

MONEY AND ILL FAME: INTERPRETING A PROSTITUTION HIERARCHY IN FARGO,
NORTH DAKOTA'S HISTORICAL RED-LIGHT DISTRICT

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ABSTRACT

Many inhabitants of early Fargo sought economic opportunities in the local sex trade, and the intersectionality of class, gender, sexuality, and race was central to their varying degrees of success. Police Magistrate Court dockets, Sanborn maps, and Census records offer valuable datasets for linguistic and spatial analyses of prostitution-related crimes, revealing a hierarchy of sex work that differentiated between brothel, crib, and street prostitution. Gender inequalities also persisted within the hierarchy; male clientele were often charged and fined differently from female sex workers. GIS analyses reveal two distinct red-light districts, and highlight brothel differences and racial segregation within the red-light district known as “The Hollow.” Critical theory and practice theory help conceptualize the red-light district as an institution, while exposing the power dynamics at play. This thesis offers new insights into Fargo’s historical red-light district, but also contributes to larger historical and archaeological discussions of prostitution hierarchies, gender, and race.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The business of prostitution thrived in many cities and towns during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Fargo, North Dakota was no exception. “Houses of ill fame” provided a euphemistic, yet unmistakable name for the residences and businesses of many madams and prostitutes involved in Fargo’s historical sex trade. In fact, these buildings represented part of a larger industry located in a marginal space: the red-light district. However, brothel prostitution was not the only form of sex work that followed the emerging frontier; streetwalking and other independent forms of prostitution offered a livelihood that was more flexible, though less lucrative for many sex workers. By focusing on various types of prostitution within the red-light district of turn-of-the-century Fargo, North Dakota, this research seeks to explain how socioeconomic statuses were negotiated within this industry. The intersectionality of sexuality, race, and gender guides this research and analysis, resulting in a broader, fundamental understanding of Fargo’s diverse sex trade.

Archaeologists and the Study of Prostitution

From finding women in the archaeological record to piecing together complex dynamics within the sex trade, the study of historical prostitution is evolving within the discipline of historical archaeology. Archaeologists have been intrigued by turn-of-the-century prostitution in North America for several decades, and the subject remains relevant as new questions are asked, new collaborations are formed, and new sites are uncovered. While historians have engaged with the subject of historical prostitution for a longer time, archaeologists bring new dimensions to the subject, most notably via their analysis of material culture. Key historical sources, such as Ruth Rosen’s (1982) *The Lost Sisterhood* and Timothy Gilfoyle’s (1992) *City of Eros*, are heavily cited by archaeologists.

Initial Sex Trade Studies within Archaeology

Archaeological investigations by cultural resource management firms initially brought the subject of historical prostitution to the field in the 1980s, but little was published beyond technical site reports (Seifert 1991). As archaeologists adopted postmodern and feminist perspectives in the early 1990s, opportunities arose for more nuanced archaeological studies concerning women (e.g., see Conkey and Gero 1991; Spector 1993), and the topic of historical sex work fit easily into this changing academic climate. Surveys and excavations in Washington, D.C. were especially central to the development of prostitution-related research in historical archaeology, and Donna Seifert was instrumental in publishing on the results of those investigations (Cheek and Seifert 1994; Seifert 1991, 1994).

2005 Issue of Historical Archaeology

The “Sin City” issue of *Historical Archaeology*, edited by Seifert (2005), provided a strong foundation for subsequent studies on historical prostitution. The majority of articles within the issue dealt with prostitution in large, urban settings, and the authors focused primarily on the intimate daily lives of brothel prostitutes and madams. Brothel archaeology had become more common, and its scholars tended to focus on the buildings that housed bawdy acts, whether the buildings were residences, businesses, or both. The studies that stemmed from this more organized form of prostitution, primarily in brothels, sought to illuminate the daily lives of working women within these establishments. Items such as food remains, household décor, ceramic wares, and clothing provided new insight into the prostitutes’ lived experiences, and their consumption patterns could be compared to those of their clients and neighbors. The method for analyzing proportions of household artifact assemblages proposed by Stanley South (1977) has been adopted by brothel archaeologists to compare brothel artifact assemblages with those of neighboring working-class households and other brothels (e.g., Costello 2003; Meyer et

al. 2005; Seifert 1991, 1994; Seifert and Balicki 2005; Seifert et al. 2000; Spude 2005; Yamin 2005).

These detailed studies of consumption patterns unveiled an important reality faced by many turn-of-the-century prostitutes. Archaeologists steered away from romanticized images of wealthy prostitutes and did not dwell on the moral judgement or criminality of their actions. The scholars instead used their analyses to explain how the sex trade (and its employees) fit into the social, cultural, and economic conditions of the era. Archaeologists have found evidence of conspicuous consumption within the brothel, while the prostitutes likely maintained a working-class lifestyle after hours (see Ketz et al. 2005 [St. Paul, Minnesota], Meyer et al. 2005 [Los Angeles], and Yamin 2005 for additional examples).

In addition to prostitutes, madams serve as another window into the daily workings of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century brothel. Research on madams Mary Ann Hall (O'Brien 2005; Seifert and Balicki 2005; Seifert et al. 2000) and Nina Clifford (Ketz et al. 2005) has demonstrated the value of documentary evidence as complementary to the material culture excavated at these Washington, D.C. and St. Paul brothel sites. Through these efforts, brothel hierarchies have been teased apart and nuances within and between brothels have become increasingly clearer.

Thomas Crist's (2005) article introduced another important theme related to prostitution: sexuality. His article on neonatal and fetal remains from a Five Points privy provides insight into prostitute pregnancies and the surrounding social climate during the mid-1800s. Whether the skeletal remains were the result of an induced abortion or a miscarriage, the treatment of the remains demonstrates a pressing urgency to dispose of them.

The predominance of brothel studies, as opposed to more independent forms of prostitution such as streetwalking, in archaeology is mainly due to the discovery of such sites during salvage excavations spurred by urban development projects (Voss 2008). The availability of large material culture datasets has likely contributed to the leading focus on consumption patterns in the research. Importantly, these studies' foundations in cultural resource management (CRM) give brothel archaeology a unique position in historical archaeology as they have encouraged many CRM archaeologists to publish on their brothel research (e.g., see Cook 1989).

Beyond the “Sin City” Issue

In response to the narrow focus on madams and brothel prostitutes, Barbara Voss (2008) has called for greater diversity in the subjects of prostitution-related studies in historical archaeology. She argues that new studies should consider men, children, and other individuals involved in the brothels. Voss also criticizes the overwhelming economic emphasis in brothel studies, which does not incorporate complex social motivations and desires related to prostitution. She offers exploratory examples such as Costello's (2000) narrative of the historic Los Angeles red-light district and Dawdy and Weyhing's (2008) alternative interpretations of rouge pot fragments.

New Directions in Research on Historical Sex Work

The following chapters bring an archaeologist's interpretations of historical prostitution to Fargo, North Dakota. This project pairs archival documents with anthropological questions to investigate wealth in Fargo's turn-of-the-century red-light district. In the next chapter, a combination of critical and practice theories set up the conceptual framework for considering Fargo's red-light district an institution, and the intersectionality of sexuality, gender, and race contextualizes the subsequent analyses. Chapter Three presents the research questions and rich archival records (as opposed to material culture) that provided the primary evidence for this

research. Chapter Four situates Fargo's sex trade within a local context of the era, drawing on previous historical vice studies in the Fargo-Moorhead area and analyzing relevant events and challenges that sex workers confronted. The new research begins in Chapter Five, where the terminology of criminal charges in arrest records helps tease apart a hierarchy of prostitution that affected both sex workers and their clients. The final analysis chapter, Chapter Six, narrows the focus of the study by mapping arrest records with addresses and adding a spatial consideration to the hierarchy. U. S. Census data are then paired with Sanborn maps to home in on who exactly was running Fargo's most notorious brothels. Chapter Seven closes the discussion with a review of the findings and ideas for further research.

Overall, this thesis presents new and important findings on historical sex work in Fargo. The results of the arrest record analysis reveal a three-tiered hierarchy of prostitution, for which certain brothel madams reaped many benefits with their strategic business model. Yet, the men involved in the sex trade still managed to come out ahead. In addition, the spatial analysis uncovers two distinct red-light districts and investigated racial segregation and wealth disparities in the most prominent of those districts. By speaking to the value of historical documents and expanding on the existing literature, this thesis offers a resource for new studies on historical sex work in Fargo, North Dakota and beyond.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

An institutional framework founded in both critical and practice theories will provide the necessary theoretical context for analyzing the red-light district in early Fargo and how it can be contextualized within the larger society. Critical theory will be used to investigate why inequalities existed within the prostitution hierarchy. Class and socioeconomic status of the red-light district's inhabitants will play a particularly important role in this analysis. Further, concepts from practice theory will be used to analyze the relationships within the red-light district and between the red-light district and the larger society. Agency, structure, and fields of action will be presented as the foundation for this theoretical framework. The intersectionality of race, sexuality, and gender will also be considered.

Critical Theory in Archaeology

Prior to its arrival in the field of archaeology, critical theory stemmed from the convergence of several early theorists' ideas. Marxism provided the foundation for critical theory as it sought to understand and become critical of capitalism in the twentieth century. Initially led by the Frankfurt School of Philosophy, critical theory aimed to unmask lived realities in capitalist societies by concentrating on epistemologies. In other words, these Western philosophers wanted to understand the origins of their knowledge in order to be free from coercion, and critical theory offered a highly reflexive approach that allowed such an assessment. This "enlightened" understanding of their capitalist society helped explain social and economic inequalities that were deeply (and until then, covertly) rooted in their own social context (Leone et al. 1987).

Structural Marxist Louis Althusser was also instrumental in the development of concepts that would eventually be utilized by critical archaeologists. Althusser built upon Marxist ideas using the influential concept of "ideologies" to expose capitalist epistemologies, and he

explained that these ideologies existed to maintain and legitimize the deep-seated power that elites held in society. He argued that ideologies are both political and anti-scientific because they mask social issues that are inherently caused by the overarching political system (Althusser 1969). This critical reflexivity and conception of ideologies soon became relevant in many disciplines related to archaeology, such as history and museum studies (Leone et al. 1987). In addition, Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony and Lukacs's aim to reveal ideological connections between the past and the present contributed to the intellectual base for critical archaeology (Leone et al. 1987).

Mark Leone was one of the original critical archaeologists and primary motivators behind the application of critical theory in historical archaeological contexts during the 1970s and 1980s. He was joined by colleagues Parker Potter and Paul Shackel in this endeavor (Leone et al. 1987). Their research synthesized critical theory and the concept of a capitalist ideology. This theoretical framework responded to past (and consequently, present) social inequalities, which at that time remained insufficiently explored by archaeologists. Due to its Marxist origins, critical archaeology primarily concentrated on capitalist studies. Marxist concepts of class and class conflict created a framework for discussions on social status, and Althusser's "ideologies" became synonymous with capitalism in critical archaeology (McGuire 2006). In a foundational article on critical archaeology by Leone et al. (1987), the authors argued that the lack of consciousness within the Western capitalist ideology has contributed to the maintenance of ideological power both historically and in the modern day. The authors proposed that archaeologists should take a critical, reflexive approach to their archaeological studies and present past ideological power in a way that illuminates the same power structures that continue to be reproduced today. Leone often supported this perspective by citing examples of institutions

that physically and symbolically upheld such inequalities. The ultimate goal of critical archaeology is to effect social change by unmasking this power-driven ideology.

Critical archaeology developed alongside processualism and post-processualism, and therefore, maintained an interest in both positivism as well as context and meaning. This was especially significant because these concepts stood in direct opposition to each other during some of the larger archaeological debates at that time (e.g., Binford 1982; Hodder 1982). In this sense, critical archaeology hopes to blend these perspectives by connecting quantitative archaeological data with particular social, cultural, and economic contexts at individual historic sites (Leone et al. 1987). For example, Leone was particularly critical of museums like Colonial Williamsburg in Williamsburg, Virginia. He argued that class-contextual artifacts and other forms of material culture were presented as completely independent of the larger contexts and themes to which they were inherently intertwined, such as “poverty, slavery, or emancipation” (Leone 1995:254).

Another of Leone’s (1995) applications of critical archaeology focused on elite architectural styles in Annapolis and Baltimore. These case studies highlighted a baroque building style in Annapolis, which exhibited radiating streets from the city’s federal buildings. This design consistently brought an individual’s gaze back to the central site of power. Alternatively, a panoptic style in Baltimore utilized towering monuments (often with rooms at the top of these buildings that offered 360-degree views) that kept a watchful eye on individuals, encouraging self-disciplined behavior. Though different, both architectural styles served the same function: to subtly maintain a power structure that was engrained in a class-based hierarchy. Interestingly, Leone relies heavily on Foucault’s (1977) *Discipline and Punish* to support his analysis of panoptic architecture and power in Baltimore. Leone acknowledges that

Foucault's theoretical approach was not part of his earlier work, but he argues that Foucault's discussions of power help push political discourse in archaeology forward, ultimately tying Foucault's work back to critical theory.

Leone et al. (2005) have further applied critical theory in their examination of formal gardens, which were prevalent in late seventeenth-century Annapolis. The authors suggest here that the layout of William Paca's well-maintained garden provided an optical illusion that directed an onlooker's gaze to the house and made it appear larger and more impressive. They argue that gardens like these also upheld a slaveholder ideology, which clearly conveyed inherent hierarchical relationships between slave and slave owner. Institutionalized hierarchies have been an important subject for critical theory scholars like Mark Leone and his colleagues, and they invite researchers to critically question the presence and effects of these hierarchies on real-world situations.

Practice Theory in Archaeology

Practice theory gained ground in the 1980s and 1990s, and it developed as a response to the rigid theoretical frameworks of structuralism and systems theory. Practice theorists sought to challenge the rigidity of structure by considering the actions of individuals, or "agency." Archaeologists have found the concept of agency very useful in studies of past cultures not only because it considers the individual, but because it considers the habitual, or daily, practices that create archaeological assemblages. The concept of agency and its application in archaeology have transformed quickly in the past several decades, leading to rich new approaches to practice theory. Two notable scholars who contributed to the foundation of practice theory as it is used in archaeology today are anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu and sociologist Anthony Giddens (Johnson 2010).

It is worth mentioning that agency is also an important theoretical concept in the discipline of history. Walter Johnson (2003) offers a thought-provoking and critical essay on slave agency in historical scholarship. He argues that the efforts by historians to “give slaves back their agency” does more to widen the gap between white scholars and the history of slavery than to reinvent the narrative on the humanity and resistance of slaves. Johnson offers connections to today’s racial discourse to bridge this divide in the discipline more effectively. I would also point out that this connection of past and present inequalities coincides with Mark Leone’s use of critical theory from the previous section, entangling the concept of agency within critical theory.

Agency’s First Applications in Archaeology

The first applications of agency in archaeology responded to the way humans of past cultures were construed as passive participants in larger systemic and structural contexts, or as “faceless blobs,” as Ruth Tringham (1991:94) aptly noted. However, this first wave of agency popularity focused on the actions of aggrandizing individuals, resulting in a top-down framework that often favored the actions of powerful men. Also known as “methodological individualism,” this framework considered only intentional action, neglected the agency of other individuals, and consequently supported a rigid and unchanging conception of structure (Pauketat 2001).

Foundations of Practice Theory

Criticisms of structuralism soon triggered another shift, which offered a more inclusive framework than methodological individualism. Bourdieu’s work is perhaps the most well-known of this kind in anthropology. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu (1979) advanced these ideas by considering individuals as thoughtful and creative. His concept of “habitus” focused on daily, individual actions that reproduce conditions within a structure. Bourdieu differed from traditional structuralists because this reproduction via habitus resulted in a constantly changing

social structure. Bourdieu's ideas encouraged the conceptualization of dynamic structures, which were achieved by action, or practice, rather than by the passive duplication of static rules.

Anthony Giddens also presented groundbreaking work, which spoke directly to the relationship between agency and structure. In works such as *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration*, Giddens (1984) described this relationship as dialectical, in which individual agency and structure recursively influence each other. Like Bourdieu's focus on individual action, Giddens' concept of agency negated the passive, mechanical responses to structure and allowed for creativity and strategic manipulation of a larger system. Giddens' theory of "structuration" was also similar to Bourdieu's ideas in that it favored a dynamic conception of structure. In both cases, these scholars were determined to present alternatives to the unchanging model of structure that had dominated in the social sciences for decades.

Fields of Action

Anthropologist John Barrett (1988) drew from work on practice theory and concepts such as agency and structure when he coined the term "fields of discourse." Known more commonly today as fields of *action* (Robb 2010), fields of discourse provide the context for individual action that occurs within a structure or system. As Barrett (1988:11) states, "[t]he analytical strength of the field of discourse is threefold: it is concerned with human relationships not material entities; time-space is fundamental to its definition; and it refuses single units of material residues fixed historical meaning." Specifically, this concept relies on *tempo* (frequency in which the field is active or meaningful), spatial extent (such as the extent of a building or space for potential human interaction), cultural resources (such as objects, materials, or bodies involved in the discourse), and transformations of cultural resources (which inevitably occur as a field is reproduced). The final component, transformations of resources, also reproduces authority within the discourse within this iterative process. Barrett's dialectical relationships

between action and the overarching structure reveal strong roots in Giddens' iterative concept of "structuration."

John Robb (2010) described institutions as fields of action, which provide a conceptual link between an overarching structure and a particular action. He offers examples of institutions such as trade or warfare, through which other means are achieved (that is, political organization or reaffirmation of masculinity, respectively). Within these contexts, individuals also engage in different actions, and the acceptability of these actions is unconsciously understood within a culture. This allows individuals to transition seamlessly between social contexts.

Relational Agency

This next phase of agency in archaeology allowed the concept to extend beyond the individual human. In fact, this focus on the individual had been critiqued for its biases toward Western conceptions of personhood (Strathern 1988). In response, new theoretical approaches to agency have been explored. Several notable examples include Alfred Gell (1992) and Bruno Latour (2005), who have explored material agency, or the agency of objects.

Importantly, agency has also been defined by relationships between individuals. John Robb explains:

Agency, like power, is not characteristic of individuals but of relationships. Action is fundamentally social; even when acting in isolation for purposes that concern only ourselves, we enact and recreate an identity originally created through relationships with others, we participate in well-defined genres of activity and we use inter-subjective practices and meanings learned through interaction with others. (Robb 2010:499)

According to Robb, fields of action are contexts for acceptable actions, which people intuitively understand. He warns against using fields of action as deterministic boundaries for actions, as

individuals still maintain the ability to be creative, ironic, etc. within such a context. While at first glance the institution seems to be another deterministic model that disregards individuals' actions, inmates within these institutions often maintain the ability to manipulate their surroundings to their advantage, as will be discussed in the following sections. In one example, female inmates were restricted within a correctional institution, but archaeological evidence suggests that these women creatively established sexual networks within the institution to obtain restricted items (Casella 2000).

Synthesizing Critical Theory and Practice Theory in the Red-Light District

Not all questions about Fargo's red-light district can be answered using one theoretical framework or the other. Therefore, critical theory is used to explain how the red-light district reproduced an unquestioned capitalist ideology and business model, and with this commercial model came socioeconomic inequalities. On the other hand, practice theory and the concept of agency frame the analysis of daily activities and emphasize the value of strategic decision-making on behalf of the red-light district's inhabitants.

Conceptualizing prostitution as a social institution weaves together these two lines of theoretical thought, since institutions have played a prominent role in this discussion of both critical theory and practice theory. These two frameworks converge upon the ideas of power, agency, and structure as they appear in the literature regarding institutions. Madams and prostitutes strategically manipulated the social and legal constraints of their profession, which permitted them to carry out their business within this structure. Practice theory explains the institution of prostitution as a unique field of action. Actions are contextualized, and the red-light district provided a new context for otherwise unacceptable sex acts and gendered activities. Certain actions were acceptable inside the red-light district that would have been unacceptable outside of this space. Approaching prostitution as an institution opens a window into both critical

and practice theories, as it provides a way to bridge different, yet related ideas from these theoretical frameworks.

Institutions

Several scholars have used the term “institution of prostitution” (e.g., Pateman 2006:60-62, Richardson 2013:6, Yamin 2005:4); however, this term is often taken for granted. The following section will delve into some of the relevant theoretical literature to unpack the concept of an institution so that it can be applied to a sex trade context. This review will help conceptualize the concept of an institution and will set the framework for a deeper analysis of Fargo’s sex workers in terms of their identities within and outside of the institution of prostitution.

Erving Goffman’s (2007) discussion of institutions divides the concept into multiple categories, and differentiates social institutions from “total institutions.” He defines total institutions by their physical components, describing “their encompassing or total character [which] is symbolized by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, cliffs, water, forests, or moors” (2007:4). Some examples of these total institutions include mental hospitals, prisons, convents, and boarding schools.

In addition to total institutions, Goffman discusses “social institutions.” He describes them as “institutions in the everyday sense of that term ... places such as rooms, suites of rooms, buildings, or plants in which activity of a particular kind regularly goes on” (2007:3), once again emphasizing the importance of space in defining institutions. Goffman provides Grand Central Station as a key example; individuals may move freely in and out of this institution. Goffman’s physical definition of social institutions contrasts with Robb’s (2010) fluid discussion of institutions, or fields of action. Robb describes institutions as processes, such as trade, that

reaffirm social and political organization and do not necessarily have spatial boundaries. In both cases, institutions, and social institutions in particular, provide a meaningful context for the actors within them.

In her chapter on gender in historical archaeology, Barbara Voss (2006) calls for greater analysis of gender at an institutional level. She cites several case studies of total institutions, which have begun to incorporate gender into their studies (e.g., Buchli 2000; Casella 2000; De Cunzo 2006). Lu Ann De Cunzo, for example, views institutions critically and breaks down Goffman's idea of the "total institution." She argues that institutions were used to remove certain individuals from society to reshape their "view of the self," resulting in "self-directed, moral, normal individuals" due to their time spent within the institution (De Cunzo 2006:167). However, De Cunzo argues that resistance and independent identity formation still occurred within the institution.

Casella (2000) presents evidence of female inmate resistance at Ross Female Factory within Van Diemen's Land, a prison system, in Tasmania. Female convicts used their sexuality and social networks within the prison to ameliorate their situations and strategically gain access to restricted "masculine" items such as tobacco and alcohol. Women were sent to solitary rooms if they were accused of having homosexual relationships with the other inmates. In fact, the solitary cells were supposedly the most restricted areas, but they offered the best opportunities to access these "masculine" materials. Although there is no documentary evidence explaining exactly how these illicit items arrived in such a restricted zone, Casella notes that the women who frequented these cells were usually "repeat offenders" (2000:154). These same defiant women were also at the top of the convicts' sexual networks, and this allowed them prime access

to the prohibited goods. This case demonstrates how certain women, though confined by the total institution, strategically used their sexuality to access wealth.

Victor Buchli (2000) analyzes institutions in terms of how identities are developed through interactions within the institution and between the inmates and the larger body of influence outside of the institution. Power is understood here as present everywhere and in everything. He exemplifies this using Alan Sheridan's (1980) discussion of "micropowers," or networks of everyday powers that are woven into daily activities within an institution. In contrast, "macropowers" are those of larger organizations, such as the state. These macropowers are then manifested within institutions. Buchli and Sheridan model this discussion from Foucault's (1990) conception of power as diffuse rather than total. Buchli argues that it is the everyday "micropowers" within an institution that allow resistance to it.

Buchli's case study centers on the Narkomfin Communal House, which was constructed in Moscow to ensure women's successful transition toward socialist ways of life. Daily life was shaped by the communal architecture of the institution itself (micropowers) to reproduce the national political structure (macropower). When the Stalinist regime took control of the Soviet Union, Buchli argues that the domestic material culture of daily life was placed in a contradictory position; a physically communal domestic institution was expected to be re-privatized. The lived experiences of Soviet women appear in the diversity of tastes in material culture and in the physical restructuring of the interior of the complex, which allowed resistance to these abrupt changes and sought to mediate the various political expectations (Buchli 2000).

While Casella's discussion of gender and Buchli and Sheridan's discussions of identity have focused on total institutions, these frameworks can also be applied to other types of institutions, like social institutions. I argue that Fargo's red-light district can be interpreted as an

institution due to its marginal location apart from the rest of the city and the difficulty for a red-light district worker to transition back into society. In fact, these transitional challenges were acknowledged by organizations that made it their mission to help with this process via largely unsuccessful initial attempts to end prostitution (e.g., Petersen 2013; Rosen 1982).

The red-light district offers another loosely-defined concept that frequently appears in the literature on historical sex work. Some scholars roughly define the red-light district as a geographically-segregated section of the city reserved for unsavory sex work. But were the physical boundaries that distinct? The red-light district straddled the line between a social and total institution. It was not barricaded by walls or other physical structures that characterize total institutions, but the social barriers were far more rigid than those in institutions like Grand Central Station (Goffman 2007). The red-light district segregated certain individuals from the rest of society and vice versa, and the illicit nature of prostitution inherently placed restrictions on the industry. At the same time, the red-light district also opened a new social context that accommodated sex outside of marriage, speaking to the contextualized social institutions discussed earlier (Robb 2010). At the very least, this discussion identifies the need for a more inclusive definition of institutions, especially regarding prostitution.

