

THESIS

OF PAINTED WOMEN AND PATRONS: AN ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL ITEMS AND
IDENTITY AT A VICTORIAN-ERA RED LIGHT DISTRICT IN OURAY, COLORADO

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

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Archaeological investigations of prostitution tend to focus on identifying the presence of females in male spaces and differentiating brothel assemblages from surrounding households. These approaches often focus on upper-class establishments and define prostitutes solely by their labor. Additionally, these scholars neglect the fact that prostitution could not exist without customers. Although often ignored, personal items represent one of the few means of addressing such oversights. In this thesis, I analyze a sample of 948 personal items recovered from the Vanoli Site (5OR30) in conjunction with data gleaned from historic documents including censuses and photographs in order to discuss Victorian-era prostitution in Ouray, Colorado. This project was designed to 1) explore the premise that the prostitute was a performative identity constructed through the manipulation of clothing, accessories, cosmetics, and hygiene by sex workers as part of their work; 2) examine the similarities between prostitutes and other working-class women in Ouray, 3) provide information about the otherwise invisible customers. The personal items and documentary evidence indicate that women and men on the Vanoli block were presenting a clean, well-groomed, and thoroughly working-class appearance. This study concludes that the male patrons defined their larger identities through their labor, and their identities as customers through their interactions with the sex workers, and therefore did not alter their appearances specifically to participate in leisure culture. Furthermore, while prostitutes were using perfumes and hygiene-products to construct a sweet-smelling, healthy appearance, they were not wearing specialized make up or clothing as part of their labor. Instead of using personal items to alter their physical appearance to create the performative identity of the

prostitute, these women constructed their identities in leisure culture through their participation in prostitution and through their work. My results emphasize the importance of including personal items in examinations of prostitution in order to further dispel the stereotypical image of the Wild West.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Throughout recorded history people all over the world have communicated their gender, class, self image, and personal identity through their appearance (De Cunzo 1995:87; White 2005). Analysis of personal items – including clothing, accessories, cosmetics, and hygiene artifacts – has the potential to yield data regarding the identities of people, such as prostitutes and their customers, who are otherwise invisible or stereotyped beyond recognition in the larger cultural narrative of the American West. The historical literature tends to describe prostitutes, who are generally defined solely by their labor, as fundamentally different from other women in appearance. In this thesis, I examine a sample of personal items related to personal adornment and hygiene recovered from the Vanoli Site (5OR30), which was a working-class late Victorian-era red light district in Ouray, in order to discuss prostitution as labor, which was simply one aspect of a prostitute's life. As such, this project was designed to: 1) explore the performative identity of the prostitute constructed by sex workers, 2) assess the similarities between prostitutes and other working-class women in Ouray, and 3) provide information regarding the identities of the largely invisible male customers who patronized the red light district. The archaeological data collected from the artifacts were compared to data gleaned from historic documents, including censuses and photographs, and from the secondary literature regarding costume and hygiene. Although my hypothesis that men created their identities as customers through the consumption of the female body and not through any specific alterations in their own appearance proved correct, contrary to my expectations the study concluded that, while sex workers were manipulating their appearances, it was not through makeup or specialized clothing.

Archaeology is a means of giving voice to women and other people underrepresented or ignored by the accepted cultural narrative (Joyce 2008). Indeed, this is one of the major critiques offered by the feminist archaeologists who challenge the hardcore scientific paradigm of processual archaeology. They argue that the overwhelming emphasis on the dominant ideology of science directed so much attention away from women and other “subordinate” groups as to almost erase them entirely (Wylie 2007). While much of this initial attention was focused on dispelling the once-dominant notion of Man the Hunter in prehistoric archaeology, it holds true for later periods including the American West. As argued by Simmons (1989), prostitution in the American West is a large topic with a myriad of connotations, and it becomes necessary to limit and define the terms used in this thesis. Additionally, the relative paucity of personal items in comparison with other types of artifacts within the Vanoli collection and the absence of readily accessible or published comparative collections necessitate the use of theory and very specific spatiotemporal context (as opposed to simple statistics) to interpret a smaller data set. The personal items discussed here were likely used by the women working in the cribs of the Vanoli Block and the men who patronized these establishments between the 1870s and the enactment of prohibition in 1916. Male customers are generally absent from historical and contemporary discourses on prostitution despite the fact that sex work as an industry could not exist without their participation. This relative lack of information makes consideration of the patrons all the more important.

The Prostitute

“Prostitute” can have many meanings depending on a person’s moral, religious, and cultural background. Prostitution is also of varying legality depending on the time and place in question. In order to evaluate prostitution as an identity it becomes necessary to define

prostitution as it was practiced in a given place and time (Nencel 2001). Here, as in Vermeer's (2006) dissertation, prostitution is defined as meeting the sexual needs and desires of other individuals in exchange for money, food, alcohol, or gifts. While the association of sexuality and gender does have bearing on this project, and male prostitutes were likely present in the mining West, the focus here remains solely on female practitioners. As such, anytime sexuality and sexual identity is discussed, the terms refer only to the performance and identity of the heterosexual prostitute and her heterosexual clients. Additionally, as Voss and Schmidt (2000:2) argue, sexuality refers to "all kinds of sexual relations including sexual activities, eroticism, sexual identities, sexual meanings, and sexual politics". Recognizing the projected (and conversely perceived) sexuality of the 19th century sex worker is essential to the interpretation of the prostitute as a performative identity. It is by understanding the dynamics of sexuality and performance within the social context of the mining West that the identity of the prostitute emerges. Personal items are one means of assessing the performance of work.

The Personal Item

Here "personal item" refers to objects used in the formation and performance of the identity of the prostitute. Usually, these objects are fairly small and/or transportable, and owned by the woman who used them. Because appearance, hygiene, and grooming are closely intertwined with the performance of sex work, these artifacts are interpreted as contributing to a prostitute's labor. These artifacts include objects that are related to apparel, accessories, skin care, dental hygiene, hair care, grooming, and cosmetics. Items identified as coming from both men and women will be considered in this analysis.

Very few archaeologists have examined personal items with regard to appearance and dress. Although Carolyn L. White (2005, 2008, and 2009) analyzed items of personal adornment

with regard to identity, and Sarah C. Stevens (2000) compared apparel artifacts from a privy in order to differentiate a brothel layer from a later occupation, these authors are the exception that proves the rule. Unfortunately, the sites they examine pre-date the Vanoli Site by decades. While informative, their assemblages are not directly comparable to the Vanoli Collection. Instead of being treated as a group of artifacts that could contribute to our understanding of historical constructions of identity (White 2008:17), “personal item” has become a convenient way to categorize artifacts that do not fit neatly into the most widely accepted artifact classes. Once relegated to this category, the artifacts are often either treated as a means of merely identifying the presence of women (Dixon 2005; Spude 2005) or entirely left out of the analysis of archaeological collections.

Personal items generally form small portions of artifact assemblages, and are extremely diverse which makes them difficult to assess statistically. As a result, these artifacts are largely neglected in favor of more easily quantifiable, and therefore more easily defined and interpreted, liquor bottles and other relics of leisure culture. Although Spude (2005) conducted an excellent study on eight establishments (five saloons and three brothels) to determine the feasibility of identifying a female presence from the artifact assemblages, due to her research design she only determined whether the personal items in her sample were female or male specific. Even in the three establishments identified as brothels (including the Vanoli Block), female specific personal items account for an average of 7.74% of the total artifact assemblage, and male specific personal items account for an only about 0.10% of the recorded items (Spude 2005:97). Given the relative scarcity of artifacts definitively associated with prostitutes, analysis is necessarily based on small sample size and therefore more open to interpretation. If, as Spude (2005) demonstrates, personal items can be associated with gender, it becomes necessary to take this a

step further and see what types of obviously gendered artifacts are left in an assemblage associated with prostitution.

Archaeological Investigations of Prostitution

Much of the archaeological fieldwork done on prostitution occurs in large cities such as Washington D.C. (Seifert 2001), St. Paul (Ketz et al. 2005), New York (Yamin 2005), and Los Angeles (Meyer et al. 2005), and not in the Rocky Mountain West. Seifert (1991, 2001) and Seifert and Balicki (2005) used pattern analysis to compare brothel assemblages to those recovered from near-by working-class households in order to determine differences in household composition and function. Although most of their focus is on other artifact categories, the authors conclude that brothel assemblages have a greater number of personal items than surrounding households. Furthermore, they argue that working-class prostitutes spent more money on luxury consumer goods than other working women, but shared the same taste in apparel as their fellow working-class women (Seifert 1991:104-105). While the sex-workers in Washington D.C. may have presented themselves as well-groomed working women, prostitutes from the St. Paul, Minnesota bordello examined by Ketz et al. (2005) show a different pattern. A comparison of the public and private spaces demonstrated that although it was a working-class establishment, the brothel's public image was that of a middle-class parlor house. The authors briefly-discuss grooming and hygiene artifacts and indicate that the women valued grooming. However, they do not specify the types of cosmetics, and speculate that sex workers were attempting to appeal to customers while trying to conceal serious medical conditions (Ketz et al. 2005). Yamin (2005) discusses the artifact assemblage from a New York brothel in the Five Points district. A comparison of the privy contents revealed that while the sex workers presented a middle or upper-class appearance to their customers, in private they lived no differently than

other working-class women. In their comparison of a Los Angeles brothel, a crib structure that may have been similar to those found on the Vanoli Block, and surrounding working-class households, Ketz et al. (2005) found that like their New York colleagues discussed above, sex workers in the brothel presented a high-class public image, but were in reality working-class women. The authors discuss the crib structure as an aside, but indicate that women working in that establishment presented a purely working-class identity (Ketz et al. 2005).

Although often neglected, examination of personal items by historical archaeologists can yield information important to interpretations of identity. For example, although the aforementioned excavations are of brothels in very different geographic and social locations, they do offer insights into the social and gender relations of the commercial sex trade in general. The types of objects represented in the assemblage, especially cosmetics and accessories, can suggest how these women expressed their profession through the physical appearance they affected for their customers. Furthermore, the fewer, but no less significant, male-specific objects can answer questions regarding the identity that the male customers took on when visiting so-called “sporting women.” However, the historical archaeologist must rely on a blending of material objects and historical resources for a more complete understanding of people who, like these women, tend to be invisible in the larger cultural narrative.

The Vanoli Collection

The analysis reported here was conducted on a sample of artifacts from the Vanoli Site, which encompassed most of a city block in Ouray. The items sampled for this thesis are associated with the Gold Belt Theater and the 220 Dancehall, both of which were run by the Vanoli family from the 1880s through the enactment of Colorado Prohibition in 1916. The site was excavated as a *pro bono* salvage project by Steven Baker of Centuries Research, Inc., during the

1970s and early 1980s (Baker et al. 2007). The majority of the artifact collection was transferred to the Colorado State University (CSU) Anthropology Department in 2009 for rehabilitation and preparation for permanent curation. Heather Horobik (2011) has completed a master's thesis on the assemblage, and other practicum and graduate students continue to work with the artifacts.

Summary of Chapters

Two intertwined ideas are explored in this thesis: 1) that women constructed the identity of the prostitute as part of their labor by manipulating their appearance and hygiene, and 2) that male patrons were defined by their labor and by their consumption of the prostitute's body, and therefore did not create a separate physical image. The analysis of artifacts such as those excavated from the Vanoli Block in Ouray, Colorado provides a means of addressing these premises, and for comparing the working-class prostitutes of the Vanoli Block with other working-class women in Ouray. By exploring these topics it becomes apparent that the differences between the two groups of women were relatively slight.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide background information pertinent to understanding the historical, theoretical, and contextual framework of this project. Chapter 2 presents background information on Ouray, the Vanoli Block, and Victorian-era prostitution. This chapter places Ouray and the Vanoli Block within the larger temporal and cultural context of saloon culture within Rocky Mountain mining towns. Victorian-era prostitution is explored through the historical literature, and sex workers are discussed with regard to ranking on the hierarchy of prostitution, demographics, and hygiene. Chapter 3 presents the background information regarding appearance during the late Victorian-era within the theoretical framework of performance and identity theory. Historic photographs depicting apparel are included in this chapter.

Chapter 4 presents the analytical methods used in the completion of this thesis. The chapter includes an overview of field methods employed by Steven Baker during the excavation of the site. Sampling of artifacts from within the larger collection and of artifacts within the chosen units is discussed followed by methods employed in the artifactual and documentary analysis. These methods are designed to be used within the theoretical context in order to examine the constructed nature of prostitution and identity.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the documentary analysis. Census documents are examined for familial status and relationships, literacy rates, and the heritage of sex workers, other working-class women, and working-class men. Corroborating spatial data is provided by analysis of historic maps. These sources allow insight into non-tangible aspects of identity.

Chapters 6 and 7 detail the quantitative and qualitative results of the data analysis. Each chapter presents the outcome of analysis followed by a discussion of the implications of the data with regard to the performative identities of prostitutes and their potential customers. Chapter 6 discusses artifacts related specifically to apparel and accessories. The most prevalent artifact categories include textiles, fasteners, footwear, jewelry, ordnance, and tobacco-related items. Chapter 7 presents the results of analysis on the hygiene and cosmetic artifacts, which encompass dental, skin, and hair care items as well as makeup and perfume.

Chapter 8 presents the overall results of this project, their significance within the larger context of archaeological investigations of prostitution, and suggestions for future research. The initial hypothesis that women were constructing a specialized appearance through the use of heavy makeup and specialized attire was disproven. Instead, it seems that sex-workers were presenting a clean, well-groomed, working-class appearance. However, the results do indicate that men were not altering their appearance with regard to participating in prostitution.

Chapter 2

Ouray, the Vanoli Block, and Prostitution: An Overview

Historical archaeology relies on a blending of historical documents and archaeological artifacts. The interweaving of multiple lines of evidence is one of the advantages of the discipline; an understanding of any historic site derives thoroughness from positioning the artifact assemblage within the larger historical and social contexts of a given time, in this case the history of prostitution and of Ouray. The rise of feminism as a paradigm within the social sciences led to a flurry of publications regarding Victorian-era prostitution. As with any genre, publications are of varying academic quality. However, as argued by Laite (2009), the prevalence of prostitutes in the historical narrative of the American West attests to their prominence in the web of cultural development that epitomizes North American expansion. This historic context is derived from secondary literature and local histories, and provides the background for the interpretation of the personal items in the Vanoli assemblage.

Red Light Districts and Rocky Mountain Mining Towns

Most mining towns, including Ouray, began as boomtowns, meaning that the towns grew quickly and, occasionally, disappeared just as quickly depending on the richness of the material discovered (Smith 1967). Almost as soon as a boomtown emerged, the saloonkeepers, prostitutes, and other such purveyors of the vices considered coeval with urban societies arrived (Simmons 1989). Saloons and cribs comprised an essential part of early rough-and-tumble Western towns. The demand and enormous potential for profit meant that they often became some of the first, if not the first, public structures erected in a mining boomtown.

Saloons served many functions outside of bars and so-called gambling “hells” in the early frontier days of the community. They were used as churches, boarding houses, museums,

theaters, hospitals, places of government, information centers, gathering places for business and politics, and banks. When a town grew sizable enough, separate buildings encompassed many of the afore-mentioned functions (Noel 1996). While non-prostitute women were allowed into early saloons for functions such as church, once that gathering was over the saloon became a males (and prostitutes) only social club. Upstanding women were either barred from entering, or faced a loss of reputation if they ignored propriety (Powers 1998). As such, it is not unreasonable to conclude that female-specific items associated with saloons may be related to prostitution.

The early presence of liquor and prostitution in mining camps can be partly attributed to the fact that underneath the vitality and flood of people, mining remained lonely and monotonous labor. Many of these communities sprang up overnight, and entertainment that the common man could afford consisted of the alcohol, gambling, and prostitution often present in frontier saloons. This society consisted largely of migrant men of disparate backgrounds who faced stiff competition with each other for limited resources such as gold. Records demonstrate that many liquor merchants began as miners, but soon entered the alcohol business rather than continue the dangerous and difficult work of mining. Saloons far outnumbered other establishments in the American West, and a good saloon owner provided a congenial environment for his patrons, and could become wealthy by fulfilling as many of their desires as possible (West 1979).

The development of the railroads and telegraph and telephone communications minimized the isolation of Rocky Mountain mining towns, and led to an influx of women, religious institutions, and upper-class Victorian ideals including reformist sentiments (Agnew 2008). The increasing momentum of the reform movement during the late nineteenth century grew out of the second American Clean Living Movement, which saw urbanization and perceived vices such as the consumption of alcohol as a threat to society (Engs 2000). During

this era, progress in science and technology led to optimism that America could remain great despite the weakening influences of alcohol, corruption, urbanization, immigration, and capitalist greed. By targeting specific behaviors, especially alcohol and other substances thought to have a debilitating impact on weaker people, they felt that they could reform America. The dominant Victorian middle-class society remained white, Protestant, and increasingly removed from the land and manual labor. Many reacted to the realities of lower-class life with fear or xenophobia, and attempted to reform people whom they perceived as deviant (Noel 1996).

Reformers often targeted saloons, which were viewed as an epicenter of social problems despite the fact that saloons both housed and largely financed early frontier governments. Within a few short years saloons became the most regulated private businesses in the American West (West 1979). Prohibitionists found saloons to be a convenient scapegoat for everything from alcoholism, prostitution, and gambling to poverty and poor health. The reality of the degenerate behavior was not as dire as media like the *Rocky Mountain News* made it seem. Readily attainable alcohol did lead to an increase in brawls and assaults, however, drunk and disorderly patrons disturbing the peace of the frontier towns remained much more common than the grisly murders portrayed by the media (Noel 1996).

Victorian-era Prostitution

The historical literature regarding prostitution can generally be divided into two categories: 1) colorful, sensational sources glamorizing sex work, and 2) academic studies examining the social context of Victorian-era prostitution. The first type encompasses much of the discourse regarding prostitution in Colorado and the American West in general. The second type, with a few notable exceptions, concentrates on urban centers, and takes on a pessimistic or apologetic tone regarding the difficulties that the women experienced. Although authors in both

categories seek to illuminate the lives of socially marginalized women, and all grant them some degree of agency, very little attention is paid to the male customers or the lives of the women outside of their profession.

The subject of the so-called fallen woman has long blended with a romantic view of the past, especially that of the American West, and given rise to a sub-genre of local and regional histories romanticizing the lives of a select few of these women. Such literature tends to focus on the famous and successful madams, their capers, and general discussions of the lives of women in the high-class establishments that the madams ran. Most of these books discuss a hierarchy of prostitution that ranged from madams and high-class courtesans at the pinnacle to streetwalkers at the base. Although such sources briefly mention crib girls as one of the lowest classes, these women are rarely discussed at any length. Examples of this literature are numerous, and include popular works such as *Soiled Doves* (Seagraves 1994), *Red Light Women of the Rocky Mountains* (MacKell 2009), *Upstairs Girls* (Rutter 2005), *Gilded Palaces of Shame* (Johnson and Johnson 1983) and *Ladies of the Lamplight* (Blair 2004). Two of the more academic sources regarding frontier prostitution are *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners* (Goldman 1981) and *Brides of the Multitude* (Agnew 2008).

The academic sources generally seek to explore the hierarchy of prostitution, the progressive and reformist movements against sex work, the types of women who entered the profession, their working lives, and the limited potential for escape from these lives. Much of the data for these studies is based on Britain's Contagious Disease Acts (Nield 1973; Sponberg 1997; Walkowitz 1980), the Sanger Study in New York (Vermeer 2006), reformist literature (Amy 1996), and media accounts influenced by the dominant moral sensibilities (Reid 2002). While these works are academically solid, they do tend to provide a dark image focused on large

urban areas. Two of the most influential sources are *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900 – 1918* (Rosen 1982) and *Prostitution in Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Walkowitz 1980).

Prostitution in the Victorian-era was often discussed as a necessary social evil fueled by the sexual repression of middle- and upper-class women, and the notion that men needed to relieve uncontrollable sexual urges (Walkowitz 1980). Despite this belief, the upstanding male citizens were rarely held responsible for the flourishing sex trade (Gordon 2002). Instead, women were blamed for moral corruption and the spread of venereal disease. This view created and perpetuated an artificial gulf between so-called upstanding and fallen women while simultaneously marking prostitutes and their bodies as something unclean and less than other women because they belonged to all men (Murphy 1983; Sponberg 1997). As a result, the prostitute's body represented both a site of abnormal, depraved sexual indulgence.

The hierarchy of prostitution allows for a categorical classification system when discussing sex work. Madams and the women working in the high-class brothels or parlor houses that they ran represent the top tier. More is known and written about the romanticized lives of these women than any other group in the hierarchy despite the fact that they represent a small fraction of sex workers. Such establishments were characterized by an opulent appearance. The women who worked there tended to see one or two customers a night, and bed linens were changed after every customer (Agnew 2008). So-called volume brothels comprised the second tier in the hierarchy. While some of these establishments still made a pretense of appearance, they tended to be shabbier and focus more on the quantity of customers served in a night than the quality of the experience. Individual women who sold sex out of their homes are often placed in this category. Dance hall girls comprise the next class in the hierarchy. These women danced

with anyone who could pay for a drink and a dance, and may or may not have actually been prostitutes (Barnhart 1986; MacKell 2004). Cribs, which are discussed in more detail below, formed the next tier. Streetwalkers are the bottom category in the hierarchy; these women tended to be the poorest, most abused, and most diseased of the prostitutes (Seagraves 1994).

Cribs girls, such as those at the Vanoli Block, worked in rows of small, single rooms at the lower-end of the socio-economic spectrum of prostitution. Rates were low, sometimes as little as 25 cents, and customers tended to be working-class (Agnew 2008). In the early days of a mining camp cribs were often rows of tents, or rooms adjacent to saloons. Even after a camp was well-established, cribs tended to be the dominant place of prostitution in the Rocky Mountain West (Murphy 1983). On pay day miners flocked to cribs, and even though sessions lasted for a matter of minutes, lines would form outside of the doors (Murphy 1983).

A crib was sparsely furnished, often containing a bed, a wash stand with a pitcher and basin, and a stove for warmth. Occasionally an antiseptic solution, such as carbolic acid, would be placed by the wash stand in order to facilitate and advertise cleanliness (Agnew 2008). In some establishments a woman would rent a crib for a week or a month, but in most places cribs were used in shifts or on an as-needed basis and the women lived elsewhere. In the former situation a crib may have contained a trunk or personal mementos; in the latter it was utilitarian (Murphy 1983). Bedding was not often changed, and customers rarely removed their shoes. Instead, pieces of oil cloth were spread along the foot of the bed to protect the linens (Agnew 2008).

The Women

Like a majority of the men, prostitutes in the American West were often transient, young, native born, and unmarried or traveling without their spouses. They migrated west from urban

areas following the miners and news reports of bonanzas. They often sought socially marginal employment as laundresses, waitresses, theater girls, milliners, dressmakers, and actresses before or in addition to their sex work. Very few women were fortunate enough to establish a steady, sustainable source of income. Many were the children of immigrants and left the cities as they faced decreasing economic opportunities (Butler 1987).

Most studies of Victorian-era prostitution discuss sex workers as women who made a rational choice based on the limited professional opportunities available to them (Agnew 2008; Murphy 1983; Rosen 1982). Given the paucity of documentary evidence it is extremely difficult for scholars to establish accurate and specific motives (Gilfoyle 1994). The danger with relying on the secondary literature is that stereotypes abound: the desperate victim of circumstance, the calculating professional with a career plan, and the independent girl with the heart of gold helping men survive a harsh environment are three of the most prevalent images (Butler 1987). Sex work was, and is, a dangerous, marginalized profession subject to unstable income, disease, addiction, potential violence from clients, and many other hazards (Rosen 1982; Walkowitz 1980). However, it was one of the few trades that required few special skills or education (Agnew 2008). Specific reasons for prostitution likely varied with each woman, but a need to be self-sufficient coupled with a desire for economic mobility undoubtedly motivated many women.

Good hygiene was an essential part of the labor of prostitution: illness, especially venereal disease, could end or interrupt a woman's career (Barnhart 1986). The constant physical contact necessary for sex work made women susceptible to illnesses ranging from the common cold to tuberculosis. Syphilis and gonorrhea were common; some estimates claim that as many as 60 to 75% of Western prostitutes had some form of venereal disease at some point in their careers (Agnew 2008). To prevent spreading venereal disease and as a sort of liability waiver, a

woman would generally wash her customer's genitals with soap and water or an antiseptic solution before intercourse. To prevent disease women would douche with solutions of bichloride of mercury, mercuric cyanide, potassium permanganate, or carbolic acid (Walkowitz 1980; Agnew 2008). If a disease was contracted, injections with mercury, irrigations, and cauterizations remained the dominant treatment until the invention of the first effective antisyphilitic, Salvarsan, just prior to World War I and penicillin in 1945 (Sponberg 1997). Additionally, to remedy the physical and emotional trauma that came with sex work many women became addicted to opium or other drugs (MacKell 2004).

Pregnancy was a constant concern for Victorian-era prostitutes. Common forms of contraception included the vaginal sponge, application of oil or Vaseline to vaginal walls, and douching with various ineffective and occasionally dangerous solutions including lemon juice, alum, vinegar, quinine, pennyroyal, Queen Anne's lace, zinc sulfate, iodine, and carbolic acid (Gordon 2002; Steele 2005). Although condoms were available at that time, they were expensive, and a woman would have to rely on her customers' willingness to use them. Additionally, the Comstock Act of 1872 outlawed mail transportation of so-called "obscene" materials such as birth control paraphernalia and advertising (Ditmore 2011). If a woman did become pregnant she had limited options; abortion was illegal. Medical procedures were expensive, highly dangerous, and difficult to obtain on the frontier. Instead many women tried inserting knitting needles, knives, hatpins, or umbrella ribs into the uterus. Home remedies, which were often ineffectual, consisted of consuming massive doses of ergot, Epsom salts, and quinine; douching with toxic chemicals; deliberate falls down stairs; and patent medicines (Agnew 2008; Gordon 2002). Children, especially females, born into prostitute households were

often shunned by the community, and, when considered old enough, entered the trade themselves (MacKell 2004).

In general, the literature regarding the lives of sex workers after they retired is vague, or non-existent. Women successful enough to become madams or unfortunate enough to be murdered, commit suicide, or accidentally overdose on drugs receive the bulk of the attention (MacKell 2004; Seagraves 1994). While such stories are sensational, it is unlikely that they are representative of prostitutes in general. Although a few women did follow the afore-mentioned paths, or succumbed to illness, the majority of sex workers likely either found marriage or another means of supporting themselves. Given social norms and pressures, the women who went on to marry or start families would be unlikely to discuss their former professions.

The Men

Although prostitution in the American West was fueled by male clients, very little information is available regarding the men who frequented red light districts. Demographically the customers were similar to the prostitutes (Agnew 2008). However, because their entire identity was not defined by their participation in prostitution, men remained anonymous, and faced few legal or moral sanctions. In fact, even when caught in association with sex workers male customers were rarely punished or named in the press (Butler 1979). Most men had societal roles and identities considered salient by the dominant community, and were therefore not characterized by their hiring sex workers. Any blame was laid at the feet of the prostitute, and the man remained relatively unmentioned and invisible in contemporary media accounts (Goldman 1981). Prostitution was seen as a necessary social evil, but it was only permissible for men, especially married men, to engage in it discretely. Additionally, men owned the majority of the saloons and theaters where working-class prostitutes labored (Agnew 2008).

Ouray

Ouray is located south of Montrose at the start of the Uncompahgre River canyon in the San Juan Range of Southwestern Colorado (Figure 1). The city is situated within the basin of a

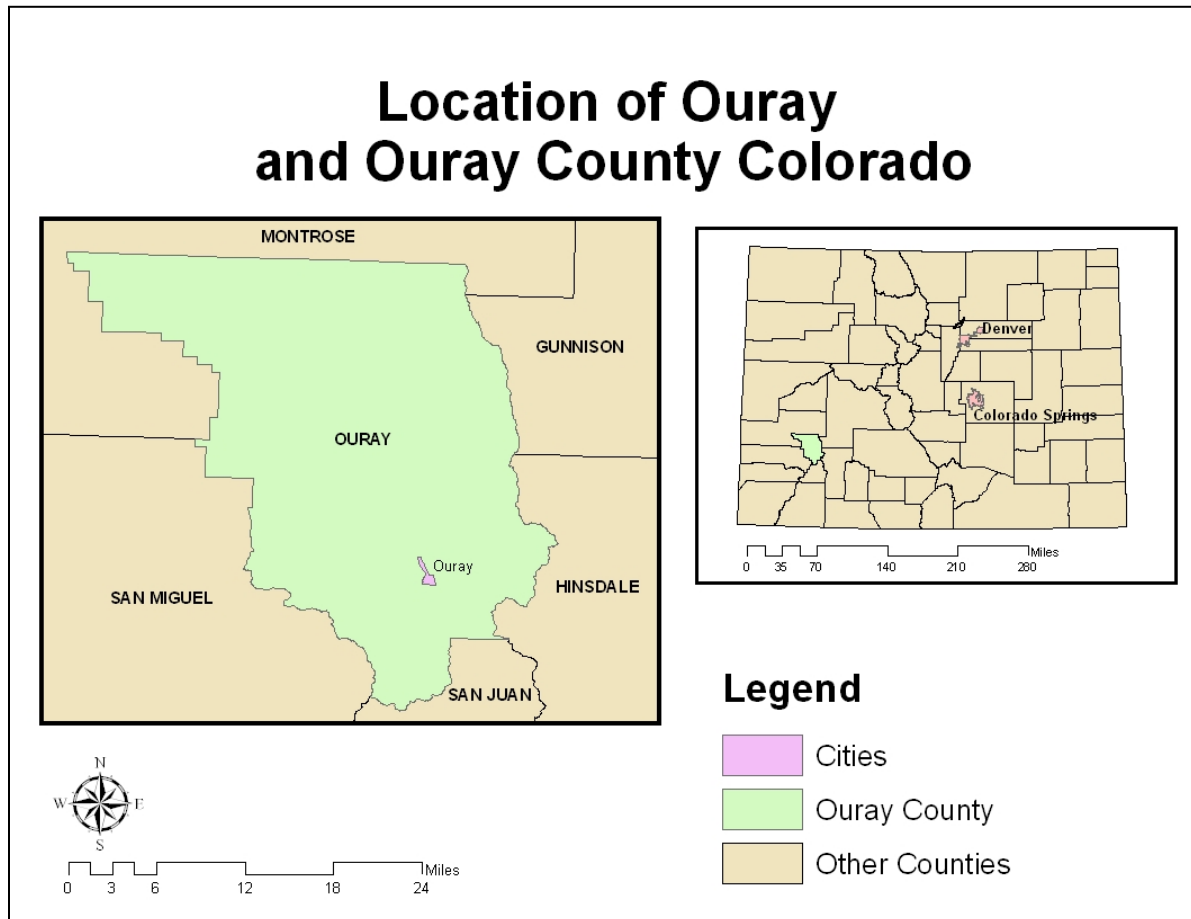


Figure 1 - Location map of Ouray County (right) in relation to Denver and Colorado Springs, and Ouray (left). Courtesy Heather Horobik (2011:17).

natural amphitheater whose surrounding walls offered both shelter from the elements and an ideal location for mining claims. It is typical of many Rocky Mountain mining towns in that it had a rapid rise, and, although still extant, a steady decline (West 1979). The earliest known Euro-Americans to enter the amphitheater wintered there in 1861. However, settlement did not truly begin until 1875 with the discovery of silver in the Trout and Fishermen Lodes (Smith 2003). The news of the find spread, and by August of 1875 the streets of what was then called Uncompahgre City were laid out. The remoteness of the new town and the high walls of the

sheltering amphitheater made accessing Uncompaghre City difficult; mail and supplies had to be obtained from the Tabeguache Ute Indian Agency, which was located near present-day Colona. The winter of 1875-1876 was harsh, and the fledgling town relied heavily on assistance from the Tabeguache Agency. Colorado became the 38th state in August of 1876, and perhaps as a mark of gratitude, the people of Uncompaghre City petitioned the county commissioners to change the name to Ouray, after the Tabeguache Ute leader (Smith 2003). In that same year the fledgling town, which included at least one saloon, was incorporated (Benham 1976).

Papers submitted to the U.S. government in 1877 for the formation of Ouray County showed 400 inhabitants, 214 residences, a school, four general stores, two blacksmith shops, two hotels, a sawmill, an ore sampling works, a post office, an incorporated waterworks, and a newspaper (Benham 1976; Smith 2003). However, these documents did not mention that Ouray “had seven saloons and more gambling places and houses of prostitution than the civilized inhabitants cared to count” (Smith 2003:23). Rapid development continued: by 1879 plank sidewalks and graded streets made travel easier, telegraph and telephone companies were formed, banks and churches were built, and three smelters with a daily capacity of 72 tons were erected within three miles of the town (Benham 1976; Gregory 1995; Smith 2003).

