Street "took a dose of something calculated to send her where stocks are always up. . . ." ( Territorial Enterprise May 11, 1872). On April 12, 1873

"Laura Franklin, a nymph du pave," logging at a house on the southwest corner of D street and Sutton avenue, made an attempt at suicide by taking morphine. What she had done was discovered in some way by the other inmates of the house, who resolved themselves into a council of physicians and went to work at her with such antidotes as they had at hand, and finally had the satisfaction of seeing their efforts crowned with success. They brought her out all right, but it was after a great deal of whipping and rolling, and at the cost of a good deal of mustard, olive oil and other known and supposed antidotes." ( Territorial Enterprise April 12, 1873).

At the same address, the corner of D Street and Sutton Avenue, two employees of Rose Benjamin successfully committed suicide. The similarity of address suggests that Laura Franklin was also one of Rose's employees. Jule White, from the information reviewed, was not employed at Rose's brothel, but lived in close proximity. In 1870 Jule White and Rose Benjamin both lodged at Frannie Hutchinson's lodging house.

The double suicide was committed at Rose's house in the Fall of 1872 by Hattie Willis (Belle Bateman) and Katie Thompson. The women took a mixture of laudanum, morphine, and possibly chloroform. Mrs. Thompson purchased the drugs during a visit to D.P. Brown's drugstore on North C Street and Sutton. A short history was developed for each women in the Territorial Enterprise article concerning their death pact. Hattie Willis was about sixteen years old and had come to Virginia City with the Amelia Dean Melodeon Troupe a few months prior to her death. "Mrs. Kate Thompson was a tall fine looking woman, about 21 years of age, and it was only about two weeks ago that she had ever been in such a house. She had trouble with her husband . . ."  
(Territorial Enterprise August 17, 1872).

The size of the prostitute population in the early bonanza years is indeterminate. Many women enumerated in 1870 are also listed in the 1875 census, suggesting some population stability in the midst of population influx. One news article concerning the expansion of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad along the east side of D Street does imply that a substantial red light district existed along D Street and that a portion of the prostitute population was transient. The Territorial Enterprise (January 15, 1874) reports:

"Today there will doubtless be a grand flitting and general commotion among the cyprians residing on the east side of D

street, between Union street and Sutton avenue. The Virginia and Truckee Railroad Company own nearly all the buildings in the section named, having purchased the property for the purpose of enlarging the grounds in the vicinity of their depot, and they are now about to make use of it

. . . All the houses on the east side of D street between Union street and Sutton avenue will be pulled down or moved away, except one near the corner of D and Union streets and three or four near the corner of Sutton avenue. All the ground in that section will be graded out from the railroad track west to D street, and a wall will be built along the line of the street last named to support the high bank that will thus be made. The female occupants of the houses that are to be demolished have been living in them for some time rent free, and therefore are inclined to hold on till the last moment."

In his Journal for this period Doten noted several visits to the D Street area for female companionship and entertainment. A few of these entries are as follows:

"May 25 . . . After that I was about town awhile [three-line erasure, but "D st" and "did it up brown you bet" were legible]"-"After that, I met Sutterley and Dan De Quille and we ran together, telling stories and drinking till day-light began to peep . . ." (May 25, 1872) "Sunday, July 21 - My Birth-Day (sic) - 43 years old . . .I was about town more or less & treated lots on my birth day (sic) - Evening I went to Virginia - "(Doten was living in Gold Hill at this time) " . . .[four-line erasure, in which can be made out "D st" and "socked it to her good"] - Home to Gold Hill at 2 1/2 oclock (sic) . . ."

During the early bonanza period Doten mentioned his stock investments and theatrical entertainments attended. Most of the Comstocks citizenry, including prostitutes were involved in stock market speculation. On January 3, 1874, the Territorial Enterprise noted:

"Rose Wilson, a D street woman, was robbed of \$3,000 in coin yesterday morning, shortly before daylight, by three men, who; in addition to capturing her pelf (sic), gave her a terrible beating . . . . She says the money was paid her the evening before for stocks he had sold."

Other women besides prostitutes providing female companionship and entertainment were theatrical performers. Most played in Melodeon productions. On April 1, 1872 Doten writes:

"-1st appearance of Miss Aline Le Favre and Johnny Manning at the Theater - She is queen of the Can-Can and "shape" - Showed all she could conveniently in the last piece - "Paris by Gaslight" - Manning 1st rate in trapeze act - one of best I ever saw - the Amelia Dean troupe played also as usual . . ."

"Nov 16 . . . Evening I took Major Pauline Cushman to theater - Had box II - Performance rather of the melodeon order - rather crude & broad - We saw it nearly out though - Came in and went out by private side entrance - Went and had a cup of chocolate etc - took her home to International - I was at her room with her for an hour or so - didn't invite me to [erasure] and so I didn't - Left at 12 . . ." (Doten November 16, 1872).

The theaters of Virginia City and even the Opera House were open to bawdy performance and behavior. Doten noted:

"Went to Opera House - good time with the girls in the boxes & behind the scenes - Went to No 4, just other side of Union street from Opera House - Were there till after 2 oclock having a pleasant oyster and wine party in bed room of the landlady, Emily Buchanan, & some of the girls - [erasure] . . ." (Doten March 13, 1872).

The Piper Opera House had been open to patrons, who were prostitutes since its initial opening, they were often seated in the balcony boxes and encouraged to use a side entrance and remain in the balcony if "respectable patrons" were attending the performance. The night of Jule Bulette's death in 1867, she chose not to attend the Opera because of a requirement that she be seated in the balcony.

#### A "Social Evil"

The citizens of Virginia City were beginning to voice complaints about the flagrant behavior of the prostitute population by the spring of 1874. In late February of 1874 the Board of Aldermen began discussion of the prostitution problem and prohibition of houses of prostitution in the city. Drafting of a 'social evil' ordinance was proposed. Prostitution and the 'social evil' ordinance were discussed

at the late April meeting of the Board. Alderman Ryan said at this meeting:

"He had been of the opinion that when it was generally known that such an ordinance had been prepared and was before the Board, it would cause some modification in the conduct of those engaged in keeping houses of ill-fame within the city limits. But he had observed that the change, if any could be said to have taken place in the conduct of these persons, had been for the worse, and even more in defiance of the laws of decency than before the matter of suppressing such houses had been agitated. In that part of the town known as "Barbary Coast" there were five or six houses of a very bad character. Some nights such crowds were collected in front of these houses as to blockade the sidewalks and make it necessary for pedestrians passing that way to betake themselves to the middle of the street in order to escape contact with the rabble." ( Territorial Enterprise April 29, 1874).

After his speech in support of the ordinance Alderman Ryan moved that the ordinance be taken up for consideration and passed. His motion was not seconded. Instead Alderman Lawrence suggested that saloon-keepers who ran disreputable establishments in the 'Coast' area be denied licences to sell liquors, under the established saloon licensing ordinance. The ordinance was laid over for another week. Discussion of the 'social evil' ordinance at the early May meeting of the Board resulted in the unanimous approval of a motion "that the City Tax Collector be instructed to issue no more licenses to the six or eight vile dens kept by women on that portion of South C street." ( Territorial

Enterprise May 6, 1874). Discussion of the prostitution problem and the 'social evil' ordinance continued at Board meetings through the end of 1874. It was the beginning of the Consolidation Phase, as the Bonanza years continued and the city's population stabilized and the citizenry was attempting to impose civil order on the metropolitan city Virginia had become. The majority of Virginia City's prostitutes who were enumerated in the 1875 census were probably in residence on the Comstock by 1874.

#### TOP OF THE BONANZA, THE CONSOLIDATION YEARS: 1875 - 1877

Stock market speculation continued into early 1875, and stock market prices rose. In mid January a major correction in stock value occurred. The ten leading Comstock mines depreciated \$17,814,800 in value in a twenty-four hour period (Smith 1943). By mid-February the market stabilized and stock prices took an upward trend, the trend continued until the fall of 1875.

In the summer of 1875, at the top of the bonanza phase a Territorial census was taken Virginia City and Gold Hills populations totaled 19,528, of whom 12,073 were white males and 5980 white females, 88 Black males and 46 Black females,

1254 Chinese males and 87 Chinese females, and 7637 foreign born males and 2389 foreign born females ( Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Eighth Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada Vol.3). Goldman (1982: 26-27, 59, 63, 70,) reports that there were 307 women listed as prostitutes or madams in the 1875 census; with 88 being white, 75 Chinese, 45 Spanish, 55 Irish, and three Black. She notes that nine women are identifiable as Madams and 298 as prostitutes; in addition 180 are disreputable dependents (sic, mistresses) living with one man (Goldman 1982:26-27). Goldman (1982) derived her figures from an analysis of census records for 1875, obtained from the: Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Eighth Session of the Legislature of the State Nevada, 1877. A review and analysis of census data contained in this reference elicited data that conflicted with Goldman's (1982) figures and profile of prostitution. One hundred and twenty women were found listed in the census as courtesans, prostitutes, or bawdy house employees. No women were identified as madams. In addition 131 women were identified as possible prostitutes, and 27 as mistresses. The latter category may contain some women who were prostitutes and not mistresses. The criteria discussed in Chapter 5 were applied in the identification of both mistresses and probable prostitutes. A number of women (see Appendix C) who were listed as servants and seamstresses, among other domestic employment

types, may also have been prostitutes or involved in prostitution. Women employed as servants who were enumerated sequentially with saloon keepers and prostitutes were assumed to be probable prostitutes. Appendix C contains a list of the women identified as prostitutes or probable prostitutes and mistresses. The occupations of some of the women listed as probable prostitutes are mistresses are: saloon employee, chambermaid, seamstress, housekeeper, servant, or no occupation. The greater number of probable prostitutes and mistresses identified by Goldman (1982) may be the result of a more liberal identification strategy than was applied this thesis.

#### FIRE OF OCTOBER 26, 1875

On October 26, 1875, several months after the 1875 census was taken, a fire devastated a substantial portion of the town, and resulted in a speculative panic. Upon receiving the news that the Ophir and Consolidated Virginia were on fire investors liquidated their stock, and stock prices reached new lows for the year. A recovery began in November as investors became assured that no major damage to the mines had occurred. The town was rapidly rebuilt and production totals remained high (\$25,825,511). Production

totals continued to climb and employment opportunities stabilized--a consolidation phase was in play on the Comstock.

The top of the Bonanza was reached in 1876 with a production total of \$37,778,659. In 1877 production was down \$1,000,000, and by 1878 an economic recession was occurring.

#### Prostitutor Population and Settlement Pattern Prior to the 1875 Fire

Prior to the fire of 1875 and the recession that followed in 1877, 120 women were identified as prostitutes, courtesans, or bawdy house employees. An additional 158 are identified as probable prostitutes or mistresses based on their settlement pattern and other enumeration information found in the 1875 census. Within the page sequences of the 1875 census cluster of prostitutes and probable prostitutes were evident. (See Appendix C). These clusters appear to represent the aggregation of prostitutes in probable red light districts or tenderloins, and individual household aggregation. Chinese prostitutes were not integrated into the aggregation clusters found for Euro-american prostitutes, similarly various other European and Spanish

prostitutes tended to be clustered within the overall Euro-american aggregation pattern.

All Chinese prostitutes identified were listed as courtesan. The only major group of Euro-American prostitutes listed as courtesans followed the Chinese 'courtesans' in numerical sequence and were primarily Spanish. Whether the euphemisms applied to identify prostitutes related to the individual census taker's discretion or served as an ethnic and status designator is indeterminate. Thirty-five Euro-American women and one Mexican women (Appendix C, census pages 337-341) were listed as employed at 'bawdy houses'. Several known prostitute/madams like Cad Thompson and Mary Allen were not identified by any occupational listing. The choice to not identify known prostitutes and madams by their occupation may reflect census taker respect for higher status prostitutes and establishments. Additional data relating to the status of specific prostitutes in Virginia City would be necessary to test this hypothesis. Ten probable prostitutes (Appendix C, census page 334) are listed as employed at a boarding house. Other women, such as Kate Shea who lived with three other probable prostitutes and was mentioned as a prostitute in the newspapers of the time was listed as a housekeeper.

In one instance the census taker enumerated thirty-nine individuals twice (State of Nevada 1877:298-299 and 313-314). Five possible prostitutes were among the individuals enumerated twice.

#### SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF PROSTITUTES

Prior to the census of 1875 an ordinance was passed restricting prostitutes to a Red Light District on E Street. (See Figure 4 for an illustration of the legally stipulated Red Light District). The ordinance confined all houses of ill-fame;

"To the eastward of a line drawn through the centre of the blocks of buildings situated between C and D streets, from Union street north to Mill street: the east line is the west side of E street, as far north as to the south line of Mill street, and the south line is a line drawn east and west from the north side of the brick building in which is what is known as Washington Guard Hall. The Chinese prostitutes are confined to certain limits differing little from the ground they presently occupy."  
(Territorial Enterprise March 31, 1875).

Compliance with the ordinance's provisions was to occur by May 1, 1875. The ordinance also prohibited women of ill fame from "showing themselves about their houses"

(Territorial Enterprise March 31, 1875) or soliciting. All windows of houses of ill-fame were to be covered by curtains or blinds that obstructed the view of passers-by. Fines were established to enforce the ordinance. For the occupancy of houses of ill-fame fines of not less than \$25.00 nor more than \$500.00, or imprisonment in the City Jail not to exceed six months, or both fines and imprisonment, could be imposed. The penalties extended to include punitive actions against any person, owner or agent of any house or property outside the red light district who rented, let or hired a building or room for the purpose of prostitution or occupancy by a women of ill-fame. Soliciting could result in a fine of not less than \$20.00 nor more than \$500.00, and/or not less than ten days nor more than six months in jail. ( Territorial Enterprise April 4, 1875). Enforcement appears to have been minimal in 1875 and 1876, probably due to the community disorganization and stress created by the fire of October 1875. The settlement pattern of prostitutes can only be inferred from the 1875 census, but a lack of aggregation of prostitutes in one area is apparent. Prostitutes appear to have occupied two districts, and were also dispersed throughout Virginia City's residential neighborhoods, resided on the edge of town and adjacent to merchants and trades people.

The settlement pattern of prostitutes in the census appear to followed ethnic lines, as previously noted. Chinese prostitutes resided in an area that appeared to be a Chinatown. Spanish prostitutes resided in approximately the same area, but unlike the aggregation pattern found in the 1870 census, in 1875 they appear to be residing adjacent to Euro-Americans. In 1870 many of the women identified as probable Spanish prostitutes were residing adjacent to men of Spanish ethnic origin, this clustering of Spanish speaking people was also evident in 1875. Unfortunately the published census record for 1875 did not list a household number or order of visitation. (This data was listed for pages 5 to 149, but no prostitutes are probable prostitutes were identified on these pages). The lack of specific information on household groupings or aggregation makes the deletion of types of establishments and establishment size difficult. Inference based on name, enumeration sequence, occupational groupings, and age were used to determine potential household structure. In some cases it was possible define establishment types by identifying individual women who were listed in the newspapers or other references as madams. This aided in the identification of the type and size of establishments occupied by prostitutes.

Table 3 contains a listing of identified and probable prostitutes by ethnic group and national origin. The major ethnic or natinal groups represented by the prostitute

population were: Chinese, North American, Spanish, and Irish.

Table 3. ETHNIC BACKGROUND OR NATIONAL ORIGIN  
OF IDENTIFIED PROSTITUTES AND PROBABLE PROSTITUTES  
1875

Background or Origin	Recorded Prostitutes	Probable Prostitutes	Total
Irish	1	29	30
French	10	3	13
German	3	13	16
Mulato	0	1	1
Belgian	1	0	1
English/Scot.	4	9	13
Scandinavian	0	1	1
Russian	0	1	1
Canadian	3	2	5
United States	36	53	89
Spanish*	13	6	19
Black	0	2	2
Chinese	49	33	82
Switzerland	0	1	1
Not Listed	0	4	4
Total	120	158	278

(From the 1875 Census of Storey County, Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Eight Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, published 1977). \*South American, Central American, and Mexican. Probable prostitute category includes mistresses.

Chinese prostitutes were located primarily in the Chinatown area, in establishments having from two to five women. Forty-nine Chinese 'courtesans' and 33 probable Chinese prostitutes were located in the Chinatown area of Virginia City (on F Street and below, east). Located in this area, east of F Street is the St. Mary's Hospital and

an orphanage run by the 'Sisters of Charity'. In the census the majority of the Chinese women who probable were prostitutes were enumerated after the 'Sisters of Charity'.

The establishments of Chinese prostitutes identified as being in Gold Hill (State of Nevada 1877: 579 and 614) consisted of two and three women households. They were located in a part of the city occupied primarily by Chinese men and Euro-American miners. The ages of the Chinese prostitutes and probable prostitutes ranged from 18 to 40 years, with the average being approximately 24 years. The average age of identified prostitutes was 24.7 years and the average age of probable prostitutes was 23.2 years. The majority of these women were probably working under indenture contracts, since in 1880 during the recession they were relocated in mass, with many going to Bodie.