Intersectionality in the Red-Light District

This research investigates the intersectionality of class, sexuality, race, and gender within Fargo's red-light district, with a focus on its sex workers. Voss (2006) points to the intersection of these themes as critical to understanding past lived experiences. Related to these themes, topics such as capitalism and women's health are also addressed by historic prostitution studies. Although discussed below as individual themes of class, sexuality, race, and gender for simplicity and clarity, this division is not intended to reflect reality. These themes are inseparably

intertwined in the formation of sex workers' identities, and the divisions have been made simply to facilitate this review of the literature.

Class

Red-light districts and prostitution in general were often part of larger, working-class neighborhoods. Seifert (1994) analyzed brothels in Hooker's Division of Washington, D.C. from an economic standpoint. She demonstrates a dramatic shift in the practice of prostitution between the 1870 – 1890 decades and 1890 – 1914, just before prostitution's demise in the area. She argues that the new citizenship of ex-slaves led to massive population growth and a major economic shift during this period. In the earlier era (1870 – 1890), prostitutes were predominantly independent, but with the shift in capitalism, the later era brought more formalized forms of prostitution.

The concept of class in the 1800s and early 1900s was complex. The term "middle class" meant less about income and more about social respectability than it does today (Spude 2015). Middle class families intentionally distanced themselves from the working-class by seeking education, prioritizing religious values, and redefining the role of women in the household. Middle-class wives were largely unemployed and assumed responsibility for the moral values upheld and demonstrated by the household. Also known as "the cult(ure) of domesticity" this female realm separated women from the public, male workforce (Hill 1993). This identity carried high social value, but it also confined women to their homes.

The moral standards set by middle-class citizens, especially middle-class women, opposed prostitution and created social barriers intended to bar former prostitutes from assuming a true middle-class lifestyle. For example, marriage to a former prostitute was completely unacceptable, as it carried moral questionability. Conversely, prostitutes moved more fluidly out

of sex work and into a working-class marriage, since the working class did not take the same moral stance against prostitution (Stansell 1987).

The Prostitution Hierarchy

While their approaches may differ, historians and archaeologists have both considered the existence of a prostitution hierarchy directly related to or implicated by socioeconomic status. This hierarchy was especially relevant along the expanding Western frontier, and authors of academic works and popular histories have defined tiers of sex work that rank different types of prostitution in terms of profitability, cleanliness, and safety (e.g., see Agnew 2008; Butler 1985; Goldman 1981; MacKell 2004; Rutter 2005). Brothels were on the higher end of this scale, and they provided the most promising opportunities. Communal living offered some level of safety from violent clients, relatively stable business, and in the highest-quality brothels, clean sheets. However, access to brothel resources also required dependence on madams or landlords, and brothel quality varied greatly, ranging from fancy parlor houses and high-end brothels to common and low-end brothels, where cleanliness was not necessarily a priority.

On the other end of the prostitution hierarchy were independent forms of prostitution, which took place in cottages, in cribs, and on the street. Cottage girls independently managed their own businesses and clients in a small house or shack, crib girls rented rooms and often lived in poverty, and streetwalkers were often homeless and did business wherever they could. Independence in the sex trade brought many challenges, including the constant threat of violence and uncertain financial stability. In fact, some prostitutes in the lower tiers of the prostitution hierarchy did not achieve independence at all and paid a portion of their earnings to pimps, who occasionally married the women who worked for them. Struggles with drug addiction further complicated the lives of these women in the sex trade.

The prostitution hierarchy was closely related to the socioeconomic status of its members, with communal brothels generating the most income and individual streetwalkers facing the most economically challenging – and potentially dangerous – situations on their own. The buildings (or lack thereof) that housed acts of prostitution also played a key role in this hierarchy. Brothel tenants occupied large boardinghouses, cottage girls generally set up shop in small, two-room houses, crib prostitutes were confined to an extremely small, single room in a complex or a saloon, and streetwalkers inhabited run-down apartments or lived on the streets. In a single Western city, sex trade services were often available from multiple tiers of this hierarchy, which catered to most budgets but also resulted in notable economic disparities.

In the West, these types of sex work often overlapped. For example, Butler (1985) discusses the work of dance hall girls, some of whom were also prostitutes. These sex workers fell between the categories of “cottage girl” and “crib girl.” Men controlled their working conditions at either dance halls or saloons, but these women were not as impoverished as crib girls. The division between brothels and saloons in the West was also fuzzy, which presents challenges for analyzing these buildings in the archaeological record (Dixon 2005; Spude 2005, 2015).

The West’s many blurry, hierarchical tiers differed from the few clear-cut types of prostitution in large, urban cities to the East. For instance, evidence for crib prostitution in the Eastern United States was much less common than it was in the West (see Costello 2003; Meyer et al. 2005; Van Buren and Gensmer 2017 for historical archaeology of crib prostitution). Brothel prostitutes and their madams were distinct from streetwalkers and their pimps, and brothels were separate from saloons in cities such as New York and Chicago (e.g., Blair 2010; Gilfoyle 1992).

Yet, a brothel hierarchy was apparent in big cities, and archaeological investigations of Washington, D.C. brothels have shed some light on these important distinctions.

Many archaeologists have considered the brothel a unique site type, and these authors frequently incorporate class-based discussions into their work. In one study, Seifert and Balicki (2005) analyzed artifact patterns, or relative frequencies of artifacts, recovered from Mary Ann Hall's brothel in Washington, D.C. The brothel's excavation data were compared to artifact patterns from working-class households, middle-class households, and other brothels active in the same area. When compared to these other household and brothel assemblages, the authors argue that Hall's brothel was a high-class establishment. The results deny the existence of a standardized brothel assemblage and therefore, support a brothel hierarchy.

Capitalism

The ideology of capitalism certainly played an important role in the sexual transactions that took place. Prostitution was a business (however informal), after all. Many scholars refer to the sex trade as a commercial business, and some support this by referencing opportunities for advertisement. Male tourists were guided through large, urban cities by sporting directories or sporting guides, which offered detailed accounts of the local brothel options (e.g., see Blair 2010 or Meyer et al. 2005). These resources often listed the race or nationality of inmates, cost, and liquor availability.

Gender

Authors such as Donna Seifert have analyzed the relationships between class and gender as well as class and sexuality in Victorian society. In Victorian society, sex was deeply entwined with female economic prosperity; women married men to access middle-class socioeconomic status just as women in the sex trade exchanged sex for economic prosperity. The alternative profession for working-class single women was low-wage factory work, which still did not pay

as much for women as it did men. Women did not have access to the same economic opportunities in the workplace as men, and prostitution offered alternative access to a higher fiscal status (Seifert 1991). Additionally, this example helps illustrate the intersection of gender and class.

Victorian Domesticity and Gender Roles

Interestingly, iconic Victorian household items such as distinct serving wares, drinking wares, and fancy decor have been recovered from brothels, further entwining the middle-class lifestyle with sex. Higher-class brothel madams could offer similar accoutrements to the middle-class household in their brothels, and in doing so, they strategically created a niche that allowed brothel prostitution to continue with minimal regulation. Lines of Victorian respectability became blurred in the brothels, which madams used to their advantage. Some interpretations of these Victorian artifacts have assumed that because sex workers, specifically those living in brothels, had access to higher-class items such as expensive dining sets, they lived a higher quality of life than their working-class neighbors (Best 1982; Gilfoyle 1992; Stansell 1987).

More recently, others have argued that even though prostitution often served as an escape from poverty, it did not necessarily indicate that the prostitutes themselves had middle-class wealth (e.g., Butler 1985; Costello 2003; Ketz et al. 2005; Meyer et al. 2005; Milne and Crabtree 2001; Van Buren and Gensmer 2017; Yamin 2005). Rebecca Yamin's (2005) research at a Five Points brothel indicated that while upper middle-class food was served on Victorian ceramics within the brothel, it was consumed mainly by the clients rather than the prostitutes. At the very least, women likely did not have access to the higher-quality foods outside of working hours, as is indicated by the high presence of more modest ceramics and food remains. While the interior of the brothel spoke to the gendered expectations of middle-class Victorian women, the prostitutes did not necessarily share these luxuries.

Sexuality

The Victorian attitudes in the United States during the late nineteenth century viewed prostitution as a “necessary evil.” This toleration for prostitution was based on the notion that the sexual needs of men could not be controlled, and prostitution helped mitigate any issues that would arise from men’s repressed sexuality. Additionally, increased police intervention helped manage and segregate prostitution from “respectable” society while informally allowing it to continue. Upon the turn of the century, this mentality shifted and reformers adamantly condemned prostitution as a “social evil,” marking the beginning of the Progressive Era. Social purists perceived prostitution to be a threat to moral society, and many religious organizations, such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), aimed to eradicate prostitution altogether. A devout commitment to religious values guided Progressive opinions on sexuality and procreation, and provided an outlet for effecting social change (Rosen 1982).

“White slavery,” or sex trafficking, was a crucial part of the Progressives’ platform to end prostitution. While highly sensationalized in the media, the concept of white slavery was deeply entwined with race and immigration. Attention was drawn specifically to white women who were being sexually exploited. Women of color did not receive the same concern from reformers; in fact, nonwhite men and women were often viewed as partially responsible for the loss of young white women’s innocence. In response, the Mann Act, a federal statute passed in 1910, brought cases of white slavery to court. However, this legislation did not necessarily free vulnerable women from slavery (i.e., mythological connotations still surround the subject of white slavery), and instead legitimized grounds for policing sexuality (Pliley 2014).

Davis Kingsley (1937) presents an early sociological interpretation of prostitution. He compares prostitution to other regulated social institutions based in sexuality. These include marriage, concubinage, and wife exchange. While not all these institutions are accepted in

Western society, Kingsley argues that they serve the same function in these various cultural contexts: to regulate sex as a means for reproduction. Prostitution, he counters, is condemned as a “social evil” because it involves sexual acts that do not lead to procreation.

Rosemary Joyce (2008) expands on some of these ideas. In contrast to Kingsley, she steers away from the heteronormative model of analyzing sexuality, specifically in archaeology. In fact, she argues that considering past people as heterosexual by default (and therefore, assuming that sex was based strictly upon reproduction) masks the diversity of sexualities in the past and prevents us from understanding why this diversity existed. Joyce mainly uses case studies from the Classic Maya era (but does include studies of other cultures within the New World) to demonstrate the variety of class-based gender performances and spatial structure, which influenced acceptable sexual practices that were not always heterosexual (thus speaking to the intersection of class, gender, and sexuality). Like Kingsley, Joyce also looks beyond sex as a means for reproduction. She explains that prostitution was not acceptable and therefore, deemed illegal, because it did not follow the Western heteronormative model for sexuality (that is, sex for reproduction). In these examples, cultural and social contexts are key to understanding lived experiences when studying sexuality. This speaks to the importance of understanding sexuality within a local context, to which this thesis will contribute.

Sexual Health

Female prostitutes faced many challenges regarding their sexual health. Costello (2000) and Meyer et al. (2005) present medicine bottles, syringes, and douches recovered from Los Angeles brothels and cribs as likely evidence for sex workers’ routine healthcare. Thomas Crist’s (2005) article cites possible abortion or infanticide based on the neonatal remains recovered from a privy shaft associated with a Five Points brothel. Meanwhile, Diana diZerega Wall (2005) points to the influence of the Comstock laws, which placed restrictions on the educational

material related to sex during the late 1800s. Consequently, these restrictions severely limited women's access to contraceptives, an issue that would have had a particularly high impact on sex workers.

While the focus on women's health in the sex trade is logical, discussions on men's sexual health have often been overlooked. In his presentation at the 2016 Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Mark Warner (2016) shifted the focus to men's sexual health issues, such as venereal disease and impotence. Warner offered an interpretation of the ancillary roles that prostitutes may have played in treating these ailments based on artifact deposits from brothel sites in Sandpoint, Idaho. Since these issues were considered either shameful or "niche" problems at the time, the typical family doctor's office may not have been the most appropriate venue for men seeking medical treatment. Warner's work helps expand the consideration of sexuality, and in turn, gender, within the context of historical prostitution.

Race

Victorian working-class women not only dealt with daily struggles in the job market because of their gender and class, race also played an important role in their ability to provide for themselves and their families. African American women had an especially difficult time gaining employment during the late-nineteenth century. Job opportunities almost exclusively lay in service work, specifically in households. However, additional semiskilled service positions (often in laundry) became available to African American women at the turn of the twentieth century. The difficulty was not usually in finding a job, but in being hired. Employers tended to hire white immigrants as laundresses over local African American women (Blair 2010).

Ida Dorsey was an African American madam who conducted her business in Minneapolis, and her position in the sex trade further entangles the concepts of gender, race, and sexuality (Petersen 2013). Dorsey was born in Kentucky in 1866, a southern state with a long

history of slavery. Penny Petersen (2013:86) describes the complexity of being an African American woman in the South during the post-Civil War era as Dorsey was likely held to a “peculiar and convoluted standard of sexual behavior.” However, Dorsey strategically harnessed racist stereotypes of sexualized black women by offering deviant sexual services for the time, such as shadow dances and stripteases. White madams could not provide the same services, and the “exotic” nature of Dorsey’s business intrigued wealthy male clientele in the city, creating a niche for herself and her business in the Minneapolis sex trade.

Synthesis of Intersectional Themes

As in many studies concerning historical sex work, the concepts of class, sexuality, gender, and race are inseparable themes within this thesis. The discussion of class, especially the middle class, describes “respectable” social expectations that differed for men and women. While men prospered in public spaces, women took responsibility for their household, and brothel madams appropriated images of Victorian gentility for their own establishments. These notions of class and gender influenced the red-light district and framed the emergence of a prostitution hierarchy. The middle class realized these expectations of social respectability by taking action to control female sexuality that was not considered moral. In fact, these efforts affected both men and women who encountered health issues that could not be treated by a “respectable” physician. Race further complicated the concept of sexuality, as racist stereotypes influenced the business models of brothel madams and expectations for their employees.

Although essential to the discussion, men have often been left out of conversations on sex work. This research uses prostitution-related arrest records to capture male involvement in the red-light district. In addition, archaeologists have often focused on brothel madams and their residents due to the lack of material evidence for other forms of prostitution in the hierarchy.

Documentary records offer yet another opportunity to learn about individuals who are underrepresented in the literature, like streetwalkers. The concepts of class, gender, sexuality, and race are woven into the following analyses to offer a glimpse of sex workers' lived experiences in early Fargo.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND ARCHIVAL DATA

COLLECTION METHODS

Research Questions

The goal of this research is to answer the following questions: *If the red-light district can be considered an institution, how were socioeconomic statuses negotiated within this institution? Specifically, how did the intersectionality of class, gender, sexuality, and race affect access to wealth within the red-light district?* I hypothesize that the institution of prostitution, and brothels in particular, allowed women and persons of various races to access power and wealth that would not have been accessible outside of the red-light district. The following subqueries guide my analyses to address this diversity and variation in socioeconomic statuses throughout the red-light district.

1. *Did Fargo have a prostitution hierarchy? If so, how were inequalities manifested within these hierarchical tiers?*
2. *How did the police differentiate between women and men when charging them with prostitution-related crimes?*
3. *How did the spatial layout of the red-light district (in terms of buildings and their inhabitants) change through time?*
4. *What role did racial diversity play within the red-light district?*

This project augments the limited research that currently exists for Fargo's sex trade. Documentary sources (e.g., Sanborn maps, Police Magistrate Court dockets, and U.S. Federal Census records) will provide a glimpse of individuals' perspectives outside of the red-light district (due to their creation by city, state, or federal employees). These multiple lines of evidence will situate the historic red-light district within Fargo.

Two primary analyses were conducted to answer these research questions. The first was a linguistic and quantitative analysis of prostitution-related arrest records, which identified inequalities (including gendered differences) within the prostitution hierarchy. The second was a spatial analysis of Fargo's red-light district, which placed relevant non-spatial data within a spatial context to identify patterns in demographics and access to wealth. Together, these analyses narrow in on the diversity within Fargo's sex trade.

Historical Documents

Although this research did not include archaeological excavation, this thesis contributes to historical archaeology as a field by asking anthropological questions of historical documents. In fact, documentary research is becoming more common as historical archaeologists reach outside the scope of typical archaeological survey and excavation when such methods are either impractical or impossible (e.g., Craig Cipolla 2013, and his work with the Brothertown Indians and Kristen Fellows 2013, and her work in the Dominican Republic). This research builds upon this trend and takes the study of historical prostitution in new directions.

Due to the illicit and often illegal nature of sex work, documentary records tracing the intimate details of prostitutes' lives are very limited. The key archival documents analyzed for this thesis included Police Magistrate Court dockets, United States Federal Census records, and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. City directories and newspaper articles also offered supplementary evidence for my research. The methods for collecting and analyzing each document type are described in the following sections. Although prostitution persisted for much longer, the temporal focus of this analysis begins in the early 1890s, when prostitution first appeared in Fargo's available arrest records, and ends when the red-light district officially closed. The sheer variety of historical documents provided multiple lines of evidence for this thesis, and

consequently, several points of intersection. Common fields of data, or primary keys, such as names and addresses, allowed me to relate the data between documents. For example, both the Sanborn maps and the Census records contain addresses. Therefore, I can map demographic data from the Census records onto the Sanborn maps using the address as a key. This method plays an important role in the spatial analysis chapter, since Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software was used to store spatial and attribute data related to the red-light district and to create detailed maps of the area.

A general overview of the data collected from each source and how these data intersect with the other documentary sources is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Intersection of Documentary Source Data

Data	Documentary Sources		
	U.S. Federal Census	Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps	Police Magistrate Court Dockets
Address	X	X	Occasional
Name	X		X
Position in Household	X		
Occupation	X		
Gender	X		
Race	X		
Age	X		
Birthplace	X		
Ownership of Home	X		
Arrest			X

“X” indicates data available.

Police Magistrate Court Dockets

The NDSU Archives offer a variety of Justice of the Peace records for late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Fargo. This research deals strictly with the Police Magistrate Court dockets in this collection, excluding any miscellaneous Police Magistrate Court ledgers or related Justice Court documents. The Police Magistrate Court dockets were available on-site at the NDSU Archives. Digital photographs were taken of each page pertaining to a prostitution-related crime (including female vagrancy) using the camera on a smartphone.

Data were collected from ten Police Magistrate Court dockets, spanning a 21-year period, from October 2, 1893 through 1914 (North Dakota State University [NDSU] Archives 1893, 1896, 1898, 1901, 1905, 1908, 1910a, 1910b, 1912, 1913). No dockets were available prior to October 2, 1893. The dockets contained details for each arrest, including a list of arrested persons, their associated criminal charges and fines, and a statement indicating the outcome of the arrest (i.e., the individual either paid the fine or was jailed). Some entries contained multiple arrests, while others documented the arrest of a single individual. In addition, “fines” and consistent processing “costs” were occasionally listed as separate fees. For simplicity, the sum of each fine and its cost was calculated to demonstrate the total amount owed by an individual, and the term “fine” is used throughout this thesis to refer to this combined amount.

After all digital photographs were taken, the documents were transcribed. A separate entry was created in an Excel spreadsheet for each arrested individual, even if other individuals were associated with his or her arrest. Fields for name, gender, fine, outcome of the arrest, terminology used in the charges, and other names associated with this individual’s arrest were recorded for everyone in the dockets whose charges related to crimes of prostitution. An in-depth discussion on this method can be found in Chapter Five.

The first stage in the analysis of the Police Magistrate Court dockets was the linguistic deconstruction of the terminology used to charge individuals involved with prostitution. The methods for this stage of analysis were drawn from Mary Beaudry's (1988a) linguistic analysis of colonial probate inventories. In her study, Beaudry categorized modifiers for ceramic vessels listed in mid-seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century probate inventories. A similar method was used to analyze the court dockets. Overall, there was standardization in most of the charges, and "keeping a house of ill fame" was a very common charge indicative of a madam's arrest. This part of the analysis was used to identify positions within the prostitution hierarchy due to the association between the language used to charge these individuals and their position in the hierarchy (refer to the Chapter Five for further details on this process).

Next, the quantitative analysis of the charges considered raw counts and percentages of the charges, outcomes of the arrests, fines, and gender differences. These data were displayed using tables to highlight the differences between men and women involved in Fargo's sex trade. In addition, the fines and arrest outcomes draw attention to the monetary and social inequalities apparent in the red-light district at the time.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and GIS

Sanborn Fire Insurance maps provide the foundation for the spatial analysis of the red-light district, and GIS mapping software was utilized to produce digital maps of the area through time. The Sanborn maps also provide building materials, number of stories, and postal addresses for brothels and other known buildings associated with prostitution. However, it is important to note that most maps created during the era of interest did not label brothels as such; instead, euphemisms such as "female boardinghouse" (abbreviated "F.B.") were used.

Digital Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for the City of Fargo during 1900 and 1910 were collected from the Fargo Public Library as PDF files. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps were

available for the following years: 1884, 1888, 1892, 1896, 1901, 1905, 1906, 1910, and 1916 (Sanborn Map Company 1884, 1888, 1892, 1896, 1901, 1905, 1906, 1910, 1916). Although the focus of this research is on the red-light district in Fargo, all available PDFs for the City of Fargo during those years were collected. The PDF files for 1901 and 1910 were then converted to TIFF files, a raster format which was imported into ArcMap, using Adobe Acrobat. Existing GIS shapefile data for the modern City of Fargo was downloaded from the Cass County government website, and included Cass County cities, Cass County parcels, Cass County roads, Cass County rivers, and Cass County rails. The City of Fargo was selected within the Cass County cities layer, and a new layer was created from the selection. This new layer, the City of Fargo, was used to clip all remaining layers.

A geodatabase was utilized to house all related GIS data, so all clipped shapefile layers were imported to the geodatabase as feature classes. TIFF files that display the red-light district for each available Sanborn map year were also imported to the geodatabase as raster datasets. The TIFF files were then georeferenced using the Georeferencing tool in ArcMap and then rectified. Historic parcel boundaries were matched as closely as possible to modern parcels, placing the Sanborn maps within a known geographic context.

Next, a building layer was created for each year by digitizing each building in the known red-light district using the Editor tool in ArcMap. The appropriate address was assigned to each individual building's attribute table, and this was used as the primary key when joining additional attribute data obtained from the other documents, such as inhabitants' names, positions within the household, races, genders, and occupations. Therefore, the richness of the resulting geodatabase allowed for the spatial analysis of non-spatial attributes (e.g., race and home ownership status).

United States Federal Census Records

United States Federal Census Records for Fargo's red-light district were transcribed. However, the transcriptions were limited to entries that contain addresses within the red-light district for years 1880, 1900, and 1910 (United States Bureau of the Census 1880, 1900, 1910).¹ Census records provide additional data on the red-light district's inhabitants, such as race, age, gender, marital status, and birthplace. The data entered into the Excel spreadsheet contain fields for data collection date, Census year, address, last name, first name, relationship to head of household, sex, race, age at last birthday, relationship status, years married, mother of how many children, number of children still living, place of birth, father's place of birth, mother's place of birth, year of immigration, whether naturalized, whether the individual speaks English, general nature of industry, whether an employee, employer, or working on own accord, whether out of work, months not employed, whether can read, whether can write, whether attended school in Census year, owned or rented home, owned home free or mortgaged, whether lived on farm or in house, birth month, and birth year. The Census records offer a wealth of information.

City Directories

City directories provide address, name, and (occasionally) occupational data at a finer level of detail than U.S. Census Records since information was collected for the directories more frequently. PDFs of Fargo's city directory pages were downloaded directly off the Ancestry.com database, which is accessible through the NDSU Libraries website. City directories were searched using the addresses of known brothels referred to on the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps.

¹ Census records are not available for 1890 due to a fire in 1921 at the Commerce Department in Washington, D.C. All but a few records were destroyed, and unfortunately North Dakota's records were not among the surviving documents (Szucs and Luebking 1997).

The results contain pages that include all registered inhabitants of brothels at these addresses. The collected pages are limited to 1880 through 1916, so data on inhabitants at these addresses beyond this timeframe were not retrieved. City directories are available for the following years: 1883, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1896, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1915, and 1916 (Nichols 1883; C. C. Beckwith 1891, 1893, 1895; Fargo-Moorhead Directory Company 1910; Pettibone Directory Company 1896, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1916). While the city directories do not provide a substantial source of evidence for this research, examples were used anecdotally to support my analyses.

Newspapers

Newspaper articles are a captivating source of data not only because they are so well-preserved, but because they captured the language of the era and offered names of individuals involved in prostitution-related activity. Key local newspapers, such as the Fargo Sun and Saturday Evening Journal and the Bismarck Tribune, are available on microfilm at the NDSU Archives and the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Scans of newspaper articles with prostitution-related news articles were collected by Dr. Angela Smith (a public historian at NDSU and member of this thesis committee) and a research assistant. Like the city directories, newspapers were used intermittently to provide supporting evidence for my arguments.

Summary of Documentary Analysis

As mentioned previously, the documents were used in conjunction with one another to perform two main analyses: a linguistic and quantitative analysis of the arrest records for individuals involved with prostitution and a spatial analysis of the red-light district and its inhabitants. Both analyses also contain a temporal component, which helped place members of the red-light district within the shifting social context of turn-of-the-century Fargo. Together,

these analyses shed light on the racial, gendered, and socioeconomic diversity of historical prostitution in Fargo.