The demographics of Ouray in 1880 were typical of early Rocky Mountain mining towns, and conducive to the development of a red light district. The city had a population of 864 people (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990): 85 % of the population was male, 95 % was white, and 81 % was native-born. Most of the foreign-born residents emigrated from the United Kingdom. In 1880, five saloons and three druggists were present in the town (Smith 2003). The red light district was located at the edge of town near the Uncompaghre River, and later the railroad. The

vice district (Figure 2) encompassed three city blocks, and was situated on 2nd Street between 7th and 8th Avenues (Blocks 7 and 9), and on Main Street (3rd Street) between 8th and 9th Avenues

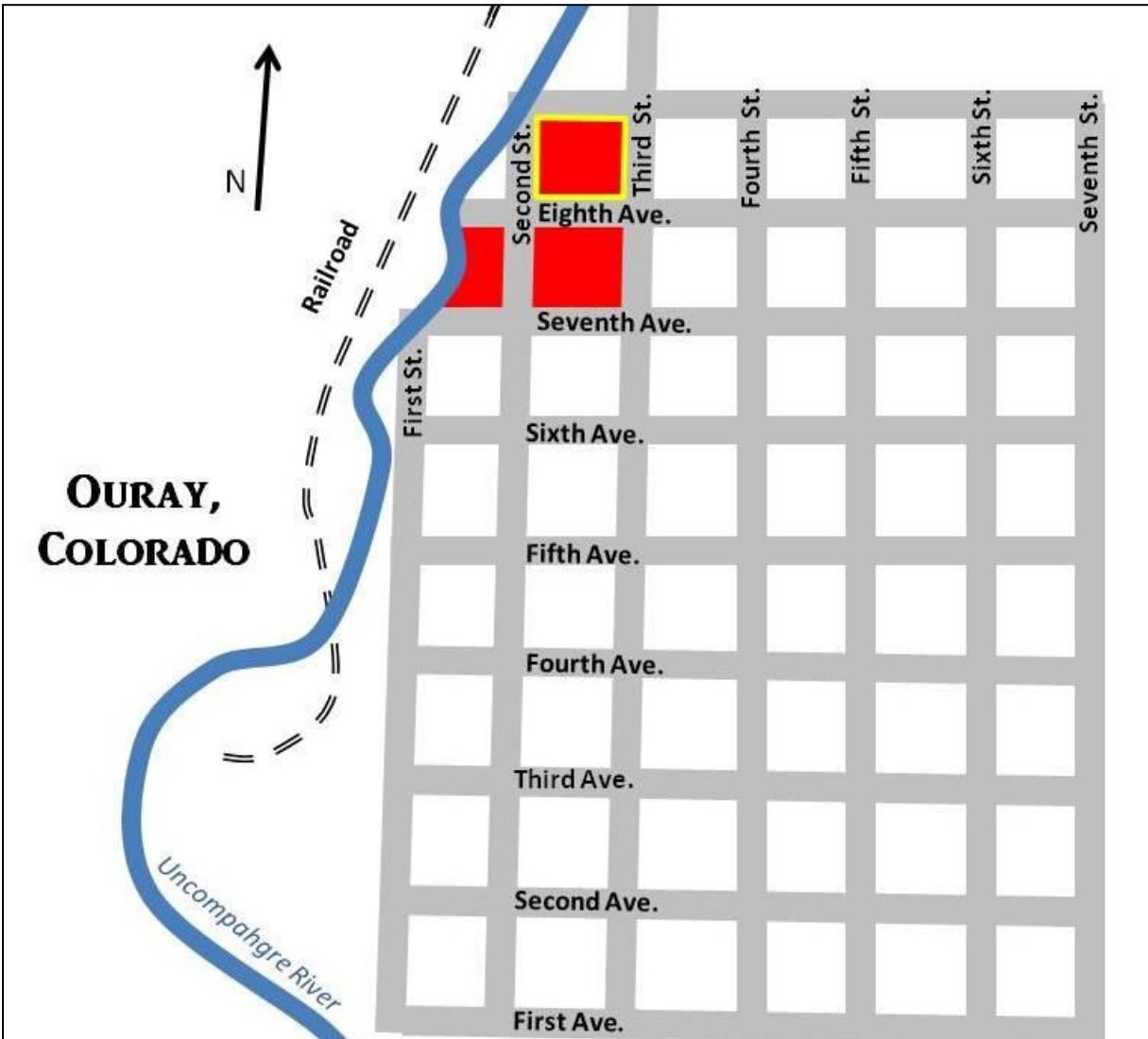


Figure 2 - Location of Ouray’s red light district with the Vanoli Block highlighted in yellow. Courtesy Heather Horobik (2011:21).

(Block 8) (Horobik 2011; MacKell 2004). During the 1880s and 1890s Ouray had as many as 35 saloons; however, it is unlikely that all were in operation at the same time (Smith 2003). So-called “bawdy houses” and “places for the practice of fornication” (Smith 2003:54-55) were outlawed, but the red light district flourished. Establishments included the Temple of Music, the Bon Ton, the Bird Cage, the Clipper, the Monte Carlo, the Morning Star, and the Club (Horobik

2011; MacKell 2004; Smith 2003). These businesses emerged in the late 1880s through the 1890s, and along with nine other female boarding houses, appear on the 1908 Sanborn Insurance Map (Gregory 1995). Over 100 girls worked in the houses of prostitution at the height of the district (Smith 2003).

The 1880s and 1890s were a time of further growth and gentrification for Ouray. In 1880 the town ranked amongst the ten most populous towns in Colorado (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990). The Denver & Rio Grande Rail Road reached Ouray in 1887 easing travel and increasing the availability of cheaper, mass produced goods. Electric lights were installed in buildings, and used to light the streets (Benham 1976; Smith 2003). The medicinal and recreational benefits of the two commercial hot springs were touted in promotional materials (Norman 2005).

Gentrification led to the emergence of a reform movement that sought to regulate the perceived immoral behavior prevalent in the red light district. Given its direct impacts on the Vanoli block, this movement is further discussed below.

The discovery of gold north of town in 1889 prevented Ouray from disappearing when the Silver Crisis of 1893 resulted in the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which devastated the silver industry. The repeal marked the beginning of the end of Ouray as a mining boom town; mines closed causing local businesses to fail and people to drift away (Smith 2003). The population of the city peaked at 2,534 in 1890; by 1910 the population was 1,644, and in 1930 it was only 707 people (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990). Mining, then highly consolidated into a few high-producing mines, peaked in 1900, but declined rapidly. Most of the over 10,000 mining-related shafts and holes that punctuate the landscape within 10 miles of Ouray are from the years prior to 1890 (Kushner 1973). Present-day Ouray is known more for its tourism and the

natural beauty of the surrounding mountains than for mineral extraction (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990).

In 1891 Ouray officials wrote ordinances designed to improve safety and address health-related concerns such as typhoid, small pox, and other diseases. For example, privy contents could only be cleaned and removed from town in closed containers between midnight and 5 am, and dead animals had to be removed from town within six hours of their death. Some ordinances were specifically aimed at the red light districts. One rule banned the populace from carrying deadly weapons “except for legitimate purposes” (Smith 2003:49). Any saloon that allowed a woman to work as a bar tender or waitress could be fined up to \$100. Children under the age of 16, the legal drinking age, who did not have a so-called lawful excuse could be fined if found in a saloon, bowling alley, billiard room, bawdy house, or any other morally dubious location between the hours of 9 pm and 5 am (Smith 2003, 2011).

The movement against dance halls, gambling dens, and houses of prostitution continued to grow. Concerned residents formed an Ouray chapter of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, and traveling speakers from the Anti-Saloon League, which consisted of representatives of the Methodist, Congregational, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches, visited town (Gregory 1995). An ordinance passed in 1895 required leisure establishments to close at midnight and on Sundays. In 1898 an 8pm curfew for children under 18 was established despite the fact that the drinking age remained 16. A law passed in 1902 claimed that tourists had no choice but to walk through the red light district, and closed the dancehalls. However, many of these establishments simply moved to nearby towns. In 1903 slot machines and most gambling was outlawed in Ouray. Finally, in 1916 the state of Colorado passed prohibition, thus officially closing saloons

and brothels. While some establishments quietly remained open, many prostitutes either married local men or moved on to less restrictive locations (Smith 2003).

The Vanoli Block

The Vanoli Block consists of the properties owned and operated by John and Dominick Vanoli, and later by Dominick's children. The family, along with their associates Lorenzo and John Cresto, eventually owned almost the entire block situated on Main Street (3rd Street) and 8th Avenue. This location was ideal; any person traveling on Main Street or entering town from the north would pass their businesses. The Vanoli properties included the Gold Belt Theater, which was a dance and performance hall with attached cribs; the 220 female boarding house; a probable restaurant; cribs; and the Roma Saloon. Local historian David Smith (2003:55) states that the 220 was the "pioneer of all bawdy houses," and that the Roma was one of the "rowdiest saloons in Ouray." A Chinese laundry owned by John Cresto likely doubled as an opium den. Other properties on the block consisted of a livery, barns, a freighting office, and wagon storage. The non-residential nature of these holdings was ideal; no one would be disturbed by the music, dancing, vaudeville, prostitution, opium use, and drunken behavior that occurred at the leisure properties (Gregory 1998; Horobik 2011).

The Vanoli family, with the exception of Dominick's wife who came in 1902, emigrated from Torino, Italy in the 1880s (Baker 1972), and soon became both respected and notorious. They arrived in Ouray prior to 1885 when they quickly began purchasing lots in Block 8 as well as interests in a few of the surrounding mines. As early as 1887 the Ouray papers reported violence, shootings, and arson in addition to the more mundane illegality of public intoxication, prostitution, and gambling on their property (Gregory 1998). In 1888 John shot a patron to break up a fight, and was sentenced to two years in the state penitentiary in Canyon City. He only

served eight months of his sentence; the citizens of Ouray felt that the shooting was justified and successfully petitioned Governor Cooper for John's release. Then, in April of 1895 John shot a disorderly patron in the Gold Belt Theater. This patron, Ed Ligget, picked a fight with another customer and was expelled by the piano player and other employees. Drunk, Ligget and a friend returned with loaded guns, and fired at the ceiling. John shot him four times, but the case was dismissed and John was cleared of all charges. During his legal troubles, John transferred all of his properties to Dominick, who kept the businesses running in his absence (Smith 2003).

While the Vanoli family experienced a rapid rise to infamy, it, like so many boomtowns, also faced a rapid decline in prominence. During the early 1890s John expanded his business to the nearby cities of Red Mountain and Telluride. Then in 1895, John either killed himself as a result of venereal disease or had a heart attack, leaving everything to Dominick, who died in 1910, in turn leaving everything to his children. While violent, and therefore sensational, events occurred throughout the period, the Vanoli properties remained open until Colorado enacted prohibition effective January 1, 1916 (Gregory 1998). After prohibition, the Gold Belt Theater never publicly reopened, but Minnie Vanoli, one of Dominick's three daughters, operated a beer parlor called "Minnie's Place" out of the Roma Saloon. Minnie and her sister Mary lived above the Roma Saloon until their deaths in 1967. At that point Minnie was the sole owner of the property; on her death it passed to the remaining sister who no longer lived in Ouray (Baker 1972). All of the properties were officially condemned in 1972 for safety reasons; the last building to be demolished was the Gold Belt in 1981 (Gregory 1998).

The acquisition of the majority of Block 8 by the Vanolis and their associates was a gradual process that is detailed both by local historian Doris Gregory (1998) and by Heather Horobik (2011:20-25). Between 1884 and 1887 John Vanoli acquired lots 20, 21, and 22, all of

which faced Main Street (Gregory 1995). In 1890 Dominick Vanoli purchased lots 9 and 19; the Roma Saloon opened in 1891 on lot 19. At this time John bought a failing saloon in the nearby town of Red Mountain. Furnishings included in this acquisition give an idea of the interior of a frontier saloon and brothel and consisted of a piano, a plush couch, a bar mirror, at least three beds, linens, eight wash bowls and pitchers, carpets, and two stoves. The 1893 Sanborn Map shows the Vanoli owned businesses as the 220, the Roma, a small restaurant facing Main Street, and the Gold Belt Theater, which was located along the alley. In 1896 Dominick purchased lot 8 and John Cresto acquired lot 17, and cribs were erected on both lots. In 1898 Cresto bought lot 18. This pattern of ownership remained through the enactment of prohibition in 1916 (Gregory 1998).

The 220 boarding house, which appears on the 1886 Sanborn Map as a large two-story building, was already in place when John Vanoli bought the property. The 220 was formerly known as the Grand Pacific, and may have been built in 1881. The building consisted of a space for gambling, drinking, and dancing on the first floor, and rooms for prostitution on the second floor (Gregory 1998; Horobik 2011). In December of 1886 a man attempted to burn down the building after an altercation with one of the prostitutes. The *Ouray Times* reported that “boarders” were able to save the structure. Throughout the decade the 220 was associated with shootings and publicly intoxicated prostitutes. In 1888 the Ouray Board of Trustees declared the 220 to be a public nuisance, and ordered John to close the establishment or lose his liquor license and face prosecution for violations against town ordinances. He ignored this edict; the 220 remained open and no punishment was enacted (Smith 2003).

The Gold Belt Theater opened in the late 1880s, and, despite its unprepossessing, corrugated sheet metal exterior, soon became the flagship of the Vanoli properties. The interior

of the Gold Belt featured red rose wall paper, a stage, a bar, a space for dancing, and rooms for prostitution on the second floor. All of the crib rooms contained a small pot-belly stove with a chimney and a bed; the same furnishings were present in the cribs above the Roma Saloon (Gregory 1995). A gender-segregated double privy and a possible bath house comprised the outbuildings (Horobik 2011). The Vanoli Brothers shrewdly attracted patrons by sending a band marching through Ouray leading customers to Block 8 (Gregory 1995). One of the band uniforms is now on display at the Ouray County Historical Museum. The dancing, vaudeville, and theatrical performances at the Gold Belt were immensely popular; this demand in part caused Ouray's reformers to promote the construction of the respectable Wright Opera House in the wealthier part of town. In 1887 a customer at the Gold Belt could get a drink and a dance with a girl or two drinks for 25 cents; change was not made so simply getting a drink was not an option (Smith 2003). Beer was the least expensive beverage; a bottle of wine was one dollar and a bottle of liquor was five dollars (Gregory 1995).

The notoriety of both John Vanoli and the Gold Belt Theater made it a target for reformers. As a result of the 1895 shooting, the Mayor of Ouray ordered both the Gold Belt and the Bon Ton dancehalls to be closed, igniting a heated public debate. The establishments were soon allowed to reopen. In May of 1902 all dance halls in the city were closed, but by February of 1903 the Ouray City Council granted the Gold Belt a liquor license. The 1908 Sanborn Insurance Map shows that the Gold Belt, unnamed on this map, continued to operate as a dance hall, saloon, and female boarding establishment. The prevalence of "female boarding" houses depicted on this map throughout Ouray's red light district suggests that prostitution continued to flourish even as reformers targeted gambling and dance halls (Gregory 1998). Despite their

resilience, the houses of prostitution, like saloons and other leisure establishments, officially closed with prohibition.

Chapter 3

Prostitution and Appearance

Appearance, like so many aspects of Victorian era prostitution, remains a difficult topic to research. In order to examine the prostitute as a constructed identity preformed by women as an integral part of their labor, it is necessary to examine the appearance of other working women and compare their clothing and hygiene to those of prostitutes. Additionally, the creation of this guise is examined in order to predict the ways in which appearance may be reflected by personal items in the archaeological record. Oral narratives from Ouray, which are discussed in detail later in the chapter, confirm the difficulty of differentiating off-duty sex workers from other women in town by appearance (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990). However, the narratives do not describe the ways in which the women altered themselves when working, or even mention the male customers much less chronicle their garments. Background information regarding the differences in appearance between working prostitutes, sex workers when they are off-duty, and other working-class women, as well as the apparel of their customers, must be gleaned from the historical literature and from photographs contemporaneous with the operation of the Vanoli Block. The dearth of specific, descriptive data and analysis regarding the appearance of working-class men and women in general, and prostitutes in particular, necessitates the use of an interpretive approach defined in this thesis by a framework of identity and performance theory.

Theoretical Perspective

Identity and performance theory provide the theoretical framework for the analysis of personal items from the Vanoli Block. These theories are influenced by the writings of Michel Foucault in the late 1970s and Judith Butler during the 1980s, but are not limited to the concepts discussed by either author. Identity and performance theory are appropriate to use in this context

because they provide an interpretive framework for the artifacts, and allow for the analysis of a range of identities the women may have taken on as opposed to defining sex workers exclusively by their labor.

One of the concepts intrinsic to identity and performance theories is that all people have agency, or active involvement in the physical and social world in which they live. As Gardener (2008:95) argues, some degree of self-awareness or consciousness is the genesis of human action, a fact that separates humans from other species on the planet. Consideration of the body and the way in which it is manipulated allows archaeologists to examine concepts such as gender or sexuality as performance within a society (Lesure 2005). However, as Joyce and Lopiparo (2005) caution, it is important to not completely separate social institutions from action because actions occur within, and not solely as a reaction to, structure. In other words, agency and available choices can be constrained by social structures of inequality and power. Additionally, agency is present in the deliberate repetition of past actions and behaviors (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). The identities that both prostitutes and their customers chose to express while engaging in prostitution are manifestations of agency.

Michel Foucault (1978) argued that the dominant moral system of the Victorian-era forbade explicit discussion of sexuality in Western society. However, because Western culture retained a fascination with sexuality, the discourse surrounding the topic became embedded in socially acceptable medical, political, and economic frameworks (Foucault 1978). Britain's Contagious Disease Acts, which used legislation to regulate prostitution in order to combat perceived moral turpitude and the prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases (Walkowitz 1980), constitute one example of this discussion of sexuality. These exterior social tensions codified acceptable expressions of the sexual body in ways that focused sexuality almost exclusively on

motherhood for women (Foucault 1978). In other words, the only moral reason that a respectable woman would have intercourse was for reproductive purposes. Any expression of sexuality or interest in sexual activity was defined as deviant by the prevailing medical and political framework because it violated the mystified sanctity of motherhood by suggesting that women could have desires unrelated to the wellbeing of their children (Amy 1996; Gordon 2002).

The social pressures exerted by the medical, political, and moral authorities defined an enormous number of so-called aberrant sexualities, including prostitution, which became embedded within the body (Foucault 1978). Contemporary medical theory held that the female body was naturally diseased, and that moral failings could manifest physically. Because prostitutes and other “immoral” women transgressed against the accepted code of female morality, their bodies were perceived as epicenters for physical expressions of corruption (Amy 1996). For example, women thought to be immoral were believed to be able to spontaneously generate gonorrhea that they would then pass on to unsuspecting men (Sponberg 1997) when they demonstrated their moral turpitude through sexual acts.

The relationship between aberrant sexualities and the dominant medical authorities dictated the boundaries of acceptable conduct, which were reinforced through social institutions. Thus, the expression of the sexual body as well as the relationships formed through the body derived meaning from exterior social tensions (Foucault 1978). In other words, sexuality, and therefore a sexual identity, resulted from a social discourse through which the human body was charged with an identity reflective of the dominant culture (Morris 1995). This concept of sexuality is the one used in this thesis. By choosing to construct their specific sexual identities within the boundaries dictated by the dominant social institutions and moral values, prostitutes and their customers confirmed and perpetuated the standard sexuality of their time. However, it

is important to acknowledge that while some women may have believed that they were aberrant or corrupt, others likely created their identities as prostitutes as a form of resistance against social, medical, and political institutions.

Judith Butler uses a similar concept of the influence of society on identity, but applies it specifically to the body and the performance of gender in order to juxtapose gender and sexuality (Voss 2004). Butler states that heterosexuality is the cultural norm, and therefore forms the discourse from which sexual identities and gender emerge. The very creation of these identities serves to legitimize normative sexuality and reject any people or groups that deviate from the cultural standard (Butler 1999). The prevalence of this construction is maintained only through the vigilant efforts of the dominant group to retain differentiation between themselves and the aberrant other (Butler 1993).

Performance theory is used here to understand the ways in which the socially constructed ideals of sexuality and the appearance of the body influence the manner in which prostitutes performed (Morris 1995) and constructed their role as laborers. Voss (2004) argues that because most archaeological investigations of brothel assemblages use non-prostitute households to form a comparative baseline, they focus almost exclusively on economic aspects of prostitution, thus ignoring the performance of a sexual identity. In this thesis, the constructed nature of late 19th-century sexuality is considered evident in the personal items used by sex workers to construct the identity of the prostitute. The women's performance of the role of prostitute emphasized the dominant heterosexual ideology of the era while simultaneously operating outside of the acceptable moral and legal ideals of Victorian society. Performance theory as it is discussed here dovetails with identity theory because the manipulation of the body through the use of personal items serves to confirm and construct the identity of the prostitute.

Identity theory generally focuses on the identity of a group, in this case lower-class prostitutes working in the Vanoli Block, by concentrating on unifying aspects of that group. This theory is often used in archaeology because it allows a categorical view of a population (or a subset of a population), but does not require the attribution of specific artifacts to a specific individual (Voss 2008). Contemporary identity theory is an analysis of the dynamic interplay between groups of people (Jones 2007) such as female prostitutes as laborers and men as customers. Because of these characteristics, archaeology of the body including gender and ornamentation is often discussed within this theoretical framework (Joyce 2005, 2007), making it a pertinent theory in discussions of sex work. Comparison of the artifacts with historical documents can demonstrate that even as these women constructed the identity of the prostitute for their work, they retained alternate identities as mothers, European-Americans, and as women indistinguishable from the surrounding community. I argue that in the Vanoli Block, the prostitute is an identity defined by the act of providing sexual intimacies for material gain. As a laborer she would not succeed if she did not project the appropriate sexuality through her hygiene and appearance to entice her male customers. These patrons simultaneously affirm her as the prostitute by partaking in the commercial sex trade, while creating their sexual identities through the consumption of the female body (Reid 2002).

The identity of the prostitute as the social outcast is created by the discourses and values of the medical, political, and moral institutions within the larger Victorian society. These groups defined the prostitute as immoral because of her labor, which directly opposed middle-class Protestant Victorian ideals (Amy 1996). In Judith Butler's (1999) terms, by condemning sex workers and seeking to eliminate that profession, social institutions confirmed the identity of the prostitute as the unwelcome other while reaffirming their own identities as morally superior.

Their condemnation took the form of united aid societies, outraged newspaper columns and speeches, and *de facto* invisible boundaries separating the red light districts from the “good” side of town (Walkowitz 1980). The accounts from the upper, more literate and literarily prolific classes in Western societies represent one of the most prevalent (if biased) sources regarding 19th century prostitution. Furthermore, in the American West, because of their identities as social outcasts, prostitutes, unlike other working women, were barred from formally fighting back against their critics by participating in labor unions (Jameson 1998). However, it is unclear from the historical literature what other forms of resistance these women utilized.

Identity and performance theory provide the interpretive framework for this thesis. The identity of the Victorian-era prostitute was constructed by the dominant medical and political discourse that codified morally acceptable sexualities (Foucault 1978), and rejected any who were perceived as deviating from the norm (Butler 1999). The ways in which prostitutes chose to manipulate their appearances to perform the identity of the Victorian-era prostitute were shaped by the social discourse of the larger community. Furthermore, by participating in prostitution as customers, men legitimized and perpetuated this construction of identity as acceptable for the trade.

An Introduction to Appearance and Costume

In general, sources pertaining to historic costume focus on the trends popularized by the upper- and middle-classes (Boucher 1967; Chenoune 1993; Payne et al. 1992; Tortora and Eubank 1998). While information on apparel worn by the working-classes does exist, such literature tends to dwell on uniforms and garments designed for specific occupations (Chrisp 2005; De Marley 1986). Data regarding apparel and hygiene must be gleaned from the brief mentions of working-class costume in the historical literature and from familiarity with the

dominant fashions of the upper classes. Because appearance is by nature intended for visual appraisal, evaluation of historical photographs provides essential data regarding people of all classes.

The few sources in the historical literature that explicitly discuss the hygiene and the physical image projected by prostitutes generally contain brief passages that focus almost exclusively on madams and high-class brothel workers (Agnew 2008; MacKell 2004), or discuss crib workers as an aside (Ditmore 2011; Schulle 1996). This omission is particularly striking given the popularity of prostitution as a topic and the plethora of sources discussing the physical concerns and impacts of the trade on prostitutes' bodies (Butler 1987; Rosen 1982; Sponberg 1997; Walkowitz 1980). Information regarding clothing and appearance is equally absent in examinations of the economic contributions and impacts of sex workers (Petrik 1981; Reid 2002; Vermeer 2006). None of these sources mention the appearance of the male customers, except to say that they often mirrored the class of the establishment (Agnew 2008; Schulle 1996).

Archaeological literature regarding the appearance of prostitutes is also difficult to identify. Because apparel-related artifacts are often a sub-category of personal items, a search of archaeological publications results in the same problems discussed in Chapter 1. While extensive studies may exist in the so-called gray literature of Cultural Resource Management reports, such documents are proprietary and difficult to obtain. A few published articles briefly and obliquely mention prostitution and apparel, but these sources are based almost entirely on historical documents and not on archaeological evidence (De Cunzo 2001; Simmons 1989b). Other articles state that apparel-related personal items were recovered from archaeological assemblages, but either do not interpret these items (Ketz et al. 2005; Schablitsky 2006), or view them as a means of differentiating brothels from other households through evidence of consumer

choice (Seifert 1991; Stevens 2000; Stevens and Ordoñez 2005) and pattern analysis (Blee 1991; Meyer et al. 2005; Seifert and Balicki 2005). Kelly Dixon (2005, 2006) interprets elaborate dress beads and buttons as evidence of women taking active roles in leisure culture outside of prostitution, but discussion of the appearance of prostitutes is outside of her stated scope of work. None of these sources discuss male apparel.

Middle- and Upper-Class Appearance

A flawless public image was essential to respectable members of the Victorian and Edwardian middle- and upper-classes. For a woman to appear as anything other than fashionable and pristine indicated a degree of moral turpitude that could place her in the same category as “fallen” women (Barnhart 1986). To a lesser degree the success of men was measured in part on their appearance (Chenoune 1993). Then, as now, fashion changed quickly, and staying abreast of the current look was considered essential to maintaining respectability. For example, the use of heavy makeup was generally restricted to immoral women until the 1920s when the so-called painted woman look became popular (Agnew 2008).

Tables 1 and 2 present the major trends in women’s clothing and accessories from 1880 to 1920. The silhouette is of particular importance because it is the template that the rest of the appearance follows (Payne et al. 1992). For example, during the 1880s the silhouette was dictated by the third iteration of the bustle, which was occasionally rigid and prominent enough to earn the appellation of “shelf bustle” (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Because the bustle was the point of focus, dresses and skirts were constructed to have relatively plain fronts with elaborate draping and detailing over the bustle. Additionally, bodices and sleeves were fitted to the body so as not to draw attention away from the bustle. When the trend changed and the S-shaped silhouette came into style during the 1890s and 1900s emphasis was placed on a very narrow,

corseted waist through wide *gigot* or leg-of-mutton sleeves and bell- or trumped-shaped skirts (Tortora and Eubank 1998).

Table 1 - Changing fashions in women’s clothing (Boucher 1967; Tortora and Eubank 1998)

Years	Silhouette	Bodices	Sleeves	Skirts	New trends
1880s	3rd Iteration of the Bustle	Fitted and smooth with high, turnover collar	Tight and slender - long for day; elbow for night	Long- Flat in front with emphasis on bustle	Princess Dress early in decade; Shelf bustles; late 1880s bustle pads
1890s	S-shaped; corsets	Pouched in front - monobosom; tight and fitted; high, concealing collars	<i>Gigot</i> to 1896; then fitted	Bell skirts; Slender with flaring hem	Gibson girls; sporting costumes; Art Nouveau; tailored suits
1900s	S-shaped; empire revival	Monobosom; high boned collars or low square, round, or v-shaped neck	Bishop sleeves or long and fitted	Trumpet shaped	Lingerie Dresses
1910s	Boxy with a slightly raised waist	Loose - lower neckline; some collars still high; kimono bodices	Straight and fitted in early part; then loose	Hobble skirts; shorter in length towards the end of the decade	Oriental influences; Tunics; Pullover sweaters; Vibrant colors until WWI

While the fashionable silhouette, construction, and color of garments may have changed frequently, other aspects of appearance were slower to change. For example, the trend toward separate bodices and skirts endured throughout this period. In the 1880s the bodice, while separate, was often made of the same material as the skirt. However, in the 1890s fashionable women began to wear light-colored cotton shirtwaist blouses with dark-colored skirts in emulation of the mobility and freedom personified by the Gibson Girl (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Fabrics represent another such relative constant: upper- and middle-class women generally wore clothing made of silk, wool, or linen fibers depending on the time of year and the formality of the occasion during which the garment was worn (Payne et al. 1992). Additionally,

face powders and creams, occasionally with a slight tint, rice powder, beauty soaps, and very light fragrance remained the only socially acceptable cosmetics from the 1880s through the 1920s when fashionable women began wearing heavy make up in emulation of Hollywood stars (Tortora and Eubank 1998).

Table 2 - Changing fashions in women’s hair, hats, footwear and accessories (Boucher 1967; Tortora and Eubank 1998)

Years	Hair	Hats	Footwear	Accessories
1880s	Parted at center, worn in a bun or curls; fringe over forehead	Hats and bonnets elaborate; tilted front; resting on bun	Pointed toes, medium heel; tight; lower calf-height laced boots; satin evening slippers	Feather fans and boas, chokers parasols
1890s	Brushed up and knotted on head; fringe around face	Early - flat crowned with wide brim; Late - large and ornate. Bonnets out of style	High-topped, narrow shoes; pointed toes and medium heel	Parasols, chokers, dangling earrings, fans and fan bags, small watches pinned to shirtwaist
1900s	Pompadour or full and loose around face with bun at back of neck	Large-brimmed ornate picture hats; lavish decorations	Pointed toes long slender lines, curved, heels 2-2.5"	Muffs, beaded bags, fans, ribbons or boas around neck; broaches, dog collars, and long necklaces
1910s	soft waves around face; soft roll at back or top of head; close to face and short during WWI	Still large at start; small with flat brims at end	Low heels; thin straps; high-buttoned shoes; spats; tango (ribbon-fastened) shoes	Long necklaces, small purses, watch pins become increasingly popular

Figures 3 through 8 provide photographic examples of the changing trends in middle- and upper-class fashion. All of the images used in this thesis were located through the Western History and Genealogy Department of the Denver Public Library or the Stephen H. Hart Library at the History Colorado Center. The photographs were chosen because they depict people in Colorado, illustrate trends discussed in Tables 1-4, and are focused enough to clearly show details on the garments. Where possible, preference was given to photographs depicting people

in and around Ouray. Female costume is emphasized in the selection of the images because, as discussed below and illustrated in Figures 3, 4, 7 and 8, variation in male appearance is fairly subtle in comparison with female fashion.

Figure 4 depicts 1880s apparel and shows Colorado State Representative Casimiro Barela and his wife Damiana Rivera de Barela. Damiana's skirt is elaborately draped over her bustle, and the fitted basque bodice is separate and decorated in the front with black lace. Her hair is



Figure 3 - Damiana and Casimiro Barela, studio portrait, ca. 1885. Courtesy of Ed Cordova.

parted in the center and pulled back into a bun at the back of her head. She does not appear to be wearing any jewelry or makeup. Figure 5 shows two unidentified Ouray women whose costume showcases the distinctive *gigot* sleeves, narrow waists, and bell-shaped skirts characteristic of the early-to-middle 1890s. Many of the Ouray women in Figure 6 wear the trumpet-shaped skirts, high collars, and fitted sleeves that were fashionable around 1900. Their stiff posture and nipped in waists suggest that they are wearing corsets, and their brushed up hair is typical of that period.



Figure 4 – A miner and his family in Ouray, ca. 1880 to 1900. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-61114.



Figure 5 - A group of women pose in front of a house in Ouray ca. 1886-1900. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-12655.

The unidentified Denver women in Figure 6 have elaborate picture hats, and their lingerie dresses have the lower necklines that became popular around 1910. The bridal party depicted in Figure 7 wears similar garments. Their hair is covered by lace caps and they wear long white gloves. Figure 8 shows women and men of a Denver theater company. Although heavy coats cover the dresses, the raised hem lines and diminished hat brim size are clearly visible.



Figure 6 - Four unidentified women, ca. 1910. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Rh-1501.



Figure 7 - A wedding party, ca. 1910 – 1920. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Rh-981.



Figure 8 - “Turn to the Right” company, Denver, March 2, 1918. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Z-985.

Men’s fashion changed very little between 1880 and 1920. Tables 3 and 4 illustrate differences in upper- and middle-class male attire, accessories, and facial hair. These changes are fairly subtle, and are visible in the addition of pleats in trouser legs, and the rising and lowering of collar height. The most significant differences appear late in the period, and were driven largely by adaptations necessary for World War I. Such differences include a slight tightening of garments in response to restrictions on the availability of fabric, especially wool, for the war effort. Additional war-related alterations include the complete shaving of facial hair and the adoption of wrist watches to accommodate battlefield and trench conditions (Tortora and Eubank 1998).