The D Street district was represented (Appendix C, census pages 335-350) by the presence of Cad Thompson and Nellie Davis, two women that in newspapers of the period are noted as employed in the D Street District (Cad as a madams with a house composed of five women and a Chinese servant and Nellie Davis as a brothel employee).

Other prostitutes and madam who are identified in the literature of 1875, or are listed as prostitutes or madams in 1880, include: Mary Allen, Kate Heally, Rose Wilson, M. Dubois, Mamie Duffield, and Eliza Duffield. Mary Allen had a house composed of three Duffield sisters (one of whom was

thirteen years of age), A. Sanches and S. Margra. In another case, M. O'Neil, whom may have been Alf Doten's friend Bell O'Neil, had a house composed of six or 12 prostitutes, contingent on whether two households were represented. If two establishments were represented by the cluster of prostitutes that followed M. O'Neil's name than, Kate Healy may have run an establishment composed of five women, since Kate was a madam in 1880. Two Chinese men, who were employed as servants, were listed after the 12 brothel employees and were probably employed at the establishment(s). The next grouping of prostitutes was composed of sixteen women. Rose Wilson probably headed one house composed of seven women. Thirty year old J. Leonard and K. Blake may have run two other houses respectively. A Chinese man was enumerated next in the census and was probably a brothel house employee. In Virginia City many Chinese men and Black men were employed as parlor house and brothel servants.

Next in the enumeration sequence was M. Blanche and a possible household of seven prostitutes. The women enumerated from R. Wilson to M. Camill may also have occupied a mix of small cottages and brothels, but the lack of dwelling enumeration data makes the actual household size indeterminate. Several women, J. Farley, M. Murphy, and E. Farley, appeared next in the sequence; all were listed as employed as servants and may be correctly identified or

may be prostitutes, a suggestion based on their location adjacent to the households of prostitutes. Cad Thompson's parlor house, which was located on D Street and Sutton Avenue, was identified next in the census. Five women were employed by Cad as prostitutes, along with one male Chinese servant. Next door lived four miners. The next four women identified as prostitutes in the census were 'Spanish' and occupied two women household. Several Saloons that were owned or managed by W. Reynolds, J. Penhall, J. Mayer, J. Moyer, W.A.G. Brown, J. Mail, G.W. Michler, and W.H. Mathewson, appeared on the next few pages along with a scatter of women identified as courtesans, dressmakers, housekeepers, and having no occupation, thus suggesting that this area was a tenderloin district. Also found in this area were brokers, clerks, barbers, miners, bootblacks, gamblers, speculators, tailors, and a few families. Next in the sequence of women identified as prostitutes was an aggregation of Chinese women who appear to have been living in the Chinese district. The Chinese prostitutes resided in establishments that appear to have consisted of from four to two women. In one instance a grouping of six Chinese courtesans was found (Appendix C, census page 375). Whether this sequential cluster represents a household grouping or multiple establishments is indeterminate. Sixteen cluster of Chinese courtesans were found, along with an additional six clusters Chinese women with no occupational listing. No

occupational listings were noted for the Chinese men that were listed in the enumeration sequence with the Chinese prostitutes. Many of these Chinese men may have been gamblers or brothel owners, as based on the pattern found in 1870, newspaper references, and the pattern evident in other towns that had Chinese prostitution.

Kate Shea, L. Alder, C. Fitzgerald, and M. Davis were listed as occupying one household (Appendix C, census page 112). Kate Shea was attributed with starting the fire of 1875 through carelessness. She resided on A Street and Taylor at the time. Kate resided just down the street from J. Piper's Theater, H. Piper's, J. Rosenbrack's Saloon, and Tobacconist H.J. Harris. Several other households of women (Appendix C, census page 123) were listed in this area. Particularly notable were five women who occupied three households and were all listed as housekeepers. These women lived in an area that was a mix of small households and boarding houses. The area was primarily occupied by mill men, peddler's, and laborer's. A few married couples and families were found in this area. The women occupied in housekeeping all appeared to be prostitutes, interestingly they were living in a residential area.

Saloon owner P. Larkin (lover of the notorious Nellie Sayer) and youthful prostitute Susie Brown were identified as occupying adjacent residences or establishments (Appendix C, census page 280). Larkin owned a saloon located on the

Barbary Coast near 146 South C Street. Nellie Sayer was not identified in a household adjacent to Larkin's Saloon or in the census at all. Sixteen year old Susie Brown, an employee of Nellie's in 1876, was identified at J. Youngs Saloon. A few saloon owners interspersed with miner's, blacksmiths, clerks, painters, speculators, lawyers, gunsmith's, tailors, shoemakers, bakers, etc. were listed. A few prostitutes, and probable prostitutes were interspersed in this area.

Nellie (Ellen Sayer) was probably incorrectly listed as E. Sagess in the 1875 census, a forty year old Irish saloon owner, who employeed K. Mallon and M. McCarty (Appendix C, census page 265). Similarities of name and profession support this hypothesis. A Black and a Mulatto women were located in the general area of the Sagess's saloon.

Eight 'Spanish' courtesans were located adjacent to thirteen Euro-American courtesans (Appendix C, census pages 401-402); other residents in the area were employed as miners, laborers, carpenters, bus owner or bus driver, sport, and servants. The five servants included two Black men and three Chinese men. The other men residing in this area were Euro-Americans.

## Changes in the Red Light District

The fire of October 26, 1875 changed the Red Light District in ways that were far from compliance with the segregating ordinance of 1875. In the fire of 1875 a major portion of the legally defined district was destroyed. The fire reportedly started at the small-one story lodging house of Kate Shay ('Crazy Kate') on A street (Drury 1936). The fire destroyed the major portion of downtown Virginia City, burning the area from Taylor Street on the south to Carson Street on the north, and east and west between the Chinese quarter on F Street and Stewart Street. The area encompassed the major portion of the town occupied by both reputable and disreputable citizens. Writing of the fire Alf Doten reported that 8,000 people were reported to be homeless.

The result of the fire prior to winter was a radically change in the settlement pattern of the disreputable community, as well as the reputable community. Attempts at rebuilding were rapid and numerous. During the reconstruction period many prostitutes took up residence in the Barbary Coast area on south C Street between Union and Flowery Streets, and others may have moved to adjacent cities such as Carson City, Gold Hill or Silver City, or continued on their brothel circuit in the wake of the fire.

The wives and families of many reputable citizens left town for the winter.

The fire of 1875 changed the type of housing in the Red Light district, as small cottages were replaced by brothels. This consolidation of prostitution service would have resulted in the business expansion of some madams and local business people. As it was rebuilt, not all prostitution services returned to the new district. In the spring of 1877 a brief history of the problem arising from the rebuilding of houses of ill-fame outside the prescribed district is accounted:

"After the fire, without remonstrance, some of these houses were built beyond the prescribed limit. It happened so because everyone was busy; because a tremendous misfortune had unsettled everything, and because through that misfortune very many of the women and children-the families-were temporarily driven away. As order began to be restored some people said these houses of ill-fame erected outside of the limits should be suppressed. We could not see how such a thing could be accomplished without paying for the property, and so said nothing. We were all to blame in not making a complaint in the commencement and preventing the building of the structures. Since then the owners of the old houses on that part of C street known as "Barbary coast" have many of them leased their structures to lewd women and shameless men . . ."( Territorial Enterprise February 15, 1877).

Bawdy saloons and prostitution services became an increasing problem in the Barbary Coast area. Prior to the fire they had been considered a problem as is evident from this news article describing the degrading atmosphere of the Barbary Coast saloons:

"gin-shops of the lowest class . . . The buildings are low one story doggeries, with an appearance such as to warn most people of the nature of their occupants. The front part of both are bar-rooms (about 12' by 14'), the back part are bedrooms . . ."(Virginia City Territorial Enterprise August 5, 1875 in Goldman 1982:60).

Following the rebuilding and consolidation in the aftermath of the fire and on the wing of the depression that swept Virginia City, the Barbary Coast received renewed citizen interest and news coverage. On February 6, 1877 the following news article appears in the Territorial Enterprise

:

"Out With Them.-There are a few dives on the Barbary Coast which should be removed or suppressed. The only, or about the only, means of reaching from the north the new Fourth Ward School-house, where the High School is taught, is along C street and past these dives of sin. There prostitution flaunts its gay colors, and there the coarse jest, the vulgar oath and the filthiest of conversation is heard at all hours of the day and night. It is time something was done to put a stop to all this, as now carried on on the principal street of our city, along which our girls, just blooming into maidenhood, are compelled to pass and repass every day."

## End of the Bonanza Years, the Recession of 1877

Stock prices begin to fall radically in the early months of 1875, Doten noted "stocks lowest in years . . . lots of people busted " (January 13 through January 18, 1877). Though production totals remained high for 1877, \$36,291,536, stocks continued to fall throughout the year. A brief stock market rise was experienced in the fall of 1877 with a new Ophir strike. The result was an investment surge and adjustment.

Nellie Sayer, a Barbary Coast bawdy saloon owner became a major scapegoat in the community effort to clean up the 'Coast'. On April 7, 1877 Nellie was fined \$50 and had her saloon license revoked. The action had little effect, for in June of 1877 Nellie made the newspapers when she employed a thirteen year old named Maggie Gorhey. Rumor of a raid on Nellie's place resulted in Maggie being turned out. In an interview Maggie reported:

"she had been induced by her mother to drink, under threat of having her throat cut if she refused to do so or to receive company in Nellie Sayer's place." (Territorial Enterprise June 7, 1877). The article went on in melodramatic fashion noting that: "The girl is very small of her age and quite fragile . . . she has not had anything to eat for two days, living constantly on the liquor she has been forced to drink."

Other saloon owners and prostitutes such as Rose Wilson and

Mrs. Corcoran were also arrested and fined for keeping houses outside the prescribed red light district.

The Barbary Coast was cleaned up by July 22, 1877; a news article noted:

"The whole street is quiet and orderly. Respectable women may now pass the whole length of what was the coast and not be insulted nor be compelled to listen to ribald jests or vile oaths. Children can now come and go on their way to and from school without contamination."

The recession of 1877 probably had more to do with the 'coast' clean-up than the community campaign against prostitution or the effort of law enforcement personnel.

#### THE BOTTOM FALLS OUT OF THE COMSTOCK; 1878 - 1885

The Comstock had passed its peak by 1878. It became rapidly evident to stock holders and investors that the bottom was falling out of the market, stock values plummeted dramatically throughout 1878. The minor recovery that had occurred with the Ophir strike in late 1877 was soon negated. Many of Virginia City's first families, including Alf Doten, lost everything. Throughout 1878 and 1879 Doten continued to speculate, for like many others he

believed in a Comstock recovery. By 1879 it was apparent that the anticipated recovery was not underway. Doten borrowed money to pay debts, and in February of 1879 sold the Gold Hill News . The recession rapidly escalated into a depression, speeded along by a drop in silver prices and a rich ore strike in Bodie, California. Many miners left Virginia City for more promising employment, among them over half of the Chinese male population and two-thirds of the Chinese female population. In the fall of 1878, it was reported over a thousand people left the Comstock for Bodie (Smith 1943).

#### Prostitution in the Depression Years

In January of 1878 another ordinance regulating houses of ill-fame was passed. The new ordinance modified the one passed in 1875. The ordinance "Confining the Limits of and Regulating Houses of Ill-fame" read as follows:

"Section 1. (As amended by Ordinance approved January 29, 1878.) It shall be unlawful to open, maintain or become an inmate of or visitor to, or in any way contribute to be support of, any house of ill fame (sic), in the following described district of the City of Virginia, viz.: South of a straight line fifty feet north of the north line of Union street, running easterly and westerly; west of a straight line running

northerly and southerly fifty feet west from the west side of D street; north of the south line of Mill street; east of the west line of E street." (Board of County Commissioners 1888:68).

I did not find documents giving evidence of compliance. I found records of arrests relating to ordinance enforcement in the newspapers, and noncompliance in the settlement pattern of prostitutes listed in the 1880 census. Figure 3, illustrates the defined district and the location of prostitutes in 1880.

In 1878 several suicides occurred in the red light community. Castelena Morales of 15 North D Street, Madame Reyes brothel, committed suicide. Castelena came from Senora, Mexico as a child to live with relatives in Stockton California. Castelena, like other prostitutes entered the profession as an alternative to her bad marriage. Castelena had been through two marriages, and her second husband, a miner beat her. She went from this tumultuous situation into prostitution at an A Street establishment.

In 1878 Margie Rubens, a bawdy saloon prostitute, died in her south C Street room over a saloon she was employed at. In the same year madam Cad Thompson's son, Henry Thompson, committed suicide.

## The Settlement Pattern of Prostitutes in 1880

In the 1880 census the total population of Virginia City was 10917 (U.S. Census 1880). Of that number 137 are identified as prostitutes, with twenty being Chinese, six 'Spanish', and the remainder Euro-Americans (Goldman 1982). The prostitutes lived in rooms over saloons, lodging houses, cribs, cottages, small houses and brothels or parlor houses (see Goldman 1982: Appendix A for a list of the women identified as prostitutes, and their addresses.) (Goldman's data was checked against a microfilmed copy of the 1880 census, but the copy quality of the microfilm and faded ink precluded use of this primary document beyond a rudimentary check of the accuracy of the data.) Age figures for prostitutes in 1880 could not be specifically obtained because of the poor copy quality of the microfilmed census. Data from Goldman's (1982:64) Table of Age Structure of Prostitutes in 1880 indicates on an average the 1880 prostitute population was slightly older than in previous census years. Goldman's (1982) data on the house type occupied by prostitutes was used as the primary basis for settlement pattern model testing. Figure 4 shows the settlement pattern of prostitutes in 1880. Their residential pattern outside the legally defined Red Light District is very evident.

### Saloon, Gambling Hall, and Opium Den Rooms

A total of six women lived above saloons, one Chinese woman lived at an opium den, and two Euro-american women along with owner Rose Sissa, lived in rooms over a gambling hall on north B Street. Bawdy saloons, occupied by Ida Maynard, Mary Skensen, Mary Manuel, Emma Henderson, Mollie Malone and Mary Doyle, were located on C and D streets between Sutton Avenue on the north and Washington Street on the south. Saloon prostitutes Mollie Malone and Mary Doyle both lived at 41 Union Street with Mollie's child.

Rose Sissa and her employees Kitty Vanderbilt and Miss W. Montgomery, at 27 north B, were occupying housing outside the defined redlight district. Rose and her employees were not the only prostitutes or bawdy saloon prostitutes located outside the defined 'district'.

### Lodging Houses

Twenty-eight prostitutes occupied rooms at lodging houses scattered throughout the northern half of the city, many outside the 'district'. Prostitutes occupied lodgings at 57 North B Street, which is outside the district. Along C street five prostitutes resided at 17 South C Street; two

prostitutes occupied rooms at 90 South C and 106 South C respectively; five lived at 194 South C Street; prostitutes Mary Healy and Bessie Blum were occupants of 269 and 201 South C Street. On the North end of C Street two prostitutes resided at 67 1/2 North C, and three at 141 North. The latter addresses were within the 'district'. On D Street one prostitute lived at a rooming house at No. 31 South D, and four prostitutes Josephine Culave, Rebecca Collister, Maud Johnson, and Sarrah Pottle--occupied lodgings at Sarrah's No.5 South D Street Lodging house. Two prostitutes also occupied rooms in lodging houses on South E street, Della Hitchcock at 134 South E and Lillie Barber at 47 South E Street. Prostitutes Mary Dillard, and Bridget Cavanaugh occupied lodging house rooms at 73 South F Street and 11 South G Street.

E, F, and G Streets were also occupied by prostitutes, both lodging at rooming houses and residing in brothels, prostitutes had lived in this area since the 1860's. Bow Windows, a brothel-parlor house, was located on G Street in the late 1860's.

One prostitute was found living in a boarding house on the outskirts of town 165 South L Street, west of Chinatown.

## Cribs and Cottages

All the cribs identified in the 1880 census were located outside the defined red light district. Among other locations, several of the cribs were located in alleys off South D street. The majority of the cribs were located in the area from 45 South D Street to 15 South D Street. Two cribs were also located at 17 South C Street and 90 South C Street and an additional four cribs were located in an E Street Alley. The latter cribs were occupied by three 'Spanish' prostitutes, Reinez Galino, Sophine Pinis, and Camille Gimez, and an Irish prostitute Mary Durant and her child.

Eleven prostitutes occupied cottages on D Street and Union Street. Four prostitutes resided in cottages from No.7 South D Street to No.13 South D Street. The cottages probably consisted of two rooms, and contained no kitchen facilities (Goldman 1982). Henrietta Gould and Rose Pforda shared a cottage at 29 North D Street; Neattie Bassett worked out of a cottage at 15 North D Street; three prostitutes occupied individual cottages at No.19, No.53, and No.55 North Street near the city limits. The latter were probably lower status women as were the women occupying shanties off G Street at the outskirts of town, and near the train depot.