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Minimal literature currently exists on turn-of-the-century prostitution in Fargo, North Dakota. One of the most important (and only) sources is historian Carroll Engelhardt's (2007) *Gateway to the Northern Plains*. This book provides a brief introduction on Fargo's madams who lived in an area known as "the hollow" or "under the hill" (Engelhardt 2007:224), and considers Moorhead madams, police influence, and relevant local reform efforts. The Fargo History Project (Smith 2012) presents another valuable source of information on prostitution in Fargo. The website includes a timeline of important events, several articles on prostitution, and a documentary on the well-known brothel madam, Melvina Massey.

Overview of Prostitution in Fargo

Prostitution consistently thrived in working-class neighborhoods because the associated buildings were physically (and therefore, visibly) distant from Victorian middle-class residences (Rosen 1982). These vice districts often formed near railroad tracks that were outside of (but near) the business district (e.g., Keire 2010; Rose 1979; Selcer 1991). This was no different in Fargo, and it allowed sex workers some freedom due to the marginal spatial location and low cost of housing (see Petersen 2013 for a similar case in Minneapolis). However, society was by no means detached from The Hollow, and sex workers continually dealt with competing opinions from Fargo's general public. On one hand, the City of Fargo received significant sources of income from the informal regulation of the sex trade, which fined established brothels during this period and indirectly benefitted Fargo residents. On the other, social purists viewed the support of such activity as morally degrading (Engelhardt 2007). This follows a familiar pattern of anti-vice movements in the United States at that time, which pitted "necessary evil" against "social evil" (Rosen 1982:14).

Like in other cities with sex commerce, opinions on Fargo's sex trade came from all sides. Sex workers, clients, brothel neighbors, police, reformers, politicians, and the media all had unique interests in the sex trade. The following sections provide spatial and social context for this study, including several influential events and people who made their mark on the city.

Fargo Wards

The city of Fargo was spatially divided into seven sections called "wards," the boundaries for which followed streets and railroads (see Figure 1). Each ward elected an alderman and several delegates who represented the ward residents in the city. The Hollow was in the First Ward and covered the area between First and Third Avenue North and between Second and Third Street North. As the tracks for the Northern Pacific Railway were laid along the Red River Valley, The Hollow and the surrounding area were home to more than madams and prostitutes. Individuals with low socioeconomic status, including ethnic minorities, also sought shelter in this marginal area. Carroll Engelhardt (2007:223) refers to the area near the tracks as a "hobo jungle," often home to seasonal agricultural laborers. Tracks for the Northern Pacific Railroad were located just east of this area along 2nd Street North, and they were accompanied by an industrial zone, which lined the Red River with lumber yards, coal sheds, feed mills, and the Northern Pacific Elevator (Sanborn Map Company 1910).

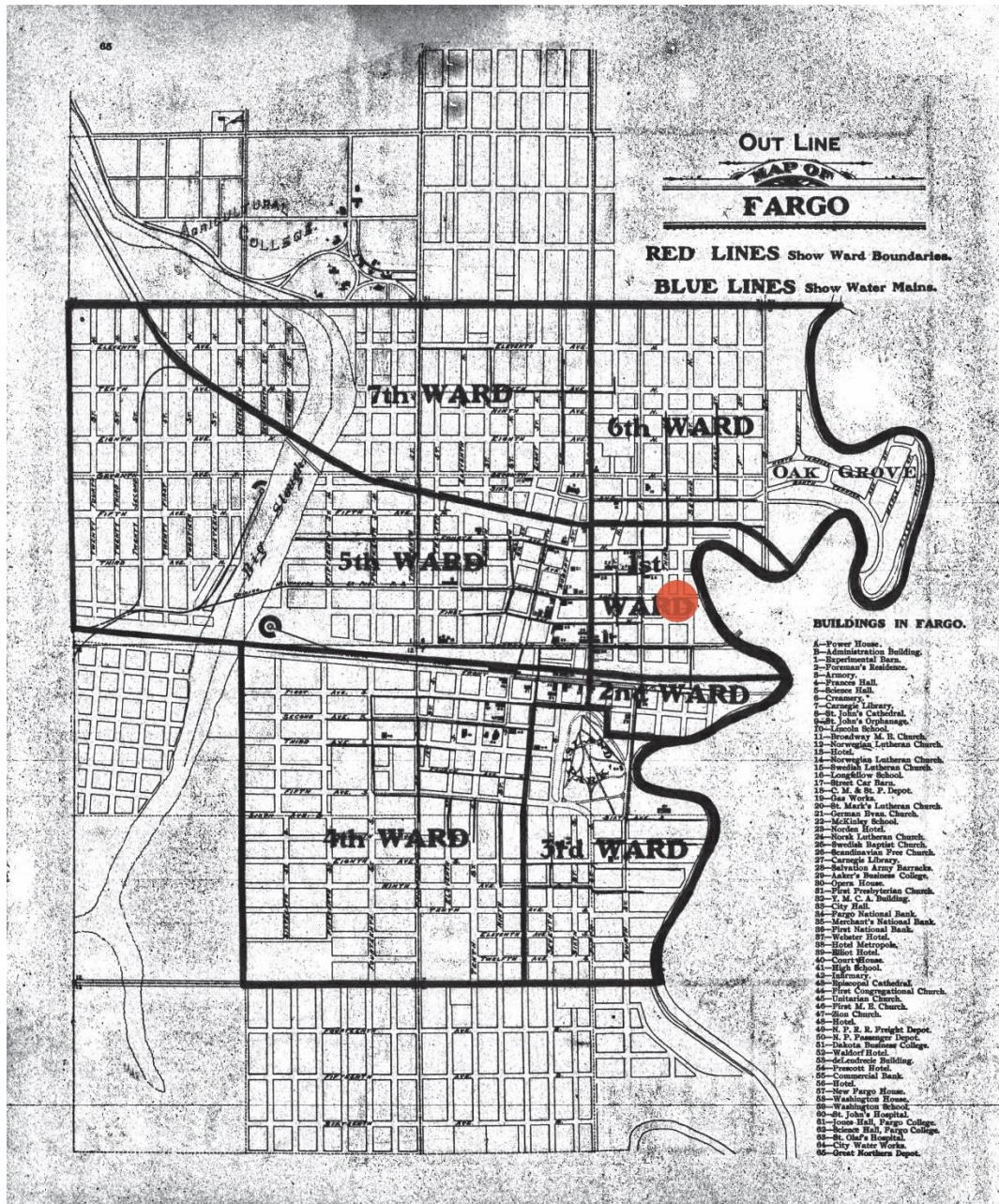


Figure 1. Fargo Wards and The Hollow
 The red circle indicates the location of The Hollow. Image from R. L. Polk & Company (1906); red circle added by author.

While the First Ward housed working-class residents, the neighboring Second Ward was impoverished. Lower Front Street ran through this area, which was home to Eastern European Jews and other ethnicities. Shanties provided poor housing, and the black residents faced

pervasive discrimination (Smith et al. 2013 and Engelhardt 2007). The Second Ward lay in stark contrast to the wealthy Third and Sixth Wards. Engelhardt (2007:161) calls Island Park in the Third Ward and Oak Grove in the Sixth Ward “fashionable neighborhoods” of early Fargo. The residents of these wards exuded gentility and morality, and dutifully represented the middle class in North Dakota (see Chapter Two for a discussion on class during the Victorian era).

Challenges for The Hollow

Prohibition

In addition to prostitution, other forms of vice, such as consumption of alcohol, were also in the public spotlight. As citizens voted to establish the state of North Dakota in 1889, they also approved prohibition legislation. The next year marked the official closure of North Dakota’s saloons, which pushed Fargo’s saloons across the river and into Moorhead, Minnesota. Moorhead continued to sell alcohol legally for many years, which further complicated Fargo’s “dry” status. Jag wagons shuttled alcohol consumers to and from each side of the river. Despite the prohibition efforts, drunkenness, and the violence associated with it, persisted in Fargo (Engelhardt 2007).

Natural Disasters

The city of Fargo was also affected by several natural disasters, including the 1893 fire and a flood in 1897. The fire claimed much of the city’s business district and residences east of Broadway, but a comparison between the Sanborn maps from 1892 and 1896 indicate that The Hollow remained mostly intact (Engelhardt 2007; Sanborn Map Company 1892, 1896). Four years later, the Red River crested at 40 feet, creating a devastating flood. Many working-class families suffered as a result (Engelhardt 2007). This time, The Hollow was inundated. Yet, Fargo – and The Hollow – eventually recovered and continued to thrive.

Anti-Vice Campaigns

Natural disasters were not the Fargo madams' only threat. While regulators wanted to continue fining madams for their brothels, anti-vice reformers sought to end prostitution completely. Neighbors of The Hollow joined reformers' anti-vice campaigns as they attempted to take back their neighborhoods from disreputable business. In fact, these neighbors formed the "First Ward Improvement League" to organize their cause (Engelhardt 2007). First-ward residents first filed a petition against neighboring brothels in 1890, which resulted in the restriction of houses of ill fame to The Hollow. In 1893, Fargo's City Council received a petition from local citizens – the majority of whom were women – to eliminate the city's brothels (Johnson 1950). Several police raids occurred in the following years, but madams always resumed business after the dust had settled (Engelhardt 2007).

The business of prostitution prevailed as sex workers successfully navigated the turbulent social climate until Fargo residents' efforts to rid the city of (unofficially) regulated sex work finally succeeded. According to Engelhardt, brothels disappeared from Fargo in 1916. While prostitution obviously continued after police began enforcing the restrictions, it was limited. The structured brothels run by local madams were no longer present after the police raids, and independent forms of prostitution most likely replaced them (Engelhardt 2007).²

The Madam Cohort

Several brothel madams received (and paid for) unique attention and protection from the local police. Essentially, these madams paid an unofficial licensing fee to the city each month to

² Local political leaders changed frequently, and each must have maintained a unique stance on prostitution. While these individuals were not researched in depth for this thesis, their influence would have been palpable within The Hollow. For lists of Police Justices, Police Magistrates, and Mayors, see Appendix A.

keep their brothels open. They were also afforded leniency in the due date of their payments, and some madams were offered installment plans by the city, allowing them to continue to evade imprisonment (Engelhardt 2007). Since these women play a very important role in the subsequent analyses, I have termed these women the “madam cohort” (see Chapter Five for further details). Of all members of the madam cohort, Melvina Massey arguably made the most impressive name for herself. Massey was a black madam who frequently appeared in police records and newspaper articles for her confidence and industrious attitude. She also has been the focus of much historical research (Engelhardt 2007; Smith 201[9]; Smith et al. 2013).³

Fargo’s “The Hollow” Today

The Hollow encompassed the blocks surrounding the intersection of Second Avenue North and Third Street North (Engelhardt 2007). Until recently, the parking lot for the Fargo Public Library and Fargo’s City Hall covered the site of the historic red-light district with a four-foot layer of fill, leaving it inaccessible for excavation. Unfortunately, construction for a new building for City Hall began in 2016 and a formal, systematic investigation was not possible (City of Fargo 2016a). The site of The Hollow was located immediately west of the Red River in an area that is (and was) often impacted by seasonal flooding. In fact, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) has indicated that the two eastern blocks of the Second Avenue

³ Massey owned several brothels over the years, including her Crystal Palace at 201 3rd Street North. A fire in 1892 destroyed the original brothel at this location and took the life of a patron. In 1893, Massey married a man named Henry Charles Rae in St. Paul, Minnesota (Smith et al. 2013). After rebuilding on her land, Massey’s brothel was temporarily closed by the police around 1900, resulting in her employment as a housekeeper (Engelhardt 2007). While she was involved in illegal prostitution, it was liquor sales in the dry state of North Dakota that sent her to prison. In 1904, Massey spent nine months of a year-long sentence in the state penitentiary in Bismarck. By the time of her death in 1911, Massey owned two buildings north of 2nd Avenue North in The Hollow. She left a considerable amount of money and the Crystal Palace to her son, Henry Massey, and the adjacent building and one dollar to her husband (Smith et al. 2013). Melvina Massey certainly led an interesting life and was a notable public figure who left her mark on The Hollow.

North and Third Street North, where most brothels were located, are within a floodplain (City of Fargo 2016b). Even though these plots may seem less-than-ideal, the placement of City Hall over this site speaks to the importance of this area to the city. Proximity to the nearby business district is clearly a priority for the city today, as it was for the madams 100 years earlier.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE LEGAL LANGUAGE OF SEX: INTERPRETING A PROSTITUTION HIERARCHY USING THE TERMINOLOGY OF CRIMINAL CHARGES

The hierarchical structure of prostitution in Fargo and the public's view of prostitution affected the members of the city's turn-of-the-century sex trade. Police records offer a valuable entry point for investigating this complex relationship between sex workers and the public. These documents demonstrate very different tolerances for the varying types of sex work, and gender played an important role in these interactions with local police. As public opinion toward prostitution shifted throughout this era, the police – as well as the sex workers – were tasked with navigating society's expectations for dealing with these crimes. Prostitution was viewed contradictorily as both a significant source of income for the city and a moral atrocity. By comparing the arrests of brothel madams with those of other individuals arrested for prostitution-related crimes, this chapter identifies and differentiates between the different types of prostitution active in Fargo at that time.

Documentary Analysis: Arrest Records

Documentary analysis is becoming more common in historical archaeology as archaeologists reach beyond the scope of traditional archaeological survey and excavation when such methods are either impractical or impossible, as scholars have demonstrated in *Documentary Analysis in the New World* (Beaudry 1988b). In her chapter, Mary Beaudry (1988a) encourages historical archaeologists to analyze documents using similar methods to those that have been used to analyze the archaeological record. Specifically, Beaudry advocates for quantification and textual analysis of documents that pertain to material goods, such as itemized probate inventories. Other scholars such as Craig Cipolla (2013) have continued to analyze documentary evidence in innovative ways, branching away from documentary analyses

that deal strictly with material culture. In his study of the Brothertown Indians, Cipolla takes a linguistic approach to the use of the term “Brothertown,” in archival documents, and concludes that the meaning of the term changed over time. A term that once referred to a simple location became an adjective to describe a people, and in one instance, it served as a name for the people themselves: “the Brothertowns.” Drawing from linguistic anthropology, Cipolla analyzed the language in these documents to interpret the transformation of a complex group identity.

Sociologist Joel Best (1998) documented the turnover of prostitutes within several St. Paul, Minnesota brothels by recording the terminology used to charge the defendant, the amount fined, and the outcome of the arrest (e.g., a fine was paid or a case was dismissed) during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. From month to month, the same woman could be charged for various reasons, and brothel prostitutes appeared and disappeared from the records. This chapter follows a similar methodology, but instead aggregates this type of data rather than tracking individuals, to analyze the use of certain terminologies over time.

This chapter employs both textual and quantitative methods to interpret a set of arrest records. Data were collected from nine Police Magistrate Court dockets and one criminal calendar housed at the North Dakota State University Archives. No dockets are available prior to October 2, 1893, and the first prostitution-related crime appears in July of 1894. The criminal charges related to prostitution in these documents spanned a twenty-year period, from July 1894 to November 1914 (North Dakota State University Archives 1893, 1896, 1898, 1901, 1905, 1908, 1910a, 1910b, 1912, 1913). Complaint records that did not lead to an arrest were not considered for this analysis.

Data were collected for each prostitution-related crime in the dockets, including female vagrancy. Details for each arrest were then transcribed, including a list of arrested persons, their

associated criminal charges and fines,⁴ and a statement indicating the outcome of the arrest. Some entries contained multiple arrests, while others documented the arrest of a single individual. If the defendant was unable to pay the fine, one day in jail paid for approximately \$1.25 of the amount owed, so a \$10 fine would require 8 days of jail time.

Another important parameter for this analysis is gender. While gender was rarely stated in the dockets, several techniques were used to infer the gender of each arrested person. It was most often deduced from the defendant's first name; however, titles such as "Miss" or "Mrs.," descriptions referring to the defendant as a "boy" or "girl," and gendered pronouns (his/her) were also used to associate a gender with each defendant. Additionally, if an individual's first name was not identified, but the individual was arrested at the same time and for the same crime as a woman, the defendant was considered male. If the gender was unable to be determined, the individual's gender was listed as "unknown."

Finally, it is important to note that several Police Magistrates and City Justices of the Peace recorded prostitution-related arrests during the twenty-year period of study. They included William H. Barnett, E. C. Gearey, Martin Ryan, Henry F. Miller, and Augustus Roberts (see Appendix A for more details). Although not listed as a Chief of Police or Magistrate, A. Plummer also contributed many entries to the dockets. Partly due to the wide range of authors, it is important to note that the court dockets were not immune to bias. Although this analysis was conducted as carefully as possible, the dataset is inherently flawed due to document damage and human error while recording these arrests.

⁴ "Fines" and consistent processing "costs" were frequently listed as separate fees. For simplicity, the sum of each fine and its cost was calculated to demonstrate the total amount owed by each individual, and the term "fine" will be used throughout this chapter to refer to this combined amount.

Identifying Types of Prostitution in Fargo: Textual Analysis of Criminal Charges in Arrest Records

Most of the key phrases used to charge Fargo inhabitants for prostitution-related crimes originated in city ordinances. The language from the ordinances was used in the more than 1600 prostitution-related arrests from July 1894 through November 1914. The 1908 city ordinances listed below set a relatively standardized language for charging individuals with prostitution-related crimes.

Selection of Relevant Ordinances of the City of Fargo (Resser and Roberts 1908):

Chapter VI: Title I

§ 23. Vagrants, what are, penalty.

Chapter VI: Title IV

§ 1. Houses or resorts of ill-fame unlawful, reputation, penalty.

§ 2. Unlawful to resort to houses of ill-fame, penalty.

§ 3. Unlawful to let house or room for lewd purposes, penalty.

§ 4. Unlawful to entice persons to house or room for lewd purposes, penalty.

§ 5. Unlawful for inmate of house of ill-fame to appear in public, penalty.

§ 6. Duty of chief of police and police officers to enforce this ordinance.

The Brothel Madam Cohort

The first stage in the analysis of the Police Magistrate Court dockets is the linguistic deconstruction of the terminology used to charge individuals involved with sex work. This portion of the analysis is intended to identify whether a prostitution hierarchy existed in Fargo, and if so, which forms of prostitution were active at the time. While analyzing the arrest records, a group of madams quickly distinguished themselves from the other defendants; they were

wealthy, often appeared in court by proxy of another individual,⁵ and the same names frequently appeared in the records. Throughout this chapter, this group of madams is referred to as the “madam cohort.” Members of this madam cohort were charged relatively consistent fines each month to maintain their brothels within the city, and several arrest records indicate that these women plied their trade in the “The Hollow,” which held a notorious position in the public spotlight.⁶

To be considered a member of the madam cohort, several conditions need to be met: 1) the madam must have pled “guilty” to the charge and pay the monthly fine, 2) the amount fined and the terminology used to charge the madam must have been similar to that of the other madams charged during the same month (e.g., charged \$56.50 for “keeping a house of ill fame”), and 3) at least one other madam must have been charged with the same crime. This monthly pattern of arresting the madam cohort continued from July 1894 through June 1912, resulting in a total of 802 payments by the members of the madam cohort. Although this pattern continued for nearly 20 years, several notable gaps occurred. Members of the madam cohort were arrested on a fairly consistent basis during four distinct periods, during which no more than six months passed between each monthly charge. The breaks in these four periods may have corresponded with local anti-vice campaigns. As the campaigns gained traction in the city, they attempted to cease the informal regulation of the brothels altogether, likely resulting in the madams’ periodic absence from the dockets (Engelhardt 2007). The four periods of consistent arrests of madams

⁵ Beginning in 1904, madams were recorded as “appear[ing] in court” by another individual, most often by a young man named G. L. Washburn, but occasionally a fellow madam or brothel employee served this role.

⁶ Interestingly, Sallie Campbell was a member of the madam cohort. Petersen (2013) mentions the departure of a Sallie Campbell from Minneapolis after 1880. Perhaps Campbell moved to Fargo to start up a new business in Fargo, North Dakota. She first appears in the court dockets in July of 1896.

cover the following time frames: Period I: July 1894 – May 1899, Period II: May 1904 – November 1907, Period III: July 1908 – October 1908, and Period IV: May 1910 – June 1912.

Table 2. Regular Arrests of the Madam Cohort

Charge Terminology	Number of Arrests per Charge				
	Period I: July 1894 - May 1899	Period II: May 1904 - November 1907	Period III: July 1908 - October 1908	Period IV: May 1910 - June 1912	Total
Keeping (and maintaining) a house of ill fame	253	233	4	10	500
Keeping a disorderly house		74	2		76
Resorting to rooms (for immoral purposes)				67	67
Disorderly conduct				53	53
Being an inmate of a house of ill fame	45				45
Keeping a bawdy house		9	32		41
Keeping a house of prostitution	1			19	20
Total number of individuals charged	299	316	38	149	802

The terminology used to arrest these madams shifted during these four periods. Table 2 displays a summary of the charges used in the arrests of the madam cohort. “Keeping a house of ill fame” was the most common charge, and this terminology persisted throughout all four periods. However, the usage of “keeping a house of ill fame” declined in the later periods. In Period I, both madams and some inmates were charged. This inmate cohort followed a similar pattern to that of the madams, with a group of inmates arrested at one time and for the same charge and fine. However, the regular inmate charges were short-lived; they ended before Period II.

Interestingly, the euphemistic phrase “keeping a house of ill fame” draws from traditional Victorian terminology. In the 1880 United States Federal Census, the professions of Fargo’s middle-class wives were often listed as “keeping house,” a full-time job for those who were dedicated to maintaining the domestic sphere of the Victorian lifestyle (United States Census Bureau 1880). In the dockets, brothel madams were charged with “keeping houses *of ill fame*” (emphasis added). Not only is the actual act of prostitution hidden within this terminology, there is some overlap between this terminology and the terminology referring to the occupation of middle-class women in the 1880 United States Federal Census records. However, the occupation was cleverly marked to distance the madams from other women in the city. As Mary Beaudry (1988a:44) stated with reference to probate inventories, “[m]arking occurred as a means of setting objects or terms apart from others, usually through modification or detail associated with them.” In the current case, “of ill fame” was used as a modifier to distinguish these madams from other women. The madams were publicly associated with aspects of gentility and Victorian society, yet they also did not occupy the same social status as other women.

Interestingly, the consistency between charges gradually declined over time, and “keeping a house of ill fame” became less common when charging the madam cohort for their crimes. By Period IV the charges often differed from month to month. While some of the language discrepancies were due to a change in author, it was not unusual for a single magistrate’s terminology to vary in the dockets, especially during Periods III and IV. For example, Police Magistrate Henry F. Miller charged the madam cohort for “disorderly conduct” in February and March of 1911, then for “resorting to rooms for immoral purposes” in August, and again for “disorderly conduct” in September (NDSU Archives 1910b). Police Magistrate Martin Ryan demonstrated a similar case in Period III (NDSU Archives 1908). In fact, some of

these new charges were common among women and men who were not members of the madam cohort, and will be discussed in the next section.

The madams faced fluctuating fines over time as well. The most common monthly fines for the madam cohort were \$56.60 in Period I, \$50 in Period II, and \$100 in Periods III and IV. After June of 1912, individuals were occasionally charged with “keeping a house of prostitution” or “keeping a house of ill fame;” however, they were never again charged with the same regularity and consistency of the madam cohort. In addition, these individuals were likely arrested outside of the designated red-light district and many probably operated small, family-owned businesses.⁷

Arrests of Other Women and Men Involved in Fargo’s Sex Trade

Madams were not the only individuals charged with prostitution-related crimes. Other women and some men appeared in the dockets due to their involvement with the sex trade. In fact, these cases allow for a closer look at the less-stable forms of prostitution, such as streetwalking, and provide insight into Fargo’s prostitution hierarchy. Although the language used to charge these people was similarly drawn from the city ordinances listed earlier, the terminology was much less consistent than that of the madam cohort (see Appendix B for details).

While members of the madam cohort bore some surface-level social resemblances to middle-class women, streetwalkers encountered a consistent lack of social acceptance. Hill (1993) discusses the legal struggles streetwalkers faced due to the “immoral” nature of their work. These women served as public representatives of the sex trade, and laws were enacted to

⁷ In cities and rural areas, couples (often a husband and wife) were known for their illicit family-owned businesses. See Best (1998) and Hill (1993) for examples.

curb their behavior. “Vagrancy” was a vaguely defined criminal charge for socially deviant individuals who roamed the city streets, which often included homeless individuals and unaccompanied women, whether they were prostitutes or not. The term “vagrancy” quickly became synonymous with prostitution, and it provided police officers with the authority to arrest suspected prostitutes. Donna Seifert (2016) also noted the relevance of discussing vagrancy as it relates to prostitution, as these charges shed light on the lives of these otherwise invisible and unprotected women. As discussed earlier, these women on the lower tiers of the prostitution hierarchy often faced abuse and received unreliable sources of income.

Apart from “keeping a house of ill fame,” the most common charge recorded during this analysis was female vagrancy. In Fargo, the city ordinance for vagrancy provided a catchall regulation for persons “loitering or strolling about the streets, alleys, avenues or lanes” or “loitering or strolling about, or frequenting or remaining at...any grocery, tippling house, beer house, eating house, market place, house of ill-fame or of bad repute, ten-pin alley or billiard room, or who shall lead an idle, immoral, or profligate course of life” (Resser and Roberts 1908:106-107). Women and men convicted of vagrancy were fined between \$5 and \$20, and a warrant was not required to make an arrest. Interestingly, an association with a “house of ill-fame or of bad repute” appears within the vagrancy ordinance, even though separate charges existed for keepers and inmates of these notorious houses. Vagrancy was a more flexible way to charge individuals for prostitution-related crimes as it was not restricted to a single location, such as a house of prostitution. “Vagrancy” also likely offered the police a blank check to make arrests when acts of prostitution were suspected but could not be proven.