The apparel worn by the men in Figures 3, 4, 7, and 8, shown above, is also distinctive of the time. Figure 3 shows Representative Casimiro Barela wearing a three-piece suit. His vest and jacket match, his celluloid collar is short and stiff, and his straight-leg trousers are not pleated.

Table 3 - Changing fashions in men’s clothing (Chenoune 1993; Tortora and Eubank 1998).

Years	Shirts	Vests	Coats	Trousers	New Trends
1880s	Stiff shorter collars	Double breasted; matches suit	Tail coats, morning coats, tuxedo jackets	Straight, narrow	Tuxedos
1890s	Colored, removable collars and cuffs. High collars popular	Contrasting fabric; short	Frock and morning coats; Lounge/sack coats	Straight, narrow, pleated	Lounge/sack coats; pleated trousers
1900s	Colored, removable and sewn in collars and cuffs. Collars smaller.	Single breasted; fashioned high on chest	Frock and morning coats; tuxedo coats; dark colored	Pleated with turned up cuffs	None of significance
1910s	Short pointed collars	Contrasting fabric; short. None on semi-formal occasions.	Loose sack coats, tuxedos, tail coats	Boxy then narrower during WWI; pleated with turned up cuffs	Wool shortage in WWI caused tighter suits; wrist watches become popular in WWI

Casimiro’s hair is parted to one side, and he sports a distinctive walrus mustache. He wears polished leather shoes, and his only visible accessory is a pocket watch with what appears to be an elaborate watch fob. Although blurred, the man in Figure 4 wears a suit with a vest and tie, and a high collared shirt. The men in the wedding party depicted in Figure 7 wear tail coats and high-collared shirts. Their trousers are pleated, and both men have slicked back hair and boutonnières on their tail coats. The man on the right wears a watch fob. The men in Figure 8 wear heavy coats, but it is still possible to see that their trouser legs are narrower than those worn by the men in Figure 7.

The fashions discussed in this section are those of the upper- and middle-class men and women who defined the political and moral sensibilities of the age. Maintaining a proper appearance in keeping with contemporary trends affirmed a person’s status in the eyes of his or

Table 4 - Changing fashions in men’s clothing (Chenoune 1993; Tortora and Eubank 1998).

Years	Hair	Facial Hair	Hats	Footwear	Accessories
1880s	Short, parted to side or center	Mustaches	Top hats, bowler/derby fedoras, boaters	Patent leather; higher heel; narrow toe	Gloves or walking sticks. Jewelry - pocket watches, tie pins, shirt studs and cuff links. Ascots, bow ties.
1890s	Short, parted to side or center	Clean shaven or mustached	Smaller; narrow brimmed - boater, bowler/derby	Patent leather	Gloves or walking sticks. Jewelry - pocket watches, tie pins, shirt studs and cuff links. Ascots, four-in-hand, and bow ties
1900s	Short	Clean shaven or mustached; pointed beards	Trilby, derby, and Stetsons popular; Panama hats and straw boaters in summer	Oxford shoes, lace up ankle boots	Gloves, pocket watches, tie pins, bow ties, ascots,
1910s	Short and slicked back	Clean shaven or mustached; clean shaven especially after WWI	Top hats, bowlers, derbies	Shiny, pointed, laced up front or slip on	Gloves, pocket watches, wrist watches, rings, cufflinks, tie pins

her peers, and any deviation could be perceived as a manifestation of moral corruption (Sponberg 1997). The emphasis on a certain appearance was a mark of distinction, one that people aspiring to respectability would likely have chosen to emulate to a certain extent. Contemporary media, including advertising, simultaneously affirmed the standard of appearance and alerted women and men to the new styles (Reid 2002). However, these fashions, the tight corset and the shelf bustle for example, were expensive and impractical for participation in labor or vigorous activity. A variety of activity-related costumes were available to upper- and middle-class women who had the financial resources to purchase riding, bathing, or bicycling costumes (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Members of the working class would not necessarily have had the resources or the free time to devote to separate wardrobes for labor and pleasure.

Working-Class Appearance

The majority of the high-style garments described above would have proven impractical for members of the working-class, especially for women who increasingly sought jobs outside of the home. In her survey of photographs depicting ordinary Americans and their interpretations of fashion between 1840 and 1900, Joan L. Severa (1995) argues that the rise of paper patterns and ready-to-wear clothes during the 1880s allowed for some democratization of apparel. However, while fashion magazines depict elaborately constructed costumes, contemporary photographs and mail-order catalogs show working women wearing relatively little decoration and skirts that were slightly shorter than those worn by the upper classes (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Because they did not live lives of leisure and often lacked disposable income, working people needed durable garments that were easy to maintain (Hall 1992). Such garments were generally made out of cotton or wool fabrics, but a few silk items may have been included in a person's wardrobe (Payne et al. 1992). Some garments such as sweaters were worn by both men and women, but as with the trends popularized by the upper classes, women were still expected to wear skirts despite the dangers of loose clothing in certain work environments (Severa 1995).

Some female fashions, including walking dresses and shirtwaist blouses (Figure 11), were shared with members of the upper classes. Walking dresses were generally two-piece garments with fitted bodices and loose, flared skirts hemmed so that they did not touch the ground (Severa 1995). Shirtwaists were some of the first ready-to-wear garments widely marketed for women. Simple versions were fashionable and comfortable attire for working-class women. While white cotton shirtwaists were common, variations included colored stripes, deeper-toned colors with white cuffs and collars, and more formal dark silks. These garments were generally worn with long skirts that occasionally matched the contemporary trend in

silhouette, but more often flared away from the hips and were hemmed well above the ground (Severa 1995). Shirtwaist blouses ranged in style from garments with *gigot* sleeves to lace-bedecked to being tailored to look like a man's shirt. They generally buttoned up the front with plain buttons (Tortora and Eubanks 1998) and could feature collar and cuff studs identical to those worn by men (Lindbergh 1999).

Many working-class women wore simple garments such as country dresses and wash dresses (Figure 9) that did not require elaborate preparation or care. Such garments are commonly referred to as house dresses due to their suitability for messy or labor-intensive tasks. Country dresses consisted of one-piece house dresses cinched by a waist band, and they often had a flounce above the hem (Severa 1995). Wash dresses were made of cotton or wool, and were extremely simple, practical clothes. They could be one or two pieces, and the gathered skirts were cinched at the waist by a belt. Such garments featured plain buttons on the bodice, and had hems that ended three to four inches above the floor. Both country and wash dresses were marketed to the lower-classes, but were popular among active middle-class women as well (Hall 1992; Severa 1995).

None of the sources regarding historic costume explicitly discuss working-class hair and skin care or dental hygiene. De Marley (1986) states that hair style was dictated by profession, and almost always involved pulling hair back in a bun. The Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog (1897, 1902, and 1908) depicts women and men with the silhouettes and hair styles described above, and wearing the fairly simple and unadorned garments sold in the catalog. An examination of the products reveals that tooth brushes, powders, soaps, and pastes were available by mail order as were face washes, rouges, and depilatory compounds. Hair tonics, dyes, and elixirs could also be purchased from such sources. Shipping lists included in the catalogs show

that these goods were available in the San Juans (Sears, Roebuck & Company 1897, 1902, 1908).

Figures 9 through 12 depict working women and their apparel. While distance and the presence of aprons make positive identification of some dresses difficult, an effort has been made to determine the types of dresses present in the pictures. Figure 9 is a studio portrait from Denver showing an African-American woman. The image feels incredibly contrived given that she wears a straw hat, smokes a corn cob pipe, and carries both a washboard and a worn pair of boots. However, the crisp detail of her apparel offers a closer image of her dress, which is tentatively identified as a country dress based on the flounce at the hem. Figure 10 was taken at a boarding house near Como, Colorado and depicts mining families. All three women wear what appear to be house dresses with fairly loose sleeves, and have covered their skirts with aprons. Figure 11 depicts three women and two men posed in front of a house in Ouray. The dark clothing of the seated woman on the right makes it difficult to discern her clothing, but the two standing women wear shirtwaist blouses with large, *gigot* sleeves and appear to be wearing black walking skirts. The women in Figure 12 are working at a fruit-packing warehouse near Grand Valley, Colorado. Their aprons partially obscure their outfits, but they appear to wear calico house dresses with loose sleeves. The woman standing in the back right corner of the picture displays a wide-brimmed black hat with white flowers decorating the crown, but her co-workers wear their hair gathered on top of their heads.

Working-class men during the Victorian and Edwardian eras generally wore mass-produced trousers, shirts, vests, sweaters, and heavy, casual jackets. Corduroy, leather, wool, and other durable, utilitarian fabrics were popular (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Severa's (1995) aforementioned study of historic photographs indicates that while colored dress shirts were available



Figure 9 - Studio portrait of African-American woman ca. 1870 – 1890. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-21538.



Figure 10 – Mining families pose at a boarding house near Como, Colorado, ca. 1880 – 1900. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-61121.



Figure 11 - Three women and two men pose in Ouray, ca. 1888 to 1900. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-12655.



Figure 12 - Women packing fruit in a Grand Valley warehouse ca. 1910 to 1918. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, MCC-1760.

through catalog order most working class men wore plain white shirts with removable collars and cuffs. While at work they favored plain light-colored shirts, and often chose to forgo the collars and roll up sleeves. Dark vests often are present in these images (Severa 1995). Bib overalls, which were layered on top of other clothing, emerged in the 1890s and joined trousers such as durable cotton denim Levi's as garments of choice for working men (Hall 1992; Severa 1995). In cooler climates many men wore cotton or woolen flannel shirts and sweaters. Mail order catalogs sold inexpensive mass-produced suits, and black remained the most popular color although stripes, plaids, and tweeds were available. Once a suit was retired from formal use, photographs indicate that it became work wear (Severa 1995). After World War I more fashionable men adopted the casual jackets and sweaters worn by working-class men for recreation (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Bow ties and long narrow ties and hats, including bowlers and derbies, were popular accessories (Severa 1995). The cap in all of its shapes was the emblematic headgear of working-class men during the late Victorian period. Like casual jackets it too was adopted by middle- and upper-class men for travel and recreation (Boucher 1967).

Given that Ouray was a mining town, and that men who worked in the mines comprised the majority of the potential customers at the Vanoli Block, the images of working-class men included in this thesis all depict miners. The men shown above in Figure 10, and below in Figures 13 through 15 are fairly uniform in choices of apparel despite the passage of decades. Their clothing is consistent with the descriptions provided above: they generally wear lighter colored shirts, heavy work trousers, and boots. Some have suspenders, others have jackets or vests. A variety of hats appear in the images including bowlers, derbies, caps, and homburg styles. Most of the men are clean shaven, especially in Figure 15 which was taken in 1916, but a

few sport walrus moustaches. In addition to showing apparel, Figure 13 depicts recreational activities including reading, music, and pin-up girls at an isolated mine near Ouray.



Figure 13- A miner relaxing with his dog at the Camp Bird Mine, Ouray, ca. 1880 – 1890. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-61351.

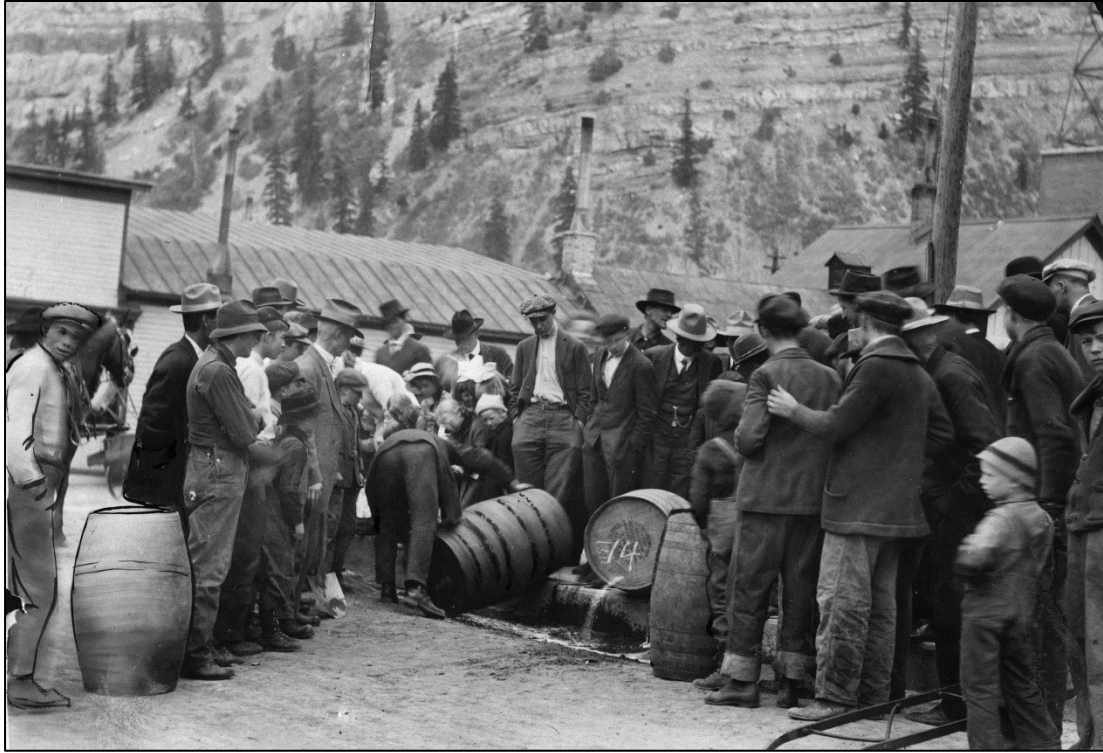


Figure 14 - Ouray citizens watch officials spill confiscated alcohol , February 17, 1916. Courtesy of History Colorado (Ouray Folder).



Figure 15 – Miners pose near the Bachelor Mine in Ouray, Colorado ca. 1880 - 1900. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-61106.

Prostitution and Appearance

The premise that the prostitute was a distinctive identity constructed by women as part of their work relies in part on demonstrating that sex workers were altering their appearance in order to emphasize their sexuality while they were at work. Furthermore, the argument that the male patrons created their identities as customers through the consumption of the sexualized female, and not through any specific alteration of their own bodies, presupposes that there is no change in male appearance specifically intended for participation in leisure culture. As previously discussed, detailed information regarding the appearance of prostitutes is exceedingly rare; those sources that do mention appearance tend to do so in passing. In order to accomplish these goals, it therefore becomes necessary to examine the appearance of sex workers and their customers as depicted in the limited historical literature, oral narratives, and photographic sources available, and compare this information to contemporary fashions.

A few sources provide passing references to the appearance of prostitutes when they were not at work. In her recently published book Mellissa Hope Ditmore (2011) states that it was often difficult to distinguish prostitutes from other women when they were not working because they often dressed similarly to other people. Her goal is to provide an overview of the history of prostitution in the United States from colonial times through the present, and in this case her assessment is based entirely on a single book about leisure culture in New Orleans by Alicia P. Long (2004). Long (2004) argues, based on secondary historical literature, that it was impossible by the late 19th century to distinguish a respectable woman from a prostitute on the basis of appearance alone due to the afore-mentioned democratization of fashion.

Published oral narratives, collected by two sociologists in the late 1980s (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990), support the argument that prostitutes in Ouray were indistinguishable from

other women when not working. The eldest of the people interviewed were born during the 1890s: many of the people interviewed for the book were children or teenagers when Prohibition was enacted in 1916. Additionally, the informants would not discuss the prostitutes on record out of deference for family members and children who still lived in Ouray. Others, however, were willing to talk about sex workers. Eight out of the 23 informants included in the book remember both the strict *de facto* segregation of the denizens of the red light district, and the kindness of the women who worked there. One woman, who later became the post master, said that she never knew there was a red light district in town, implying that she never noticed any differences in appearance. Frank Massard and Albert Schneider worked in the mines prior to opening a drug store in town. They fondly remember Ouray prostitutes as being polite women who left the red light district only to purchase groceries or prescriptions, and describe these women as indistinguishable from the rest of the population in appearance. Vera Jacobsen, who was a school teacher, seconds this opinion, and adds that the women wore nice dresses (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990).

In their historical overviews of prostitution both Ruth Rosen (1982) and Jeremy Agnew (2008) describe hygiene and cosmetic practices considered characteristic of sex workers during this era. According to them, heavy makeup and perfume, and shaved body hair united working-class prostitutes and their counterparts in the expensive bordellos in an appearance characteristic of the trade (Rosen 1982). The application of white wax, flour, or cornstarch produced a starkly-white face. This artificial complexion was often augmented by the use of sour milk or buttermilk at night to bleach the skin. Liberal application of dark lipstick and rouge completed the distinctive look, and gave rise to the term “painted ladies” to describe female sex workers of the

era. Beet juice or the pinching and slapping of cheeks offered easily, if painful in the latter case, attainable alternatives to expensive rouges (Agnew 2008).

Madams and high-class brothel workers were often extremely fashionable in their choices of apparel and cosmetics (Schulle 1996), and generally owned wardrobes consisting of lingerie, day dresses, and eveningwear. Good hygiene including clean, styled hair and clean teeth were considered of utmost importance (MacKell 2004). These women dressed well in order to attract and cater to wealthy upper-class clients (Schulle 1996). In such establishments a prostitute would change clothes and fix her hair in between every customer (Williams 1984). Accounts of these women liberally purchasing clothing and cosmetics are prevalent (Barnhart 1986; Smith 1997).

Unlike high-end brothel workers, women in lower-class establishments such as the Vanoli block did not have the time or economic means to primp and change clothes between customers. Ditmore (2011), in her afore-mentioned historical overview of American prostitution, states that women working in lower-class establishments wore garments called short clothes. She does not discuss these garments in detail and bases her characterization on Long (2004), but describes short clothes as featuring short hems and exposing what was then considered an excessive amount of skin. Long (2004:77) states only that “short dress” was a euphemism used to describe the “short, skimpy dresses” worn by women working in concert halls like the Gold Belt Theater. She lists her source as a newspaper article from 1891. In her Master’s thesis describing the clothing worn by Denver’s infamous madams, Jennifer Schulle (1996) mentions in an aside that short clothes were considered little more than undergarments. She further states that such outfits were acceptable to patrons because the lower-class men did not expect elegant women. She bases this description on an equally vague overview of leisure culture in the American West originally published in 1951 by Forbes Parkhill, who describes crib

workers as wearing black stockings with low-cut, knee-length garments that were sometimes bedecked with spangles (Parkhill 1951; Schulle 1996).

While none of these authors appear to have made an effort to identify short clothes, or to describe the garments in detail, it is probable that they were actually common ladies' undergarments worn as outerwear. For example, the dresses exhibited by the three Denver prostitutes depicted in Figure 16 are likely common women's undergarments called chemises.



Figure 16 - Denver Prostitutes, ca. 1890 – 1910. Mazulla Collection (Box 22), Courtesy of History Colorado.

These articles of clothing were knee-length, short-sleeved garments with rounded necklines. Chemises were made of cotton or linen, and often featured decorative trimming at the neck and sleeves (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Although the sleeves pictured here may appear elaborate, they are appropriately sized to fit underneath the *gigot* sleeves popular during the 1890s. As suggested by Schulle (1996) and Parkhill (1951), the women wear black or dark-colored stockings. They are drinking, smoking cigarettes, and sporting their chemises outdoors in an enclosed yard.

Working-class prostitutes may have also worn combination petticoats, corsets, and corset covers, which became known as camisoles during the 1890s (Tortora and Eubank 1998), without the proper over garments. These pieces of clothing, in various combinations and of different qualities were worn by women of all classes and lifestyles, but always as underwear. By using undergarments as outer garments and exposing more of their bodies than deemed appropriate by society, prostitutes flaunted their sexuality. Such behavior defied the social norms and moral restrictions imposed by the condemnatory moral, political, and medical discourses of Victorian society. The fact that these were undergarments common to women during this time period, when combined with the afore-mentioned social framework, would also account for the lack of detailed description regarding the state of undress associated with lower-class prostitution.

Figure 17 is the only known photograph probably depicting prostitutes on the Vanoli Block. Other images may exist in the closed archives of the Ouray County Historical Society, but as of the completion of this thesis, the results of a search and inventory of that facility have not been received. Figure 17 shows two unidentified women and two unidentified men standing in front of the Gold Belt Theater. The female figures are indistinguishable in appearance from the images of non-prostitute women previously presented in this chapter. The photograph was



Figure 17 - Two women and two men pose in front of the Gold Belt Theater, ca. late 1880s - 1900. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-61983.

taken during the day when there was not a great deal of activity at the Vanoli Block, so it seems reasonable to conclude that they were not photographed during business hours. Both women in the image have S-shaped silhouettes emphasized by cinched waists. The woman on the right appears to be wearing a dark-colored dress with *gigot* sleeves, and has her dark hair piled on top of her head. The figure on the left wears a white dress with a fitted bodice and sleeves, and may have a wide-brimmed hat with a white decoration on her head. Both of the men wear dark-colored sack suits and hats. The man standing to the right appears to sport a white shirt underneath his jacket. The caption on the Denver Public Library website states that the image was taken sometime between 1880 and 1900, but the presence of the completed Gold Belt Theater as well as the silhouette of the women's clothes suggest that it was likely taken in the early 1890s. The women are considered to be prostitutes because, as discussed in Chapter 2, respectable women avoided association with the red light district. Additionally, the women are

not thought to be Dominick Vanoli's daughters because Mary, the eldest girl, was born in 1881 according to her entry on the 1930 U.S. Census, suggesting that the Vanoli girls were too young to be the women in this photograph.

A specific appearance was considered extremely important for prostitutes (Ditmore 2011), but not necessarily for their customers. In her master's thesis Jaclyn Reid (2002) discusses the changing relationship between sexuality and visual culture between 1850 and 1910. She focuses on visual media such as advertisements, and argues that prostitution relied heavily on making female sexuality visible. Thus, a sex worker was expected to showcase her feminine form through her choice in apparel. Reid (2002:38-40) further states that male sexuality during the Victorian and Edwardian periods was established and reinforced through leisure culture and the sexual consumption of the female body, and not by the construction of a particular male appearance. This notion is consistent with the argument that male participation in leisure activities did not define the identities of the customers in the same way that it did the women (Butler 1979; Goldman 1981). Instead, men tended to be defined by their labor, in this case, mining. However, as a community developed, changing attitudes and growing gentrification movements influenced men to dress up a little more when they came into town (Barnhart 1986).

Archaeological Traces of Appearance

Appearance, although an essential component in the projected identity of people of all professions, can be problematic to examine in the archaeological record. Clothing, which helps communicate a person's identity and sexuality by revealing and concealing the sexual body in ways defined by contemporary social norms, (De Cunzo 2001), is the facet of appearance most commonly discussed in the historical literature. However, due to the inherent fragility of textiles intact pieces of clothing are rarely recovered in analytically significant quantities from

archaeological sites (LaRoche and McGowan 2001). Certain data such as fiber identification and methods of fabric construction can be identified, and occasionally provide information regarding the potential use of archaeological textiles with regard to quality and form of apparel (Chase 1992). It was expected that textiles in the Vanoli Collection will largely consist of plain cotton and woolen materials. The presence of a large number of silk undergarments or accessories in this assemblage could indicate that the sex workers on the Vanoli Block were accentuating their bodies with more expensive fabrics.

Most archaeological artifacts relating specifically to appearance consist of fasteners, footwear, jewelry, accessories, brushes, and cosmetic containers. With a few notable exceptions, these items tend to be made out of more durable materials. Furthermore, in a working-class establishment they are likely to be fairly simple objects intended for everyday use. Utilitarian artifacts such as plain shell or prosser ceramic buttons generally do not show differences in gender, or indicate the form of the original clothing. However, it is possible to tell from the size of the button if it came from an interior garment like a vest or shirt, or from an outer garment such as a jacket, and it is expected that a greater number of inner-garment buttons will be present. Additionally, the presence of steel pin work buttons, such as the ones found on modern-day jeans, or overall fasteners can indicate if miners were indeed wearing work clothes into town.

Archaeological evidence of women altering their appearance to match that of the stereotypical prostitute would manifest in the presence of cosmetics. If women are altering their complexions through powders and rouge, and wearing perfumes it is possible that containers for these products will be present in the assemblage. Men who patronized the Vanoli block likely took care of their hygiene regimen at home, and most likely did not wait until they got to the

saloons to brush their teeth or shave. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that appearance-related hygiene artifacts were most likely used by women in the cribs. Items such as tooth brushes and hair combs were common to women of all classes who wished to take care of their teeth and hair.

Summary

The lack of description detailing the appearance of prostitutes in the American West necessitates an interpretive approach to understanding the ways in which sex workers constructed their appearance. The photographs and tables presented in this chapter allow for a comparison between the dominant trends and the ways in which working-class men and women adopted or rejected these fashions. The ornate, and often restrictive, high-fashion clothing worn by the upper-classes was designed for a more leisurely lifestyle than most lower-class people could afford. However, the increased availability of ready-made goods and paper patterns allowed for some democratization of fashion during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods (Severa 1995). A basic understanding of these trends is important to the understanding of ways in which lower-class women as well as prostitutes adapted these styles to fit within their own lives.

Two of the goals of this thesis are 1) to explore the manner in which working-class prostitutes constructed their identities through the use of personal items, 2) to determine if, as a result of this alteration, prostitutes could be distinguished from other working-class women on the basis of appearance. My initial hypothesis, which was based on the information discussed above, was that sex workers constructed a distinctive sexual identity that included the removal of body hair, heavy makeup, and specialized attire while at work. For high-end bordello workers this attire likely included fashionable high-class apparel (Shulle 1996). For lower-class

prostitutes such as crib workers these garments may have consisted of short dresses and black stockings (Ditmore 2011; Parkhill 1951). However, as I will demonstrate in Chapters 6 and 7, this hypothesis was disproved by the analysis of the personal items sampled from the Vanoli collection.

Another question explored in this thesis involves addressing the paucity of information in the literature regarding male customers. The men who patronized the Vanoli Block likely did not alter their appearance to perform their role as the customer. Their identities as laborers and as men were constructed through their work in the mines, which was reflected in their choices of clothing, especially in the choice to wear work garments to extracurricular activities. This trend seems to support Reid's (2002) assertion that the sexual identity of the customers was expressed through the consumption of the female form presented by the prostitutes, and not through apparel. While some men may have worn their best clothes when leaving the mines to come in to town (Barnhart 1986), they were not under the same pressures as female sex workers to alter their appearance for their participation in leisure culture.

Chapter 4

Methods

Method in historical archaeology has long been dominated by functional artifact classifications. Such a treatment emerged as a systematic way to analyze the hundreds or even thousands of artifacts that a single site often produces. In this methodology, artifacts are divided into arbitrary categories such as food preparation or architecture based on how they were used prior to deposition in the archaeological record. These categories are then studied quantitatively and interpretations are often based on the statistical results of the analysis. Stanley South (1977) developed this technique as the Carolina Artifact Pattern. In this method, South established nine activity groups that were then subdivided into classes based on a more specific function and material. Interestingly, South's groups were based on the specific ways that the artifacts were used at one of the sites he used to establish the method, and not on the broader utilitarian function of the objects, resulting in separate groups for clothing and personal items. The presence of a tailor's shop on that site meant that clothing items like buttons became related to labor, and not to personal adornment (South 1977:92-102). Subsequent publications further utilized and refined this methodology; in 1981 Roderick Sprague presented a similar system of categorization based entirely on the specific utilitarian function of the artifact, meaning that artifacts of adornment were grouped with personal items, and not as an individual category (Sprague 1981).

Personal items are one of the most common and internally diverse functional categories, but remain one of the least analyzed categories of artifacts (Lindbergh 1999; Sprague; White 2005 and 2008). Such diversity renders the quantitative analysis championed by South problematic. This thesis utilizes an interpretive methodology that relies, instead, on a framework of identity and performance theory and on corroborative data gleaned through the analysis of

historic documents in order to extract information regarding costume and hygiene from the Vanoli collection.

The Excavation of the Vanoli Site (5OR30)

None of the excavations of the Vanoli Block were conducted by the author. Instead, the Vanoli collection is the result of a salvage project that involved a series of excavations conducted prior to the demolition of the block and with the permission of the Vanoli family. The project began in the summer of 1970, and was directed by Steven G. Baker, owner of Centuries Research, Inc. Baker and his crew entered the remaining structures for the purposes of photographing the buildings and recording the architectural plans through drawings and measurements (Baker 1972). Excavations were carried out intermittently from 1970 – 1983 with the goal of fully documenting the site. These investigations resulted in an artifact assemblage totaling in excess of 100,000 items (Baker et al. 2007; Blee 1991).

Baker used the Parks Canada provenience system in his excavations. This system is described in detail by Parks Canada (2005), and as used at the Vanoli Block by Heather Horobik (2011). The Parks Canada system separates excavations into operations, sub-operations, and lots based on provenience, deposition, and other spatial information. Operations denote culturally significant, distinct portions of a site, and are represented by a number. Sub-operations are horizontal divisions of operations and are represented by a letter. Lots represent the most precise provenience, and are denoted by a number. While they can consist of excavation levels, they can also be assigned to individual artifacts or artifact clusters, trench walls, and material samples (Horobik 2011; Parks Canada 2005). Operation numbers are assigned sequentially, as are sub-operation letters and lot numbers within their respective operations and sub-operations. The combination of the three characters forms the provenience code (Parks Canada 2005).

Excavations of the Vanoli Block resulted in 23 operations, including exploratory trenches. Baker positioned operations in relation to the Gold Belt Theater, the 220, the Chinese laundry, the Roma Saloon, the restaurant, the Union Saloon, privies, and cribs historically present in the area. These locations were selected based on historic maps and photographs as well as the features discovered within the trenches (Horobik 2011).

After excavation, the artifact assemblage was transferred to the Centuries Research, Inc. facility for analysis, rehabilitation, and storage. An artifact inventory and analysis of certain artifact groups was conducted before the collection was placed in storage for future analysis. The bulk of the collection, along with copies of some excavation field notes, was moved from Centuries Research, Inc to the Historical Archaeology laboratory at Colorado State University in 2009 (Horobik 2011). The artifact inventory, original field notes, maps, and computer files remain in Steven Baker's possession as do some artifacts, including certain personal items.

The recovery of archaeological materials was not conducted within the context of the specific research questions posed by this thesis. Instead, excavations of the Vanoli Block were carried out with the goal of creating a quantified model of sporting culture within the larger context of American Victorian culture (Horobik 2011). Because this goal necessitated excavating large sections of the site in order to attain a representative sample, some of the exploratory trenches were excavated with a backhoe. Others were either screened with ½" mesh or not at all. Such procedures were appropriate for Baker's stated research design, but may have allowed for the loss of certain smaller personal items such as buttons, grommets, and pieces of jewelry. Soil profiles, screening procedures, and, where possible, the relative locations of lots to each other are summarized in table form in Appendix I.

Operation Sampling

The size of the Vanoli Collection and the nature of available field paperwork necessitated sampling by provenience. The operations selected for analysis were 1, 3, 18, 19, and 21 (Table 5). The proximity of the operations to buildings associated with prostitution, the presence of personal items in multiple lots, and the minimal likelihood of intrusive objects not related to prostitution during the operation of the Vanoli Block comprised the principal criteria for selection (Figure 18). Baker’s field notes and operation profiles as well as a preliminary examination of the artifact assemblage present at CSU provided additional means for refining the sample.

Table 5 - This table shows the operations selected for use in this thesis, the associated buildings, and a description of what the operation encompassed.

Provenience	Association	Description from Field Notes
1	Gold Belt	1-C is a gender segregated privy; excavated in halves
3	220	3-B lots 7-14 are a cleaned privy; others are a midden
18	Gold Belt	Trenches investigating small middens and anomalous features
19	220	Privy above Op 21
21	220	Privy discovered beneath 19-B-8

Although there are operations associated with other crib structures, the sampled units are the most likely to yield personal items related to prostitution. The proximity of the operations to the associated buildings increases the probability that sex workers and customers of the 220 and the Gold Belt Theater were using these privies and middens; people are more likely to use facilities closest to the building that they are occupying (Horobik 2011). Furthermore, the excavation notes and profiles for these units are specific enough to allow the exclusion of lots known to be intrusive and therefore of a later date. The chances of contamination from nearby residences are minimized because many of the surrounding buildings consisted of livery stables.