## Small Houses, Parlor Houses, and Brothels

Chinese prostitutes occupied small two women brothels in the I Street area at No.12 and No.18 South I Street, and a three women brothel in an alley off I Street. The I Street area and other brothel addresses which include No.8, No.12, and No.20 Chinatown were in the designated Chinese district. The largest Chinese brothel was a four women brothel at No.20 Chinatown. Though called brothels some of the two women establishments were probably little more than small two story houses.

Eighteen prostitutes resided in small houses alone or with one other prostitute. Only one house was located in the 'district', at 17 1/2 North D Street. Prostitutes Kittie Huff and Kitty Mitchell shared this house. Other prostitutes occupied small houses at: No.95 North Steward, 316 South A Street, 40 South B Street and 167 Noyes Street. Ella Williams, a Noyes Street prostitute, was located at some distance from the commercial district and other prostitutes. Ella may be misidentified, and may be a mistress instead of a courtesan. Eight prostitutes shared four houses between No.14 and No.250 South D Street. The houses of other prostitutes were located on C Street, F Street and Taylor Street; Alice Bryson and Annie B. Paddock resided in a small house at No.106 South C Street. Bryson

and Paddock were located near several lodging houses occupied by other prostitutes. A few prostitutes also resided in the same area as Mary McCloud and Alice Brison at No.44 South F Street.

Only one brothel-parlor house was located in the 'district', at No.1 North D Street. The establishment was headed by Mollie Winston, who employed three prostitutes: Donnette Pomeroy, Blache Lebo, and Alice May. Cad Thompson's parlor house was located at 15 South D Street, Cad had four women in her employ. South of Cad's parlor house were the parlor houses of Jan Robinson at 34 South D Street and Mary Allen at 39 South D Street. Both Jane Robinson and Mary Allen employed three prostitutes each. Mary had in her employ two of the Duffield sisters, Mamie and Eliza, who are also found in the 1875 census of Virginia City. Brothels were also located at No.45, No.56, and No. 197 South D Street. The former two brothels were composed of four women and the latter of three women.

#### The Prostitute Population in 1880

As is evident from the 1880 census data presented in Appendix C, the majority of Virginia City's prostitutes were located at establishments on C and D Streets, in or near the

'district' defined by the ordinance of 1878. Thirty-five prostitutes occupied establishments that were located on B Street, E or F Street, or other streets; these women were dispersed throughout the area between the 'district', Chinatown, and the outskirts of town. The Chinese prostitutes were all located in Chinatown. This settlement pattern conforms to that evident during the bonanza phases of Virginia City, prior to consolidation periods and recession phases.

An over all reduction of the prostitute population is evident in 1880, as would be expected. The prostitute population, at one hundred and thirty-seven, is two-thirds less than that thought to exist in 1875; yet is larger than would be expected. The 1880 census probably reflects the tip of the Comstock depression. The stock market had fallen off, but production figures were still in the millions. At the end of the year production was \$1,075,620, the lowest since the 1860's (Smith 1943).

The establishments providing prostitution services in 1880 were smaller in composition than those identified in 1875; this may be in part due to the deficit of household numbering in the 1875 census, and inaccurate inferences. This pattern of smaller establishments during a recession follows the anticipated trend; in which it was proposed that establishments decreased in quality and size with recession/depression phases. Smaller establishments may be

particularly indicative of the economic recession/depression of the late 1870's. In the wave of rebuilding that followed the 1875 fire larger establishments of prostitution were constructed.

### SUMMARY

Virginia City and her lesser companions that made up the Comstock prospered as long as exploitation of silver and gold ore proved profitable. From 1859 to 1882 the Comstock mines flourished, producing \$320,000,000 from ore and tailings, and paying \$147,000,000 in dividends (including private milling profits) (Smith 1943). Virginia City, the 'Queen of the Comstock', was a frontier town in both a rugged and refined sense. The character of Virginia City was flavored by almost continuous economic growth, a population of over 10,000, economic ties to San Francisco, and a measure of isolation in an untamed region. Of social life and protocol on the Comstock it has been noted:

"In no other place in the world would the names of leading gamblers and saloonkeepers (sic) appear on such a committee [a committee responsible for greeting President and Mrs Hayes, General Sherman, Major General McDowell McCook, and Secretary of War Alexander Ramsey,],

which included Bishop Whitaker;...Joseph R. "Joe" Stuart, who kept the finest faro rooms on the Comstock for years; Robert "Bob" Paterson, proprietor of the International Saloon and faro rooms;..." (Smith 1943:229).

Changes in the residential pattern of prostitutes and ordinances seeking to regulate their residential pattern were found to occur throughout the 1860's to 1880's. During the initial boom to depression phases of the early 1860's, prostitutes were scattered through out the town. They occupied available housing which included: rooms at lodging houses or over saloons, cribs, cottages, and small houses. Many, if not most, were adjacent to the commercial area where entertainment services would be readily apparent to the customer. In the spring of 1863, in the wake of a depression, an ordinance restricting houses of ill-fame to a district and away from the major commercial district was passed. Little enforcement of the ordinance resulted. Instead the fire of August, 1863 coincidentally occurred and changed the settlement pattern of prostitutes. Many prostitutes relocated to the 'district', but a few remained outside. This pattern of fires that synchronize with the suppression of prostitution is evident in the years that follow; an ordinance was passed or citizen outcries against prostitution were voiced and a fire, usually attributable to arson, followed.

In the depression years little change in the settlement pattern of prostitute's was indicated. Prostitutes were arrested for drunkenness, disorderly behavior, and violence, but not for the practice of prostitution outside the 'district'.

An economic upturn in 1867-1871 resulted in population expansion; 138 prostitutes were found on the Comstock in 1870. The settlement pattern was similar to that established in the early 1860's; prostitutes occupied establishments in the commercial area, a tenderloin district called the 'Barbary Coast'; and the 'district'. The areas between the 'district' and Chinatown and the edge of the residential area B street and west were also occupied by a scatter of prostitutes. Over forty Chinese prostitutes remained isolated in the Chinatown area of I Street. Several large establishments such as Jenny Tylor's 'Bow Windows' brothel, and Kate Healy's brothel, where six prostitutes were employed, were evident. A larger number of 'Spanish' prostitutes were found than in any other Comstock census year. The Spanish prostitutes were primarily from Mexico and resided near 'Spanish' miners and laborers. They occupied cribs or cottages or shared small houses with other 'Spanish' prostitutes. Doten, in writing of his visits to the 'Spanish' prostitutes called their establishments: 'Spanish Shindigs'.

In 1871 fire once again changed the shape of the red light ladies' settlement pattern. The fire resulted in the construction of new, more architecturally stylish establishments; establishments that probably were slightly larger than their forerunners. Prostitutes continued to ply their trade outside the 'district'; perhaps as an economic bet for avoiding fire, since arsonist activity tended to focus on incinerating the defined 'district'. Some actresses were apparently involved in upper status prostitution activities. Doten visited many actresses and performers in the early 1870's, often hinting at encounters that go beyond platonic interactions. These women primarily occupied rooms at places like the International Hotel.

In 1875 a second ordinance was passed that defined the 'Red Light District'. The ordinance was passed during the consolidation phase of the 'big bonanza'; again in response to the location of bawdy establishments in the commercial area--the 'Barbary Coast'. It seems Virginia City's citizenry was willing to abide saloons in their commercial district but not prostitution or 'bawdy saloons'. Better brothels and parlor houses were never located on the 'Barbary Coast'. Sexual services had long been a procurable item in the rooms over many of the saloons. A soliciting ordinance was added to the segregative ordinance and was probably aimed at the control of soliciting in the commercial district.

Little compliance with the ordinance was found, and for the third time a major fire swept through the designated 'district'. This time the negligence of a prostitute on A Street was given as the source of the fire. Many of Virginia City's "respectable" residents were also affected. Wives and families were sent to other cities during the reconstruction period that followed the fire. Prostitutes again reestablished their businesses both within the defined 'district' and outside of it. Larger establishments replaced many of the pre-fire cottages and small houses. The 'Barbary Coast' grew in the wake of the fire. The establishment of a High School down the street from the 'Coast' resulted in Virginia City's citizenry again launching a campaign against bawdy Saloons, and saloon owners such as Nellie Sayer and Mrs. Corcoran. Finally through citizen efforts and the economic tide, which was turning in the wake of a recession, the 'Barbary Coast' was temporarily cleaned-up in late 1877.

In 1878 in the wake of a recession another ordinance regulating the location of houses of ill-fame and soliciting by prostitutes was passed. The ordinance primarily tightened the language of the 1875 ordinance--the 'district' was not moved; its legal boundaries were simply clarified. Little enforcement of the ordinance was evident, and may not have been possible because of the increasing economic stress being experienced by the city. By the time the 1880 census

was taken, two-thirds of the prostitute population had left Virginia City. This change in prostitute population was proportionate across ethnic groups. In the 1880 census smaller establishments of prostitution and many one-women prostitution businesses were found. The settlement pattern was similar to that of the early boom and bonanza phases. Prostitutes were concentrated in the D and C Street areas adjacent to and in the 'district'; prostitutes are also scattered throughout the settlement pattern of the City: on A, B, E, F, G Streets, at the edge of town on North Street, in commercial and residential areas. Chinese prostitutes, as they had been throughout their collective history in Virginia City, were segregated in the Chinatown area.

Virginia City, because of its size, economic history, and historical records and secondary source material provides an excellent test of the proposed model. The character of Virginia City was far from conservative, though it took conservative forces to pass three laws restricting the settlement location of prostitutes. All three laws were passed in the wake of economically stressful times. The only ordinance that was actually enforced was the one passed in 1875 which formed the enforcement basis for a temporary cleaning up of the 'Barbary Coast'. In all three periods, when movements arose to restrict prostitutes, fires occurred and changed the settlement pattern and establishment type associated with prostitutes. The fires resulted in both the

construction of larger establishments of prostitution in the 'district' and the movement of women out of the destroyed 'district' to the 'Barbary Coast' area.

The prostitute population and their settlement pattern, and citizen attempts at regulation of prostitution, follow the predicted pattern proposed in the model. The limited effectiveness of restricting prostitutes to a specific district and the short period during which restriction was effective raises the question whether the archaeological record is sensitive enough to reflect a settlement pattern shift for such a brief period (often a period not more than two years in length). Archaeological data when interpreted with the supplementation of the historical data on this settlement change should be discernible and will provide a measure of the sensitivity of the archaeological record. Virginia City, in general, provides an interesting case archaeologically because of the residual nature of its 'red light district' over a twenty year period and the major fires that occurred during this time.

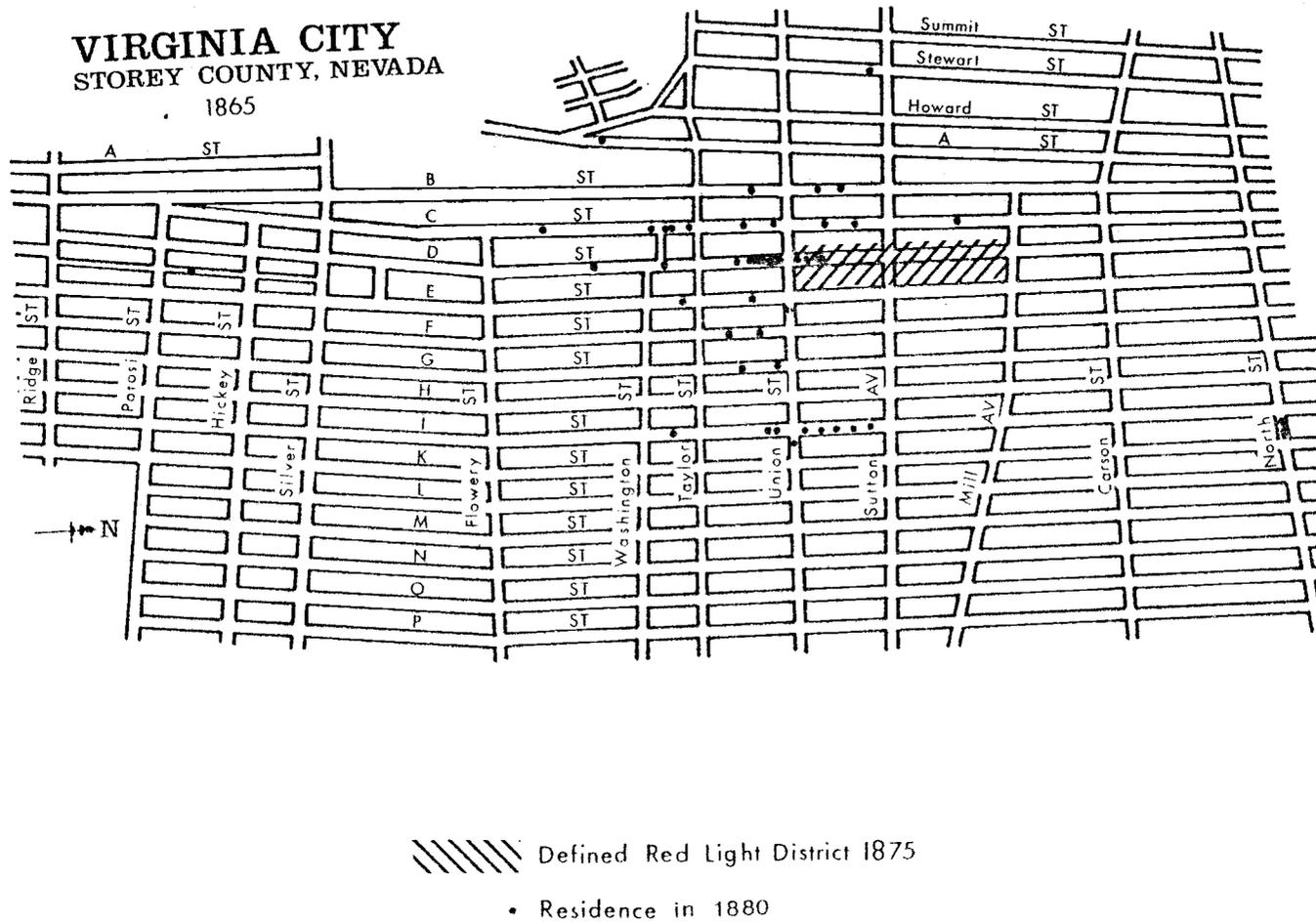


FIGURE 4: Residential Pattern of Virginia City Prostitutes

## CHAPTER 10

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

## JACKSONVILLE, SILVER CITY, AND VIRGINIA CITY

The proposed model of historic prostitution in frontier mining towns was both supported and modified by the three case studies presented in the previous chapters. The proposed model presented a hypothesis of prostitution as an identifiable component of the frontier mining community that changed over time in response to techno-economic trends, and that could be hypothetically characterized by economic phase. As the model was tested against historical data from Jacksonville, Silver City, and Virginia City, it became

apparent that there were major deficits and bias in the historical record; deficits that can only be filled by data contained in the archaeological record.

### JACKSONVILLE

In Jacksonville prostitutes were not identifiable except in the census record, and then not by profession, only by conjecture. No complaints about prostitution were found in the Jacksonville newspapers, yet an ordinance restricting prostitution to outside the city limits was passed in 1873. Local historians have proposed that the ordinance was aimed at the Chinese, but provide no basis for such a proposition. The 1870 census of Jacksonville precinct does list eighteen Chinese women who were probably prostitutes. Only a few other women, who appeared to be potential prostitutes, were identified. Only one arrest was noted in the newspaper under the ordinance prohibiting prostitution in the city limits. The single arrest, six months after the ordinance was passed, involved a Chinese man who was charged with occupying a bawdy house. No references to the arrest of bawdy house employees were found.

The eighteen Chinese prostitutes identified in the 1870 census were unexpected. The presence of such a large number of prostitutes, even low status Chinese prostitutes, was not anticipated during a depression period. Similarly a larger than anticipated population of Chinese prostitution were found in Silver City during a recession/depression period. Analysis of this anomaly resulted in the recognition that economic trends in the Chinese community may be independent of the trends being experienced by the Euro-american community. It became apparent, when comparing the Chinese economy in the three cities, that the economic autonomy of the Chinese community was largely influenced by the type of employment held by the Chinese making up that community. In Virginia City the Euro-american and Chinese communities rose and fell in economic concert. Virginia City, Chinese were not allowed to work in the mines and there were no exhausted placer claims they could take up, their employment options were intrinsically linked to the economy of Virginia City. Virginia City's Chinese were employed as domestics or did menial labor, such as working on road construction crews, their employment was directly effected by the Euro-american community and its' economic trends. In both Silver City and Jacksonville Chinese men were employed as mine laborers and often owned mines (exhausted placer mines were purchased by Chinese, who profitably reworked the tailings and extracted ore that had

been rejected by Euro-americans as unprofitable). Chinese miners directly affected the economic of the Chinese community, resulting in a direct economic impact on that community and economic trends that differed from those experienced by the Euro-american community. Chinese businesses monopolized the commercial trade of the Chinese sojourners. The economic autonomy of the Chinese communities in Silver City and Jacksonville were increased by their recognition as a regional Chinese cultural center; cultural centers that provided not only contact with other Chinese, but gambling, Chinese prostitutes, and other entertainments. Economic autonomy and recognition as a Chinese cultural center readily explains the large population of Chinese prostitutes and gamblers found in Jacksonville in 1870, during the recession/depression.