While vagrancy charges were more or less standardized and aligned with the text of the city ordinance, some variability between authors is apparent. This charge was listed as

“vagrancy,” “being a vagrant,” and sometimes abbreviated simply as “vag.” Two women received charges for “vagrancy and boding an idle, immoral and profligate life,” drawing directly from the colorful terminology of the ordinance (NDSU Archives 1893). Although female vagrancy may not have referred exclusively to streetwalking, it is evident that these concepts were intertwined in Fargo. For example, Hazel Gray was arrested in December of 1911 for streetwalking and then again in January of 1912, but this time for vagrancy (NDSU Archives 1910b; NDSU Archives 1912). Similarly, Vallie Cordelle was arrested in September of 1912 for vagrancy and one month later for soliciting on the street (NDSU Archives 1912). In fact, an explicit arrest for “street walking” was rare; this terminology appears in only seven of the 1,614 prostitution-related arrests between July 1894 and November 1914. There was certainly a distinct connection between street prostitution and arrests for vagrancy.

Hill (1993) explains that while women were arrested for vagrancy, it was often perfectly acceptable for men to walk city streets alone. In fact, vagrant men were often arrested for drunkenness, begging, or disease as opposed to soliciting acts of prostitution. Due to this discrepancy, data pertaining to men arrested for vagrancy were not recorded for this analysis. However, this is not to say that men were never arrested for paying for sex. In fact, a charge for “resorting to rooms” either “for immoral purposes” or “for the purpose of prostitution” often involved both men and women who were arrested for a sexual transaction. In many cases, a man and a woman were arrested at the same time and charged with the same crime, presumably caught in an act of prostitution together.⁸

⁸ Throughout this thesis, men will be referenced for their involvement in prostitution. In these contexts, men were either clients or pimps. While it does not rule out the possibility that men in brothels served other roles, I did not find any evidence for men working as prostitutes in the court dockets.

Location as an Indicator of Prostitution Type

As can be seen in the aforementioned examples, the language of most of these prostitution-related charges followed a similar structure. Specifically, the charges often referred to a particular location that either housed an act of prostitution or alluded to the potential for such acts. For example, variations of “keeping *a house* of prostitution,” “resorting *to rooms* for the purpose of prostitution,” and “soliciting *on the street*” all refer to a location pertaining to acts of prostitution. “Vagrancy” is somewhat more complex due to the generality of the city ordinance, but the mobility of the arrested individuals and the correlation between streetwalking and vagrancy charges in Fargo point to streets or spaces of temporary occupation as the locations related to their arrests.

While “a house” corresponds to a brothel, as discussed in the madam cohort section, what are “rooms?” The prostitution hierarchy considers brothels at the top of the hierarchy and street prostitution at the bottom. In the middle of this hierarchy lies crib prostitution, performed by prostitutes who rented rooms. This form of prostitution was especially common in the West as it was more mobile than brothel prostitution, while also generating more reliable and safer income than streetwalking. However, crib prostitution faced harsher regulations, especially as eradication efforts increased during the early twentieth century. Crips were often shut down prior to brothels or parlor houses (Costello 2003). Judging from the language in the terminology used to charge women and men for “resorting to rooms,” crib prostitution was quite common in Fargo. Support for the correlation between the “resorting to rooms” terminology and crib prostitution was demonstrated in a *Fargo Forum* article dating to October 16, 1909. The article describes a police raid and the arrests of two black women working out of “cribs” near The Hollow (*Fargo Forum* 1909:6).

Locations listed in the criminal charges mentioned above provide an intriguing point of intersection between the arrest records and the types of prostitution conducted. By associating the language used in the dockets with known forms of prostitution, we can identify brothel prostitution, crib prostitution, and streetwalking in turn-of-the-century Fargo. While it is recognized that this method is not without drawbacks, and some discrepancy between authors may account for differences in language used in the dockets, at a general level it allows for a city-wide analysis of prostitution and how it was handled by the police. The next step is to consider these three types of prostitution in terms of the defendants' ability to pay fines and their interactions with local police. To accomplish this, the quantitative analysis portion of this chapter utilizes location terminology to identify and articulate inequalities between these different forms of prostitution.

Articulating Inequalities within a Prostitution Hierarchy: Quantitative Analysis of Arrest Outcomes

The madam cohort is indeed an anomaly when compared to the other 812 arrests of men and women involved in Fargo's sex trade. In this section, the madam cohort is excluded from the analysis to highlight the differences between the charges of individuals in the lower tiers of the prostitution hierarchy. The fines and associated arrest outcomes analyzed here draw attention to the monetary and social inequalities apparent in the red-light district at the time. Gender differences in particular make a necessarily noteworthy appearance in these documents.

"Houses," "rooms," and "the street" were the primary locations listed in prostitution-related charges. Table 3 displays the average fines for each location,⁹ and it is clear that the

⁹ Data were not included for the defendants who were released without paying or who were sent to another judge or trial. Additionally, 23 cases were excluded from this section of the analysis because no fine was listed by the Police

location listed in the prostitution-related charge played a role in the amount each defendant owed. On average, if “house” was listed in the record, the defendant paid about double the fine of an individual arrested for “resorting to rooms” or for “vagrancy.” It is interesting that houses are mentioned here, apart from the madam cohort. In fact, the fines were lower than those of the madam cohort and several men were charged with running these houses as well. This may indicate the presence of lower-class or family-owned brothels.

Table 3. Average Fines by Gender and Location

Gender	Hallway	House	Place	Room	Room and Street	Street	Not indicated	Average Total
Women	\$10.00	\$37.48	\$5.00	\$21.68	\$20.00	\$17.75	\$18.28	\$22.69
Men	\$10.00	\$36.21		\$17.85		\$15.00	\$10.77	\$19.75
Unknown		\$10.00		\$16.40		\$19.00	\$11.25	\$15.83
Average Total	\$10.00	\$36.76	\$5.00	\$20.03	\$20.00	\$17.69	\$15.71	\$21.76

Data for the madam cohort are not included.

Women and men dealt with a variety of potential outcomes for their arrests, and these are listed in Table 4. The majority of defendants paid their fine and were discharged from city custody; however, this was not the case for everyone. Many defendants had their cases dismissed altogether with no stipulations. Others could not afford to pay the fine, or perhaps they used their jail time as a survival tactic when faced with harsh winter weather (Seifert 2016), and were committed to jail. Suspended sentences allowed the defendants to leave city custody provided

Magistrate or Justice of the Peace. Only the final amount owed or paid was considered, even if bail was held at a higher amount and the defendant was later reimbursed for the difference.

they adhered to strict probationary conditions, often forcing them to leave town. Finally, a few individuals were sent to another judge or trial for an ongoing battle with Fargo's legal system.

Table 4. Arrest Outcomes by Location

Arrest Outcomes	Hallway		House		Place		Room		Room and Street		Street		Not indicated		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Case dismissed		0.00	29	22.14		0.00	81	24.25		0.00	53	19.13	15	23.44	178	21.92
Committed		0.00	26	19.85		0.00	52	15.57		0.00	56	20.22	6	9.37	140	17.24
Committed, then paid later		0.00	2	1.53		0.00	5	1.50		0.00	8	2.89		0.00	15	1.85
Committed, then sentence suspended later		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	3	1.08		0.00	3	0.37
Paid and discharged	2	100.00	65	49.62	1	100.00	169	50.60	2	66.67	133	48.01	40	62.50	412	50.74
Sent to another judge or trial		0.00	1	0.76		0.00	5	1.50		0.00	3	1.08		0.00	9	1.11
Sentence appealed		0.00	1	0.76		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Sentence suspended		0.00	2	1.53		0.00	12	3.59		0.00	8	2.89	3	4.69	25	3.08
Sentence suspended upon partial payment		0.00	1	0.76		0.00		0.00		0.00	1	0.36		0.00	2	0.25
Not indicated		0.00	4	3.05		0.00	10	2.99	1	33.33	12	4.33		0.00	27	3.33
Total	2	100	13	100	1	100	334	100	3	100	277	100	64	100	812	100

Data for the madam cohort are not included.

Interestingly, the city committed about 20% of defendants and dismissed about 20% of cases with charges related to the “house” and “street” locations. Meanwhile, 24% of “room” cases were dismissed and 15.6% resulted in incarceration. This notable difference turns our attention to the gender of the individuals arrested for these crimes. Very few men were arrested for prostitution in houses or on the streets, but many men were arrested for resorting to rooms with women. This discrepancy points to a correlation between arrest outcomes for crib prostitution and differences in gender.

This analysis reveals very different legal experiences between women and men arrested for acts of prostitution, demonstrating that gender certainly played a prominent role in the red-light district. In every location (with the exception of the hallway, which accounted for only two charges) women paid more for their crimes on average (see Table 3). Close attention should be paid to the “room” location, since both men and women shared most of the charges in this category. Of all locations, “rooms” offer the greatest gap between average fines for men and women, totaling \$3.72. If left unpaid, that would be the difference of nearly three days in jail. When the location was not indicated, an even greater discrepancy can be identified.

In Table 5 the sheer number of women arrested for acts of prostitution was considerably higher when compared to men, accounting for more than 74% of the prostitution charges. You will also notice that Table 5 displays a third category: individuals of unknown gender. The genders of these individuals were unidentifiable due to one of the following reasons: there was no name associated with the arrest, the name was unreadable due to illegible handwriting or damage to the document, or the first name was abbreviated and no gendered pronouns were listed.

Table 5. Arrest Outcomes by Gender

Arrest Outcomes	Women		Men		Unknown		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Case dismissed	121	19.83	50	31.06	7	15.22	178	25.00
Committed	100	16.53	29	18.01	11	23.91	140	17.24
Committed, then paid later	15	2.48		0.00		0.00	15	1.85
Committed, then sentence suspended later	3	0.50		0.00		0.00	3	0.37
Paid and discharged	318	52.56	72	44.72	22	47.83	412	50.74
Sent to another judge or trial	6	0.99	2	1.24	1	2.17	9	1.11
Sentence appealed	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Sentence suspended	20	3.47	4	2.48	1	2.17	25	0.00
Sentence suspended upon partial payment	1	0.17	1	0.62		0.00	2	0.25
Not indicated	20	3.31	3	1.86	4	8.70	27	3.33
Total	605	100	161	100	46	100	812	100

Data for the madam cohort are not included.

Comparable percentages of women and men charged with prostitution-related crimes did not pay their fines and were committed to jail. However, when it came to paying the fines and having the cases dismissed, there was a noticeable difference between men and women. Approximately 55% of women were required to pay their fine either to prevent their incarceration or to end their jail sentence early, while only about 45% of men paid a fine. In addition, only about 20% of women had their cases dismissed and were discharged, compared to 31% of men who walked away without a fine or jail time. The data presented here begin to reveal a gendered component to Fargo’s prostitution hierarchy. Men were afforded more leniency than women when it came to paying for their crimes.

Several arrested individuals were listed with abbreviated names, including H. J. Robinson, G. F. Bailey, and O. H. Hart. This is noteworthy since the individual’s first name is

abbreviated, but the last name is still identified. Did these names belong to men or women or both? And why were these names abbreviated? Several entries within the dockets imply that these unidentified individuals may be men, such as the arrests of Jennette Howard and N. Heam. Both Howard and Heam were arrested on January 9, 1896 and charged with “resorting to rooms for the purpose of prostitution.” They each paid their fines and were discharged. Heam was most likely a male client of Howard’s, but his name was abbreviated in the court docket (NDSU Archives 1893).

Although no gender was directly identified in N. Heam’s case, there are other cases where a man with an abbreviated first name was arrested and his gender was identified. For example, Robert and Netty Moore, R. McIntosh, and Flora McDougal were arrested on July 14, 1903. While R. McIntosh’s first name was not listed, the Police Magistrate identifies him as male when he refers to McIntosh’s payment of the fine: “McIntosh gives *his* in cash” (emphasis added; NDSU Archives 1901). In another entry, W. S. and Mrs. W. S. Engle were arrested on December 4, 1912 for “resorting to rooms” (NDSU Archives 1912). In instances where a married woman was arrested under her husband’s name, his first name is often abbreviated, such as the case with the Engles.

Summary and Conclusions

At least three forms of prostitution were well documented in turn-of-the-century Fargo: brothel prostitution, crib prostitution, and streetwalking. The public’s understanding of the prostitution hierarchy was reflected in city ordinances and in the arrest outcomes for individuals involved in the sex trade. This analysis clearly demonstrates bias on behalf of the local police; they determined which types of prostitution were acceptable and which were not. Madams held an unrivaled economic position in the red-light district; they straddled a middle-class lifestyle and the reputation of a criminal. Members of the madam cohort were charged a steep monthly

fine, and, provided they could pay that fine, were granted some leniency within the legal system. Madams could operate their businesses openly and with minimal interruption by police, which demonstrated a distinct level of tolerance for brothel prostitution.

While the madams were initially afforded several advantages within the red-light district, it is clear their high status gradually declined over time. The informal regulation of brothels became less socially acceptable, and this was reflected in the documents as fines were increased and the terminology used to charge the madam cohort shifted away from its Victorian roots. By the madams' final period of monthly regulation, most were charged with the same terminology used to arrest crib prostitutes, and the euphemistic "ill fame" terminology used to describe their brothels had all but disappeared. The madams' success ended completely when police raids permanently closed the brothels, and the standardized cohort charges disappeared from the dockets after 1912.

Among the lower levels of the prostitution hierarchy, crib prostitutes and streetwalkers were never considered acceptable and were frequently targeted by the police.¹⁰ However, their fines and punishments were much less serious when compared to those of brothel madams. Although these types of prostitution were considered unacceptable, the fines were not exorbitant and were often payable by the defendants. The city ordinances made sure that the fines fit the crimes. When it came to arrest outcomes, many individuals arrested for resorting to rooms, or crib prostitution, were discharged with only a warning. "Resorting to rooms" was a charge given frequently to both men and women, drawing attention to the gendered context of these arrests.

¹⁰ It is important to note that while this analysis revealed several tiers of a prostitution hierarchy, the divisions between these tiers were not likely quite so rigid. Women probably moved between different types of sex work as their personal situation shifted, making these distinctions much more fluid than they may appear in this chapter. In fact, there may have been overlap between prostitution types, especially between crib and street prostitution.

Perhaps the gendered differences within the legal system are not surprising considering the historical context of this research. Female vagrancy was clearly intertwined with prostitution, and keeping houses of ill fame was a charge dominated by women. When compared to these other charges, “resorting to rooms” offered a gender-neutral way to charge both men and women involved in acts of prostitution.

Men and women were also identified differently in the dockets. Men sometimes appeared in the records with an abbreviated first name, affording them a certain level of anonymity. Interestingly, abbreviated first names were not the only way individuals’ identities were obscured in the court dockets. Some men and women were identified simply as John or Mary Doe. “Miss Doe” was also a common identifier of women. Perhaps these women were intoxicated or simply refused to provide their names, but these pseudonyms and respectable titles may also speak to further complexities within the prostitution hierarchy, which offers an interesting avenue for future research. While gender featured prominently in the arrests of individuals involved in the sex trade, the racial identification of two women in the *Fargo Forum* article mentioned previously (*Fargo Forum* 1909:6) demonstrates that race was also a noteworthy concept in the red-light district, and future research should address its role within the prostitution hierarchy as well (see Chapter Six for initial discussions).

In this analysis, class, gender, and sexuality play inseparable roles. Legal terminology, arrest outcomes, and fines for individuals involved in early Fargo’s sex trade provide evidence for a prostitution hierarchy that also incorporated gendered and class-based differences. Brothel madams were regularly fined using consistent language that was recorded during frequent interactions with local law enforcement. In contrast, variation within the terminology of charges and fines for other individuals allows us to explore lower tiers of the prostitution hierarchy.

Charges for women and men were also treated differently, resulting in higher fines and stricter regulations for women, and legal leniency and occasional anonymity for men. The local police clearly targeted female sex workers rather than their male clients, demonstrating how Fargo's legal system acknowledged both the public's opinion of prostitution and the class-based prostitution hierarchy, all while perpetuating gender inequalities.

CHAPTER SIX: SEX IN THE CITY LIMITS: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF PROSTITUTION IN FARGO

Now that we know prostitution was active in Fargo and that some women fared better than others, was there evidence for a red-light district? Engelhardt says yes – The Hollow. What characteristics did the red-light district hold? How did the red-light district manifest within Fargo, and how does this compare to nearby cities? Prostitution was clearly thriving in Fargo around the turn of the century, and organized prostitution – in the form of brothels run by madams – would have held a prominent position on the city’s landscape. Did brothel location also play a role in maintaining vice? While the arrest records discussed in the previous chapter contain rich data, the majority were not associated with a physical address. However, 89 arrests were intermittently associated with the address of a house or room of prostitution between 1896 and 1913.

The Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (1884, 1888, 1892, 1896, 1901, 1905, 1906, 1910, 1916) indicate that prostitution in “The Hollow,” the first ward neighborhood surrounding 2nd Avenue North and 3rd Street South, hosted an array of buildings intended for “female boarding.” This term, as described in Mueller (2004), was placed on the fire insurance maps to indicate that the building was almost always occupied, so someone could alert authorities of a potential fire. Importantly, this euphemistic term referred specifically to brothels and bordellos. Yet, could organized prostitution, such as brothel prostitution, also have been occurring elsewhere in the city?

The research in this chapter begins by broadly analyzing the spatial distribution of arrests related to prostitution throughout the city while considering membership to the madam cohort (Chapter Five) and outcome of the arrest. The scope of analysis is then narrowed to The Hollow

and neighboring buildings, where spatial and economic differences are explored within the red-light district. Finally, demographic data from U.S. Census records (including age and race) contribute another, more personal layer of spatial comparison between The Hollow's brothel owners.

Mapping Sex Work in Fargo

Each address associated with a prostitution-related arrest was digitized by hand using ArcMap GIS software, resulting in a point layer of arrest records.¹¹ This method is not especially precise, since all arrests associated with addresses came from a 17-year period (1896-1913) and were aggregated on the 1910 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the city of Fargo.¹² Modern GIS data are not very helpful either, since many of the addresses, street names, and even street routes have changed. Due to these obstacles, only approximate addresses were mapped in order to identify general spatial trends during this period. In addition to the arrests, the boundary of Fargo's business district, or downtown, was digitized to analyze the different types of prostitution that were taking place inside and outside of Fargo's central hub.

Figure 2 shows each address associated with prostitution-related arrests in the court dockets with weighted symbology to highlight addresses with recurrent arrests. In addition, Figure 3 uses different symbols to show which addresses involved arrests of the madam cohort, and which did not. Interestingly, all arrests of the madam cohort were near, yet completely outside of, the business district boundary. These arrests are in line with Engelhardt's (2007) positioning of "The Hollow," and buildings in this area were labeled as "female boarding" on

¹¹ Two additional locations were identified in the arrest records: Ely Block and Belmont Hotel. However, these were not digitized because the Ely Block was not associated with a specific address and the address for the Belmont Hotel has not yet been found.

¹² The 1910 Sanborn map was used since it accommodated all addresses associated with the arrests and corresponded with one of the Census data collection years.

several large-scale Sanborn maps from this period. However, prostitution was also thriving in other areas of the city, specifically along Front Street.

Prostitution-Related Arrests in Fargo, ND (1896 - 1913)

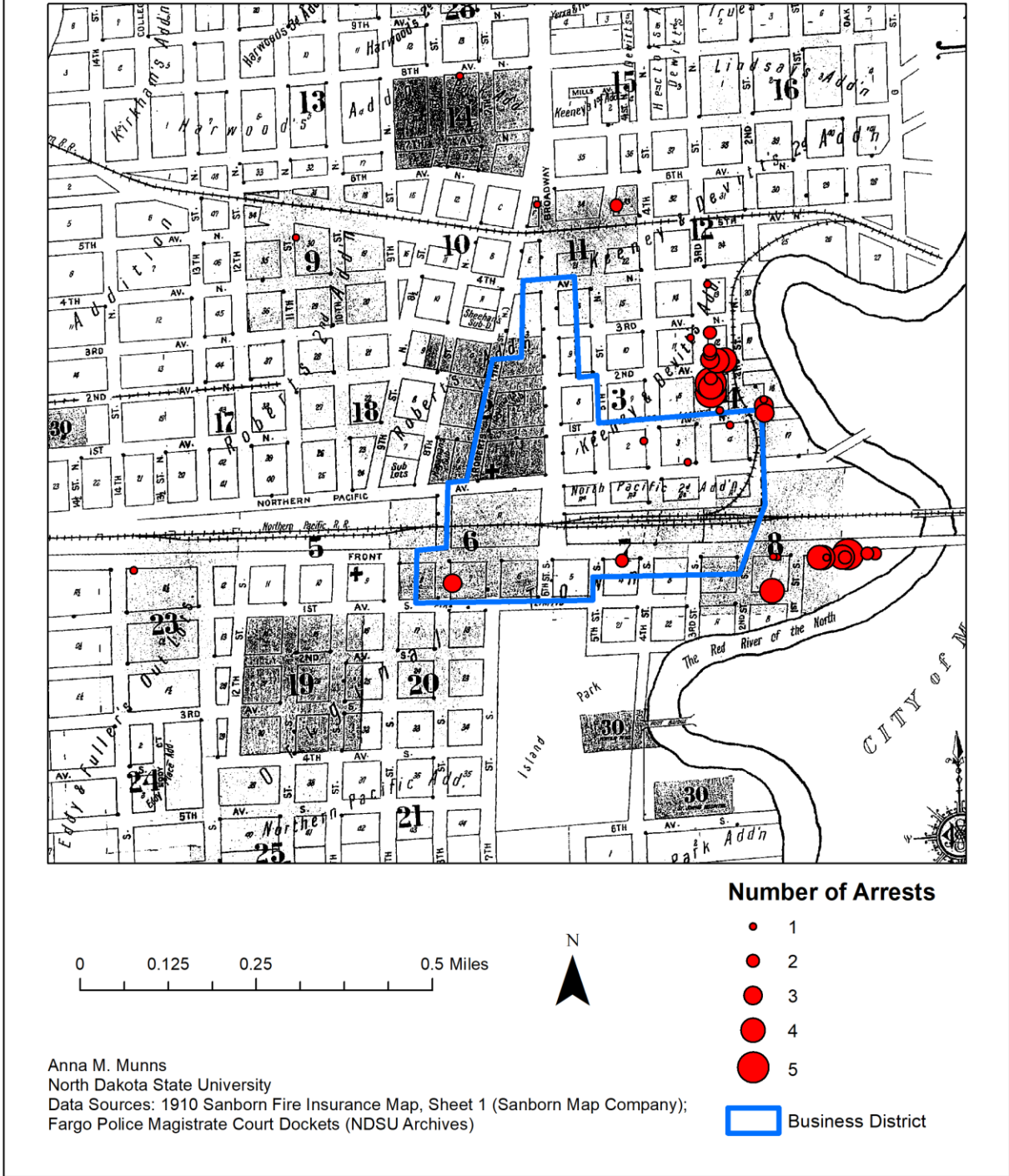
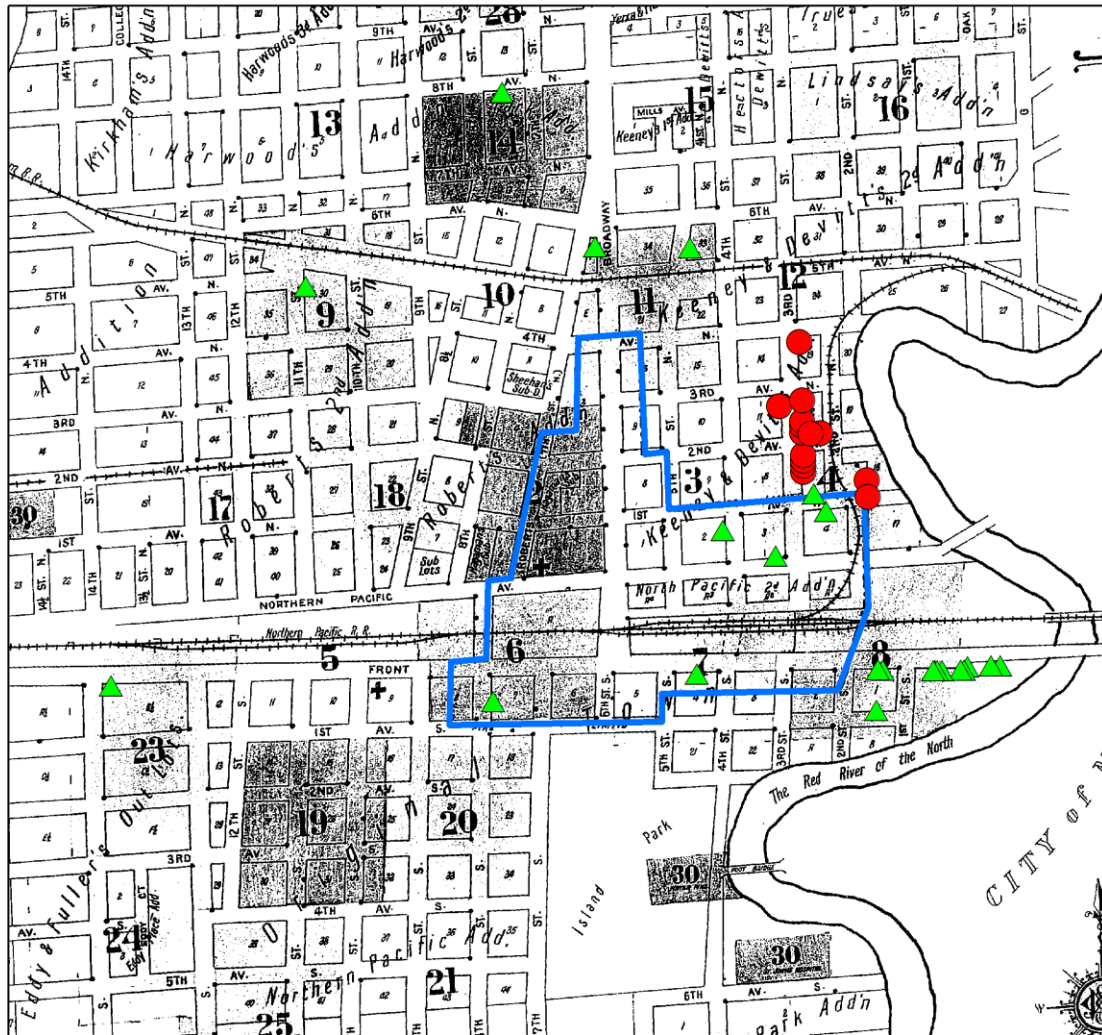


Figure 2. Map of Prostitution-Related Arrests with Known Addresses in Fargo, ND (1896-1913)

Prostitution-Related Arrests in Fargo, ND (1896 - 1913)



0 0.125 0.25 0.5 Miles



Individuals Arrested

- Madam Cohort
- ▲ Other Women and Men
- Business District

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 Data Sources: 1910 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Sheet 1 (Sanborn Map Company);
 Fargo Police Magistrate Court Dockets (NDSU Archives)

Figure 3. Map of Prostitution-Related Arrests with Known Addresses in Fargo, ND (1896-1913), Differentiated by Membership to the Madam Cohort.