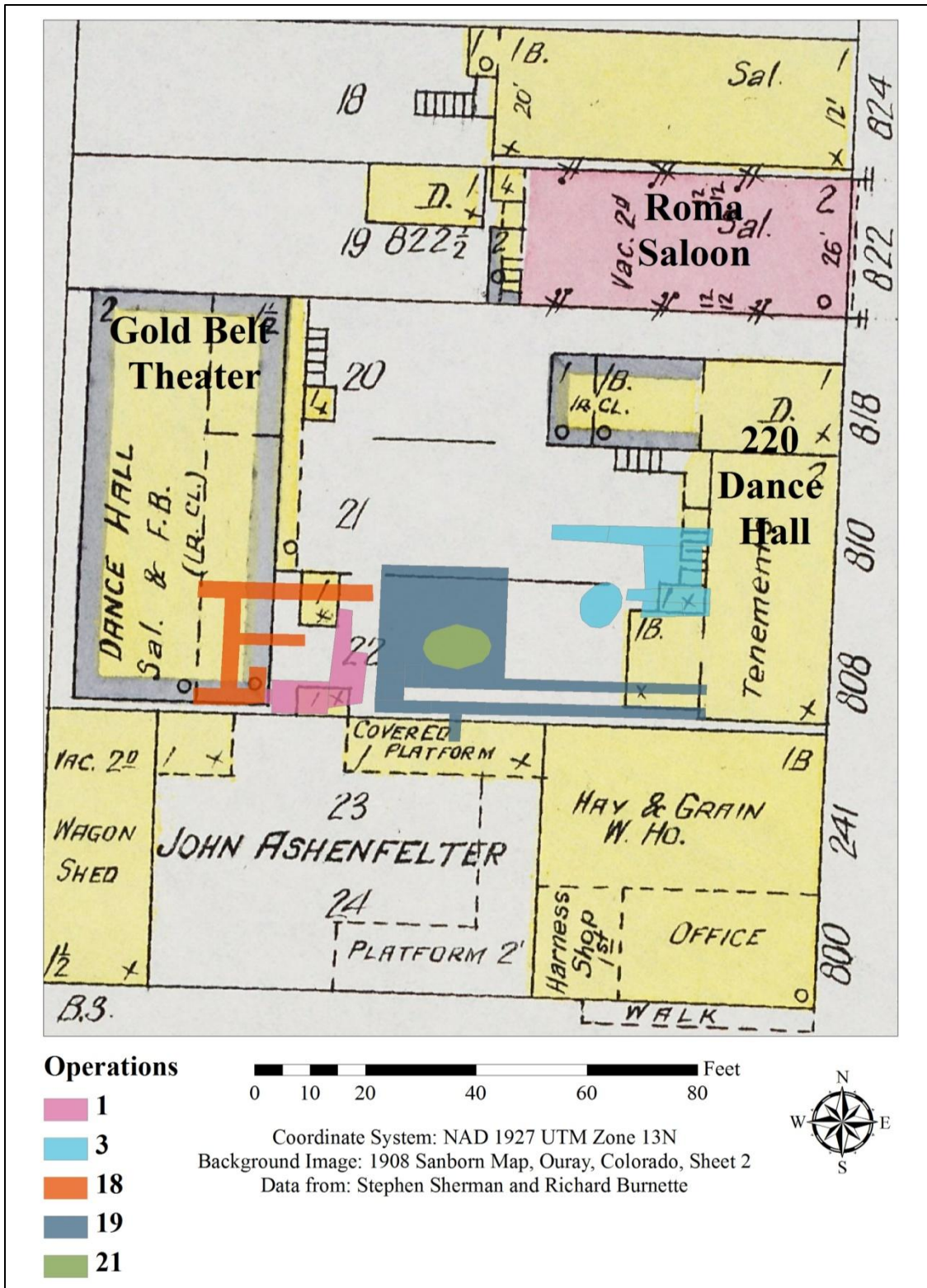


Figure 18 - Map of the Vanoli Block showing the location of the sampled operations.

The buildings, with the exception of the former Roma Saloon where Minnie and Mary Vanoli lived, stood empty for years, and it is unlikely that deposits associated with them were later contaminated by a significant amount of personal items. However, as a precaution, lots known to include artifacts from the ground surface and upper-most stratigraphic level (generally Lot 1 of every operation), and lots known to contain intrusive materials were excluded. Additionally, operations directly associated with the Roma Saloon, the Chinese laundry, and cribs that may have been occupied by the men working in the Chinese laundry (Henn 1999) were omitted from this study.

Despite these precautions, the possibility that artifacts unassociated with prostitutes or their customers does exist. While any woman who patronized or worked at a saloon or dance hall could be considered immoral (Powers 1998), it is unlikely that concern over a loss of reputation prevented all women not engaged in sex work from being on the property, or from using a conveniently-located privy or midden. Furthermore, the potential presence of personal items not related to prostitution is especially high with regard to the male patrons. The mere presence of male personal items does not guarantee that their owners purchased sexual services. These men could have simply been present to drink in a traditionally male environment, or to see one of the shows at the Gold Belt.

The diversity of artifact types considered personal items, the large quantities of certain types, and the temporal constraints of a master's thesis necessitated sampling within the chosen operations. The overall artifact categories, which are discussed below, were selected to provide a representative sample of personal items potentially used for purposes of prostitution. Lots and materials known to be intrusive were automatically excluded. Artifacts such as writing implements, or the fragmented remains of photographs, which are generally considered personal

items, were excluded. Although prostitutes or their customers may have used the pencils, there is no evidence that the writing implements were used for anything other than inventory or other business-related record keeping. The majority of the images are distorted beyond recognition: the only discernible image portrays an unidentified mustachioed man's head and right shoulder and is therefore of little utility in evaluating the construction of prostitution as an identity.

Furthermore, the fragmentary nature of the photograph makes it difficult to evaluate the image with regard to male appearance. Due to the sheer quantity of certain items, additional sampling was necessary for buttons, textiles, and shoes.

Due to their small size, fragility of attachment, and general durability of material, buttons are among the most prevalent types of personal item recovered from historic sites (Lindbergh 1999). The Vanoli site is no exception: hundreds of buttons are present within the collection. In order to reduce this number to a size appropriate to the research goals and temporal constraints of this thesis, after the exclusion of intrusive lots, a random sample of 50% of the remaining lots was conducted. This method resulted in a total of 272 buttons analyzed for this thesis.

Textiles were sampled based on their state of preservation and the likelihood that they belonged to garments. Objects decayed to the point of being fibrous masses were automatically excluded due to the lack of a discernible weave pattern and the impossibility of determining the form of the original garment. The sample was selected from the remaining artifacts if they contained seams, button holes, or other indicators that they were used for clothing. Such a selection strategy is particularly important given the presence of privies: rags were commonly used for sanitary purposes prior to the popular use of toilet paper around 1900 (LaRoche and McGowan 2001). Furthermore, the probable use of rags in the saloons and linens in the cribs necessitated the elimination of any textile lacking indicators of use as apparel.

Footwear, like textiles, was sampled based primarily on preservation. Archaeological leather is often degraded, difficult to work with and fragile (Veres 2005), and many of the shoes in the Vanoli collection are no different. Artifacts were only included if they were identified as actually belonging to a shoe by shape or construction technique. Any scraps of leather lacking stitching, or that could potentially have originated as horse tack in the surrounding livery stables, were excluded.

The sampling methods employed in this thesis were designed to provide a representative sample with regard to the research goals of this project. To this end, operations were selected to maximize the potential that the artifacts were actually used by prostitutes or their customers and to minimize possible contamination from other occupations or uses of the area. Sub-operations and lots known to include artifacts from the ground surface or intrusive cultural materials were excluded from this sample. While this strategy represents the only additional artifact sampling method employed for most artifact types, buttons, textiles, and footwear were subjected to additional sampling strategies.

Methods

The analysis conducted for this thesis is a small part of the larger and on-going process of rehabilitating and preparing the Vanoli Collection for permanent curation. To this end, the artifacts were sorted, re-boxed, re-bagged, entered into a general collection database, and labeled by provenience. Some of this work had been previously accomplished by Baker, the 2010 graduate seminar in Historical Archaeology, practicum students, and other graduate students working with the Vanoli collection (Horobik 2011). Personal items from the sampled operations were separated from the larger units for analysis after the initial sorting occurred.

These artifacts were then further divided into four categories: 1) hygiene products, 2) cosmetics, 3) apparel, and 4) accessories. Hygiene products are items used for cleanliness, and consist of toothbrushes and bottles known to have contained Florida water and Vaseline among other products. Given the overlap between medicine and hygiene common to medical practice at the time (Sponberg 1997), health-related items such as douches, penile injectors, and medical paraphernalia specifically linked to hygiene are included in this category. Cosmetic artifacts consist of makeup brushes and containers and any other items or products used to amplify or alter the physical appearance. Apparel represented in the Vanoli Collection includes buttons, shoes, and pieces of cloth identified as coming from a garment. Accessories consist of items used to augment the chosen apparel or appearance of an individual, and are considered material indicators of personal choice and expression on the part of the owners. This category includes portions of hand bags, jewelry, and watches, and encompasses tobacco pipes and ordnance, which is indicative of the type of weapons carried. The decision to include the latter two artifact types along with accessories more traditionally associated with apparel was deliberate. The type of gun a person carried, and the form of pipe he or she smoked are considered integral to the identity that person wished to project.

Further subdivision of these categories into the smallest possible groups – such as buttons, perfume bottles, and cartridges – allowed for the analysis of each artifact type. The diverse nature of the personal items necessitated the use of different analytic techniques for each artifact group. The exact approaches used for individual artifact types are discussed along with the analysis of the category in Chapters 6 and 7. All data was entered into Excel spreadsheets to facilitate quantitative and qualitative comparison. The information gleaned from applying the questions discussed below to the artifacts was then used to form an image of the ways in which

the identities of the prostitute and her customer were constructed and performed. As discussed in Chapter 3, a distinctive appearance was characteristic of female sex workers during this time, but not necessarily of her customers. Establishing the types of artifacts that are gendered, how those items could be used to alter or project a certain appearance, and whether or not that appearance was typical of a working-class woman or a prostitute allows for a glimpse into the degree to which prostitution on the Vanoli Block was constructed. In order to reach these research goals, each artifact type was analyzed with regard to 1) use in prostitution, 2) male or female specific usage, and 3) the quality of the item.

Knowledge of how the objects could have been used by sex workers or their customers, and what types of artifacts, if any, were solely associated with prostitution indicated both financial investment and labor put into the performance of prostitution. The determination of how the artifacts may have been used in prostitution was based on secondary literature. For example, there are whole Florida Water bottles in the sample. An examination of the literature indicates that Florida Water was essentially an American version of *eau de Cologne* that could be used by both men and women as a toiletry or a medicine. The product blended the scents of orange, lavender, cloves, cinnamon, and the vanilla-like odor of benzoin (Mayo 1902). The fragrance was intended to be light and refreshing, and, in addition to serving as a general perfume, Florida Water was used to calm nervous problems and to relieve exhaustion and depression (Hart 1881; Horobik 2011). It seems unlikely that customers would carry such large bottles from their homes to the Vanoli Block for personal use, so the Florida Water was probably used by the sex workers. Perfume was considered characteristic of the presentation of the scented, sexualized female body essential to prostitution (Reid 2002; Rosen 1982). Furthermore, the emphasis on the quantity of customers seen over the quality of the experience (Agnew 2008)

suggests that the women may have needed the restorative properties associated with Florida Water.

Investigation of female or male specific usage demonstrates the types of personal items that women and men were using while present on the block, which in turn indicates how the prostitutes may have worked to construct this identity. As with the Florida Water discussed above, some instances of gender-specific usage are inferred on the basis of potential use. In other cases, gender use is identified based on morphological characteristics such as the height and shape of a shoe heel, or the military insignia on a button.

Examination of the quality of material culture suggests the economic means of prostitutes working in cribs, and indicates if sex workers were the poor, desperate creatures portrayed in the literature, or if they used high-quality goods such as imported perfumes or silk garments. Additionally, the quality of artifacts shows whether or not people patronizing the Vanoli Block were almost entirely working-class as suggested by the secondary literature. The analysis of quality was based on materials, the presence or absence of decorative elements, and the production technique. For example, the quality of footwear can be determined by measuring the number of stitches per millimeter; the higher the number of stitches, the higher the quality (Veres 2005).

Contemporary documentary evidence in the form of census data, oral narratives, newspaper articles, and photographs provided data to supplement the information produced from the artifacts. Additionally, these sources, especially the demographics gleaned from the censuses, formed a means of comparing the prostitutes with other working-class women in Ouray. As with the artifacts, the specific techniques used to analyze the documents is discussed

along with the analysis in Chapter 5. Once again, all data were entered into Excel spreadsheets for documentation and comparison.

Data regarding age, marital and parental status, literacy rates, and geographic origins were extracted from the town of Ouray censuses (1880, 1885, 1900, and 1910) for women listed as prostitutes. This information was then compared with that of women listed as the wives of miners and working in professions such as waitress or maid. Oral narratives demonstrated how people in Ouray viewed prostitutes and offered insight into the appearance of these women (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990). The photographs of working-class men and women in Ouray (see images in Chapter 3) taken during the 1880s through 1910s were selected based on the clarity of the image with regard to the details of appearance. The types of garments, accessories, and other aspects of appearance depicted were then compared with the artifact data for the accessory, apparel, and hygiene categories.

The methods of artifactual and documentary analysis outlined above were used within the context of identity and performance theory to demonstrate the means by which people involved in prostitution on the Vanoli Block constructed and performed identities related to prostitution. As with the previously completed thesis regarding the Vanoli Collection (Horobik 2011), the excavation of the Vanoli Block and the initial artifact analysis were conducted with different research questions and outside of the author's control. The methods described herein are designed to interpret the data and address the research questions outlined in the introduction while serving as a template for future investigations of personal items.

Chapter 5

Prostitution and Demographics: an Analysis of Ouray Census Data

Information gleaned from historical documents can provide insights into the lives and identities of people that are impossible to extract from the archaeological record alone. Census documents provide a snap-shot of familial status and relationships, literacy rates, and the ancestry of the individuals recorded on their pages. An examination of historic maps provides corroborating spatial data. The demographic information allows for a further exploration of the ways in which prostitutes differed from other working women, and provides insight into the identities of the working-class men who patronized the Vanoli Block. Previous chapters in this thesis have explored the physical appearance of these women and men, and the ways in which the personal items collected from the Vanoli Site can contribute to discussions of the constructed identities of prostitutes and their customers. The documentary evidence discussed in this chapter allows insight into non-tangible aspects of identity.

In her analysis of prostitution in the American West, Anne Butler (1987) conducted an analysis of demographic trends related to sex work. Butler (1987:21-23) based her research on secondary literature discussing the American frontier as well as newspaper accounts, jail records, inquests, cemetery records, and the 1870 and 1880 U.S. censuses. Butler portrays these women as young, native-born, childless, and either unmarried or living without their spouses. Sixteen was the average age that women entered the business, and most sex workers were between 15 and 30 years old. While some women remained in the trade past 30, and censuses do show a few women hanging on into their 50s, many sought employment as madams or managers for younger sex workers (Butler 1987:13-16). The data presented by Butler (1987) concur with those discussed by Jeremy Agnew (2008) in his presentation of sex work in the Old West. Agnew

(2008:227; 233-237) bases his assessment on surveys of prostitutes in New York conducted by Dr. William W. Sanger (1858) and George Jackson Kneeland (1912).

Some reformist groups attempted to dichotomize sex workers based partially on immigration status. Innocent women tricked into prostitution were portrayed as native-born, white, and displaying middle class manners even if their back ground was working-class. Supposedly, the corrupting influence that lured both men and women into prostitution were lower-class non-white immigrants, and this portrayal left a lasting impression in some of the literature (Rosen 1982). As discussed in Chapter 2, pregnancy was disruptive to a sex worker's trade, and prostitutes used contraception in order to avoid having children (Agnew 2008; Gordon 2002). When contraception failed, and either an abortion was not possible or the sex worker chose to give birth, the children often had bleak prospects given their mothers' profession (Butler 1987). Although prostitutes are often portrayed as single women, Ruth Rosen (1982) argues that many married and had children. However, Rosen (1982) does not specify when these unions occurred in the career of the average sex worker, thus leaving open the possibility that the women had retired prior to marrying. Even if these unions occurred prior to a woman becoming a prostitute, marriage was not synonymous with retirement or cohabitation (Walkowitz 1980). Given the nature of their work, it was often difficult for sex workers to maintain long-term unions while actively practicing their trade (Murphy 1983). If these trends are accurate for Ouray, the census documents are expected to reveal young, childless sex workers who were either single or not living with their spouses. Furthermore, if working-class women constructed the identity of the prostitute, then there are unlikely to be significant demographic differences between sex workers and other working-class women such as washerwomen or seamstresses.

The working-class men who were the target clientele of the establishments on the Vanoli Block are expected to conform to the same general demographic pattern as their female counterparts. The majority of these men were likely native-born Americans, and single or living apart from their wives. However, it is important to acknowledge that the censuses analyzed in this thesis are from the town of Ouray itself. Miners who would have come into Ouray on their days off may have lived in remote camps that were missed or enumerated in different districts, and will therefore not appear on these documents. However, even when the sampled censuses are confined to Ouray, working-class men, including miners, still comprise the majority of the population. Data from these censuses can provide information on the otherwise seemingly invisible men who patronized the Vanoli Block.

Women, Sex Workers, and Potential Customers in Ouray

Documents examined in this chapter include the Colorado State Special Census (1885), the United States Census (1880, 1900, 1910), a map created by a former employee of one of the establishments in the red light district (Please Do Not Use My Name 1953), and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (1900, 1908). Most of the 1890 census was destroyed in a fire during the 1920s, and is therefore not available for examination. The minimum age of people included in this analysis is 17 because a preliminary examination of the censuses showed this to be the average age at which children left school and entered the work force. Data for prostitutes and women working outside of the home were gathered from all four of the extant censuses. Given the size of the documents and the temporal constraints of a master's thesis, detailed information regarding the familial and immigration statuses of working-class men and their wives was collected from the 1900 census only. The results of this analysis were then visually compared to randomly selected pages from the 1880, 1885, and 1910 documents to ensure that the general

patterns remained fairly constant. The 1900 census was chosen as the sample for two reasons: 1) 1900 is the approximate temporal midpoint of the operation of the Vanoli Block, and 2) mining in Ouray, which was already consolidating into a few corporate mines, peaked at this time (Kushner 1973). Tables showing the specific professions of working-class men as well as detailed tables regarding Ouray prostitutes are included in Appendix 2.

As with all sources, it is important to acknowledge the potential fallibility of historical documents. Censuses are subject to the prejudices and competence of the enumerators as well as their informants. For example, the 1880 U.S. Census does not list a single sex worker as living in Ouray when, as discussed in Chapter 2, other accounts indicate that saloons and houses of prostitution were flourishing at that time (Smith 2003). While it was not uncommon for women to give false names or lie about their professions if they spoke to an enumerator at all (Williams 1984), the complete lack of listings suggests that the enumerator may have deliberately omitted these women. Additionally, house numbers were sporadically recorded, and there is no documentation indicating the path the enumerator took through Ouray when gathering information (U.S. 1880 Census), thus making it impossible to identify potential sex workers on the basis of location.

Women in the Ouray Censuses

Prior to discussing the census data it is necessary to define “working women” and how the term is used in this thesis. Working women consist of women whose labor went beyond domestic services for the household, or who took in boarders with whom they had no familial relationship. This definition is not intended to denigrate or ignore the effort and time that housewives invested in domestic labor and childrearing. Wives of working-class men from the 1900 U.S. census are included in a separate table in order to facilitate comparison between sex

workers, other women who chose or needed to seek employment for monetary gain, and working-class women whose sphere of labor was confined to caring for their families.

Table 6 compares the ages, marital and familial statuses, and immigration status of working women and prostitutes, and Table 7 provides demographic information collected from the 1900 U.S. census regarding non-working women. Working women are further divided into three analytical categories to facilitate comparison. “Professional” women are roughly equated

Table 6 - Census data for sex workers and other working women in Ouray (Colorado Special Census 1885; U.S. Censuses 1880, 1900, and 1910).

Category:	1880		1885		1900		1910	
	Working Women	Sex Worker	Working Women	Sex Worker	Working Women	Sex Worker	Working Women	Sex Worker
Total #:	6	0	24	13*	116	37	123	21
Professional	33%	-	8.5%	-	20.9%	-	43%	-
Land Lady	33%	-	4%	-	30%	-	17.9%	-
Working	33%	-	87.5%	-	49.1%	-	39%	-
Madams	-	-	-	30.8%	-	43.2%	-	42.9%
Girls	-	-	-	69.2%	-	56.8%	-	57.1%
Avg. Age:	29.3	-	30.4	23.6	34.4	27.4	34	31.5
Married	33%	-	16.6%	15%	32.8%	2.7%	33.6%	14.3%
Widowed	16%	-	25%	30.8%	21.5%	0	17%	14.3%
Divorced	0	-	4%	0	3.4%	0	7.3%	28.6%
Single	50%	-	54%	53.8%	42.2%	97.3%	35%	42.9%
Had Children	0	-	25%	0	44%	0	41.4%	19%
Immigrants:	33%	-	29%	15.4%	27.6%	8%	27.6%	14.3%
NW Europe	0	-	25%	15.4%	13.8%	5.3%	16.2%	14.3%
Canada	0	-	0	0	2.6%	0	1.6%	0
Ireland	33%	-	4%	0	5.2%	0	3.3%	0
Italy	0	-	0	0	4.3%	2.7%	7.3%	0
E Europe	0	-	0	0	1.7%	0	0.8%	0

* Possible enumerator error: one person listed as male but whose occupation was "sporting woman" included in count.

with women whose occupations would not be associated with poverty or moral corruption, and may have required specialized education. This category includes nurses, school teachers, music

Table 7 - Non-working women (U.S. Census 1900).

Category	Number	Percentage
Total #:	334	-
Marital Status:		
Married housewife:	269	80.5%
Mother:	180	53.9%
Live with Family (single):	26	7.8%
At school (single):	12	3.6%
Widowed / Divorced no profession:	27	8%
Native Born:	269	80.5%
Immigrant:	65	19.5%
N European	40	12%
Canada	8	2.4%
Ireland	4	1.2%
Italy	13	3.9%

teachers, physicians, and the nuns who acted as nurses in the hospital. “Land Lady” includes women who took on roomers with whom they had no documented familial relationship in order to support themselves or to supplement the incomes of other members of their families. Many of these women were widows or wives of miners and other low-income men. There is no apparent correlation between the number of boarders, the marital status of the women, and whether or not the residence is classified as a boarding house or simply a household with roomers. The category “Working” consists of women whose professions were truly working-class meaning that their professions would not involve a significant amount of specialized training or equipment. These women worked as seamstresses, dress makers, servants, waitresses, store clerks, and washerwomen among other such professions.

It is important to note that where the boxes were filled out, all of the women included in these documents were able to read and write even when, as was the case with a single Italian widow, they could not speak English. The censuses examined for this thesis give no idea of the

level of education these women received, nor the full extent of their abilities. However, this information is significant because it indicates that literacy rates had no impact on whether or not a woman in Ouray became a sex worker.

The 1910 U.S. census is the only one to specifically indicate whether or not the sex workers were madams. However, this designation may not be consistent with the way in which the term is used in the hierarchy of prostitution. In the historical literature madams are defined as women who managed both sex workers and the business aspects of houses of prostitution. While some of these women were likely retired prostitutes, others may have been businesswomen who entered the trade solely for the money (Agnew 2008). Some of the “madams” present in the 1910 U.S. Census are the sole members of their households, which may account for the nearly equal ratio of madams to prostitutes. The accepted definition of the madam necessitates the presence of employee sex-workers in the household. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the enumerator must have been using a different definition of “madam” unless, as is possible, there were additional prostitutes who worked in these establishments, but were not recorded in the census. My argument is that the enumerator used the word “madam” to refer to any prostitute who was also the head of her household regardless of whether or not she actually managed prostitutes. This interpretation was then applied to sex workers in the 1885 Colorado census and the 1900 U.S. census to facilitate comparison between the documents. The differentiation is maintained here because knowing approximately how many sex workers ran their own establishments as opposed to working under a madam provides additional data regarding the professional lives of prostitutes in Ouray.

The data depicted in the tables above indicate that sex workers were only slightly demographically different from other women living in Ouray. Prostitutes were younger than

their fellow working women, more likely to have been native-born or have emigrated from Northern European countries, and more likely to be single and childless. It is interesting to note that the only sex workers enumerated in the 1910 U.S. census as having children were madams, which suggests that children of their employees may not have been reported. The birth control practices discussed in Chapter 2 were fairly crude and unlikely to be completely effective given the nature of sex work; it seems implausible that none of the sex workers had children. The most striking demographic differences between prostitutes and other working women are present in 1900: data from this U.S. census show a larger gap in the average age and marital status between sex workers and other working women. The non-working women in Table 16 represent the majority of the adult female population in Ouray, and were more likely than working women or prostitutes to be married and have children. This trend is unsurprising given the Victorian ideal that a mother's role was at home with her children. Most of the working women shown above in Table 15 tended to be single, widowed, or divorced, and therefore needed to support themselves and their families in some way. Almost all of the non-working widows and *divorcées* in Table 16 had employed children living in their households.

Prostitutes in the Ouray Censuses

Although a search of both the censuses and a 1953 map depicting Ouray's red light district (Please Do Not Use My Name 1953) was conducted, none of the women from these documents can be definitively identified as having worked on the Vanoli Block. However, a madam named Ada Hoyt who lived on 3rd street appears immediately after the Vanoli family on the 1910 U.S. census. If the Vanoli family was living on the block, as Minnie and Mary later did (Gregory 1998), then it seems plausible that Ada Hoyt may have been present in one of the cribs or in the 220 Dancehall. No other women appear in her household suggesting that they were

either not reported, or did not live in the crib structures and did not give their true profession to the enumerator. Although other sex workers lived on 3rd Street at that time, they did not necessarily work on the Vanoli Block. The Sanborn Insurance Maps for 1900 and 1908 both show other saloons present on the street, and some of these buildings had boarding structures. Interestingly, the 1900 U.S. census lists a widowed Italian boarding house keeper in the same position on the census relative to the Vanoli family. No roomers appear after her name, which lends some degree of additional support to the tentative identification of Ada Hoyt as a madam or prostitute on the Vanoli Block.

None of the prostitute households depicted in the Ouray censuses have addresses associated with them. However, the 1900 and 1910 U.S. Censuses do provide street names that confirm that Ouray's red light district was indeed confined to the intersections of 2nd Street and 9th Avenue and to 3rd or Main Street. Aside from businesses located on Main Street, the areas surrounding these establishments were generally populated by other working-class citizens such as miners, teamsters, washerwomen, and their families (U.S. Census 1900 and 1910). Although not useful for establishing which of the women may have worked in the Vanoli cribs, a comparison of the sex workers on the 1910 U.S. census with the afore-mentioned map, drawn in 1953 by an anonymous male cook who formerly worked at the Bon Ton brothel, offers further corroboration of the location of the vice district. This map was solicited by Caroline Bancroft, who was a noted Colorado historian and a journalist for the *Denver Post*. The author drew the map from memory decades after the demise of the red light district, and acknowledged potential time-related problems. However, he marked the establishments that he remembered in red pencil, and briefly recorded the names of some of the key people involved in Ouray's red light district.

He states that Minnie Vanoli owned the Gold Belt Theater, but offers no additional insight into the women who worked in the cribs or the 220 (Please Do Not Use My Name, 1953).

A comparison of the sex workers' names, places of birth, and stated ages revealed minimal overlap between prostitutes from one census to the next. The only women who appear on multiple censuses are madams suggesting that the prostitutes themselves either left the profession or moved to a different town. Such residential instability was not uncommon among prostitutes or the miners that they followed. Miners would move from town to town in search of more lucrative mineral deposits, and sex workers would move in search of new or unsaturated areas of potential customers (Butler 1987; Vermeer 2006; West 1979). Given this trend, it is unsurprising that madams, who were business owners and therefore likely to have a greater economic investment in a given location, are the only women present on multiple censuses. Carrie Linell appears on both the 1885 Colorado census and the 1900 U.S. census as a head of household or madam. Her age roughly matches up, but her place of birth changes from Massachusetts to Maine, which opens the possibility that there were two madams with the same name. Lilly Maxwell, who ran the Temple of Music and The Club, appears on both the 1900 and 1910 U.S. censuses. Her sister Mary, who helped run The Club, is present on the 1900 U.S. census, and her sister-in-law Louise Maxwell, who ran the Brighton, appears on the 1910 U.S. census. The names of the establishments run by these women were obtained from the Do Not Use My Name (1953) map and from Gregory (1995). A prostitute named "Jessie Starr" is present in both the 1900 and 1910 U.S. censuses, but the ages and places of birth do not match suggesting different women with the same name.

Aside from the previously discussed basic demographic data, censuses provide information that can be interpreted to reveal the attitudes of the enumerator, and possibly other

people in town, towards prostitutes. For example, changes in the language used to refer to sex workers reflect the growing strength of reform movements in the American West. The 1885 Colorado census and the 1900 U.S. census enumerators respectively referred to prostitutes as “sporting women” and “courtesans.” However, the 1910 U.S. census enumerator describes sex workers as “inmates in female boarding houses.” Additionally, the 1910 U.S. census shows an African-American madam named Winnie Dale living on 2nd Street. Winnie Dale was the only sex worker of non-European descent to appear in the censuses. No other women are present in her household, and the only way in which her entry differs from the other sex workers is her race. Furthermore, her establishment is sandwiched between others indicating that she may not have been any more spatially isolated than other prostitutes in Ouray.

Men in the Ouray Censuses

Working-class men are defined as men who did not own or manage businesses and, although they may have been skilled workers, whose trades did not require the years of training and specialized equipment necessary for professions such as physician, blacksmith, or shoe maker. In other words, working-class men include miners, farmers, laborers, clerks, teamsters, and other such professions. These men were the target clientele of the Vanoli Block, and were therefore more likely to patronize those establishments. Professional- or upper-class men such as lawyers, physicians, and politicians and their wives are not discussed in this thesis. Investigations into these people and their relationships with Ouray’s working-class citizens represent potential avenues of further research. Additionally, Chinese immigrants, such as the men who ran the Chinese laundry located on the Vanoli Block, are present in the censuses. Although these men largely belonged to the working-class they are not included in the charts below because they were also known to work on the Vanoli Block (Henn 1999).

Table 8 depicts the demographic data collected from the 1900 U.S. census regarding working-class men in Ouray. As with the working women, the male population was generally native-born or emigrated from Northern Europe. These men were typically single, widowed, or divorced. Of the married men, 86% lived with their wives. The others typically lived in boarding houses or with male roommates. A comparison of the total number of prostitutes, working, and non-working women with the number of working-class men reveals a population imbalance of at least 319 more males than females living in Ouray in 1900. This inequality would be favorable to the proliferation of businesses in the red light district, and may have increased on weekends or holidays when miners living in the camps surrounding the town came in for a break.

Table 8 - Working-class male demographics (U.S. 1900 Census).

Category:	Number	Percentage
Total #	790	-
Marital Status:		
Married	331	41.8%
Live with wife	287	36.3%
Single	413	52.2%
Divorced	2	0.2%
Widowed	27	3.4%
Native Born:	580	73.4%
Immigrant:	210	26.6%
N European	126	15.9%
Canada	23	2.9%
Ireland	24	3%
Italy	36	4.6%
Mexico	1	0.1%

Areas of Potential Research

A full exploration of all available historical documents offers multiple potential avenues for further research. Additional comparison of the maps, censuses, and any additional documentation that may be present in the archives of the Ouray County Historical society could

increase our understanding of the relationships between the town and the red light district as well as between the vice establishments themselves. Investigations of outlying mining and enumeration districts could offer additional insights into the identities of the working-class men who patronized the Vanoli Block, as well as into the potential frequencies with which they came into town. However, while interesting, these questions are outside the scope of this thesis.

Summary and Discussion

An examination of historical documents allows further insights into the similarities and differences between sex workers and other women in Ouray, and provides data regarding the identities of the working-class men who may have patronized the Vanoli Block. The 1885 Colorado census and the 1880, 1900, and 1910 U.S. censuses as well as a 1953 map drawn by an informant (Do Not Use My Name), and the 1900 and 1908 Sanborn Insurance maps were used in this analysis. Demographic data collected from the censuses regarding women (Tables 6 and 7) and working-class men (Table 8) are displayed above, and indicate certain population trends. With one possible exception, none of the sex workers who appear on the censuses could be identified as working on the Vanoli Block. Although census data was compared to the maps, without addresses all that these documents were able to do was confirm the spatial location of the red light district within the town. Demographically, married women who did not work comprised 68.6 % of the female population of Ouray in 1900. These women were much more likely to have children than either sex workers or other working women. Sex workers were slightly younger than their fellow working women, and more likely to be single, childless, and native-born. The greatest differences between the different groups of women appear with regard to marital and familial status. Otherwise, the census data indicate that sex workers were fairly similar to other working women. Where an answer was given, all of the women examined in this thesis stated

that they were literate, indicating some degree of education. The demographic data from the 1900 U.S. census regarding working-class men is fairly consistent with that of the working women; they tended to be single or living without their wives, and were native-born Americans or immigrants from Northern European countries. Together the censuses indicate that there were far more unattached working-class men living in Ouray than the combined population of sex workers, working women, and working-class women, thus creating an ideal demographic environment for prostitution to flourish. Furthermore, the documents indicate that prostitutes were distinguished primarily on the basis of their profession and not by demographic differences.