The deficit of primary historical data relating to prostitution in Jacksonville and the surrounding mining districts suggests that historical bias was occurring in the recording of prostitution related data, relates to Jacksonville was short life as a gold mining town, and may be indicative of an attitude of temporal instability in mining towns that resulted in poor record keeping. The largest number of Euro-american women identified as probable prostitutes was found in the 1856 manuscript census of Jacksonville, this was Jacksonville's 'boomtown' period. Either the boom phase was over by 1860 or the bias and

deficits of the historical record (e.g., several pages of the microfilm copy of the 1860 manuscript census were missing) foreclosed the identification of data on Jacksonville prostitution. Jacksonville did not provide a thorough test of the proposed model, but did lend support to the hypothesis that during the boom phase prostitutes were primarily single operators, women occupying rooms, cottages, tents, and small houses, and that prostitutes resided throughout the settlement area of the boom town.

#### SILVER CITY, "QUEEN CITY OF THE OWYHEE'S"

Research on Silver City prostitution was hampered by the deficit of the historical records, as most records had been destroyed in the Owyhee County Courthouse fires at Silver City and at Murphy in the 1930's. Still, enough records and newspaper reports survived to provide a test of the model, particularly when paired with oral history. Data obtained from Silver City supported the model and provided new data relating to Chinese prostitution and the Chinese community. Data on Chinese prostitution and the Chinese community in Silver City, when combined with the data from Jacksonville suggested that the Chinese community was

economically autonomous from the Euro-american community, to the extent that economic trends in the Chinese community differed from those of the Euro-american community.

In the initial boom phase experienced by Ruby City and Silver City, dance halls and hurdy-gurdy girls were a part of the boom town entertainment. Prostitutes were not referenced but the presence of a few prostitutes can be readily inferred. Some dance hall entertainers and hurdy-gurdy girls probably were also involved in prostitution. Many of the hurdy-gurdy girls married local miners and were integrated into the Silver City community. As the boom phase continued into the 1870's prostitutes tended to occupy residences throughout the town. Chinese prostitutes were the exception, they were segregated in the Chinatown area. Though one large brothel of five Euro-american women was noted, other prostitutes worked alone or shared housing with one other prostitute. The 'doings' of several prostitutes involved in a 'little misunderstanding' were accounted in the local newspaper. Silver City newspapers, in contrast to those published in Jacksonville, reported and commented openly on the antics of the town prostitutes. In the recession phase of 1880 the establishments of prostitutes were found to be smaller, with all of the Euro-american prostitutes working alone. The settlement pattern of prostitutes changed little, they continued to occupy residences or establishments throughout

the town. No ordinances prohibiting or segregation prostitution were passed and no citizen pressure to abolish or prohibit prostitution was evident. The 1880's brought the first major recession/depression period that Silver City experienced.

In the late 1890's the regional economy took an up-turn and during the consolidation phase of the early 1900's prostitutes were restricted to a 'Red Light District' along Jordan Street. Whether this district grew out of the depression of the preceding years or citizen mandate in the consolidation years preceding 1903 is unknown, but by 1903 the district was firmly established as was the community mobility pattern of prostitutes. Several large parlor houses and brothels existed in the early 1900's. In the district high status establishments were located closer to the central part of town, and establishments dropped in status the closer they were to Chinatown. Ethnicity played a major role in the settlement pattern of Silver City's prostitutes in the early 1900's. Black, Euro-american, and Chinese prostitutes occupied separate establishments in different parts of the district and outside the city limits. Crib type establishments of lower status Euro-american prostitutes were located near the Chinese district, and Black prostitutes were housed beyond the Chinese district and across Jordan Creek at the outskirts of town. The consolidation phase of the bonanza years found prostitutes

restricted to the red light district to the extent that shopkeepers delivered goods, and children were paid to run errands. The back door relationship of red light establishments and saloons suggests that prostitutes could have visited saloons to solicit customers and socialize.

The segregation of prostitutes from the larger community in the 1900's was extended to burial site. Prostitutes were buried outside the fence of the Ruby City Cemetery; in contrast in the 1880's when Maria Clapper, a known prostitute, was buried in the Silver City Cemetery. The integration of prostitutes into the respectable community occurred through marriage to respectable citizens; however, the women and their husbands did not remain in the community, which probably aided their social transition. A 'good prostitute' and madam, Lea Perry, received recognition for her good deeds, but was buried outside the cemetery fence; the line between respectability and disrespectability was tightly drawn in the consolidation phase of the early 1910's.

Chinese prostitution did not follow the same pattern as Euro-american prostitution in Silver City. In part the sizable Chinese prostitute population found during a recession/depression phase in Silver City's history is explained by the economic autonomy of the Chinese community. Economic autonomy in the Chinese community and the resulting effect on Chinese prostitution were discussed earlier under

the analysis of the data from the Jacksonville case study. In Silver City another factor may have been operating in 1880, when a large Chinese prostitute population was found during a depression phase. The enumerated Chinese prostitutes were on an average seven years older than those enumerated in 1870, which suggests that many of the 1870 Chinese prostitutes may have remained in Silver City after their indenture contracts were satisfied. Since these women were generally allowed no wages during their indenture period, many of them may have had no economic means with which to leave the community or had no desire to do so after their contracts were satisfied. Aggregation patterns support this hypothesis. In the 1880's Chinese prostitutes primarily occupied single women residences, probably cribs. In contrast, in 1870 the majority lived with other prostitutes and Chinese males. The latter aggregation pattern may also simply reflect the pattern of smaller establishments that was evident in the Euro-american prostitute community during the recession.

## VIRGINIA CITY, "QUEEN OF THE COMSTOCK"

Virginia City in contrast to Jacksonville and Silver City was a large metropolitan mining town. The population of Virginia City ranged from 5,000 to 15,000. Virginia City like Silver City was a hard rock mining region; large companies dominated the Virginia City economy. The prostitute population of Virginia City, including the Chinese was congruent with the model predictions. Chinese prostitutes, as was evident in Silver City and Jacksonville, were segregated in the Chinatown area.

In the initial boom phase Virginia City's Euro-american prostitutes occupied residences throughout the community and were allowed a high level of social integration. Black and Chinese prostitutes were segregated; Black prostitutes were located in the vicinity of the Hotel d'Afrique and Chinese prostitutes were confined to the Chinese quarter near I Street.

With the recession of 1863, public concern about prostitution grew, and an ordinance was passed restricting prostitutes to an area away from the commercial district and the A and B Street residential areas. In 1866, possibly both as an outgrowth of the 1863 fire and in compliance with the ordinance, prostitutes were found to be residing in the D, C, E, and G Street areas.

With the economic upturn experienced in the late 1870's the size of the prostitute population increased. One hundred and forty-three prostitutes were identified. They occupied houses, cottages, lodging houses, brothels, parlor houses, and cribs throughout the city. The red light district defined by the 1863 ordinance was occupied as well as the edge of the commercial district, turned tenderloin ("the Barbary Coast"). A large population of 'Spanish' prostitutes were found occupying an area where 'Spanish' miners lived. The majority of the 'Spanish' prostitutes lived alone or with one other prostitute. A few Black prostitutes were evident, among them a mother and daughter. Forty-four Chinese prostitutes were located in the Chinatown area, where they occupied small brothels composed of two to four women. Several well known and respected Madams like Cad Thompson had parlor houses.

Social segregation of prostitutes increased over the earlier period; prostitutes were only allowed to attend specified social events. A mine supervisor's wife wrote in 1869 "ladies of the demi-monde no longer expect to eat the dinners, and grace the parties of the haut ton." (Overland Monthly 1869:462).

By 1875, with the continued economic prosperity of the mines a population of over 15,000 people was found on the Comstock. Over 278 prostitutes resided in Virginia City; of these 120 were identified as prostitutes, others were

identified as prostitutes based on residential location or their identification in the literature of the period as prostitutes. The political atmosphere of Virginia City and the Comstock in general during the mid 1870's was one of consolidation; citizens of the town were striving to bring the bonanza economy and society under control. Prostitution was a major target of citizen concern. The mines were running three shifts and prostitutes were often disorderly and flagrant in their community behavior. Prostitutes occupied establishments in residential areas, on the "Barbary Coast", in and near the designated Red Light District on C and D Street, and near Chinatown. Chinese prostitutes were restricted to the latter area and were not referenced as a problem in the drive to suppress and segregate prostitutes. The 'Barbary Coast' area near the commercial district was the main focus of citizen concern. Prostitutors in the residential areas of A and B Street were probably also a concern though no reference to a prostitution problem in these areas was found.

An ordinance to restrict prostitutes to establishments in the D Street area and prohibiting soliciting was passed in the spring of 1875. Little enforcement of the ordinance was evident prior to the fire of August 1875, which destroyed the designated district and a large portion of Virginia City's residential and commercial area. In the aftermath of the fire establishments of prostitution were

occupied and rebuilt outside the designated district. The size and disorderliness of the 'Barbary Coast' population increased, and the Virginia City police force responded by arresting owners and employees of the Bawdy saloons--saloon licenses were denied or cancelled. By 1877 the 'Barbary Coast' was closed down, if only temporarily. The recession of 1877 lent potent support to the effort to close down the 'Coast'.

In 1878 a third ordinance to segregate prostitutes and prohibit soliciting was passed. This amended and clarified the language of the 1875 ordinance, but it did not change the boundaries of the district. Little enforcement of the ordinance in the recession/depression years was found. Prostitutes in the 1880's occupied establishments outside the designated district including the 'Barbary Coast' area and residential areas such as A and B Streets. Chinese prostitutes continued to work out of Chinatown establishments. The overall population of prostitutes, in reflection of the depressed economy, was reduced to almost half the size of the population evident in 1875. This reduction in the prostitute population was proportionate ethnically; only twenty Chinese prostitutes were found in the 1880 census in comparison to 81 possible Chinese prostitutes in the 1875 census. The Chinese population in general shrunk proportionately, as the Chinese moved to more economically promising towns such as Bodie, California.

During the phases of economic boom, bonanza, and depression, prostitutes occupied residences throughout Virginia City. With consolidation at the top of the bonanza and the tip of the recession prior to the depression, prostitution was regulated through restrictive ordinances. The enforcement of ordinances that regulated prostitution was not evident except in 1876-1877. In 1863 and 1875 following the passing of ordinances to restrict prostitution to specific districts major fires occurred, destroying the designated district. The result was the reestablishment of prostitutes outside the designated district and the construction of larger establishments in the district. In the archaeological record this chronology of events would probably be distorted by the fire of 1875 and the rebuilding effort that followed.

In the depression phase of 1878, attempts at segregating prostitutes were ineffective, because of community stress and a depleted police force that had to turn its attention to more significant and disruptive criminal activities. Prostitutes in this phase occupied establishments throughout the city, though most were concentrated in the D and C Street areas.

## MODEL TESTING IN CRIPPLE CREEK, COLORADO AND HELENA, MONTANA

## Introduction

As an additional test of the model the economic histories and lifeway of prostitutes in historic Helena, Montana, and Cripple Creek, Colorado, were analysed. These two cities were selected because of the ready availability of published data relating to economic trends, mining, and prostitution. Both cities were centers for hard rock mining. Helena is chronologically contemporary with the period proposed for model testing. Cripple Creek saw its founding and flourescence later, in the 1890's, and thus provides a good complement to data from the 1890's through early 1900's compiled for Silver City.

HELENA, MONTANA

Prostitution in Helena, particularly in the early years, was a transient business because the mines were only open from June to September. After the summer mining season miners left for more temperate climates or other employment opportunities. The remaining miners economized. Most prostitution establishments were small operations or combination saloon-bawdy businesses. Liquor sales provided an economic supplement during the winter months.

During the boom period in Helena, from 1864-1870, prostitutes occupied the same streets as the regular business community, including the major commercial area of Wood Street. (Figure 5 shows the settlement pattern of prostitutes based on prostitute property ownership in this period.) Prostitution was not only geographically integrated into the community, but it was also an important element in the social structure of the town and operated with the tacit consent of Helena's citizens, male and female alike (Petrik 1981:30). Helena's early tenderloin was made up of women who operated alone primarily, owned their own dwellings on the "line", or had sufficient capital to do so (Petrik 1981:30). Some of Helena's entrepreneurial minded 'fancy ladies' arrived in town with capital in hand and a willingness to invest in property. Between 1865 and 1870 over \$50,000 changed hands, as the proprietary prostitutes made their initial investment or exchanged holdings (Petrik 1981:30). In 1870, with a population of 3,000, Helena had

approximately 40 Euro-american prostitutes practicing their profession. The prostitutes tended to be a little older than the remainder of the female population and had more economic assets--a third reported personal wealth, at \$2500, a thousand dollars more than the median assets noted by males in the city (Petrik 1981).

The depression of 1871 thinned the ranks of the demi-monde as women drifted to more lucrative cities or followed the parlor house circuit. A few of the prostitutes made speculative investments during the depression, among them Helena's famous Josephine Airey "Joe Chicago". Joe mortgaged her property to Harriet Truett, wife of the probate judge (Petrik 1981:33). The relationship of the regular business community with prostitution was such that prostitutes obtained business loans from members of the regular business community. During her residency in Helena, Joe entered into several transactions and mortgages with members of the business community. In 1874, as Helena's depressed economy began to experience an upturn, a major fire in the early spring wiped out a portion of the commercial district and the establishments of several of the major proprietary prostitutes. By 1880 the economy had improved and the population reached 3,600, but the prostitute population has changed little from that of 1870. Fewer prostitutes owned property and the population of prostitutes was slightly younger than in 1870, and

establishments appeared to have grown larger in size in response to the economic upswing. (Figure 6 provides an illustration of establishment sizes and locations).

In the early 1880's Helena incorporated and efforts to suppress prostitution followed. After 1883 no more business transactions between ladies of the demi-monde and the regular business community were found and the regular commercial district had moved away from the tenderloin district on Wood Street to Main Street (Petrik 1981). Wood Street became the location of the 'better' establishments and Clore Street was where the cribs were located. In 1885 a law prohibiting soliciting for the purpose of prostitution was passed. In 1886 prostitution was prohibited in the city, but the result was a successful test case that effectively cancelled the ordinance.

In the mid-1880's the bonanza economy stimulated a building boom that was felt by the demi-monde; customers were interested in more cosmopolitan establishments that emulated those of San Francisco. Major establishments such as Mollie Byrnes' "Castle" and Joe's "Coliseum, a vaudevillian variety theater, were constructed. Other madams, such as Lillie McGraw, remodelled and built additions to their establishments. With the expansion of establishments, more streets in the Wood Street area were occupied (see figure 6) and the district pushed south and east, and west, into the new commercial district. Madams

rotated prostitutes through their houses by use of the parlor house circuit and their connections with the demi-monde of other towns. Lillie McGraw brought women in from Portland, Oregon and Joe Airey brought women in from the mid-west through her Chicago connections.

#### Model Test And Discussion

The settlement patterns and composition of Helena's prostitute population follow the hypothesis proposed in the model with the exception of the movement of the business district in the early 1880's in the bonanza phase. I could not determine from the secondary sources reviewed the basis for this settlement pattern shift, but the result is the segregation of prostitutes, as was proposed would occur in the consolidation phase. Later, as predicted, ordinances were passed to suppress prostitution, and prostitutes and madams were arrested in the mid 1890's.

## CRIPPLE CREEK, COLORADO

Cripple Creek was founded in 1891 and from 1892 to 1896 saw a rise in population from 2,000 to 15,000. Cripple Creek's commercial district on Myer Street featured clothing stores, markets, barber shops, and bath houses adjacent to saloons and sporting houses. (Figure 7 provides a street map of Cripple Creek).

Cripple Creek had developed from a group of sparsely situated ranch-log cabins in the 1870's and 1880's to a boomtown in 1891. The 1891 boomtown was a mix of shanties and crudely constructed commercial buildings. The town was platted in the summer of 1891 and by fall the necessity for hard rock mining technology and the capital investment hard rock mining entailed, was apparent to the miners.

By early 1892 there were eight saw mills in operation to meet the building demands of the booming city.

"Houses were almost universally of wood, often with shops in the front and living quarters behind. Where business prospered a second story was added. Often the owner was forced to build separate living quarters during this first winter to meet expanding business demands.