To further investigate the distribution of arrests throughout the city, a point pattern analysis was performed. Ripley's K function is a statistical method that was performed to help identify clustering or dispersion of arrests at varying distances. This density formula compares the distribution of observed points (via a single, arbitrary point) to an expected (random) distribution of points (Longley et al. 2015). Figure 4 was generated using the Multi-Distance Spatial Cluster Analysis (Ripley's K Function) tool in ArcMap. The results in Figure 4 show clustering because the observed arrest distributions at various distances are above the line of expected densities, especially at distances between 200 and 1000 feet. No dispersion is evident. Although clustering of arrests has been confirmed, this method does not provide a reason for the clustering nor how many clusters are present. There are two general explanations for clustered point patterns: density-driven, or first-order, processes and point-to-point interaction, or second-order, processes. For example, we cannot tell from Figure 4 if the high density of arrests is simply due to a high-density population in the same area (first-order process) or if the high density of arrests is due to intentional restrictions or accessibility to a sex work network (second-order processes). To gain more confidence in an explanation involving a second-order process, a map of Fargo's population density during the era of interest would provide an important comparison to help rule out simple density-driven explanations. Due to the population of Fargo at the time (14,331 in 1910; United States Bureau of the Census 1913), population density may not have had much effect. However, such a map has not yet been created to confirm this.

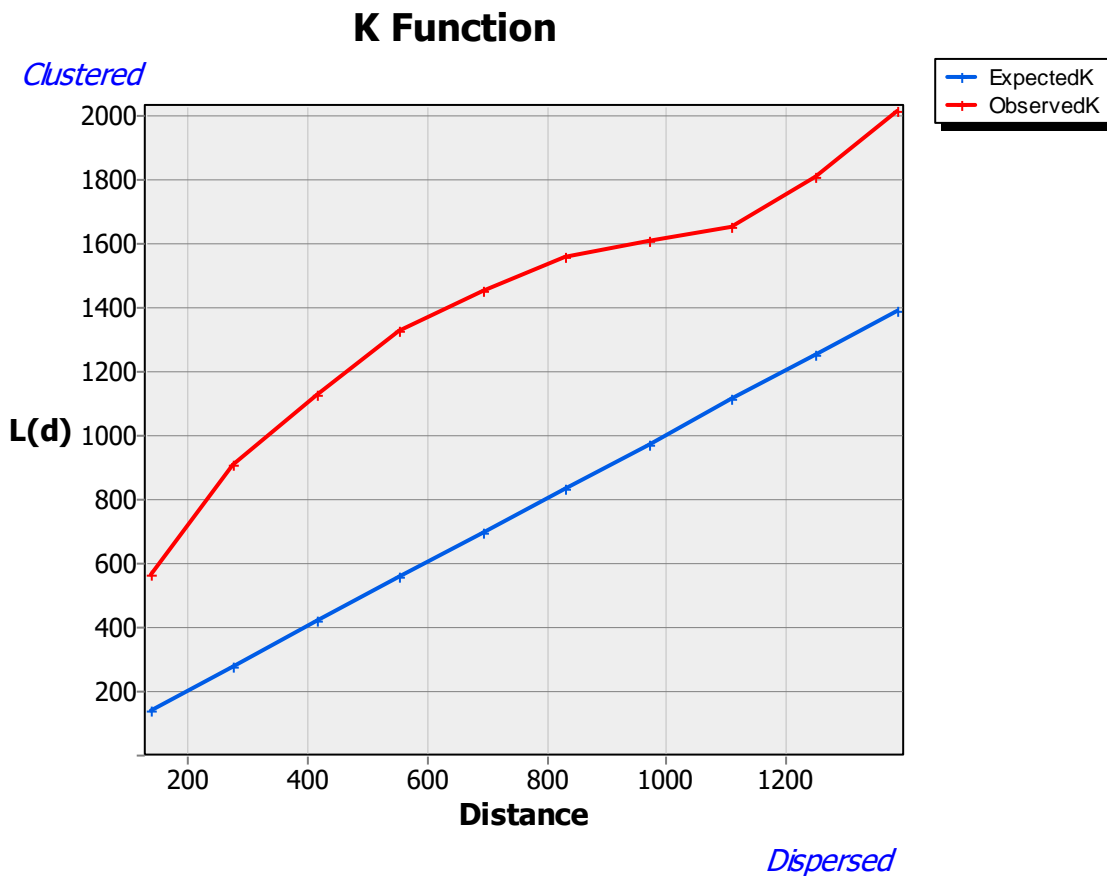


Figure 4. *K* Function for Mapped Arrests. Units of distance are measured in U.S. feet. The Ripley Edge Correction formula was used to mitigate edge effects, and 10 distance bands were generated.

Next, a kernel function was performed to identify areas with higher densities of arrests. With this method, arrest points are replaced by “kernels” and these kernels are then added together to create a continuous density surface. The smoothness of that surface depends on the distance parameter assigned to the kernel. Distance should be increased enough to allow for kernels to overlap and form a smooth, continuous surface without obscuring distinct high-density areas (Longley et al. 2015). The Kernel Density Spatial Analyst tool in ArcMap was used to generate Figure 5. The search radius (distance parameter) was 500 square feet, which resulted in

two smooth but distinct areas of interest. As expected, these two areas appear in The Hollow and along east Front Street. It is important to note that this map shows only a simple density of arrests. That is, the arrest data were not normalized using population data or some other ubiquitous measure, as these were not readily available. Therefore, this map should be interpreted with caution, since areas of high-density arrests could simply be associated with high-density population and vice-versa, an issue that affected the K function analysis as well. It is also important to remember that these data are far from complete, representing only 5.4%¹³ (87/1614) of all prostitution-related arrests in the court dockets because most records did not have addresses associated with them. However, since the map is somewhat large-scale (i.e., includes lots of detail; covers a relatively small area) and prior knowledge of the area tells us that these areas were not densely inhabited (i.e., they fall predominantly outside of the business district), we can reasonably say that these are two locations of interest.

¹³ This percentage does not include the Ely Block and Belmont Hotel entries, since they were not mapped in Figures 2, 3, or 6.

Density of Prostitution-Related Arrests in Fargo, ND (1896 - 1913)



Business District

0 0.15 0.3 0.6 Miles

Low Density of Arrests

 High Density of Arrests

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 Data Sources: 1910 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Sheet 1 (Sanborn Map Company); Fargo Police Magistrate Court Dockets (NDSU Archives)

Figure 5. Kernel Density Map of Prostitution-Related Arrests with Known Addresses in Fargo, ND (1896-1913).

Analysis of Fargo's Two Red-light Districts

So, how did sex work compare between these two areas? And could they have been distinct red-light districts? Both were situated on a similar landscape: on the outskirts of town and on a less-than-ideal plot near the Red River, a site of frequent flooding. The Sanborn map from 1906 labels the blue outlined area on the figures as the “business district” (Sanborn Map Company 1906), and is in the area known as “downtown” today. The area to the northeast of downtown was known as “The Hollow,” and was home to the madam cohort (Engelhardt 2007). As discussed in Chapter Five, the madam cohort was charged with “keeping a house of ill fame” or some version of that terminology (see Appendix C for additional details), and the addresses associated with arrests of the madam cohort confirm Engelhardt’s placement of The Hollow. In addition, these arrests fall entirely outside of the downtown boundary. Very few prostitution-related arrests were made within that boundary at all. While these madams strategically plied their trade near downtown, they were careful not to let their brothels cross that line.

Most of the Front Street arrests were also outside of the downtown boundary, and they were for surprisingly similar reasons. I initially expected many of these arrests to be inconsistent arrests off the street or from rented rooms. However, most of these charges were for “keeping a house of ill fame,” or “being an inmate,” like the madam cohort (see Appendix C for details). Yet, the Front Street arrests tell a different story than the madams of The Hollow. These arrests differ not in the location associated with the arrest (although there were a few women charged for “resorting to a room” or “keeping a room” along Front Street), but in the arrest outcomes. Figure 6 displays the variety of outcomes associated with the Front Street arrests. In some cases, the madam paid and was discharged, the sentence was suspended, the women were committed, or the case was dismissed entirely. Interestingly, a couple of cases even involved men. In some of these instances, a husband and wife were both charged for keeping a house of ill fame (e.g.,

see Sadie and Horton Adams and Alice and Bert Walker in Tables C3 and C4). Compared to the consistency of arrest outcomes with the madam cohort, this area clearly functioned in a different way.

Prostitution-Related Arrests in Fargo, ND (1896 - 1913)

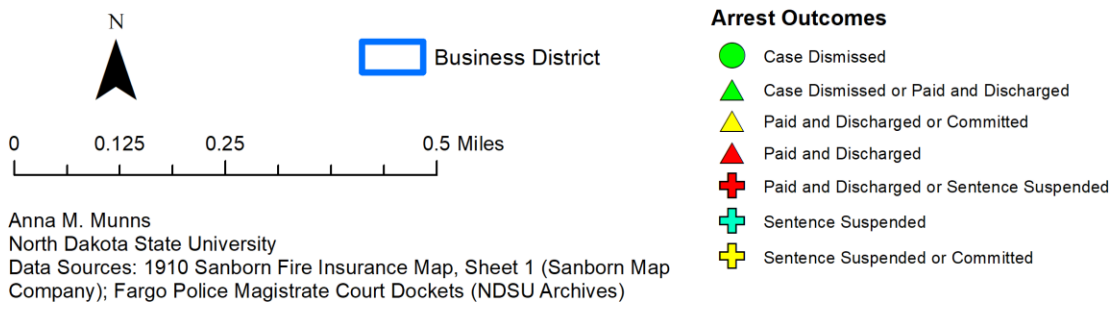
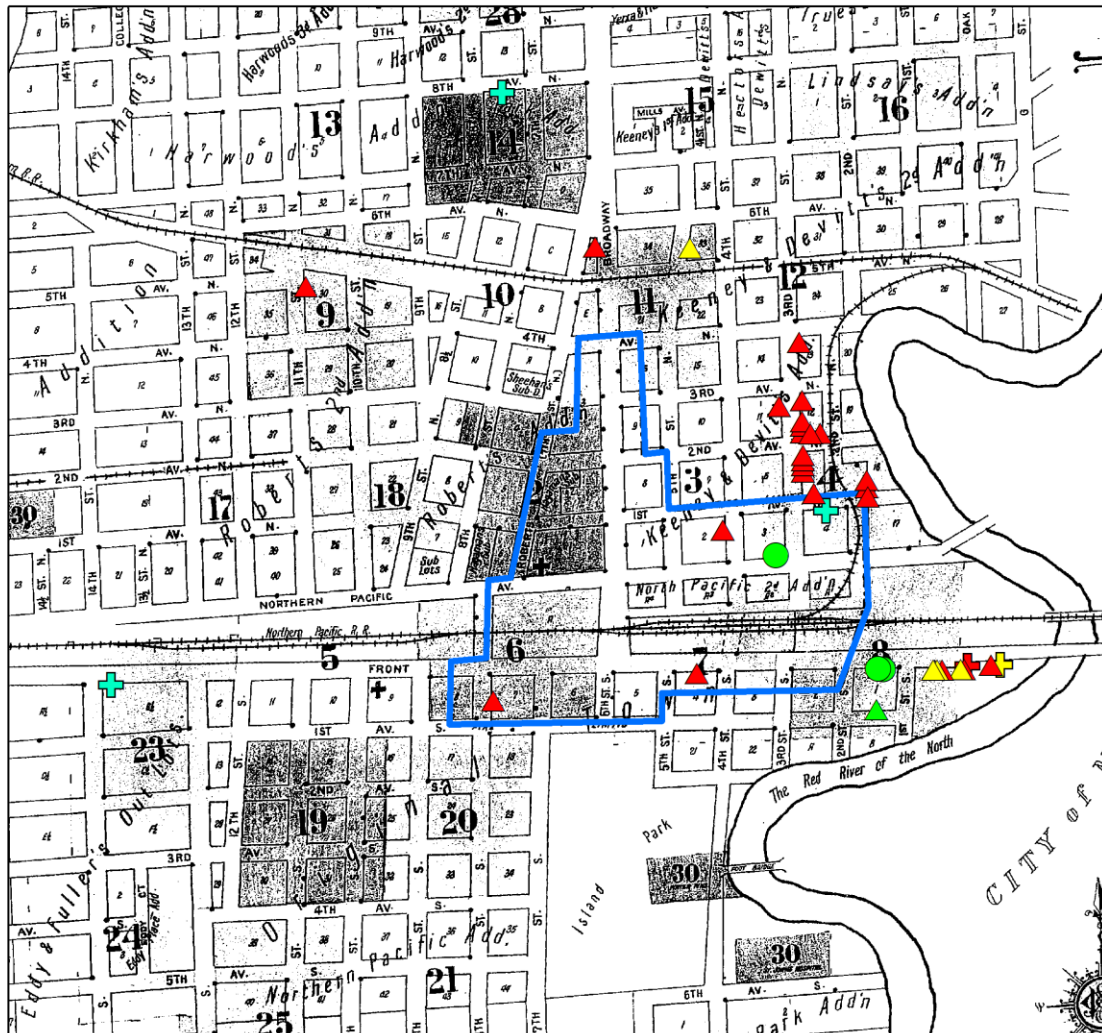


Figure 6. Map of Prostitution-Related Arrests with Known Addresses in Fargo, ND (1896-1913), Differentiated by Arrest Outcomes.

The Front Street brothels were not as organized nor as financially stable as The Hollow's brothels because they did not demonstrate the same consistency in charges nor in arrest outcomes as the madam cohort (Figure 6). Sometimes individuals were committed or had their sentence conditionally suspended when they could not pay the fine. Interestingly, most Sanborn maps provide little detail on Front Street, an area described by Engelhardt as "impoverished" (2007:223). A closer look at the 1884 Sanborn map reveals a string of squatters' shanties as well as a shop labeled as "dress making," a code for prostitution (Best 1982; Sanborn Map Company 1884). To the west of this area stood several hotels, a shooting gallery, and a saloon.¹⁴ Gambling rooms also appeared in the court dockets with addresses on Front Street (NDSU Archives 1910b). After prohibition, blind pigs, including one owned by Johnny Haas, Fargo's most famous "blind pigger," appeared on Front Street (Engelhardt 2007:217). On the later Sanborn maps, shops, dwellings, and a couple of shanties appear (e.g., Sanborn Map Company 1901). In drastic contrast, The Hollow hosted its own neighborhood improvement organization. Front Street was commercial, while The Hollow was residential.

From the general spatial placement just outside the downtown boundary and the brothel-related arrest characteristics, I can conclude that there were two distinct red-light districts in turn-of-the-century Fargo. However, these two areas had very different levels of social acceptability. While the madam cohort in The Hollow paid their monthly fines and received legal immunity, the madams and prostitutes on Front Street did not make these consistent payments, and did not always know what to expect from their arrests. It seems that prostitution in The Hollow was more restricted and regulated, and therefore, it was more tolerable to the police. Even though

¹⁴ Note that 1884 was prior to prohibition in North Dakota.

both red-light districts offered brothel prostitution, the women on Front Street were not protected from the law, as can be seen by their variable arrest outcomes. Interestingly, after The Hollow's brothels were permanently closed after June 1912, a few arrests continued to be made on Front Street. However, these Front Street arrests ceased after November of 1912. In the next section, a closer look is given to the buildings that comprised the Hollow. A deeper analysis of the Front Street red-light district is also warranted but will not be explored in this thesis.

Wealth in The Hollow

The Hollow held a notable, though restricted, place in Fargo, and was home to the wealthy madam cohort. The buildings owned by these madams displayed wealth, but they were not always labeled as brothels on the Sanborn maps. So, which buildings were involved with sex work, and was there economic diversity between the buildings in this neighborhood?

Furthermore, can a brothel hierarchy be teased apart by investigating building data?

Initially, this section of the thesis was intended to combine several wealth-related variables from both Sanborn maps and U.S. Census records and compare the results between 1900 and 1910, the two years in the timeframe of interest for which Census records exist. Sanborn data would have been collected from maps created during comparable years: 1901 and 1910, and the Census records would have provided data on home ownership and whether the home was mortgaged or owned free. A house owned without a mortgage would have indicated a high economic standing. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the Census records does not provide sufficient data for aggregating these variables. Many houses did not have any ownership data associated with them, or were simply assigned check marks rather than ownership codes. Due to irregular First Ward Census data, only Sanborn map data have been utilized in this part of the analysis. Notably, these patchy data appear to be consistent across wards, including the wealthier Third Ward. Ward Six, however, appears to display more meticulous record-keeping.

While consistent, the data were accompanied by new handwriting and most likely indicate a change in scribe. Although irregular, the Census records do contain valuable demographic data that will be used in the final section of this chapter.

Building data were gathered from the 1901 and 1910 Sanborn maps, mirroring the expected timeframe for the original analysis. For feasibility, only hotels and dwellings in the two blocks east of 3rd street north, west of 2nd street north (in 1901; these data were considered in 1910 since the neighborhood had begun to spread), north of 1st avenue north, and south of 3rd avenue north were considered. In addition, no stables, outbuildings, or otherwise non-inhabitable buildings were analyzed. Three wealth-related housing variables were recorded for each building in The Hollow's neighborhood: roofing material type, presence or absence of a basement, and the number of stories in the building (excluding the basement). The types of roofing material are indicated by a small symbol on the corner of each building. An 'X' indicates wood shingles, a closed '●' indicates composition roofing, or asphalt, and an open '○' indicates non-combustible roof covering, most commonly of metal, slate, or tile (Environment Data Resources 2005). From wood shingles to non-combustible coverings, these materials rank from least to most fire-resistant. In terms of economic status, buildings with more fire-resistant roofing material, a basement, and many stories, would have cost more and therefore, demonstrate greater access to wealth (McCrickard 2013; Sanborn Map Company 1910, sheet 1). See Tables 6 and 7 for these housing variables.

Table 6. 1901 Sanborn Map Data and Variable Ranks for The Hollow

Address	Sanborn Building Label	Roof Material	Roof Material Rank	Basement	Number of Stories	Stories Rank	Digitized Area (sq. ft.)
115 3rd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1388.57
117 3rd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1898.32
119 3rd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1888.28
121 3rd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	1636.83
203 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	655.44
207 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	815.09
211 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1.5	2	856.13
215 2nd Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	957.50
217 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Non-combustible	3	No	2	3	1129.83
217 2nd Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	791.78
223 1st Ave N	Central Hotel	Non-combustible	3	Yes	2	3	2691.82

Table 7. 1910 Sanborn Map Data and Variable Ranks for The Hollow

Address	Sanborn Building Label	Roof Material	Roof Material Rank	Basement	Number of Stories	Stories Rank	Digitized Area (sq. ft.)
101 2nd St N	Hotel Bemidji	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	2189.66
115 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1647.52
117 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1885.02
119 2nd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	585.16
119 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	2099.84
121 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	1489.84
201 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	Yes	2	3	2022.88
207 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	881.74
208 2nd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	537.98
209 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	1075.84
211 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1.5	2	1085.23
211 3rd St N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	801.87
213 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	620.18
2131/2 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	395.29
215 2nd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	389.35
215 2nd Ave N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1400.73
217 1st Ave N	Dwelling	Composition	2	No	2	3	953.71
217 2nd Ave N	Female Boarding	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1256.72

Table 7. 1910 Sanborn Map Data and Variable Ranks for The Hollow (continued)

Address	Sanborn Building Label	Roof Material	Roof Material Rank	Basement	Number of Stories	Stories Rank	Digitized Area (sq. ft.)
223 1st Ave N	Central Hotel	Non-combustible	3	No	2	3	2780.35
311 2nd St N	Dwelling	Wood Shingle	1	No	1	1	124.00
99 2nd St N	North Star Hotel	Wood Shingle	1	No	2	3	1637.13

To score these variables and roughly differentiate buildings that demonstrated either greater or lesser cost when compared to nearby buildings, Gower’s Coefficient of similarity was used (Drennan 2009). Each possible pair of buildings received a final score between 0 and 1; higher scores indicate greater similarity, while lower scores indicate dissimilarity (which means greater difference between the costs of the two buildings). Gower’s Coefficient considers variables that are present/absent, categorized and ranked, categorized and unranked, and measurements. The primary reason for selecting this method was to identify buildings that would have incurred a greater cost when compared to other buildings in the same neighborhood. In other words, who demonstrated wealth via their housing? In addition, this method is useful because present/absent variables (e.g., presence/absence of a basement), do not receive a score for absent-absent matches. Because basements were so uncommon during this era, an absent-absent match between two buildings is not very noteworthy and should not receive any score. This results in present-absent mismatches or present-present matches having greater weight in the final score.

To begin calculating Gower’s Coefficient, the basement variable was assigned. Buildings were categorized simply as “yes” or “no” with regard to the presence or absence of a basement.

A present-present match equals 1, a present-absent mismatch equals 0, and an absent-absent match would result in the omission of a value (X). This process was repeated for all possible building pairs with the addresses in Appendix D.

The roofing materials were each assigned a rank based on their degree of flammability: wood shingles = 1 (most flammable), composition roofing = 2, and non-combustible roof covering = 3 (most fire-resistant). Occasionally, multiple types of roofing were used on a single building. For this analysis, only the roofing material that covered the majority of the building was considered, so each building was assigned only one roofing material type. After each building was associated with the appropriate roofing, each pair of buildings received a score based on the following equation:

$$\text{Roofing Variable Score} = 1 - \frac{|a - b|}{3}$$

The score for one building's roof material (b) was subtracted from another building's roof material (a), and the absolute value of that difference was divided by the total number of ranked categories within the roofing variable (3). This number was subtracted from one to reveal the roofing variable score, or degree of similarity, for those two buildings. If the number is closer to one, the buildings were similar, but if the number is closer to zero, the two buildings exhibited very different indicators of wealth. For example, if two buildings had the same wood shingle roofing, they receive a score of "1." However, if one building had wood shingle roofing and the other had non-combustible roof covering, they receive a score of "0.333."

Next, the number of stories in each building ranged from one to two, excluding the basement. Interestingly, the building at 211 1st Avenue North even hosted 1.5 stories. While at first it may seem counterintuitive, this variable was treated as a ranked (ordinal) variable, rather than a continuous measurement. Buildings could not reasonably have something like 1.22

stories, so ranked measures provide the best fit. With three possible (ranked) categories, buildings with one story receive a rank of “1,” buildings with 1.5 stories receive a rank of “2” and buildings with two stories receive a “3.” This equation is identical to that of the roofing variable.

$$\textit{Stories Variable Score} = 1 - \frac{|a - b|}{3}$$

While basements, roofing material, and stories can easily be identified using basic symbology in GIS, the final variable sets this analysis apart from simple observation. By incorporating the estimated square footage of first-floor living space into the coefficient, each pair of buildings is assigned a unique score. Area was estimated using the square footage from digitized building boundaries. Only the area of the first floor was considered in order to provide a standalone value that is not affected by other variables, since basements and stories have already been considered. However, it is important to note that with more variables, the harder it may be to identify which variable or variables differentiate a building from its neighbors.