Chapter 6

Analysis of the Apparel and Accessory Artifacts

Examination of the 948 personal items present in the lots sampled for this thesis was conducted in order to address the overarching research goals of this thesis. These goals are to examine the ways in which sex workers were manipulating their appearance to construct a performative identity for their labor, to explore how this identity is different from that of other working women in Ouray, and to provide insight into the identities projected by the male customers. As previously discussed, the personal items were divided into accessories, apparel, cosmetic, and hygiene. In this chapter I discuss the 451 apparel artifacts and the 419 accessories. The analysis of artifacts related to cosmetics and hygiene is presented in Chapter 7.

A review of the pertinent archaeological literature regarding each type of artifact was conducted prior to data collection. The analytical techniques described below are derived from sources containing the most detailed methods that place the most significance on personal items as important to site analysis and interpretation. Collector literature and contemporary catalogs such as Sears, Roebucks & Co. (1897, 1902, and 1908) were consulted. Although collector literature must be used with caution, and any techniques derived from collectors must be critically examined given that they are generally not scientific in nature, the authors are often extremely passionate and knowledgeable about their chosen subjects. Their goal in publication is to assist people – including most historic archaeologists who tend to know a little about a variety of topics – in identifying and classifying objects. Furthermore, collectors generally ask many of the same questions as archaeologists when it comes to basic artifact analysis: how to determine material, manufacturing technique, and date of manufacture (Gorski 2009).

Apparel

Choices in clothing are often deeply personal, and convey aspects of identity including age, class, occupation, and marital status. Furthermore, clothing is used to mask or display the sexual body. These choices may be made with varying degrees of self-awareness (De Cunzo 1995:88), but they almost always reflect a person's position within the larger social discourse in the place and time that they live. Clothing and other artifacts related to aspects of personal adornment constitute physical evidence of a person's identities as an individual and within a larger social group (White 2008:17). The artifacts presented demonstrate the ways in which women and men on the Vanoli Block were clothing and presenting their bodies.

Buttons

Buttons are by far the most numerous type of personal item recovered from most historical archaeological sites due to their small size and the general durability of materials. Additionally, until zippers came into popular use after World War I, buttons represented the primary type of clothing fastener (Lindbergh 1999; Tortora and Eubank 1998). The Vanoli Site is no exception to this pattern: a random sample of 50 percent of the lots included in this thesis yielded 272 buttons. The technique used to analyze the buttons in this thesis consisted of grouping buttons in four stages: 1) material, 2) type, 3) size, and 4) any distinctive features or decorations. This method is based on the IMACs user guide, Horn (2005), Buckles et al. (1978), Lindbergh (1999), and Sprague (2002). These sources constitute some of the most useful archaeological literature regarding button analysis because the authors focus on the mundane buttons that represent the bulk of archaeological assemblages, and not only on the elaborate pieces that, while interesting, are generally not representative of an entire site. Collector

literature, especially Gorski (2009) and Peacock (1972), was consulted for pictures, non-damaging cleaning techniques, and a basic introduction to terminology.

Separation by material represents one of the most basic classifications in archaeology, and is used in all of the previously cited button sources. Additionally, depending on the site, material along with manufacturing technology can provide a rough date range for the occupation (Nayton 1992). Figure 19 depicts the button material types found in the Vanoli assemblage.

Prosser ceramic and inexpensive shell (sometimes referred to as mother-of-pearl) items dominate

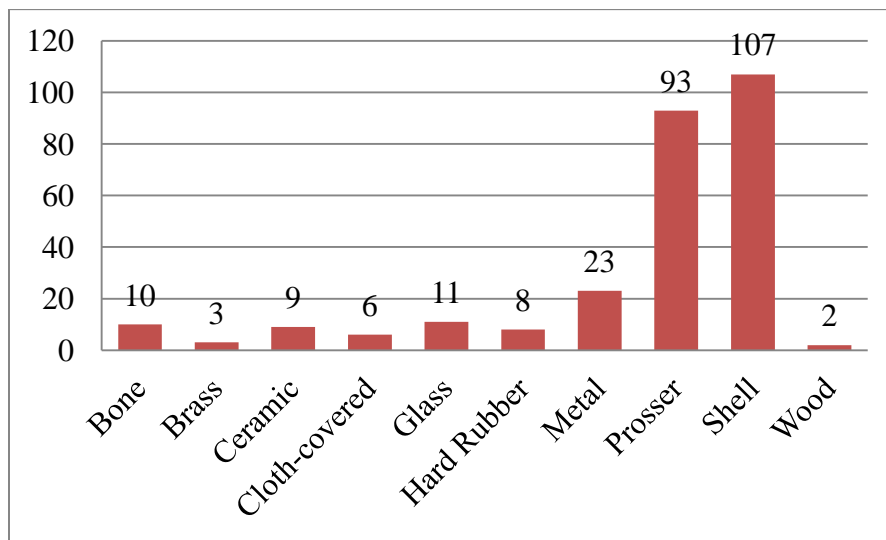


Figure 19 - Button material types.

the assemblage. Prosser ceramic is occasionally called “agate” or “small china,” and consists of a high-fired, glass-like ceramic. These buttons are distinguished by a smooth top and orange-peel-like pitting on the back (Sprague 2002). Both Prosser and shell buttons were commonly mass produced and were widely available to the lower-classes (Lindbergh 1999; Stevens 2000; Sprague 2002). The other types of materials were generally more expensive, and therefore more likely to be displayed on outer garments (Stevens 2000).

Type refers first to the manner in which the button attached to the garment and second to the non-decorative morphological characteristics of that button. There are two basic means of

attaching buttons to cloth: sew-through and shank. Sew-through buttons are generally utilitarian, and have holes (usually two or four) so that they can be directly sewn to the garment. Shank attachments come in many forms and consist of loops that attach to the button. Thread is passed through this loop in order to affix the button to the garment. While most shanks are metal loops that are soldered onto a metal disc, or shank plate, and then fitted to the back of a button, some shanks (called self-shanks) are molded directly into glass or ceramic buttons during the manufacturing process (Lindbergh 1999).

Figure 20 depicts the button attachment types present in this thesis. As expected from a working-class assemblage, the majority of the buttons are simple sew-through types. The work

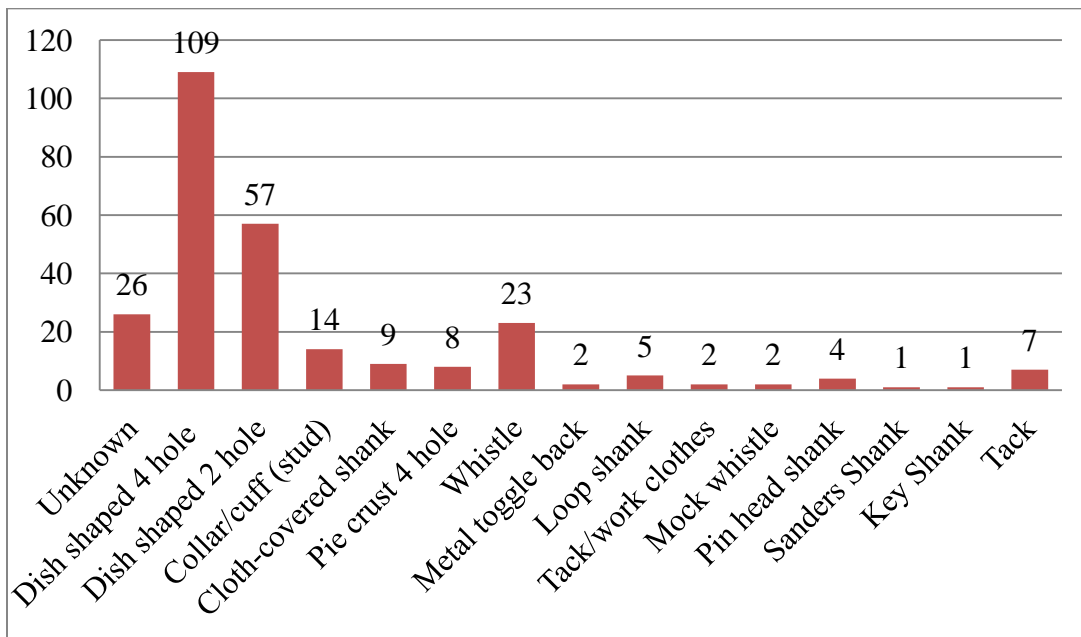


Figure 20 - Button Attachment Types

clothes buttons are the only type that is gender specific. These items are male-specific and designed for work clothes such as Levi's or overalls (Psota 2002). Although the Sears, Roebuck & Co. (1897, 1902, 1908) catalogs depict cuff/collar studs as being exclusively masculine, in her analysis of common buttons Jennie Lindbergh (1999) argues that such items were often used for female shirtwaists, and therefore cannot be considered gender-specific. She further states that

ornate tack, piecrust, shank, and whistle buttons are not definitively associated with female costume due to the trend towards decorative buttons on male waistcoats (Lindbergh 1999).

The industry standard for sizing buttons is the *ligne* or line where 40 lines are equivalent to 1 in or 25 mm (Buckles et al. 1978; Lindbergh 199; Sprague 2002). Converting button diameter into lines instead of leaving them in English or metric units allows for comparison with trade and mail-order catalogs and collector literature. While Buckles et al. (1978) divided buttons into four arbitrary size classes, this division is artificial and has no interpretive meaning aside from demonstrating a size range of small to large. Both Lindbergh (1999) and IMACS (2001) argue that there is a correlation between button size and the type of garment a button came from. If a button is less than 20 lines in size, then it most likely came from an inner garment such as a shirt or a dress. If a button is greater than 24 lines, then it likely originated from an outer garment like a vest, or a coat. The gap between numbers is deliberate and represents an overlap zone (IMACS 2001).

Table 9 depicts the frequencies of buttons from inner and outer garments, decoration, and gender-specific items by operation. The table was broken up in this manner due to the separation of the privy in Operation 1 into male and female halves. The results shown by the table demonstrate the lack of association between provenience and gender-specific or decorated buttons. Unfortunately, none of the buttons included in the sample analyzed in this thesis can be definitively associated with female-specific clothing. Two of the male-specific buttons were identified based on design motifs: the first button depicts two crossed rifles, and the second shows the Colorado State seal. This seal was used on the uniforms of Colorado regiments during the Civil War and on the uniforms of state civil servants (Johnson 1948). The remaining male button had a maker's mark suggesting that it was made by M.J. Canavan and Son, which

was a high-end men’s clothing store on Ouray’s Main Street (Saunders et al. 2010). As expected, the majority of the buttons are from inner garments. These buttons were often easily replaced, made of plain Prosser ceramic or shell, and were likely to have been lost while fastening and unfastening shirts, dresses, and trousers. While outer garment buttons would have been lost in the same way, they tended to be more ornate and therefore more difficult to replace. Furthermore, a mismatch would be much more noticeable on an outer garment suggesting that people may have tried harder to recover these buttons (Stevens 2000:24).

Table 9 - Frequencies of button decoration, gender association, and garment type.

Operation	Total Number	Number Decorated	Gender		Garment Type	
			M	F	Inner	Outer
1 Male	32	0	0	0	15	7
1 Female	30	1	0	0	18	2
3	86	19	0	0	38	25
18	29	6	3	0	15	10
19	36	3	0	0	18	8
21	59	5	0	0	29	6
Total:	272	34	3	0	133	58

Non-Button Fasteners

The 51 non-button fasteners examined in this thesis consist of all other clothing fasteners, and are depicted in Table 10. Buckles represent the single largest group in this category and are depicted in more detail in Figure 21. These items were qualitatively described based on the closure mechanism, presence of decoration, and the number of tangs (Buckles et al. 1978; Meredith and Meredith 2011). These buckles were generally plain and appear utilitarian in nature; any decoration has long since corroded away. All but one of the buckles is made of metal: the lone exception is a center-bar buckle made of ivory celluloid with a corroded copper tang. Clasp buckles appear less sturdy than tang buckles, and it is possible that they would have

Table 10 - Non-Button Fasteners

Type	MNI	Comments
Buckles	24	See Figure 21
Hook and Eye	2	Hooks only - both large
Corset Busk	1	Metal fragment
Garter Snap	14	Hose supporters, adjusters, slides
Grommets	11	Possible footwear
Copper Rivets	4	Jeans type
Safety Pin	6	None

been used as accessories whereas buckles with tangs were likely used to securely fasten a heavier garment. Hooks-and-eyes fastened a variety of garments during this time period (Lindbergh 1999), but only two hooks and no eyes were recovered from this site. This apparent absence may have more to do with preservation conditions and the minuscule size of these artifacts relative to

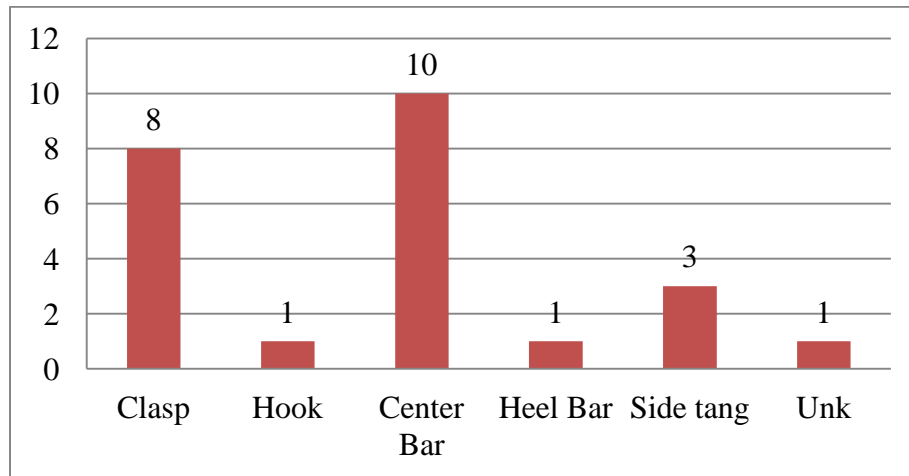


Figure 21 - Buckle Types

the size of the screens ($\frac{1}{4}$ " or $\frac{1}{2}$ " when screening occurred) used in the excavation of the site than to any actual lack of use. One of the hooks is large and extremely sturdy suggesting that it may have been used on a corset. The corset busk, which consists of a ferrous metal stay with an attached clasp (Johnston 2005), and the garter snaps are the only definitively female-specific items in this category. The garter snaps largely consist of stocking supporter pieces, but two

slides and one adjuster piece are present. Stocking supporters were generally attached to corsets or garter belts, and were used to hold stockings in place (Lake County Archaeology 2011). All of the snaps in the Vanoli assemblage are brass. Although the copper grommets may have belonged to footwear, the lack of associated leather or cloth makes this difficult to determine definitively. Copper rivets were one of the distinctive features of Levi's jeans, which were originally created for and marketed to miners (Hall 1992:115). Safety pins were patented in 1849 by Walter Hunt of New York, and were commonly used to fasten clothing, including cloth diapers (U.S. Patent and Trademark Office 2002).

Textiles

Textiles are among the most poorly represented artifact types in archaeological assemblages (Thompson and Simon 2008); because of their fragile, organic nature, such artifacts are rarely recovered in analytically or statistically significant quantities. In their excellent examination of textiles recovered from the Five Points district of New York City, LaRoche and McGowan (2001) argue that the dearth of archaeological textiles has led to a tendency toward poorly designed research and conservation strategies that rarely go beyond fiber identification. In order to avoid this mistake, the analysis conducted here was designed through consultation with Linda Carlson, curator of the Avenir Museum of Design and Merchandising. These techniques are standard procedure for museums, and, although rarely fully utilized by archaeologists, are ones advocated by LaRoche and McGowan (2001).

An effort was made to clean and relax the creases of the sampled textiles prior to analysis. The artifacts were gently cleaned using a vacuum with a High Efficiency Particulate Air (HEPA) filter. The nozzle of the vacuum was covered with a clean cloth to prevent the loss of any decorative detailing to suction; the cloth was exchanged for a new one as it became dirty.

The nozzle was pressed gently to the artifact, lifted, and moved over before pressing down again in order to remove dirt without damaging the textile by dragging the vacuum across the fibers. Once cleaned, the artifacts were placed in an enclosed, humidified space. The textiles were periodically removed from the humid environment, and a careful attempt was made to eliminate creases and smooth wrinkles in order to reveal as much of the original shape as possible. After the fabric would relax no further the artifacts were allowed to dry.

Examination of the artifacts consisted of fiber analysis, weave analysis, and identification of garment types and parts. The fiber analysis entailed isolating individual fibers under a light microscope in order to reveal the shape and characteristics of the fiber. Weave types were established by comparing the structure of the artifact under a magnified lens, and to examples in *Textiles: a Classification of Techniques* (Seller-Baldinger 1994). Garment types and parts were identified based on the form of each textile and consultation with Linda Carlson. The results of this analysis, which are depicted in Table 11, revealed a total MNI of at least 24 separate items. Although the majority of the textiles are currently brown in color, it is important to note that this hue could be the result of site formation processes and the depositional environment, and is not necessarily indicative of the original shade of the garment. A full dye analysis of textiles in the Vanoli Collection is an additional opportunity for further research.

The textiles in this sample generally have simple weave forms, and are evenly comprised of silk, wool, and cotton fibers. All of the fibers are natural, which is consistent with the period of occupation for the Vanoli Site. Woven textiles are composed of two types of threads: the warp threads, which are held in constant tension, and the weft, which are interlaced with the warp threads at right angles (Jirousek 1995). In a plain weave the weft passes over and under every other warp thread in a consistent ratio (1:1 or 2:2). The diagonal pattern of a twill weave is

Table 11 - Textile Data

Garment	MNI	Fiber	Weave	Color	Gender	Comments
Liner	1	Silk	Plain	Ivory / Gold	UNK	A thin, gauzy fabric
Sweater?	1	Cotton	Knit	Black	UNK	Ribbed knit
UNK	1	Silk	Plain	Gold and Black	UNK	Top layer striped, bottom plain
Collar	1	Wool	Twill	Brown	UNK	Collar attached to garment
Coat	1	Wool	Twill	Brown	Male	Several pieces in different lots
Skirt or Vest	1	Wool	4 end even twill	Brown	UNK	Garment has a plain weave backing - both skirts and vests have this
UNK	1	Cotton	Twill	Brown	UNK	Relaxing revealed no stitching
Shirt	1	Cotton	Twill	Brown	UNK	None
UNK	1	Wool	Plain	Brown	UNK	None
Ribbon	1	Silk	Satin	Black	Female	Heavily corroded metal item at end
Ribbon	1	Silk	Grosgrain	Black	Female	Knot in one end
Ribbon	1	Silk	Grosgrain	Black	Female	None
UNK	1	Wool	Plain	Brown	UNK	Black threads present
Dress	1	Cotton	Plain	Black	Female	Princess seam and shape indicate this is the backing of a dress bodice
Apron	1	Cotton Muslin	Plain	Natural	Female	Decorative novelty weave panels
Ribbon	1	Cotton	4 end even twill	Black	Female	
Petticoat	1	Silk	Plain	Black	Female	Gathered and pleated
Hat	1	Wool	Felt	Gray	Male	Black grosgrain silk ribbon; not sheep wool
Bow	1	Silk	Grosgrain	Black	Female	Ribbon
Hat	1	Wool	Felt	Black	UNK	Crushed hat with a cotton grosgrain bow
UNK	1	Wool	Twill	Brown	UNK	two strips hemmed together
UNK	1	Cotton	Plain	Brown	UNK	Twill trim; too stiff to fully relax
UNK	1	Silk	Plain	Black	UNK	None
UNK	1	Cotton	Basket	Brown	UNK	None

created by passing the weft over and under a consistent number of warp threads in each row, but shifting each subsequent row over one spot. Satin weaves are slightly more complex, and have a glossy surface due to the minimal number of intersecting threads. They have an over-under ratio of at least 4:1 meaning that one thread “floats” over the other for a minimum of four spaces, passes under one thread, and then “floats” for at least four more. Basket-weave textiles are formed by interlacing groups of warp and weft threads to form a distinctive criss-cross or checker board-like pattern (Seller-Baldinger 1994). Felting consists of agitating fibers and exposing them to heat and moisture until they form a solid mass. Wool is the only natural fiber that can be felted due to its scaly structure (Jirousek 1995). Grosgrain weaves are fairly simple, and are characterized by the weft thread being heavier than the warp, which creates a ribbed appearance. Both of the felted items were likely hats. One of these artifacts was too crushed to identify the type, but the other likely belonged to a man.

The female-specific textiles suggest that women on the Vanoli block wore outer garments similar to those of other working-class women, but were accenting their apparel with more expensive silk ribbons. Five of the eight silk items are ribbons or bows, which could have been used as trim on a dress or hat, or as accessories such as chokers. The only item tentatively identified as part of a female undergarment is a fragment of a black silk petticoat. Given the nature of sex work, the working-class surroundings, and the expectation that sex-workers wore undergarments such as petticoats as outer garments, it seems significant that a low-income woman would have invested in silken undergarments. However, it is also important to remember that the petticoat is only a single artifact. Both the dress backing and the apron string are made of inexpensive cotton fibers. Furthermore, the princess cut of the dress backing and the presence of the apron strings suggest outer garments common to most working-class women. These textiles

indicate that if sex workers on the Vanoli Block were altering their wardrobes for work, they were most likely doing so through accessorizing common cotton garments with silk trim or bows.

The two items identified as being male-specific are both made out of wool. Although too fragmented to definitively identify a style, the coat likely extended slightly past the hips. Interesting features of this garment include slits on the front chest area for pockets, and the presence of a corroded copper or brass alligator clip on the back panel. Although searches of both book and internet sources were conducted, no information regarding the possible use of this clip could be found. The relatively complete hat was crushed during site formation processes, and was reshaped during the textile relaxing process. The hat itself was gray felt with a black silk grosgrain band around the base of the crown. However, a comparison of general brim and crown shape and size with images present in the Sears, Roebuck & Co (1897, 1902, and 1908) catalogs suggest that the hat was likely a fedora or a derby. Both of these styles often featured bands around the brim, and were popular for men throughout the late Victorian-era (Tortora and Eubank 1998). Although incomplete, both the jacket and the hat are consistent with attire worn by miners and other working-class men in Ouray (see Figures 14 and 15 in Chapter 3).

Footwear

Footwear, generally in the form of soles and fragments of leather, is commonly found in historical archaeological assemblages. Shoes, like textiles, almost always lose integrity of appearance and condition as a result of site formation processes. Although leather is generally sturdier than cloth, it is still organic and is subject to cracking, decay, and deformation in the ground (Veres 2005). The footwear MNI was calculated by counting the number of heels attached to portions of the outsole. This method yielded a total of 78 artifacts for analysis. One

nearly complete shoe toe is included in the analysis, but not the MNI, due to its excellent state of preservation. Stevens and Ordoñez (2005) advocate counting the toe end of footwear in order to obtain a MNI. However, a preliminary examination of randomly sampled footwear revealed that there were considerably more intact shoe heels and soles than toe portions from the Vanoli Site. An additional 398 fragments of footwear are present in the sampled lots, but are not included in this thesis due to their fractional state. The analytical techniques are derived from journal articles by Adrienne Anderson (1968), Maya Veres (2005), and Sarah C. Stevens and Margaret T. Ordoñez (2005). Footwear was examined for the method of manufacture, the quality of the shoe, the gender-specific usage, and, in a few instances, style.

Manufacturing methods are discussed in detail in both Anderson (1968) and Stevens and Ordoñez (2005), but the primary techniques consist of turned and welted. Turned shoes were appropriate for women's slippers or light dress shoes, and involved sewing the upper and outsole together along an inner channel in the outsole, and then turning the entire shoe right side out so that the thread was not exposed on the bottom. Welt shoes were generally sturdier, and featured a leather strip known as a welt in addition to an insole, outsole, filler shank, and uppers. Welts were positioned below the upper and insole, and were sewed to these items along the inner edge of the welt. The outer edge of the welt was then sewed to the outsole. Narrow channels were cut into both insole and the outsole to protect the thread from wear (Stevens and Ordoñez 2005). In the 1860s technological innovations resulted in the invention of machine-sewed shoes, which lowered the price of footwear and resulted in the increased availability of footwear to lower-class men and women. The McKay stitcher was invented in 1862, and sewed the insole, outsole and upper together without a welt. However the outsole retained a protective channel for the thread. The Goodyear welt shoe emerged in the early 1870s, and featured a ridge that allowed the insole,

upper, and welt to be sewn together. The outsole and welt were sewn together around the outer edges (Anderson 1968; Stevens and Ordoñez 2005). For illustrations of these construction methods see Figure 3 in Stevens and Ordoñez (2005:13) and Figures 3 and 4 in Anderson (1968:58-60).

Figure 22 shows the types of shoes present in the Vanoli collection. “Unknown” represents footwear that met the criteria for the MNI, but was too degraded for manufacturing

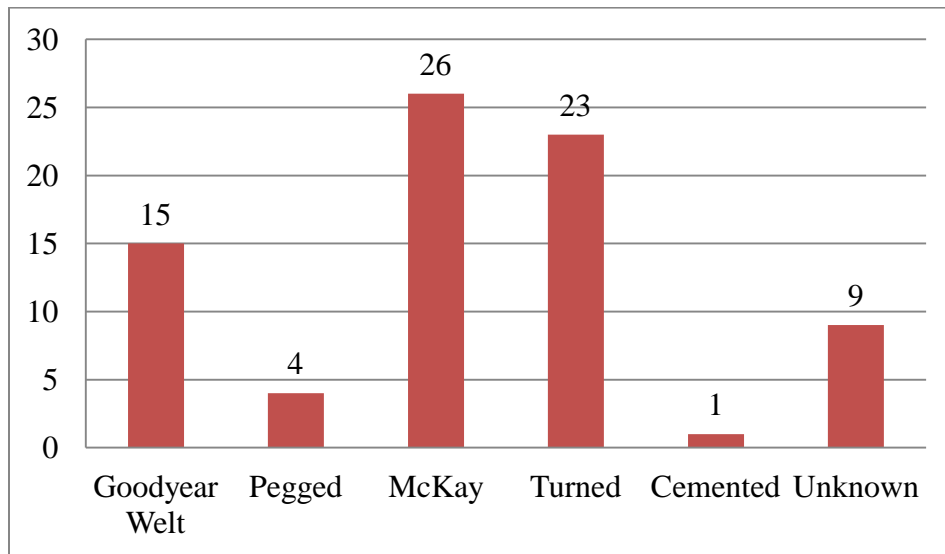


Figure 22 - - Footwear Manufacturing Types

type to be determined. McKay, Goodyear Welt, and Turned shoes are the most common forms.

As previously discussed, McKay and Goodyear Welt shoes were machine made, and were widely available. Turned shoes were generally not very sturdy, and 17 of the 23 identified turned shoes were women’s shoes. The remaining nine artifacts were unknown. These shoes likely represent light, inexpensive women’s dress shoes (Stevens and Ordoñez 2005) indicating that sex workers on the Vanoli Block were dressing up and presenting a fashionable appearance.

Although such information cannot be definitively determined based on the archaeological data, it seems possible that sex workers wore these shoes while dancing or attracting customers in the public spaces. No information exists regarding whether or not crib prostitutes, like their

customers (Agnew 2008), wore shoes while actually plying their trade. Pegged shoes were held together by wooden pegs or nails that extended through the soles, which made the shoes heavy and fairly inflexible (Veres 2005). Two of the four pegged shoes are identified as male-specific and are thought to be work boots. The cemented shoe was held together by adhesives and not by nails or stitching. This process became popular during the early 20th century for inexpensive, low-quality footwear (Veres 2005).

Quality is determined by measuring the number of stitches per centimeter (spcm). Excellent quality has 4.5-6 spcm, medium quality shows 3-4.5 spcm, and poor quality has 1.5-3 spcm (Veres 2005). Unfortunately, Veres (2005) does not specify where on the shoe to take these measurements. To establish this point 15 of the MNI shoes that included both sole and upper pieces were sampled. Spcm measurements were taken from the soles and from the uppers and compared for variations. All of the upper fragments exceeded 6 spcm, but stitching in the soles showed variation between 1.5 and 6 spcm, leading to the determination that quality measurements must be taken from this portion of the shoe. The complete shoe toe was included in this analysis. The results indicated that three shoes were high quality, 18 were medium quality, 39 were low quality, and 18 were of unknown quality. Shoes were classified as unknown if the leather was too degraded or distorted to yield an accurate measurement.

Footwear was determined as gender-specific based primarily on the morphology of the heel. Female dress shoes and boots made during the late 19th and early 20th centuries often had narrow heels that flare at the top and base, but were pinched in the middle (Figure 23). Male shoes and some women's boots, generally have straight, chunky heels (Northampton Museums and Art Gallery 1975; Semmelhack 2008; Swann 1982). Shoes that had these straight heels were examined for the number of soles, the relative size, and the presence of distinctive markers such

as thick soles and the presence of hobnails, which can indicate that the shoe belonged to a man. Stevens and Ordoñez (2005:19) advocate measuring the sole length and width and comparing the results with a size stick. While there is some overlap between male and female sizes, the technique appears fairly reliable. Unfortunately, the deformation and fragmentary nature of much of the footwear recovered from the Vanoli Block was extreme enough that this technique could not be used with accuracy.



Figure 23 - Women’s shoe heel and sole. Courtesy of Dr. Mary Van Buren and Stephen Sherman.

Figure 24 depicts the division of shoe quality by gender. Unknown indicates that the shoe soles were too degraded or distorted for an accurate spcm measurement to be obtained. Very

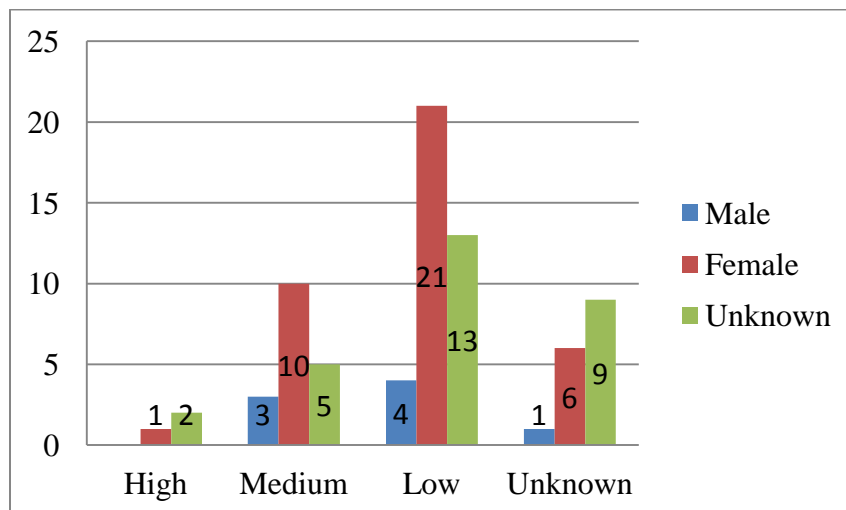


Figure 24 - Shoe Quality by Gender

little of the footwear is of high quality, indicating that people present on the Vanoli block were indeed working-class. Furthermore, only one of the three high-quality shoes could be identified

as belonging to a woman which suggests that sex workers were purchasing lower-quality footwear. A total of 38 shoes were female-specific, 8 were male specific, and 29 were of unknown gender affiliation.

Unfortunately, even pieces with partial uppers were highly degraded making it difficult to determine the shoe type. Eight shoes were fairly complete and had uppers that may be used for style identification. All of these items were compared to footwear images in the Sears, Roebuck & Co catalogs (1897, 1902 and 1908), and fashion history books depicting extant pieces in museum collections (Mitchell 2008; Northampton Museums and Art Gallery 1975; Semmelhack 2008; Swann 1982). However, only one shoe had a truly identifiable form (Figure 25), and it is only a toe portion and therefore not included in the MNI. It features a multiple-piece upper with



Figure 25 - Man's Brogue shoe. Courtesy Dr. Mary Van Buren and Stephen Sherman.

punched-hole decorations characteristic of a man's brogue (Anderson 1968:61; Swann 1982:57). While the appearance of the top part suggests that this may have been a formal shoe, the external part of the outsole is covered with an extra piece of leather and evenly-placed hobnails. Hobnail shoes were characteristic of sturdy, working-class shoes and military footwear (Swann 1982). Four of the remaining seven items only have the vamp, or the lowest part of the upper, attached.

None of these shoes have additional stylistic elements that would enable a determination. One artifact is tentatively identified as a boot based on the heel morphology and the presence of an extra, thick sole. An ankle-high, utilitarian, lace-up women’s shoe with a rounded toe and no decorative detailing is present. A similar shoe featuring a decorative band over the toe, but missing eyelet stays or button holes was also recovered. One boot was determined to be a knee-length man’s work boot based on the sole and heel morphology and the presence of hobnails in the bottom.