Buildings were generally sheathed with unpainted rough vertical wooden clapboards with some form of pulp or newsprint for insulation. An interior linen coat and wallpaper were laid over the pulp in the better business and residential houses, horizontal bare

boards in the poorer structures. Ceilings of the poorer structures were insulated with old rugs or tent canvas. The average cabin cost less than \$500 and rented for an average of \$15 a month" (Taylor 1966:39).

Cripple Creek acquired its commercial district settlement pattern the first winter. On Myers Avenue a district of brothels grew up and on Bennett Avenue to the north were restaurants, food and clothing stores, gambling houses, saloons, drug stores, and hardware stores.

In early 1893 Fremont and Cripple Creek united their separate but adjacent towns in a merger to obtain postal service. By the spring of 1896 the two-part city had more than doubled in population. The city government matured and emerged as an active governing body striving to bring social order to the boom town. In this phase of political and social consolidation an ordinance was passed restricting saloons, gambling establishments, and bawdy houses from Bennett Avenue. This ordinance added legal teeth to the City council action of 1893 which had allowed saloon, dance halls, and establishments of prostitution freedom of operation if they moved south from Bennett Avenue to Myers Avenue. Both commercial blocks were filled by the respective businesses they had been targeted for by 1894.

By 1896 Bennett Avenue boasted three mining exchanges, two banks, lodges of the majority of the secret societies and branches of the some of the better stores of Colorado

Springs (Taylor 1966:80). By the spring of 1896 Cripple Creek also had more than fifty saloons, gambling houses, sporting houses and cribs which stretched principally along Myers Avenue between Second and fifth Streets (Taylor 1966). A line of cribs over ran the district and extended east up Poverty Gulch toward the outskirts of town.

The fire of 1896 destroyed the central commercial and residential areas of Cripple Creek. Within a few weeks after the fire, 107 new buildings were under construction. The fire resulted in the construction of more permanent and architecturally stylish buildings. Buildings in the business district were constructed of brick as a fire deterrent.

The fire resulted in the movement of the few remaining entertainment centers that had been located on Bennett Avenue to Myer Avenue. The Colorado Springs Gazette reported of the rebuilt Cripple Creek:

"Cripple Creek is a new city nearly all brick. You enter the hotel and find a spacious rotunda, elegantly appointed offices, coloured bell boys, and rooms well furnished, carpeted, and heated by steam. The school houses and churches reach up the hill from the business district. Entertainment and dance halls, grog shops and nameless places of vice are down below the business level. Myers Avenue is still given over to buildings of questionable purpose. Cripple Creek has a new air . . . Buildings are elegant with elaborate carvings, proportionate pillars, capitals in Greek style, shiny brass work." (in Taylor 1966:85).

### Model Test and Discussion

Cripple Creek illustrates the boom town turned consolidated city. Ordinances were passed during consolidation restricting the Red Light District and companion establishments to a specific area. Compliance with the ordinance was a gradual process, beginning in 1893 with the segregation ordinance and ending in 1896 with the fire. Following the fire compliance with the ordinance was found in 1896, as were larger establishments of prostitution. The cribs of Myers Avenue were replaced by a more elaborate type of sporting parlor by 1900; some became the most ornate buildings in the region (Taylor 1966).

### CONCLUSIONS

In the model it was proposed that changes in prostitution occur in response to economic and technological variables, and that prostitution can thus be characterized hypothetically in relation to economic phases. The model described the probable settlement pattern, class-status of prostitutes, and community mobility or integration levels

prostitutes would be accorded by economic phase within specific town types. Town types were defined by the type of technology used to exploit the resource, and by the type of aggregation, and political and economic structure associated with the various means of exploiting the resource. The model was then tested with five frontier mining town histories or case studies. Historical data collected on prostitution in the five towns studied was also used to construct a deductive model of the material culture of prostitutes.

The case studies provided a test of the model that both validated and modified the model. Prostitution services and prostitutes, as a socio-economic group, were found to be indicative of economic trends experienced by frontier mining communities and also a reflection of a community's economic and social history.

The lifeway of the frontier prostitute varied contingent on the status of the prostitute and economic trends and socio-political history in the town occupied. The physical and psychological risks of the profession resulted in the degradation and death of many frontier prostitutes. However for other women prostitution offered a viable entrepreneurial venture. The treatment of prostitutes socially--segregation, integration, social and physical mobility--was found to be dictated by the economic phase a mining community was in. Segregation and obvious

discrimination were found to occur during recession and consolidation phases. These periods marked times when the community's economic fears or social ideology were under stress; dissonance was resolved through regulation and oppression of prostitutes and other identifiable ethnic or socio-economic groups such as the Chinese.

Ordinances that regulated or restricted prostitution were passed during consolidation and recession phases, but were found to result in little change in the settlement pattern or behavior of prostitutes. In general it was found, that economic trends and fires changed the settlement pattern of prostitutes more effectively than ordinances did. It was also found that a business community might create a segregated red light district by moving away from the red light district and barring the movement of prostitutes into the new commercial area. Movement of this type was effective in Helena.

In response to economic changes in a community it was proposed that changes in the prostitute population and their lifeway would be evident, and that the prostitutes would be found to be transient. However, some stability in the prostitute community was found; Madams such as Cad Thompson of Virginia City and Lea Perry of Silver City remained in the same communities for ten years or more. Prostitutes that remained for extended periods of time often made major economic investments in property and property

improvements. Joe Chicago, of Helena, for example, was involved in several mortgage agreements due to property improvement financing. Prostitute populations were found to increase or decrease in response to economic trends.

Changes in the class of prostitute in response to economic phases could only be rudimentarily suggested by the data analysed. Identification and definition of classes of prostitutes, as to high, mid, and low was difficult. Class-status affiliations were found to be dynamic and contextual. The high status prostitute of a boom town would be considered a mid or low status prostitute in a corporate town. Women in the profession also had variable class-status over time. Changes in the classes of women providing prostitution services over time can still be inferred and related to economic phases. For example, greater aggregation of prostitutes during the bonanza phase was found and would have created a necessity for manager-madams and servants, such as housekeepers and cooks. The demand for more elegant prostitution services in bonanza periods would have also resulted in a shift to larger establishments and higher class prostitutes. More actresses and performers were found to visit the mining towns during lucrative economic periods, and these women would have furnished 'higher class companionship'. The archaeological record of a town may provide a means of deriving status-related information.

Hypotheses relating to the material culture of prostitutes remain untested. Future data that is derived from archaeological sites will test and refine the proposed model that addresses the material culture of prostitutes.

The national and ethnic origin of prostitutes was found to approximate the national and ethnic origin of the male population in a community. Segregation of prostitutes based on ethnicity was found; in particular Chinese prostitutes were segregated, as were most Chinese. Chinese prostitutes did not work in the same brothels as Euro-american women. Other oriental women, such as Japanese prostitutes did work in Euro-american brothels, and were featured as exotic prostitutes. Only one instance of a Euro-american male dwelling with a Chinese women was found, the women was listed as a prostitute. References to Euro-american males visiting Chinese prostitutes were numerous. Black prostitutes were also segregated to the extent that they did not work in Euro-american brothels. They were found to reside near other Blacks, or on the outskirts of town. Ethnic aggregation was evident among Spanish prostitutes, though they worked in the same brothels as Euro-american prostitutes.

The Chinese prostitutes population was found to differ from the Euro-american prostitute population in its response to economic trends. It was found that the Chinese prostitute population responded to and reflected the

economy of the Chinese community, and that often the Chinese community did not experience the economic trends evident in the Euro-american community. The separation of the Chinese and Euro-american communities economically appears to be contingent on the economic base of the Chinese community. Where placer mining was carried out by Chinese, economic autonomy was found in the Chinese community, and economic trends experienced in the Chinese community differed from those experienced by the larger Euro-american community. In towns where Chinese were primarily involved in providing services, such as domestic labor to the Euro-american community the Chinese community's economy was a reflection of the Euro-american economy. It is thus necessary to analyze the economic trends of the two communities and to define the extent of autonomous economic trends when applying the model to a community with a substantial Chinese population. The Chinese prostitute population, with regard to size and household aggregation, did follow the same basic trends evident among the Euro-american prostitutes; during bonanza phase Chinese prostitute populations increased; during recession/depression phases their numbers decreased and smaller establishments are found.

Data relating to Chinese prostitution suggests that the very structure of Chinese prostitution, which involved an indenture contract, may result in anomalies in the archaeological record. For example, the presence of a large

Chinese prostitute population during economic recession/depression phases. This may be the result of the limited economic means Chinese prostitutes had for supporting themselves or for returning to China after their contracts were satisfied. Chinese prostitutes might also be retained in the locality by their contract holder as they pleased.

#### Economic Trends and Prostitution

During the boom phase of the instant city, prostitutes were scattered throughout the towns in one and two women households. Most were located adjacent to or in the commercial district. Prostitutors often occupied rooms above saloons. In general they were dispersed through the settlement pattern of the town and integrated into the community.

In bonanza phases this same settlement pattern was evident, but the prostitute population was larger and aggregation extended over a broader area often including occupancy of residential areas. Prostitutes had the greatest community mobility during boom and bonanza phases prior to consolidation.

During consolidation periods in the midst of the bonanza phase ordinances suppressing and regulating prostitution were passed. Movements toward regulation of prostitution during consolidation were ineffective. Fire and recessions that follow in the wake of consolidation resulted in actual changes in the prostitute settlement pattern. Ordinances were also passed during recessions, but if concerted efforts at enforcement did not occur these ordinances were ineffective. Fires (in some instances caused by arson) often destroyed portions of the approved red light district or areas occupied by prostitutes and resulted in the movement of prostitutes to commercial and residential areas, and the general reduction of the prostitute population. The end result of fires was often the enlargement of establishments and development of secondary "tenderloin" areas.

Recessions resulted in a smaller overall prostitute population and often the suppression of prostitution in specific areas. Establishments providing prostitution were smaller in composition, featuring from one to perhaps four women (contingent on community size).

As discussed previously, Chinese prostitution must be viewed in the context of economic trends in the Chinese community, and also understood as contractual. Thus Chinese prostitutes had little control over their mobility out of the community during economic recessions or depressions.

## Frontier Prostitution

The extent to which frontier prostitutes and the community acceptance they were often granted influenced change in the social and moral attitudes of North Americans can only be hypothesized. On the frontier, where change was born, prostitutes played a major role in 'civilizing' towns. They provided social welfare services, medical care, and organized community social events; many prostitutes were viewed individually as good and bad women apart from their profession. In part this may be an effect of the condition fostered by frontier experiences, wherein culturally developed moral and social constraints are lifted and change is allowed to occur, including the positive valuation of people labeled as outside the approved of cultural milieu.

Prostitutes provided freedom to other women on the frontier by removing the threat of male sexuality and by eroding the nineteenth century idea of female propriety (Petrik 1981). They may have raised appreciation for the business acumen of women. Certainly, theirs was a profession in which the body and mind and soul were taxed, and meeting the requirements of survival required an excess of perseverance. In this harsh climate many prostitutes prospered as entrepreneurs.

Ultimately the industrial revolution and labor movement in North America actively changed the social role of women, but out of the frontier experience, it can not be doubted, came the recognition that women were capable entrepreneurs.

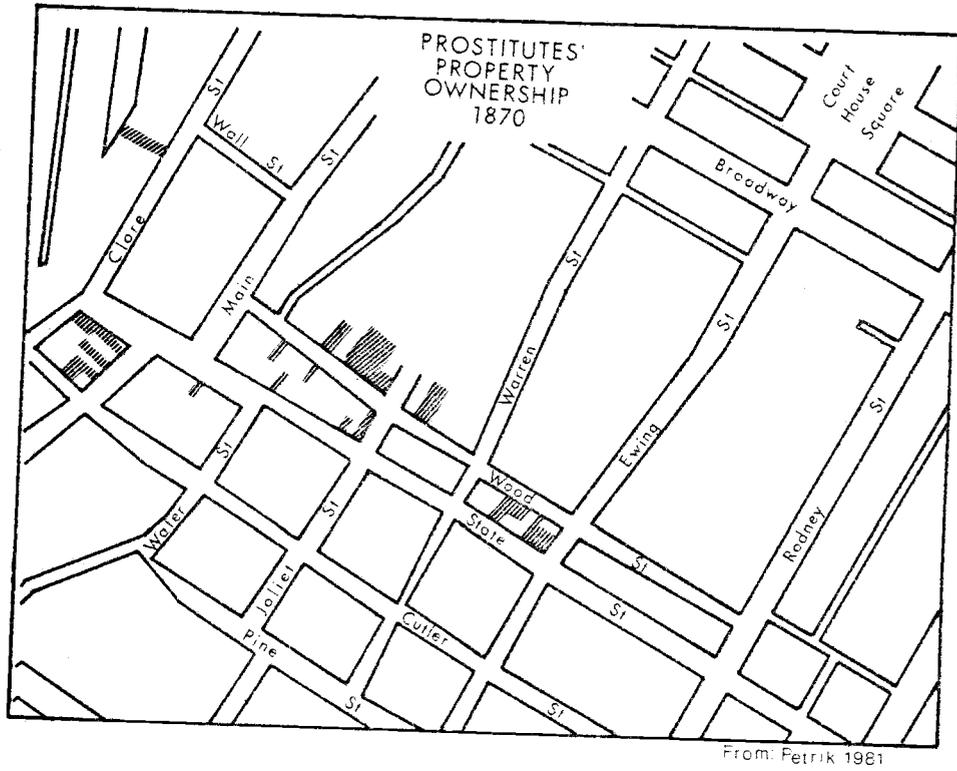
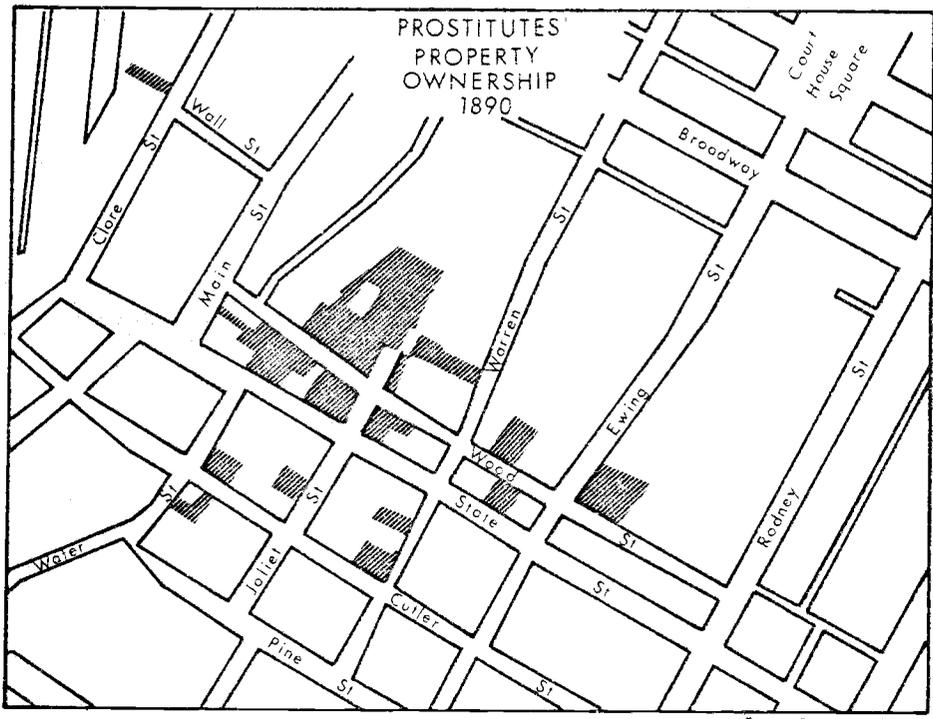
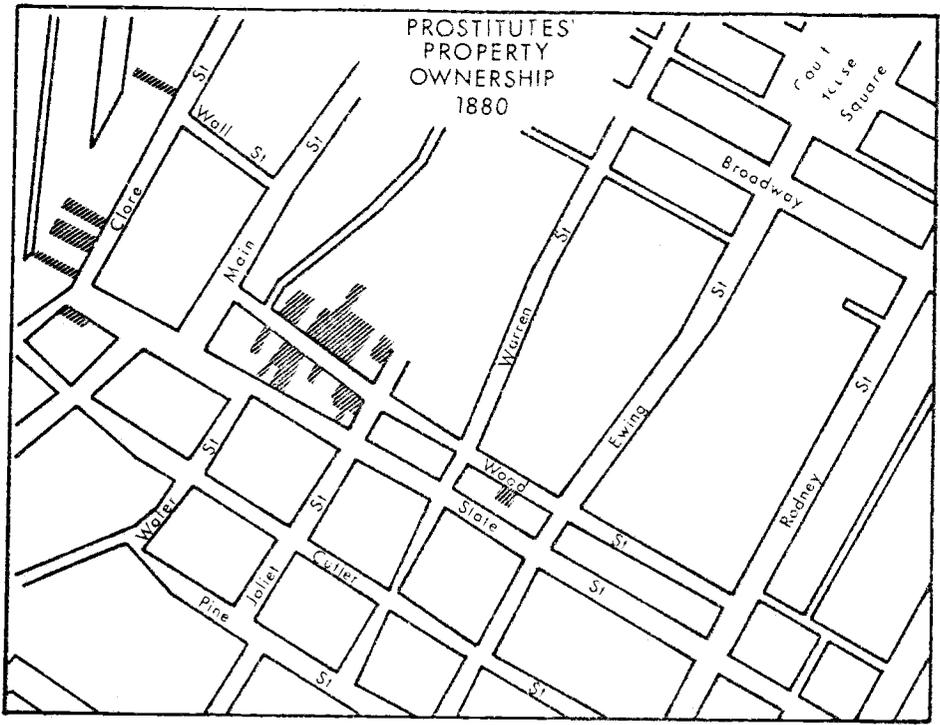