The score for the first-floor area variable was based on a measurement, which sets it apart from the ranked variables. Therefore, the range of area measurements provides the denominator in the calculation of the score, as denoted in the following equation.

$$\textit{Area Variable Score} = 1 - \frac{|a - b|}{\textit{Area Range of Group}}$$

The final step is to average all three scores associated with each pair of buildings. The simplicity of this method is perhaps its greatest drawback. All variables, regardless of actual cost at that time, are weighted equally in the coefficient calculations. Even though it may have cost significantly more to build a basement than to use a more expensive roofing material (or vice versa), that difference in actual cost (or value) was not considered in the final score calculation

for this research due to time constraints and availability of data. The results allow only a preliminary analysis of wealth in The Hollow, since they only emphasize equally weighted, multi-variable differences in housing expenses. For example, a larger house with inexpensive roofing could receive a similar final score to a smaller house with more expensive roofing. Therefore, the final calculations reveal more extreme cases, or buildings that exhibited many – or no – wealth-related features.

The final coefficient calculations, based on 1901 and 1910 Sanborn map data, are available in Appendix D. Buildings with many high scores (i.e., closer to 1) indicate greater similarity to their neighbors, while buildings with many low scores (i.e., closer to 0) are distinct from the others. The most telling information comes from the unique buildings on The Hollow's landscape that received many low scores. In fact, several buildings received very low similarity coefficients when compared to their neighbors in 1901 and 1910 and are discussed in the next section.

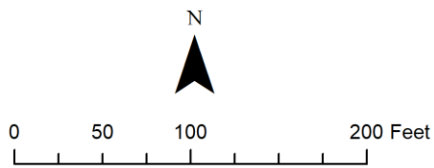
Analysis of Wealth in The Hollow

To make the most of this analysis, buildings with several low coefficients of similarity have been brought to the forefront. That is, the buildings highlighted in Figures 7 and 8 exhibited coefficients of similarity lower than 0.50 when compared to at least three of their neighbors. While 0.50 is an arbitrary number, it certainly draws one's attention to any unique buildings in the area. These buildings would have exhibited wealth very differently from other buildings in The Hollow.

In 1901, one 1st Avenue North building met the criteria outlined above. Central Hotel stood apart from the rest of the buildings in The Hollow, partially because its roofing quality was higher than its neighbors'. In addition, Central Hotel sets itself apart simply due to its great size. Figures 7 and 8 are choropleth maps that display the coefficients of similarity for each 1901

building as compared to Central Hotel. Lighter colors indicate low similarity, while darker colors reflect greater similarity. The building of focus is outlined in yellow on each map. All other buildings in the area were similar to each other in terms of wealth.

Similarity Coefficients for Central Hotel in The Hollow of Fargo, ND (1901)



Anna M. Munns
North Dakota State University
Data Sources: 1901 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Sheet 4
(Sanborn Map Company)

Similarity Coefficients

	0.166700 - 0.186300
	0.186301 - 0.287200
	0.287201 - 0.423400
	0.423401 - 0.558300
	0.558301 - 1.000000

Figure 7. Similarity Coefficients for Central Hotel (1901).

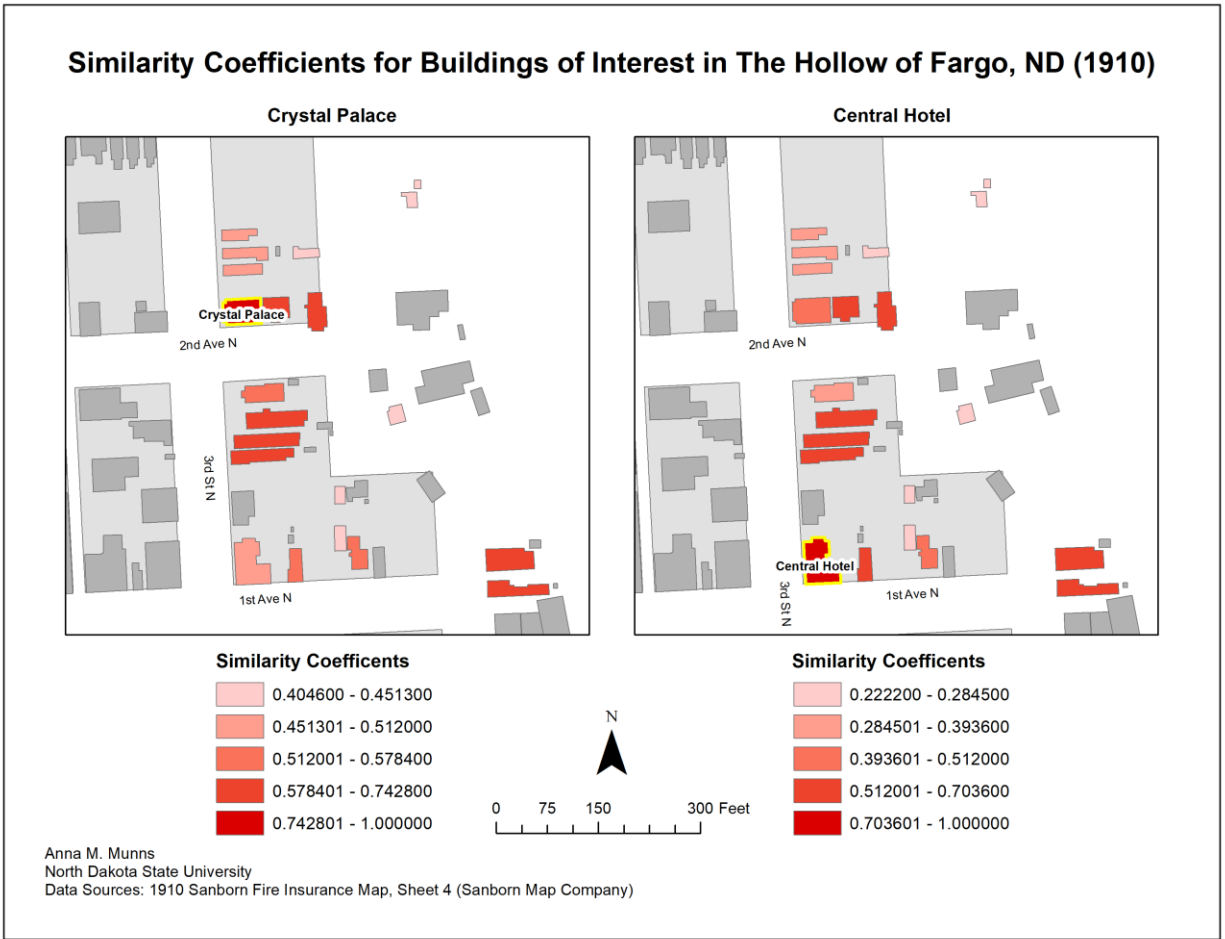


Figure 8. Similarity Coefficients for the Crystal Palace and Central Hotel (1910).

Although the landscape changed drastically by 1910, with extensive new construction and a very active sex trade, only two buildings staked their claim as anything but ordinary. Central Hotel maintained its unique status in The Hollow, and the female boardinghouse at 201 3rd Street North demonstrated wealth unlike many of its neighbors. Interestingly, the 201 3rd Street North brothel was Melvina Massey’s Crystal Palace. Her large, two-story brothel with a basement demanded attention when compared to some of the neighboring brothels to the north, which had only wood shingle roofing and one story. While Figure 8 shows that Massey’s brothel somewhat resembled the larger, two-story brothels to the south, it was vastly different from a typical dwelling. This map demonstrates further support for a brothel hierarchy in The Hollow.

The next section expands further upon the inhabitants of The Hollow and their access to wealth, shining a spotlight on a key figure: Melvina Massey.

Demographics in The Hollow

Preliminary observations of Sanborn map data from The Hollow reveal a dynamic section of the city characterized by railroads, lumber yards, hotels, and frequent construction and demolition. In fact, the brothels themselves moved around the landscape, continuously reshaping the red-light district of The Hollow. Further, these brothels all belonged to the madam cohort, providing conspicuous locations for their businesses. While the wealth analysis showed little variation between the brothels, do demographics tell another story about who plied their trade in The Hollow as members of the madam cohort?

In 1884, “female boarding” could be found only in three brothels north of 1st Avenue North and 3rd Street North intersection. One brothel occupied the block west of 3rd Street North near a Fargo Ice Company Ice House, and both buildings were just north of a boarding house on the same block. The other two brothels looked on from the block to the east. Central Hotel and Red River Hotel were just south of the eastern brothels, but faced 1st Avenue North instead. By 1888, two more brothels popped up on the east side of 3rd Street North. And by 1892, yet another brothel was squeezed into the eastern block. Meanwhile, a seventh brothel built by Melvina Massey replaced the J. A. Chesley lumberyard in the block north of 2nd Avenue North. At that time, the building that once housed the Red River Hotel was labeled simply as “dwelling,” and Flamer Hotel replaced the boarding house on the western block.

By 1896, the western brothel and the ice house had both disappeared, most likely a result of the 1893 fire, while the remaining six brothels and two hotels continued to thrive. In 1901, all brothels were labeled as “dwellings” on the Sanborn map, and even the 1900 Census listed these occupants as “housekeeper[s].” However, concurrent city directory records and the 1900 Census

list familiar – if not notorious – names in these houses (Pettibone Directory Company 1901; United States Census Bureau 1900). In addition, a new building accompanied the brothel on the north side of 2nd Avenue North. By 1905, an additional brothel owned by Melvina Massey, the Crystal Palace, had been erected and three new buildings appeared on its north side. Only Melvina Massey’s establishments were labeled as “female boarding” on this map, and Hotel Bemidji appeared in the industrial park to the east. The peak of the red-light district, according to Sanborn maps, occurred in 1910. Ten brothels were clearly labeled as such: six were north of 2nd Avenue North and four were to the south. Hotel Bemidji was also joined by North Star Hotel. With Fargo Ice Cream and Cider Works also nearby, this area must have been a must-see destination. However, in concert with the analyses of the previous chapter, the 1916 map shows all former brothels had been turned into single-family dwellings or gender-less boardinghouses. The brothel boom had ended.

Before its official eradication, The Hollow had shifted entirely east of 3rd Street North and had sprawled north of 2nd Avenue North. This movement was accompanied by waves of many different women looking for work, though the madams themselves generally remained. According to the city directories, some of these brothels even housed additional employees, such as musicians, cooks, and porters at one time or another. Money made its way around The Hollow’s red-light district, but who benefitted the most?

Methodology

This portion of the analysis narrows its scope to only those buildings in The Hollow that were publicly identified as houses of ill fame. To remain in sync with the Census records, 1900 and 1910 will again be the years of interest. However, the buildings selected for this analysis housed members of the madam cohort at some point in time, regardless of what was published specifically in 1900 and 1910. In this analysis, the irregular Census records can help answer

some questions about demographics. Most prominently, gender, race, marital status, and age shed light on the diversity within the red-light district. In addition, the wealth data from the prior analysis and the salvageable home ownership data from the Census records add yet another layer of complexity to this neighborhood.

To display these data, simple categorical maps were created. Each map displays a different variable from the Census records: gender, marital status, home ownership status, and race of the head of household. In 1900 and 1910, not every brothel was active; some heads of household were from working-class families. However, the buildings themselves still played an important role in the red-light district. Even though they may have been occupied by tenants who were not involved in sex work during this period, their reputation and association with other brothels would have persisted. Nuances such as this are teased out in the following maps.

Results of Demographic Mapping

Interestingly, the 1900 Census records list known madams as “housekeepers,” and the 1901 Sanborn maps labeled their brothels as “dwellings.” No “roomers,” or brothel inmates, are listed on the 1900 Census records either. In 1898, neighbors of the red-light district formed the First Ward Improvement League and spearheaded a major anti-vice campaign that lasted several years (Engelhardt 2007). The precarious state of the red-light district likely explains why the brothels were not labeled as such on public documents.

Figure 9 shows the names of the heads of household for five known brothels with records in both the 1900 Census and the 1901 Sanborn map.¹⁵ Interestingly, several of the heads of household at that time were men. Geo(rge) VanAllen occupied the building east of Melvina

¹⁵ Note that there is no 1900 Census data for the brothel at 117 3rd Street North, even though this was also a known brothel in 1896.

Massey, and James Morrison and James Maggiano shared the boardinghouse to the south. That left just three madams in the 1900 Census records: Melvina Massey, G. Upton, and Maude Lindstrom.

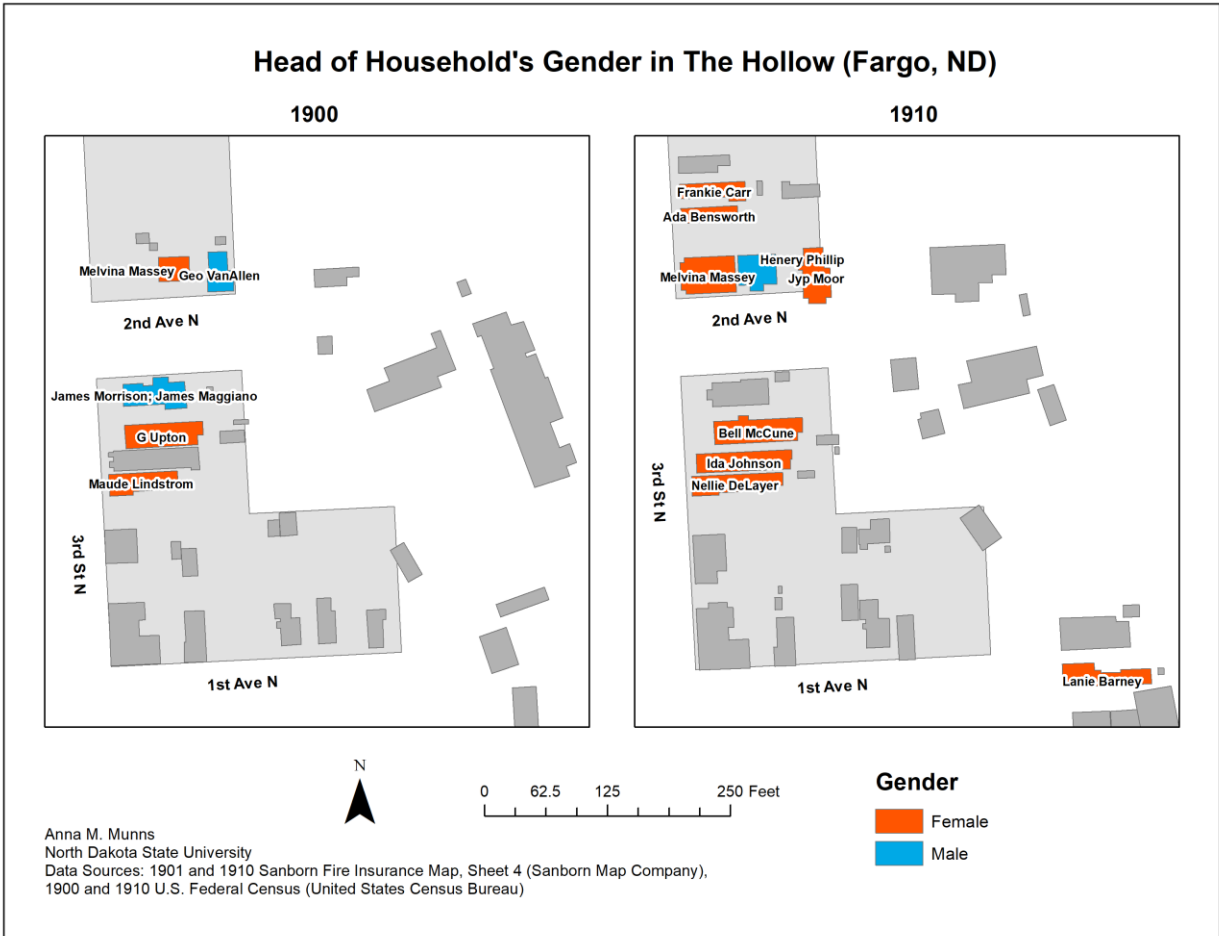


Figure 9. Head of Household Gender (1900 and 1910).

Marital status varied among these five heads of household, as seen in Figure 10. Massey and Upton were listed as “widowed,” while both Lindstrom and VanAllen were married. Lindstrom’s husband is conspicuously absent from the Census records, though she did live with Henry Hubbard, a black porter. James Morrison was single, and James Maggiano lived with his wife.

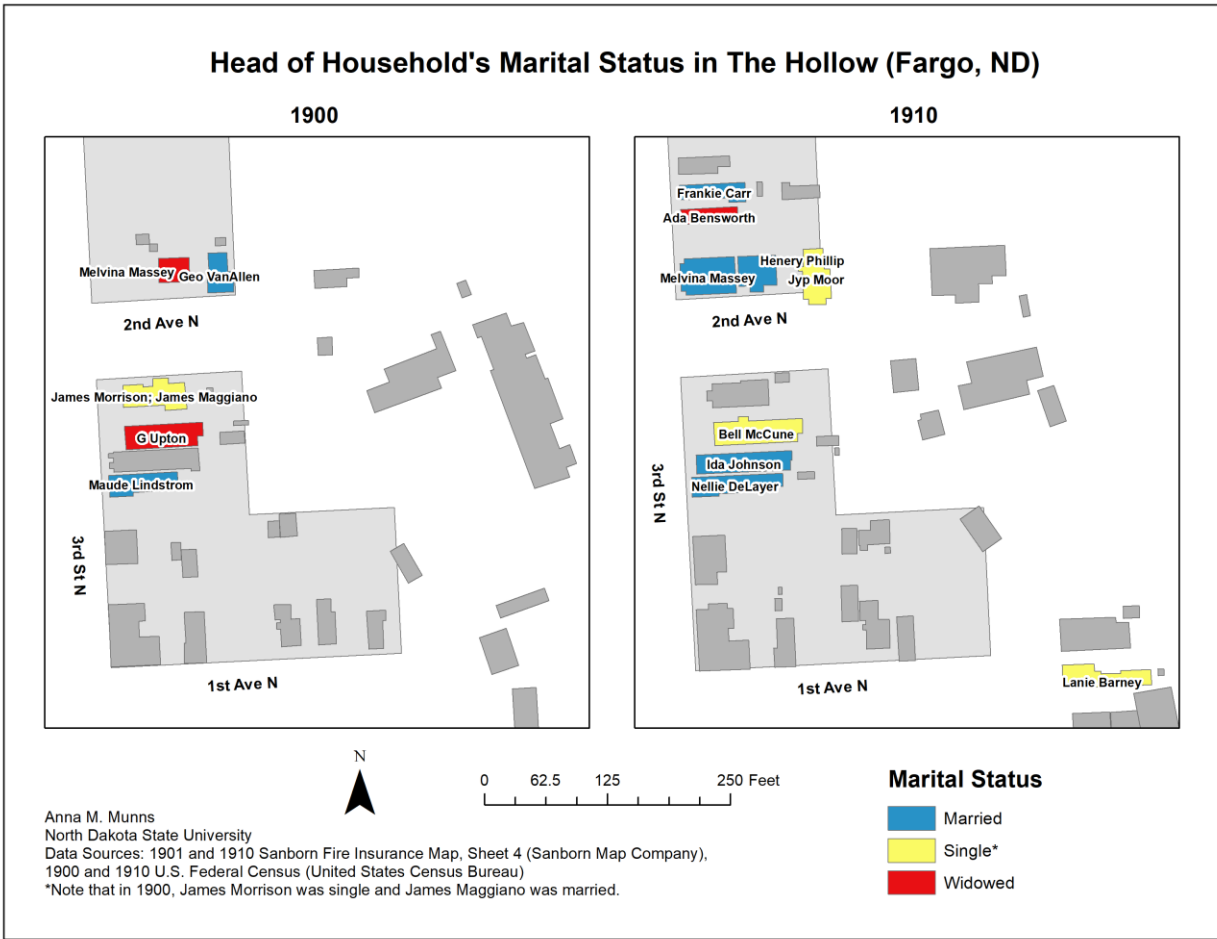


Figure 10. Head of Household Marital Status (1900 and 1910).

Perhaps the most striking map is that of home ownership (see Figure 11). All heads of household rented their buildings except Massey, who owned hers without a mortgage. Figure 12 complicates this further by focusing on race. All buildings housed white heads of household, except Massey's. Even though Massey was female and black, she owned her own home.¹⁶ Yet, it is interesting to note that Morrison, a single white man, rented 121 3rd Street North, while Maggiano and his wife, who were both black, lived in the same building. While the madams

¹⁶ An interesting note: Massey was incorrectly listed as "white" on the 1900 Census. A myriad of other sources, including newspaper articles, confirm that she was black, resulting in the data used in this analysis.

were “housekeepers,” according to the Census, Morrison and VanAllen were bartenders, another less-than-reputable profession in the dry city of Fargo, and Maggiano was a day laborer. Both were common working-class professions. Even though sex work was not openly advertised, seedy activity continued.

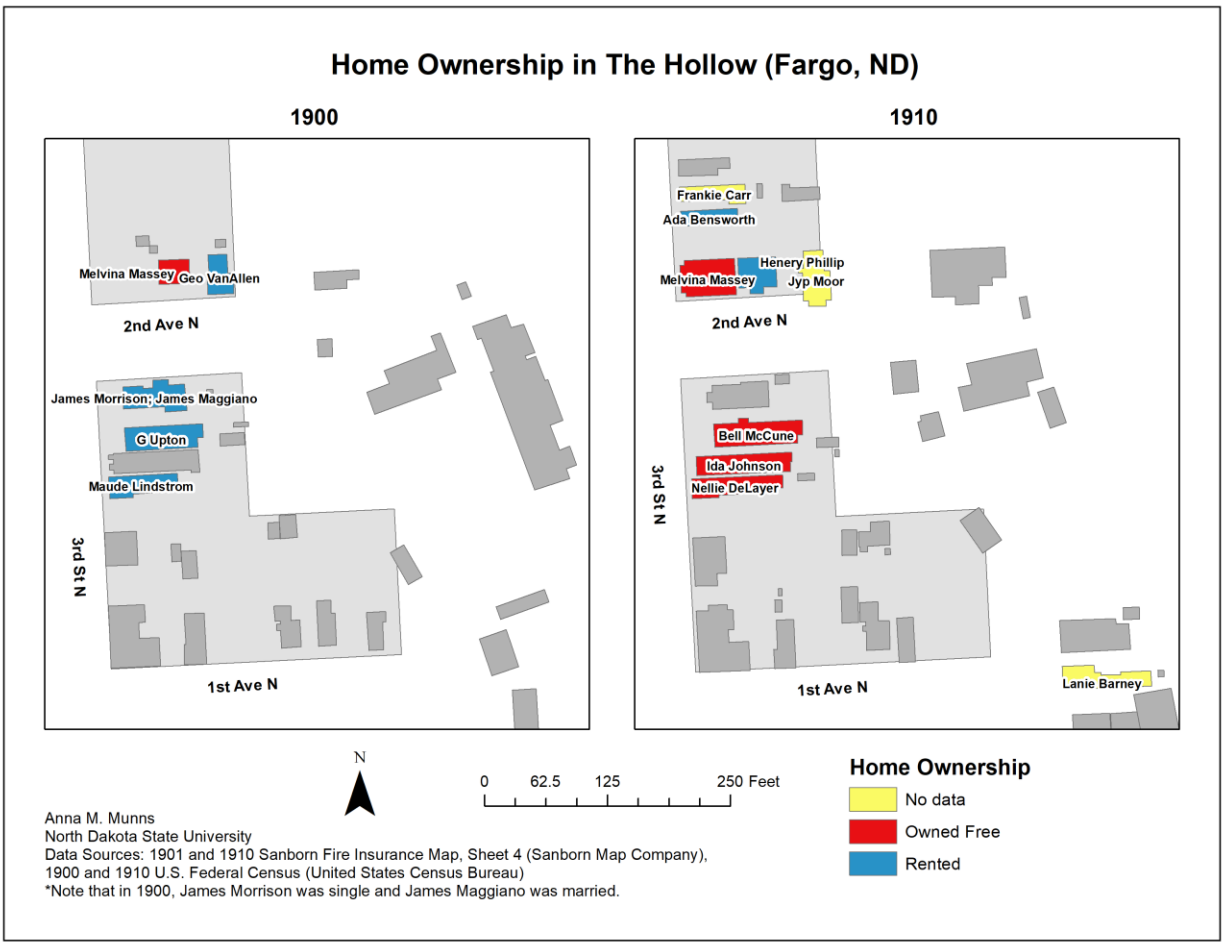


Figure 11. Head of Household Home Ownership Status (1900 and 1910).