Miscellaneous Clothing Artifacts

This category is depicted in Table 12, and contains the 26 clothing artifacts that do not fit into any of the other classifications. Decorative beading was often present on Victorian-era

Table 12 - Miscellaneous Clothing Artifacts

Type	MNI	Material	Use
Beads	14	Glass (13), brass (1)	Clothing decoration
Belt	1	Copper pieces held together with threads	Metal disks strung on two chords with a fragment of a metal fastener
Belt end piece	2	Non-ferrous metal	Folded metal strip used to strengthen the end of a belt
Collar/cuffs	4	Celluloid	Stiff, detachable collars and cuffs
Corset stay	1	Bone	Support in a corset
Glove	2	Leather	Leather fragments - stitching suggests a glove
Trim	2	Metallic trim on thread	Clothing decoration

evening wear (Johnston 2005; Tortora and Eubank 1998; Iwagami 2006). Although fragmented, the beaded belt listed in Table 12 appears to have been from a single garment. The beading and the partial fastener suggest that this item was ornamental rather than functional, and likely belonged to a woman. The belt end pieces were tentatively identified based on their similarities to modern pieces, and by Steven G. Baker’s field notes. These items would have been used to

protect the leather or cloth from damage as it was fed through the buckle of a belt. Celluloid was a popular material for both removable collars and cuffs due to its durability and innate stiffness (Reilly 1991). Such items were popular in men's shirts, and were likely included in women's shirtwaist blouses. The bone corset stay is tentatively identified based on the material type and the convex shape. Corset stays were stiff pieces of bone or metal designed to maintain the shape of the silhouette (Johnston 2005). The corset stay and the afore-mentioned busk piece are significant because they indicate that at least one of the women on the Vanoli block wore a corset, which suggests that she was wearing undergarments that would give her the silhouette fashionable at that time, thus indicating clothing items other than chemises and petticoats. The glove fragments are not gender-specific, but the stitching on the back suggests that they were tailored to the hand, and not loose, relatively shapeless work gloves. However, given the cold winters of a mountain town, the presence of a leather glove could be an indicator of practicality and not vanity. The trim consists of narrow bands of metallic fibers strung on a thread. There is no indication as to what sort of garment it may have adorned.

Accessories

Accessories consist of items used to supplement apparel and assist the wearer in projecting a chosen image. These artifacts are critical to interpretations of appearance because they augment apparel and hygiene, and have the potential to change the identity expressed. For example, a man wearing plain clothes, Levis, and heavy boots, and who is smoking a clay pipe simply projects an appearance typical of a working-class male. However, if he adds a large, visible, high-caliber pistol to his apparel, he then takes on the identity of the tough man or the gun slinger. Ordnance and tobacco pipes represent the numerically largest categories of accessory: the remaining artifacts account for only 56 items out of the 419 artifacts included in

this category. For organizational purposes, artifacts in this category are divided into decorative items, jewelry, ordnance, other accessories, purses, and tobacco pipes. Other accessories encompasses artifacts that are either represented by a small number of objects, or do not belong in any of the other categories.

Decorative items

Decorative items are non-fabric embellishments. These items are included with accessories and not apparel because they were found separately from the objects that they once adorned, and without those objects, it is difficult to determine their purpose. Eleven artifacts consisting of five daisy-shaped leather appliqué pieces, four copper double dome decorations, and two tin single dome decorations form this category. The dome decorations are not gender-specific, but the leather daisies likely came from a woman's accessory or garment. Each of the three forms likely belonged to at least one separate item. None of these object types could be found as isolated objects in the Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalogs (1897, 1902, and 1908). The materials are fairly inexpensive and suggest that working-class people would have been able to afford them.

Jewelry

Jewelry is defined here as items of personal adornment that, unlike a fan or a purse, serve no other potential purpose. Fifteen pieces of jewelry were recovered from the sampled operations. Table 13 depicts the types, MNI, gender-association, and descriptions of the objects. None of these items are made of expensive gold or silver, or feature stones made out of anything other than glass. Together these facts indicate that while women and men used jewelry to enhance their image, they were wearing items attainable for and appropriate to the working-class. The majority of these artifacts are typically associated with women. During the Victorian-

era jewelry was typically considered a feminine form of ornamentation with few exceptions (Howard 2003; Tortora and Eubank 1998). Cuff links were marketed to both men and women (Sears, Roebuck & Co 1897, 1902, 1908), and, as with the collar buttons discussed above, could have been used to adorn a shirtwaist blouse as well as a man’s shirt. The cuff link is rather plain and likely inexpensive, but it indicates that at least one person present on the Vanoli Block wore a shirt that was of high enough quality to require the cufflink to hold the sleeve in place, thus suggesting that this person was presenting a well-groomed working or middle-class appearance.

Table 13 - Jewelry Descriptions and Gender Associations

Type	MNI	Description	Gender
Earring	2	1 brass and 1 non-ferrous metal ring	Female
Setting	2	1 brass wire coiled into a stone setting - stone missing possibly a collar stud; 1 luster-coated black glass wreath	Female
Ring	3	2 corroded brass rings and one non-ferrous metal with tan corrosion	Male
Cuff Link	1	Non-ferrous metal; square with a corroded center	UNK
UNK	1	Pin for a watch or fastening jewelry	UNK
UNK	1	Brass or copper flower; clasp missing	Female
Pin	2	1 brass heart shaped pin; 1 floral setting with red glass stones	Female
Stones	2	1 faceted black glass; 1 gold stone	UNK
Pendant	1	Ornate, molded pendant	Female

The rings range in size from 9.5 to 11, and are tentatively identified as having belonged to men. Although corroded, they all appear to be undecorated copper or brass bands. A survey of modern jewelry retailers revealed that the average ring size for modern Americans is 6 for women and 10 for men (Amazon 2012; Arizona Indian Jewelry 2012). Given that the average American was approximately four inches smaller in 1900 than in 2000 (Samaras and Elrick 2002), it is reasonable to conclude that female hand size was proportionally smaller during the

19th century. While interpersonal variation could mean that the rings belonged to women, it seems unlikely that they all did. Although jewelry was considered a feminine accessory, small-scale attempts were made to market rings to male customers during the late 19th century. Advertisements declared that such items were marks of male authority, but jewelry remained associated with femininity through the 1920s. Some men wore engagement rings in the late 19th century, but this practice was not common (Howard 2003:838-840), indicating that it is possible, but not likely, that these items were wedding or engagement bands. The American jewelry industry first truly began to market male wedding rings in the 1920s, but the practice did not become accepted until the 1940s and 1950s (Howard 2003). Although it is interesting to note that none of the rings probably belonged to women, these items were unlikely to have had symbolic meaning in the form of a wedding band, and therefore reveal little about male patrons save that a few of them wore rings.

Ordnance

Ordnance consists of items associated with firearms, and includes cartridges, bullets, shot, wads, and packaging. Although not typically associated with artifacts of personal adornment, ordnance is included in this section because the type of ammunition used in a weapon is indicative of the gun itself. The choice of what weapon to use was extremely personal, as was the placement of that gun with regard to the rest of an outfit. A small pistol that is tucked into a pocket demonstrates the desire to maintain an ordinary or non-threatening appearance while knowing that the weapon is there if needed. A large pistol worn openly in a holster conveys a stronger, more threatening image such as that of the stereotypical Wild West gunslinger.

Novelist and retired gunsmith L. Neil Smith volunteered to analyze the ordnance. He was able to provide invaluable insight into their meanings. Smith evaluated a total of 313 items based on his experience, and corroborated his impressions using information from *Cartridges of the World* (Barnes 2009). Of the 313 artifacts that he looked at, 302 are from lots sampled for this thesis. An additional cartridge container was discovered subsequent to Smith’s analysis, and is included here. Of the 303 artifacts, 219 are bullet casings, 69 are shotgun casing pieces, 11 are items that are too corroded to determine type, and 1 is the ammunition packaging case. The case is 1.6” in diameter x 0.69” high, and was originally recorded as a pill box. However, gently buffing the lid with a clean cotton cloth revealed a label stating that the box contained centerfire caps manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Co. of Bridgeport, Connecticut. The small size suggests that the tin was used to hold .22 caliber cartridges, which were the most common form of ordnance found on site. Figure 26 depicts the relative amounts of ordnance by caliber.

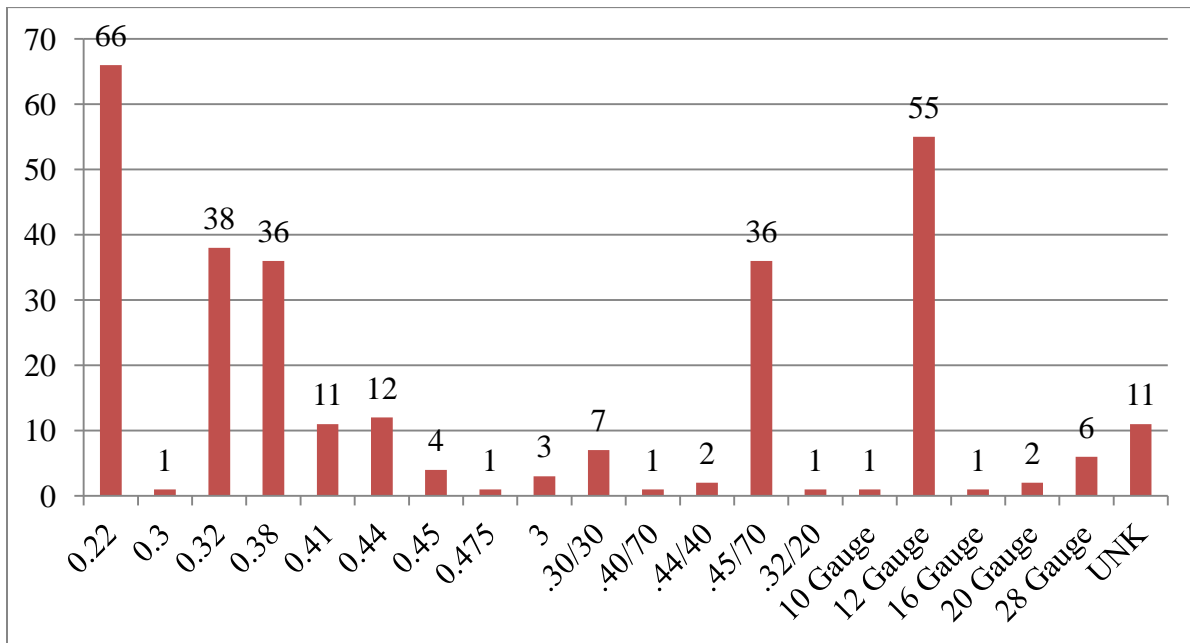


Figure 26 - Ordnance Frequencies by Caliber

Many of the cartridges were modern for the era indicating that people on the Vanoli block were aware of the trends in ordnance, and were likely using weapons that they purchased

for themselves instead of inheriting guns. The majority of the .22 caliber cartridges were .22 shorts that were likely used in small, inexpensive guns that would have been easy to conceal. The small size and potential for concealing such a weapon suggests that they may have been the type favored by sex workers. Other guns that may have appealed to prostitutes for the same reason are represented by the .32 and .38 cartridges. While slightly larger than .22 guns, .32 and .38 caliber weapons could still easily be hidden by women, or tucked in pockets by men. Such small-caliber guns may have also been appropriate for shooting rats and other small vermin if drunken patrons needed distraction. A few of the .32 caliber cartridges may have belonged to automatic pistols such as the Browning Model of 1900. Automatic weapons were rare and likely expensive during this time. The .32/20 case could have been used in either a rifle or a revolver, but would have come from a larger weapon. More powerful weapons such as .45/70 rifle cartridges were also present in the assemblage. These rifles were considered to be powerful and effective, and were the official weapons of the U.S. Army until the early 1890s. The majority of the .45/70 cartridges have civilian headstamps, indicating that people on the Vanoli block may have obtained the weapons from surplus sales rather than from military service. During the late Victorian-era shotgun shells consisted of paper cylinders mounted in brass “heads.” The majority of the shotgun items in the assemblage consist of the brass heads and heavy felt and composite wads. Birdshot or buckshot pellets were also recovered in the excavations. With the exception of a few 16 gauge French, Sellier & Bellot pinfire heads, all of the gauges shown above remain in use. The pinfire heads would have been considered obsolete during the occupation of the Vanoli Block and may have come from the same weapon (Information courtesy of L. Neil Smith 2012).

Analysis of the ordnance revealed two interesting trends in addition to the pattern discussed above. Most of the ordnance was recovered in Operations 1 (192 artifacts) and 18 (92

artifacts), which are associated with the Gold Belt Theater. This suggests that there were likely many more people patronizing the Gold Belt Theater than the 220 Dancehall. Although the Gold Belt did have attached cribs for prostitution, it also offered theatrical performances in addition to serving as a saloon and dancehall. Approximately one-third of the cartridges (92 in total), including the majority of the .45/70 casings, were unexpended. Some of these items had their bullets pulled with pliers, and in a few instances the bullets were sawed off at the end of the brass case. However, the majority of the unexpended items were simply not fired. Smith found the sawed-off cartridges inexplicable, but states that bullets may have been pried out of the other cartridges to reveal the powder (Courtesy of L. Neil Smith 2012). It is reasonable to conclude that the altered cartridges would have been deliberately disposed of given that they were no longer useful. However, the reason for discarding such a large amount of unfired ammunition is less clear. While some of these items may have fallen out of men's pockets, it seems unlikely that such accidents accounted for the presence of so many cartridges, very few of which are thought to be associated with large caliber gun-slinger type weapons.

Other Accessories

The category "other accessories" encompasses any accessories that do not fit neatly into the other categories or that are represented by a very small number of items. The 20 artifacts that are included in this category are listed in Table 14. As with the majority of the artifacts, these items are generally made of low-quality or inexpensive materials. With the exception of one of the decorative combs, they are all fairly utilitarian. The eye glasses and the tinted lenses are likely gender-neutral. The tinted glasses are represented by a single tinted lens. The eye glasses have thin, practical tin frames, and they appear to be normal clear glass suggesting that they were

either decorative or the person wearing them had fairly good vision. The lenses from at least two additional pairs of eyeglasses also appear to have been from fairly weak prescriptions.

Table 14 - Other Accessories

MNI	Type	Comments
1	Decorated leather	A corroded piece of leather with seed beads still attached in a daisy-like floral pattern
1	Decorative Comb	Bakelite with a prominent ridge - teeth present and shattered - floral design
1	Decorative Comb	Black Bakelite comb tooth
1	Decorative Comb	Celluloid comb tooth
1	Decorative Comb	Tortoiseshell decorative comb tooth
1	Decorative Comb	Yellow celluloid comb back and teeth - fragile and corroded but copper detailing on it
1	Decorative Comb	Black rubber decorative comb tooth
1	Fan	Sticks - bone or ivory
1	Glasses	1 pair of eyeglasses with thin tin wires and clear glass
2	Glasses	Clear eyeglass lenses from at least 2 different pairs of glasses
1	Harmonica	10 reed hole harmonica
1	Hat Pin	Glass globe with hole for a post - amber faceted; possible hat pin top
1	Pocket Watch	Size 13 - Heavily corroded - glass face is visible in casing
1	Pocket Watch	Watch gear / wheel Little to no corrosion
1	Pocket Watch	Interior movement casing "Gallet" Patriot mark - Copper
1	Pocket Watch	Size 19 - tin partial casing and movements
1	Tinted Glasses	Broken pieces of a sunglass lens - tinted black gray; oval in shape
1	Thimble	Brass thimble
1	Thimble	crushed brass thimble

The decorated decorative combs, fan, hat pin top, and thimbles are identified as being female-specific. The floral pattern on the leather suggests that it belonged to a woman, but it is unclear if the fragment is part of a purse, belt, shoes, or something else. Four of the six decorative combs are represented only by comb teeth, and were identified based on the curvature

present in the teeth. This curvature indicates that the comb was designed to remain fixed in hair rather than pass through as part of grooming (White 2005). One of the remaining decorative combs is a plain black comb designed to keep hair pulled back, and the other is an ornamental Bakelite comb with a floral design and copper accents. This comb is one of the most elaborate accessories present in the Vanoli collection. The fan sticks are either made of bone or ivory. Sticks are generally the strongest part of a folding fan (Maxson 2011), and therefore the most resistant to site formation processes. The thimbles are both made out of brass, and are thought to be associated with the women who worked on the Vanoli Block. If the thimbles were indeed used by women, and were not somehow related to the Chinese laundry, they may have been sewing while waiting for customers, or frequently mending garments torn while dancing. Although some Chinese laundries did provide mending (Bronson and Ho 2012), the lack of sewing-related artifacts associated with the laundry on the Vanoli Block suggests that this establishment did not offer this service. The hat pin head is a large, faceted, amber-glass globe that served as an ornament. It is identified based on morphological similarities to ladies' hat pins sold in the Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog (1897, 1902, and 1908). These items were designed to anchor the large, ornamental hats that were popular at that time. As discussed in Chapter 3, elaborate hats were considered fashionable for middle- and upper-class women. However, slightly less elaborate versions were also available from mail-order catalogs (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1897, 1902, and 1908), suggesting that the woman wearing the hat pin may have been presenting a working- or middle-class appearance.

The harmonica and pocket watches and watch pieces are tentatively considered to be male-specific items. Harmonicas became popular among soldiers during the American Civil War, and the soldiers then brought the instrument home with them (Yerxa 2008). The pocket

watches are considered to be male-specific because of the size of the complete artifacts. Watch size is referred to as “movement” size. The movement system became the industry standard in 1860, and consists of measuring the outside diameter of the watch face and comparing it to a standardized gauge system (Shuggart 1981). In his guide to American pocket watches, Cooksey Shuggart (1981:43) provides a measurement chart to help readers calculate movement size. The two semi-complete watch casings recovered from the Vanoli Block are size 13 and 19. While some middle and upper-class women did wear watches pinned to the fronts of their dresses, these items were generally smaller than those worn by men (Shuggart 1981). According to mail-order catalogs, women’s watches were generally size 6 or under (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1897, 1902, and 1908). These watches are made out of brass and nickel and were undecorated suggesting inexpensive, utilitarian time pieces. One partial brass casing has the word “Patriot” incised on the interior of the movement. Patriot was a pocket watch brand that was trademarked to the Gallet Watch Company on April 16, 1889. Gallet is a Swiss watch company founded in 1466 that began marketing watches of all qualities on the American market in 1864 (Gallet Watch Company 2012).

Purses

Ten purse frames were recovered from the Vanoli Block. The MNI, frame material, and closure types are depicted in Table 15. Although pocket books could potentially have similar clasps these items are identified as purses, and therefore female-specific items, based primarily on their size and the presence of rounded tops on two of the bags. Purses with similar frames were marketed to women in the Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalogs (1897, 1902, and 1908). All of these items have leather bags which is consistent with the scraps of material clinging to three of

the frames. Given that sex workers would have to keep track of their earnings throughout their shifts, it is unsurprising that so many were recovered from the Vanoli Block.

Table 15 - Purses

MNI	Frame	Closure	Comments
1	Nickel	Push-release catch	Rounded shape; leather bag present now separating from frame
1	Brass	Missing	Leather bag fragments
1	Nickel	Missing	None
1	Brass	Ball	Rounded shape
1	Brass	Ball	Flat, rectangular shape
1	Brass	Missing	Flat, rectangular shape
1	Nickel	Metal clip	Flat, rectangular shape; polished silver-colored metal with green corrosion
1	Metal	Ball	Leather bag fragments
2	Ferrous metal	Ball	None

Tobacco Pipes

Although a variety of tobacco pipes were recovered from the Vanoli Site, the majority of these artifacts were common clay pipes. Due to their utility in dating Colonial-era sites (Deetz 1977) more has been written about clay tobacco pipes in archaeological assemblages than any of the other artifact types discussed in this thesis. In many ways clay pipes are ideal artifacts: they were commonly used, easily broken and discarded, they often have maker's marks, they exhibit variability through time, and they preserve well in most archaeological contexts (Gojak and Stuart 1999). The most common method of dating tobacco pipes consists of measuring the bore diameter by inserting the smooth end of drill bits graduated from 4/64" to 10/64" into the bore (Crass 1988; Harrington 1954; Lenik 1971). This system was based on the idea that earlier stems had larger bore diameters, and was further supported by the creation of a formula used to obtain an average occupation date (Binford 1962). While of great utility for colonial sites, this method

is only valid until the end of the 18th century (Jagielski 2010; Oswald 1967). Although of little use in providing a chronological context for the Operations in the Vanoli Block, I calculated bore diameters for pipe stems in order to maintain the consistency of measurements (Pfeiffer 1982). The majority of the 33 stems have a bore diameter of 5/64". Of the remaining stems, eight have a diameter of 4/64" and four have a diameter of 6/64".

Clay tobacco pipes are also used by archaeologists to distinguish class affiliations of the people who smoked them: by the end of the 19th century smoking through clay pipes was considered to be solely a working-class activity (Peña and Denmon 2000). Furthermore, smoking in public places such as saloons was considered emblematic of working class behavior (Beaudry 1993). The 60 tobacco pipes included in this thesis were analyzed with assistance from practicum student Cathy L. Z. Smith who recorded attribute data and performed the initial research on maker's marks.

Figure 27 depicts the results of this analysis by material and portion of the pipe. None of the pipes were recovered intact, and the majority of these artifacts are fragments that are too small to be truly diagnostic. Two wooden cigar bits are included because, like pipes, they

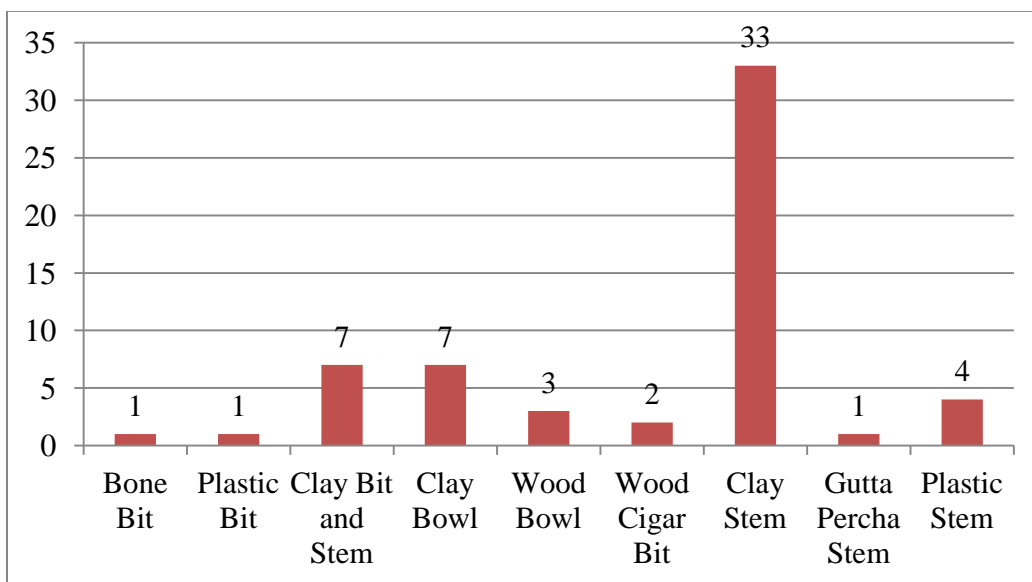


Figure 27 - Tobacco Pipe Portions, Materials, and Counts

facilitated smoking. However, cigars tended to be more expensive and were preferred by upper-class men during this time period (Beaudry 1993). One of the clay pipe bowls is a figurine of a bearded man. Such fanciful pipes were commonly manufactured in France (Goodman 2005:416), and this one is tentatively identified as a Gambier product. Two of the pipe stems have Gambier marks, and two others have partially obliterated marks indicating that they were made in France. One of the stem fragments was produced by W. White of Glasgow, Scotland (Peña and Denmon 2000). None of the other items can be traced to a location of origin. One clay pipe stem features an enameled geometric pattern of dots framed by scallops. No information regarding this design could be found. Another stem has incised decorative arches and dots. Two of the bowls are marked “TD” which denotes a style of plain clay pipe. “TD” initially referred to a manufacturer, but by the late 19th century the mark denoted a general category of inexpensive clay tobacco pipes produced by a multitude of manufacturers (Peña and Denmon 2000). None of the wood or plastic items are decorated. With the exception of the Gambier figure pipe and the two decorated stems, which suggest high-quality items, all of the smoking artifacts are utilitarian objects that were typically used by working-class people.

Smoking was associated with masculinity in the upper-classes during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Respectable women did not smoke, and it was considered impolite for respectable men to smoke in the presence of women. Women who ignored this stricture were regarded as aberrant and degenerate. Female smoking was associated with the working-class, immigrants, and prostitutes (De Cunzo 1995; Goodman 2005), and it was considered common practice for lower-class women to smoke clay pipes (Beaudry 1993). However, the introduction of mass-produced, easily obtainable cigarettes in the 1880s, and the increasing number of women leaving the domestic sphere to work began to break down the masculine associations. Despite

these changes smoking did not become de-stigmatized for middle- and upper-class women until World War I (Goodman 2005:679-683). It is interesting to note that the Denver sex workers depicted in Figure 16 in Chapter 3 are smoking cigarettes. However, cigarettes are fragile items that are not likely to be preserved in archaeological contexts.

Archaeological investigations of the Boston Saloon in Virginia City, Nevada (Dixon 2006), the Magdalena Society of Philadelphia asylum (De Cunzo 1995), and the Ross Female Factory that housed female convicts in Tasmania (Casella 2001) confirm that at least some women smoked pipes as well as cigarettes. Dixon (2006) extracted what proved to be female DNA from teeth marks in a clay pipe bit. De Cunzo (1995) argues that the pipes recovered in her assemblage belonged to women on the basis of documentary evidence and the strict rules that barred men, including workmen, from the asylum. Casella (2001) recovered clay pipes from isolation cells that were only used to house female prisoners, and based her identification of female pipe use on that association. Rebecca Yamin (2005) specifically examines pipe use with regard to prostitutes in 19th century New York City. Yamin (2005) speculates that at least some of the 118 pipes recovered from the brothel assemblage she was investigating belonged to women on the basis that they were inexpensive and the mouth pieces were not worn down in a way that she would have expected for men. However, Yamin (2005) does not explain what this wear pattern is, or how it manifests on the artifacts. Unfortunately, due to the prohibitive cost of DNA analysis, and the known presence of both men and women on the block, none of these pipes can be definitively associated with a particular sex.

Summary and Discussion

The analysis of the 870 apparel and accessory artifacts included in this sample indicates that people on the Vanoli Block were presenting a clean, well-groomed, and thoroughly

working-class appearance. The vast majority of the personal items are made out of inexpensive, durable materials that would have been attainable by low-income people. Most of these items were mass-produced and were of medium to low quality. The presence of a few slightly more expensive or non-utilitarian goods such as silk ribbons, jewelry, pocket watches, and the few ornate pipes indicate that both men and women were dressing up, but not extravagantly or in the manner of the upper-classes. Male-specific items such as the hats, pocket watches, Levi's rivets and work boots confirm that customers were wearing working-class clothing. The ordnance indicates that while prostitutes and patrons may have been carrying concealed weapons, the guns were likely intended for self defense, and not for gun fights. None of the female-specific apparel and accessory artifacts indicate that women on the Vanoli Block were constructing a specialized appearance through their clothing. Instead, they seem to have worn inexpensive shoes, jewelry, and garments that are consistent with those worn by other working-class women. For example, the presence of a greater amount of low-quality female-specific footwear supports the assertion that women were presenting a fashionable appearance within their financial means. Contrary to my expectations, there is very little evidence among the personal items that indicates that sex workers were constructing a specialized appearance as part of their labor. With the exception of the silk petticoat fragments, none of the apparel or accessories can be definitively identified as being worn with short dresses.

Chapter 7

Analysis of Cosmetic and Hygiene Artifacts

Analysis of artifacts related to cosmetics (50 items) and hygiene (28 items) are presented in this chapter. As discussed in the previous chapter, a review of archaeological and collector literature as well as trade catalogues was conducted prior to data collection. Although a smaller sample than the 870 clothing and accessory-related objects, examination of the 78 cosmetic and hygiene artifacts is essential to interpreting the Vanoli Collection with regard to the performative aspects of prostitution. Cosmetic artifacts include items related to makeup and skin care, which can demonstrate whether or not sex workers on the Vanoli Block were constructing the appearance of the “painted lady” through liberal application of chalky white foundation and brightly-colored rouge and lip paint. Hygiene items indicate the degree to which sex workers were taking care of their physical appearance, and suggest the steps that women and men may have been taking to combat disease and prevent unwanted pregnancy.

Cosmetic Artifacts

Cosmetic artifacts consist of items used in addition to basic grooming to artificially improve or alter the appearance. Consideration of these items is essential to discussions of Victorian-era prostitution because of the strong, contemporary associations between sex workers and makeup (Agnew 2008; Pointer 2005). Cosmetic artifacts consist of perfumes, makeup, and beautifying skin creams. Although such skin creams could reasonably be categorized as hygiene items, they are considered cosmetics here because many, but not all, of these products contained bleaching, tinting, or perfuming agents (Pointer 2005). Additionally, while Vaseline may have been used by men or women, cosmetic skin creams were considered to be female-specific items (Pointer 2005). The 28 cosmetic artifacts included in this thesis are indicated in Figure 28, and

consist only of those items that could be identified by makers' marks or distinctive materials and morphology as being used for cosmetic purposes.

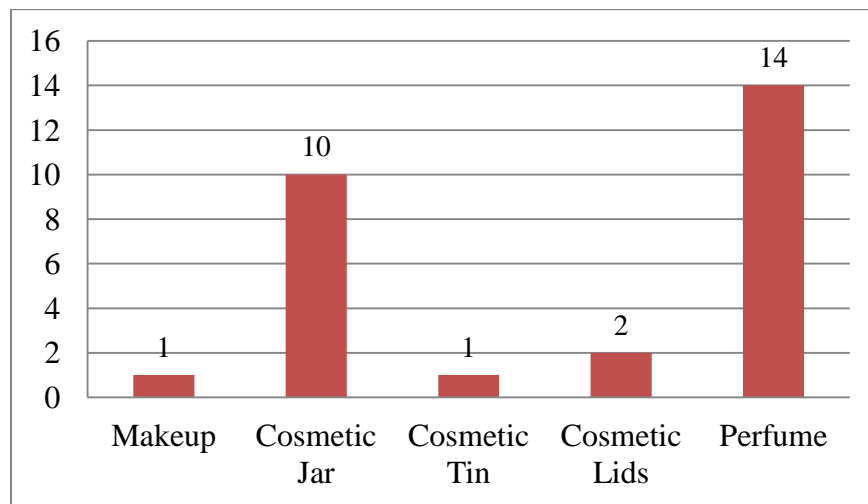


Figure 28 - Cosmetic Artifacts

A single brush with a wooden handle and hair bristles is the only definitively makeup-related item within the artifacts sampled for this thesis. Part of the handle is cracked and missing, and the bristles may have been deformed through time and formation processes, but the positioning of the bristles displays morphological characteristics similar to those of a modern fantail powder brush. The makeup brush is only 2.74 in long x 0.22 in wide. The operations sampled for this thesis are the ones spatially related to the cribs of the Gold Belt Theater and the 220, and as such they should contain the most artifacts associated with the sex workers. The presence of only a single makeup-related artifact seems to disprove the assertion that sex workers on the Vanoli Block constructed a specific appearance as part of their identities as prostitutes. While it is possible that these women were using beet juice for rouge (Agnew 2008) or the burnt end of a match stick in place of kohl (Pointer 2005), there is no archaeological evidence of this behavior.

Only one of the ten artifacts identified as cosmetic jars contained a label. This item is a fragment of a refined whiteware container with the words "...SEC / CREAM / ...E SKIN"

painted on the side. The remaining artifacts are included due to their material type and the presence of morphological characteristics indicative of skin cream containers. They consist of a complete milk glass jar with a columnar design and external threads for a lid, a complete refined white earthenware jar, six milk glass jar fragments, and a shallow clear glass container with external threads. One of the milk glass fragments is decorated with a hand-painted floral design. The variety of jar shapes and material types indicates that multiple products may have been used. Without labels it is impossible to determine the specific uses of these products. The presence of a variety of cosmetic containers from different proveniences indicates that skin care was considered an important aspect of hygiene. Cold cream jars and ointment pots could be purchased empty or filled with a variety of products through mail order catalogs (Sears, Roebuck, & Co. 1897, 1902, and 1908). Although these jars could have contained the white make up considered to be characteristic of Victorian-era prostitution, there is no way to determine their use from the remaining contents. Conducting chemical and residue analysis on these artifacts is one potential avenue of further research.