FIGURE 5: Helena, Montana 1870



From: Petrik 1981

FIGURE 6: Helena, Montana 1880 and 1890

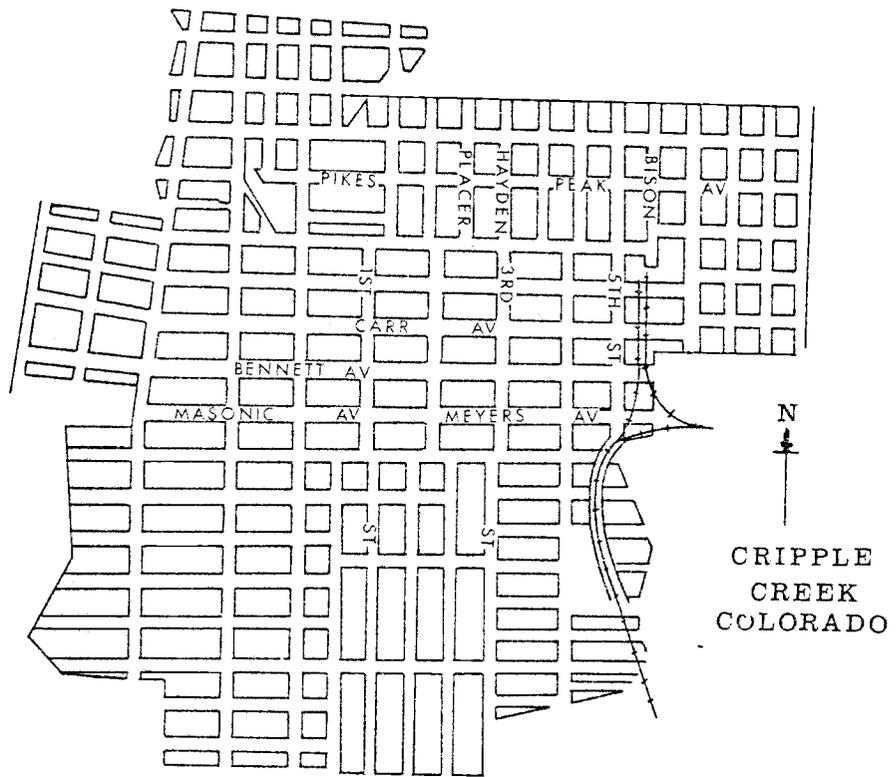


FIGURE 7: Street Map

From: Taylor 1966

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Table 1-A: Selected List of Households from the  
1853/1854 Manuscript Census of Jacksonville Oregon.

NAME	AGE
Mary Erne	35
Peter	7
Clarissa	8
Marcia Foresman	33
Catherine Jaquett	16
Irene Sobard	30
Sophia McConnaha	25
Fanny Train	27
Rebecca	1

Table 2-A: Selected List of Chinese Households in the  
Jacksonville Precinct, 1860 Census Jackson County, Oregon.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
116(61)	Chinawoman	19	F	
	Chinawoman	23	F	
246(170)	Chinaman	38	M	Miner
	Chinaman	24	M	Miner
	Chinaman	25	M	Miner
	Chinaman	20	M	Miner
	Chinawoman	21	F	
	Chinawoman	19	F	
	Chinawoman	23	F	

Table 3-A: Euro-American Women as Heads of Household in the  
1870 Census, Jacksonville Oregon.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
637(625)	Haud (or Harrd)			
	Rebecca	21	F	Keeping House
	Katry F.	3	F	
732(717)	Farmer, Narcissa	29	F	Keeping House
	Raymond L.	11	M	
	Edward L.	9	M	

Table 4-A: Selected Native American Women Listed in the  
1870 Census, Jacksonville, Oregon.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
745(729)	Lucy	20	F	Keeping House
753(737)	Annie	27	F	Keeping House
	Eliza	13	F	
	Isabel	3	F	
754(738)	Mary	45	F	Keeping House
	Eliza	25	F	Keeping House
	Maggie	2	F	
	Martha	10	F	
755(739)	Sarah	28	F	Keeping House
756(740)	Bessie	28	F	Keeping House

Table 5-A: Selected Chinese Households Listed in the  
1870 Census, Jacksonville, Oregon.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
1176(1152)	Ah, Fah	24	F	Keeping House
	Su, Lew	19	F	Keeping House
1177(1153)	Dug, Gong	18	F	Keeping House
	Chiuy, Hab	23	F	Keeping House
1178(1154)	Wang, Tah	19	F	Keeping House
1179(1155)	Tah, Su	18	F	Keeping House
1186(1156)	Que, Young	29	F	Keeping House
1181(1157)	Ah, Gung	23	F	Keeping House
	Ginny, Pak	25	F	Keeping House
1182(1158)	Tah, Eaun	23	F	Keeping House
1183(1159)	Yon, Tah	21	F	Keeping House
	Sing, Yu	20	F	Keeping House
1184(1160)	Suck, Yu	21	F	Keeping House
1183(1161)	Gin, Loy	24	F	Keeping House
1186(1162)	Givee, Laws	27	F	Keeping House
	Ha, Fah	23	F	Keeping House
1187(1163)	Sa, Mah	21	F	Keeping House
	Suck, Mah	22	F	Keeping House
1188(1164)	Su, Guin	52	M	Gambler

Table 6-A: Selected Chinese Households in the  
1880 Census Jackson County, Oregon.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
Jacksonville Precinct				
74(80)	Han, Bau	42	M	Boarding House Keeper
	Ltoy	25	F	House Keeper
	Deva, Goose	17	F	Servant/Cook
76(82)	Hau	41	M	Boarding House Keeper
	Toy, Wong	29	F	(wife) Keeping House
	Kiy, Tuy	48	M	(Boarder) no occup.
	Gin	29	F	(wife) (Boarder)
	Yhau	18months		(son) (Boarder)
79(85)	Yi, Son	36	M	Boarding House Keeper
	Toy, We	45	F	(wife)
83(82)	Yan, Si	54	M	Boarding House Keeper
	Toy, Liver	25	F	Cook
	Kau, Loy	36	F	Domestic
	Yuy, Seiv	28	F	Domestic
Uniontown Precinct				
41(36)	Gen, Lin	49	M	Miner
	Chen	36	F	(wife)
	Wy	8	M	(son)

Table 7-A: Selected Euro-American Households in the  
Jacksonville Precinct, Census of 1880, Jackson County.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
57(62)	Farmer, Narcissa	39	F	Dressmaker (divorced)
62(68)	Shipley, Florence	32	F	no occup. (widow)
169(185)	Bitton, Elizabeth	21	F	Domestic
	Susan L.	19	F	Domestic

APPENDIX B

Table 1-B: Selected Households from the  
1870 Silver City Census, Owyhee County, Idaho

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
288	Cloud, Mollie	28	F	Housekeeping
	Thiel, Kate	24	F	Housekeeping
	Stewart, Lydia	33	F	Housekeeping
	Barber, Lillie	18	F	Housekeeping
	Bally, Alice	1	F	At home
175	Willman, Annie	32	F	Housekeeping
	Thompson, A. J.	33	F	No Occupation
216	Taylor, Fannie	36	F	Housekeeping

Table 2-B: Selected Households from the  
1870 Silver City Census, Owyhee County, Idaho

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
131	Walker, L.W.	31	M	Barber
	Ramsey, Emily	34	F	Housekeeping
	Hayes, Charles	35	M	Miner
319	Webb, A.H.	42	M	Co. Treasurer
	Bernard, Susie	21	F	Housekeeping

Table 3a-B: Selected Chinese Households Listed in the  
1870 Silver City Census, Owyhee County, Idaho

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
144	Owe, Charley	37	M	Merchant
	Sue, Yen	31	F	Housekeeping
	Caw, Yee	3	F	
	Ah, Yon	20	F	No Occupation
	Yett, Ah	20	F	Housekeeping
	Ah, Sin	21	F	Housekeeping
	Yet, Heow	20	F	Housekeeping
146	Chen, Chow	30	F	Housekeeping
149	Ah, Chow	45	F	Housekeeper
156	Ah, Sow	20	F	Housekeeper
	Lucy	21	F	No Occupation
157	Ah, You	20	F	Housekeeper
158	Ah, Fan	60	F	No Occupation
	Ah, Tong	20	F	No Occupation

(Ah Fan's age may be a census error, since sixty is an extreme age for any of the Chinese enumerated in Silver City.)

160	Fun, Ah	37	M	Placer Miner
	Ah, Ah	37	M	Housekeeping
	Hoag, Kee	40	F	No Occupation
	Wan, Soy	17	F	Housekeeping
198	Ah, Sing	8	M	Housekeeping
	Young, Ah	27	F	Housekeeping
131	Susie, China	28	F	No Occupation
	Ah, Sue	32	F	Housekeeping

(Susie China and Ah Sue may have lived with Emily Ramsey and L.W. Walker based on the enumeration sequence, but this seems improbable based on the usual settlement pattern of Euro-Americans and Chinese. This is probably a census enumeration error.)

Table 3b-B: Selected List of Chinese Households in the  
1870 Silver City Census, Owyhee County, Idaho

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION
138	Ah, Kee	35	M	Placer mining
	Ah, Lin	25	F	Housekeeping
	Ah, Chow	29	M	Placer mining
	Meta	25	F	Housekeeping
140	Ah, Charley	35	M	Cook
	Gum, Ah	25	F	No Occupation

Table 4-B: Selected list of Households From the  
1880 Silver City Census, Owyhee County, Idaho

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	SEX	ETH	OCCUPATION
92	Lewis, Bertha	25	F	W	Music Teacher
95	Lineham, Nora	26	F	W	Keepinghouse
	Micheal	2	M	W	
	Mary D.	1	F	W	
110	Clapper, Maria	28	F	W	Prostitute
115	Ho, Ah	33	F	C	Prostitute
117	Ho, Ah	32	F	C	Prostitute
119	Ho, Charles	41	M	C	Cook
	Hee, Ah	37	F	C	Prostitute
122	Kum, Ah	38	F	C	Prostitute
126	Ho, Ah	30	F	C	Prostitute
	Choy, Ah	27	F	C	Prostitute
	Ton, Ah	55	M	C	Miner
128	Ho, Kum	30	F	C	Prostitute
129	Tung, Ah Kum	36	F	C	Prostitute
130	Ho, Ah	35	F	C	Prostitute
131	Kum, Ah	28	F	C	Prostitute
132	Chou, Ah	38	F	C	Prostitute
133	Hee, Ah	42	F	C	Prostitute
	See, Ah	36	F	C	Prostitute
134	Choy, Ah	41	F	C	Prostitute
	Wung, Ah	52	M	C	Cook
136	Su, Ah	19	F	C	Prostitute
141	Fah, Ah	31	F	C	Prostitute
142	Moon, Ah	50	M	C	Wood Chopper
	San, Ah	38	F	C	Prostitute
178	McIntosh, Mary	37	F	W	Prostitute
188	Lewis, Mattie	29	F	W	Prostitute
	Gin, Ah	33	M	C	Servant-Cook
213	Moy	25	F	C	Prostitute
	Lawler, James	34	M	W	Laborer

Table 5-B: Euro-American Prostitutes in the  
1900 Silver City Census, Owyhee County, Idaho

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	AGE	MARITAL	OCCUPATION
229(236)	Young, Lotte	22	Single	Head of House
	Harrington, (illeg)	23	Single	Servant
	Campbell, Edna	19	Single	Servant
228(237)	Blacker, Louise	39	Single	Head of House
229(267)	Perry, Lea	29	Widow	Head of House
	Talbot, Blanche	19	Single	(none listed)
	Davenport, Bernice	20	Single	Housekeeping
	Earl, Bonnie	22	Single	Housekeeping
	Black, May	25	Married	Housekeeping

APPENDIX C

Table C-1. Prostitutes and Probable Prostitutes,  
1870 Manuscript Census of Virginia City, Nevada.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
45 1/1	Sing Ah	M	26	cook	n	C
45 1/2	do Mons	F	26	harlot	p	C
45 1/3	Gee See	F	24	harlot	p	C
45 1/4	You Ah	F	22	harlot	p	C
46 1/1	Ching Ching	M	34	drugstore	n	C
46 1/2	do Mens	F	24	harlot	p	C
46 1/3	Wa Hi	M	21	laborer	n	C
46 5/5	Gin Si	M	40	cook	n	C
46 5/6	do Mrs	F	20	harlot	p	C
47 2/2	Leeon Chung	M	23	merchant	n	C
47 2/	do Mens	F	28	harlot	p	C
48 3/3	Meong Ah	M	28	wash house	n	C
48 3/4	do Mens	F	18	harlot	p	C
48 3/	2-washmen and 2-barkeepers also					
48 4/4	Kee Ah	M	28	gamble	n	C
48 4/5	do Mens	F	19	harlot	p	C
48 4/	2-laborers, cooks, washerman					
51 /1	Chey do	F	30	prostitute	p	C
51 /2	do do	F	19	prostitute	p	C
51 /3	Saz Chup	F	16	prostitute	p	C
51 /1	Loy Cloz	F	40	prostitute	p	C
51 /2	do Mary	F	30	prostitute	p	C
51 /1	Chuy do	F	20	prostitute	p	C
51 /2	do Gee	F	20	prostitute	p	C
52 /1	Shut Ah	F	30	prostitute	p	C
52 /2	Kee Sum	M	30	cook	n	C
52 /3	Choy Ah	F	21	prostitute	p	C
52 /4	Sing Pock	M	30	merchant	n	C
52 /5	do Sing	F	21	prostitute	p	C
52 /6	do Gin	F	19	prostitute	p	C
52 /7	Ha Sing	F	18	prostitute	p	C
52 /8	do do	F	19	prostitute	p	C
52 /1	Ah Sing	F	18	prostitute	p	C
52 /2	do Choy	F	19	prostitute	p	C
52 /1	Hee Why	F	24	prostitute	p	C
52 /2	do Choy	F	20	prostitute	p	C
52 /1	Chni Sin	F	30	prostitute	p	C
52 /2	Fing Ah	F	30	prostitute	p	C
52 /3	do do	F	28	prostitute	p	C
52 /4	Guin Sing	F	26	prostitute	p	C
52 /5	Choy Hu	F	30	prostitute	p	C
53 1/1	Fuch Ah	M	39	laborer	n	C
53 1/	do Mrs	F	23	harlot	p	C

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
53 1/	Wah Ah	M	34	w chopper	n	C
53 2/	Sing do	M	33	laborer	n	C
53 2/	do Mrs	F	34	harlot	p	C
53 2/	Ping Sue	M	30	laborer	n	C
53 3/	Sing Ella	F	23	harlot	p	C
53 3/	Guin Sally	F	20	harlot	p	C
53 9/9	Susa Lee	F	22	harlot	p	C
53 9/	Guong Ah	M	40	gambler	n	C
53 9/	2 wood choppers, also					
54 1/1	Geoltep	M	22	shoemaker	n	C
54 1/	do Mary	F	19	harlot	p	C
54 1/	Ah Poo Tom	M	30	gambler	n	C
54 1/	2 laborers, also					
54 2/2	Me Cooly	F	19	harlot	p	C
54 2/	Yuf Gee	M	33	gambler	n	C
54 3/3	Choy Mary	F	20	harlot	p	C
54 3/	Hi Ki	M	28	laborer	n	C
54 5/5	Fong Ah	M	34	washerman	n	C
54 5/	do Gee	F	20	harlot	p	C
54 5/	Pot Ah	M	33	gambler	n	C
54 6/6	Wan Ti	F	20	harlot	p	C
54 6/	Wing Sam	M	28	gambler	n	C
54 7/7	Rosa Susan	F	24	harlot	p	C
54 7/	Boe Ah	M	30	gambler	n	C
54 8/8	Sing Wing	M	34	washerman	n	C
54 8/	do Mrs	F	25	harlot	p	C
54 8/	do Su	F	5	child	n	Cn
54 9/9	Hung Ah	F	22	harlot	p	C
54 9/	do Fanny	F	19	harlot	p	C
54 9/	Fung Ah	M	33	gambler	n	C
54 10/10	Toi Tung	F	23	harlot	p	C
54 10/	Hoo Not	F	22	harlot	p	C
54 10/	Chee Ah	M	38	w peddler	n	C
54 10/	Cning Fut	M	27	w peddler	n	C
54 11/11	Uem Hung	F	22	harlot	p	C
54 11/	Hing Quany	M	33	gambler	n	C
54 11/	7 wood packers, also					
55 3/3	Ching Fing	M	33	gambler	n	C
55 3/	do S	F	32	harlot	p	C
55 3/	Yeu Choy	M	23	gambler	n	C
55 3/	China Joe	M	21	cook	n	C
55 4/4	Chung Young	M	40	gambler	n	C
55 4/	do Y	F	35	harlot	p	C
55 4/	2 washermen & 1 cook, also)					
56 1/1	Mooi Ah	F	29	harlot	p	C
56 1/	Geu Hop	F	11	harlot(sic)	p	Cc
56 1/	You Poo	F	23	harlot	p	C
56 1/	Choy Ti	F	20	harlot	p	C
56 1/	do See	F	18	harlot	p	C
56 2/2	Hee Mung	F	20	harlot	p	C