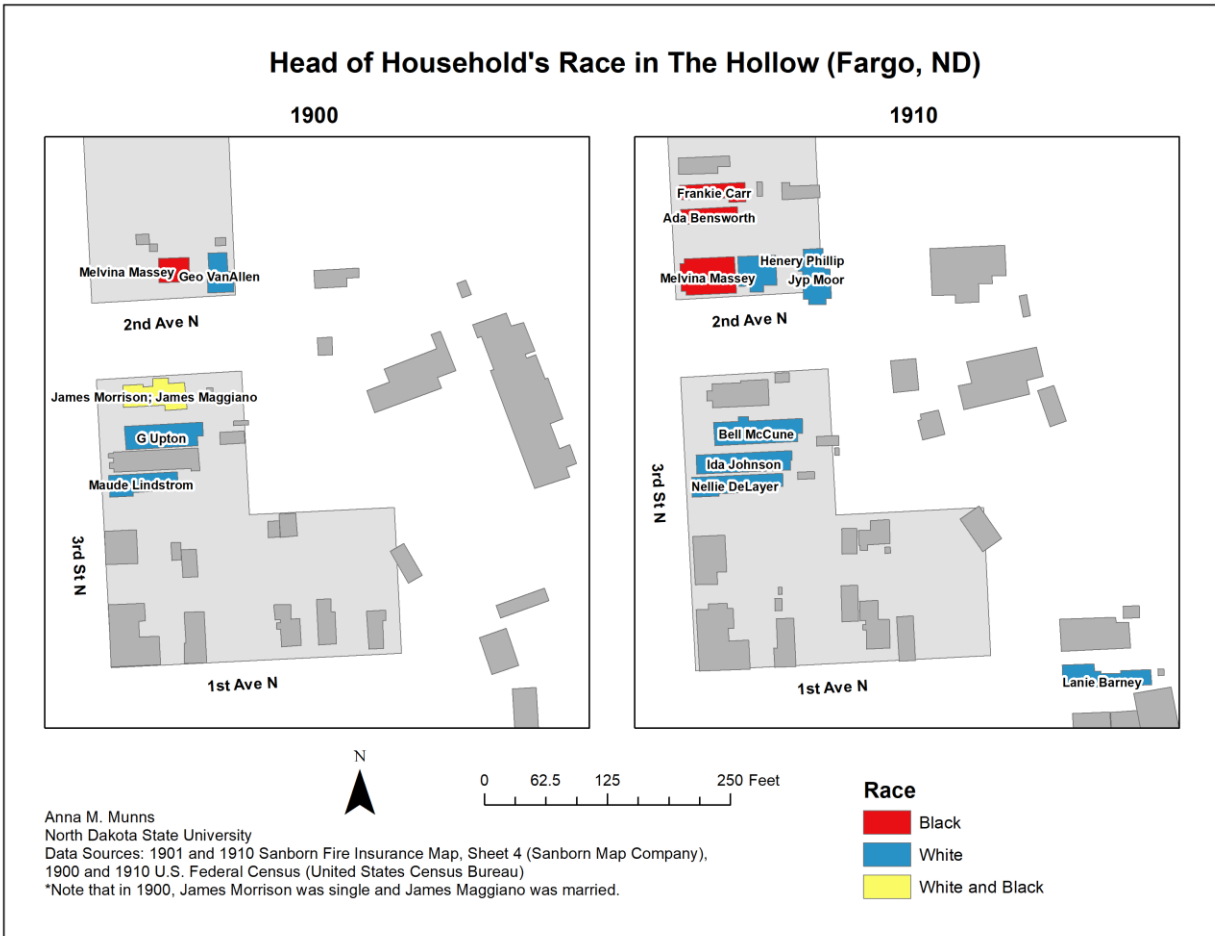


Figure 12. Head of Household Race (1900 and 1910).

By 1910, the red-light district had changed. Madams were now openly listed as “proprietors [of]...house[s] of ill fame” in the Census. Ten brothels were labeled as “F.B.” (i.e., female boarding) on the 1910 Sanborn map.¹⁷ In addition, North Star Hotel at 99 2nd Street North housed another member of the madam cohort, contributing an eleventh brothel to the neighborhood.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, no data was provided in the 1910 Census records for 211 3rd Street North, nor for a head of household at 121 3rd Street North. However, three inmates were listed at the 121 3rd Street North address.

All but one building was headed by a woman. The one exception, Henry Phillip, resided with his wife, Minnie, at 217 2nd Avenue North. The Census recorded his sex as “female,” but the name, lack of inmates, and “salesman” occupation leads me to believe this was a recording error. The other three occupants of this building included a female housekeeper for the building and two female roomers: one with an occupation outside of the sex trade and the other without a job. This building appeared to serve as a working-class apartment rented out by Massey, who still owned the building at the time of her death in 1911 (NDSU Archives 1911).

Of the nine brothels in 1910 suited for this analysis, only three heads of household were single. Lanie Barney, Jyp Moor, and Bell McCune did not have spouses at the time of data collection, while the other five madams and Phillip were either married or widowed. The 1910 map of home ownership tells quite a different story than the map from 1900 (Figure 11). While no data was available for three of the nine brothels, the three brothels south of 2nd Avenue North were owned without mortgage by McCune, Johnson, and DeLay. Massey, however, was the only known home owner north of 2nd Avenue North. In fact, as mentioned previously, she owned two buildings. Bensworth and Phillip both rented their homes.

Records of race for the heads of household and their roomers add a final, intriguing layer of complexity to this analysis. All madams south of 2nd Avenue North, including Barney at North Star Hotel, were white and housed only white inmates. While McCune, Johnson, and DeLay each listed four inmates (and whoever was running the 121 3rd Street North brothel employed three inmates), Barney organized her employees differently. Barney had three white inmates, but she also hired employees to maintain her hotel. Lizzy Brown, a 38-year-old white divorcee, ran the desk. Pearl Brown is also listed in the Census and was likely her school-age daughter. Finally, Nellie Bell was a married, black servant who kept the books at the hotel. The division

between house of ill fame and hotel is blurred in this case, making Barney's establishment unique to the neighborhood.

To the north, Moor's brothel follows a similar pattern to that of the southern brothels. She employed four white inmates and one black servant, Edith Gray, who kept the books. All residents living in Massey's 217 2nd Avenue North home – with Phillip – were white, but the racial demographics shift in the northwestern brothels. Massey and two of her four inmates were black, while the other two were listed as mulatto. Bensworth (a black madam) had three black inmates, and a fourth black roomer, Edna Drain, kept the books for her “boarding house,” according to the Census records. Carr's brothel to the north only housed Carr herself (a black madam) and her black porter, Thomas Orngley.

Analysis of 1900 and 1910 Demographics

By mapping the Census data, we now know more about the madams in The Hollow. The average age of madams was 42.3 in 1900, and 38 in 1910. Many madams were older, they were often married or widowed, and their husbands did not live at the brothel. It also appears that these madams had a limit on the number of inmates they could house, or at least on the number of inmates reported for the Census. Consistently, no more than four inmates are listed at each brothel in the 1910 Census.

One other madam was not included in this analysis, but should be mentioned since the Census notes her involvement in the 1910 Fargo sex trade. Annie Rooney was a proprietor of a house of ill fame in Hotel Bemidji at 101 2nd Street North, just north of Barney's North Star Hotel. Rooney has unique records that distance her from the other madams in the neighborhood; in fact, she was omitted from this analysis because she did not meet the criteria for a member of the madam cohort. Specifically, Rooney pled “not guilty” when charged for prostitution-related crimes. She also differed from the other madams by living with her husband, F. C. Rooney, who

worked at the local auto livery. While Annie Rooney was not listed as the “head” of household (actually, she was – but the entry was crossed out and “wife” was written over it), her name was listed first and filled the record normally occupied by the husband. Her husband was also listed as “husband,” rather than “head,” which is unusual since the wife generally assumes the spousal identifier. Finally, while touting her establishment as “Hotel Bemidji,” Rooney does not list any hotel employees and even boasts five inmates, one more than her local counterparts. Annie Rooney was certainly a unique individual who challenged the expectations of the madam cohort in Fargo.

In addition to hotels, working-class apartments were dispersed throughout the red-light district. VanAllen, Morrison, and Maggiano lived in apartments in 1900, while Phillip and his roomers occupied Massey’s apartment in 1910. It would be interesting to expand this analysis beyond known brothels in the neighborhood to see if other residences and apartments housed more working-class families. In contrast to these working-class families, a surprising number of madams owned their brothels south of 2nd Avenue North by 1910 (Figure 11). While Massey was the only homeowner in 1900, she had expanded her enterprise to an additional building by 1910 and continued to compete with neighboring madams.

Fascinatingly, the use of space in the red-light district seems to have been meaningful, if not intentional. While 1900 saw an array of different occupants throughout the red-light district, 2nd Avenue North provided a divisive line between the north and south brothels by 1910. A clear racial distinction appears; most of the madams and inmates on the north side of the avenue were black, while only white madams occupied the south side. Was this due to cost of land? Were there restrictions placed by the city? Perhaps this was the mysterious area known as “Darktown”

in a July 1896 newspaper article (*Bismarck Daily Tribune* 1896). Further analysis is needed to elucidate the reasons for this division, though such work lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

In addition to the spatial separation, several subtle distinctions further set the black madams apart from their white competitors. Bensworth, the black madam to the north of Massey's Crystal Palace, was the only madam who rented her brothel in 1910, a sign of insufficient funds and possibly a controlling landowner. The terminology used to identify brothel employees also varied depending on the race of the head of household. Phillip's housekeeper, one of Johnson's inmates, and the bookkeepers for Barney and Moor are all listed as "servant[s]" with relation to the head of household in the 1910 Census. Meanwhile, Carr's porter and Bensworth's bookkeeper are listed as "roomer[s]." While several white and black employees were considered "servants" in white households, black households employed only black employees, and classified them as "roomers." This relationship terminology seems to point to a comparable status for brothel inmates and other employees in black madams' establishments.

Race not only separated madams; it also divided the inmates (i.e., brothel prostitutes). No white inmates were employed in a black madam's establishment, and no black or mulatto inmates were employed by a white madam. The inmates also varied in age. The average age for a brothel inmate working under a member of the madam cohort in 1910 was 28.3. However, the average white inmate was 26.3 years of age, and the average black or mulatto inmate was 34.7. Massey even had two inmates in their 50s. Perhaps there were fewer employment options for women of color after working in a brothel. Gender certainly affected who was listed as a head of household, especially in 1900, but by 1910, race had become a more prominent characteristic that was accompanied by several physical, social, and economic lines of division in the red-light district.

Summary and Conclusions

To the dismay of the WCTU and other reformers, this chapter reveals that sex work was pervasive throughout the city of Fargo during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two distinct red-light districts made their presence known. The Front Street brothels suffered from the city's lack of acceptance, while the brothels of The Hollow thrived. By zooming in from a large area (the city of Fargo) to The Hollow and then even farther to the brothels that comprised that red-light district, we can begin to understand the innerworkings of Fargo's sex trade a little better.

The three analyses of this chapter build on each other. First, The Hollow was identified just outside of downtown, along the Red River. Next, The Hollow's brothels were compared to their working-class neighbors in terms of wealth. Finally, inter-brothel demographics complicated the discussion of wealth. Melvina Massey's name and brothel appear consistently across all three layers of this analysis. Her arrests were plotted on the map of the city, her Crystal Palace stood out on the Sanborn maps, and her wealth in the Census records was noteworthy, especially when compared to other black madams at that time. Yet, even though she displayed notable wealth, Massey's brothels remained on the north side of 2nd Avenue North, separating her physically and socially from her white competitors.

Although this analysis picks up on some interesting trends, it is important to reiterate that this analysis is not without its drawbacks. As the spatial scope of the analysis narrows, accessible data become fewer and more fragmentary. First, most addresses associated with prostitution-related arrests are missing. In addition, an address does not necessarily mean the individual was arrested at that location; the crime was simply associated with that address. The Census records are also littered with serious errors. Massey's race is listed as "white" in 1900, Henery Phillip's gender is listed as "female," Massey's age appears as 45 in 1900 and 51 in 1910 (United States

Census Bureau 1900, 1910). Record keeping for Census data, building permits, and other data specific to particular buildings or individuals reveal the imperfect and incomplete nature of the dataset that is being analyzed.

Nevertheless, evidence for the prostitution hierarchy persists in these analyses. Front Street madams were not as wealthy as those in The Hollow, and irregular arrest outcomes along Front Street hint at low-quality brothels and perhaps a couple of cribs. Many changes occurred between 1900 and 1910 as more and more sex workers looked to Fargo to make their living. However, due in part to race and location, these women were met with varying degrees of success.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

The analyses in this thesis begin by broadly filtering through prostitution-related arrests and conclude with a much narrower investigation of individuals and their access to wealth. This final chapter synthesizes and resituates the analyses within the framework of critical and practice theories and contextualizes Fargo's red-light district as an institution. This thesis closes by reiterating the contributions of the current research and by opening the discussion to new and continued directions for future research on historical prostitution.

Putting Fargo on the Map

Following Barbara Voss's (2006) call for institutional approaches and the analysis of intersectional themes such as race and gender, this thesis offers new insights to the field of historical archaeology. This project's approach helps contextualize data collected from archival sources, and demonstrates how even fragmentary datasets can be valuable. This thesis also contributes to research related to the subfield of brothel archaeology. While most brothel archaeologists of the 1990s and mid-2000s utilized brothel assemblages as their main sources of data to understand the daily lives of the individuals living within the brothels, the documentary sources used in this thesis broaden the scope of brothel studies while at the same time offering a more inclusive approach. By looking outside of brothels at the men, madams, and prostitutes of varying socioeconomic statuses, new questions have been asked to further our understanding of historical prostitution. Perhaps most importantly, this work also expands on the limited information that currently exists on historical prostitution in Fargo, North Dakota. Compared to large cities like Washington, D.C., New York, and Chicago, Fargo does not have a wealth of prior studies on sex work from which to build new interpretations. This thesis helps form such a platform for future work.

Fargo stands apart from other cities that hosted turn-of-the-century prostitution. Fargo was situated between the West (Colorado, Montana, Idaho), the South (Louisiana), and the East (New York, Boston). While the city certainly shared commonalities with each of these regions, it also presented a unique model for urban prostitution. Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota were the closest cities with notorious reputations for urban vice. At first glance, Fargo appears to offer a smaller scale of prostitution: 11 brothels in The Hollow compared to dozens in Minneapolis; older, married madams without husbands on-site; and staggering parallels between Melvina Massey of Fargo and Ida Dorsey of Minneapolis (Petersen 2013). The size of Fargo and Minneapolis certainly influenced the number of brothels and red-light districts that were needed to satisfy the clientele. Fargo may not have had fancy bordellos like Minnesota, but a brothel hierarchy was evident.

At the same time, Fargo also demonstrated several unique features. Minneapolis and St. Paul did not host officially segregated red-light districts, and as long as Minneapolis's madams paid attention to the boundaries of the Liquor Patrol Limits, brothels moved easily around the city (Best 1998; Petersen 2013). Conversely, Fargo's city council officially restricted brothel prostitution to The Hollow in 1890, and brothels outside of that area (e.g., along Front Street) were quickly shut down (Johnson 1950). As far as licensing, Fargo followed Minneapolis's example of unofficial regulation, while St. Paul publicly licensed brothels (Petersen 2013). Yet, one of the biggest differences is Fargo's absence of an entertainment district. The red-light district in dry Fargo was surrounded by an industrial park, rather than saloons, theatres, and gambling like the Twin Cities. This spatial positioning and the fact that Fargo madams had nowhere near the wealth of madams from larger cities is reminiscent of prostitution in the West. The extensive evidence for mobile forms of prostitution, such as crib prostitution, also speaks to

the city's origins as a frontier railroad town. Fargo sex work was unique to both the West and the East; it offered something in between.

Synthesis of Analysis Chapters

Prostitution, like warfare, slavery, and marriage, offered a unique social institution with its own social rules and cultural context (see Robb 2010). If prostitution was a social institution and brothels were nearing total institutions with their physical boundaries, barricading social stigma, and “inmates” (a term used to describe the tenants of other total institutions, such as mental institutions or prisons; see Goffman 2007), then the red-light district fell somewhere in between (see Chapter Two). The red-light district (unofficially approved by the city) offered both opportunity and restriction that was uncharacteristic of life in the rest of the city. In the institution of the red-light district, sex outside of marriage was tolerated, at least to some degree. Conversely, prostitution outside of the red-light district was shut down as city officials tried to contain vice. The red-light district's location on the margins of the city permitted the unofficial regulation of brothel prostitution, while physically separating the red-light district from downtown. Sex workers could attract their clientele near the business district, but they were not considered a part of it. Meanwhile, a gendered double standard was upheld, as men could generally enter and exit the area without serious social repercussions. Women, however, were met by the wrath of the middle class as they moved in and out of this space. By contextualizing the red-light district as an institution, we can further investigate the role of race, sexuality, and gender in negotiating socioeconomic status.

The marginal location of the red-light district in downtown Fargo is reminiscent of Leone et al.'s (1995) discussion of city planning to (subtly) uphold a power structure. In Leone et al.'s example, the authors interpret the prominent placement of governmental buildings as a constant, public reminder of who holds power in the city. In Fargo, it appears we are seeing the opposite

end of this process; the red-light district, and the buildings associated with it, are hidden from public view. The low-lying floodplain and cheaper lands in that area also demonstrate the marginal social position of these madams. This placement symbolically diminished and restricted the red-light district's influence on the city, which arguably reinforced the place of prominence for "more important" buildings at the same time.

The ideology of capitalism clearly wove its way into Fargo's early sex trade. The market was competitive, and women offered various business models to attract clients. However, not all women were successful in their endeavors. Economic and social inequalities occurred on multiple levels, resulting in a prostitution and a brothel hierarchy. First, spatial restrictions left the streetwalkers, crib prostitutes, and madams of brothels outside of The Hollow unprotected by the police, and they often suffered for it. In contrast, the madam cohort conducted their businesses within the city-sanctioned boundaries of The Hollow, paid regular fines, and profited the most. Second, inequalities arose within the madam cohort; not every madam exhibited the same amount of wealth via their brothels. Some brothels were built inexpensively, while others demonstrated clear financial success. Finally, gender inequalities were also clear; men paid lower fines and received laxer punishments, while female prostitutes paid a higher price.

Women's sexuality in the late 1800s and early 1900s was controlled using institutions. Whether via the social institution of marriage or via the red-light district, society pushed for regulation of female sexuality. Prostitution in The Hollow was confined and financially regulated and thus, could be controlled by law enforcement. This relationship between police and madams provided structure for the (unofficially) sanctioned institution of sex work in Fargo. The city tolerated institutionalized prostitution and condemned sex work outside of that context.

The Hollow gave women the opportunity to run their own businesses while keeping their own houses, assuming the traditional household roles of both men and women in the “respectable” middle class. These madams even capitalized on images of gentility. By displaying typical middle-class wares, these women linked sexuality to domesticity, as it is in the context of marriage (see Costello 2000, 2003; Crabtree and Milne 2005; Seifert and Balicki 2005; Yamin 2005, among many others). Since the Victorian, middle-class artifacts and terminology of charges tied to traditional gender roles, they helped legitimize their businesses. While these women were not actually accepted as members of the middle class, since their occupation was not considered reputable, they still could not be classified as “working class” either. Spude (2015) offers an interesting comparison in her discussion of middle and working-class occupations. While a saloon owner was considered a member of the middle class, his employees, such as the bar tender, were working class. Several of Fargo’s brothels mirrored this employment hierarchy, with madams who owned their brothels and employed inmates, porters, and cooks. The brothel employees certainly exhibited working-class characteristics, but the gendered and sexual nature of the madams’ “immoral” vice separated them from the middle class. The madams seem to have created, if only temporarily, a class of their own.

Not only did the red-light district function as an institution in that men having sex with women outside of marriage was acceptable in this context, but women, including women of color, had opportunities to make money that were not available outside of the red-light district. In line with the concept of relational agency, madams strategically created important relationships not only with each other, but with the local police, who let them carry on their businesses without even requiring them to pay their fine in person.

Race did not necessarily prevent women from attaining greater wealth, but race was not ignored within the red-light district, either. Brothels owned by black madams were spatially separated from brothels owned by white madams with white inmates. Racial inequality was pervasive throughout the United States (see Blair 2010; Petersen 2013, among many others), and although the red-light district presented unique business opportunities, its physical characteristics also reaffirmed racial disparities and segregation.

The intersectionality of class, sexuality, race, and gender created unique identities and opportunities in Fargo's red-light district. Even though the women of the madam cohort could access wealth while women involved in other forms of prostitution struggled, the red-light district – a structured and patrolled setting – continued to reproduce the economic, gender, and racial inequalities found in the rest of society. The institution of prostitution, and of the red-light district in particular, both freed and confined the actors within it, at least until public tolerance for prostitution dissolved completely, and the Progressive Era came to a close.

Avenues for Future Research

The research and conclusions presented in this thesis barely scratch the surface of all there is to know about the sex trade in early Fargo. Many other lines of evidence, such as city directories, would reveal even more about the complex lives led by Fargo's sex workers. In addition, research on local political leaders and newspaper articles would add drama to this discussion. Even though the inhabitants of Fargo's red-light district were in some ways hidden from the rest of society, their presence has been etched onto a wide variety of documents that have survived more than 100 years.

With respect to the current research, so much has not yet been explored along the Front Street red-light district. How did sex work there differ from that in The Hollow? What were the relationships between the women (and men) who ran brothels in this area? Who owned the

brothels that were rented by so many of Fargo's madams? As for The Hollow, so many spatial questions remain. The vice district certainly kept its distance from the more reputable parts of town, so what steps did the city take to separate the illicit activity from spilling into downtown? Axial analysis could be used to quantify the level of spatial integration (or segregation) of the red-light districts with the rest of the city.

This research also adds to Melvina Massey's impressive history. Did Melvina Massey offer something to her clients that white madams could not, like Ida Dorsey of Minneapolis? She owned her brothel without a mortgage and had a basement, signs of wealth that were noticeably lacking from many of her neighbors. Did she exhibit other wealthy characteristics inside the brothel? How did her employees fare? So much remains to be investigated regarding Massey and her property.

To the east of the Red River, Moorhead, Minnesota complicates any discussion of Fargo's vice. While Moorhead offered its own share of houses of ill fame, it also legally sold alcohol in the early 1900s when North Dakota was dry. Competition for liquor sales and sex work would have been rampant in this region. Other forms of illegal activity, such as gambling, were also known to the local police. It would be worthwhile to investigate how addiction and disease affected the madams and prostitutes in Fargo-Moorhead as well.

Finally, at a broader scale, the networks connecting participants in turn-of-the-century sex trade are still waiting to be explored. Fargo's madams and inmates were often from cities or countries far from the Midwest. As noted with Sallie Campbell, who may have moved from Minneapolis to Fargo, these women knew where to find employment opportunities by following the railroad.

The study of historical sex work in historical archaeology is quickly expanding with the availability of new analytical technologies, such as GIS, and researchers are tackling new, more complicated topics. While it is still important for sex workers' lived experiences to be explained using consumption patterns, and for brothels to be identified in the archaeological record, contextualizing these findings within themes like masculinity, identity, and political organization pushes these discussions further. The future of research on historical sex work is bright; there are still so many stories that have not yet been told.

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**APPENDIX A. INDIVIDUALS WHO SHAPED PUBLIC POLICY IN THE CITY OF
FARGO**

Table A1. Fargo City Justices of the Peace (1880 – 1919)

Name	Year Entered Office	Year Left Office
Augustus Roberts	1880	1883
A. B. Gaptill	1883	1884
Augustus Roberts	1884	1885
William H. Barnett	1885	1890
J. H. Mulchakey	1890	1892
C. F. Johnson	1892	1894
E. C. Gearey	1894	1897
A. G. Hanson	1897	1904
Martin Ryan	1904	1906
Henry F. Miller	1906	1910
Augustus Roberts	1910	1915
Leigh Monson	1915	1919

Records were originally compiled by NDSU Archives (1977).

Table A2. Fargo Police Magistrates (1890 – 1919)

Name	Year Entered Office	Year Left Office
William H. Barnett	1890	1896
S. G. Roberts*	1896	1897
E. C. Gearey	1897	1906
Martin Ryan	1906	1910
H. F. Miller	1910	1915
Augustus Roberts	1915	1919

*Listed office as Municipal Justice. Records were originally compiled by NDSU Archives (1977).

Table A3. Fargo Mayors (1880 – 1917)

Name	Year Entered Office	Year Left Office
Jasper B. Chapin	1880	1882
William A Kindred	1882	1883
Woodford A. Yerxa	1883	1885
John A. Johnson	1885	1886
Charles A. Scott	1886	1887
Alanson W. Edwards	1887	1888
Seth Newman	1888	1890
Wilbur F. Ball	1890	1892
Emerson H. Smith	1892	1894
Wilbur F. Ball	1894	1896
John A. Johnson	1896	1902
William D. Sweet	1902	1904
Aurelius L. Wall	1904	1906
John A. Johnson	1906	1907
Peter Elliott	1907	1910
Vernon R. Lovell	1910	1912
William D. Smith	1912	1913
Henry F. Emery	1913	1917

Records were originally compiled by NDSU Archives (2004) and Engelhardt (2007:237).