The two cosmetic caps and the possible cosmetic tin attest to the presence of additional, if unidentified, appearance-related artifacts. All of these items were identified by Steven G. Baker as being cosmetic in nature. The tin is a small, round, corroded box made out of non-ferrous metal. No labels are visible, and the lid appears permanently sealed to the body by corrosion. The size and shape of the container are consistent with cosmetic cases depicted in the Sears, Roebuck, & Co. catalogs (1897, 1902, and 1908). These cases were used for a variety of products including skin cream, powder, toilet cream, freckle removal, and ointments. The cosmetic lids consist of a corroded brass and a celluloid lid that have respective diameters of 1 in

and 0.67 in. Both items are threaded suggesting that they were intended to be removed and replaced. Neither of these artifacts belongs to the cosmetic jars discussed above.

Perfume bottles, which are depicted in Table 16, include vessels for toilet water as well as perfume. Perfumed toilet waters consist of scented waters including Florida water, *Eau-de-*

Table 16 - Perfume Bottles

Type	Use	Count
Florida water	Perfumed Toilet water	6
Colgate & Co.	Perfumed Toilet water	3
Salon Palmer	Perfumed Toilet water	1
Ed. Pinaud	Perfumed Toilet water	1
Unknown - Paris	Perfumed Toilet water	1
Unknown - small	Perfume	2

Cologne, and lavender water. The aim of all such fragrances was to emit a refreshing, sweet smell. They often consisted of a combination of essential oils, citrus, rosemary, lavender, water, and alcohol. Perfumes generally had a stronger oil or alcohol base and were generally more expensive than perfumed toilet water (Ellis 1960). The toilet water bottles in the Vanoli Collection were generally fairly large with oil finishes, a round body, and sloping shoulders. The two bottles identified as perfume containers lack any maker's marks. They were identified as perfume containers based on their size and general morphological characteristics. Florida water (Figure 29) was an American perfumed toilet water that, while popular in America, never achieved international acceptance (Ellis 1960). As discussed in Chapter 4, Florida water was used by both men and women as a fragrance and for its purported abilities to alleviate exhaustion and depression (Horobik 2011; Mayo 1902). The five remaining toilet water bottles contained fragrances manufactured by Colgate & Co., Salon Palmer, and Ed. Pinaud. Colgate & Company began manufacturing perfumes and essences in 1866. The company won awards for its soaps and perfumes at the 1900 Paris World's Fair (Colgate-Palmolive Company 2012), but by the 1920s

had largely abandoned perfumes in favor of its more profitable dental products (Light years, Inc. 2011). Salon Palmer was touted as America's oldest perfumer, despite the fact that there was at least one previously existing perfume manufacturer in the country. The company manufactured perfumes for the masses, and never attempted to master the refined processes and scents of the more notable French perfumeries. Salon Palmer manufactured as many as 100 different fragrances and cosmetic powders (Compactstory 2011). Ed. Pinaud began manufacturing perfume in Paris in the 1830s. The company remains in business today. (Ed Pinaud 2012). The remaining vessel is the base and heel of a clear glass cylindrical bottle with "...LUB...N / PARFUMEUR / PARIS" embossed on the heel. The diameter and shape of the bottle base is similar to those of the other toilet water vessels, and so it is included in this category.



Figure 29 - Florida Water Bottle.
Courtesy Dr. Mary Van Buren and
Stephen Sherman.

Hygiene Artifacts

Hygiene items consist of artifacts used to clean and groom the body. The 50 hygiene-related artifacts that met the sampling criteria discussed in Chapter 4 are presented in Figure 30 and discussed below. Medical artifacts specifically related to prostitution as a trade are included

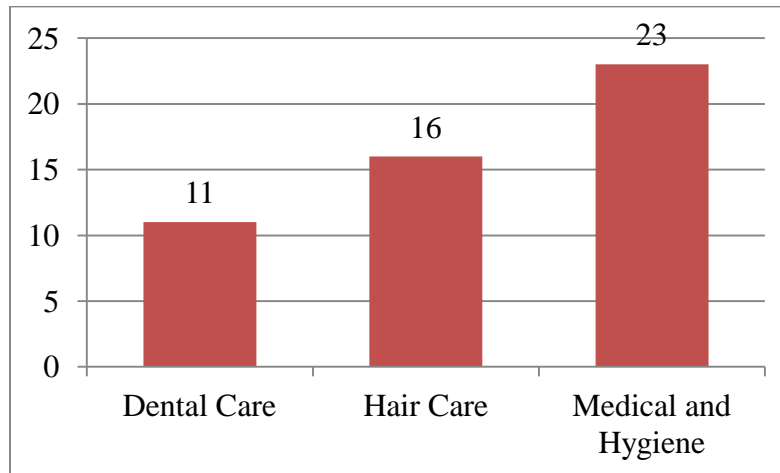


Figure 30 – Hygiene Artifacts

in this section due to the overlap of hygiene and medical products during the Victorian-era. Artifacts were determined as being used in prostitution if they were used as prophylactics, to prevent venereal disease, or had maker's marks or labeling indicating a use that was likely essential to the performative identities of the prostitute and her customer. While many of the medicine bottles and homeopathic remedies discussed by Heather Horobik (2011) in her thesis may have been used by sex workers, they are not included in this analysis because their contents and manufacturers are unknown. A full examination of the medical items in the Vanoli collection with regard to prostitution is outside of the scope of this, but constitutes a fascinating topic for further research.

Dental Care

Dental care items included in the assemblage consist of eight tooth brushes, one toothpick fragment, and packaging from two different cleaning solutions. The toothpick consists of the top

of the artifact, which is made out of bone or ivory. Toothpicks have been in use for at least 3,000 years (Mattick 1993:162), and are therefore of little diagnostic utility. Furthermore, an internet search and a review of the Sears & Roebuck catalogues revealed no known gender-specific associations. The cleansing solutions consist of a tooth soap can and a bottle of cleansing liquid. The soap container is from Chicago and was manufactured by Graham Brothers & Company. Although corroded, instructions directing users to “rub freely across the soap with brush once each day or oftener,” and touting the product’s ability to beautify teeth and gums are painted on the back. The other cleansing solution is a complete clear glass bottle that has “Rubifoam for the teeth” embossed on the body. E.W. Hoyt & Co. of Lowell, Massachusetts, began manufacturing Rubifoam, which consisted of a ruby-red tooth brushing liquid, in 1887 (Lake County Archaeology 2011).

Information regarding toothbrushes in archaeological assemblages is provided in an article by Barbara E. Mattick (1993). The brushes in the assemblages consist of five bone toothbrush stocks, one bone handle, one whole bone brush (Figure 32), and one whole celluloid brush. The celluloid brush has “Princess” written on the handle, thus implying that the brush was used by a woman. Unlike combs that could easily be placed in a pocket and carried around by men, toothbrushes require water and soap or liquid suggesting that they would have been cumbersome to transport. The potential difficulties in carrying a toothbrush around in a pocket further suggest that these brushes may have been used by women who worked on the block. The bone brush handle has the words “Waranteed Badger Hair” engraved on one side. Although boar hair was the most common bristle material, badger hair was occasionally used (Mattick 1993:163). While indistinct, the complete bone brush has a faint mark and lettering engraved on the handle. Unfortunately, even with the assistance of a lighted magnifying lens “Paris” is the

only word that is distinct enough to read. The American toothbrush industry did not fully develop until after the Civil War; prior to that brushes produced in France and England dominated the industry (Mattick 1993). Mattick (1993) does not indicate when American-made products overtook European brushes in popularity, but an examination of the toothbrushes recovered in the excavation of an 1880's outhouse at the Immaculate Heart Academy in California revealed that 11 of the 14 complete brushes were made in France (Lake County Archaeology 2011).



Figure 31 - Corset Stay and Bone Toothbrush. Courtesy Dr. Mary Van Buren and Stephen Sherman.

Bone brushes were the most common and inexpensive form of toothbrush until World War I when mass-produced synthetic products such as celluloid became the material of choice. The first celluloid brush was produced in 1906, but such early products were expensive to manufacture and relatively rare. Bone toothbrushes were made to be discarded, and were generally useable for only three to four months before the soft boar bristles decayed, or the

brushes themselves developed an unsavory odor (Mattick 1993). None of the bristles are extant, but holes indicate that six of the items have four rows of bristles, and one has two. Two of the brushes have wire drawn bristles, and five are trepanned. Wire drawn bristle brushes have holes drilled all the way through the stock with slits for wire cut between the rows. The celluloid brush and one of the bone stocks are trepanned, and both items have a distinctive green staining discoloration on the back of the stock indicating that brass wire was used. Trepanned bristle holes are drilled partway through the stock. Holes through which linen threads were inserted to hold bristles in place were then drilled through the top of the stock. The ends of the holes were then plugged to make them inconspicuous. Both methods were common during the late Victorian-era. Although Mattick (1993) advocates recording these data, she does not explain what these data mean with regard to dating or usage.

Mattick (1993) states that most toothbrushes recovered in archaeological assemblages are plain bone, date to the late nineteenth century, and are generally found in urban areas associated with upper-class households. She further argues that the items are fairly uncommon for two reasons: 1) as late as 1932 only approximately 20 % of Americans brushed their teeth, and 2) toothbrushes, like so many personal items, were rarely documented in archaeological assemblages prior to the 1970s (Mattick 1993:168). The artifacts in the Vanoli Collection generally conform to these traits with the exception of the class distinction. Although the argument could be made that the presence of these toothbrushes indicates that the sex workers were emulating the upper-classes, I argue that the small number of such a frequently discarded item suggests that a few of the women were concerned with dental hygiene, and perhaps with presenting a healthy, sweet-smelling image. This position is further strengthened by the previously-discussed prevalence of perfume bottles.

Hair Care

Hygiene artifacts related to hair care consist almost entirely of dressing comb fragments: two undecorated black Bakelite hair pins represent the only non-comb items in the sample. A MNI of seven dressing combs were present: six of these items were made of black hard rubber, and one of bone. The MNI was calculated based on the presence of the comb back as well as teeth. None of the items had maker's marks complete enough for identification. Seven additional isolated teeth were recovered from lots that did not contain a comb back. All but one of the teeth was made of black hard rubber; the remaining item was an ivory-colored celluloid tooth with grooves incised on one edge. All of the combs appear to have been regular dressing combs as opposed to hair band combs or flea combs.

The 1897, 1902, and 1908 Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalogues provide the basis for this category due to a lack of archaeological literature specifically discussing Victorian-era hair-care artifacts. The only gender-specific hair care artifacts were the hair pins, which are female-specific. Dressing combs were marketed to both men and women in a variety of materials, including those found in the Vanoli collection (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1897, 1902, and 1908). Hard rubber and celluloid represent the bulk of the combs available in those catalogues, and were generally among the most inexpensive dressing combs. It is interesting to note that no evidence of brush sets or hair brushes was present in operations sampled for this thesis. Brush sets were considered essential pieces of a toilet set for the upper classes (Pointer 2005). While an absence of artifacts does not definitively indicate that dressing combs were used exclusively, the women associated with the Vanoli block were working-class, and combs cost approximately half as much as brushes (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1897, 1902, and 1908). The lack of brushes in the

artifact assemblage, and the relative cost of brushes compared to hair combs suggest that brushes may have considered uneconomical by the lower-class sex workers of the Vanoli Block.

Medical Hygiene

Twenty-three artifacts identified as having hygienic or medical purposes associated with prostitution were present in the artifact sample. Figure 32 depicts the relative percentages of the artifacts included within this category. Patent medicines and Vaseline are further discussed below. The medicine droppers consist of two glass tubes with tapered tips and one ivory-colored rubber ball. These items were included because of their potential use in measuring and creating perfumes (Pointer 2005), or in calculating laudanum or morphine dosages (Hodgson 2001). None of the bottles can definitively be said to have contained laudanum, but this medicine was generally sold in dropper bottles (Bethard 2004). Additionally, articles in the *Ouray Herald* (Aug. 29, 1901:1; Jan. 16, 1903:1) confirm that these products were used in Ouray's red light district. Reproductive health artifacts consist of a large rubber syringe bulb, thin rubber tubing, and two hard rubber items identified in the excavation notes as a tube fragment and the screw top of penis syringes. As discussed in Chapter 2, such items were associated with sexual hygiene, contraception, and the treatment of venereal disease (Sponberg 1997).

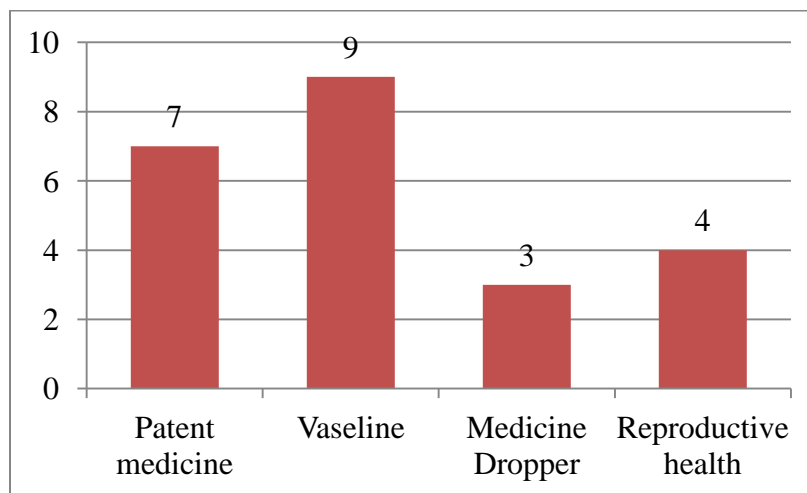


Figure 32 - Medical Hygiene Artifacts

Additional artifacts including at least three separate douching apparatuses and additional penile injectors were recovered during excavation. However, these objects were retained by Steven G. Baker for purposes of further research, and are therefore not included in this thesis. Douches composed of various solutions were used for hygiene, contraception, and to initiate abortions (Agnew 2008; Gordon 2002; Sponberg 1997). Penile injectors were most likely used to directly administer doses of mercury to men suffering from venereal disease (Sponberg 1997). Direct analysis of such artifacts could reveal additional information regarding the specific use of these items, but even a general knowledge of their existence confirms the presence of venereal disease on the Vanoli Block and the importance of hygiene and contraception in sex work.

Table 17 lists the 16 medicinal bottles tentatively identified as having uses directly related to sex work. Vaseline bottles represent the single largest group of this category. All of the other bottles contained patent medicines. Such medicines were largely unregulated and often widely marketed as commodities. Advantages of patent medicines over prescription treatments included the permissibility of self-diagnosis; cheaper, stable prices; and the anonymity and ease

Table 17 - Medical Hygiene Bottles and Uses

Item	Use	Count
Mexican Mustang Liniment	Cure all for everything from muscle aches to cuts	1
Injection Brou	Treatment of Venereal Disease	1
Hamlin's Wizard Oil	Cure all - primarily for muscle aches	1
Mosco Corn and Callus Treatment	Skin care	1
Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound	Female complaints	1
Marchano's Peroxide of Hydrogen	Oral and medical antiseptic	1
Cuticure System of Blood and Skin Purification	Unknown - skin cure	1
Chesebrough Vaseline	Skin care, prophylactic	9

of purchasing such products over-the-counter or through the mail (Horobik 2011). Many of these medicines were highly alcoholic or contained opium derivatives that led to a brief, euphoric feeling and the illusion that the treatment was working (Steele 2005).

Injection Brou and Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound are the only two items to have known female-specific usage. Injection Brou was imported from Paris, and consisted of a patent medicine used as a douche to treat and alleviate the irritation of genital diseases (Fike 2006:168; Horobik 2011:65). This bottle, along with the absent penile injectors, is the only medical item that can definitively be linked to venereal disease. Other artifacts such as the douching paraphernalia had additional hygienic and contraceptive purposes. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound was marketed to women of all professions and classes, and was touted as a cure for an assortment of female complaints (Horobik 2011) including menstrual pain, prolapsed uterus, uterine cancer, inflammation or ulceration of the womb, and menopausal symptoms (Stage 1979:88-90; Steele 2005:142). This medicine was an herbal concoction consisting of unicorn root, life root, black cohosh, pleurisy root, and fenugreek seed suspended in alcohol (Stage 1979:89).

The nine Vaseline jars were all manufactured by the Chesebrough Manufacturing Company in New York. This company was founded by Robert Chesebrough who invented and patented a petroleum jelly that he called "Vaseline" (Baker Library 2012). The fact that all nine of the Vaseline bottles were manufactured by Chesebrough is likely more reflective of the market dominance of the eponymous product rather than consumer choice. Vaseline could be used for skin care as well as for prophylactic purposes (Agnew 2008; Fike 2006; Horobik 2011; MacKell 2004). In her thesis Heather Horobik (2011:76) argues that Vaseline products on the

Vanoli Block were likely not used as a prophylactic by prostitutes due to the presence of two containers in the male side of the gender segregated privy in Operation 1. However, as she acknowledges, there was no division between the male and female sides of the privy vault meaning that there was likely some shifting of privy contents over time (Horobik 2011). The remaining seven Vaseline bottles used in this thesis are from proveniences that lack any known gender association. The lack of identifiable gender-specific usage does not necessarily indicate that Vaseline was used exclusively for its skin-care benefits as opposed to contraception. These artifacts should be considered important in archaeological investigations of prostitution due to the relatively large number of bottles and their potential cosmetic and prophylactic properties. The high frequency of Vaseline bottles present in the Vanoli assemblage is quantitatively consistent with the number of similar bottles recovered by Meyers et al. (2005) in their excavations of a Las Angeles brothel. While additional corroborative evidence is needed, the evidence from both assemblages attests to the importance of Vaseline in the hygiene regimen of sex workers.

The contents of the remaining five bottles are tentatively identified as being useful in the hygiene and appearance of prostitutes. Like its modern iterations, Marchano's Peroxide of Hydrogen was valued for its antiseptic qualities. Medical literature at the time recommended using the chemical as an oral rinse in order to disinfect the mouth (Wadsworth 1906). Interestingly, bichloride solutions, which were also used in douches to prevent venereal diseases, were recommended for the same purpose (Gordon 2002). Regardless of use, the antiseptic properties of peroxide of hydrogen would likely have been invaluable given the nature of sex work. The Mosco Corn and Callus treatment and the Cuticure System of Blood and Skin purification were both probably used to improve the health and appearance of skin. The Mexican

Mustang Liniment and Hamlin's Wizard Oil were both patent medicines whose intended uses included soothing sore muscles (Crawley 2008; Horobik 2011). Such products were marketed as cure-alls, but it seems plausible that sex workers may have been using them to remedy the aches and soreness that would have been common in their work.

Summary and Discussion

Contrary to my stated expectations, there is almost no evidence among the personal items that sex workers were using cosmetics in a manner that is significantly different from other women. Although the use of perfume and heavy makeup was considered characteristic of prostitutes during the Victorian-era (Rosen 1982), the archaeological evidence from the Vanoli Block does not support this image. Instead, the cosmetic and hygiene artifacts included in this study indicate that while sex workers were using perfumes to present the fresh, sweet-smelling, female body, they did not use makeup to construct the stereotypical image of the painted woman. Makeup-related items are represented by a single brush suggesting that the use of heavy paints and cosmetics was not the norm. Furthermore, the perfumes indicate that while sex workers were using cosmetics to alter their bodies, the products that they used tended to be fairly inexpensive scented toilet waters that were marketed to the masses instead of the more expensive concentrated essences (Ellis 1960).

I argue that the majority of the hygiene and cosmetic artifacts were most likely used by women and not men. Cosmetic skin creams were marketed to females (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1897, 1902, 1908) due to their purported skin purifying and bleaching properties (Pointer 2005). Men were more likely to use products like Vaseline to sooth roughened skin or treat minor burns (Horobik 2011). Additionally, it seems unlikely that men would carry large skin cream pots or large bottles of perfumed toilet water with them to the red light district for personal use when it

would be more convenient for them to use any such products at home. Instead, it is more plausible that sex workers may have used these products to portray an image of health, and to mitigate any unpleasant odors that may have resulted from long shifts with multiple customers. The purported restorative properties of the light, sweet scents typical in such products may have served to alleviate exhaustion in the women and to convince their customers that they were healthy and clean.

As previously discussed, good hygiene was considered essential to prostitution. However, with the possible exceptions of medical and hygiene objects used specifically to treat venereal disease, none of the artifacts discussed above can be exclusively linked to sex work. Instead, combs, toothbrushes, and other general use items presented above offer insights into the grooming practices of the Vanoli Block. The majority of these objects are consistent with a working-class population in that they are unadorned, utilitarian items that are made of fairly inexpensive materials. Although the number of hygiene and cosmetic artifacts in the sample is relatively small in comparison with those in the apparel and accessory categories, their presence attests to the fact that people on the Vanoli block were concerned, at least to some degree, with presenting a clean, well-groomed appearance.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This analysis emphasizes the important contributions that historical archaeology can make to the study of late 19th and early 20th century prostitution. The research questions were designed to use archaeological data to explore characterizations of Victorian and Edwardian-era sex workers: namely the ideas that prostitutes were constructing the performative identity of the “painted woman” through the manipulation of their appearance. Although often overlooked, personal items, especially those related to personal adornment and hygiene, constitute one of the most direct archaeological means of examining the performative aspects of identity (White 2008).

Analysis of the artifacts disproved part of my initial hypothesis, which was that sex workers on the Vanoli Block were constructing a specific identity by manipulating their bodies through clothing and cosmetics. The archaeological evidence indicates that this was not the case. Instead, these women appear to have been indistinguishable from other working-class women in dress and accessories. Any manipulation of the body was accomplished through hygiene and the use of perfume to present a sweet-smelling, clean appearance. However, the data do seem to support the hypothesis that men were defined by their labor, and were not altering their physical appearance for participation in leisure culture. These findings indicate that, like their customers, sex workers created their identities through their labor. By this I mean that the performative identity of the sex worker was created and reaffirmed through participation in the physical act of exchanging sexual services for money, and not through manipulation of the body with personal items to create the image of the painted woman.

Prostitutes, Patrons, and Appearance

The personal items from the Vanoli Site are consistent with a well-groomed, working class appearance for both men and women. Textiles, footwear, buttons, and other apparel-related artifacts are generally fairly plain, serviceable items. Accessories such as jewelry, ribbons, beads, and pocket watches indicate that people on the Vanoli Block were embellishing their outfits, but were doing so within their economic means. The prevalence of toothbrushes, dressing combs, and perfumes within the cosmetic and hygiene artifacts indicates a concern with maintaining a clean, healthy appearance, and not with projecting an overtly sexualized or painted image. Artifacts are consistently made out of serviceable, inexpensive materials that would have been available to the lower-classes.

Apparel-related artifacts indicate that sex workers on the Vanoli Block were wearing clothing consistent with those of other working-class women. If they were altering their garments to construct a different identity, it was through the use of accessories such as silk ribbons or glass jewelry. Although there is evidence of one silk petticoat, which is a garment consistent with the idea that prostitutes may have worn undergarments as outerwear, this artifact is a single item, and is not considered numerically significant. None of the clothing-related artifacts indicate whether or not sex workers on the Vanoli Block were wearing short dresses.

Medical and hygiene items indicate that sex workers on the Vanoli Block were concerned with skin care, dental health, and masking any unpleasant odors with sweet-smelling toilet waters. All of the personal items used for this purpose were fairly inexpensive. For example, several dressing combs were present in the assemblage, but there is no evidence of luxury grooming items such as hair brushes. Additionally, the majority of the perfumes consisted of toilet waters, such as Florida Water, that were marketed to the masses, and not expensive oils

and fragrances. While this sweet-smelling persona may have been designed to mask serious medical complaints (Ketz et al. 2005), the lack of concealing makeup suggests that the women may have been more concerned with projecting a feminine, healthy, and sweet-smelling identity to their customers. Only one makeup related artifact was recovered from the operations sampled for this thesis suggesting that the heavy makeup associated with 19th century prostitution (Agnew 2008) was not worn by sex workers on the Vanoli Block.

The presence of the medical and hygiene artifacts, especially the toothbrushes, attests to the importance that sex workers on the Vanoli Block placed on cleanliness, a notion that was gaining increasing significance in Victorian culture. In his examination of a late 19th century toothbrush from Columbia, Felipe Ammann (2005) argues that toothbrushes and dental health were considered part of a ritual of cleanliness practiced only by members of the European elite. The act of brushing the teeth was part of a ritual designed to showcase a person's social position within the larger society. However, by the late 19th century, the rise of mass-production and the wide-spread acceptance of Pasteur's theories of bacteria and germ-caused-disease led to an increased social emphasis on cleanliness. The common association between dental hygiene and disease prevention led to the de-fetishization of toothbrushes as an elite item (Ammonn 2005). Hygiene-related artifacts within the Vanoli collection attest to an awareness of the importance of health among sex workers as well as to an acceptance of certain middle-class values even as others, such as the role of women with regard to sexual activity and respectability, were rejected.

Data gleaned from censuses (Colorado Special Census 1885; U.S. Census 1880, 1900, and 1910), from photographs, and from a published collection of oral narratives (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990) confirm that many of the physical and demographic differences between sex workers and other working women were relatively small. Prostitutes were more likely to be

younger, single, native-born, and childless than other working women. However, there appeared to be no difference in literacy rates between sex workers and other women (Colorado Special Census 1885; U.S. Census 1880, 1900, and 1910). Together these factors indicate that prostitutes did not enter the trade because they were uneducated immigrants who had no other useful skills (Agnew 2008; MacKell 2004). The oral narratives discussed in Chapter 3 were collected from Ouray citizens who remember the red light district. These informants indicate that sex workers were indistinguishable from other Ouray women by appearance alone (Bachman and Bacigalupi 1990). The sole photograph thought to portray prostitutes on the Vanoli Block (Figure 17 in Chapter 3) confirms that these women wore simple garments appropriate to the working-class. Furthermore, the women in Figure 17 are more similar in apparel and hygiene to the non-prostitute Ouray women depicted in Figures 4, 5, and 11 than they are to the Denver sex workers shown in Figure 16.

Census and artifact information collected about the potential customers suggests that the majority of the men who patronized the Vanoli Block were working-class men. Additionally, as expected from a 19th century mining town, most of the working-class male population of Ouray was either single or living apart from their wives. Like the sex workers, many of these men were native-born Americans, or emigrated from northern European countries (Colorado Special Census 1885; U.S. Census 1880, 1900, and 1910). Rivets from Levis, heavy work boots, and the materials and forms of male-specific artifacts suggest that the men who patronized the Vanoli Block were not significantly altering their appearance for participation in leisure culture. While they may have changed their shirts or groomed themselves prior to coming in to town, there is no evidence that they were dressing up. Male-specific accessories such as pocket-watches and rings

are consistent in material and design with items affordable to the working-class, and are not considered to be evidence of additional effort.

The Prostitute as an Identity

If, as discussed above, sex workers on the Vanoli Block were not constructing their performative identities as prostitutes through the manipulation of their appearance, then it seems plausible that, like their customers, these women formed their identities as laborers through the act of prostitution. In this thesis, I have argued that male patrons did not alter their appearance as part of their participation in sex work. Instead, their identities as customers were formed through the consumption of the female sexual body of the prostitute. By choosing this profession and participating in sexual activities for material gain, and not for purposes of reproduction as outlined by the normative Victorian-era social discourse on sexuality, these women formed their identities as prostitutes. They fulfilled their roles as women by providing a sexual outlet for men. However, because they did so as a profession and outside of the socially-acceptable confines of marriage, they became the “other” and took on a distinctive identity separate from that of their fellow working-class women.

This pattern of creating an identity that both aligns with and is opposed to the dominant normative sexualities of a given culture is not unique to prostitution in the Victorian-era American West. In her examination of female same-sex relationships in modern-day Thailand Megan Sinnott (2007) argues that gender and the dominant male/female normative relationship are the primary discourses through which these women construct their sexual identities. The author states that one member of the partnership takes on a “tomboy” or masculine identity whereas the other person maintains the feminine role of the “lady”. Thus, although they are operating outside of the dominant heterosexual relationship pattern of their culture, these women

form their identities through the normative gendered discourse of Thai society (Sinnott 2007). Like the sex workers discussed in this thesis, female same-sex pairings in Thailand function both within and outside of the confines of acceptable sexual behavior of the dominant society.

A Working-Class Establishment

A comparison of artifacts from the Vanoli collection with published archaeological reports on archaeological assemblages associated with prostitution reveals a significant difference: people working on the Vanoli Block accepted and perpetuated a working-class appearance and atmosphere, whereas employees of other lower-class establishments of prostitution attempted to project a middle-class appearance. The sources discussed below focus on the more conventional artifact classes of ceramics, glass, and faunal remains. They generally mention personal items as brief asides that bolster the authors' interpretations of the households as brothels, but do not provide a detailed analysis of personal items. However, they do focus on the differentiation of the public middle-class face of bordellos as opposed to the private employee-only spaces in the establishments.

Meyer et al. (2005) compare the artifacts from the Los Angeles red light district with surrounding households to find that parlor house assemblages generally contain a greater amount of grooming items, especially perfumes, creams, brushes, and other appearance-related items. The authors state that they uncovered fewer personal items in a privy associated with crib work (Meyer et al. 2005:119), and argue that the differing amounts of grooming items are a reflection of the nature of crib work as opposed to brothel work, but do not examine the details of either with regard to a specific appearance. Instead, they state that the brothel assemblage contained more artifacts associated with middle-class lifestyles (Meyer et al. 2005). In her examination of a lower-class brothel from the Five Points district of New York City, Rebecca Yamin (2005)

briefly mentions the presence of shoe fragments, combs, and a hair brush in the artifact assemblage. She uses these items in conjunction with ceramics and other household goods to conclude that the working-class women employed in this brothel were projecting a middle-class image through their appearance and household goods (Yamin 2005). In their examination of a contemporaneous high-end brothel from St. Paul, Minnesota, Ketz et al. (2005) recovered a similar range of grooming items. The authors do not provide artifact numbers for personal items, but they do indicate that in addition to dental care items, women at the St. Paul bordello also possessed hair brushes and toilet sets. The toilet sets and brushes are generally associated with the upper-classes, and would be more likely to be displayed in a sex worker's room as part of her performative identity than tooth brushes or medicine. The authors speculate that the emphasis on appearance was an attempt to conceal more serious medical ailments (Ketz et al. 2005). Patrons would have been aware of the potential for disease, and may have been reassured by the presence of the toilet sets. Although the artifacts from the Vanoli Site indicate that women working in the establishments on the Vanoli Block were concerned with their appearance, there is no evidence that they were creating the divide between public image and private reality that Meyers et al. (2005), Ketz et al. (2005), and Yamin (2005) found in their assemblages.

Further Research

Examination of the artifacts revealed a variety of opportunities for future research. Such research would not necessarily have to include such a wide array of personal items. Instead, evaluation of ordnance in saloon assemblages throughout the American West could be used to further examine the stereotype of the rough-and-tumble Western town populated by gun-toting desperados. Analysis of apparel-related items from mining, residential, and leisure assemblages could provide insight into working-class appearance in a variety of contexts. Further work with

clay tobacco pipes, including DNA testing when possible, could be used to determine the degree to which smoking was restricted to males. Analysis of the artifacts recovered from the Vanoli Site is ongoing, and additional research into prostitution would be informative. The sample used in this thesis focused on the 220 Dance Hall and the Gold Belt Theater, but there were additional crib structures on the Vanoli Block. Operations situated near those structures should be investigated to confirm if they were used as cribs, or if the Chinese laundrymen did, in fact, live in them. It would also be interesting to compare the personal items from those units with ones sampled for this thesis in order to evaluate whether or not there was any stratification or hierarchy on the property. A residue analysis of some of the possible cosmetic and medical jars could reveal data regarding the contents of the vessels. Information gleaned from such techniques could have a profound impact regarding appearance, hygiene, medical ailments, and recreational drug use on the site. Similar analysis of artifacts such as the douching equipment and penile injectors that remain in Steven G. Baker's possession could potentially reveal interesting data regarding reproduction, sexual health, and venereal disease on the Vanoli Block.

An additional note of interest and opportunity for further research involves evidence of children in the Vanoli Block. The demographic data presented in Chapter 5 reveals no indication of children on the Vanoli Block. Additionally, the only sex workers to state that they were mothers were madams, who did not necessarily directly sell sex. However, toys such as dolls, miniature tea sets, wheels, and marbles are found in the Vanoli collection. Safety pins, though, are the only apparel artifacts that may have come from children's clothing, and these items were not necessarily used only to fasten diapers. None of the buttons are panty-waist types, or two- or three-holed sew-through buttons with noticeably larger holes intended to accommodate the cloth tape that was commonly used to attach garments to children's underwear (Sprague 2002).