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
56 2/	Chou Ah	M	28	gambler	n	C
56 3/3	Choy Sau	F	22	harlot	p	C
56 3/	do Hing	F	34	harlot	p	C
56 3/	Whou Ah	F	22	harlot	p	C
56 3/	Kee Sou	M	36	wook packer	n	C
56 5/5	Gun Wap	F	26	harlot	p	C
56 5/	do Su	F	22	harlot	p	C
56 5/	4 laborers, also					
56 6/6	Hoe Gong	F	17	harlot	p	C
56 6/	Sing Ah	F	24	harlot	p	C
56 6/	Poo Mock	M	30	w chopper	n	C
56 7/7	Tany Ping	F	28	harlot	p	C
56 7/	Tung Lum	M	41	wood packer	n	C
56 7/	Humblot Jim	M	29	wood packer	n	C
56 9/9	Tong do	M	30	gambler	n	C
56 9/	do Mrs	F	20	harlot	p	C
56 9/	You Wong	M	4	child	n	Cc
56 10/10	Meoey Ah	M	33	laborer	n	C
56 10/	do Sue	M	3	child	n	C
56 10/	Sling Ah	F	24	harlot	p	C
56 10/	Quing do	F	22	harlot	p	C
56 10/	(4 wood packers and a laborer,)					
79 5/	Prahadus, S.	F	27	prostitute	p	SM
94 6/6	Holland, Agnes	F	28	prostitute	p	Ca
109 6/5	Wiles, Agnes	F	24	prostitute	p	G
115 3/3	Garcia, Marquita	F	25	prostitute	p	SM
116 1/1	Leonard, Enu	F	26	prostitute	p	NA
116 2/2	Wyman, Nellie	F	20	prostitute	p	NA
116 3/3	Lefever, Josephine	F	25	prostitute	p	NA
116 3/	Severance, Maud	F	25	prostitute	p	Ca
116 4/4	Wheeler, Delia	F	26	prostitute	p	NA
116 4/	Roderiques, Auna	m	31	miner	n	SC
116 5/5	McIntyre, Effa	F	25	prostitute	p	NA
	(noted as being a "prostitute of the worst order")					
116 6/6	Hickey, Maggie	F	30	prostitute	p	I
116 6/	Greeninger, Lena		28	prostitute	p	SM
116 6/	(2 laborers and a miner)					
116 7/7	Anderson, Carrie	F	23	prostitute	p	NA
116 7/	Leckand, Laurie	F	23	prostitute	p	NA
116 8/8	Smith, Alice	F	21	prostitute	p	E
116 9/9	Hatler, Emma	F	25	prostitute	p	Gb
116 10/10	Johnson, Mary	F	28	prostitute	p	Ca
116 11/11	Healy, Kàte	F	31	prostitute	p	NA
116 11/	Preston, Ida	F	22	prostitute	p	NA
116 11/	Stetley, Edith	F	26	prostitute	p	Ic
116 11/	Evans, Maggie	F	18	prostitute	p	NA
116 11/	Brown, Mary	F	26	prostitute	p	Ic
116 11/	Taylor, Fanny	F	27	prostitute	p	NA

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
116 11/	Jones, Annie	F	23	prostitute	p	NA
116 12/12	Hutchinson, Frnnie	F	23	prostitute	p	Ic
116 12/	Benjamin, Rose	F	40	prostitute	p	E
116 12/	White, Jule	F	31	prostitute	p	E
116 12/	(waiter and milkman, also)					
119 4/	Alder, Elizabeth	F	33	saloon keeper		n I
119 4/	King, Mernah	F	26	prostitute	p	NA
119 5/	Fisher, Mary	F	26	prostitute	p	F
120 6/	Belio, Refufia	F	34	prostitute	p	SM
120 6/	Yong, Annie	F	33	prostitute	p	Ic
120 6/	do Margret	F	6	child	n	NA
120 6/	Danenburg, B	M	39	miner	n	G
134 4/2	Offen, Geo	M	43	saloon keeper		n Sc
134 4/	do Louise	F	25	keeping house		G
134 4/	Smith, Maggie	F	26	prostitute	p	SM
134 4/	Suranda, Sus	F	30	prostitute	p	SM
134 4/	Nevarro, Mercedes	F	36	prostitute	p	SC
134 4/	Smith, Mary	F	23	prostitute	p	G
134 4/	Camp, Marths	F	28	prostitute	p	Ic
134 9/6	Casarie, Lucy E.	F	40	prostitute	p	SM
134 9/	Castanata, Theresa	F	24	prostitute	p	SM
134 10/7	Perceiva, Mary	F	27	prostitute	p	SM
134 10/	do Joseph	M	5	child	n	NA
135 5/3	Montor, Antoine	F	26	prostitute	p	SM
135 5/	do Manuel	M	10	child	n	SM
135 5/	(saloon keeper, seamstress, teamster, miners)					
138 6/6	Gross, Mary	F	22	harlot	p	NA
138 7/7	Ross, Annie	F	27	harlot	p	Ca
138 8/8	Baker, Annie	F	34	harlot	p	G
138 8/	do do	F	7	at home	n	NA
138 8/	do Ida	F	4	at home	n	NA
138 8/	Duttenhoffer, Louisa	F	4	at home	NA	
138 9/9	Clinton, Fannie	F	17	see note	p	NA

(note: Fannie Clinton is noted as being employed at a "hotel de refreshment")

138 9/	Fritz, May	F	17	prostitute	p	G
138 10/10	Rhaditz, Charlotte	F	34	prostitute	p	G
138 14/13	McDonald, Susan	F	26	keeps house	?	Ca
138 14/	Williams, Mary	F	28	prostitute	p	Na
138 15/14	Miller, Blanche	F	23	prostitute	p	NA
138 15/	Jacko, Josephine	F	28	prostitute	p	F

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
146 8/	Brown, Blanche	F	22	prostitute	p	Ic
146 8/	Greer, Ada	F	26	keeps house	?	E
146 9/	Summers, Eugenia	F	21	prostitute	p	NA
146 9	Will, A.G.	M	38	cook	n	B
146 10/	Cash, Jennie	F	21	prostitute	p	NA
146 10/	Campana, B.	M	42	miner	n	Sw
147 15/15	Jeffry, Geo	m	20	carpentere	n	nl
147 15/	Cassaroby, Pampou	F	23	prostitute	p	SM
148 2/2	O'Neil, Belle	F	24	prostitute	p	It
148 2/	Sullivan, Grace	F	20	prostitute	p	NA
148 4/4	O'Neil, Nelson	M	10	at school	n	NA
148 4/	do Lilly	F	7	at school	n	NA
148 5/5	Fox, Annie	F	25	prostitute	p	Ca
148 5/	--, Cora	F	3	at school	n	NA
149 5/3	Lambert, Fanny	F	29	prostitute	p	B
149 5/	Harris, Corneleus	M	27	laborer	n	B
149 5/	Augustin, John	M	70	laborer	n	B
149 6/	Simons, Rebecca	F	19	prostitute	p	B
149 6/	Baily, Lucy	F	33	prostitute	p	B
149 6/	--, Lizzie	F	17	prostitute	p	B
149 6/	Smith, Wm.	M	18	bootblack	n	B
149 6/	Armstrong, Wm.	M	44	bootblack	n	B
153 6/4	Tyler, Jennie	F	28	prostitute	p	NA
161 1/	Tarasa Geremaldo	F	23	keeps house	?	SM
161 2/	Raphat Ascovar	F	28	keeps house	?	SM
161 2/	Leadora Plates	F	11	n		SM
161 3/	Marcades Barges	F	36	keeps house	?	SM
161 4/	Luana Sanchez	F	32	keeps house	?	SM
(note: Luana Sanchez is recorded as being from lower California)						
161 5/	Pamposa Casanulo	F	27	keeps house	?	SM
161 6/	Rosa Pulerson	F	20	keeps house	m	NA
161 6/	Martin Steeple	M	23	mines	n	SM
162 5/	Lopez, Loranza	F	20	prostitute	p	SM
162 5/	Guild, Frnak	M:19		laborer	n	NA
164 6/	Teveralo, Garcea	F	29	keeps house	?	SM
164 9/	Paulo, Valancia	F	28	keeps house	m	SM
164 9/	Adolph, Anderson	M	16	mines	n	NA
164 14/	Nicholas, Silva	F	23	keeps house	?	SM
164 15/	Beante Mendosa	F	40	keeps house	?	SM
164 16/	Eddia Ramos	F	37	keeps house	?	SM
164 17/	Clauerda Daniels	F	16	keeps house	?	NA
164 18/	Antoneo Buenas	F	25	keeps house	?	SM
164 19/	Cornelia Moran	F	25	keeps house	?	SP
164 19/	William Wilen	M	4.5		n	SP
164 20/	Rosa Curvahul	F	37	keeps house	?	SM
164 20/	Gula Ortez	F	36	keeps house	?	SM
164 20/	Catheren Carvall	F	16	keeps house	?	SM
164 20/	Anton Carvall	F	20	keeps house	?	SM

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
164 21/	Josphena Alsman	F	28	keeps house	?	SP
164 21/	Mary Mitchell	F	9		?	NA
164 23/	Mary Satomyone	F	30	keeps house	?	SC
164 23/	Gorg Aguna	M	4.5		n	nl
164 23/	Rupert Aguna	M	2.5		n	nl
164 24/	Pancha Poemensella	F	3		n	nl
164 25/	Maria Garcea	F	32	keeps house	?	SM
164 25/	Madeline Shery	F	14	keeps house	?	NA
164 26/	Piteta Flores	F	36	keeps house	?	SR
164 26/	Antonia Foster	F	30	keeps house	?	SM
164 29/	Carmill Godos	F	38	keeps house	?	SR
164 30/	Pamann Arara	F	29	keeps house	?	SP
173 2/2	Mitchell, Mose	M	30	Broker	?	NA
173 2/	Buton, Nelly	F	25	milliner	m	NA

note: Index number is the household number listed in the manuscript census of 1870. Most households are listed by both a household designation number and a number within the household. (from: 1870 Census of Virginia City, Nevada. (microfilm) Geneological Library, L.D.S., Salt Lake City, Utah.)

Table C-2. Prostitutes, Probable Prostitutes and Mistresses,  
1875 Territorial Census of Virginia City, Nevada.

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
100 /16	A. Holdridge	F	30	none listed	m	NA
112 /1	K. Shea	F	33	Housekeeper	?	I
112 /2	L. Adler	F	37	none listed	?	I
112 /3	C. Fitzgerald	F	47	none listed	?	I
112 /4	M. Davis	F	29	none listed	?	I
118 /5	N. Jenkins	M	27	Miner	n	NA
118 /6	M. Stratton	F	30	none listed	m	NA
118 /7	J.C. Olney	M	38	Miner	n	NA
123 /26	E. Hoffman	F	16	Housekeeper	?	G
123 /27	J. Blake	F	37	Housekeeper	?	NA
123 /28	N. Folsom	F	35	Housekeeper	?	NA
123 /29	L. Roberts	F	35	Housekeeper	?	NA
123 /30	E. LaPage	F	20	Housekeeper	?	NA
(note: dwelling and family enumeration indicate that E. Hoffman is residing alone, J. Blake and N. Folsom share a residence, and L. Roberts and E. LaPage share a residence).						
125 /42	E. Riffell	F	17	Seamstress	n	NA
125 /43	M. Riffell	F	19	Seamstress	n	NA
126 /1	M. Clunie	F	39	Seamstress	n	I
134 /12	K. O'Shea	F	40	none listed	?	I
151 /10	J. Sullivan	F	24	none listed	?	I
151 /12	M.M. Lahey	F	18	none listed	?	NA
171 /17	N. Fay	F	22	none listed	?	NA
171 /41	E.A. McDonald	F	20	none listed	?	CA
171 /42	K. Capata	F	25	none listed	?	Sw
171 /43	C. Curtis	M	30	none listed	n	Sw
(bottom of page 171)						
172 /1	M. McManus	F	31	Boarding	?	I
172 /2	E. Fay	F	20	Boarding	?	I
199 /7	M. Fox	F	30	none listed	?	I
199 /8	--Fox	F	8	child	n	NA
234 /19	W.R. Ritchie	F	27	Seamstress	n	G
234 /20	R.R. Ritchie	M	4	child	n	NA
235 /18	L. French	F	40	Seamstress	n	NA
235 /20	E. Dagnan	F	35	Seamstress	n	I
235 /21	E. Grady	F	18	Seamstress	n	NA
239 /10	F. Norton	F	22	Seamstress	n	NA
239 /30	M. Hartnent	F	38	Seamstress	n	NA
239 /31	B. Schultz	F	24	Seamstress	n	G
239 /32	W. Menhernet	M	36	Miner	n	E
239 /33	S. Williams	F	22	none listed	m	R

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
245 /32	A. Welch	F	30	none listed	m	I
250 /20	K. Quigley	F	28	Waiter	n	I
250 /21	K. Connor	F	30	Servant	n	I
251 /1	K. Tinner	F	18	Cook	n	CA
251 /2	S. Barton	F	27	Prostitute	p	NA
251 /3	A. Wren	F	26	Prostitute	p	NA
253 /35	M. Kennedy	F	30	Housekeeper	?	I
253 /36	N. Clark	F	26	Prostitute	p	NA
253 /37	B. Rogers	F	23	Prostitute	p	NA
253 /38	L. Wright	F	24	Prostitute	p	E
259 /26	N. Paul	F	28	none listed	?	E
259 /27	A. Wallerstein	F	18	none listed	?	NA
262 /2	J. Ware	F	48	none listed	?	B
262 /3	C. Edslicks	F	18	none listed	?	M
262 /14	N. Robinson	F	30	none listed	?	O
265 /22	E. Sagess	F	40	Saloon	?	I
265 /23	K. Mallons	F	35	Saloon	?	I
265 /24	M. McCarty	F	40	Saloon	?	I
275 /32	M. Funley	F	19	Servant	?	NA
275 /33	J. Fox	F	35	Servant	?	O
275 /34	M. Branam	F	33	Servant	?	O
275 /35	B. O'Mara	F	40	Servant	?	O
279 /32	M. Hollister	F	26	none listed	?	I
279 /33	E. McCarthy	F	30	none listed	?	I
280 /1	P. Larkin	M	33	saloon	n	I
280 /2	J. Young	M	28	saloon	n	I
280 /3	S. Brown	F	16	none listed	?	NA
281 /19	K. Muggins	F	20	none listed	?	I
281 /20	M. McKenzie	F	16	none listed	?	I
284 /17	R.M. Siggs	F	38	none listed	?	NA
291 /8	R. English	F	22	servant	?	I
291 /9	S. Cradach	F	36	none listed	?	NA
293 /14	J. Smith	F	28	none listed	?	NA
295 /23	J.C. Clark	M	miner		n	NA
295 /24	M. Miller	F	30	none listed	m	I
295 /25	F. Miller	F	10	child	n	NA
295 /26	M. Miller	F	9	child	n	NA
296 /10	M. Stephens	F	28	servant	n	NA
296 /11	E. Stop	F	34	none listed	?	E
298 /10	N. Dumar	M	26	speculator	n	NA
298 /11	N. Furst	M	35	speculator	n	NA
298 /12	F. Campbell	F	25	none listed	m	NA
298 /15	M.A. Monroe	F	35	none listed	?	NA
298 /16	M. Hickley	F	34	none listed	?	NA
298 /21	W. Chapman	M	27	cabntmake	n	E
299 /1	B. Morris	F	30	none listed	m	E
300 /7	L. Burns	F	26	servant	n	I
300 /8	K. Hunter	F	26	servant	n	I
303 /24	W.J. Downs	M	40	miner	n	NA
303 /25	E. Sweet	F	30	none listed	m	NA