**APPENDIX B. CHARGE TERMINOLOGY FOR NON-MADAM COHORT ARRESTS
BY GENDER**

Charge Terminology	Women		Men		Unknown		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Being a prostitute	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Being an inmate	21	3.47		0.00		0.00	21	2.59
Enticing	32	5.29	2	1.24	3	6.52	37	4.56
Fornication		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Found in house of prostitution		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Frequenting houses of ill fame		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Indecent act		0.00		0.00	1	2.17	1	0.12
Indecent exposure	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Inducing a person for prostitution		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Keeping a bawdy house	1	0.17	2	1.24		0.00	3	0.37
Keeping a disorderly house	3	0.50	2	1.24		0.00	5	0.62
Keeping a disorderly place	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Keeping a house for immoral purposes	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Keeping a house of ill fame	25	4.13	4	2.48	1	2.17	30	3.69
Keeping a house of prostitution	6	0.99	2	1.24		0.00	8	0.99
Keeping a room	16	2.64		0.00		0.00	16	1.97
Keeping and maintaining a house of ill fame	3	0.50		0.00		0.00	3	0.37
Keeping and renting rooms	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Letting and leasing a house for rude purposes		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Molesting persons	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Renting a room	2	0.33	1	0.62		0.00	3	0.37
Resorting	12	1.98	9	5.59	3	6.52	24	2.96

Charge Terminology	Women		Men		Unknown		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Resorting to a hallway	1	0.17	1	0.62		0.00	2	0.25
Resorting to a house	17	2.81	7	4.35	2	4.35	26	3.20
Resorting to rooms	173	28.60	98	60.87	31	67.39	302	37.19
Running a bawdy house		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Running a disorderly house	5	0.83	3	1.86		0.00	8	0.99
Running a house of ill fame	2	0.33		0.00		0.00	2	0.25
Running a house of prostitution		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Running a sporting house	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Soliciting	54	8.93	21	13.04	5	10.87	80	9.85
Streetwalking	2	0.33	1	0.62		0.00	3	0.37
Streetwalking and enticing men	2	0.33		0.00		0.00	2	0.25
Vagrancy	216	35.70		0.00		0.00	216	26.60
Vagrancy and boding	2	0.33		0.00		0.00	2	0.25
Vagrancy and soliciting on street	2	0.33		0.00		0.00	2	0.25
Vagrancy and streetwalking	1	0.17		0.00		0.00	1	0.12
Visiting houses of ill fame		0.00	1	0.62		0.00	1	0.12
Total	605	100	161	100	46	100	812	100

Data for the madam cohort are not included.

APPENDIX C. PROSTITUTION-RELATED ARRESTS WITH ADDRESSES

Table C1. Madam Cohort Arrests with Addresses, Sorted by Address

Last Name	First Name	Address	Charge	Year
Holmes	Corine	102 2nd St N	Keeping a disorderly house	1908
Harris	Marie	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Harris	Marie	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Winters	Irene	115 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Winters	Irene	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Winters	Irene	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Johnson	Ida	117 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Williams	Hattie	117 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Williams	Hattie	117 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Williams	Hattie	117 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
McCune	Belle	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
McCune	Belle	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Howard	Lucile	119 3rd St N	Keeping a disorderly house	1908
Howard	Lucile	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Howard	Lucine	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Howard	Lucile	121 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Howard	Lucine	121 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Massey	Malvina	201 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Massey	Melvina	201 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Massey	Melvina	201 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Ellsworth	Ada	207 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Ellsworth	Ida	207 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Carr	Frankie	209 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Carr	Frankie	209 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Burbank	Katie	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Wilson	Frankie	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908

Table C1. Madam Cohort Arrests with Addresses, Sorted by Address (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Address	Charge	Year
Moore	Gyp	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Moore	Gyp	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Shannon	Kitty	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Stevenson	Minnie	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Stevens	Minnie	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Stevenson	Minnie	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Jones	Kate	220 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Massey	Madam	221 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
St. Sclaire	Marie	221 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Gould	Pearl	321 N 3rd St	Keeping a house of ill fame	1896
Williams	Frankie	99 1st Ave N; 99 2nd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Barney	Carrie	99 1st Ave N; 99 2nd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Barney	Carrie	99 1st Ave N; 99 2nd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910

Note that names are listed as they were transcribed from the court dockets.

Table C2. Madam Cohort Arrests with Addresses, Sorted by Madam

Last Name	First Name	Address	Charge	Year
Barney	Carrie	99 1st Ave N; 99 2nd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Barney	Carrie	99 1st Ave N; 99 2nd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Burbank	Katie	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Carr	Frankie	209 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Carr	Frankie	209 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Ellsworth	Ada	207 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Ellsworth	Ida	207 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Gould	Pearl	321 N 3rd St	Keeping a house of ill fame	1896
Harris	Marie	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Harris	Marie	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Holmes	Corine	102 2nd St N	Keeping a disorderly house	1908
Howard	Lucile	119 3rd St N	Keeping a disorderly house	1908
Howard	Lucile	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Howard	Lucine	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Howard	Lucile	121 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Howard	Lucine	121 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Johnson	Ida	117 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Jones	Kate	220 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Massey	Malvina	201 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Massey	Madam	221 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Massey	Melvina	201 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Massey	Melvina	201 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
McCune	Belle	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
McCune	Belle	119 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904
Moore	Gyp	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Moore	Gyp	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Shannon	Kitty	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1904

Table C2. Madam Cohort Arrests with Addresses, Sorted by Madam (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Address	Charge	Year
St. Sclaire	Marie	221 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Stevens	Minnie	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Stevenson	Minnie	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Stevenson	Minnie	217 2nd Ave N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Williams	Hattie	117 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Williams	Frankie	99 1st Ave N; 99 2nd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Williams	Hattie	117 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Williams	Hattie	117 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910
Wilson	Frankie	215 2nd Ave N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Winters	Irene	115 3rd St N	Keeping a bawdy house	1908
Winters	Irene	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of ill fame	1910
Winters	Irene	115 3rd St N	Keeping a house of prostitution	1910

Note that names are listed as they were transcribed from the court dockets.

Table C3. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Address

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Rooney	Anna	Woman	101 1st Ave N	1910	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Rooney	Annie	Woman	101 1st Ave N	1910	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Rooney	Mrs. Annie	Woman	101 1st Ave N	1910	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Washington	Julia	Woman	110 Front St	1909	Enticing	Case dismissed
Hart	O. H.	Unknown	111 1st Ave S	1912	Soliciting	Case dismissed
Johnson	Helen	Woman	111 1st Ave S	1912	Running a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Ray	Violet	Woman	111 1st Ave S	1912	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged
Thomas	Josie	Woman	111 1st Ave S	1912	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged
Hagen	MC	Unknown	115 Front St	1912	Keeping a house of ill fame	Case dismissed
Arneson	Sarah	Woman	1344 Front Street	1896	Keeping a disorderly house	Sentence suspended
Merdith	Anna	Woman	14 8th St S	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Raymond	Mable	Woman	14 8th St S	1911	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged
Winter	May	Woman	14 8th St S	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Baker	Alma	Woman	21 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Committed

Table C3. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Address (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Baker	William H.	Man	21 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Sentence suspended upon partial payment
Oliver	Mrs. Catherine	Woman	214 1st Ave North	1896	Keeping and renting rooms	Sentence Suspended
Masters	Lena	Woman	217 1st Ave N	1905	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Gether	Miss	Woman	24 Front St	1909	Enticing	Paid and discharged
Pyles	Miss	Woman	24 Front St	1909	Enticing	Paid and discharged
Niwell	Nora	Woman	305 NP Ave	1910	Keeping a disorderly house	Case dismissed
Walker	Alice	Woman	412 Front St	1912	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Walker	Bert	Man	412 Front St	1912	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
McJenny	Mrs. Ida	Woman	417 11th St N	1913	Running a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Streblen	Gus	Man	511 5th St N	1913	Keeping a house of ill fame	Committed
Streblen	Mrs.	Woman	511 5th St N	1913	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Peterson	Katie	Woman	522 Broadway	1913	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Elza	Cassie	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged

Table C3. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Address (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Elza	Cassie	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Fillor	Babe	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Sentence suspended
Smith	Bertha	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged
Taudy	Nellie	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged
Montgomery	Bertha	Woman	70 4th St N	1913	Resorting	Paid and discharged
Kern	Christine	Woman	718 8th Ave N	1896	Keeping a room	Sentence suspended
Moore	Mary	Woman	72 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Stevenson	Alice	Woman	72 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged
Smith	Beatrice	Woman	74 Front St	1909	Resorting	Paid and discharged
Smith	May	Woman	74 Front St	1909	Enticing	Paid and discharged
Shirley	Beth	Woman	74 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Committed
Sumpkins	Pauline	Woman	74 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Gatewood	Annie	Woman	84 Front St	1909	Enticing	Paid and discharged
Standy	Mrs. Anna J.	Woman	88 Front St	1904	Keeping a room	Paid and discharged
Hubbard	Viola Maud	Woman	88 Front St	1905	Keeping a room	Committed then paid later
Fields	Babe	Woman	88 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged

Table C3. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Address (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Moore	Effie	Woman	88 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Adams	Sadie	Woman	90 Front St	1909	Enticing	Paid and discharged
Adams	Horton	Man	90 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Adams	Sadie	Woman	90 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Committed
Smith	Beatrice	Woman	90 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Committed
Herrin	Ira	Man	Belmont Hotel	1913	Resorting	Committed
Russell	May	Woman	Ely Block	1896	Keeping a room	Paid and discharged

Note that names are listed as they were transcribed from the court dockets. In addition, Belmont Hotel and Ely Block entries are listed, but are not mapped in Figures 2, 3, or 6.

Table C4. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Individual's Name

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Adams	Sadie	Woman	90 Front St	1909	Enticing	Committed
Adams	Horton	Man	90 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Adams	Sadie	Woman	90 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Arneson	Sarah	Woman	1344 Front Street	1896	Keeping a disorderly house	Paid and discharged
Baker	Alma	Woman	21 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Baker	William H.	Man	21 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Elza	Cassie	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Elza	Cassie	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Fields	Babe	Woman	88 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged
Fillor	Babe	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Committed
Gatewood	Annie	Woman	84 Front St	1909	Enticing	Committed
Gether	Miss	Woman	24 Front St	1909	Enticing	Committed then paid later
Hagen	MC	Unknown	115 Front St	1912	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Hart	O. H.	Unknown	111 1st Ave S	1912	Soliciting	Sentence Suspended
Herrin	Ira	Man	Belmont Hotel	1913	Resorting	Sentence suspended

Table C4. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Individual's Name (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Hubbard	Viola Maud	Woman	88 Front St	1905	Keeping a room	Paid and discharged
Johnson	Helen	Woman	111 1st Ave S	1912	Running a house of ill fame	Sentence suspended
Kern	Christine	Woman	718 8th Ave N	1896	Keeping a room	Paid and discharged
Masters	Lena	Woman	217 1st Ave N	1905	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
McJenny	Mrs. Ida	Woman	417 11th St N	1913	Running a house of ill fame	Sentence suspended
Merdith	Anna	Woman	14 8th St S	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Montgomery	Bertha	Woman	70 4th St N	1913	Resorting	Paid and discharged
Moore	Mary	Woman	72 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Moore	Effie	Woman	88 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Niwell	Nora	Woman	305 NP Ave	1910	Keeping a disorderly house	Paid and discharged
Oliver	Mrs. Catherine	Woman	214 1st Ave North	1896	Keeping and renting rooms	Paid and discharged
Peterson	Katie	Woman	522 Broadway	1913	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Pyles	Miss	Woman	24 Front St	1909	Enticing	Paid and discharged
Ray	Violet	Woman	111 1st Ave S	1912	Being an inmate	Paid and discharged

Table C4. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Individual's Name (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Raymond	Mable	Woman	14 8th St S	1911	Being an inmate	Sentence suspended upon partial payment
Rooney	Anna	Woman	101 1st Ave N	1910	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Rooney	Annie	Woman	101 1st Ave N	1910	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Rooney	Mrs. Annie	Woman	101 1st Ave N	1910	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Russell	May	Woman	Ely Block	1896	Keeping a room	Paid and discharged
Shirley	Beth	Woman	74 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Committed
Smith	Beatrice	Woman	74 Front St	1909	Resorting	Paid and discharged
Smith	May	Woman	74 Front St	1909	Enticing	Paid and discharged
Smith	Bertha	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Case dismissed
Smith	Beatrice	Woman	90 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Committed
Standy	Mrs. Anna J.	Woman	88 Front St	1904	Keeping a room	Paid and discharged
Stevenson	Alice	Woman	72 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Case dismissed
Streblen	Gus	Man	511 5th St N	1913	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Streblen	Mrs.	Woman	511 5th St N	1913	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged

Table C4. Arrests with Addresses for Other Women, Men, and Individuals of Unknown Gender, Sorted by Individual's Name (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Gender	Address	Year	Charge	Outcome
Sumpkins	Pauline	Woman	74 Front St	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged
Taudy	Nellie	Woman	66 Front St	1911	Being an inmate	Case dismissed
Thomas	Josie	Woman	111 1st Ave S	1912	Being an inmate	Case dismissed
Walker	Alice	Woman	412 Front St	1912	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Walker	Bert	Man	412 Front St	1912	Keeping a house of prostitution	Paid and discharged
Washington	Julia	Woman	110 Front St	1909	Enticing	Committed
Winter	May	Woman	14 8th St S	1911	Keeping a house of ill fame	Paid and discharged

Note that names are listed as they were transcribed from the court dockets. In addition, Belmont Hotel and Ely Block entries are listed, but are not mapped in Figures 2, 3, or 6.

APPENDIX D. COEFFICIENT OF SIMILARITY TABLES

Table D1. Coefficients of Similarity for Roof Material Variable in 1901

	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	203 1st Ave N	207 1st Ave N	211 1st Ave N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N
115 3rd St N	1.00										
117 3rd St N	1.00	1.00									
119 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00								
121 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00							
203 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00						
207 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00					
211 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00				
215 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00			
217 1st Ave N	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00		
217 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	
223 1st Ave N	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00

Table D2. Coefficients of Similarity for Basement Variable in 1901

	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	203 1st Ave N	207 1st Ave N	211 1st Ave N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N
115 3rd St N	X										
117 3rd St N	X	X									
119 3rd St N	X	X	X								
121 3rd St N	X	X	X	X							
203 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X						
207 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X					
211 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
215 2nd Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
217 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
217 2nd Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
223 1st Ave N	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00

Table D3. Coefficients of Similarity for Stories Variable in 1901

	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	203 1st Ave N	207 1st Ave N	211 1st Ave N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N
115 3rd St N	1.00										
117 3rd St N	1.00	1.00									
119 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00								
121 3rd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00							
203 1st Ave N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	1.00						
207 1st Ave N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00					
211 1st Ave N	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00				
215 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	1.00			
217 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	1.00	1.00		
217 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	
223 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Table D4. Coefficients of Similarity for Area Variable in 1901

	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	203 1st Ave N	207 1st Ave N	211 1st Ave N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N
115 3rd St N	1.00										
117 3rd St N	0.75	1.00									
119 3rd St N	0.75	0.99	1.00								
121 3rd St N	0.88	0.87	0.88	1.00							
203 1st Ave N	0.64	0.39	0.39	0.52	1.00						
207 1st Ave N	0.72	0.47	0.47	0.60	0.92	1.00					
211 1st Ave N	0.74	0.49	0.49	0.62	0.90	0.98	1.00				
215 2nd Ave N	0.79	0.54	0.54	0.67	0.85	0.93	0.95	1.00			
217 1st Ave N	0.87	0.62	0.63	0.75	0.77	0.85	0.87	0.92	1.00		
217 2nd Ave N	0.71	0.46	0.46	0.59	0.93	0.99	0.97	0.92	0.83	1.00	
223 1st Ave N	0.36	0.61	0.60	0.48	0.00	0.08	0.10	0.15	0.23	0.07	1.00

Table D5. Average Coefficients of Similarity in 1901

	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	203 1st Ave N	207 1st Ave N	211 1st Ave N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N
115 3rd St N	1.00										
117 3rd St N	0.92	1.00									
119 3rd St N	0.92	0.99	1.00								
121 3rd St N	0.74	0.74	0.74	1.00							
203 1st Ave N	0.66	0.57	0.58	0.84	1.00						
207 1st Ave N	0.68	0.60	0.60	0.87	0.97	1.00					
211 1st Ave N	0.80	0.72	0.72	0.76	0.86	0.88	1.00				
215 2nd Ave N	0.93	0.85	0.85	0.67	0.73	0.75	0.87	1.00			
217 1st Ave N	0.74	0.65	0.65	0.47	0.48	0.50	0.62	0.75	1.00		
217 2nd Ave N	0.90	0.89	0.82	0.64	0.76	0.77	0.88	0.97	0.72	1.00	
223 1st Ave N	0.42	0.49	0.48	0.29	0.17	0.19	0.27	0.37	0.56	0.35	1.00

Addresses with at least three comparative coefficients less than 0.50 are highlighted.

Table D6. Coefficients of Similarity for Roof Material Variable in 1910

	101 2nd St N	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 2nd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	201 3rd St N	207 3rd St N	208 2nd St N	209 3rd St N	211 1st Ave N	211 3rd St N	213 1st Ave N	213 1/2 1st Ave N	215 2nd St N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N	311 2nd St N	99 2nd St N	
101 2nd St N	1.00																					
115 3rd St N	1.00	1.00																				
117 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00																			
119 2nd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00																		
119 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00																	
121 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00																
201 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00															
207 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00														
208 2nd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00													
209 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00												
211 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00											
211 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00										
213 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00									
213 1/2 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00								
215 2nd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00							
215 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00						
217 1st Ave N	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00					
217 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00				
223 1st Ave N	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	0.33	1.00			
311 2nd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.33	1.00		
99 2nd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	

Table D7. Coefficients of Similarity for Basement Variable in 1910

	101 2nd St N	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 2nd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	201 3rd St N	207 3rd St N	208 2nd St N	209 3rd St N	211 1st Ave N	211 3rd St N	213 1st Ave N	213 1/2 1st Ave N	215 2nd St N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N	311 2nd St N	99 2nd St N	
101 2nd St N	X																					
115 3rd St N	X	X																				
117 3rd St N	X	X	X																			
119 2nd St N	X	X	X	X																		
119 3rd St N	X	X	X	X	X																	
121 3rd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X																
201 3rd St N	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00															
207 3rd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X														
208 2nd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X													
209 3rd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X												
211 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X											
211 3rd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X										
213 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X									
213 1/2 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								
215 2nd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
215 2nd Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
217 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
217 2nd Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
223 1st Ave N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
311 2nd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
99 2nd St N	X	X	X	X	X	X	0.00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

“X” indicates an absent-absent match.

Table D8. Coefficients of Similarity for Stories Variable in 1910

	101 2nd St N	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 2nd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	201 3rd St N	207 3rd St N	208 2nd St N	209 3rd St N	211 1st Ave N	211 3rd St N	213 1st Ave N	213 1/2 1st Ave N	215 2nd St N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N	311 2nd St N	99 2nd St N	
101 2nd St N	1.00																					
115 3rd St N	1.00	1.00																				
117 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00																			
119 2nd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00																		
119 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00																	
121 3rd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00																
201 3rd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00															
207 3rd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00														
208 2nd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00													
209 3rd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00												
211 1st Ave N	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00											
211 3rd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00										
213 1st Ave N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00									
213 1/2 1st Ave N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00								
215 2nd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00							
215 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00						
217 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	1.00					
217 2nd Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00				
223 1st Ave N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00			
311 2nd St N	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00		
99 2nd St N	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.67	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	1.00	

Table D9. Coefficients of Similarity for Area Variable in 1910

	101 2nd St N	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 2nd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	201 3rd St N	207 3rd St N	208 2nd St N	209 3rd St N	211 1st Ave N	211 3rd St N	213 1st Ave N	213 1/2 1st Ave N	215 2nd St N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N	311 2nd St N	99 2nd St N	
101 2nd St N	1.00																					
115 3rd St N	0.80	1.00																				
117 3rd St N	0.89	0.91	1.00																			
119 2nd St N	0.40	0.60	0.51	1.00																		
119 3rd St N	0.97	0.83	0.92	0.43	1.00																	
121 3rd St N	0.74	0.94	0.85	0.66	0.77	1.00																
201 3rd St N	0.94	0.86	0.95	0.46	0.97	0.80	1.00															
207 3rd St N	0.51	0.71	0.62	0.89	0.54	0.77	0.57	1.00														
208 2nd St N	0.38	0.58	0.49	0.98	0.41	0.64	0.44	0.87	1.00													
209 3rd St N	0.58	0.78	0.70	0.82	0.61	0.84	0.64	0.93	0.80	1.00												
211 1st Ave N	0.58	0.79	0.70	0.81	0.62	0.85	0.65	0.92	0.79	0.99	1.00											
211 3rd St N	0.48	0.68	0.59	0.92	0.51	0.74	0.54	0.97	0.90	0.90	0.89	1.00										
213 1st Ave N	0.41	0.61	0.52	0.99	0.44	0.67	0.47	0.90	0.97	0.83	0.82	0.93	1.00									
213 1/2 1st Ave N	0.32	0.53	0.44	0.93	0.36	0.59	0.39	0.82	0.95	0.74	0.74	0.85	0.92	1.00								
215 2nd St N	0.32	0.53	0.44	0.93	0.36	0.59	0.39	0.81	0.94	0.74	0.74	0.84	0.91	0.99	1.00							
215 2nd Ave N	0.70	0.91	0.82	0.69	0.77	0.97	0.77	0.80	0.68	0.88	0.88	0.77	0.71	0.62	0.62	1.00						
217 1st Ave N	0.53	0.74	0.65	0.86	0.57	0.80	0.60	0.97	0.84	0.95	0.95	0.94	0.87	0.79	0.79	0.83	1.00					
217 2nd Ave N	0.65	0.85	0.76	0.75	0.68	0.91	0.71	0.86	0.73	0.93	0.94	0.83	0.76	0.68	0.67	0.95	0.89	1.00				
223 1st Ave N	0.78	0.57	0.66	0.17	0.74	0.51	0.71	0.29	0.16	0.36	0.36	0.26	0.19	0.10	0.10	0.48	0.31	0.43	1.00			
311 2nd St N	0.22	0.43	0.34	0.83	0.26	0.49	0.29	0.71	0.84	0.64	0.64	0.74	0.81	0.90	0.90	0.52	0.69	0.57	0.00	1.00		
99 2nd St N	0.79	0.99	0.91	0.60	0.83	0.94	0.85	0.72	0.59	0.79	0.79	0.69	0.62	0.53	0.53	0.91	0.74	0.86	0.57	0.43	1.00	

Table D10. Average Coefficients of Similarity in 1910

	101 2nd St N	115 3rd St N	117 3rd St N	119 2nd St N	119 3rd St N	121 3rd St N	201 3rd St N	207 3rd St N	208 2nd St N	209 3rd St N	211 1st Ave N	211 3rd St N	213 1st Ave N	213 1/2 1st Ave N	215 2nd St N	215 2nd Ave N	217 1st Ave N	217 2nd Ave N	223 1st Ave N	311 2nd St N	99 2nd St N	
101 2nd St N	1.00																					
115 3rd St N	0.93	1.00																				
117 3rd St N	0.96	0.97	1.00																			
119 2nd St N	0.58	0.64	0.61	1.00																		
119 3rd St N	0.99	0.94	0.97	0.59	1.00																	
121 3rd St N	0.69	0.76	0.73	0.89	0.70	1.00																
201 3rd St N	0.73	0.71	0.74	0.45	0.74	0.53	1.00															
207 3rd St N	0.61	0.68	0.65	0.96	0.62	0.92	0.48	1.00														
208 2nd St N	0.57	0.64	0.61	0.99	0.58	0.88	0.44	0.96	1.00													
209 3rd St N	0.64	0.71	0.68	0.94	0.65	0.95	0.49	0.98	0.93	1.00												
211 1st Ave N	0.75	0.82	0.79	0.83	0.76	0.84	0.58	0.86	0.82	0.89	1.00											
211 3rd St N	0.60	0.67	0.64	0.97	0.61	0.91	0.47	0.99	0.97	0.97	0.85	1.00										
213 1st Ave N	0.58	0.65	0.62	0.99	0.59	0.89	0.45	0.97	0.99	0.94	0.83	0.98	1.00									
213 1/2 1st Ave N	0.55	0.62	0.59	0.98	0.56	0.86	0.43	0.94	0.98	0.91	0.80	0.95	0.97	1.00								
215 2nd St N	0.55	0.62	0.59	0.98	0.56	0.86	0.43	0.94	0.98	0.91	0.80	0.95	0.97	0.99	1.00							
215 2nd Ave N	0.90	0.97	0.94	0.68	0.91	0.77	0.69	0.71	0.67	0.74	0.85	0.70	0.68	0.65	0.65	1.00						
217 1st Ave N	0.73	0.80	0.77	0.62	0.75	0.60	0.57	0.66	0.61	0.65	0.76	0.65	0.62	0.60	0.60	0.83	1.00					
217 2nd Ave N	0.88	0.95	0.92	0.69	0.89	0.75	0.68	0.73	0.69	0.76	0.87	0.72	0.70	0.67	0.67	0.98	0.85	1.00				
223 1st Ave N	0.70	0.64	0.67	0.28	0.69	0.39	0.51	0.32	0.27	0.34	0.45	0.31	0.28	0.26	0.26	0.60	0.66	0.59	1.00			
311 2nd St N	0.52	0.59	0.56	0.94	0.53	0.83	0.40	0.90	0.95	0.88	0.77	0.91	0.94	0.97	0.97	0.62	0.56	0.64	0.22	1.00		
99 2nd St N	0.93	0.99	0.97	0.65	0.94	0.76	0.71	0.68	0.64	0.71	0.82	0.67	0.65	0.62	0.62	0.97	0.80	0.95	0.63	0.59	1.00	

Addresses with at least three comparative coefficients less than 0.50 are highlighted.