Further studies should be conducted on personal items with regard to identity and appearance. Such research should be performed in red light districts encompassing all levels of the hierarchy of prostitution as well as in other households. The results of these investigations should be compared with each other in order to see if women working in other types of establishments were constructing a specific identity through the use of personal items, or if they, like the women working on the Vanoli Block, were more concerned with presenting a sweet-smelling healthy appearance. Furthermore, it would be interesting to examine the male-specific personal items in order to establish whether or not the customers were indeed defined primarily by their labor, and as participants in leisure culture through their consumption of the female body, or if the men represented in the Vanoli Collection were an anomaly. Although archaeological investigations of prostitution are growing in popularity, many potential avenues of inquiry remain. Stereotypes such as the image of the “painted woman” abound, and investigations of material culture represent one of the few ways in which researchers can address the veracity of these images. The Vanoli Site represents a unique and valuable opportunity to investigate 19th century prostitution, leisure culture in the Mining West, and a variety of other related topics.

Conclusion

People who worked on and patronized the Vanoli Block were thoroughly working-class in appearance. The materials and styles displayed by their personal items are generally inexpensive, and are consistent with miners and people who earned their living on what miners could afford to pay. Unlike the red light establishments discussed above, there is no evidence that employees or customers of the Vanoli Block were attempting to present a middle-class appearance. Miners, who indeed comprised the majority of the demographic group catered to by

the Vanolis, did not alter their appearance for participation in leisure culture. Instead, their identities were defined by their labor. Analysis of the artifacts included in the sample for this thesis disproved the initial hypothesis of a constructed, performative identity associated with late 19th and early 20th century prostitution. If sex workers were creating a separate image as part of their labor, they were not doing so through the use of heavy makeup or specialized garments. Instead, they seem to have dressed like other working-class women, and to have been primarily concerned with presenting a hygienic and sweet-smelling appearance. The findings of this study indicate that, like their customers, sex workers on the Vanoli Block were constructing their identities through participation in prostitution, and not through the manipulation of their appearances.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 18 - A description of the Operations, Sub-operations, and Lots for lots 1, 3, 18, 19, and 21. The information provided here is based on Steven G. Baker's original field notes and Heather Horobik (2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
1	~	~	Excavated August 1975; located in lot 22 of the block. Includes the ash heaps and main privy south east of the Gold Belt
1	A	~	Consisted of cutting weeds clear to surface level; based on features noted in 1970
1	A	1	All recovered cultural materials were given this provenience.
1	B	1	Ash heap; contents to ground screened through 1/4" mesh.
1	C	~	Female half (East); Male half (West)
1	C	1	Ground surface to undisturbed fill
1	C	2	Intrusive material - excluded
1	C	3	East half of privy. Second 6" level to the original ground surface
1	C	4	Surface cleaning after a rain storm - excluded
1	C	5	Intrusive material - excluded
1	C	6	Layer of coal and ash
1	C	7	Interface between organic material, coal ash, and rubble and the underlying organic and lime layer in the center of the vault
1	C	8	East half of privy -coal and ash organic layer in NE Area near intrusive rubble. Intrusive material dates to the 1930s and 1940s - excluded
1	C	9	East half of privy; located directly under privy hole; pile of lime / organic material in NW corner
1	C	10	Profile cleaning - excluded
1	C	11	West half of privy; upper layer of coal ash/organic
1	C	12	West half of privy; intrusive rubber layer - excluded
1	C	13	West half located directly under privy seat
1	C	14	Continuation of 1C13
1	C	15	Intrusive material - excluded
1	C	16	Intrusive coal ash - excluded
1	C	17	West half of privy; lime and organic layer
1	C	18	East half of privy; intrusive coal ash along south wall
1	C	19	West half of privy; cleaning of intrusive rubble from north side - excluded

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
1	C	20	West half of privy; organic/lime layer sealed beneath intrusive layers
1	C	21	East half of privy directly under 1C9
1	C	22	Intrusive material - excluded
1	C	23	Intrusive material - excluded
1	C	24	East half of privy directly under 1C21
1	C	25	East half of privy; intrusive coal ash along south wall
1	C	26	East half of privy - intrusive material from a collapsed wall - excluded
1	C	27	East half of privy; organic lime layer
1	C	28	East half of privy with organic fill with "restaurant/whore house" debris
1	C	29	East half of privy, bottom layer
1	C	30	West half of privy; lime/organic layer under privy hole
1	C	31	Continuation of 1C30
1	C	31b	No - only description is messed up sub-lot
1	C	32	West half; almost solid layer of animal bone
1	C	33	West half of privy - organic layer on vault floor
1	C	34	West half of privy wall and floor cleanings
1	C	35	North wall of privy west end, 1970
1	C	50	Rubble collapse at W end of privy
1	D	~	Area NE of privy vault; Irregular excavation
1	D	1	First .6 to .8 ft level of trench consisting of rubble/ash overlaying original ground surface
1	E	~	7 ft x 2 ft E/W trending trench directly west of privy
1	E	1	12" arbitrary level from ground surface
1	E	2	Coal ash and rubble in east end of trench below 1E1
1	E	3	Wood ash below 1E1 in W side of trench
1	E	4	2nd Level of Wood ash below lot 1E1 in W side of trench
1	E	5	Layer of coal ash and rubble between wood ash (in west) and rubble (in east) that overlies foundation line (trending N/S) that runs through trench
1	E	6	General cleaning in W side of trench
1	E	7	Lowest level from W end of trench - includes material below wood/organic stain of collapsed wall or floor on inside of foundation. 1888 Dime present in this level

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
3	A	~	3 ft trench originally extending 16 ft to the west of the 220 SW Corner - later expanded to 23.5 ft - intended to locate the vault of the two story privy - including trash heap, fuel storage area, and possible privy (NOT the desired privy)
3	A	1	Removal of topsoil and sod down to 6" below surface - located rubble and cultural material at base of this lot
3	A	2	Highly organic fill situated between two lines of rubble in center of trench
3	A	3	Layer of coal ash in W end of trench, W of rubble line
3	A	4	Layer of coal ash and wood debris from east end of trench - began below topsoil to 6" below surface. 1887 dime in lot
3	A	5	Western portion of trench below lot 1 and W of rubble lines
3	A	6	Wood and cultural fill (a floor) below coal ash in lot 4 on E side of trench
3	A	7	Wall cleanings from E end of trench
3	A	8	Sterile soil in E end of trench below lot 6
3	B	~	3' E/W oriented trench originally extending 26 ft. Located north of box elder tree - attempt to locate 2 story privy - Located a cleaned privy, trash dump, and fuel storage area.
3	B	1	Removal of topsoil and sod
3	B	2	Removal of last of the topsoil to coal ash and wood layer; entire length of trench
3	B	3	Layer of black organic with coal below topsoil in west half of trench - between lots 2 and 4
3	B	4	Heavy wood ash in west half of trench - under lot 3
3	B	5	6" of relatively clean gravel east of lot 4 - extends east until it encounters the coal and floor remains
3	B	6	Wood debris and midden in extreme east end of trench - wood floor and fuel level lumped into underlying midden layer due to difficulty in separating the layers in the heavy rubble matrix
3	B	7	Arbitrary 6in level in privy fill; 1.6 ft to 2.4 ft below ground surface (BGS)
3	B	8	Arbitrary 6in level in privy fill; 2.4 ft to 2.8 ft BGS
3	B	9	Arbitrary 6in level in privy fill; 2.8 ft to 3.0 ft BGS
3	B	10	Arbitrary 6in level in privy fill; 3 ft to 3.5 ft BGS
3	B	11	Arbitrary 6in level in privy fill; 3.5 ft to 3.7 ft BGS

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
3	B	12	Arbitrary 6in level in privy fill; 3.7 ft to 4.3 ft BGS
3	B	13	Arbitrary 6in level in privy fill; 4.3 ft to 5 ft BGS
3	B	14	Material from floor level in privy fill - 5 ft to 5.5 ft BGS (may include to 6.5 BGS or this may be lot 15 - unlabeled on map)
3	B	15	Wood beam layer - possibly unused
3	B	16	Topsoil and rubble from extension of east end of trench
3	B	17	Coal/rubble layer from east extension of trench
3	B	18	Midden debris from E extension of trench
3	C	~	9 ft x 7 ft excavation unit between sub-ops A and B - showed extent of storage area and underlying midden west of 220 - between building and box elder tree - done to increase artifact sample from structure, main privy had been cleaned
3	C	1	Removal of topsoil and sod that includes rotten wood remains just below surface
3	C	2	Dark layer of coal/coal ash under lot 2 (wood/rubble) and over lot 4 (boards. Wood debris)
3	C	3	Wood flooring and debris and materials on top of floor surface
3	C	4	Same as 3C3
3	C	5	Removal of wood and floor remains and layer of coal
3	C	6	Fairly clean rubble under the floor and above midden
3	C	7	Rich midden layer - doesn't extend all the way south
3	C	8	Rubble layer under the midden thicker/higher in S side of sub-op
3	D	~	Excavation of suspected privy in sub-op A trench (area between lines of rubble) - determined NOT to be privy
3	D	1	Arbitrary level of dark organic soil with glass content - under lot 3-A-2. Ended at solid layer of rubble - began at 96.8 ft and ended at 95 ft - boulder encountered
3	E	~	Removal of 6 ft x 2 ft bulk between Sub-ops C and A - attempt to clarify midden deposit sequence
3	E	1	Removal of sod/topsoil and underlying rubble and wood debris - elec. (E to W) 1.1 ft, 1.6 ft, 1.8 ft below datum - ends at coal layer
3	E	2	Relatively pure coal layer - above floor layer - elev. (begin) 2.1, 2.2, 2.3
3	E	3	Wood flooring/fuel debris layer

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
3	E	4	Midden deposit under wood debris – contains wood fragments and rubble - elev. Begin 2.6 ft, 2.9 ft, 1.6 ft below datum or 97.4 ft, 97.1 ft, 98.4 ft AD
3	E	5	Alluvial sand layer under midden - elev. 2.85 ft and 3.05 ft - dips in center of profile may indicate a drip line
3	E	6	Layer of Rubble beginning elev. 2.3 ft, 3.7 ft, 4.1 ft west
18	~	~	Series of 8 exploratory trenches SE of the Gold Belt - area is east of Gold Belt, south of Gold Belt Cribs and Op 2, west of Op 1 & 2, and north of the property line and op 1. - intended to discover features and sample middens
18	A	~	3 ft x 27 ft trench (Trench # 3) running E from Gold Belt to south of the attached cribs - attempted to find foundation of structure from Sanborn Maps and sample middens
18	A	1	Loosely-compacted grey brown topsoil of 3 x 15 in trench - down 2' to wood ash layer - excavation suspended at ends of trench and center 10 ft removed to ash layer - screened at 1/2" mesh - top 12" had higher artifact content with bones, glass, and Ceramics
18	A	2	Unscreened wood ash layer under Lot 1
18	A	3	Sterile light brown gravelly soil under ash in Lot 2
18	A	4	YES - top 4 - 6" of disturbed material in western extension of 3ft x 12 ft to trench - stretches to Gold Belt - attempt to learn about addition that once stood in that corner of the Gold Belt - east half high in artifacts while west half is much lower
18	A	5	Layer of gray brown silt/ash with trash and charcoal - below lot 4 and taken down to level of lot 1 - east of planks which may indicate location of addition - base elev. 3.7-3.8 BD 2 - screened with 1/2" mesh
18	A	6	Layer of light grey/brown silt/ clay below Lot 4 to the West of the planks - few artifacts - base elev. 3.7 to 3.8 ft BD2 - screened with 1/2" mesh
18	A	7	Layer of grey/brown gravelly rubble below lot 5 - depth 4.6 in east and 4.9 in west BD2 - 1/2" mesh
18	A	8	Loose light gray ash with few artifacts - below Lot 6 - elev. 4.6 in east, 5.2 in west (Foundation of Gold Belt) BD 2 - 1/2" mesh
18	A	9	Unscreened backhoe trench to southwest of 18A1 to box elder tree - investigate location of possible privy; materials from hand cleaning screened with 1/2" mesh

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
18	A	10	Charcoal concentration under lot 8 - west half of lot – elev. 4.8 ft in east and 5.5 in west BD2 - 1/2" mesh
18	B	~	Series of 7 trenches south of Sub-op A trench/Trench # 3
18	B	1	Surface raking and removal of rocks, leaves, and intrusive artifacts - pre 1960s artifacts collected and bagged - SE of Gold Belt - excluded
18	B	2	Trench # 1: 3 ft x 5 ft trench east of Gold Belt - meant to extend Op 1 trench to the west toward Gold Belt - top 2" layer of soil loose gray brown soil - elev. 3 to 2.15 ' BD 3 = 1/2" mesh
18	B	3	Trench 1 below Lot 2 - same soil - 2.8 ft and 4 ft BD3 - 1/2" mesh
18	B	4	Trench 1 below 1C3 - division of sterile gray brown soil in W and ashy black area with many artifacts in East. 4.1/4.2 BD2 in W and 4.7 BD2 in E. 1/2" mesh.
18	B	5	Trench 2 - 3 ft x 5 ft trench from SE corner of Gold Belt to E; loose gray brown soil with high artifact density - elev. 3.8/3.9 BD (?); 1/2" mesh
18	B	6	Trench 4 - 2 ft x 8.2 ft trench paralleling the Gold Belt heading North from the balk between Trench 1 and 2 - loose salty gray/brown trashy soil. Base is 4 ft BD - 1/2" mesh
18	B	7	Trench 5 - 2 ft x 8.2 ft trench north and continuous of Trench 4 - loose crumbly gray brown silty soil with high number of artifacts - base elev. is 4 ft BD 3 - 1/2" mesh
18	B	8	Trench 6 - 2 x 3 ft trench paralleling Trench 1 with a 2 ft balk between the two trenches - loose crumbly gray brown silty soil with high number of artifacts - base 2.9 ft BD2 - 1/2" mesh
18	B	9	Trench 6 - ashy fill under Lot 8 in E portion of trench - base 3.1 BD2 - 1/4" mesh
18	B	10	Trench 6 - layer of same fill as lot 8; under Lot 8 in W portion of trench. Base 2.9 to 3 ft BD - 1/4" mesh
18	B	11	Trench 6 - loose brownish organic - like fill - below Lots 9 and 10; entire trench down to even floor - 3.1 ft BD 1/4" mesh - soil sample taken
18	B	12	Trench 1 - 3 ft x 3 ft extension to east - same soil type. Base 3.7 ft BD - 1/4" mesh
18	B	13	Trench 1 - loose rubble with coal - Base 4.2 ft BD - encountered felt-like material which extended to east
18	B	14	Trench 1 - loose rubble with coal. Base 4.7 ft bd. 1/4" mesh

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
18	B	15	Trench 7 - W section of trench - usual soil (?). 1/4" mesh
18	B	16	Trench 7 - E section of trench - coal ash similar to Lot 9 in Trench 6. Top elev. 2.7 to 2.2; Base 3.25 to 3.0 ft bd. 1/4" mesh
18	B	17	Trench 5 - Under Lot 7 - darker Brown gravel with fewer artifacts. Ends when soil becomes more clay like and mostly sterile- top elev. 4'. Base 4.8 BD3. 1/4 Mesh
18	B	18	Trench 4 - under Lot 6 - dark brown gravelly soil with large rocks - ends at clay compact and mostly sterile soil - Top 4' and base 4.8 ft BD3 - Mesh 1/4"
18	B	19	Trench 2 - under Lot 5 - same fill with less artifacts; Artifacts appear to be more modern items. Mesh 1/2"
18	B	20	Trench 8. 2 ft x 9 ft trench from S boundary of Trench 4 east to base of box elder tree. Usual soil. Base 3.55 ft BD3. Mesh 1/4"
18	B	21	Trench 8 - below Lot 20. Dark gray/brown soil. Base 4.15 ft MD3. Mesh 1/4"
18	B	22	Unscreened balk between Trenches 1 and 2; excavated to determine the extent of the stone masonry wall
18	B	23	Unscreened Trench 8 - Below Lot 21 in W 4/5 ft of trench - determine whether sterile layer had been reached - base elev. 4.75 ft BD3
18	B	24	Backhoe cut at SE corner of junction between Trench 3 and 5 - small pile of bottles and trash
18	C	~	Excavation of non-organic fill and overburden from a stone lined feature - Trench 1
18	C	1	Trench 1 - eastern half of trench - apparent organic fill concentration of broken bottles - Base 5.7 ft BD. Fill from Stone-lined subterranean structure
18	C	2	NO - Trench 6 - loose rocky fill in E 2 ft of trench - overburden of stone-lined structure
18	C	3	Trench 6 - Non-organic fill under 18-D-1 - similar to lot C2 - overburden to stone lined structure - Elev. 3.6 ft BD. 1/4" mesh
18	D	~	Excavation of organic/mixed organic-like fill from the interior of stone-lined feature - Trench 6
18	D	1	Trench 6 - organic will with rocks. Soil sample taken - overburden to stone lined feature - W.4 ft of trench. 1/4" mesh
18	D	2	Trench 6 - organic; originally through to be privy fill. 1/4" mesh

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
18	D	2b	Trench 7 - continuation of organic fill from Trench 6
18	D	3	Trench 1. 3 ft b 3 ft extension. Mixture of organic fill and coal ash and liquor bottle fragments. Base 5.3 BD. 1/4" mesh
18	D	4	Trench 7 - organic fill from 5.3 to 5.7 ft BD2. 1/4" Mesh screen.
18	D	4b	Trenches 6, 7, & 1. Fill from 5.7 to 6.3 ft BD. All of trenches 1 and 7 but only part of Trench 6. Gray brown soil with rubble and stones from collapsed stone wall. Artifacts include liquor bottles and trash. Non-organic fill was sampled. 1/4" mesh.
18	D	5	Trenches 6, 7, & 1. Wall cleanings from N, S, and W walls from the top 6.3 ft BD. 1/4".
18	D	6	Trenches 6, 7, & 1. Fill from interior of stone-lined structure from 6.3 ft to 6.9 ft BD. Brownish fill with rubble and fallen wall. More organic than Lot 5. Sample Taken. 1/4" Mesh
18	D	7	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - fill from 6.9 to 7.4 ft BD - Dark Brown Loose fill and somewhat organic - artifacts mostly broken bottles - 1/4" mesh.
18	D	8	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - fill from 7.4 to 7.9 ft BD - same fill as Lot 8 - Soil sample taken - 1/4" mesh
18	D	9	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - fill from elev. 7.9 to 8.4 BD - Same fill as Lot 8 and 9 with less artifacts. 1/4" mesh.
18	D	10	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - Clean up of N half of E wall below masonry structure - 1/4" mesh
18	D	11	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - floor and wall scrapings. Organic fill with lots of lumber. Floor is ashy/sandy soil 1/2".
18	E	~	Wall cleanings from interior of the stone lined feature
18	E	1	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - S half of E wall clean up. 1/4" mesh
18	E	2	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - N half of E wall clean up. 1/4" mesh
18	E	3	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - N half of E wall clean up. 1/2" mesh
18	E	4	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - N wall clean up. 1/2" mesh
18	E	5	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - W wall clean up. 1/2" mesh
18	E	6	Trenches 6, 7, & 1 - Clean up for photos. 1/2" mesh
19	~	~	Exploratory trenching & excavations in the area boarded by the southern property line to the south, Op 3 to the east, Op 2 to the north, and Op 1 to the west

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
19	A	~	Exploratory trench that follows the southern property line. Trench is 60 ft long and 2 ft wide; Lots 1 - 6 are each 10 ft long x 2 ft wide. The purpose of this trench was to uncover any features (middens and privies) located along the property lie. This trench was hand excavated down to the base of the top soil
19	A	1	Topsoil; 0 to 10 ft west of the southeast corner of the 220.
19	A	2	Topsoil; 10 to 20 ft west of the southeast corner of the 220.
19	A	3	Topsoil; 20 to 30 ft west of the southeast corner of the 220.
19	A	4	Topsoil; 30 to 40 ft west of the southeast corner of the 220.
19	A	5	Topsoil; 40 to 50 ft west of the southeast corner of the 220.
19	A	6	Topsoil; 50 to 60 ft west of the southeast corner of the 220. Later extended to west (9-17-81) to expose more of area yielding artifacts
19	A	7	New area opened to try to delineate ash layer uncovered by backhoe trench. Approximately 3 ft x 4 ft. 19-A-7 above ash; 19-B-9 below ash
19	A	8	Topsoil; from area of south wall removed horizontally 1 ft to prevent crumbling
19	B	~	Same as Sub-op A but excavated below topsoil base by a back-hoe and alter cleaned up by hand. Also a area north of the eastern end of this trench was open up by the back-hoe (19B6) and later cleaned up by hand.
19	B	1	Area beneath 19-A-1. Not used / No artifacts Collected
19	B	2	Area beneath 19-A-2. Not used / No artifacts Collected
19	B	3	Area beneath 19-A-3.
19	B	4	Area beneath 19-A-4. Not used / No artifacts Collected
19	B	5	Area beneath 19-A-5. Privy fill was encountered at base of lot; 19C1 assigned to the interface. Base of lot approx 3.5 ft BD2
19	B	6	Area beneath 19-A-6. Later extended to the west.
19	B	7	What appears to be a full cat skeleton, disarticulated within 19-B-6. Seems to have been in a wooden box.
19	B	8	Back-hoe trench opened north of original trench (leaving a 2 ft balk between). Approx 20 ft x 20 ft although the north half was never cleaned or checked out. After south half was cleaned up a black (greasy charcoal) stain was revealed as well as an organic pocket and an ashy area in the southwest corner. Soil removed by the back-hoe included topsoil, ash, gravelly, levels, etc.

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
19	B	9	Area beneath 19-A-7. The ash level down to level of 19B8.
19	B	10	Exploratory trench perpendicular to center of feature in 19B5 to determine location of south wall. 2 ft x 5 ft (to chain link fence). South wall of feature determined to be approximately 3 to 5 in into trench. Soil removed - topsoil & a rich loose dark brown soil. Not many artifacts- some large metal pieces. Removed in 1 level, 10 in deep
19	B	11	Cleaning of south wall of area between 40 to 50 ft in original trench 19-A from base of top soil to base of previous excavation (19C1 about 3.5 ft below datum 2). Cleaning was done within limits of feature after south extent of feature was determined through the 2 ft x 5 ft exploratory trench removed as 19B10.
19	C	~	Interface area between overburden and privy fill. 40 - 50 ft west of southeast corner of 220.
19	C	1	Assigned to interface between fill and privy fill encountered at the base of 19B5 (actually interface between trashy fill and ashy fill). Approx 3.5 ft to 6.5 ft BD2
19	D	~	Exploratory excavation in a suspected privy location.
19	D	1	Below parts of 19-B-1 and 19-B-2. Thought to have been a privy location but quickly decided it was not. Taken down about 15 in below B1 and B2.
19	E	~	This is the northernmost 1/3 of the privy feature in Op 19 within the walls
19	E	1	First lot removed from base of 19B8 extending from 4 ft to approx 5 ft BD2. Very loose, nonconsolidated charcoal & ash. Very few artifacts.
19	E	2	Very loose, unconsolidated charcoal & ash; very few artifacts. Board on west & north wall now evident. Extending from 5ft to between 6 and 6.4 ft BD2
19	E	3	Loosely consolidated ash/trash occupying area of north 1/3 of feature and north 1/2 of balk. From 6 ft to 6.4 ft BD2.
19	E	4	Same area as 19-E-3. Same ash/trash but more organic in center. Evident that the organic fill is privy fill. 6.4 to 7 ft BD 2
19	E	5	Below 19-E-4 artifacts definitely out of the privy fill in the feature. 7 ft to 7.5 ft BD2
19	E	6	Occupies same area as 19-E-5 horizontally and vertically. Ash, charcoal, unconsolidated fill, some artifacts mostly bone. Base boards of privy evident on north and west walls at base of lot.

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
19	E	7	Not used but there are artifacts????
19	E	8	Removal of rubble layer from balk area.
19	E	9	Ash layer in balk down to privy fill. Remaining south 1/2 of balk.
19	E	10	Lens of organic material within 19E9, ash layer in balk, south half of balk
19	E	11	wall cleanup of privy after removal of 19G2 and 19G3
19	E	12	Ash level above privy fill in south 1/3 of privy. 2.25 ft N/S Below 19C1
19	E	13	Wall clean up
19	F	~	This is the balk between the original 2 ft trench and the large backhoed area to the north of the trench. The balk was removed in natural levels as much as possible. September of 1981
19	F	1	Dark grey brown topsoil, loose silty texture and medium artifact density. 2.4 ft to 3 ft BD2
19	F	2	Below 19F1; dark gray ash with coal throughout. 3.8 to 4 ft BD2
19	F	3	Bedded ash; dark gray lenses are somewhat like 19-F-4, but more organic. 4.3 ft BD2.
19	F	4	Very loose, unconsolidated ash. Full of artifacts. Balk dissected North/South & only the North 1/2 removed in the next lot to create another profile.
19	F	5	Dark gray brown silty matrix with large gravel; base marked by large rocks. 4.3 ft in east, 5.6 in center, 4.2 ft BD2 in west.
19	F	6	Below 19F5 (N 1/2 of Balk only); loosely consolidated ash/trash. To 6 ft BD2. Same approx. depth of 19-E-2.
19	G	~	Privy Fill
19	G	1	Beneath 19-E-5/6
19	G	2	West 1/2 of privy fill beneath 19-E-9. 1.8 ft N/S x 2.7 ft E/W
19	G	3	East 1/2 of privy fill beneath 19-E-9. 1.8 ft N/S x 2.7 E/W.
19	G	4	West 1/2 of privy fill beneath 19-E-12.
19	G	5	West 1/2 of privy fill beneath 19-E-12.
21	~	~	Excavation of privy found under 19-B-8
21	A	~	Mixed organic and non-organic fill above obvious privy fill.
21	A	1	Organic privy fill; 1/4" mesh
21	A	2	Dark gray silty ash with few artifacts below Lot 1; 1/4" mesh
21	A	3	Soft semi-organic material in E portion of Op 21; base 5.2 ft BD. 1/4" mesh.

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
21	A	4	Coal ash layer below lot 2 in west portion of op21 - turned to light brown gravel/soil. 5.2 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	A	5	Isolated pocket within lot 4 - skeletal remains of animal.
21	A	6	Area of Lot 3 and 4. Loose brown gravelly fill with some organic content. 5.6 ft to 5.7 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	A	7	Intact area in NW excavated to level of Lot 6. Loose light brown gravelly soil. 1/4" mesh.
21	A	8	First lot to cover entire Op 21. Loose gravelly, organic fill. 6.5 BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	A	9	Same as Lot 8 - organic concentration enlarging to obvious privy fill - base elev. 6.5 BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	B	~	Obvious Privy fill under 21-A-9
21	B	1	First lot of obvious privy fill. Under A-9. Loose light brown silt with organic material. Base elevation is 7 ft. 1/4" mesh.
21	B	2	Wall cave in clean up - material from several proveniences
21	B	3	Material above ash layer - 1/2" mesh
21	B	4	Privy fill from west wall - mostly rubble and little organic content. 1/2" mesh
21	C	~	West half of privy below 7 ft BD2
21	C	1	Privy fill with bone. Light brown gravelly matrix. To 7.5 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	C	2	Privy fillly 7.5 to 8 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	C	3	Privy fill to 8.5 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	C	4	Privy fill to 9 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	C	5	Extends over entire privy under C-4 and D-4. Base is 7.3 to 7.5 ft BGS or 9.7 to 9.9 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	C	6	Wall cleanup
21	C	7	Semi organic fill beneath ash level mixed with rubble in south wall of privy. 1/2" mesh.
21	C	8	Privy fill beneath ash layer on south wall of privy. 1/4" mesh
21	C	9	Rubble level in builder's trench. 1/2" mesh.
21	C	10	Organic material behind 21-B-3 on south wall of privy. 1/4" mesh.
21	C	11	Clean up of E wall of privy. 1/4" mesh
21	C	12	Clean up of organic material from N wall of Privy. 1/4" mesh.
21	C	13	Clean up of organic material from west wall of privy. Extended wall back 10 in. 1/4" mesh.

Table 18 Continued (Steven G. Baker's field notes and Heather Horobik 2011:96-104).

Op	Sub - Op	Lot	Description from Field Notes
21	C	14	Organic material and fill near large clump of lime surrounding organic material down to floor. 1/4"
21	C	15	Organic material into south wall and into west wall in corner. 1/4" mesh
21	D	~	East half of privy below 7 ft BD2
21	D	1	Identical fill to 21-C-1. To 7.5 BD2. 1/4" mesh
21	D	2	Fill to 8 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	D	3	Fill to 8.5 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	D	4	Fill to 9 ft BD2. 1/4" mesh.
21	E	~	Floated Material
21	E	1	All floated materials from 21-C-3 to 4 and 21-D-3 to 4. Mostly small bone.

APPENDIX 2

Table 19 - Ouray sex workers from the 1885 Colorado Census

Name	Trade	Sex	Age	Status	Birth
Wilson, M	Sporting Women	F	19	Single	MO
Jones, J	Sporting Women	M	20	Single	England
James, D	Sporting Women	F	29	Single	PA
White, N	Sporting Women	F	23	Single	MO
Tabor, L	Sporting Women	F	24	Single	MO
Sturg, M	Sporting Women	F	28	Married	England
Kelly, H	Sporting Women	F	27	Widow	??
Gray, Ida	Sporting Women	F	19	Widow	NM
Linell, C	Sporting Women	F	29	Widow	MA
Smith, Lou	Sporting Women	F	19	Single	-
Singela, Netta	Sporting Women	F	23	Married	??
Queen, Eda	Sporting Women	F	19	Single	TN
Kinsey, A	Sporting Women	F	28	Widow	PA

Table 20 - Ouray sex Workers on the 1900 U.S. Census

Name	Trade	Age	Status	Mother	Birth
Mary Aeosy Van	Courtesan	24	Single	-	Italy
Amanda Smith	Courtesan	27	Single	-	MO
Lattie Higgins	Courtesan	30	Single	-	IL
Maud Davis	Courtesan	22	Single	-	IO
Edith Henderson	Courtesan	18	Single	-	MO
Lulu Aikens	Courtesan	30	Single	-	IL
Kate Keley	Courtesan	28	Single	-	IL
Carrie Lirnelle	Courtesan	42	Single	-	ME
Florence Leland	Courtesan	35	Married	-	IL
Louise Maunsell	Courtesan	35	Single	-	France
Marie Maunsell	Courtesan	30	Single	-	France
Joy Mallette	Courtesan	22	Single	-	CA
Agnes Murphey	Courtesan	29	Single	-	IL
Hellan Morten	Courtesan	27	Single	-	KY
Frances Raymond	Courtesan	29	Single	-	MO
Hattie Rice	Courtesan	26	Single	-	MI
Lola Singleton	Courtesan	40	Single	-	NY
Jessie Starr	Courtesan	22	Single	-	ME
Amanda Smith	Courtesan	27	Single	-	WI
Lizzie Stelle	Courtesan	25	Single	-	VT
Annie Turner	Courtesan	25	Single	-	OH
Lena Smith	Courtesan	30	Single	-	MI
May Williams	Courtesan	25	Single	-	WI
Hattie Rice	Courtesan	30	Single	-	NY
Mina Statenoë	Courtesan	22	Single	-	OH
Helena Earl	Courtesan	27	Single	-	IL
Effie Galden	Courtesan	40	Single	-	WI
Rose Hillion	Courtesan	25	Single	-	IL
May Soluegton	Courtesan	30	Single	-	KS
Allie Smithhart	Courtesan	20	Single	-	OH
May Smith	Courtesan	23	Single	-	NE
Mabel Dougal	Courtesan	18	Single	-	NY
Lizzie Steel	Courtesan	21	Single	-	IL
May Taukilla	Courtesan	22	Single	-	MO
Alice Flick	Courtesan	40	Single	-	CA
Lillie Clark	Courtesan	20	Single	-	IO
Lizzie Bray	Courtesan	28	Single	-	KY

Table 21 - Ouray sex workers from the 1910 U.S. Census

Name	Trade	Age	Status	Mother	Birth
Gertrude Hildreth	Madam	50	Divorce	Yes	WI
Lilly Maxwell	Madam	33	Married	-	France
Ellie Stewart	Inmate	21	Divorce	-	KY
Ruby Wilson	Inmate	21	Single	-	IO
Lorne Dewitt	Inmate	20	Single	-	KA
Louise Maxwell	Madam	41	Widow	Yes	France
Tempest Roberts	Inmate	23	Single	-	CO
Jessie Starr	Inmate	40	Divorce	-	NE
Winnie Dale	Madam	37	Single	-	MO
Nettie Tinsley	Madam	34	Married	Yes	KA
Nettie Schneider	Inmate	42	Widow	Yes	IN
Lilly Philips	Madam	40	Single	-	NJ
Fannie Lewis	Inmate	40	Divorce	-	IN
Rolly Hetrick	Madam	26	Single	-	Germany
Ada Hoyt	Madam	33	Single	-	IO
Elizabeth Henley	Inmate	25	Single	-	TX
Lida Godfor	Inmate	24	Divorce	-	CO
Pauline Overhart	Inmate	34	Married	-	TX
Bessie Cogar	Madam	29	Widow	-	IO
Mabel Arnold	Inmate	22	Single	-	KA
Nellie Gray	Inmate	27	Divorce	-	WI