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
303 /26	J.C. Ford	M	24	none listed	n	NA
305 /12	M. Hamond	F	23	servant	n	I
305 /13	D. Wagner	F	14	servant	n	G
307 /3	J. Hornbrook	F	25	lodgings	?	E
307 /4	L. Patterson	F	24	none listed	?	S
307 /5	E. Buckley	F	16	none listed	?	I
307 /42	J. Wardell	M	30	Barkeeper	n	I
307 /43	K. Burks	F	23	none listed	m	I
310 /3	L. Cramor	F	29	servant	?	I
310 /4	E. Allen	F	18	none listed	?	NA
311 /18	B. Brisacher	F	22	none listed	?	G
311 /19	M.J. Henly	F	43	none listed	?	E

313 (numbers 12-pg.314-number 5 are repeat of pg.298, differences in spelling of names are as follows: Monroe/Munroe, Hickley/Hickey, Morris/Harris)

319 /39	J. O'Sullivan	M	31	saloon	n	I
319 /40	Miss Cumuroy	F	30	servant	m	I
319 /41	A. Rich	M	23	clerk	n	G
321 /30	W. McDonals	F	31	servant	n	NA
321 /31	M. McGowan	F	38	servant	n	I
327 /35	M. Alexander	F	21	none listed	?	NA
327 /36	A. Alexander	F	1	child	n	NA
334 /10	W. Davis	F	28	none listed	m	Sl
334 /11	J. Smith	M	49	carpenter	n	Sl
334 /12	F. Young	F	19	brd house	?	G
334 /13	M. Gabriel	F	33	brd house	?	F
334 /14	B. Walter	F	27	brd house	?	G
334 /15	J. Wincle	F	23	brd house	?	G
334 /16	M. Debarah	F	36	brd house	?	F
334 /17	S. Miller	F	28	brd house	?	G
334 /18	M. Piluke	F	30	brd house	?	G
334 /19	A. Papin	F	45	brd house	?	SC
334 /20	M. Bulshbum	F	35	brd house	?	G
334 /21	H.A. Briggs	F	19	brd house	?	NA
335 /1	R. Tunda	F	22	brd house	?	G
335 /2	Chinaman	M	32	servant	n	C
335 /6	E. Hamblin	F	35	none listed	?	NA
335 /7	E. Baggett	F	35	dressmaker	n	I
336 /8	A. Baggett	F	17	none listed	n	NA
335 /35	J. Knott	F	37	seamstress	n	S
335 /36	J. McQuarry	F	24	seamstress	n	CA
335 /37	F. Connelly	F	25	seamstress	n	NA
335 /38	W.H. Davis	F	30	seamstress	n	NA
337 /18	M. Allen	F	29	none listed	?	NA
337 /19	E. Duffield	F	15	none listed	?	NA

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
337 /20	H. Duffield	F	17	none listed	?	NA
337 /21	W.S. Duffield	F	13	none listed	?	NA
337 /22	A. Sanches	F	30	none listed	?	SM
337 /23	S.Margra	F	38	none listed	?	F
337 /28	M. O'Neil	F	28	bawdy house	p	CA
337 /29	R. Edwards	F	19	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /30	C. Richardson	F	30	bawdy house	p	CA
337 /31	E. Folsom	F	27	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /32	L. Burgess	F	22	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /33	L. Livingston	F	23	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /34	E. Hoyt	F	21	bawdy house	p	G
337 /35	K. Healy	F	26	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /36	A. Walker	F	20	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /37	G. Holt	F	26	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /38	A. Holt	F	24	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /39	C. Smith	F	22	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /40	A. Kirby	F	27	bawdy house	p	NA
337 /41	Chinaman	M	19	servant	n	C
337 /42	Chinaman	M	21	servant	n	C
338 /14	G. Harn	M	20	gasfitter	n	E
338 /15	P.E. Shockley	F	28	housemaid	m	E
339 /19	R. Wilson	F	33	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /20	H. Werner	F	23	bawdy house	p	G
339 /21	N. Mawes	F	25	bawdy house	p	B1
339 /22	J. Woods	F	20	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /23	A. Stone	F	26	bawdy house	p	G
339 /24	M. Lionede	F	25	bawdy house	p	F
339 /25	K. Dever	F	24	bawdy house	p	F
339 /26	M. Dubois	F	25	bawdy house	p	F
339 /27	J. Leonard	F	30	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /28	E. Bell	F	19	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /29	L. Cristy	F	16	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /30	D. Wheeler	F	29	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /31	K. Blake	F	30	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /32	F. Castello	F	20	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /33	N. Castello	F	18	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /34	M. Davis	F	22	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /35	Chinaman	M	26	servant	n	C
339 /36	M. Blanche	F	33	bawdy house	p	F
339 /37	N. Davis	F	21	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /38	M. Scott	F	24	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /39	G. Berry	F	20	bawdy house	p	NA
339 /40	J. Nicholls	F	17	bawdy house	p	E
339 /41	F. Paux	F	19	bawdy house	p	F
340 /1	M. Merville	F	22	bawdy house	p	E
340 /2	M. Camill	F	27	bawdy house	p	F
(end of page 340)						
341 /22	J. Farley	F	30	servant	m	I
341 /34	M. Murphy	F	25	servant	n	I
341 /35	E. Farley	F	21	servant	n	I

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
341 /37	C. Thompson	F	42	none listed	?	I
(note: Cad Thompson was a well known and respected madam in Virginia City).						
341 /38	D. Mercer	F	20	none listed	?	NA
341 /39	K. Reesse	F	26	none listed	?	NA
341 /40	H. McCleary	F	21	none listed	?	NA
341 /41	L. Whight	F	17	none listed	?	NA
341 /42	J. Campbell	F	23	none listed	?	NA
341 /43	Chinaman	M	19	servant	n	C
342 /5	J. Assamora	F	19	none listed	?	SC
342 /6	L. Campo	F	32	none listed	?	SC
342 /10	P. Flores	F	35	none listed	?	SR
342 /11	M. Harvey	F	45	none listed	?	SC
343 /23	K. Perry	F	30	none listed	m	E
343 /24	R.M. Prince	M	35	barber	n	E
343 /34	K. Pantwig	F	46	none listed	?	G
343 /35	P. Winkler	F	39	none listed	?	G
344 /15	A. Gorono	F	28	courtesan	p	SM
344 /16	S. Brown	F	37	courtesan	p	SM
344 /17	B. Roderieuges	F	25	courtesan	p	SM
345 /26	L. Greeninger	F	35	none listed	m	G
347 /2	E. George	F	16	none listed	m	NA
347 /4	G. Remaldo	F	32	courtesan	p	Gr
347 /5	L. Lewis	F	36	courtesan	p	SM
347 /12	N. Harris	F	32	none listed	?	NA
347 /14	C. Caughran	F	38	none listed	?	I
347 /17	J. Lind	F	42	courtesan	p	NA
347 /34	M. Lewis	F	21	none listed	?	NA
347 /35	B. Lewis	F	4	child	n	NA
347 /36	F. Norton	F	16	none listed	?	NA
350 /4	L. Barron	F	20	servant	n	NA
350 /5	M. Gallagher	F	30	servant	n	NA
353 /5	M. Larkin	F	35	seamstress	n	I
353 /6	H. Hatch	F	37	seamstress	n	NA
353 /7	C. Batcher	F	46	seamstress	n	NA
353 /8	E. Webster	F	23	seamstress	n	E
353 /34	E.A. Stover	F	39	none listed	m	NA
353 /41	N.M. Emery	F	44	none listed	m	NA
359 /17	A.D. Scott	F	38	housekeeper	m	B
359 /18	W. Cronin	M	48	none listed	n	B
362 /11	M. Saller	F	29	none listed	m	E
365 /19	W.W. Scoggers	F	46	none listed	m	NA
367 /24	K. Klefton	F	25	courtesan	p	NA
367 /25	R. Jones	F	21	courtesan	p	NA
369 /23	Chinawoman	F	20	courtesan	p	C
369 /24	Chinawoman	F	27	courtesan	p	C
369 /25	Chinawoman	F	30	courtesan	p	C
369 /26	Chinawoman	F	28	courtesan	p	C
369 /29	Chinawoman	F	30	courtesan	p	C
369 /30	Chinawoman	F	18	courtesan	p	C

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
369 /31	Chinawoman	F	20	courtesan	p	C
369 /32	Chinawoman	F	20	courtesan	p	C
369 /40	Chinawoman	F	40	courtesan	p	C
369 /41	Chinawoman	F	30	courtesan	p	C
369 /42	Chinawoman	F	29	courtesan	p	C
369 /43	Chinawoman	F	31	courtesan	p	C
370 /7	Chinawoman	F	40	courtesan	p	C
370 /8	Chinawoman	F	28	courtesan	p	C
370 /9	Chinawoman	F	21	courtesan	p	C
373 /16	Chinawoman	F	24	courtesan	p	C
373 /17	Chinawoman	F	21	courtesan	p	C
373 /18	Chinawoman	F	29	courtesan	p	C
373 /19	Chinawoman	F	24	courtesan	p	C
374 /4	Chinawoman	F	18	courtesan	p	C
374 /5	Chinawoman	F	19	courtesan	p	C
374 /6	Chinawoman	F	29	courtesan	p	C
374 /7	Chinawoman	F	37	courtesan	p	C
374 /8	Chinawoman	F	41	courtesan	p	C
374 /13	Chinawoman	F	18	courtesan	p	C
374 /14	Chinawoman	F	20	courtesan	p	C
374 /19	Chinawoman	F	18	courtesan	p	C
374 /20	Chinawoman	F	21	courtesan	p	C
374 /21	Chinawoman	F	27	courtesan	p	C
(end of page)						
375 /1	Chinawoman	F	30	courtesan	p	C
375 /2	Chinawoman	F	24	courtesan	p	C
375 /5	Chinawoman	F	19	courtesan	p	C
375 /6	Chinawoman	F	18	courtesan	p	C
375 /8	Chinawoman	F	26	courtesan	p	C
375 /9	Chinawoman	F	19	courtesan	p	C
375 /10	Chinawoman	F	17	courtesan	p	C
375 /11	Chinawoman	F	29	courtesan	p	C
375 /13	Chinawoman	F	30	courtesan	p	C
375 /14	Chinawoman	F	27	courtesan	p	C
375 /22	Chinawoman	F	18	courtesan	p	C
375 /23	Chinawoman	F	21	courtesan	p	C
275 /24	Chinawoman	F	25	courtesan	p	C
375 /27	Chinawoman	F	24	courtesan	p	C
375 /28	Chinawoman	F	19	courtesan	p	C
375 /29	Chinawoman	F	18	courtesan	p	C
375 /30	Chinawoman	F	19	courtesan	p	C
375 /31	Chinawoman	F	24	courtesan	p	C
375 /32	Chinawoman	F	21	courtesan	p	C
(379 to 382 /12 is the Orphanage ran by the Sisters of Charity)						
382 /15	Chinawoman	F	23	none listed	?	C
382 /16	Chinawoman	F	18	none listed	?	C
382 /17	Chinawoman	F	27	none listed	?	C
385 /12	Chinawoman	F	18	none listed	?	C
385 /13	Chinawoman	F	20	none listed	?	C

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
385 /14	Chinawoman	F	26	none listed ?		C
389 /9	Chinawoman	F	19	none listed ?		C
389 /10	Chinawoman	F	30	none listed ?		C
391 /17	Chinawoman	F	20	none listed ?		C
391 /18	Chinawoman	F	23	none listed ?		C
391 /19	Chinawoman	F	25	none listed ?		C
391 /20	Chinawoman	F	28	none listed ?		C
391 /21	Chinawoman	F	19	none listed ?		C
391 /22	Chinawoman	F	24	none listed ?		C
391 /28	Chinawoman	F	29	none listed ?		C
391 /29	Chinawoman	F	32	none listed ?		C
391 /30	Chinawoman	F	20	none listed ?		C
391 /31	Chinawoman	F	19	none listed ?		C
393 /35	Chinawoman	F	29	none listed ?		C
393 /36	Chinawoman	F	19	none listed ?		C
395 /39	Chinawoman	F	19	none listed ?		C
395 /40	Chinawoman	F	22	none listed ?		C
395 /41	Chinawoman	F	29	none listed ?		C
396 /14	Chinawoman	F	26	none listed ?		C
396 /15	Chinawoman	F	18	none listed ?		C
396 /16	Chinawoman	F	17	none listed ?		C
401 /36	C. Mareno	F	28	courtesan	p	SP
401 /39	E. Ryes	F	36	courtesan	p	SM
401 /42	L. Labiney	F	20	courtesan	p	SM
401 /43	M. Thressa	F	21	courtesan	p	SM
402 /1	J. Martinez	F	24	courtesan	p	SM
402 /2	C. Gareias	F	26	courtesan	p	SM
402 /3	P. Pruntell	F	28	courtesan	p	SM
402 /4	M. Sperry	F	16	courtesan	p	SM
402 /5	M. Stewart	F	25	courtesan	p	I
402 /6	R. Williams	F	22	courtesan	p	NA
402 /7	E. Reginor	F	26	courtesan	p	F
402 /8	A. Marniche	F	29	courtesan	p	F
402 /9	A. Smith	F	30	courtesan	p	NA
402 /10	D. Bennett	F	29	courtesan	p	NA
402 /11	J. Dubois	F	35	courtesan	p	F
402 /14	I. Grear	F	33	courtesan	p	E
402 /15	L. Stern	F	24	courtesan	p	NA
402 /16	D. Bennett	F	32	courtesan	p	NA
402 /17	M. Dradaux	F	26	courtesan	p	F
402 /18	E. Levey	F	35	courtesan	p	Ca
402 /19	M. Restan	F	26	courtesan	p	NA
408 /1	L. Hanson	F	27	none listed ?		G
408 /2	A. Chambers	F	30	none listed ?		NA
408 /3	N. Stone	F	24	none listed ?		NA
415 /2	Mrs. Dickson	F	25	none listed ?		NA
415 /3	Mrs. Derby	F	28	none listed ?		NA
416 /1	Mrs. Jackson	F	35	none listed ?		NA
417 /13	F. Fly	F	17	none listed ?		NA
417 /33	M. Allabaugh	F	26	none listed ?		NA

TABLE C-2: VIRGINIA CITY, NEV. 1875 CENSUS

HOUSEHOLD	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUP	CODE	ETH
427 /18	A. Kennedy	F	28	none listed	?	I
435 /42	W.D. Hamilton	F	27	housekeeper	?	G
435 /43	N. Hamilton	F	10	child	n	NA
(end of page 435)						
436 /1	J. Loner	M	37	millman	n	G
436 /2	A. Perkins	F	24	housekeeper	m	Ca
436 /3	N. Perkins	F	2	child	n	NA
436 /4	A. Bettinson	M	40	none listed	n	Ca
513 /24	A.M. Bradford	F	33	none listed	m	NA
517 /14	K. Pendegast	F	20	none listed	m	NA
535 /9	A. Riley	F	35	none listed	m	I
539 /18	I. Maltesta	F	14	none listed	m	NA
557 /36	M. Levitt	F	20	none listed	?	I
557 /37	M. Connors	F	21	none listed	?	I
577 /26	M. Anglon	F	16	none listed	?	NA
579 /15	Chinawoman	F	28	none listed	?	C
579 /16	Chinawoman	F	23	none listed	?	C
579 /17	Chinawoman	F	22	none listed	?	C
579 /26	Chinawoman	F	27	none listed	?	C
579 /27	Chinawoman	F	25	none listed	?	C
587 /40	Chinawoman	F	24	none listed	?	C
587 /41	Chinawoman	F	18	none listed	?	C
597 /43	C. Joice	F	24	none listed	?	NA
598 /1	A. Joice	F	5	none listed	n	NA
598 /2	J. Doublebies	F	20	none listed	?	NA
607 /22	L. Force	F	40	none listed	m	NA
609 /33	I. Werner	F	30	none listed	m	NA
614 /4	Chinawoman	F	24	courtesan	p	NA

## KEY FOR TABLES C-1 AND C-2

O = No Origin Listed  
Bl = Belgium  
B = Black  
Ca = Canada  
C = Chinese  
    (Cc = Chinese born in Calif,  
      Cn = Chinese born in Nevada)  
E = English  
F = French  
G = German (Gb = Bavaria)  
Gr = Grenada  
    (women from Grenada has a Spanish surname)  
Ic = Iceland  
I = Irish  
It = Italy  
M = Mulato  
nl = not legible  
NA = United States of North America  
R = Russian  
S = Scandanvian  
Sl = Scotland  
S = Spanish  
    (SC = Chili (sic), SP = Panama,  
      SM = Mexico, SR = Peru)  
Sw = Switzerland

## KEY TO CODE COLUMN

p = prostitute  
? = probable prostitute  
m = mistress  
n = non-prostitute

## OCCUPATIONAL LISTING KEY

brd house = boarding house  
cabnt make = cabinet maker  
w chopper = wood chopper

note: The numbers listed under the column heading household are the page number and location on the page in Table C-2, in Table C-1 they reflect the page and household as enumerated. (from: Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Eight Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, Vol. 3. Carson City, Nevada, 1877.)